
SPR

SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE REVIEW

Volume 5 ■ Fall 2019

***Spanish and Portuguese Review*, Volume 5, Fall 2019**

Published by the American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese, Inc. Copyright © 2019

AATSP MISSION STATEMENT

The American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese (AATSP) promotes the study and teaching of the Spanish and Portuguese languages and their corresponding Hispanic, Luso-Brazilian, and other related literatures and cultures at all levels of education. The AATSP encourages, supports, and directs programs and research projects involving the exchange of pedagogical and scholarly information. Through extensive collaboration with educators, professionals, and institutions in other countries, the AATSP contributes to a better and deeper understanding between the United States and the Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking nations of the world.

SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE REVIEW SCOPE

Spanish and Portuguese Review (SPR), the annual graduate student journal of the AATSP, invites the submission of original, unpublished manuscripts on culture, film, linguistics, literature, pedagogy, second language acquisition, translation, and other areas related to the study or teaching of Hispanic and Luso-Brazilian languages and cultures. Quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methods of research are encouraged. In addition to articles, SPR invites the submission of book and media reviews, interviews, and notes on technology and pedagogical resources. All submissions should display thorough and comprehensive knowledge of the subject and field in question; be written in Spanish, Portuguese, or English; and strictly adhere to the journal's guidelines. The material published in *Spanish and Portuguese Review* reflects the opinions of the authors and are not necessarily those of the editors or the journal's sponsoring organization (AATSP).

OPEN ACCESS WEBSITE

www.spanishandportuguesereview.org

BUSINESS OFFICE

AATSP
Landmark Center
2100 First Avenue North, Suite 320
Birmingham, AL 35203-4213 USA

ADVERTISING

AATSPoffice@aatsp.org

SUBMISSIONS

Please send journal inquiries and article, interview, book/media review, and note submissions to the SPR Editor at **spr@aatsp.org**.
All SPR contributors must be members of the AATSP to be published in the journal.
To become a member, please visit **www.aatsp.org**.

The submission deadline for the 2020 issue is May 18, 2020.

Spanish and Portuguese Review is a member of the Council of Editors of Learned Journals.

The AATSP is a member of the Federación Internacional de Asociaciones de Profesores de Español (FIAPE). <http://www.fiape.org>





Editor

Stacey Margarita Johnson
Vanderbilt University

Managing Editors

Peer Review

José Luis de Ramón Ruiz
Vanderbilt University

Production

Laura Colaneri
University of Chicago

Copy Editing

Anna-Lisa Halling
Brigham Young University

Social Media

Megan Jeanette Myers
Iowa State University

Faculty Board Members

Electra Fielding
Weber State University

Sheri Spaine Long
AATSP

Ada Ortúzar-Young
Drew University

G. Cory Duclos
Colgate University

Associate Editors

Linguistics/Language Science

Sarah Albrecht
University of Arizona

Marta Silva
University of Missouri-Kansas City

Stephanie Madison Schenck
Clemson University

Vanessa Swenson
University of Georgia

Vander Tavares
York University

Literature/Culture

Edurne Beltrán de Heredia Carmona
Arizona State University

Marit Hanson
University of Minnesota

Zach Glassett
University of Kansas

Marissa Jensen
Brigham Young University

María Sol Echarren
Florida International University

Peer Reviewers

Philip Allen, *University of Florida*
Angelica Amezcua, *Arizona State University*
Karen Amorim, *Vanderbilt University*
Ignacio Arellano, *Stony Brook University (SUNY)*
Marcio Bahia, *University of Notre Dame*
Edurne Beltrán de Heredia Carmona, *Arizona State University*
Jessica Cary-Webb, *Florida State University*
Denise Castillo, *University of Wisconsin-Madison*
Michael Child, *Brigham Young University*
James Coda, *University of Georgia*
Laura Colaneri, *University of Chicago*
Sahai Couso, *Vanderbilt University*
Leannee Diaz, *Texas A&M University*
Danielle Dorvil, *Vanderbilt University*
Cory Duclos, *Colgate University*
Lillie Essah, *Arizona State University*
Electra Fielding, *Weber State University*
Emily Frankel, *University of California-Davis*

Zach Glassett, *University of Kansas*
Jane Griffin, *Bentley University*
Anna-Lisa Halling, *Brigham Young University*
Michael Leeser, *Florida State University*
Benjamin Legg, *Vanderbilt University*
Alyssia Miller, *University of Tampa*
J.L. Nogales Baena, *Boston University*
Ada Ortúzar-Young, *Drew University*
Regan Postma-Montaña, *Hope College*
L.J. Randolph, *University of North Carolina-Wilmington*
Matthew Richey, *University of Virginia*
Sarah Rissler, *University of Iowa*
Elaine Shenk, *St. Joseph's University*
Marta Silva, *University of Missouri*
Vander Tavares, *York University*
Kayla Watson, *University of Maryland*
Daniel Woolsey, *Hope College*



Board of Directors

Executive Director

Sheri Spaine Long
AATSP National Office
Birmingham, AL

President

Martha Vásquez
San Antonio Independent School District
San Antonio, TX

Past President

Cheryl Fuentes-Wagner
Sugarland, TX

President-Elect

Ada Ortúzar-Young
Drew University
New York, NY

Adriana Aloia

Secondary (9-12) Representative
Retired
Armonk, NY

Kevin Cessna-Buscemi

Director, National Spanish
Examinations
Valparaiso, IN
Oregon City, OR

Rachel Mamiya Hernandez

Portuguese Representative
University of Hawai'i
Honolulu, HI

Comfort Awotwi Pratt

College/University Representative
Texas Tech University
Lubbock, TX

Stephanie Enseñat Davis

Secondary (9-12) Representative
Isidore Newman School
New Orleans, LA

John Maddox

College/University Representative
U of Alabama-Birmingham
Birmingham, AL

Carlos Benavides

College/University Representative
U of Massachusetts at
Dartmouth
North Dartmouth, MA

Cynthia Flax

Secondary (9-12) Representative
Retired
Clifton Park, NY

Barbara Pietroski

K-8 Representative
Retired
Buffalo Grove, IL

Irma Bjerre

Community College Representative
Clackamas Community College

Benjamin Fraser

Editor of Hispania
East Carolina University
Greenville, NC

Kelly Scheetz

Director, Sociedad Honoraria
Hispánica
Franklin, TN

SPR

SPANISH and PORTUGUESE REVIEW

Volume 5 ■ Fall 2019

Editorials

- 1 Editor's Message
Stacey Margarita Johnson, Vanderbilt University
- 3 Why Journals Dialogue with Each Other
Earl Fitz, Vanderbilt University

In Response

- 5 Pushing the Limits of Innovation and Scholarship in the Teaching of Spanish and Portuguese: Insights from Queer Theory
James Coda, University of Georgia

Articles

- 9 Explicit Pronunciation Instruction in the Beginning Spanish Classroom: The Case of the Tap and Trill
Alberto Fernández-Diego, University of Florida
- 29 What Can an Open Body Do? A Decolonial Reading of Brazil's Biopolitical Landscape
Susana Costa Amaral, New York University
- 45 Evidencias a favor de la enseñanza del voseo en las clases de español
Matthew Griffin, University of Wisconsin-Madison
- 57 A construção identitária da mulher indígena em *Metade cara, metade máscara* (2004) de Eliane Potiguara: estratégias narrativas na construção de uma voz
Angela Mooney, Tulane University
- 73 An Analysis of Spanish Language Maintenance Motivation in a Heritage Learning Classroom
Angelica Amezcua, Arizona State University

- 87 Santiago puede ser una gran ciudad: La ciudad de la Transición en “Santiago”
de Alberto Fuguet
Paula Thomas, University of California-Los Angeles
- 99 Integrated Performance Assessments: A Review of the Literature and Steps to
Move Forward
Stephanie Madison Schenck, Clemson University
- 113 Hibridez, letramiento y ecofeminismo: Imágenes de resistencia en *Hija de la
laguna* de Ernesto Cabellos
Fritz Culp, University of South Carolina
- 125 La imagen de *Rinconete y Cortadillo* a través de las emociones
Roxana Ambrosini, Florida Atlantic University

Notes from the Classroom

- 137 Dificuldade na utilização dos artigos que antecedem os possessivos para
hispanofalantes
Gabriel Orlando Quiñones Maldonado, Bircham University (Madrid)

Book Review

- 143 Balderston, Daniel. *How Borges Wrote*.
Faith Blackhurst, University of California-Davis

Editor's Message

Stacey Margarita Johnson

Vanderbilt University

I am excited to share with our readers this volume of *Spanish and Portuguese Review (SPR)*, the fifth volume overall and the first under my editorial direction. My tenure as editor follows in the footsteps of two wonderful colleagues: previous editor Cory Duclos and founding editor David Wiseman. As with our previous four volumes, this year's features a diverse collection of articles touching on a wide range of disciplines under the Spanish and Portuguese umbrella. Also consistent with previous volumes, the graduate students who have contributed to this volume as authors, reviewers, and editors have excelled both in their scholarship and their professionalism.

One of the things I love about academic journals is how they put scholars in conversation with one another. As a reader, I enjoy working my way through an entire volume of a journal and seeing how different themes, ideas, and even citations reoccur in seemingly disparate kinds of articles. That is particularly true of this volume of *Spanish and Portuguese Review* because of the diverse backgrounds of the authors.

In addition to seeing how themes reoccur across articles in a single volume of a journal, it is also interesting to see how articles in one volume refer back to ideas in the same and other journals. I find this so interesting, in fact, that when I approach an article, before I ever start reading the article itself, I first read the abstract then go straight to the references list or works cited to see who else the author or authors have brought into the conversation. You can learn a lot about an author's argument and scope by paying attention to the works cited and the works left out. On whose arguments is this author building? Whose work is relevant here? Academic publishing is a long conversation between scholars on topics of mutual expertise. With whom is this author engaged in conversation? As readers, we also have to ask: should other scholars or other works also be included in this conversation?

That last question is the one that has inspired a new emphasis in this volume of *SPR*. Our new section, called "In Response," will feature short papers that directly respond to existing scholarship. These response articles, which we hope will become a mainstay of the journal over time, will bring new perspectives and integrate new voices into the ongoing scholarly conversation. In this volume, James Coda responds to an *Hispania* article from December 2018 and argues that Queer Theory can make important contributions in 21st-century classrooms.

The articles selected for Volume 5 of *SPR* represent a wide variety of universities and disciplinary backgrounds, including several related to language and linguistics. Alberto Fernández-Diego presents data collected in an experimental study on the effects of explicit pronunciation instruction in a beginning language course. Additionally, Matthew Griffin argues a compelling case for the teaching of the subject pronoun “vos” in Spanish classes, and Stephanie Madison Schenck reviews the literature on Integrated Performance Assessments and guides teachers on their use in the classroom. Angelica Amezcua also provides readers with her study of Heritage Learners’ motivations for language maintenance by highlighting learners’ voices in this qualitative study.

On the literature and cultural studies side, we have a variety of articles that bring new insights to the ongoing scholarly conversation. Susana Costa Amaral curates a series of images that serve as entry points to Brasil’s current and historical political landscape. Angela Mooney analyzes indigenous identity construction in the book *Metade cara, metade máscara* by Eliane Potiguara. In a juxtaposition of the urban and the rural, Paula Thomas explores shared urban spaces in the short story “Santiago” by Alberto Fuguet and is followed by Fritz Culp taking us into Ernesto Cabellos’ film *Hija de la laguna* to explore resistance in rural spaces. Finally, Roxana Ambrosini takes a cognitive approach to the analysis of emotion in Cervantes’ *Rinconete y Cortadillo*.

Readers might also notice that this volume of the journal includes a section called “Notes from the Classroom.” In this section, we anticipate that graduate student scholars will report on topics of interest to teachers of Spanish and Portuguese in a way that is less dependent on existing research and more closely connected to their experiences working with students. Conversations about our classroom experiences are an important part of our shared professional development as teachers of Spanish and Portuguese.

Journals like *Spanish and Portuguese Review* and our sister journal, *Hispania*, which is also published by the American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese (AATSP), have an even broader scope than many other journals because they include scholars in literature, culture, pedagogy, linguistics, area studies, and other disciplines. We also publish in three languages: English, Spanish, and Portuguese. This interdisciplinary and multilingual approach brings *SPR* into conversation with a wide range of scholarship and allows us to publish pieces that break with traditional disciplinary boundaries. We at *SPR* are well aware of how much each of our authors’ disciplines and languages enriches our field and our journal, and we think readers will agree that the end result is a valuable extension of the scholarly conversation in our field.

Guest Editorial: Why Journals Dialogue with Each Other

Earl Fitz

Vanderbilt University

As you begin to organize your next publication, you might consider the argument you have in mind in terms of the needs of the journal you have selected to contact. There's more of a connection here than you might think, and it can work to your advantage. A good scholarly journal wants to be in a dialogue with its competitors and cohorts; it does not wish to exist in isolation. It exists because its editors and readers want it to be a recognized and respected player in our profession, a fount of the best and most engaging thought from scholars, young and old, working today.

Why is this so, and what does it have to do with the essay you're going to submit for consideration?

The answer is simple: its relevancy. The journal you're interested in seeks to be relevant to current critical debates in the field. If it's not, it runs the risk of falling into irrelevancy, an outcome that is as deleterious for you as it is for the journal.

So, knowing this, how should you proceed?

I suggest that, as you are drafting your new study, you cite perhaps three other scholars who have published pertinent essays in your journal or in related journals. In my experience, as the author of a few critical studies and as an editor and reader of others, I find two citations to be a bit thin but four or more to be too many. Three seems to be a good number, as, without being excessive in doing so, it allows you to situate your argument in the context of what you consider the most germane studies that exist.

I further suggest that, in concise form, you sum up the basic argument of each of these other studies and how yours would relate to them. The point of doing this is to show that (1) you know what the most up-to-date bibliography is; that (2) you can demonstrate how and why your argument contributes to the current debate; and (3) how the argument made in your study advances our understanding of the question at hand.

To proceed in this fashion has a two-fold value: it will help you write a stronger, more convincing essay (one with a better chance of being published), and it will keep your journal engaged with others in the field. You will benefit from this tactic but so does your journal, a point not lost on its editorial staff.

Beware, however, of padding, of adding unnecessary or extraneous citations to your essay simply to make yourself seem more "scholarly." In an article-sized study, this will work against you and lessen your chances of having your piece

accepted. Be judicious about the other studies you mention. Make certain they are the most important ones. By highlighting these essays and not others, you show that you are writing as an informed scholar, that you know what is going on in your field. And that you can demonstrate how your argument speaks to the arguments these other studies are making. This is how the professional dialogue that you and your journal want to be a part of develops.

As much as possible, eschew jargon. Use it only to make a point or to explain something. Do not allow it to characterize your style. Cultivate instead precision of thought and clarity of expression.

In this same regard, I would like to pass along to you something that our colleague, the late, great Gregory Rabassa, once told me about being a useful, productive scholar: “Have something to say, then say it.”

The writing strategy I’ve suggested here doesn’t always result in a publication, of course. When we shoot on goal we don’t always score. Not even Pelé scored all the time. But if followed, I can assure you that this system will help you become a better, more cogent writer of scholarly articles. And this, the most important thing, will increase your odds of getting published.

Pushing the Limits of Innovation and Scholarship in the Teaching of Spanish and Portuguese: Insights from Queer Theory

James Coda

University of Georgia

A response to “Once Again ‘On the Threshold’: Innovative Scholarship in *Hispania* in the Twenty-First Century Invests in Pedagogy and Partnerships”

Keywords: Queer Theory, queer pedagogy, queer inquiry, transdisciplinary, identities, gender, sexuality, scholarship, pedagogy

Reflecting on the innovative and transdisciplinary work of world language (WL) programs in spite of a decrease in funding, Brady (2018) calls for Spanish and Portuguese educators to “adjust to meet students’ needs (e.g., to create career-focused curriculum, experiential learning opportunities, etc.)” (490) and “to offer dynamic programs that contribute to helping students become well-rounded, creative thinkers who do good in their communities and in the world” (490). As such, Brady’s discussion of “boundary crossing” (490), or transdisciplinarity, has been taken up recently in scholarship related to Second Language Acquisition (SLA) and Applied Linguistics (see Byrd Clark 2016; Douglas Fir Group 2016) so as to validate disciplines but to also encourage conversations across boundaries (Douglas Fir Group 2016: 20). While the affordances of such transdisciplinary conversations have “inspired new lines of pedagogy scholarship” (Brady 2018: 491) in journals such as *Hispania* whereby the arts, linguistics, film, history, etc. are utilized together rather than separately to generate different lines of inquiry, an area often absent from such conversations is that of queer theory/queer inquiry/queer pedagogy in world language education (WLE). Whereas the field of Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) has invited queer inquiry into research and practice (see Nelson 1999) and the study of literature in Spanish and Portuguese has often engaged with sexuality and gender, WLE largely remains mostly heterosexual in the curriculum, materials, and pedagogy. While I concur with Brady’s assertion that Spanish and Portuguese pedagogy and scholarship, as well as *Hispania*, seek to foster innovation and a more well-rounded citizenry, it is imperative that we do not forget the insights offered by previous research on gender, sexuality, and queering the language classroom. Furthermore, engaging with such aspects in scholarship and pedagogy can ensure that Spanish and Portuguese, as well as WLE more broadly, do not dismiss the centrality of such identities and issues

in pedagogical and scholastic innovations.

In the articles highlighted by Brady's (2018) review of innovation in pedagogy and scholarship in *Hispania*, Brady emphasizes the affordances of the multiplicity of sectors in encouraging a "variety of perspectives" (493). While I concur with Brady's assertion that communication between sectors such as military and civilian WLE is essential to developing a citizenry that is critical and creative, I do, however, encourage WLE to transverse other disciplinary boundaries, such as gender and sexuality studies. Before discussing how the disciplines of gender and sexuality studies have been utilized in WLE and can be productive for such an endeavor suggested by Brady, it is necessary to briefly mention identity. In the fields of Applied Linguistics and SLA, identity-related research (see Norton Peirce 1995; Norton 2013) has approached identity not as a static, fixed part of the humanistic conception of the individual, but rather, as contradictory and multiple (Norton 2013). In contrast to prior SLA research that centered upon what the learner could do, thereby positioning the learner as a "language learning machine" (Pennycook 2001: 143), the emergence of identity-related scholarship has emphasized the centrality of the social world of the learner. In contrast to cognitive perspectives that locate language within the individual, identity-related research and specifically, poststructuralist perspectives have encouraged scholars to reorient notions of language, discourse, and the subject. In relation to gender and sexuality, then, Judith Butler's (1990) *Gender Trouble* and Michel Foucault's (1978) *History of Sexuality* introduced the notions of gender as performative and sexuality as discursively produced.

In language education, such theoretical influences have encouraged scholars to examine the ways in which norms, particularly heteronormativity, operate within the language classroom and beyond. In contexts such as Spanish and Portuguese studies, however, the influence of colonization, and its impacts and intersections related to race, gender, and sexuality, is also a salient aspect that is ripe to consider when confronting normativity in the language classroom. Therefore, considering intersectionality, or the entanglement of social categories (Norton and De Costa 2018), can be productive for examining legacies of colonization and heteronormativity within the target language and culture. Moreover, as the language classroom is a space where acts of identity are accomplished through listening, speaking, reading, and writing (Nelson 2009: 13), scholarship in TESOL and WLE began to interrogate the ways in which heteronormativity was reproduced in the classroom discourse (see De Vicenti, Giovanangeli, and Ward 2007; Liddicoat 2009; Nelson 1999, 2009) and how instructors could challenge the heteronormative context through queering their pedagogy (Curran 2006). Queer Theory, which disavows labels as it draws upon poststructuralist reticence towards fixed categories, has been one such approach to confronting classroom and curricular heteronormativity. The theoretical and methodological insights of intersectional approaches, or the interrogation of

the mutually inflecting categories of race, gender, class, nation, and sexuality (Cho, Crenshaw, and McCall 2013), can illustrate how such social categories are “overlapping and interdependent” (Norton and De Costa 2018: 94), while being productive in examining power relations (Cho, Crenshaw, and McCall 2013). More specifically, Nelson’s (1999, 2009) work has encouraged scholarship and pedagogy to engage with queer inquiry in the classroom. Queer inquiry, developed from the insights of Queer Theory, serves as a way to problematize the production of all sexualities (Nelson 1999). Taking upon Brady’s assertion to engage with transdisciplinarity in teaching and research related to Spanish and Portuguese, Queer Theory and queer pedagogy/inquiry invite us to consider what is normal and how normal has been produced in and through the target language and culture. Moreover, the transdisciplinary nature of the articles in *Hispania* highlighted by Brady can be a form of queering our research and pedagogy as we remove rigid, fixed disciplinary boundaries, and instead, invite fluidity in and through our pedagogy and scholarship, thereby stretching the boundaries of what is thinkable and permissible.

Through the insights of Queer Theory and queer inquiry/pedagogy, Spanish and Portuguese teachers and scholars can invite their students to question “normal” and how normalcy produces exclusion for LGBTQIA+ and other students who may not align with such normative notions. As there is a dearth of research related to sexuality in the language classroom (see Nelson 2009), it is imperative that language scholars engage more with the insights of Queer Theory in their research so that we do not continue to perpetuate inequality by ignoring underrepresented groups in the classroom. Moreover, in the classroom, it is thereby essential to begin considering the affordances of queering pedagogies so as to destabilize classroom heteronormativity. For example, queering the classroom may not just be the inclusion of non-normative sexual identities, but rather, examining and problematizing the norms of the target language and culture. In a recent presentation that I conducted on queering the language classroom with WL educators, an audience member discussed how she was able to engage with sexuality in her high school level Spanish class. To accomplish this task, the teacher showed the students a picture of two women holding hands in a Spanish-speaking country. By asking students why these women might be holding hands, she invited an array of responses and questions about the target language and culture. After explaining that it is a cultural norm to do so in that country, she then was able to confront students’ homophobic assumptions related to the photo. As a language educator and emerging scholar who believes that the classroom is a space for developing not only communicative competence, but rather, examining the social rules implicated within the target language and culture, I believe that it is time for not only Spanish and Portuguese educators and scholars to engage with Queer Theory, queer inquiry, and queer pedagogy, but rather all WL educators. The implications, then, for engaging with such

concepts are tied not only to fostering the “well-rounded creative thinker” (490) to which Brady (2018) refers, but rather, creating a space in research and pedagogy that invites us to question normal and to ensure that we do not perpetuate inequalities in the classroom and our research.

Works cited

- Brady, Jennifer. (2018). “Once Again ‘On the Threshold’: Innovative Scholarship in Hispania in the Twenty-First Century Invests in Pedagogy and Partnerships.” *Hispania* 101.4: 489-495.
- Butler, Judith. (1990). *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York, Routledge. Print.
- Byrd Clark, Julie S. (2016). “Introduction to the Special Issue: Transdisciplinary Approaches to Language Learning and Teaching in Transnational Times.” *L2 Journal* 8.4: 3-19.
- Cho, Sumi, Crenshaw, Kimberle W., and McCall, Leslie. (2013). “Toward a field of Intersectionality Studies: Theory, Applications and Praxis.” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 38.4: 785-810.
- De Vicenti, Gloria, Giovanangeli, Angela, and Ward, Rowena. (2007). “The Queer Stopover: How Queer Travels in the Language Classroom.” *Electronic Journal of Foreign Language Teaching* 4: 58-72.
- Douglas Fir Group. (2016). “A Transdisciplinary Framework for SLA in a Multilingual World.” *Modern Language Journal* 16: 19-47.
- Foucault, Michel. (1978). *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1: An Introduction*. New York, Vintage Books. Print.
- Liddicoat, Anthony J. (2009). “Sexual Identity as Linguistic Failure: Trajectories of Interaction in the Heteronormative Language Classroom.” *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education* 8: 191-202.
- Nelson, Cynthia D. (1999). “Sexual Identities in ESL: Queer Theory and Classroom Inquiry.” *TESOL Quarterly* 3.33: 371-391.
- (2009). *Sexual Identities in English Language Education*. New York, Routledge. Print.
- Norton, Bonny. (2013). *Identity and Language Learning: Extending the Conversation*. Bristol, Multilingual Matters. Print.
- Norton Peirce, Bonny. (1995). “Social Identity, Investment, and Language Learning.” *TESOL Quarterly* 29.1: 9-31.
- Norton, Bonnie and De Costa, Peter I. (2018). “Research Tasks on Identity in Language Teaching and Learning.” *Language Teaching* 51.1: 90-112.
- Pennycook, Alastair. (2001). *Critical Applied Linguistics: A Critical Introduction*. London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc. Print.

Explicit Pronunciation Instruction in the Beginning Spanish Classroom: The Case of the Tap and Trill

Alberto Fernández-Diego

University of Florida

Abstract: This study investigates the effects of explicit instruction on the second language (L2) pronunciation of the Spanish rhotics /ɾ/ and /r/. Participants were English speakers enrolled in beginning Spanish classes. Instruction for the experimental group consisted of form-focused phonetics instruction, including videos, articulatory visuals, imitation tasks, and targeted use of Praat (Boersma and Weenick 2018). Pre- and post-test oral productions were analyzed via acoustic analysis, and student attitudes and experiences were assessed via the Pronunciation Attitude Inventory (Elliott 1995). Results indicate that the experimental group improved their production of the target sounds significantly, while the control group did not. Although student reactions were mixed, we conclude that the incorporation of explicit instruction in beginning level classes is indeed beneficial.

Keywords: rhotics, phonetics, phonology, instruction, acoustic analysis

Introduction

This study originates from the conviction that explicit instruction in Spanish second language (L2) pronunciation is beneficial, as a growing body of research has continued to document (e.g., Derwing and Munro 2005; George 2014; González-Bueno 1997; Lord 2005; Martinsen, Montgomery and Willardson 2017; Morin 2007; *inter alia*). The goal of the project was to contribute further evidence documenting that L2 pronunciation can be successfully taught in a classroom setting. To do so, we explore a population of first-semester beginning learners of Spanish. In addition to investigating the linguistic outcomes of explicit pronunciation instruction, we also sought to further explore student perspectives and attitudes, both towards pronunciation and towards its instruction, and how these may relate to their L2 production.

The particular phonological focus of this study is the Spanish rhotic sounds which differ from considerably from the English rhotics, in terms of both their distribution and their articulation. In standard dialects of Spanish,¹ there are two rhotic sounds: the tap /ɾ/ and the trill /r/. In terms of distribution, the trill is found in word initial position or after the consonants /l/, /n/, and /s/,

1 While we recognize the rich and interesting variations that these sounds enjoy throughout Spanish-speaking world, we focus specifically here on the “standard” tap and trill sounds, following the approach that most beginning Spanish textbooks take. Since our goal is to determine the effectiveness of instruction on L2 sounds, our focus here is on beginning learners’ ability to produce the canonical tap and trill in the appropriate contexts; once they have acquired those sounds learners can then explore their rich dialectal variation.

and the tap in most other contexts. Crucially though, both sounds can occur in word-medial intervocalic position; in some contexts (e.g., word final), both tap /ɾ/ and trill /r/ can occur in free variation. This distribution and corresponding examples are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Distribution of Spanish rhotics tap and trill

Context	Sound	Examples
Word-initial	trill /r/	<i>ratón</i> “mouse”
After tautosyllabic consonant	tap /ɾ/	<i>primo</i> “cousin” <i>brisa</i> “breeze” <i>grifo</i> “faucet”
Word-internal intervocalic	tap /ɾ/ or trill /r/	<i>pero</i> “but” <i>perro</i> “dog”
Word-/Phrase-final	tap /ɾ/ or trill /r/	<i>¡A comer!</i>

Although there is some debate as to whether these sounds are phonemes or allophones (Hualde 2005; Henriksen 2015), what is important from an acquisition perspective is that the learner must determine the appropriate contexts in Spanish for each sound. In addition, the production of these sounds can be problematic for L2 learners, given that the rhotics differ considerably from English rhotics and tend to require relatively more articulatory control than in English, especially in the case of the trill (e.g., Face 2006; González-Bueno 2005; Hualde 2005; Rose 2010; Weech 2009).

Previous Work

Despite the fact that previous work has documented the benefits of the instruction of pronunciation (e.g., Bailey and Brandl 2013; Bajuniemi et al. 2015; Counselman 2015; Elliott 1995, 1997, 2003; González-Bueno 1997; Kissling 2015; Lord 2005, 2008, 2010; Rodríguez-Sabater 2005), there remains a lack of pronunciation instruction in Spanish language textbooks and courses. As such, many instructors of Spanish neglect this aspect of language teaching in their classrooms, often because they do not feel capable of teaching it correctly (e.g., Lord and Fionda 2013) or because, as yet, there is not an agreed-upon best method of doing so, especially at the lowest levels. What’s more, research on the acquisition of the Spanish rhotics is relatively minimal, considering their salience and the obvious differences with English (Reeder 1998; Olsen 2012).

The Spanish rhotics make for fertile testing ground given their articulation and distribution, especially in light of Flege’s Speech Learning Model (SLM; 1987, 1995). According to this model, L2 sounds that are perceived as ‘similar’ existing L1 sounds will be the most difficult for learners to acquire, as they will

likely be categorized into the existing L1 category and will thus be produced as that L1 sound. On the other hand, L2 sounds that are unlike any L1 sounds will be perceived as different, or ‘new,’ and will trigger the creation of a new L2 category, thus ensuring that the sound is produced with L2 characteristics.² Since the Spanish tap is indeed similar to English sounds—both the rhotic represented by the letter “r” and the tap represented by the double letters “tt” and “dd”—this sound would be considered a similar phone under Flege’s model, and would therefore likely result in acquisition difficulties. The fact that Spanish and English share orthography for these sounds further complicates the issue. The SLM would predict that L2 learners of Spanish will categorize the Spanish tap as the English rhotic, thus producing an English-like alveolar approximant instead of the Spanish tap. In the case of the trill, the predictions are not as straightforward. The lack of any similar sound in (American) English would indicate that L2 learners of Spanish would have no difficulty perceiving and categorizing the Spanish trill as a new sound; furthermore, its salience makes it perceivable as a distinct or non-English-like sound. However, the physiological demands of the articulation of the sound are demanding, and the situation is again complicated by orthographic similarities between English and Spanish. Thus, the SLM would predict the formation of a new category for the trill, but articulatory challenges might prevent its correct articulation.

Previous work on the acquisition of the Spanish rhotics tends to bear out these predictions, showing that the tap and the trill both tend to be problematic for (L1-English) L2 learners of Spanish. Menke (2017) pointed out that even bilingual (Spanish-English) children in preschool have difficulties producing the Spanish trill, especially as their exposure to English increases. Others (e.g., Rose 2012) have found that even though adult L1 English speakers are better able to discriminating the Spanish rhotics /r/ and /r/ from each other than to discriminate other contrasts (e.g. /r/ and /d/), these same learners continue to have difficulty producing the Spanish sounds. Olsen’s (2012) work sheds some light on to this difficulty by exploring L1 articulatory routines (i.e., the physical features required to articulate the sounds). He found that these L1 routines continue to affect production of the Spanish tap and trill, namely that there is English-based influence in their productions.

With these difficulties in mind, this study set out to explore ways in which learners can overcome such articulatory production problems. Recent work in the area of instructed second language phonology has provided evidence in favor of the use of different technology (such as Praat) in the classroom. For example, work by Lord (2005) and Olson (2014a, 2014b) has consistently shown that incorporation of spectrogram analysis into even lower-level language classes can help learners improve their pronunciation. While less work with these tools has explored the specific case of the Spanish rhotics, Velázquez-López and Lord (2017) provide evidence in favor of this approach with the Spanish trill. They

found that beginning-level students who received explicit instruction using voice analysis software for demonstration, practice and self-assessment improved their production significantly over the course of a one-semester beginning Spanish class. Therefore, it is with these promising previous findings in mind that we designed the present study.

Methodology

Research Questions and Hypotheses

The aim of this study was to add to our current understanding of what aspects of L2 Spanish pronunciation can benefit from explicit instruction, as well as the outcomes in terms of student attitudes. Two research questions guided the study:

1. Does explicit pronunciation instruction aid L2 learners in their pronunciation of the Spanish tap and trill?
2. Do learner motivation and attitudes towards pronunciation change after receiving explicit instruction?

We predicted general positive effects of instruction on the developing L2 pronunciation of the rhotics, following previous research (e.g., Kissling 2013, 2015). Additionally, we hypothesized that instruction would positively impact students' attitudes towards the relevance and importance of L2 pronunciation, as others have also found (e.g., Lord 2008; Kutlu Demir 2017).

Participants

Our participants were 30 undergraduate students enrolled in two sections of Beginning Spanish 1 at the University of Florida during Summer 2018. All participants were native speakers of English with minimal or no background in Spanish. One section, the control group, was comprised of 17 students (8 males, 9 females; mean age 21.77 years), while the other section was the experimental group, and included 13 students (6 males, 7 females; mean age 20.54 years). Given university admission requirements, all students had two years of foreign language in high school, so participants had had between zero and two years of high school Spanish classes prior to enrolling in this course, taken anywhere between one and four years previously. Those who studied languages other than Spanish in high school had studied French or Latin. Regardless, the Beginning Spanish course is designed for students with little or no background in Spanish.

Basic Spanish pronunciation instruction was included in the class textbook, primarily in the online activities students completed for homework, and these courses tend not to devote any class time to discussing, correcting or practicing pronunciation. Therefore, the treatment that the experimental group received,

as described in the next section, was substantially different than what the control group received, and what typical beginning language students experience.

Experimental Treatment

The course met five days a week during a six-week summer semester. Each class period lasted 75 minutes, with class time focusing on task-based communicative activities. The control group followed the activities in the textbook. In the experimental group, class time was supplemented with a daily form-focused instruction (around 7 minutes) regarding particularly problematic aspects of Spanish pronunciation. Each week focused on a different sound or group of sounds, and the rhotics instruction lasted one five-day week. The approach to the form-focused pronunciation instruction consisted of various approaches, including both perception and production (e.g., Saito 2013) and ranging from imitation (e.g., Nguyen and Delvaux 2015; Pickering and Garrod 2013; Trofimovich and Gathbonton 2006) and repetition to other more open-ended production techniques. Instruction also included explanations of the contrast between the sounds, including images depicting their articulation and tips for production. Of particular use were lessons created from materials presented at previous CASPSLaP Ignite sessions (see <https://caspslap-ignite2018.weebly.com/about.html>); these are a series of an interactive, pedagogically-focused free presentations to assist Spanish instructors with incorporating pronunciation into their classes. For example, materials including rhotics instruction (Morgan 2014) offer learners tricks to produce these by eliciting the pronunciation of a statement in English, thus reinforcing to students that they are already capable of producing certain sounds, even if they are in a different context.³ Instructional techniques also incorporated the use of Praat (Boersma and Weenick 2018) to provide spectrogram and waveform visuals for learners. Doing so allowed them to see and measure the differences in the physical dimensions of the rhotics, both of their own speech and others'.

During the workshops, the practice consisted of producing words containing the segments, starting with the tap and followed by the trill. Also, it is important to note that the practice started individually, so the students could warm up and feel comfortable with the activity, after which paired and group activities followed. The students then worked in small groups and were encouraged to correct and help their peers. Meanwhile, the instructor, who was making sure that everybody in class was participating, eventually corrected the students using recasts and other types of corrective feedback (Saito and Lyster 2012; Kissling 2013) as necessary.

Tasks and Data

A pre-test was administered to both groups at the beginning of the term, consisting of a background questionnaire (with the goal of eliminating participants with significant previous experience in Spanish), an oral recording, and the Pronunciation Attitude Inventory (PAI; Elliott 1995). The oral recordings elicited learner speech that contained a variety of target sounds in contextualized phrases (see Appendix A) and were carried out in a language laboratory to minimize background noise. Elliott's (1995) PAI (see Appendix B) was used to gauge participants' attitudes towards the importance of Spanish pronunciation and their motivation or desire to improve their own pronunciation. This instrument contains twelve statements about learning pronunciation, to which students react by indicating on a scale of 1-5 the degree to which the statements are true for them, (1=not at all true, 5=always true). Previous research has shown that attitude is one of the factors that can correlate with more native-like pronunciation (e.g., Hurtado and Estrada 2010; Kissling 2014) and, as such, we wanted to determine the relationship between attitude and potential effects of instruction.

At the end of the semester, the learners completed the post-test version of these same instruments, providing a post-treatment oral recording of the same target sounds, and a post-treatment assessment of their attitudes. These instruments allowed for an assessment of any changes over time.

Results

In this section we present the results of both the oral production task and the PAI survey. In the following section we will discuss the implications of these findings in light of what they tell us about our research questions.

Tap and Trill Production

Target sounds were identified as those segments that were produced in their corresponding tap or trill contexts; these sounds were isolated from the pre-test and post-test recordings for each participant and individually analyzed in Praat. Through visual examination of the waveform and spectrogram we identified the number (if any) of occlusions during the articulation of those target sounds; segments produced with one occlusion were identified as taps, while those with two or more closures were interpreted as trills.⁴ Conversely, a lack of any break in the airflow was interpreted as a non-target realization, as that articulation generally corresponds to the English-like alveolar approximant sounds. In order to assess overall production, we calculated an accuracy score for each participant at each testing time by awarding 1 point for a tap produced in a tap context or a trill produced in a trill context, and 0 points for any other realizations. Subsequently, in trill contexts we further categorized non-target productions

by noting if a tap was produced. Tables 2 and 3 present the average accuracy scores for each group at both testing times, for the tap and trill, respectively.

Table 2. Average tape accuracy score (and standard deviation) per group

	Pre-test	Post-test
Control Group	24.18% (6.36)	23.27% (5.52)
Experimental Group	21.03% (5.95)	56.04% (10.25)

Table 3. Average trill accuracy score (and standard deviation) per group

	Pre-test	Post-test
Control Group	4.90% (2.15)	1.96% (1.14)
Experimental Group	1.92% (1.38))	14.10% (5.69)

As can be seen in the tables, the Control Group did not improve in their accuracy of either the tap or the trill between the two tests, while the accuracy of the Experimental Group’s production did improve over time. Figures 1 and 2 below show the participants’ accuracy changes over time for the tap and trill, respectively, lined up by degree of change. Note that there are not always the same number of bars as participants, because when there was no change from pre- to post-test, no bar appears.

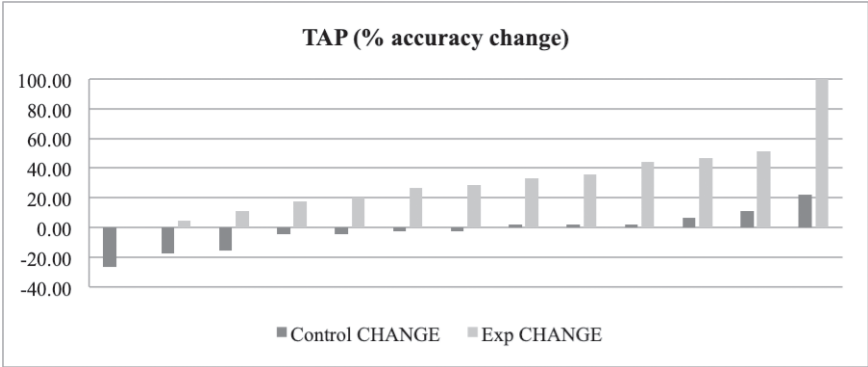


Fig. 1. Percentage accuracy change on tap production between pre-test and post-test

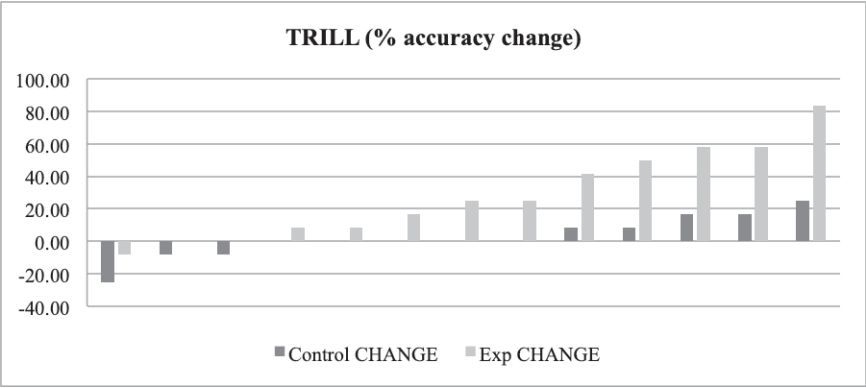


Fig. 2. Percentage accuracy change on trill production between pre-test and post-test

As these numbers and graphs make clear, the performance of these groups over time differed. It is evident that some participants in the Control Group gained in accuracy, but others declined and many stayed the same, while all but a few participants in the Experimental Group improved, and to a greater degree than those in the Control Group. This pattern holds true for both the tap and trill sounds.

To determine if these changes were statistically significant, paired t-tests were run on the pre-to-post-test scores for each group on each sound. Table 4 illustrates the results of these procedures, and confirms that the improvement evidenced on both sounds by the Experimental Group was significant, while the changes for the Control Group were not. The Control Group’s trill changes approached significance, but recall that their overall average accuracy was lower on the posttest than the pretest. We ran additional t-tests to determine if the accuracy levels of the two groups at the beginning of the semester were comparable; this test revealed no significant differences between the two groups’ pre-test productions on either sound.

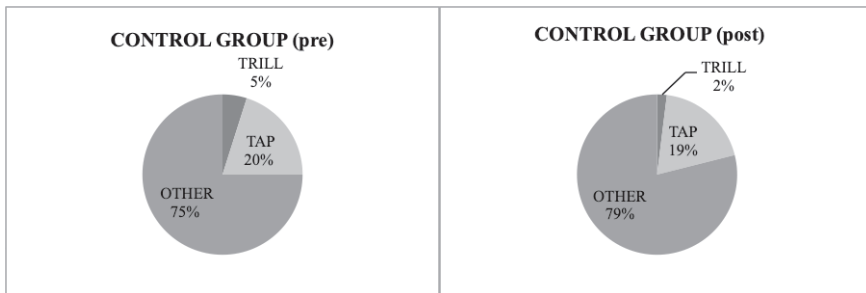
Table 4. T-test comparisons of pre-post accuracy

Group	Comparison	t	df	Significance
Control	Tap pre/post	.329	16	.747
	Trill pre/post	2.073	16	.055
Experimental	Tap pre/post	-3.664	12	.03*
	Trill pre/post	-2.502	12	.028*

*Note: * indicates significance at the 0.05 level.*

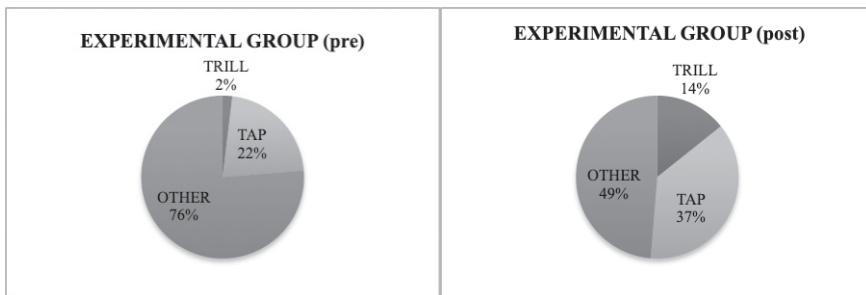
Recall as well that we were interested in exploring what the learners produced in trill contexts if they did not produce the trill, given the articulatory

challenges involved in producing the target sound. Most native speakers would agree that in the absence of a trill, a tap is a preferable production to an English-like realization in that context, so although learners were not provided with additional instruction on alternative realizations, we were nonetheless curious to see if they increased their tap production in trill contexts. Figures 3 through 6 illustrate the relative productions of trill, tap and “other” sounds, which includes all other non-target utterances (but almost exclusively refers to English like approximants). While we already saw that the Control Group’s production of the trill did not improve, Figures 3 and 4 also reveal that their production of taps in trill contexts remained constant over the course of the semester.



Figs. 3 and 4. Pre-test and post-test realizations in trill contexts (Control Group)

On the other hand, an examination of the Experimental Group’s productions as depicted in Figures 5 and 6 reveals a different pattern.



Figs. 5 and 6: Pre-test and post-test realizations in trill contexts (Experimental Group)

In addition to the fact that their trill production increased significantly, as was already discussed, the Experimental Group also increased their production of taps in trill contexts from 22% to 37%, which subsequently resulted in a decrease of their “other”—or English-like—non-target productions in those contexts.

Pronunciation Attitude Inventory (PAI)

Elliott’s PAI was used to assess changes in participants’ attitudes towards pronunciation and their interest and ability to produce Spanish sounds. Par-

ticipant responses were tallied at each test time for a total score of between 12 (if they had selected 1 for all 12 items) and 60 (if they had selected 5 for all 12 items); higher scores indicate a generally more positive attitude towards learning and using foreign language production than a lower score. The Control Group started the semester with an average PAI score of 46.93 and ended the semester with an average of 46.17; while this relatively high score indicates that these learners were overall reasonably interested in acquiring Spanish pronunciation, it also shows that these attitudes were constant over the course of the semester. Similarly, the Experimental Group's average on the PAI at the beginning of the semester was 47.59, and at the end of the semester it was 47.71, again indicating a relative but constant interest in improving their pronunciation. Paired t-tests reveal that the pre-semester and post-semester scores were statistically equal for both the Control Group ($t=0.330$, $p=0.746$) and for the Experimental Group ($t=-0.079$, $p=0.938$); and further that there was no change in either group's scores from pre- to post-test.

Conclusions

We now revisit our original research questions, in light of the results just discussed. Our first question asked if explicit pronunciation instruction helped L2 learners in their pronunciation of the Spanish tap and trill. We assessed learner production of these two target sounds through acoustic analysis of their oral data before and after the semester and found that the participants who received explicit classroom instruction improved significantly from the pretest to the posttest, while participants who did not receive this instruction did not change their pronunciation over the course of the study. Further, in addition to significant improvement in overall accuracy of both the tap and the trill sounds, the Experimental Group also decreased their non-target productions in trill contexts by producing not only more trills but also more taps (as opposed to English-like utterances); this change was not evidenced in the Control Group. Thus, in answer to the first research question, we can conclude that yes, the inclusion of explicit instruction clearly benefitted learner pronunciation, at least on these two sounds. In this respect, this research confirms that of previous scholars who have also found that devoting class time to pronunciation is a worthwhile endeavor (e.g., Lord 2005). This study also adds to the growing body of literature that explores the effectiveness of incorporating this kind of pronunciation instruction at lower levels of language education (e.g., Olsen 2012), rather than waiting until upper level classes of language education.

Generally speaking, these results are plausible under Flege's SLM. The L2 learners in both groups exhibited clear difficulty with both sounds at the beginning of the study. We can presume that difficulties with the tap resulted from a failure to establish a new category for the Spanish sound, while difficulties with

the trill were either because of a problem with category formation or due to articulatory challenges; unfortunately the current data do not allow us to assess the root of those problems. However, in both cases it seems that instruction was beneficial to the experimental group in overcoming their difficulties. In the case of the tap, we assume that the explicit instruction allowed learners to be aware of the need for a new category for the Spanish sound, and to begin to create that category to replace the English alveolar approximant. In the case of the trill, we might assume a similar process, although it seems less likely that category formation was the issue given the salience and uniqueness of the trill sound. If we assume that the initial low accuracy rates were a result of articulatory difficulties instead, we can see that the specific instructional techniques, which focused on articulation, visualization, production, and self-analysis, allowed the learners to begin to overcome the physiological challenges of producing the tap. Thus, while the SLM can help us predict where learners will need additional support in the acquisition of L2 sounds, explicit instruction can help learners overcome the challenges, both in terms of category formation and articulation. While we used a more formal task (reading) to assess pronunciation, previous work (e.g., Elliott 1997, Major 1986, Zampini 1994) has shown that different levels of task formality may result in different levels of self-monitoring, and thus in differences in learner pronunciation. Future work should endeavor to extend these classroom findings by incorporating different levels of task formality to further understand this relationship.

The answer to our second research question, which asked if learner attitudes and motivation with respect to pronunciation experienced any change after receiving explicit instruction, is less clear-cut. Recall that both groups began with a relatively high PAI score in the mid 40s, indicating that they were already positively predisposed to the importance of pronunciation in their Spanish studies; neither group's scores changed over the course of the term, indicating that their attitudes towards pronunciation remained stable during the study.

At the same time though, and in the interest of further understanding student reactions to explicit pronunciation instruction, the Experimental Group completed a short survey asking for their input regarding the pronunciation lessons they received over the course of the term. (Although not a quantitative data source, and not viable for comparative purposes since only the Experimental Group's reactions were sought, anecdotal data-points such as these can prove valuable in an exploratory study such as this one.) As can be seen from these selected excerpts, the comments were frequently a hybrid of displeasure and appreciation (see Appendix C for complete student responses):

- “The pronunciation workshops felt very tedious sometimes, however, I'm very glad that we did them and I am very happy with how much I learned.”
- “I enjoyed the fact that we were forced to practice in front of

everyone and make mistakes.”

- “I was always amazed how much I could decipher given the class is only 6 weeks.”
- “The pronunciation workshops were SO helpful. They were frustrating, but worth it.”

In line with what others have found as well (e.g., Lord 2008), therefore, student reactions seemed to be mixed: while they might not have enjoyed all the lessons at the time, upon reflection they recognize their usefulness and have come to appreciate the value of explicit instruction in pronunciation. These kinds of reactions are encouraging, as we continue to strive for effective and engaging ways to provide language learners with all the building blocks they need for communication. Furthermore, this type of student feedback is useful for instructors who wish to incorporate explicit pronunciation into their classes, and can help researchers to contextualize empirical findings with learner-based perspectives on the value of different educational approaches.

As with any study, there are of course some limitations that future work would benefit from rectifying. First and foremost, like many classroom-based studies, we are limited by the sample size available to us; pronunciation research often is based on data from one or two classes, as we have done here, although a large-scale, multi-class study would allow us to confirm if the consistently positive findings from our small-scale studies can indeed be generalized to larger populations. In addition, this study was carried out during a short (but intensive) summer semester, and we therefore would need to explore how the results might differ when implemented over a longer semester, or even a year-long course. We did not analyze any delayed post-test data here, although of course those results would allow us to gauge the effectiveness of treatment over time, and to see if the gains evidenced here can be maintained without continued intervention.

We also need to consider, of course, other sounds. The rhotics in Spanish are particularly salient, and so make for a good test case. In this study, the Experimental Group received instruction on a variety of sounds over the course of their six-week semester, with rhotics making up only a part of the content. As we continue to analyze data from the other sounds, we will be able to see if instruction in those areas was also effective and, if so, to the same degree. Similarly, combining perception data with these production data, on these and all sounds, would allow us to better target the source of difficulties in L2 phonological acquisition; that is, if the problems are with perception and thus category formation, or if they are strictly physical and articulatory in nature. The instruction we provide can thus be better targeted. Considering how the students not only enjoyed learning about pronunciation, but also appreciated the unique experience, instructors should consider creative and innovative methods of teaching pronunciation, and investigators should continue to explore its effects.

Finally, we did not distinguish here between different methods of instruction, and instead used a variety of approaches simultaneously (e.g., articulatory information, oral and aural practice, visualization and practice with Praat, etc.). We have seen that the overall effect was undoubtedly positive, but it would be interesting to try to determine if it was indeed the combination of approaches that was beneficial, or if one of the approaches alone could have yielded the same results. Not only would this enable practitioners to develop the best materials for learners, but it could also help us address theoretical issues related to explicit instruction—namely, this information might allow instructors to understand if what helps students is obtaining this kind of explicit metalinguistic knowledge about the language, or if the improvement is a result of increased input, output, and/or feedback.

The limitations delineated here provide a clear path forward for research in instructed second language pronunciation. In spite of these limitations, though, the current study has shown clearly that incorporating pronunciation instruction at the earliest levels of second language classes can indeed benefit learners' production. Our study therefore joins the growing chorus of work that advocates for pronunciation instruction to be a standard and necessary component of all levels of second language teaching.

Works Cited

- Bailey, Ann Aly and Brandl, Anel (2013). "Incorporating Pronunciation in the First-Year Spanish Classroom: An Early Intervention." *Pronunciation in Second Language Learning and Teaching Conference Proceeding*. Ed. J. Levis and K. LeVelle. Ames, IA: Iowa State University. 207-223.
- Bajuniemi, Abby (2013). "Teaching Intervention on the Pronunciation of Spanish Intervocalic /d/." *Selected Proceedings of the 15th Hispanic Linguistics Symposium*. Ed. C. Howe, S. E. Blackwell and M. Lubbers-Quesada. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla. 39-50.
- Boersma, Paul and Weenink, David (2018). *Praat: Doing Phonetics by Computer* [Computer program]. Version 6.0.43, accessed 8 Sept. 2018. <http://www.praat.org/>.
- Counselman, David (2015). "Directing Attention to Pronunciation in the Second Language Classroom." *Hispania* 98.1: 31-46.
- Kutlu Demir, Özge (2017). "An Action Research: The Use of an Authentic Web 2.0 Tool to Overcome Pronunciation Problems." *International Journal of Language Academy* 5.7: 99-106.
- Derwing, Tracey and Munro, Murray (2005). "Second Language Accent and Pronunciation Teaching: A Research-based Approach." *TESOL Quarterly* 39.3: 379-397.
- Elliott, Raymond (1995). "Foreign Language Phonology: Field Independence, Attitude, and the Success of Formal Instruction in Spanish Pronunciation." *The Modern Language Journal* 79.4: 530-542.
- . (1997). "On the Teaching and Acquisition of Pronunciation within a Communicative Approach." *Hispania* 80.1: 95-108.

- . (2003). “Staking Out the Territory at the Turn of the Century: Integrating Phonological Theory, Research, and the Effect of Formal Instruction on Pronunciation in the Acquisition of Spanish as a Second Language.” *Spanish Second Language Acquisition: State of the Science*. Ed. B. A. Lafford and R. Salaberry. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press. 19-46.
- Face, Timothy (2006). “Intervocalic Rhotic Pronunciation by Adult Learners of Spanish as a Second Language.” *Selected Proceedings of the 7th Conference on the Acquisition of Spanish and Portuguese as First and Second Languages*. Ed. C.A. Clee and T. L. Face. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla. 47-58.
- Flege, James Emil (1987). “The Production of ‘New’ and ‘Similar’ Phones in a Foreign Language: Evidence for the Effect of Equivalence Classification.” *Journal of Phonetics* 15: 47-65.
- . (1995). “Second Language Speech Learning: Theory, Findings, and Problems.” *Speech Perception and Linguistic Experience: Issues in Cross-Language Research*. Ed. W. Strange. Baltimore, MD: York Press. 233-277.
- George, Angela (2014). “Study Abroad in Central Spain: The Development of Regional Phonological Features.” *Foreign Language Annals* 47.1: 97-114.
- González-Bueno, Manuela (1997). “The Effects of Formal Instruction on the Acquisition of Spanish Stop Consonants.” *Contemporary Perspectives on the Acquisition of Spanish, Volume 2: Production, Processing, and Comprehension*. Ed. W. Glass and A.T. Pérez-Leroux. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla. 57-75.
- . (2005). “Articulatory Difficulties in the Acquisition of Spanish /r/ in a Bilingual Context.” *ISB4: Proceedings of the 4th International Symposium on Bilingualism*. Ed. J. Cohen, K. McAlister, K. Rolstad and J. MacSwan. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla. 914-934.
- Henriksen, Nicholas (2015). “Acoustic Analysis of the Rhotic Contrast in Chicagoland Spanish.” *Linguistic Approaches to Bilingualism* 5.3: 285-321.
- Hualde, José (2005). *The Sounds of Spanish*. Cambridge: University of Cambridge.
- Hurtado, Luz Marcela and Estrada, Chelsea (2010). “Factors Influencing the Second Language Acquisition of Spanish Vibrants.” *The Modern Language Journal* 94.1: 74-86.
- Kissling, Elizabeth (2013). “Teaching Pronunciation: Is Explicit Phonetics Instruction Beneficial for FL Learning?” *The Modern Language Journal* 97: 720-744.
- . (2014). “What Predicts the Effectiveness of Foreign-Language Pronunciation Instruction? Investigating the Role of Perception and Other Individual Differences.” *Canadian Modern Language Review* 70.4: 532-558.
- . (2015). “Phonetics Instruction Improves Learners’ Perception of L2 Sounds.” *Language Teaching Research* 19.3: 254-275.
- Lord, Gillian (2005). “(How) Can We Teach Foreign Language Pronunciation? On the Effects of a Spanish Phonetics Course.” *Hispania* 88.3: 557-567.
- . (2008). “Podcasting Communities and Second Language Acquisition.” *Foreign Language Annals* 41.2: 364-379.
- . (2010). “The Combined Effects of Immersion and Instruction of Second Language Pronunciation.” *Foreign Language Annals* 43.3: 488-503.

- Lord, Gillian and Fionda, Maria (2013). "Teaching Pronunciation in Second Language Spanish." *The Handbook of Spanish Second Language Acquisition*. Ed. K. Geeslin. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley and Sons. 514-529.
- Major, Roy (1986). "The Ontogeny Model: Evidence from L2 Acquisition of Spanish *r*." *Language Learning: A Journal of Research in Language Studies* 36.4: 453-504.
- Menke, Mandy (2017). "Development of Spanish Rhotics in Spanish-English Bilingual Children in the United States." *Journal of Child Language* 45.3: 788-806.
- Martinsen, Rob, Montgomery, Cherice and Willardson, Véronique (2017). "The Effectiveness of Video-based Shadowing and Tracking Pronunciation Exercises for Foreign Language Learners." *Foreign Language Annals* 50.4: 661-680.
- Morgan, Terrell (2014). "Svarabhakti Vowels, English Flapping, and a Little agic: Strategies for Teaching Tap *r* in Spanish." *IGNITE: CASPSLaP Resources*. www.ignite-caspslap-2014.weebly.com. Accessed 23 Dec. 2018.
- Morin, Regina (2007). "A Neglected Aspect of the Standards: Preparing Foreign Language Spanish Teachers to Teach Pronunciation." *Foreign Language Annals* 40: 342-360.
- Nguyen, Noël and Delvaux, Véronique (2015). "Role of Imitation in the Emergence of Phonological Systems." *Journal of Phonetics* 53: 46-54.
- Olsen, Michael (2012). "The L2 Acquisition of Spanish Rhotics by L1 English Speakers: The Effect of L1 Articulatory Routines and Phonetic Context for Allophonic Variation." *Hispania* 95.1: 65-82.
- Olson, Daniel (2014a). "Benefits of Visual Feedback on Segmental Production in the L2 Classroom." *Language Learning & Technology* 18.3: 173-192.
- (2014b). "Phonetics and Technology in the Classroom: A Practical Approach to Using Speech Analysis Software in L2 Pronunciation Instruction." *Hispania* 97.1: 47-68.
- Pickering, Martin and Garrod, Simon (2013). "Forward Models and their Implications for Production, Comprehension and Dialogue." *Behavioral & Brain Sciences* 36.4: 377-392.
- Reeder, Jeffrey (1998). "English Speakers' Acquisition of Voiceless Stops and Trills in L2 Spanish." *Texas Papers in Foreign Language Education* 3.3: 101-118.
- Rodríguez-Sabater, Silvia (2005). "Utilizing Undergraduate Peer Teaching Assistants in a Speaking program in Spanish as a Foreign Language." *Foreign Language Annals* 38: 533-538.
- Rose, Marda (2010). "Intervocalic Tap and Trill Production in the Acquisition of Spanish as a Second Language." *Studies in Hispanic & Lusophone Linguistics* 3.2: 379-419.
- (2012). "Cross-Language Identification of Spanish Consonants in English." *Foreign Language Annals* 45.3: 415-429.
- Saito, Kazuya. (2013). "The Acquisition Value of Recasts in Instructed Second Language Speech Learning: Teaching the Perception and Production of English /ɹ/ to Adult Japanese Learners." *Language Learning* 63: 499-529.
- Saito, Kazuya and Lyster, Roy (2012). "Effects of Form-focused Instruction and Corrective Feedback on L2 Pronunciation Development of /ɹ/ by Japanese Learners of English." *A Journal of Research in Language Studies* 62.2: 595-633.

- Trofimovich, Pavel and Gathbonton, Elizabeth (2006). "Repetition and Focus on Form in Processing L2 Spanish Words: Implications for Pronunciation Instruction." *The Modern Language Journal* 90.4: 519-535.
- Velázquez-López, Diana and Lord, Gillian (2017). "On the Effects of Explicit Instruction in Beginning Spanish Classes: A Further Look at the Trill /r/." Paper presented at the 2017 Hispanic Linguistics Symposium. Lubbock, TX: Texas Tech University.
- Weech, Andrew (2009). "Second Language Acquisition of the Spanish Tap and Trill in a Contact Learning Environment." Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University.
- Zampini, Mary (1994). "The Role of Native Language Transfer and Task Formality in the Acquisition of Spanish Spirantization." *Hispania* 77.3: 470-481.

Appendix A: Phrases Used in Oral Recordings

(Recall that the rhotics constituted only one week of the six weeks of instruction, so other sounds are solicited in these phrases as well.)

1. El arco iris tiene siete colores en total: rojo, naranja, verde, amarillo, azul, añil y morado.
2. Tú compras en el kiosko.
3. Mi comida favorita es el pescado con patatas.
4. Los arándanos y el salmón son alimentos saludables.
5. Ramón es de Puerto Rico. Ramón es puertorriqueño.
6. Los colores de FSU son el granate y el dorado.
7. En España, Pedro espera el bus.
8. Los autos en España se llaman coches pero en Cuba se llaman carros.
9. El profesor de historia es de Portugal.
10. Rosa compra todos los días piñas y papayas.
11. El ron del mar Caribe es importante para las tiendas pequeñas.
12. Tu perro come mantequilla por las tardes.
13. Los ‘meseros’ del Perú son los ‘camareros’ en España.
14. La risa de Carlos y Teresa es contagiosa.
15. El escritor marroquí tuvo razón.
16. En el mercado pude comprar plátanos, coles, peras, ciruelas, coliflores, melocotones, cocos, lechugas, platos y unas tazas doradas.
17. Mi clase favorita es química. Yo la estudio en la biblioteca.

Appendix B: Pronunciation Attitude Inventory (Elliott 1995)

1. I'd like to sound as native as possible when speaking a foreign language.
2. Acquiring proper pronunciation in a foreign language is important to me.
3. I will never be able to speak a foreign language with a good accent.
4. I believe I can improve my pronunciation skills in a foreign language.
5. I believe more emphasis should be given to pronunciation in class.
6. One of my personal goals is to acquire good enough pronunciation skills to be able to pass for a native speaker.
7. I try to imitate native speakers' pronunciation whenever possible.
8. Communicating effectively is much more important than sounding like a native speaker.
9. Good pronunciation skills in foreign language are not as important as learning vocabulary and grammar.

10. I want to improve my accent when speaking a foreign language.
11. I'm concerned with my progress in my pronunciation of my foreign language.
12. Sounding like a native speaker is very important to me.

Appendix C: Experimental Group Feedback Regarding Pronunciation Instruction

Note: There are often more responses than the number of participants because individual participants offered more than one response. If they entered a line break (hard return) between their responses, the system recorded it as a new response.

Question 1: What was your favorite part of the pronunciation workshops?

- Learning about sounds
- The help it offered
- Going from English words to Spanish ones. Which helped
- Not a lot of pressure as a grade so I felt more at ease than stressed
- Practicing
- Learning that others had the same problems I had with pronunciation.
- p,t,k
- I enjoyed the aspiration activity with the paper towels.
- A chill portion of class that is really helpful.
- Taking a set amount of time to practice just specifically on the pronunciation of different words
- They were very helpful.
- Reading sentences or words with a partner to practice
- Practicing a Spanish accent
- Learning how we make different sounds through the location of the tongue, which I'd never thought about in English before.
- My favorite part was seeing how practicing each class helped with improving pronunciation of the different words and vowels
- The workshops with the paper for aspirations helped a lot

Question 2: What was your least favorite part of the pronunciation workshops?

- Recording
- The difficulty I'd come across at times
- The visual diagrams, which didn't help too much
- I was nervous about sounding like an American

- Also practicing
- I did not think using the toilet paper was terribly useful.
- r
- Nothing, I actually liked this part.
- Sometimes feels like a waste of time.
- Having to say the words in front of the class
- It was difficult to figure out how we were mispronouncing certain words or sounds, which made it kind of uncomfortable.
- Short length
- Classmate feedback wasn't bad but it felt pointless since none of us are native speakers
- The rr was extremely hard to create and I still don't know how to do so
- I didn't like going over pronunciation everyday
- I was afraid to sound like a native speaker because I didn't know I was doing it correctly or failing at it.

Question 3: What would you suggest I change if I implement the pronunciation workshop again?

- n/a
- Nothing
- More practice speaking aloud as a class, one at a time
- Videos would be helpful
- Maybe more feedback on proper pronunciation
- Have future students continue to read longer sentences. Not only does it help with pronunciation but it also helps with learning about sentence development.
- Not sure
- N/A
- For a normal semester I would say dedicate one class a week to pronunciation. For summer, maybe a half class or two and a video for homework every week.
- I don't think it needs any changes
- I found the large lists of words to be the most helpful, when everyone would have to read one or two of them randomly. I would have enjoyed working in larger groups, like having the class split in half to get more input and hear different pronunciations without being put on the spot with the whole class.
- More small groups where the professor walks around and gives micro level advice
- I don't know

- I think they're good but I don't think the charts of the actual sound waves were super helpful, personally I could tell the difference better by just hearing it.
- Nothing
- More time and workshops, I think it would help a lot to be a better communicator in Spanish when having a conversation.

Question 4: Is there anything else you'd like to add about the pronunciation workshop and/or the course?

- n/a
- No
- Doing practice in pairs is hard in a small room, since the echoes make it hard to hear each other well.
- n/a
- No
- N/A
- No
- I really liked when we had to repeat and sort of imitate you (Alberto). It helps to hear your voice and then immediately try to repeat that to sound as native as possible.
- I found it very helpful.
- No
- The pronunciation workshops were SO helpful. They were frustrating but worth it.
- I enjoyed the fact that we were forced to practice in front of everyone and make mistakes. I thought that was very helpful in getting over fears of saying something incorrectly.
- The pronunciation workshops felt very tedious sometimes HOWEVER I'm very glad that we did them and I am very happy with how much I learned about pronunciation. I would like pronunciation to be taught in my future language classes.
- I really like reading the passages because that was a much easier skill than listening and I was always amazed how much I could decipher given the class is only 6 weeks.
- There is nothing I would like to add
- The difference between the English 'v' and the Spanish 'v' pronunciation. I was confused about whether to pronounce it like a 'b' or 'v' when it came to Spanish.

What Can an Open Body Do?

A Decolonial Reading of Brazil's Biopolitical Landscape

Susana Costa Amaral

New York University

Abstract: The challenges imposed by the political agenda carried out during the first hundred days of Jair Bolsonaro's administration confronted Brazil with its own suppressed past. Keeping in mind the historical revisionism of the dictatorship proposed by Bolsonaro's government, and building from Maurício Lissovsky and Ana Lígia Leite's notion of "historical short-cut," this article approaches the actualization of the colonial wound in our historical present by interrogating what biopolitical markers are animated when historical loopholes are open. What resulted from this endeavor was a constellation of images, each of which has an affective as well as a historical significance for reading the present in articulation with the past. More than a linear construction, this emergency curatorship focuses on how images confront us with short cuts to memories as loopholes in historical accounts of time, an openness that points towards a decolonial reading of Brazil's current political landscape.

Keywords: colonial wound; vulnerability; Brazil; gender; race

A Moment of Danger

That which we call progress, is *this* storm.

Walter Benjamin

The tradition of the oppressed," German Philosopher Walter Benjamin once wrote, "teaches us that the 'emergency situation' in which we live is the rule" (5). His final essay, written when the author tried to cross from Spain to Portugal while escaping the Nazi persecution—an event that culminated in his suicide on September 26, 1940—calls out for "a real state of emergency" in the fight against Fascism. "On The Concept Of History" is dedicated to a careful analysis on the importance of history in securing humanism during authoritarian times. For Benjamin, history offers "a revolutionary chance in the struggle for the suppressed past" (10), and the ultimate subject of historical cognition is necessarily "the battling, oppressed class itself" (7).

It is still uncertain whether to call Brazil's new government an authoritarian regime would be premature or inaccurate. However, the challenges posed by the political agenda carried out during the first hundred days of Jair Bolsonaro's administration confronted Brazil with its own suppressed past, a thread that started to take shape during the 2018's presidential campaign, in the context of an intense dispute of narratives between the spectacularization of the "Bolsonaro myth" and the opposition that would not dare speak his name, a denial manifested in the hashtags #EleNão and #EleNunca. On one side of the political dispute, Brazilians encountered a vibrant praise of nationalism

and a “dictatorship-democracy” thesis, the persecution of historically subaltern subjects and a hand raised high in the shape of a gun. On the other, a political class astonished after numerous accusations of corruption, unable to articulate neither its public or juridical defense and especially slow in perceiving the here-and-now of the political atmosphere taking shape before it.

The opposition strategy to “unname” Bolsonaro by the use of the aforementioned hashtags during the campaign prove to be mistaken, since social networks’ algorithms select what content we have access to by measuring its quantitative presence on the web. Every time the opposition would refrain from mentioning Bolsonaro’s name, it left a wide and free space to be occupied by his followers’ narratives, a tendency best observed by the recent studies on data manipulation and social media. During most of his campaign, Bolsonaro was able to manage his presence on the Internet as he pleased, since so little “bad content” was being directed towards his potential voters.

Building from Mauricio Lissovisky and Ana Lúcia Leite’s notion of “historical shortcut” (35), this article approaches the actualization of the colonial wound in our historical present by asking: What biopolitical triggers are pulled when historical loopholes are opened? What new perspectives can we gain access to when entering these liminal spaces? How can they inform our ability to pose questions about the political future of Brazil? In a time when algorithms determine what narratives we have access to on the web, finding these loopholes becomes a task of vital importance for securing the present’s historical index. Starting from former President Dilma Rousseff’s impeachment, the execution of congresswoman Marielle Franco and focusing particularly on the Bolsonaro’s government attempt to impose a revisionist reading of the Brazilian history, this analysis gestures towards a decolonial reading of Brazil’s current political landscape. What resulted from this endeavor was a constellation of images, each of which has an affective as well as a historical significance for reading the present in articulation with the past. As Benjamin observed, to articulate the past historically “does not mean to recognize ‘how it really was.’ It means to take control of a memory, as it flashes in a *moment of danger*” (4, emphasis mine). More than a linear construction, this form of emergency curatorship of seemingly dispersed, yet poignantly related, images focuses on how they confront us with shortcuts to memories as loopholes in historical accounts of time.

A Disrupted Memory

...filho de Lula e não de Ustra

Baco Exu do Blues

In March 2019, Jair Messias Bolsonaro, the recently elected President of Brazil fired an order to the Ministry of Defense calling for “celebrations to be

carried on accordingly” to commemorate the 55th anniversary of the coup that installed a brutal military dictatorship in the country from 1964 to 1985. Casting himself as the leader of a revolutionary class, the former Army captain followed up with a feeble attempt to introduce a new national calendar¹ for Brazil. Bolsonaro’s order imposed an unprecedented monument of historical revisionism by calling into question the terms of the “memory pact” (Lissofsky and Aguiar 25)—a political pact established during Brazil’s long transition to democracy, and responsible for suturing the rifts relating to the very memory of the dictatorship and its victims. The majority of the population received Bolsonaro’s order with shock and disapproval (Marques 2019), especially because it was followed by a declaration from the new Minister of Education, stating that all history textbooks should be reviewed and rewritten in order to positively portray the 1964 coup and the 21-year military dictatorship, which the Minister called “um regime democrático de força” (“Brazil’s textbooks”). After the controversy, Bolsonaro stated that the objective of his order was actually to “remember,” not “celebrate,” the military date (Fernandes).

In contrast to other South American countries such as Argentina and Chile, Brazil has launched very few initiatives regarding public memory over its past. As observed by Lissofsky and Aguiar, the “dictatorship had come to be seen as a tragic interlude in the history of Brazil and Brazilians” (25). The authors explain:

The question of the “memory” of those “years of lead” or of what happened in the torture chambers of the dictatorship was a marginal item on the agenda of political parties and human rights organizations (whose priority was to ensure that the rights guaranteed by the 1988 Constitution were upheld). Thus, for decades, the creation of spaces of memory and monuments has not been the object of significant social or political mobilisation, being equally far removed from the priorities of the left-wing political parties and the civilian presidents who governed Brazil after the end of the dictatorship. (24)

This reality began to change in 2011 with the creation, by law, of the National Commission of Truth, an initiative responsible for investigating the political crimes and human rights violation under the military rule. The commission was faced with tremendous controversy, since it threatened to remobilize a memory long dislocated to obscurity. As investigations proceeded, remembrance

1 In Benjamin’s XV theses on the concept of history, the author writes: “The consciousness of exploding the continuum of history is peculiar to the revolutionary classes in the moment of their action. The Great Revolution introduced a new calendar. The day on which the calendar started functioned as a historical time-lapse camera. And it is fundamentally the same day which, in the shape of holidays and memorials, always returns. The calendar does not therefore count time like clocks. They are monuments of a historical awareness...”

reanimated old artifacts and places—including a photo of a young President Dilma Rousseff (Fig. 1) facing a military tribunal in 1970.



Fig. 1. Former president Dilma Rousseff before a military tribunal in 1970.
Courtesy of the Public Archive of the State of São Paulo.

At the age of 22, Brazil's first female president faced judgment after a ten-month imprisonment in army quarters, during which she was submitted to torture for three consecutive weeks. The photograph, which quickly reached the front pages of the main newspapers, magazines and social forums of the country, depicted a resilient young female body, contrasting with the visible constraint of the military agents. A constraint manifested by the gesture of concealing their faces in fear of being identified. As observed by Lissovsky and Aguiar, in the photograph, Rousseff's body posture showcases a "lack of modesty...no less a serious affront than the defying gaze with which she stares her accuser in the eye" (35). Lissovsky and Aguiar classify this gaze as the gaze of someone who "has been undressed innumerable times by her torturers." As noted by the scholars, this photograph was responsible for imprinting in Rousseff's figure "a mark of 'revelation' and of 'concealed memories,' creating a "historical short-cut" in Brazil, a direct "mental link between [Dilma's] administration and the [memory of the] dictatorship."

As Lissovsky and Aguiar also point out, with this photograph "the torture victim [had] at last acquir[ed] a body and the identification of her torturers [became] a necessity...the absolute necessity of a body that demands a face" (idem). Dilma Rousseff's young violated body, now forever captured by the

photograph, conjured the past back into the present by making history, once more, a necessity.

In 2015, Rousseff had just won her second election to Brazil's highest office, but the political climate in the country had already started to escalate, in part because of the controversy surrounding the National Commission's investigation on the 20,000 people subjected to torture under the military regime—a controversy that would be used by the former military officer, Jair Messias Bolsonaro, to gain political capital, the man later to become Brazil's next officially elected President.

Notoriously known for his constant praise of the dictatorship as well as other racist, sexist and misogynistic public comments—having even said that “the error of [the Brazilian] Dictatorship was to have tortured and not killed” its opponents—Bolsonaro caused a tremendous upheaval inside and outside of Brazil for paying homage to Col. Carlos Alberto Brilhante Ustra, Dilma Rousseff's torturer, during the public audience that led to her impeachment in 2016. Bolsonaro's public homage in parliament was broadcast nationwide only two years after the release of the National Commission of Truth's final report, which revealed with details the widespread use of torture during Brazil's military regime.

On the one hand, Bolsonaro's public comments about the dictatorship signaled that Brazil's ‘memory pact’ established in the context of an arduous process of redemocratization had begun to crack. On the other, his homage to Rousseff's own torturer marked the moment when the memory of the dictatorship *officially* re-emerged in the country's political discourse, as if it had finally freed itself from the supposedly transparent veil that had concealed it ever since the passing of the Amnesty Law in 1979. Embodied by Bolsonaro's figure, dictatorship memory re-emerged by taking gendered, sexed and racialized violence as the center of its symbolic force.²

Taking Bolsonaro's public remarks into consideration, I would like to call attention to another more ordinary photograph of the period: an image that started to circulate around the city of São Paulo, one of Latin America's most populated urban city and Brazil's most important financial center, in the months that anticipated Rousseff's impeachment back in 2016.

Created to function as a sort of sticker, the photomontage³ depicted a smiling president with oversized open legs attached around the opening of a car's fuel tank, so that when refueling the car Rousseff would be penetrated by the tube.

2 In a way, Lisovsky and Aguiar had already predicted this turnout back in 2015. However, in the midst of Rousseff's impeachment—when they had foreseen this—Bolsonaro's force as an influential political actor was only beginning to take shape, making it impossible, at that time, to effectively place him at the center of this process.

3 The mentioned photomontage, as well as other misogynistic examples of the sexist's attacks against Rousseff, can be found in Aronovitch.

The image was meant as a protest against the recent rise in gasoline prices, but the smiling face, uncharacteristic of Rousseff, and the young sensuous legs attached to it gave an extra perverse aspect to the message. The appearance of this image in the city's landscape, paraded around the streets by passing cars, recalled the judges' gaze at the sight of Rousseff's naked body. The naturalization of a rape act and the incitement of violence directed towards Rousseff's gendered body, aimed to reposition the president back into the chamber of her torturers at the disposal of their (now) unhidden gaze. Rousseff's body was being offered through the photomontage to the pleasure of her tormentors—unsatisfied voters—and this was being done through the reconfiguration of a memory that had just recently been unveiled.

As Lisovsky and Aguiar pointed out: "The Amnesty Law promulgated in 1979 was reciprocal, in other words, the past was 'erased' and all legal loopholes that could be used for 'revanchism' were closed" (23). But while the photograph of the military trial unveiled an unintended shortcut between Rousseff's violated body and the dictatorship's ashamed gaze, this other digitally manipulated image made sure that past and present were to collide again. But this time, the loopholes of this crash were to remain explicitly open.

While Brazil's national policy after the dictatorship had operated through mechanisms of memory suppression, both images of former president Rousseff reignited this debate for allowing the crash between time and history, past and present, repression and remembrance to gain center stage. Memory, as observed by the historian Lilia Schwarcz (2012), operates as a "shaman of time" that "gives continuity to what is discontinued and disrupted" (53). Through the images' intended or unintended loopholes, we gain access to this disrupted space where time becomes a nonlinear portal for the present. Once opened, a loophole threatens to redistribute past objects, affects and even bodies back to the presents' sensible landscape, for a loophole operates as a passage, a way in but also a way out. It materializes the short cuts of history, the very moments when temporal and historical dissonances are intertwined.

As observed by Schwarcz (2019), history becomes an object of political dispute in authoritarian times for evading the past while naturalizing violent realities. As Schwarcz remphasizes, this dispute was not strange to Brazilian history. Brazil's strategic suppression of memories becomes even more evident as a national grammar of forgetfulness when thought alongside its heritage of slavery—a past still referred to as a racial democracy, even though historical and juridical evidences point otherwise. The appropriation of the past by means of "forgetfulness" renders Brazil "a country without memory," making national history an especially fragile territory in times of political turmoil.

If the election of Bolsonaro for the presidency of Brazil marked the (official) moment when history was summed back to the present by placing gendered, sexed and racialized violence once more at the center of the political discourse,

a closer look at Brazilian history will reveal, in fact, that the contemporary far-right authoritarianism embodied by Bolsonaro's rhetoric has more long-standing antecedents in the country's colonial past.

A Recurring Image

As revealed in Chapter 10 of the Final Report of the National Commission of Truth, sexual violence was practiced “extensively throughout the repression under Brazilian military dictatorship” (“Relatório”). With an immense erotic and moral charge, sexual crimes were often committed together with the use of a *pau-de-arara* (parrot perch), which served to efficiently expose the prisoner's genitals upside-down, a position that both women and men were subjugated during torture.



Fig. 2. Jean-Baptiste Debret. Overseers punishing slaves on a rural estate.

As one of the oldest documented forms of torture in Brazil, the *pau-de-arara* is a technology of torture known for its uses in the punishment of the enslaved during the colonial period. Commissioned by the Portuguese Court to portray life in the tropical kingdom, the French painter Jean-Baptiste Debret (1768-1848) historically registered the use of the *pau-de-arara* in a watercolor dating from 1828 (Fig. 2). The watercolor would later become part of a series of paintings entitled *Viagem pitoresca e histórica ao Brasil* (*Picturesque and Historical Journey to Brazil*). Debret's series of paintings, therefore, provide a historical account of colonialism in Brazil, meant to please a European audience with images of a far-away tropical landscape and its exotic habits: Among them, slavery. As noted by Schwarcz (2014): “se aos olhos de hoje expor em primeiro plano escravos desnudos parece tudo menos agradável, naquele contexto, como a escravidão era considerada ‘natural’, assim revelada, ela era antes exótica, quando não sensual” (160).



Fig. 3. Jean-Baptiste Debret. A Brazilian family in Rio de Janeiro.



Fig. 4. Jean-Baptiste Debret. A functionary out with his family.

Alongside supposedly pleasant images of peaceful interaction between masters and their servants, in his series, Debret ambivalently provided a critical depiction of slavery in the country as both ordinary and exotic (Figs. 3 and 4). His French neoclassical style of painting portrayed black bodies as muscular, athletic and sensuous, even when depicted wearing chains and shackles—a contrast harmonically illustrated by his paintings. The foreigner's gaze that interprets what he sees before him as everyday events naturalizes the violence of the life in the colony, as well as the erotic imaginary around black bodies.

From 1820 until 1830, Debret presented to the Portuguese Crown with his account of the colony, the interpretation of a prosperous, harmonious and uneven society, marked by difference rather than equality. A hundred and sixty-four years later, Debret's paintings would be themselves targets for interpretation by Brazilian artist Adriana Varejão, as also noted by Schwarcz (2014, 161). In the two-piece series *Filho Bastardo*, Varejão transports Debret's characters into



Fig. 5. Adriana Varejão. *Filho Bastardo* (1992). Reproduced with permission of the artist.

two quite different scenes, bringing to the fore the national contradictions once portrayed by his tableau.

In *Filho Bastardo* (1992) (Fig. 5), on the left side of the oval canvas, we see a priest sexually assaulting Debret's enslaved black woman, pressed against the trunk of a tree. On the right side, two military figures—doubles of the ones portrayed by Debret—attack a naked indigenous woman whose hands are tied on a branch above her head. Unlike Debret's aesthetically harmonic pieces, Varejão's mimicry (Bhabha) composition performs the violence it portrays, as a red layered bloody cut desecrates the oval canvas, evoking the form of a wounded vagina. The violated canvas, in the particularity of the form it evokes, positions the vagina as a place of enunciation: the birthplace of the *mestiço* subject, the nation's bastard son depicted in the title of the painting, tropical and precarious, born from an indigenous and African womb, and destined to exist in the purpose of "whitening" the nation (see Munanga).

If, as Hortense Spillers has pointed out, "diasporic plight marked a theft of the body" (67), then Varejão's layered painting renders the canvas as a form of "body-flesh" (Harrison 71), restoring the materiality of the body through the opening of a wound. Relatedly, the photomontage of Rousseff exposed her body as one marked by its vulnerability—that is, its woundability—turning her gender conspicuously visible in order to provide an angle for the imbalance of power. Yet, the wounded vagina in Varejão's painting presents itself as a different loophole, an entry gateway, but also an exit site, a primarily locus of enunciation for the subaltern.

That is to say that from the wounded womb that generates the nation's bastard son, the *tropical-precarious mestiço*, Varejão renders the open vagina in the ripped canvas as a site equally or more destabilizing than the mouth itself, on which Jacques Rancière wrote as the place from which "politics comes when... the mouth emits a word that enunciates something of the common and not only a voice that signals pain" (21). According to Rancière, the refusal to consider some categories of people as political beings—namely women, enslaved, animals and children—always went through the refusal to "hear the sounds that came out of their mouths as a discourse." Viewed in this manner, the ripped vagina in the painting becomes an essentially political place, because it threatens to redistribute the visible and audible as it materializes the opening through which the subaltern colonial subject's speech can be heard (Spivak). The *mestiço* speaks through the colonial wound, for the *mestiço* embodies the wound. Not only as the product of a violation, but also as the materiality of the subaltern's speech, the living-breathing-bleeding form of life it creates.

The painting's "perturbing opacity"⁴ confronts the Brazilian historical discourse of *miscigenação* (miscegenation) portrayed as a racial democracy, evidencing it as a discursive construction built upon violence and violation, for the complex figure of the *mestiço* is a central character for understanding Latin America's specific mode of colonialism, as well as the racist ideology⁵ surrounding this word in the Brazilian context.

In order to properly understand Latin America's specific mode of subaltern production one must acknowledge the intricate lineage system—bodily fluid rather than ethno-cultural alone—that rendered the *mestiço* not only as an inscription of race in the so-called Novo Mundo, but also as a social parameter for the distribution of vulnerability. A parameter that dates back to the official birth certificate⁶ of the nation, the letter from the scrivener Pero Vaz de Caminha to the King of Portugal, D. Manuel I, telling him about the "discovery" of a new land.

Caminha writes about his first sight of the natives: "Eram pardos, todos nus, sem coisa alguma que lhes cobrisse suas vergonhas." The letter inaugurates the official colonial gaze towards the land and its people, a patriarchal, extractivist and erotized gaze—a gaze very similar to the one reproduced by Debret in his paintings. But Caminha also naturalizes this gaze, while denaturalizing the indigenous subject, one that the Portuguese man sees as a body that is constantly offering itself to him—as if it was his to take—much like all the other raw materials of the land that he, himself, offers to the King in his letter.

Caminha was imbued with giving an account of the journey, reporting to the King D. Manuel about the new land's estimated potential for generating profits to the Crown, but unable to properly identify any gold or silver around, the scrivener ends up focusing his letter on the people he had encountered and their bodies, describing them as "homens da terra, mancebos e de bons corpos",

“tão limpos, tão gordos e tão formosos,” just as valued as metals waiting to be extracted. The indigenous women especially caught the scrivener’s attention, often described to the King as sensuous and exotic objects:

...E uma daquelas moças era toda tingida, de baixo a cima daquela tintura; e certo era tão bem-feita e tão redonda, e sua vergonha (que ela não tinha) tão graciosa, que a muitas mulheres da nossa terra, vendo-lhe tais feições, fizera vergonha, por não terem a sua como ela.

In another passage, Caminha returns to the female indigenous body and the double use of the word “shame” as to refer both to the body genitals as well as to the natives’ lack of constraint:

Ali andavam entre eles três ou quatro moças, bem moças e bem gentis, com cabelos muito pretos, compridos pelas espáduas, e suas vergonhas tão altas, tão cerradinhas e tão limpas das cabeleiras que, de as muito bem olharmos, não tínhamos nenhuma vergonha.

While reflecting whereas to forcibly take one of the natives back to Portugal by effect of displaying him to the King D. Manuel I, Caminha reports on the crew’s decision:

Nem eles [the indigenous] tão cedo aprenderiam a falar para o saberem tão bem dizer que muito melhor estoutros o não digam, quando Vossa Alteza cá mandar. E que, portanto, não cuidassem de aqui tomar ninguém por força nem de fazer escândalo, para de todo mais os amansar e apacificar, senão somente deixar aqui os dois degredados, quando daqui partíssemos.

In Pero Vaz de Caminha’s letter, the Other emerges as a body unable to speak or to give an account on itself. A body always at risk of being exposed, analyzed, tamed and pacified under a colonial gaze. The scrivener concludes his account by stating that the natives were “muito mais nossos amigos que nós seus,” a statement latter to be proven especially accurate since colonization brought about a savage suppression of the traditional indigenous ways and freedoms, as well as a true genocide of the indigenous population, which were enslaved and forced to work for the Portuguese Crown. Even though Caminha’s crew decided not to forcibly take away an indigenous person at that time, the same did not happen to the estimated four million black people brought from Africa to Brazil by the Portuguese during colonization—40% of the total number of slaves brought to the Americas during the same period.

The miscegenation of the three races—White European, Black African and Native South American—would inspire the image of the country as a “racial democracy,” where different cultures and races harmonically co-exist. Coined by the anthropologist Artur Ramos (1903-49), the term would be best known by Gilberto Freyre’s interpretation of it in his canonical book *Casa grande e senzala* (translated into English as *The Masters and the Slaves*). In *Casa grande*, once again we face a description of the Other through a patriarchy’s eroticized gaze, since Freyre attributes Brazil’s racial specificity to the sexual permissiveness of the colony. Through Freyre’s gaze, the black female body becomes a recipient for Portuguese desire, the ultimate producer of the nation’s specificity: the *mestiço* subject. As Denise Ferreira da Silva (2006) points out:

...enquanto o produto do desejo português, o mestiço, se torna o símbolo da especificidade do Brasil, sendo uma figura fundamentalmente instável, pois é uma incorporação temporária da brasilidade, um passo necessário para sua expressão real, o sujeito brasileiro é sempre já branco, pois Freyre, assim como outros antes dele, constrói o português como o sujeito verdadeiro da história brasileira. (63)

Da Silva analysis’s of the *mestiço* subject in Freyre’s book indicates that the author’s disregard for the female subject’s own desire—or better yet, lack of desire—in the production of this “national specificity” operates in order to reproduce the patriarchal extractivist logic of the colonizer, rendering the “racial” evidence of the *mestiço* as a “dangerous significant of vulnerability” (80). For da Silva, the *mestiço* ultimately defines the inscription of a subaltern subject in Brazil’s social order. In this sense, the *mestiço* operates as an embodiment of the political and symbolic mechanisms of social, racial and gender subjection directly inscribed into the nation’s common body—one that was already born violated—while, at the same time, embodies a challenge for the whitening of the nation’s narrative to be read as a racial democracy. Going back to Varejão’s painting, the artist’s decolonial gesture is able to rediscover this violent colonial encounter by opening a raw, bloody portal, offering to the viewer of the painting a new point of access to the colonial history: the point of view of vulnerability, the genealogy of the *mestiço* subject. Bound in a twice-vulnerable vulnerability, the *mestiço* performs the inherited subject position of the African and Indigenous’ womb in the racialized patriarchal social order of Brazil, while at the same time *gives body* to the subaltern’s subjugation.

If the wound of colonialism implies imposed injuries, painful interpellations, modes of subjugation, conflict and erasure, in all its political and affective intensities, it also indicates a way of thinking the materiality of embodied political resistance without disavowing vulnerability and the gendered, sexual, and racial

implications of “one’s bodily exposure to one another” (Butler and Athanasiou ix). If the idea of a fractured subject immediately collides with the sovereign account of agency by the unitary (Butler and Athanasiou), self-determined (da Silva 2007), transparent (Spivak) “I,” the post-Enlightenment subject that enacts the mastery over the domain of life by regulating the grammars of power that constitute the “Other,” rendering it as a product of universal reason.

When considering the “fractured subject” of the open body as a primary narrative, I mean its woundings, fissures, ruptures, lesions, and lacerations. Its ripped-apartness leads us through the abyss of the openings of the body, through the body as something that opens itself up. This body, historically inscribed, bears a mark of survival at the boundary of the social order. And unstable in its many identities written in blood, this open body transports us to an intertwined historical ground, where corporality, at the risk of survival, brings to the fore history’s suppressed rawness. In the face of this fractured existence, we must then ask: What can an open body do?

A Gesture Towards the Past

[A] forma de repressão pode ser diferente, mas a polícia que assassina nas favelas é a mesma que reprime a luta por direitos. Nesse quadro, torna-se muito importante a aprovação de propostas que alterem o viés militarista do Estado e possam contribuir para superar a visão belicista ainda predominante na cultura brasileira.

Marielle Franco (2018)

The above quote was extracted from the master’s thesis *UPP: A redução da favela a três letras*, by Rio de Janeiro’s congresswoman Marielle Franco, assassinated on March 14, 2018, after leaving a public event held at Casa das Pretas, a space created for hosting the voices of black women from the favelas.

Franco was a black lesbian woman and single mother born in Favela da Maré, a place considered one of the most dangerous favelas in Rio de Janeiro and inhabited mainly by the so-called Brazilian *mestiços*. In 2016, the same year of Rousseff’s impeachment, Franco was elected to City Council with the fifth highest vote that year for the Legislative Assembly. She believed that occupying politics was fundamental in order to reduce inequalities, the very ones she had experienced throughout her life. She was a human rights activist who constantly criticized and denounced police abuses and civil rights violations, particularly when it occurred in the most vulnerable areas of the city. Her political platform was based on the promise to give visibility to the black and peripheral minorities of Rio de Janeiro, especially women and queer people.

At the time of her death, Franco had just recently been nominated chair of the Women’s Defense Commission, whose objective was to monitor the federal military intervention that was taking place around the State of Rio de Janeiro,

but more actively inside Rio's urban favelas. On the day after her execution, more than 200,000 people gathered on the streets of Rio de Janeiro to protest and to grieve together, exhaustingly chanting the words "Marielle Presente!" and asking the question: "Quem matou Marielle?" over and over again during the entire night. More than one year has passed, but this question still haunts the streets of Brazil: Who killed Marielle Franco?

To ask "Who killed Marielle Franco?" is to single out an agent, a face for the State's necropolitics and its para-military apparatus. Most importantly, it transforms Franco into a signifier that demands reparation, for it allows us to see Franco's wounded body as another historical loophole. Her death triggered a new wave of activism in Brazil, an activism engaged in the crossroads of gendered, racial, feminist and necropolitical struggles. Symptomatically, it was precisely the speech against the so-called "gender ideology" and "minority claims" that underwrote the rise of far-right politicians like Bolsonaro and his political ally, the recently elected-Governor of the state of Rio de Janeiro, Wilson Witzel.

Appropriating Bolsonaro's violent discursive strategy, Witzel became famous after being photographed at a campaign rally celebrating the breaking of a street sign with Marielle Franco's name, which had been placed as a tribute to her memory. The reaction to his gesture came rapidly, when more than a thousand street signs with the councilwoman's name were collectively funded and distributed, not only replacing the sign that had been broken, but also multiplying its presence throughout the city of Rio de Janeiro, later the country and abroad (see Lovink).

This multiplying effect also explains the election of three former secretarial advisors from Franco's cabinet to the Legislative Assembly of the State of Rio de Janeiro in 2018, a place that Franco herself had previously occupied. This electoral endeavor was first thought of as a way of securing the continuity of Franco's political agenda, but its outcome ultimately contributed to a significant increase in the number of seats occupied by black women in congress.

It is important to note that, although those actions were carried out independently from each other, the bullets that opened Franco's body triggered all of them. In this sense, the grassroots movement mobilized by the repetition of the utterance "Marielle presente!" is not a matter of reckoning with the precarious lives that become visible only in the moment of their death. Franco broke this pattern herself when she was elected to office, when she was announced as runner for the vice-governor post in the upcoming election the following year. Rather, the utterance's repetition is a twofold gesture: it encompasses at once the disavowal towards the state and the demand for Franco's death to be recognized as an act of ethical violence. This war-cry conjures the past into the present, as if the repetition of this phrase prevented the present's march of progress, its

ability to move forward without being disturbed by Marielle Franco's memory and the violence that yielded her death.

If the street sign with Franco's name functions as a monument to memory, a symbol that holds the memory of a body that has lived and died, it is because we transfer to it, to its materiality, the very visibility of this body and its survival *in spite of all*. In breaking the sign, breaking it in half, Witzel and his supporters were not only destroying a memory, but the performativity of this act sought to prevent Franco's body from surviving through different modes of visibility, to prevent it from exerting power over the public sphere by exposing its vulnerability, its "breakable" ontology. The breaking of the sign thus imposes a second death to Franco's body, destroying the "survival" of it so to foreclose its wayward symbolic force. This destruction aims to relegate the life and death of Franco to a zone of invisibility by destroying the conditions of possibility of its public appearance. Furthermore, Witzel's action is an act that claims for itself the power to ordain the sphere of public visibility, repelling Franco's memory and its potentiality as a signifier; as if by breaking the street sign Witzel's far-right allies could restore the symbolic domain of the social order previously disrupted by Franco's memory insistence on surviving, her body's refusal to disappear.

The utterance "Marielle presente!" and its chants in the streets of Brazil marks an ontological reflection on presence and our own accountability towards historical time. By conjuring a memory into the present, "Marielle presente!" signals the present's impossibility of progress without a sense of answerability, an ethical as well as a political claim. This is precisely why Franco has become such an important political actor in Brazil even after her execution. Against President Bolsonaro's signature gesture, a pointed finger in the shape of a gun as threat, a reminder of our inescapable vulnerability, the multiplying effect of Marielle Franco, the insistence of her body to re-emerge, and to act to prevent the present's march toward progress, forces us to look back so that we may move forward.

Works Cited

- Aronovitch, Lola. "Não é fácil ser presidente num país machista." *Escreva Lola Escreva*, 21 Aug. 2015. Web. <http://escrevalolaescreva.blogspot.com/2015/08/nao-e-facil-ser-presidenta-num-pais.html>.
- Benjamin, Walter. "On the Concept of History." *Gesammelte Schriften I:2*. Suhrkamp Verlag. Frankfurt am Main, 1974.
- "Brazil Textbooks 'To Be Revised to Deny 1964 Coup.'" *BBC*, 4 April 2019. Web. Accessed 12 Dec. 2019.
- Bhabba, Homi K. "Signs Taken for Wonders: Questions of Ambivalence and Authority under a Tree outside Delhi, May 1817." *Critical Inquiry* 12.1 (1995): 144-165.
- Butler, Judith and Athanasiou, Athena. *Dispossession: The Performative in the Political*. Polity Press: Cambridge, 2013.

- Butler, Judith. "Giving an Account of Oneself." *Diacritics* 31.4 (2001): 22-40.
- Comissão Nacional da Verdade. *Relatório*. 1: 2014. Web. Accessed 13 May 2019. <http://www.memoriasreveladas.gov.br/index.php/comissoes-da-verdade>.
- da Silva, Denise Ferreira. "À brasileira: racialidade e a escrita de um sujeito destrutivo." *Estudos Feministas* 14.1 (2006): 61-83.
- da Silva, Denise Ferreira. *Toward a Global Idea of Race*. Borderlines Series, 27. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007.
- Fernandes, Talita. "Bolsonaro muda tom e diz que ideia é rememorar, e não comemorar, golpe de 1964." *Folha de S.Paulo*, 28 March 2019.
- Franco, Marielle. *UPP: A redução da favela a três letras*. 1a edição. Ed. N-1, 2018.
- Freyre, Gilberto. *Casa grande e senzala*. Rio de Janeiro: Maid and Schmidt, Ltda, 1934.
- Giorgi, Gabriel. "No fuimos demasiado lejos." *Página 12*. Oct. 26, 2018. Web. Accessed 13 Feb. 2019.
- Harrison, Marguerite Itamar, "Envisioning the Body Politic through Dense Layers of Paint: The Art of Adriana Varejão." *Chasqui: Revista de literatura latinoamericana* 37.1 (2008): 66-78.
- Herkenhoff, Paulo. "Glory!, The Great Surge." *Adriana Varejão*. Ed. Louise Neri. São Paulo: O Autor, 2001. 119-128.
- Lisovsky, Mauricio, and Aguiar, Ana Lígia Leite e. "The Brazilian Dictatorship and the Battle of Images." *Memory Studies* 8.1 (2015): 22-37.
- Lovink, Geert. "On the #MarielleMultiplica Action in Brazil." *Institute of Network Cultures*, 20 Nov. 2018. Web. <https://networkcultures.org/blog/2018/11/20/update-on-the-mariellemultiplica-movement-in-brazil>.
- Mayone, Eduardo. "Brazil's Birth Certificate: The Letter of Pero Vaz de Caminha." *Pacific Coast Philology* 27.1-2 (Sep. 1992): 10-15.
- "Ministério da Defesa divulga Ordem do Dia a ser lida nos quartéis em referência a 31 de março de 1964." *Jornal Nacional*, 27 March 2019. Web. Accessed 12 Dec. 2019.
- Munanga, Kabengele. "Rediscutindo a mestiçagem no Brasil: identidade nacional versus identidade negra." Petrópolis - RJ: Vozes, 1999.
- Rancière, Jacques. "A estética como política." *DEVIRES* 7.2 (2010): 14-36.
- Schechner, Richard. *Performance Studies: An Introduction*. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Schwarcz, Lilia Moritz. *Nem preto nem branco, muito pelo contrário: cor e raça na sociabilidade brasileira*. São Paulo: Claro Enigma, 2012.
- _____. *Sobre o autoritarismo brasileiro*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2019.
- Schwarcz, Lilia Moritz, and Varejão, Adriana. *Pérola Imperfeita: a história e as histórias na obra De Adriana Varejão*. Cobogó, 2014.
- Spillers, Hortense J. "Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe: An American Grammar Book." *Diacritics* 17.2 (1987): 64-81.
- Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty, "Pode o subalterno falar?" Belo Horizonte: Editora da UFMG, 2010.

Evidencias a favor de la enseñanza del voseo en las clases de español

Matthew Griffin

University of Wisconsin-Madison

Resumen: Después de examinar el tratamiento del voseo en los libros de texto de español como segunda lengua, se hace evidente que es escaso y hasta inexistente en algunos a pesar de que más de la mitad de los países hispanohablantes emplea *vos*. Hay varias razones por las cuales se debe tratar este paradigma en el aula incluyendo la cantidad de universitarios estadounidenses en regiones voseantes, la población de inmigrantes procedentes de Centroamérica en los Estados Unidos de América y el gran número de voseantes en Hispanoamérica. En este artículo se ofrece una perspectiva descriptiva de la situación pedagógica ahora. Primero, se provee información demográfica actual en cuanto a las regiones en las cuales se encuentra el voseo para explicar la importancia de abordar este tema. De igual modo, el examinar los destinos más populares de los estudiantes de intercambio estadounidenses es importante para promover la enseñanza del voseo, además de las oportunidades de ser expuestos los alumnos al voseo en los EE.UU. En segundo lugar, se examinan siete libros de texto contemporáneos de editoriales estadounidenses acerca de su tratamiento (o falta) del voseo. Y, por último, ofrecemos motivaciones sociolingüísticas en apoyo de su incorporación en el aula de ELE y sugerencias de investigación futura. Recomendamos que le preste más atención al voseo en nuestras aulas para preparar mejor a nuestros alumnos para comunicarse en el diverso mundo hispano.

Palabras claves: *vos*, voseo, Spanish as a second language/español como segunda lengua, Latin American Spanish/español latinoamericano, pedagogy/pedagogía

Introducción

Given the lack of instruction on *vos* and *vos* forms in Spanish curricula, many students at U.S. colleges and universities will likely never have been exposed to the personal pronoun *vos* and its unique conjugations by the time they satisfy their basic language requirements. However, given the fact that voseo is more prevalent than tuteo in eight countries [...], many students who study abroad will undoubtedly encounter *vos* with native speakers, including host families, as well as on television, radio and in print. (Cameron 2002: 77)

La cita arriba resume un asunto pedagógico importante que no parece cobrar demasiada importancia en la bibliografía que trata sobre los puntos lingüísticos enseñados en las clases de español como segunda lengua. Los pronombres de segunda persona singular, *tú* y *usted*, desempeñan un papel principal en el aula estadounidense porque no solamente presentan dos pronombres de gran uso en el habla de algunos de los hispanohablantes en los Estados Unidos de América, sino que también muestran el contraste de

formalidad que existe entre los dos. Sin embargo, con el aumento de inmigrantes de países voseantes a los EE.UU. y de estudiantes estadounidenses que eligen estudiar en Centroamérica o en otras regiones latinoamericanas donde se practica el voseo, parece esencial presentar el voseo en la clase de español por razones tanto comunicativas como holísticas.

En este artículo no intentamos explicar ni el origen del paradigma¹ ni el contraste entre el registro informal (*tú* y *vos*) y el formal (*usted*) sino establecer el razonamiento por el cual se debe tratar el voseo en las clases de español como lengua extranjera. Cameron (2002), en su artículo “Why It’s Time to Teach Voseo and How to Start”, articula la importancia de enseñar *vos* en nuestras clases de español: debido al número de estudiantes que eligen estudiar en países en que se encuentra el voseo, “[they] will undoubtedly encounter *vos* with native speakers, including host families, as well as on televisión, radio and in print” (77). Rojas Blanco (2003) también argumenta a favor de la enseñanza del voseo por razones sociolingüísticas; propone que su inclusión en el currículo de clases de español para hablantes nativos, específicamente en Costa Rica, puedan ayudar en la mejora de conocimiento de la variedad lingüística española y en el análisis de diversos tipos de discurso. Estas implicaciones pueden aplicarse a las clases de español en EE.UU. del mismo modo. En este artículo seguimos sus recomendaciones y expandimos sus puntos de la siguiente manera: primero, proveemos información demográfica actual en cuanto a las regiones voseantes para explicar la importancia de abordar el tema. En segundo lugar, examinamos varios libros de texto de editoriales estadounidenses acerca de su tratamiento (o falta) del voseo para demostrar que, a pesar de las sugerencias de otros investigadores (viz., Mason y Nicely 1995; Cameron 2002), todavía no se trata del voseo en los libros de lectura. En tercer lugar, proporcionamos una perspectiva sociolingüística que apoya la integración del voseo en las aulas de español como lengua extranjera (ELE). Por último, damos sugerencias para investigaciones futuras sobre asuntos demográficos y sociolingüísticos.

Distribución geográfica del voseo

Cuando se habla del voseo en Hispanoamérica, existen varias opiniones en cuanto a su distribución. Algunos investigadores ofrecen varias propuestas que informan que el voseo se encuentra en muchas regiones del continente. Mason y Nicely (1995) afirma que un 47% de la población hispanoamericana está expuesta al paradigma. Parece ser un menor porcentaje que el determinado en los análisis de Lipski (1994) y Stewart (1999), que dan la imagen de una extensión más amplia de la presencia del voseo. Stewart reporta que, de los 19 países hispanohablantes de Latinoamérica, 15 de ellos tienen hablantes que usan el pronombre y sus conjugaciones correspondientes. En algunos de estos

1 Se puede referir a Mason y Nicely (1995) para la historia del voseo.

países se puede encontrar el tuteo también y la preferencia de uno o el otro dependiendo del país. Pero al contrario a lo que propone Stewart, el voseo no predomina en Venezuela según Lipski; Lipski sugiere que solamente se encuentra el paradigma en Lara, Falcón, Trujillo y Maracaibo (351). Este artículo no aborda las diferentes realizaciones morfológicas del voseo, pero la mayoría de estas zonas usa una conjugación exacta a la de Argentina mientras hay pocas regiones que emplean la versión diptonguizada (15).²

Lipski (1994) propone que se puede encontrar en todos los países de alguna forma, si bien es regional en algunas partes y dominante en otras. A diferencia de Stewart (1999), él proporciona más regiones. Por ejemplo, en el español bozal de Cuba se encuentra el voseo. Otro país no indicado en Stewart es México en el cual el voseo aparece regionalmente. Según Lipski, “Mexican Spanish uses *tú* for the familiar singular pronoun, except for use of *vos* in some parts of the state of Chiapas, which was once part of the Captaincy General of Guatemala, and whose linguistic traits are an extension of northwestern Guatemala” (283). También él menciona la Costa Chica de Guerrero en México que tiene hablantes voseantes, aunque no es un rasgo que se da en la población mayor.

Las zonas conocidas por el dominio del voseo son Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay y en algunas partes de Centroamérica (Lapesa 1980), pero en otros países voseantes, hay un sistema diversamente rico en el sentido de que “coexisten tres formas pronominales para dirigirse a la segunda persona singular: *tú*, *vos* y *usted*” (Rojas Blanco 2003: 161). En Costa Rica, por ejemplo, el voseo no tiene una presencia extensa hoy en día, aunque sí persiste a pesar de la valoración negativa que existe. Esta opinión se debe a la rechazo del pronombre y paradigma en los centros escolares a favor del ustedeo y la suposición que es una forma corrupta de *tú* (Solano 1986). No obstante, todavía se puede observar su uso en ámbitos familiares (Thomas 2008). Otras regiones que tienen la alternación de *tú* y *vos* son Panamá, Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Chile, zonas nortenas y sureñas del Perú y el sur de Bolivia (Lapesa 1980). En los países con este sistema de tripartito, la elección de los pronombres depende de varios factores geográficos y sociales. A modo de ilustración, dentro del ambiente escolar se ve la promoción lingüística del ustedeo y también del tuteo (Rojas Blanco 2003). Además, sin importar si el empleo de *vos* se considera apropiado o no en un país, su uso implica un nivel de informalidad, intimidad o amistad (Shenk 2014).

Todavía existe debate en cuanto al número de voseantes en los estudios dialectales. No obstante, incluso cuando se centra en el menor porcentaje de voseantes de los estudios anteriores —en este caso el 42% sugerido por Mason y Nicely (1995)— la cantidad de personas que usan *vos* es una suma significativa en el mundo hispano. Aunque el número de hispanohablantes seguramente

2 En la discusión hablamos de la importancia de incorporar la variación sociolingüística dentro del aula ELE no solamente para el voseo y las variedades en su conjugación sino también de la variación lingüística en general.

haya aumentado entre 1995 y 2013,³ se supone que el 42% de hablantes que emplean el voseo de alguna manera, más el 3,2 de millones de centroamericanos en EE.UU., consistiría en aproximadamente 160 millones de los 370 millones de hispanohablantes que son voseantes. Este número está decidido, y es solamente una aproximación, pero de todas formas es importante tener una estimación en mente del voseo en las Américas para poder visualizar su uso amplio por el continente. Aún más, el número puede ser más grande si se consideran los estudios de Lipski (1994), de Stewart (1999) y de Rojas Blanco (2003), el último que parece afirmar que aproximadamente dos tercios de la población hispano-americana emplean *vos* (de alguna forma) en lugar de *tú*.

Estudiantes estadounidenses en contacto con el voseo

Un razonamiento acerca de la enseñanza del voseo es la cantidad de estudiantes que se matriculan en universidades costarricenses. Costa Rica, el destino principal de Hispanoamérica para estudiantes estadounidenses, es un país considerablemente voseante. En 2015-2016, de los 325.339 universitarios que estudiaron en el extranjero, 9.233 lo hicieron en Costa Rica (Institute of International Education 2017). Esta cantidad es solo un tercio de los estudiantes que eligieron estudiar en España durante el mismo año académico, pero si se combinan las estadísticas de los otros destinos hispanos en los que se emplea el voseo exclusivamente o solamente en algunas zonas, resulta en una cifra más alta; es decir, 28.463 de los alumnos estudiaron en países con la presencia de vos: México, específicamente en el estado de Chiapas, con 4.712; Argentina con 3.708; Ecuador con 3.746; Perú con 3.481; y Chile con 3.136.

Fuera del Cono Sur, Centroamérica es otra región en la cual el voseo predomina (Lipski 1994). Según Mason y Nicely (1995), “in some countries such as Argentina, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica, the *vos* is not considered a stigmatized or nonstandard *form*” (361) y por esta razón los alumnos, sin lugar de dudas, se encontrarán con esta forma de tratamiento y sus conjugaciones correspondientes. Mason y Nicely, con respecto a los estudiantes en el extranjero, concluyen lo siguiente:

As U.S. students look south in growing numbers to countries like Costa Rica and Argentina for opportunities to study abroad, it seems reasonable to conclude that they would benefit from having encountered speech patterns such as the use of *vos* during their formal study of Spanish (364).

3 Se ha usado el siguiente informe para determinar el número de voseantes con el porcentaje presentado por Mason y Nicely (1995): http://eldiae.es/wpcontent/uploads/2013/06/2013_espagnol_lengua_viva.pdf.

Si se sigue el modelo de sólo abordar el tuteo, los estudiantes van a tener una desventaja lingüística. Costa Rica, el destino principal de Hispanoamérica para estudiantes estadounidenses, es un país en el que existe el voseo y será beneficioso enseñarles un paradigma que van a necesitar saber aun si pueden hablar de usted con los costarricenses; es un paradigma al que pueden ser expuestos. Según Schoonmaker-Gates (2017), la exposición a variaciones lingüísticas dentro del aula de ELE les ayuda a desarrollar su comprensión dialectal y su atención a señales morfosintácticas y fonéticas. Es más, como instructores, aspiramos a preparar a nuestros alumnos “[to] become competent and functional users of the language in a global world” (190). Por lo tanto, la complejidad del voseo costarricense no se debe evadir —ni las variaciones connotaciones sociolingüísticas— porque sirve un propósito importante con respeto al desarrollo de la competencia y actuación en la lengua española.

Otro motivo por el cual se debe abordar el voseo en las aulas del español es la exposición lingüística de este paradigma que los alumnos pueden tener dentro de los EE.UU. Mason y Nicely (1995) proporcionan la siguiente afirmación relacionada con el aumento de inmigrantes de países voseantes:

Clearly, the opportunities that students of Spanish have to communicate with native speakers who use *vos* here in the U.S. are on the rise, and they need to be prepared to function within such a sociolinguistic context by having been exposed to the voseo sometime in the course of their study of Spanish (363).

Es importante enfatizar que se reconocía tal hecho hace aún más de 20 años de acuerdo con la sugerencia de Mason y Nicely. Según Lesser y Batalova (2017), 3,4 millones de inmigrantes en los EE.UU. vienen de Centroamérica, siendo la mayoría de El Salvador, Guatemala y Honduras, todos clasificados como países voseantes. Entre los años 1980 y 2015, la población de inmigrantes centroamericanos creció diez veces, de 354.000 a 3.385.000 personas. Por lo tanto, la necesidad de tratar el voseo en el aula se vuelve más importante. Por la cantidad de centroamericanos en los EE.UU. y el porcentaje de estudiantes de EE.UU. que estudian en países voseantes, adoptamos una posición en apoyo de la enseñanza del voseo. Un estudio que examina el uso de *vos* de una comunidad salvadoreña en Texas nos informa que sigue usando el voseo (Schreffler 1994); vemos la incorporación de *tú* en el habla de los jóvenes, pero todavía se emplea *vos* con familiares por todos los sexos y en contextos sociales entre hombres.

Un trabajo intergeneracional que investiga el voseo de comunidades hondureñas y salvadoreñas en la zona oeste de EE.UU. hace una afirmación parecida: en las primeras generaciones, no existe ninguna inseguridad lingüística en relación con el uso de *vos* y sus conjugaciones correspondientes, pero en las segundas generaciones los hispanohablantes reservan su uso para sus domicilios

mientras usan el tuteo en situaciones de contacto (Rivera-Mills 2011). Dentro de la tercera generación, los hablantes parecen usar solamente el pronombre sin emplear el paradigma. Como dijo uno de los participantes de origen salvadoreño, “En el Salvador, [el *vos*] ya adquirió el estatus de representar la identidad cultural del país” (105) y se puede representar un marcador de identidad centroamericano y una forma de establecer solidaridad en su comunidad. La investigadora concluye que “with respect to issues of identity and linguistic attitudes, there is little doubt that the voseo is closely tied to Honduran and Salvadoran identity across generations” (104).

Tratamiento del voseo en los libros de texto

Para analizar el tratamiento del voseo en las clases de español, examinamos los libros de texto utilizados en la universidad. Mason y Nicely (1995) proponen entonces que el analizar los libros de texto presenta precisamente la falta de la enseñanza del voseo en los materiales pedagógicos. En su artículo, examinan los libros de texto entre los años 1988 y 1992. Hemos decidido examinar los textos publicados desde entonces para probar que nada ha cambiado en cuanto a su tratamiento. Este análisis demuestra el hecho, de cierta forma, de que no ha habido ningún progreso en su introducción en las aulas. Además, hemos examinado los libros de nivel principiante y de nivel intermedio. La razón para analizar los del primer grupo es porque los estudiantes suelen aprender de los pronombres y las conjugaciones del presente de indicativo en los primeros capítulos. No quiere decir que no haya instructores que enseñen el pronombre *vos* y sus conjugaciones, pero para el propósito de este artículo, se puede suponer que los puntos gramaticales abordados en un libro de texto guían principalmente el currículo de un curso de lengua; dicho de otro modo, si un libro de texto no menciona el voseo, difícilmente se lo enseñará. También hemos observado que muchos alumnos no deciden estudiar en el extranjero hasta su tercer año en el programa, entonces se examinan los libros de texto para el español intermedio en este artículo.

Los libros de texto elegidos para este análisis son en orden alfabético: *¡Avance! Intermediate Spanish* (Bretz et al. 2014), *Dicho y Hecho* (Potowski et al. 2012), *Exploraciones: Curso Intermedio* (Blitt et al. 2013), *Imagina: Español sin Barreras* (Blanco y Tocaimaza-Hatch 2015), *Protagonistas: A Communicative Approach* (Cuadrado et al. 2012), *Puntos de Partida* (Dorwick et al. 2012) y *Vistas: Introducción a la Lengua Española* (Blanco y Donley 2012). Estos libros fueron seleccionados por la preferencia de sus editoriales en las aulas, concretamente Cengage, McGraw-Hill, Vista Higher Learning y Wiley (Book Industry Study Group; Association of American Publishers 2014). Las preguntas que hemos considerado consisten en las siguientes:

1. ¿Está presentado el voseo de alguna forma?

2. ¿Cómo se presenta? ¿Se dedica una sección al punto gramatical o solamente una anotación?
3. ¿En qué sección del texto aparece? ¿Aparece más de una vez?

Hemos optado por un método visual más simple —una presentación esquemática— para contestar a las preguntas anteriores y resumir la información recogida.

Avance (2014) – Nivel intermedio

- Se describe como un libro que refuerza y desarrolla las habilidades comunicativas y funcionales de los cursos introductorios
- Se menciona el voseo una vez en el libro, en una anotación en Capítulo 1
- Nota el pronombre, un ejemplo en el presente de indicativo y dos formas del imperativo

Dicho y hecho (2012) – Nivel principiante

- Se describe como un libro que emplea varias actividades (input) hasta que el estudiante decida comunicarse (output)
- Se menciona el voseo una vez en el libro, en una anotación para el instructor en Capítulo 1
- Sólo nota el pronombre

Exploraciones (2013) – Nivel intermedio

- No hay ninguna mención del voseo

Imagina (2015) – Nivel intermedio

- No hay ninguna mención del voseo

Protagonistas (2012) – Nivel principiante

- Se describe como un libro enfocado en una aproximación comunicativa dentro del aula
- Se menciona el voseo cuatro veces en el libro: en un ejercicio en Capítulo 7, en una anotación en Capítulo 11, en una lectura en Capítulo 17, y en un apunte gramatical en el apéndice
- Nota el pronombre y tres conjugaciones

Puntos de Partida (2012) – Nivel principiante

- Se describe como un libro que hace énfasis el aula híbrida
- Se menciona el voseo tres veces en el libro: en un resumen de clíticos de objeto indirecto en Capítulo 8, en un ejercicio de comprensión oral en Capítulo 15, y en el apéndice

- Nota el pronombre y algunas formas del imperativo

En el resumen de clíticos (o pronombres) de objeto indirecto en la página 240, los autores de *Puntos de Partida* ofrecen una figura que incorrectamente indica que *vos* es un pronombre de objeto indirecto para *vosotros*. Esta información puede confundir a un estudiante porque primero, *vos* y *vosotros* no se utilizan en los mismos contextos; el primero se usa como un pronombre de segunda persona singular mientras el segundo de segunda persona plural. Segundo, *vos* es un pronombre de sujeto y sus clíticos de objeto directo e indirecto son iguales a los de *tú*. Por último, el uso de *vosotros* no ocurre fuera de España mientras *vos* solamente existe en Hispanoamérica.

Vistas (2012) – Nivel principiante

- Se describe como un libro que enfatiza la gramática en situaciones contextualizadas y culturales
- Se menciona el voseo dos veces en el libro: en una anotación para instructores en Capítulo 1 y en una sección cultural de Argentina en Capítulo 11
- Nota el pronombre y varias conjugaciones

Discusión

De los cuatro libros de texto analizados para principiantes, ninguno de ellos trata de ofrecer una sección pedagógica para enseñar el voseo. En vez de hacer esto, proporcionan ejemplos verbales o simplemente proporcionan una nota de referencia. Además, una curiosidad es el hecho de que solamente uno de los libros intermedios que emplean lenguaje más avanzado e introducen conceptos lingüísticos más complejos menciona el voseo, lo que puede ser una desventaja para los estudiantes que escogen viajar después del tercer o cuarto semestre del español.

Debido a toda la información presentada en este informe, sugerimos que se trate este paradigma en el aula como resultado de la gran cantidad de universitarios estadounidenses en regiones voseantes, del número de inmigrantes aquí procedentes de Centroamérica y por el gran número de voseantes en el mundo hispanohablante. Además, Shenk (2014) confirma que hay un imperativo sociolingüístico. Parece esencial empezar a enseñar el voseo en nuestras aulas (o por lo menos prestarle más atención) para preparar mejor a nuestros alumnos para comunicarse en el diverso mundo hispano. El propósito de este artículo es demostrar que todavía no abordamos un paradigma con gran uso, y que se usa en vez de *tú*, en varios lugares de Hispanoamérica y Estados Unidos

En este artículo admitimos que hemos ofrecido una perspectiva simplista del fenómeno, pero hay que reconocer su complejidad en cuanto a su uso y también

al paradigma mismo. Shenk (2014) ofrece un buen análisis de las variedades voseantes y la manera en que los instructores pueden incorporarlas en el aula. Es más, presenta una crítica de la simplificación de los conceptos gramaticales: “Educators regularly teach—and typically simplify for students’ supposed benefit—other similarly complex phenomena, such as the use of *tú* and *usted*” (370). Dicho de otro modo, los educadores simplifican los pronombres de segunda persona y enseñan *tú* como un tratamiento exclusivamente informal y *usted* como uno formal. No obstante, la simplificación y la exclusión de la variación que existe a través de los dialectos nos dejan con un panorama poco realista de la flexibilidad y creatividad del lenguaje en el mundo hispano. Para incorporar de manera eficaz el voseo en el aula, a continuación, ofrecemos un resumen de trabajos que presentan ideas concretas de cómo se puede incorporar el tema en el aula y las ventajas que conlleva.

Schoonmaker-Gates (2017), en su artículo sobre la presentación de la variación regional en el aula de ELE, analiza la incorporación de materiales que exponen variedades regionales a los estudiantes en el cuarto semestre de español. Estos recursos incluyen cortometrajes, películas, programas de televisión, podcasts e interacción con hablantes nativos de una cierta variedad. Esta exposición directa a dialectos del español ayuda a los estudiantes a prestar atención a ciertas señales morfosintácticas y, como resultado, extraer mejor el significado de un texto, ya sea oral o escrito. Esta herramienta es especialmente importante dado que los aprendices de una segunda lengua tienen dificultades en entender hablantes nativos de un dialecto al que no han sido expuestos previamente. Además, hay investigaciones que demuestran que los aprendices de una segunda lengua son más propensos a escuchar, y a veces adoptar, formas morfosintácticamente distintas a las que han aprendido (Salgado-Robles 2011; Kanwit et al. 2015).

Usando las metas establecidas por la organización American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL), Shenk (2014) promueve la enseñanza del voseo por razones sociolingüísticas. En cuanto a las metas comunicativa y comunitaria, “los aprendices mejoran su habilidad de comunicarse por reconocer y responder de manera apropiada al voseo” (370). Dentro de las metas cultural y comparativa, entienden mejor las relaciones y prácticas de los pronombres *tú*, *vos* y *usted* en una comunidad y pueden comparar cómo ellos mismos expresan la formalidad, intimidad y solidaridad en sus lenguas maternas. Por fin, Shenk afirma que sirve como una introducción breve a la variación dialectal y al campo de sociolingüística. Los métodos que proporciona en su trabajo son parecidos a los de Schoonmaker-Gates (2017), pero también agrega actividades para extraer conocimiento previo acerca del voseo y ejercicios comunicativos y expositivos que requieren que los alumnos experimenten con el paradigma.

Sugerencias de investigación futura

Actualmente, el trabajo de Ariza Herrera, Molinas Morales y Nieto Martín (2019) presenta la perspectiva pedagógica y las dificultades que encuentran los profesores y alumnos cuando usan materiales didácticos que vienen principalmente de España; los manuales y libros de texto reflejan las realidades sociolingüísticas y culturales de la península. Entonces, una sugerencia de investigación es un estudio sociolingüístico sobre la presencia de formas exclusivamente del español peninsular septentrional que siguen apareciendo en los libros de texto. Tal vez sea un tema relacionado con el prestigio de esta variedad del español. Por ejemplo, en Argentina misma, se puede encontrar la preferencia lingüística de la variación peninsular en los libros de texto de escuela primaria. El 11% de los manuales examinados presentan *vos* como forma normativa para dirigirse a los alumnos (López García 2010). Es un porcentaje pequeño si se considera que el voseo es un paradigma verbal oficialmente reconocido como el estándar a partir de los 80 aunque ha formado parte del español (o castellano) argentino desde el siglo XVIII (Quinteros de Creus y de Azevedo Baladão 2008). Por lo tanto, todavía se ve una preferencia por un estándar de la lengua española basado en lo europeo.

Por último, al considerar el número de paradigmas que tienen que adquirir los estudiantes de nivel principiante, recomendamos una investigación sobre la introducción del voseo durante los primeros semestres en el aula de español. Aunque parece que sea más material para presentarles a los estudiantes, *vos* y *vosotros* tienen algunas semejanzas en cuanto a sus conjugaciones —en el presente de indicativo y de subjuntivo— y en su desarrollo histórico. Por ejemplo, en unas regiones voseantes se emplea la conjugación diptonguizada. En otras, tienen una conjugación con un monoptongo que lleva el acento en la última sílaba como la forma de la segunda persona plural, e.g., *vos tenés* vs *vosotros tenéis*. Por esta razón, hay conexiones que se pueden hacer entre los dos para facilitar el aprendizaje del paradigma voseante.

Obras citadas

- Ariza Herrera, E., et al. (2019). “Adaptación de materiales para la enseñanza de español como lengua extranjera en latinoamérica: El caso de Aula América 1”. *Forma y función* 32.1: 101-123.
- Blanco, José A., y Philip R. Donley. (2012). *Vistas: Introducción a la Lengua Española*. Boston: Vista Higher Learning.
- Blanco, José A., y C. Cecilia Tocaimaza-Hatch. (2015). *Imagina: Español sin barreras*. Boston: Vista Higher Learning.
- Blitt, Mary Ann, et al. (2013). *Exploraciones: Curso intermedio*. Boston: Heinle.
- Book Industry Study Group; Association of American Publishers. (2014). *BookStats Volume 4: A Comprehensive Study of the U.S. Publishing Industry (multi-user edition)*.
- Bretz, Mary Lee, et al. (2014). *¡Avanze! Intermediate Spanish*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

- Cameron, Robert D. (2002). "Why It's Time to Teach Voseo and How to Start". *Academic Exchange Quarterly* 16.3: 72-77.
- Cuadrado, Charo, et al. (2012). *Protagonistas: A Communicative Approach*. Boston: Vista Higher Learning.
- Dorwick, Thalia, et al. (2012). *Puntos de partida*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Institute of International Education. (2017). "Top 25 Destinations of U.S. Study Abroad Students, 2014/15-2015/16". *Open Doors Report on International Educational Exchange*.
- Kanwit, Matthew, et al. (2015). "Study Abroad and the SLA of Variable Structures: A Look at the Present Perfect, the Copula Contrast, and the Present Progressive in Mexico and Spain". *Probus*, 27.2: 307-348.
- Lapesa, Rafael. (1980). *Historia de la lengua española*. Spain: Gredos.
- Lipski, John. (1994). *Latin American Spanish*. London: Longmans.
- López García, María (2010). "Norma estándar, variedad lingüística y español transnacional: ¿La lengua materna es la lengua de la 'madre patria'?" *Revista de Lingüística y Linguas Aplicadas* 5: 89-108.
- O'Connor, Allison, et al. (2019). *Central American Immigrants in the United States*. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/central-american-immigrants-united-states>.
- Mason, Keith y Kenneth Nicely. (1995). "Pronouns of Address in Spanish-Language Textbooks: The Case for *Vos*". *Foreign Language Annals* 28.3: 360-370.
- Potowski, Kim, et al. (2012). *Dicho y Hecho: Beginning Spanish*. Hoboken: Wiley.
- Quinteros de Creus, Susana, y Janaína de Azevedo Baladão. (2008). "Construcción identitaria en el paradigma voseante rioplatense. Un proceso de interacción lingüística y sociocultural". *Valor de la diversidad (meta)lingüística*. Ed. A. Moreno Sandoval. Escrito presentado en *Actas del VIII Congreso de Lingüística, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid*. Madrid: UAM: 1-20.
- Rivera-Mills, Susana V. (2011). "Use of Voseo and Latino Identity: An Intergenerational Study of Hondurans and Salvadorans in the Western Region of the U.S.". *Selected Proceedings of the 13th Hispanic Linguistics Symposium*. Ed. Luis A. Ortiz-López. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla: 94-106.
- Rojas Blanco, Lillyam. (2003). "A propósito del voseo: Su historia, su morfología y su situación en Costa Rica". *Educación: Revista de la Universidad de Costa Rica* 27.2: 143-63.
- Salgado-Robles, Francisco. (2011). *The Acquisition of Sociolinguistic Variation by Learners of Spanish in a Study Abroad Context*. Order No. 3496927 University of Florida.
- Schoonmaker-Gates, Elena. (2017). "Regional Variation in the Language Classroom and Beyond: Mapping Learners' Developing Dialectal Competence". *Foreign Language Annals* 50.1: 177-194.
- Schreffler, Sandra. (1994). "Second-Person Singular Pronoun Options in the Speech of Salvadorans in Houston, TX". *Southwest Journal of Linguistics* 13.1-2: 101-119.
- Shenk, Elaine. (2014). "Teaching Sociolinguistic Variation in the Intermediate Language Classroom: Voseo in Latin America". *Hispania* 97.3: 368-381.
- Solano, Yamileth. (1986). "Formas de Tratamiento Diádico en los Niños Escolares de una Comunidad de Costa Rica". *Actas II Congreso Internacional sobre el Español de América*.
- Stewart, Miranda. (1999). *The Spanish Language Today*. London: Routledge.

Thomas, Juan Antonio. (2008). "Reflexiones metalingüísticas acerca del voseo costarricense". *Spanish in Context* 5.2: 182-195.

A construção identitária da mulher indígena em
Metade cara, metade máscara (2004) de Eliane Potiguara:
estratégias narrativas na construção de uma voz

Angela Mooney
Tulane University

Resumo: Este artigo investiga as estratégias utilizadas na construção identitária da mulher indígena pela escritora Eliane Potiguara em seu romance *Metade cara, metade máscara* (2004). De modo específico, analisamos como a autora incorpora em seu romance deslocamentos forçados vivenciados pelas sociedades ameríndias, que em nome do progresso são obrigadas a deixar seus territórios e migrar a regiões periféricas em grandes centros urbanos, construindo discursos contra-hegemônicos onde a voz da mulher indígena se desdobra em identidades múltiplas, valorizando subjetividades tradicionalmente invisibilizadas na literatura canônica brasileira.

Palavras-chave: Identidade; deslocamento; literatura contemporânea brasileira; literatura ameríndia.

Podemos caracterizar como um avanço, ainda que incipiente, as mudanças na representação dos povos ameríndios pelos produtos culturais, sendo a literatura apenas um deles. Desde o bom selvagem rousseauiano, de criaturas inocentes e idealizadas por autores do Romantismo brasileiro, até o revolucionário Macunaíma, seguindo com as reflexões do Cinema Novo, até culminar no Vídeo nas Aldeias,¹ notamos quais passos estão sendo dados em direção a uma representação mais sensível dessa alteridade.

Os problemas de ordem etnográfica presentes na representação de sociedades ameríndias variam conforme o período histórico e os interesses de grupos dominantes. Bastante documentado é o modo como os primeiros cronistas do século XVI alteravam suas descrições dependendo de seus interesses e do gosto de seus leitores (Cunha; Massimi; Albuquerque). Não raramente, indivíduos de uma mesma comunidade eram retratados como selvagens dóceis ou como guerreiros antropófagos, cercados ou não de monstros mitológicos ou guardiões de fortunas, dependendo do ganho que tal descrição traria ao escritor-viajante. Nessas descrições, complexas e diversas sociedades ameríndias eram comumente apresentadas de modo genérico: diferenças de vestimenta, língua e organização social, cultural e religiosa eram neutralizadas na figura de um indígena único, representação essa que segue presente ainda hoje no imaginário de muitos brasileiros.

Durante o movimento de independência do Brasil, a figura do indígena rousseauiano, puro e incorruptível seria facilmente incorporada ao discurso de um Brasil livre da decadência cultural das civilizações europeias. A crítica

1 Vídeo nas Aldeias (VNA) é um projeto pioneiro criado em 1987 pelo indigenista e cineasta Vincent Carelli e que forma diretores cinematográficos indígenas. O objetivo do projeto é apoiar as lutas dos povos indígenas para fortalecer suas identidades e seus patrimônios territoriais e culturais.

literária Doris Sommer destaca a importância do indianismo na formação do passado histórico brasileiro com uma pergunta:

O que seria mais brasileiro e mostraria mais claramente a independência brasileira de Portugal que mostrar como protagonistas aos índios e aos portugueses, que, dando as costas à Europa, escolheram se unir aos nativos? (cit. em Sawyer 147)

No esforço de afirmação como país independente e dono de uma cultura singular, o ameríndio passa a ser incorporado à literatura brasileira segundo contornos idealizados onde prevalecem a coragem, a pureza e a generosidade. Entre os romances publicados nesse período, a protagonista de *Iracema* (1864), do autor romântico José de Alencar, é sem dúvida a personagem mais conhecida. Pertencente ao povo Tabajara, Iracema é destemida, pura e bela, ou seja, reúne todos os atributos da terra virgem e fértil que seria desbravada pelo conquistador português. Apaixonada, a jovem abandona seu povo e foge com o colonizador português Martim, aliado do povo inimigo, os Pitiguaras (ou Potiguaras). À medida em que se relaciona com Martim, seu comportamento muda e Iracema se torna submissa e frágil, falecendo logo após dar à luz seu único filho, Moacir. Não por coincidência, Iracema é um anagrama da palavra América: a mãe do primeiro brasileiro, o fruto miscigenado da pureza e bondade inatas atribuídas aos índios com a civilização e conhecimento facultados aos europeus.

As práticas discursivas que elencaram características de bondade e nobreza ao ameríndio no Brasil seriam apenas revistas no início do século XX, com o advento do movimento modernista, em especial após a publicação do *Manifesto Antropófago* (1928) de Oswald de Andrade. Nesse texto, Oswald cria um indianismo avesso ao idealismo romântico e próximo à figura do “mau selvagem” de Montaigne, entendendo-o como exemplo de uma existência livre das imposturas do “homem civilizado”.² A cultura popular e as narrativas indígenas inspirariam também Mario de Andrade, autor do romance *Macunaíma* (1928). Ao contrário de José de Alencar, que busca abarcar uma identidade nacional, Mário de Andrade centra-se justamente na ausência dessa identidade para criar o índio Macunaíma. O grande anti-herói nacional não possui nenhum caráter e à medida que se afasta dos costumes e territórios originais, Macunaíma vai se degradando até sua morte. Semelhante declínio é registrado magnificamente no filme *Iracema, uma transa amazônica* (1975), onde a degradação da natureza resultado de uma política de exploração e povoamento da Amazônia em vigor durante o período ditatorial (1964-1985) aparece representada também no corpo de Iracema, a índia que emigra para a cidade e termina prostituindo-se nas rodovias de acesso a Manaus. Ao final do filme, seu corpo, bem como a natureza a sua volta, avidamente explorada, padece em ruínas.

Desses embates representacionais notamos a constância com que o índio aparece como elemento simbólico utilizado metonimicamente como um espaço de disputas coloniais e neocoloniais. Ainda de modo específico podemos notar a frequência com que o corpo da mulher indígena carrega o peso e a responsabilidade de representar cada momento histórico vivido pela nação, seja ele de contestação ou de apoio intervencionista. No entanto, a partir da década de 1980, período marcado pela redemocratização e pelo surgimento de movimentos políticos liderados por jovens indígenas, a mulher indígena inicia um processo de apropriação desse corpo simbólico usurpado. O corpo restituído na voz da mulher indígena é inscrito agora na literatura como um lugar de protesto, cravado por narrativas de deslocamento e discriminação, lugar onde se inscrevem histórias de sobrevivência.

É justamente nesse lugar de resistência que podemos situar *Metade cara, Metade máscara* (2004) de Eliane Potiguara. Neste artigo demonstramos como a emergência da voz da autora abre caminho para a inclusão da escrita ameríndia de autoria feminina no sistema literário brasileiro, rompendo com o monopólio da representação da mulher ameríndia por escritores não-ameríndios. A palavra moldada por uma intenção estética encontra-se expandida em narrativas polifônicas que têm como objetivo maior promover a conscientização e mudanças sociais e políticas. Demonstramos também como a escrita da autora promove a valorização do saber ameríndio ao mesmo tempo em que se posiciona contra os estigmas da indianidade que se impõem todas as vezes que os povos indígenas não-isolados lutam por seus direitos. Por último, analisamos as estratégias utilizadas em *Metade cara, metade máscara* na desconstrução de imagens criadas em torno da mulher indígena: no lugar da sedutora Iracema, encontramos Cunhataí, alter-ego da autora e protagonista ficcional do romance, que corajosamente vencerá todos os obstáculos, todos os horrores impostos pelos brancos a sua gente, e fará o trajeto de volta à casa ancestral, ao encontro de sua cultura e identidade. Ao final, a personagem não encontra a morte, mas seu merecido descanso, “o sono do descanso merecido, o sono da mulher” (135).

Metade cara, metade máscara é uma compilação de textos de diversos gêneros literários, escritos entre 1975 e 2003, e organizados em seis capítulos que dão coesão a um projeto épico de representação da história de resistência dos povos ameríndios segundo uma perspectiva feminina. Essa intenção narrativa é desenvolvida a partir de três eixos temáticos. O primeiro é de ordem mítica/simbólica, que descreve o encontro da índia Cunhataí com seu amante Jurupiranga, a destruição de seus povos, o exílio de ambos, a luta de Cunhataí para reencontrar Jurupiranga e preservar sua cultura e identidade, e a vitória de Cunhataí junto ao seu povo e amante. O segundo acontece em um nível histórico, onde os efeitos do colonialismo e neocolonialismo são descritos segundo a perspectiva

ameríndia. O terceiro, claramente autobiográfico, narra o percurso íntimo de resistência e luta da autora, através do ativismo e da literatura.³

Nota-se na escrita de Eliane Potiguara uma urgência na preservação e valorização do conhecimento ameríndio, valores intimamente ligados à valorização da mulher que carrega, muitas vezes sozinha, a função de zelar pelo bem-estar da família e transmitir os conhecimentos ancestrais aos seus descendentes. Através de *Metade cara, metade máscara*, Eliane Potiguara toca os leitores não através da retórica, mas “do sangue e do pus e do suor”, como diria a escritora chicana Gloria Anzaldúa em seu seminal “Hablar em Lenguas. Una carta a escritoras tercermundistas”. De difícil classificação, os vários gêneros literários e registros linguísticos que formam a obra culminam em um discurso carnavalesco conforme entendido por Julia Kristeva: “Carnavalesque discourse breaks through the laws of language censored by grammar and semantics and, at the same time, is a social and political protest. There is no equivalence, but rather, identity between challenging official linguistic codes and challenging official law” (36).

A crítica literária Cristina Ferreira-Pinto Bailey associa essa mistura de gêneros e registros, como o ensaio, a autobiografia, a poesia, a prosa e o mito, a uma proposta bastante utilizada em obras de mulheres pertencentes a minorias étnicas, mesmo entre escritoras de países e culturas distintas, citando o que Gloria Anzaldúa chamou de “autohisteorías”. Segundo a escritora chicana: “women of color write not only about abstract ideas but also bring in their personal history as well as the history of their community” (“Writing. A Way of Life” 242). Assim, Potiguara, ao escrever e inscrever-se no texto, está reivindicando sua posição de agente produtor de discurso e atualizando o pensamento da autora feminista francesa Hélène Cixous, que no seminal *The Laugh of the Medusa* afirma: “Woman must put herself into the text—as into the world and into history—by her own movement” (875). Igualmente, identificamos no trabalho de Eliane Potiguara diversas narrativas que desaguam em uma voz clara e forte, feminina, que busca empatia para uma causa em comum. O poema “Na trilha da mata”, por exemplo, trabalha com essa posição marginal ocupada pela mulher indígena na produção de discurso; a voz poética identifica e desestabiliza preconceitos que alijam a mulher indígena da atividade intelectual:

Não me importo
Se o que escrevo
São ilusões
Não me importo
Se o que escrevo
Não são versos,
Rimas
Redondilhas...
Não me importo
Se dizem que não trabalho

Sou vagabunda da vida
E ela é minha amante.

Juntos, temos que contar... (63)

Potiguara fala de sua identidade indígena ao se dirigir a um coletivo, a outros irmãos e irmãs filhos da terra, indivíduos que como ela têm ocupado o entre-lugar da sociedade eurocêntrica e capitalista. Essa identidade se manifesta hibridamente, fronteira, situada entre culturas que se tencionam e onde negociações são estabelecidas. No poema “Pankararu,” a autora assinala esse conflito identitário e sugere a necessidade de enfrentamento, a voz poética é construída a partir da relação maternal onde o afeto a uniria a outros grupos marginalizados:

Sabe, meus filhos...
Nós somos marginais das famílias
Somos marginais das cidades
Marginais das palhoças...
E da história?

Não somos daqui
Nem de acolá
Estamos sempre ENTRE
Entre este ou aquele
Entre isto ou aquilo!

Até onde aguentaremos, meus filhos?... (60)

Tanto a poesia quanto a prosa em *Metade cara, metade máscara* não admitem condescendência por parte do leitor, ao contrário, suscitam um posicionamento. O conflito originado da diferença, dessa alteridade que, obrigada a negociar continuamente uma identidade, surge como possibilidade de agenciamento frente ao discurso dominante da sociedade não-ameríndia. Cristina Ferreira-Pinto Bailey em sua leitura bastante precisa da obra de Eliane Potiguara aponta para esse lugar fronteiro ocupado pela autora, de onde nasceria também o poder e agência (207). Assim, Potiguara parte desse lugar fronteiro, que é um lugar de conhecimento menos acessado na literatura contemporânea brasileira, para dar testemunho de uma violência que afeta de modo particular as mulheres e as crianças. Essa situação, também compartilhada por diversas gerações de mulheres em sua família, é percebida pela narradora segundo uma perspectiva histórica de exploração colonialista:

Em 1729, a chamada República Guarani somava um total de 131.658 indígenas escravizados. Os exércitos português e espanhol, na batalha de 7 de fevereiro de 1756, próximo a Bagé (sudoeste do Rio Grande do Sul), assassinaram Sepé Tiaraju e mais 10 mil Guarani. Sua esposa, Marina

(Juçara), levaria às costas a menina recém-nascida que Sepé jamais veria. Era o início da solidão das mulheres, motivada pela violência, racismo e todas as formas de intolerância, referentes inclusive à espiritualidade e à cultura indígenas. (23)

O destaque dado ao sofrimento de Marina, mulher do guerreiro guarani Sepé Tiaraju,⁴ é significativo porque denota uma representação diferente daquela frequentemente construída da mulher indígena como Estado-nação⁵ e, como bem observaria Ania Loomba, “as mothers to the nation, women are granted limited agency” (218). A valorização de Marina no texto, no entanto, não recorre a um discurso heroico, mas à possibilidade de empatia capaz de promover mudanças, recorrendo à imagem de mulheres desamparadas e com filhos para criar. A autora de *Metade cara, metade máscara* parte da violência dos deslocamentos forçados segundo uma perspectiva feminina por entender que o resgate e a revigoração das culturas indígenas depende especialmente das mulheres, já que seriam elas o elo entre as novas gerações e a sabedoria e tradições ancestrais: “...a libertação do povo indígena passa radicalmente pela cultura, pela espiritualidade e pela cosmovisão das mulheres. O papel da mulher na luta pela identidade é natural, espontânea e indispensável” (4).

Ainda contrariando o mito da mulher como instrumento de mediação entre povos, discurso que paradoxalmente a exclui de um espaço onde se exerce a cidadania, Eliane Potiguara parece dar continuidade à estratégia utilizada pela escritora libanesa Mohja Kahf em seu famoso poema “My Body is Not Your Battleground” (2003). Após revisitar uma vasta cartografia simbólica do corpo feminino apropriado pelo desejo, disputas e discursos travados sobre o corpo feminino na manutenção do patriarcado a voz poética nos versos de Kahf responde:

My body is not your battleground
How dare you put your hand
where I have not given permission
Has God, then, given you permission
To put your hand there? (59)

Se no poema de Kahf nos deparamos com um impulso imperativo de reapropriar-se de um corpo que lhe havia sido historicamente usurpado, em “Brasil”,

4 Sepé Tiaraju liderou exército de guaranis contra tropas espanholas e portuguesas que, após firmado o Tratado de Madrid, exigiam a remoção dos povos moradores nas missões jesuíticas.

5 O poema “Índia missioneira” (2006) de Jussara Cony é um exemplo de como o corpo da mulher indígena pode ser empregado como campo de batalha de diversos discursos sobre a nação. Nele, Juçara, a mulher do índio Sepé, é construída metonimicamente como discurso nacionalista contestatório ao capitalismo e suas injustiças. Juçara simbolizaria então todas as mulheres subalternizadas que lutam por uma nova sociedade “de iguais, solidária e socialista” (Cony).

poema de Eliane Potiguara presente no primeiro capítulo, notamos o impulso impreterível de nomear um corpo invisibilizado pelo discurso colonialista:

O que eu faço com a minha cara de índia?

E meus cabelos
E minhas rugas
E minha história
E meus segredos?

O que eu faço com a minha cara de índia?

E meus espíritos
E minha força
E meu Tupã
E meus círculos? (34-35)

Nas passagens em que o autobiográfico se manifesta com mais evidência nota-se a preocupação de se distanciar da ênfase posta na individualidade do eu. Ao invés de uma perspectiva que evoque um individualismo heroico, comum na tradição literária autobiográfica de autoria masculina, a escrita do eu em Potiguara teria o objetivo maior de causar empatia e conscientizar os leitores sobre a questão indígena, levando-os a apoiar e mesmo a participar ativamente na resistência promovendo transformações na sociedade. Assim, quando na segunda página do livro a narradora descreve o assassinato do avô e o deslocamento forçado de sua avó com suas quatro filhas à cidade, a narradora ressalta que essa não é uma história somente sua, mas de muitos: “E aqui contamos não um caso particular, mas um caso comum a milhares de brasileiros, migrantes indígenas” (24). Desse mesmo modo será contextualizado também o brutal assassinato do avô, violência que segundo a narradora acontecia com frequência: “Amarraram-lhe pedras, introduziram-se um saco a cabeça e o arremessaram ao fundo das águas do litoral paraibano. A família colonizadora inglesa X ainda fez desaparecer muitos pais e avós de família” (24).⁶

6 As vivências de Eliane Potiguara e sua família podem assim ser lidas no contexto da luta sócio-política das narrativas latino-americanas à luz do testemunho de Rigoberta Menchú em *Me llamo Rigoberta Menchú y así me nació la conciencia* (1983) onde se lê: “Quisiera dar este testimonio vivo que no he aprendido en um libro y que tampoco he aprendido sola ya que todo esto he aprendido com mi pueblo y es algo que yo quisiera enfocar...Mi situación personal engloba toda la realidade de um Pueblo” (21). Para Barbara Harlow em *Resistance Literature*, o modo como Menchú se posiciona em seu testemunho pode ser entendido como uma tentativa retórica de subverter o individualismo ocidental reestruturando o pessoal e o político. Doris Sommer afirmaria também que o “eu” no testemunho de Rigoberta Menchú, longe de ser uma metáfora para um sujeito plural, expressa “uma relação metonímica de experiência e consciência compartilhadas” (108).

Episódios como os narrados acima, que representam momentos decisivos na vida da autora e de sua família, são construídos em terceira pessoa e recebem títulos impessoais, que parecem querer construir uma subjetividade despegada do eu e próxima a um coletivo. Graça Graúna, escritora e crítica literária de etnia Potiguara, afirmaria que essa escolha narrativa aproxima a dimensão ontológica do relato ao processo histórico, uma vez que o narrado seria também o destino comum de inúmeras famílias ameríndias. Poderíamos então também afirmar que ao articular suas vivências em direção a uma história coletiva, a autora dá continuidade a um projeto narrativo anunciado no título da obra, que sugere, como bem interpretou Rita Olivieri-Godet, metamorfoses da identidade correlacionadas à potencialidade da voz que pode falar em nome do indivíduo ou de uma coletividade subalternizada (15).

Em uma leitura cuidadosa, Rejane Seitenfuss Gehlen apontaria para a agradável surpresa do leitor que se vê diante de um texto que rompe as fronteiras dos gêneros textuais. A autora destaca os laços estreitos com a oralidade que imprimiria no texto uma característica de inacabamento, não no sentido denotativo, mas como uma manifestação da pluralidade e diversidade cultural (84). A ideia de inacabamento como impressão de uma multiplicidade no texto de Eliane Potiguara, feita por Gehlen, abre possibilidades para uma leitura ainda mais radical, onde o texto passa a ser parte de um sistema rizomático através do qual os atores sociais reconstróem uma história própria silenciada por discursos hegemônicos. Esse conceito, desenvolvido pelo ensaísta uruguaio Hugo Achugar, é citado no artigo “Políticas e poéticas da memória: gênero e etnicidade”, de Eurídice Figueiredo, para singularizar a proliferação de vozes na literatura contemporânea brasileira no esforço de construção de contramemórias (cit. em Figueiredo 151). Nesse texto, Figueiredo ressalta a influência da transmissão oral — através das histórias contadas pela avó — na escrita da autora, considerando também a importância da educação formal que permitiu a passagem do oral para o escrito. É na justaposição dessas duas tradições que a escrita de mulheres pertencentes a comunidades não-letradas se torna um ato político de insubordinação, conforme afirmaria Conceição Evaristo:

Escrever pressupõe um dinamismo próprio do sujeito da escrita, proporcionando-lhe a sua autoinscrição no interior do mundo. E, em se tratando de um ato empreendido por mulheres negras, que historicamente transitam por espaços culturais diferenciados dos lugares ocupados pela cultura das elites, escrever adquire um sentido de insubordinação. Insubordinação que pode se evidenciar, muitas vezes, desde uma escrita que fere “as normas cultas” da língua, caso exemplar o de Carolina Maria de Jesus, como também pela escolha da matéria narrada. (21)

A ideia de transgressão através de uma valorização da oralidade inscrita no texto, e que resulta em representações múltiplas de culturas diversas, está presente na maioria das leituras de *Metade cara, metade máscara* realizadas pela crítica. Essa característica, junto a sua vivência como mulher e ameríndia, ator social duplamente marginalizado na sociedade brasileira, reflete em uma prática transgressora dos gêneros narrativos. Parece claro, no entanto, que o texto produzido não é a voz transcrita de relatos comunitários. A voz que percebemos no texto de Potiguara é a voz que transgride o corpo subalternizado, esse lugar marcado por diferenças visíveis, generalizações e ideologias sexistas e racistas. Eliane Potiguara retorna ao corpo da mulher indígena para dar-lhe voz, reapropria-se do mito fundador das Américas para atribuir à mulher uma força geradora que lhe torna sujeito não só de seu próprio discurso, mas também do seu prazer, como revelam os versos do poema “Revendo seu amado”:

Pouco a pouco essa coisa louca
Vai-me tomando feito Anhangá
És tu que me cheira
Que me morde
Que me beija
Que me penetra até sangrar.

Corre-me nas veias quentes
O delírio que me rouba a paz
Agonizo-me inteira!
Enrijeço-me solteira!
É tua boca que me suga a fonte sagaz... (122)

Ao construir expressões poéticas que retornam ao corpo e à sexualidade da mulher indígena, a autora rompe com o silêncio, condição subalterna daqueles que não possuem um lugar no contexto globalizante, capitalista, autoritário e excludente. Também no exercício interlingual próprio das literaturas indígenas, Potiguara ocupa um solo simbólico fortemente relacionado com a territorialidade, e por isso de intenso teor político, conforme afirma Maria Inês de Almeida e Sônia Queiroz:

Cada livro editado nesse processo de criação literária serve para indicar que é a partir da terra que os livros são escritos. Assim como na tradição literária europeia se baseia na textualidade (ou representação) — um livro nasce de outro livro, e assim por diante — as várias literaturas indígenas servem-se da territorialidade: cada trecho de livro copiado, cada voz transcrita, cada tradição interlingual, cada parte do mosaico, que são os livros aqui referidos, é um pedaço de terra concretamente desapropriado e reapropriado ao mesmo tempo. (197-198)

Graça Graúna também propõe uma leitura de *Metade cara, metade máscara* a partir de uma tradição que remete à territorialidade, focando-se, no entanto, em uma oralidade fundada em uma cosmologia de valorização do feminino. Para tal, a crítica retorna ao título do livro, onde encontra a chave para uma reflexão acerca das relações travadas na obra entre a poesia e a história, entre o real e o imaginário, o sagrado e o profano, o individual e o coletivo:

Na dinâmica do discurso poético indígena, a junção dessas identidades parece intensificar uma leitura das diferenças entre a linguagem coloquial (cara) e a linguagem formal (máscara) para reafirmar que a palavra da mulher indígena é tão sagrada quanto a Mãe Terra. (105)

Entendemos a proposta de uma leitura a partir da dicotomia “cara” e “máscara” presente no título tal como idealizada por Graça Graúna bastante pertinente, sobretudo se a vislumbrarmos como um paradigma na reflexão acerca das questões identitárias que permeiam toda a obra, e que aparecem problematizadas de modo central no capítulo quatro, “Influência dos ancestrais na busca pela preservação da identidade” (80-103). No texto autobiográfico “Folha de Jenipapo” (99), por exemplo, lemos sobre a descoberta da simbologia de uma marca de nascença que Eliane Potiguara possui no olho esquerdo. A autora conta como a mancha lhe causava desconforto já que era fonte de burla e ofensas feitas sobretudo por homens, que diziam que ela havia “tomado uma surra do marido” e que era “marcada pela polícia” (99). Esse sentimento em relação à marca no rosto se transforma após os Kaiapós⁷ revelarem à autora que o sinal que carrega seria na realidade uma grande marca de folha de jenipapo, de significado espiritual, igual à pintura que eles trazem no corpo, e que os tornariam membros de uma mesma família ancestral. O texto revela a emoção dessa descoberta: “Choramos verdadeiramente juntos, como se eu encontrasse uma família ancestral e os Kaiapós me chamaram de prima, colocaram a mão direita em meu ombro e choraram copiosamente pelo reencontro” (100). Assim, a marca de jenipapo que confere ao rosto de Potiguara o aspecto de máscara, simboliza o nascimento a partir de uma ancestralidade antes ignorada. Também no capítulo quatro encontramos o poema “Pele de foca”, que ilustra esse processo de renascimento e recuperação de uma identidade indígena:

A luz se abriu e a minha pela de foca
voltou a se umedecer

Minha pele estava seca pelas vicissitudes da vida. Eu
mergulhei nas profundezas dos

7 Kayapó ou Caiapó são exônimos mais usados para o povo Mebêngôkre que vivem em aldeias dispersas na região do Mato Grosso e Pará. Mais informações sobre essa sociedade podem ser encontradas no site Povos Indígenas no Brasil do Instituto Socioambiental: <<https://pib.socioambiental.org>>.

mares e reencontrei minha avó-foca, minhas sagradas ancestrais e os velhos guerreiros que também não se envergonhavam por suas lágrimas.
Elas – sabiamente – me contestaram e mostraram que eu, inconsciente e pacificamente, aceitava os padrões éticos impostos pela intolerância da sociedade, e voltei com minha alma fortalecida, voltei com meus sonhos definidos, voltei com minha intuição extremamente clara, precisa, determinada. Minhas costelas não estão mais descarnadas, a carne voltou a crescer depois que os homens derramaram suas lágrimas pelas mulheres do mundo e eu não sou mais uma mulher-esqueleto, jogada ao fundo do mar, como se fora um sapato velho, pela cultura impostora. Sou uma mulher de fibra, porque eu me reconstruí por mim mesma, depois de dançar desvairadamente na vida com meu iludido sapatinho vermelho. Quase perdi meus pés, as ervas daninhas enrolaram neles pra que eu nunca mais caminhasse pelas estradas do saber, da consciência e do mais alto grau da espiritualidade indígena, mas pude dominá-los e arrancar esses malditos sapatinhos vermelhos... (86)

A voz poética em “Pele de foca” narra a decisão corajosa de abandonar “o sapatinho vermelho”, símbolo de feminilidade em sociedades não-indígenas, que a alienava e impedia seus movimentos. Quando nega esses valores impostos, ela deixa de ser uma “mulher-esqueleto”, imagem que remete tanto à morte simbólica quanto à miséria material. Em outras palavras, o poema nos permite acesso a esse processo íntimo de reencontro com uma identidade usurpada, ao mesmo tempo que propõe uma transgressão das forças do Estado que negam aos índios que vivem na cidade sua identidade ameríndia. O antropólogo Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (2017) ressalta o esforço do Estado brasileiro e seus ideólogos em fazer com que os índios desapareçam sem que seja preciso exterminá-los fisicamente (ainda que o genocídio continue sendo praticado no país). Esse desaparecimento aconteceria a partir de uma desindianização que culmina no esforço de cortar relação dos índios com a terra para poder submetê-los a um regime de trabalho, polícia e administração:

Separar os índios (e todos os demais indígenas)⁸ de sua relação orgânica, política, social, vital com a terra e com suas comunidades que vivem da

8 Em “Os Involuntários da Pátria” o antropólogo Eduardo Viveiros de Castro explica que todos os índios no Brasil são indígenas, mas nem todos os indígenas que vivem no Brasil são índios:

terra—essa separação sempre foi vista como “condição necessária” para transformar o índio em cidadão. Em cidadão pobre, naturalmente. Porque sem pobres não há capitalismo, o capitalismo precisa de pobres, como precisou (e ainda precisa) de escravos. Transformar o índio em pobre. Para isso, foi e é preciso antes de mais nada separá-lo de sua terra, da terra que o “constitui” como indígena. (191)

Esse processo de transformação do índio em mão-de-obra barata aparece desenvolvido tanto na prosa quanto na poesia presente em *Metade cara, metade máscara*. Em “Vi um indiozinho escorrendo pelo bueiro”, por exemplo, a narradora utiliza a imagem do relógio derretendo de “A persistência da memória”, de Salvador Dalí, para ilustrar uma criança indígena em estado de desaparecimento, onde “seu corpo magro e sujo amoldava-se às formas do paralelepípedo” (94). O relato, no entanto, alterna-se entre o tom emocional e o reivindicatório, apontando para causas e caminhos, sem abandonar a relação afetiva que estabelece com o sujeito narrado:

Eu respondi a ele: “Como consegue dinheiro?” Ele, com o rosto encharcado de lágrimas misturado à poeira, respondeu: “Pedindo!” Ele era só um pedinte indígena, uma nova classe social criada pela pobreza. E meu útero de mãe rosnou, rosnou tanto que uma dor rouca, uma dor cavernosa saiu pela minhas entranhas, uma dor insuportável que esmigalhava minha alma, minha essência indígena, meu berros internos! Indigente indígena: indigno isso! (96)

A voz feminina que brade desde o útero a tristeza de uma criança abandonada, identifica também os agentes desse processo e articula estratégias de resistência. Ela confronta os tradicionais agentes do discurso que munidos de cuidados paternalistas idealizam o “índio verdadeiro”, desvalorizando assim aqueles que foram obrigados a deixar seus territórios e viver nas cidades:

...povos indígenas, povos ressurgidos, emergentes, índios-descendentes, índios desaldeados, “desplazados” e imigrantes grupais ou individuais não podem

Índios são os membros de povos e comunidades que têm consciência — seja porque nunca a perderam, seja porque a recobram — de sua relação histórica com os indígenas que viviam nesta terra antes da chegada dos europeus. Foram chamados de ‘índios’ por conta do famoso equívoco dos invasores que, ao aportarem na América, pensavam ter chegado na Índia. ‘Indígena’, por outro lado, é uma palavra muito antiga, sem nada de ‘índiana’ nela; significa ‘gerado dentro da terra que lhe é própria, originário da terra em que vive’. Há povos indígenas no Brasil, na África, na Ásia, na Oceania, e até mesmo na Europa... Ser indígena é ter como referência primordial a relação a terra em que nasceu ou onde se estabeleceu para fazer sua vida. (187-188)

ficar à mercê de análises antropológicas burguesas insensíveis e intolerantes de governos racistas, preconceituosos e autoritários, seja esse ou aquele. (92-93)

“O indígena precisa sair das paredes, dos museus, das salas de exposição!” (94) diz a narradora, que faz ilusão mais uma vez à perversidade daqueles que criam discursos idealizadores sobre o índio que em nada atendem às necessidades atuais e urgentes daqueles que vivem em aldeias ou fora delas. Em “Tocantins de Sangue”, a voz poética se apropria então dessa pobreza imposta e chama sua “gente pobre” para unir-se:

Banha o suor do mundo
Com tua luta
Junta líquidos, faz crescer
Nossa gente pobre
Nossa vida amarga
Nós – Decadentes!
Indígenas, não...
Indigentes (59)

As reflexões sobre os estigmas de indianidade considerados necessários para o reconhecimento do regime especial de cidadania do índio pelo Estado é tema central no capítulo 4 e dialoga intimamente com os conflitos identitários vivenciados pela autora, que no início da década de 1990 foi questionada sobre suas origens e teve que provar diante de um juiz ser realmente índia. Já no próximo capítulo fica evidente que o questionamento sobre a veracidade de sua identidade visava silenciá-la. Atrás da acusação, existe a perversa política de legitimar como índio apenas aquele que, isolado, encontra-se na floresta desnudo e com cocares de pluma, flechas, bordunas e zarabatanas. Eliane Potiguara, ao contrário, ao crescer na cidade e receber educação formal, falar e escrever português, haveria deixado de ser índia.⁹ A perversidade desse pensamento é vasta, primeiro por impedir que o índio adquira novas ferramentas para lutar por seus direitos. Também, por trás dessa construção, está a filosofia de que todos os índios “ainda” são índios e que o contato, mesmo entre os mais isolados, inevitavelmente acontecerá, fazendo com que todos deixem de ser índios um dia. Para os defensores desse processo histórico, a condição camponesa é o dever inexorável das sociedades indígenas. Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (2006) explica que somente a partir da Constituição de 1988 o projeto secular desindianizante é interrompido. Comunidades em processo de distanciamento da referência indígena começam a perceber que voltar a ser índio é interessante:

9 Eliane e o grupo étnico Potiguara fazem parte do grupo da família linguística Tupi-Guarani, mas segundo o Instituto Socioambiental, os Potiguaras, bem como a maioria dos grupos indígenas na região do Nordeste do Brasil, falam hoje somente o português. Nessa região, apenas os índios Fulni-ô de Pernambuco conseguiram manter viva sua própria língua.

Converter, reverter, perverter ou subverter o dispositivo de sujeição armado desde a Conquista de modo a torná-lo dispositivo de subjetivação; deixar de sofrer a própria indianidade e passar a gozá-la. Uma gigantesca ab-reação coletiva, para usarmos velhos termos psicanalíticos. Uma carnavalização étnica. O retorno do recalcado nacional. (43)

O gozo do encontro com uma referência indígena é estrategicamente celebrado no último poema do livro, nos versos em que a guerreira Cunhataí finalmente se encontra com seu amante Jurupiranga. Mais uma vez presenciamos a força da voz poética feminina coincidindo com a ideia de centralidade da mulher indígena na recuperação e preservação da cultura ameríndia, que retorna à corporeidade para subverter relações de dominação:

Cunhataí vai até o leito do marido e diz:

(...)

- Desperta JURUPIRANGA!

Vem me ver que hoje acordei suada.

Benzo,

Com o sumo de minha rosa aberta, enamorada,

As manhãs de delírio, completamente cansada.

Vem, que te sonhei a noite toda:

Puro, te revelando nas águas do Orinoco,

Sorrateiro, espreitando o massacre de Potosi

Vem, que te sonhei na noite de PAZ

E teus dedos velozes, a guarânia, tocavam

As vitórias felizes do Império Inca

Teu rosto estranhava a luz que me envolvia,

Porque — recuperado — todo o estanho eu trazia.

Vem, que vou me pintar com urucum

Vou me encher de mil colares

Pra te esperar pro ritual (136).

Cunhataí, agora possuidora de voz e dona de seu desejo, desmorona a relação de poder tão frequentemente operado sobre a mulher indígena. Ela vence a batalha e exige gozar da posição privilegiada que ocupa. A emergência da voz feminina em *Metade cara, metade máscara* possibilita então um discurso que oferece uma nova forma de se relacionar com o “outro”, aquele que teve sua voz excluída de uma mediação do código linguístico e cultural colonial/hegemônico ao longo da história. Um discurso contra-hegemônico é construído a partir dessa voz feminina que se desdobra em identidades múltiplas, rompendo com representações tradicionais da mulher e da sociedade ameríndia.

Ao defender a importância da leitura da literatura como um lócus de resistência, a antropóloga e pesquisadora francesa Michèle Petit afirma que “oral ou escrita, a literatura é uma oferta de espaço” (69). Possuidora de uma enriquecedora tradição literária oral, autores indígenas percebem na escrita uma arma na luta pelos direitos de seus povos e na reconstrução de uma representação mais complexa e diversa de mulheres e homens ameríndios. Eliane Potiguara é ciente do potencial transformador da literatura, utilizando-a como instrumento em sua luta e ativismo político. Ainda assim, *Metade cara, metade máscara* não se esgota em uma simples expressão estética de protesto, ao contrário, a riqueza de vozes e transgressão de gêneros e discursos permite aos leitores a copiosa experiência de participar de um processo íntimo e raro no campo literário. Através da coletânea de textos produzidos em quase vinte anos de engajamento e luta, podemos perceber o caro e difícil processo de transformação naquilo que Spivak chamaria de consciência subalterna, a transformação do *lócus subalterno* em *lócus enunciativo*, ou o momento em que o indivíduo subalternizado reconhece a situação de opressão e os antagonismos sociais a serem enfrentados.

A filósofa feminista Nancy Fraser aponta que toda injustiça social é possuidora de duas facetas interligadas: uma econômica e outra cultural. Essa afirmação sugere que é somente através da distribuição de riqueza e acesso e reconhecimento das múltiplas expressões culturais que os grupos subalternizados poderão enfrentar e superar esse lugar de opressão. Por isso, a literatura de Eliane Potiguara como um todo, e *Metade cara, metade máscara* em especial, é, além de uma expressão artística, um ato político. Ao escrever, Eliane Potiguara ocupa um espaço antes interditado e abre caminho para que outras vozes também possam romper com o monopólio da representação do indivíduo e das sociedades ameríndias por escritores não-indígenas, criando assim a construção de novas memórias, diferenciadas das versões oficiais.

Obras citadas

- Albuquerque, Luis, editor. *Alguns documentos sobre a colonização do Brasil (Século XVI)*. Publicações Alfa, 1989.
- Anzaldúa, Gloria. “Writing: A Way of Life”. *Interviews/Entrevistas*. Ed. AnaLouise Keating. Routledge, 2000. 235-250.
- Campos, Haroldo de. “Da razão antropofágica: diálogo e diferença na cultura brasileira”. *Metalinguagem e outras metas* 4 (1983): 231-255.
- Castro, Eduardo Viveiros de. “No Brasil, todo mundo é índio, exceto quem não é”. *Povos indígenas no Brasil: 2001/2005*. Instituto Socioambiental, 2006. 41-49.
- . “Os involuntários da pátria”. *ARACÊ—Direitos humanos em revista* 4.5 (2017): 187-193.
- Cixous, Hélène, et al. “The Laugh of the Medusa”. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 1.4 (1976): 875-93.

- Cony, Jussara. "Índia missioneira." *Blog prosa e verso Jussara Cony*. 21 dez 2008. <http://prosaeversojussaracony.blogspot.com/2008/12/ndia-missioneira.html>2006. Acessado 7 Dez. 2019.
- Cunha, Manuela Carneiro da. "Imagens de índios do Brasil: O século XVI". *Estudos avançados* 4.10 (1990): 91-110.
- Evaristo, Conceição. "Da grafia-desenho de minha mãe, um dos lugares de nascimento de minha escrita". *Representações performáticas brasileiras: teorias, práticas e suas interfaces*. Ed. Marcos Antônio Alexandre. Mazza Edições, 2007. 16-21.
- Ferreira-Pinto Bailey, Cristina. "Uma nova Iracema: a voz da mulher indígena na obra de Eliane Potiguara". *Revista iberoamericana* 76.230 (2010): 201-215.
- Figueiredo, Eurídice. *Mulheres ao espelho: autobiografia, ficção, autoficção*. EdUERJ, 2013.
- Gehlen, Rejane Seitenfuss. "Identidade de Eliane: a face Potiguara, a máscara indígena e o eco de vozes silenciadas". *Boitatá* 6.12 (2011): 81-103.
- Graúna, Graça. *Contrapontos da literatura indígena contemporânea no Brasil*. Mazza Edições, 2013.
- Kahf, Mohja. "My Body Is Not Your Battleground". *E-Mails from Scheherazad*. University Press of Florida, 2003. 58-59.
- Kristeva, Julia. "Word, Dialogue and Novel". *The Kristeva Reader*. Ed. Toril Moi. Columbia University Press, 1986. 34-61.
- Loomba, Ania. *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*. Routledge, 1998.
- Massimi, Marina. "Representações acerca dos índios brasileiros em documentos jesuítas do século XVI". *Memorandum* 5 (2003): 69-85.
- Menchú, Rigoberta. *Me llamo Rigoberta Menchú y así me nació la conciencia*. Ed. Elisabeth Burgos-Debray. 1st ed., Seix Barral, 1992.
- Olivieri-Godet, Rita. "A emergência de autores ameríndios na literatura brasileira". *Ciclo de debates: cultura brasileira contemporânea: novos agentes, novas articulações, Cultura contemporânea brasileira: novos agentes, novas configurações*. 24. [http://www.cdc.fflch.usp.br/sites/cdc.fflch.usp.br/files/OLIVIERI-GODET_A emergência de autores ameríndios na literatura brasileira.pdf](http://www.cdc.fflch.usp.br/sites/cdc.fflch.usp.br/files/OLIVIERI-GODET_A%20emerg%C3%ancia%20de%20autores%20amer%C3%ndios%20na%20literatura%20brasileira.pdf).
- Petit, Michèle. *A arte de ler ou como resistir à adversidade*. Ed. 34, 2010.
- Potiguara, Eliane. *Metade cara, metade máscara*. Global, 2004.
- Sawyer, Michael Bruce. *Coloniality and Postcoloniality in Cuba and Brazil: The Noble Savage as Barometer of Subversive Discourse* (Getrudis Gómez de Avellaneda, José de Alencar). Texas Tech University, 2001.
- Sommer, Doris. "Not Just a Personal Story: Women's Testimonios and the Plural Self". *Life/Lines: Theorizing Women's Autobiography*. Cornell University Press, 1988. 107-30.

An Analysis of Spanish Language Maintenance Motivation in a Heritage Learning Classroom

Angelica Amezcua

Arizona State University

Abstract: Centering language maintenance as a primary goal in heritage language (HL) education contributes to strengthening the language skills of HL speakers. Current research argues that HL classes that build on HL students' linguistic confidence and stimulate HL students' agency can lead to a more profound commitment to maintaining their language (Beaudrie et al. 2014; Leeman et al. 2011; Sánchez-Muñoz 2013). This study adds to existing research on language maintenance and, in particular, explores students' perspectives on the impact HL courses have to reinforce and promote HL maintenance. Seventeen students enrolled in a Spanish HL course at a four-year public university were interviewed about their learning experiences. The participants shared that course projects (i.e., the family interview, family tree, bilingual poem, and community project) allowed them to gain confidence in their Spanish to become advocates of language maintenance. The results show that these activities led students to discover new ways of incorporating Spanish in their everyday life, reinforcing their linguistic capital, and using Spanish beyond the classroom and their homes. In sum, this study provides valuable information about how a heritage course can promote students' HL maintenance through the implementation of pedagogical strategies that connect students with their local communities and families.

Keywords: Spanish heritage language pedagogy, Spanish maintenance in the classroom, pedagogical strategies

Introduction

Spanish is one of the most-studied second languages in secondary schools, colleges, and universities (Beaudrie, Ducar and Potowski 2014). The parallel growth in the number of college-level Spanish courses not only includes students who are classified as second language learners, but also students who have already been exposed to Spanish either at home or in their communities (Beaudrie 2012). Students in second language classes who had previous exposure to Spanish gained increasing attention from educators and researchers who argued that these classes (second language) were not meeting the academic needs of these students (Valdés 1981; Carreira 2011). In particular, Valdés (1981) urged instructors to acknowledge skills the students brought into the course. She advocated for developing pedagogical theories and effective educational practices specific to this group of students who are referred to as heritage language speakers. Heritage language speakers are those who were either born or raised in the U.S. and were exposed to Spanish either in their homes or in their communities (Valdés 2001, 2015). This definition is one of the most commonly used in the field of heritage language (henceforth HL) and is

well suited for an educational context and in particular for this study since it best describes the abilities these students bring to this specific learning environment (Beaudrie and Fairclough 2012; Beaudrie, Ducar and Potowski 2014).

Valdés (1995, 2006) contributed to the development of adequate goals to meet the needs of HLS, which became the foundation of the field of Spanish HL and its pedagogical practices. Beaudrie, Ducar and Potowski (2014) provide a detailed list of these goals of HL, which are 1) language maintenance, 2) acquisition or development of a prestigious language variety, 3) expansion of bilingual range, 4) transfer of literacy skills, 5) acquisition or development of academic skills in the HL, 6) positive attitude toward both the heritage, dialects of the language and cultures, and 7) acquisition or development of cultural awareness, which was proposed by Aparicio (1997). This research study will primarily focus on the first objective: language maintenance. In previous HL research, it has been found that the most potent contributors to language maintenance are the solidarity of the community and the active involvement of the family, along with the students' development of a critical language and sociolinguistic awareness (Beaudrie 2015; García 2003; Holguín Mendoza 2017; Leeman 2005; Leeman and Serafini 2016; Martínez 2003; Silva-Corvalán 2001; among others). Furthermore, in addition to recognizing the impact these previous domains of home and community can have on language maintenance, it is imperative also to analyze, as argued by Valdés (1995), "how classroom activities can help delay or reverse language shift" (310). Therefore, understanding how certain activities and pedagogical approaches can contribute in motivating the student to maintain their Spanish and further develop their language skills beyond the classroom is beneficial for HL instruction as these will be specific tools that can be implemented in the curriculum design of current and future HL courses. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to examine what classroom activities completed in a course promoted or led students to become committed to maintaining and further developing their skills in Spanish.

Literature Review

Heritage Language Loss and Maintenance in the U.S.

The maintenance of Spanish and the shift from this language towards English is a dynamic and complex situation in the U.S. There are many elements such as 1) the acquisition of Spanish as the mother tongue or second language, 2) the proficiency of Spanish and its development, and 3) the quantity of Spanish usage on a regular basis (Bills 2010) that impact the continuum within the Spanish-speaking community. For this reason, Spanish maintenance and Spanish loss should be seen as a continuum and not as a binary.

In addition to economic, social, socio-historical, and hegemonic language ideologies impacting the shift in the continuum, Martínez (2006) explains, that the theory of ethnolinguistic vitality can also apply to explain both Spanish maintenance and Spanish loss. For instance, a low vitality of Spanish can lead to a preference for English as the dominant language. Conversely, high vitality of Spanish within the community contributes to the maintenance of the language. In the United States, the vitality of Spanish is influenced by 1) the status of the language within the society among all language speakers, 2) the demography of where the language is spoken, regardless if there is a high population of Spanish speakers, and 3) the support the language receives from institutions such as educational and governmental organizations (Martinez 2006). As of today, the vitality of Spanish in the United States is low, given its devaluation and lack of support from educational and government institutions. Regardless of the “abundance of speakers, and the thriving [Spanish-speaking] media and business” in many U.S. states, the vitality of Spanish is also low because of the deficit perspective towards the language, which consequently results in low rates of language maintenance among the Latino community (Carreira 2013: 407).

Spanish maintenance has been studied in Latino communities and throughout the different generations of HL speakers (Rivera-Mills 2012, 2013; Martínez-Mira 2009; Velázquez 2009; among others). There are also studies that focused on analyzing the language attitudes that impact the Spanish continuum (Achugar and Pessoa 2009; Bills 2010; Hudson and Hernández Chávez 2000; Martínez 2006; among others); but only a few studies have delved into analyzing how HL courses can contribute to the maintenance of this heritage language. For instance, Leeman, Rabi and Román-Mendoza (2011) conducted a study with students enrolled in an HL class. The course used a critical pedagogy where students developed critical language awareness. In this course, students began to question the language ideologies that stigmatize Spanish. Students also discussed the socio-political factors impacting Spanish maintenance, and most importantly, they put their knowledge “into action” by participating in a service learning project. By facilitating afterschool language workshops for elementary students, participants shared in interviews that they became advocates for Spanish maintenance. One student, in particular, shared that the “experience teaching [in these afterschool workshops] allowed her to activate a powerful new understanding of herself” (490). By participating in this service-learning, students became language activists and agents of Spanish maintenance in their schools and the community.

The Role of HL Pedagogy in HL Maintenance

Beaudrie (2009) and Valdés (2001) claim education is one of the domains and resources to promote language maintenance and reverse language loss.

The researchers argue that the classroom should be a welcoming environment where students receive support to further develop their competence in Spanish and gain confidence in their language abilities. This educational domain and HL programs in particular are an efficient and reasonable place to also address the stigma attached to Spanish by “nurturing learners’ bilingual and bicultural identity through a curriculum that responds to their affective, social, and developmental needs; orienting instruction towards addressing the needs of U.S. Latinos, and responding to the realities surrounding the use of Spanish in this country” (Carreira 2013: 407).

It is vital, however, that HL programs and classes incorporate the students’ input and their needs into the curriculum; unfortunately, Beaudrie and Ducar (2005) argue that this continues to be a challenge in curriculum design. As of 2012, there were about 169 HL programs in colleges and universities throughout twenty-six U.S. states (Beaudrie 2012). In Beaudrie’s (2015) analysis of 62 HL classes’ syllabi in 35 public universities in 15 U.S. states, she found that half of these programs continued to focus on “teaching students either standard or academic forms of oral or written Spanish” (9). This approach in HL classes is problematic because it devalues the variety the students bring from home and at the same time implies that their dialect is inferior compared to the prestige variety they are learning in class (Martínez 2003). This approach is not only detrimental for the student but also for the maintenance of the language (Villa 1996). Leeman (2005) and Martínez (2003) advocate for an end of silencing the home variety of the students and urge for the implementation of a critical based dialect awareness approach and critical language awareness. However, in Beaudrie’s (2015) analysis of the current methods in HL classes, only one class had implemented a critical based dialect awareness approach. While half of the classes focused on predominately teaching the standard variety of Spanish, there continues to be a need in HL programs for an appreciation and acknowledgment of the variety of HL speakers. For this reason, Beaudrie (2015) and Valdés (2015), advocate for HL courses to make students’ dialect central in HL instruction as well as taking into account the needs and wants the students hope to accomplish from taking the class. Furthermore, it is essential to incorporate the needs of the students into not only the curriculum, but also design activities that would encourages the students to commit to maintaining their Spanish.

The present study contributes to how the educational setting in particular heritage language classes and activities can be used to promote language maintenance. As Beaudrie (2015) emphasized, there is a great need for research that examines what takes place in the classroom in order to understand and analyze the impact HL classes have on students; thus, it is necessary to analyze what kind of activities have the most impact on student’s interest in maintaining their Spanish. This study, therefore, provides an understanding of how an HL course fosters language maintenance, increases students’ linguistic capital, and

meets the first goal of HL pedagogy (to promote Spanish maintenance). The research questions that guide my study are 1) How can an HL course promote and foster their Spanish maintenance? and 2) What activities implemented in the HL classroom impact students' interest in maintaining their Spanish?

The Study

In order to examine the HL students' experiences in the course, a qualitative research design was employed in the study. Data was collected by conducting a short demographic survey and individual semi-structured interviews with the researcher at the end of the Fall 2014 semester. Interviews were chosen over any other qualitative method as this instrument provides great depth of the participants' experiences and reflections on specific situations (Seidman 2013). The interviews were recorded, transcribed, and the responses from the open-ended questions were coded inductively using thematic analysis (Seidman 2013). The thematic analysis of their comments shows three major themes of their experiences in class, which will be discussed in the Research Findings section.

Participants

The 17 participants who volunteered to partake in the study were enrolled in a Chicana/o Studies 101 at a four-year public university in California. The researcher visited the course and invited the students to participate; 22 students were enrolled in the course, but only 17 volunteered. The class was particularly designed for HL speakers, and it was open for all students at the university. There were students from different class levels such as incoming freshman to graduating seniors and from different ages that ranged from 18 to 35 years old. Twelve of the participants identified as females and 5 identified as males. Their majors varied from different disciplines, and most of them self-identified as Latina/o, Hispanic or Chicana/o students. Additionally, the majority of the participants' family of origin were predominately Mexican. Three of the students' family of origin were from El Salvador. Another participant's parents came from two different Spanish-speaking counties, one from Mexico and the other from El Salvador.

Given that the purpose of the research was to analyze an HL course, Chicana/o Studies 101 was the only class in the entire university that was designed for HL students. Consequently, this course was chosen. Chicana/o Studies 101 (Spanish for Chicanos/as) is a lower-level undergraduate course taught under the Chicana/o Studies Department at a public four-year university in California. The class focused on expanding the skills students already brought from home, such as a high degree of communicative proficiency and also in developing their reading and writing skills. One of the primary goals of this 17-week-long class was to strengthen the students' linguistic confidence. In

reading the course syllabus, it became evident that in addition to exams, quizzes, and book assignments, the students had to complete two major projects. The first project was the “Personal History Project” which included four parts and was 20% of their overall grade. The first part included a mini research to find out why each student was given his or her name. The second part required students to conduct an interview with a family member about their obstacles and achievements in their lives. The third included a family tree about the history of their loved ones. For this particular assignment, students were asked to be creative and bring a visual of their family tree. The last part of this first project was to write a poem of their experience of being bilinguals. Once the participants finished the poem, the entire class voted for the best. Each of the chosen poems was read by the author and was also published in a department’s magazine (CHS 101: Spanish for Chicanos/as course syllabus).

The other big project required students to complete a “community project,” which was 30% of their overall/final grade. This project consisted in volunteering in an organization in the students’ community to explore the “relationship between language and some cultural expressions important for the target Latino community” (CHS 101: Spanish for Chicanos/as course syllabus). In particular, students were required to get involved in an organization where they could use their Spanish. They were also required to write a reflection about their experience in their respective organization. Furthermore, it is necessary to mention that the instructor was trained in heritage language pedagogy and research. However, the researcher did not interview the instructor about the course nor asked her about the reasoning in assigning these projects. The information provided about the course is taken only from the CHS 101: Spanish for Chicanos/as course syllabus and from what the students shared in their interviews.

Data Collection

After completing a consent form to volunteer, the students were asked to answer a demographic and language use survey. The objective of this survey was to collect data from each participant about their linguistic profile with questions regarding their daily use of Spanish in different contexts and with various family members. In addition to the survey, one semi-structured interview was conducted of all 17 participants enrolled in Chicana/o Studies 101. The interview took approximately 30 minutes, and it was conducted in Spanish. The students responded both in English and Spanish to questions such as: What has been your experience in CHS 101?; What was your most impactful learning experience in the class?; How has CHS 101 impacted your daily use of Spanish?; and, Are you taking any actions outside of this class to help you maintain and develop new skills in your Spanish? If so, what do you plan to do?

Research Findings and Discussion

The impact this HL class had on the participants is projected in multiple forms. In particular, the outcomes will be explained in addressing the most common themes that emerged from an inductive thematic analysis. I employed Thematic Analysis (TA) as the qualitative data analysis method to identify patterns of meaning across a dataset that provide an answer to the research question being addressed. Patterns are identified through a rigorous process of data familiarization, data coding, and theme development and revision. One of the advantages is its flexibility. Therefore, after listening to the audio recording multiple times to familiarize myself with the data, I transcribed each interview verbatim. Then, I open coded the transcription and established categories. Once I looked at patterns within the categories, the different patterns pointed me toward three themes: 1) linguistic confidence key for Spanish maintenance 2) bonding, advocating, and finding yourself, and 3) Spanish use beyond the classroom.

Linguistic Confidence is Key for Spanish Maintenance

Sánchez-Muñoz (2013) highlighted that a HL class could help students to develop confidence in using Spanish with their family and in their community. This is precisely what some of the students in the current study highlighted as one of the most impactful learning experiences in this class, gaining confidence and using their Spanish more on a regular basis. Even, gaining confidence to feel comfortable to speak Spanish with the professor of the class as Kathie highlights: “*en la clase yo decía que la profesora es la experta del español y qué tal si yo decía las palabras equivocadas y pues no me sentía tan cómoda, y ahorita ya al final del semestre me siento cómoda hablar en español.*” [sic] In Kathie’s experience, we can see that by the end of the semester she did not feel uncomfortable anymore speaking Spanish around the professor. Increasing the confidence of the participants is vital because by doing so they become active language users because this confidence helps students to step out of their comfort zone and use the language in and out of the classroom and beyond their homes (Beaudrie 2009).

The confidence the participants built in the course is because of the specific skills they have developed in class and the personal connection they have cultivated with Spanish, as David explains:

Esta clase, CHS 101, me dio esa seguridad y me hizo entender que el español es parte de mí y ahora ya me siento más orgulloso de hablar español. Ahora ya me siento más seguro porque ya aprendí más nuevas palabras y también del uso de los cognados. Ya ahora como que hay una seguridad más por todo lo que aprendí con la profesora en la clase, [quien] me enseñó mucho [y] me dio la seguridad que necesitaba (David).

For Andrea, having confidence allowed her to be more comfortable in helping others: “I feel more comfortable. I could help people now if they need help with directions, so I can guide them and stuff; so, it has made me feel more comfortable to use it on a daily basis rather than not knowing it all.” In an earlier part of the interview, Andrea shared an incident that happened to her at the metro station with a Spanish-speaking elder woman who approached her to ask for directions. Andrea stated that she knew precisely the stop in which the woman needed to get off the bus and the directions to get to her destination. However, Andrea mentioned that she could not find the words to tell her in Spanish. Instead, she tried to use her body and facial gestures. The older woman walked away without allowing Andrea to explain the directions. This experience hurt Andrea’s feelings because she felt she was not Mexican enough as she was not able to give directions in Spanish, but more than anything, she explained “feeling bad” for not having the confidence to speak Spanish. She stated that at the beginning of the semester, she did not feel confident and that she did not want to read out loud because she was embarrassed. However, this class helped her gain this confidence and, as explained earlier, she now feels more comfortable helping others as well as speaking Spanish.

It is evident from these student reflections that one of the ways this HL course has fomented language maintenance among the students is reinforcing and strengthening their linguistic confidence.

Reconnecting, Advocating, and Finding Yourself

Furthering the skills and gaining new skills in the heritage language is one way students can reinforce their confidence in Spanish. Another important technique is implementing activities that provide students opportunities to use Spanish with members of their family and their community. In fact, the majority of the participants stated that the Personal History Project (i.e., family tree, bilingual poem) and the Community Project had the most impact in their lives and their use of Spanish.

For Carolina, the experience of completing a family tree was meaningful because she was able to develop a sense of belonging as she had always battled with figuring out her identity. She explained that she struggled with feeling out of place; she did not feel Mexican enough because she spoke English and did not practice many of the traditional Mexican celebrations. At the same time, Carolina did not feel American enough because of her skin color. In the process of completing the family tree, she realized the importance of embracing her bicultural identity and understand that both cultures represent who she is.

Acknowledging the interconnection between their HL and their ethnic identity with activities such as a family tree can motivate students to maintain their Spanish. This is why Sánchez-Muñoz (2013) and others have highlighted

the need for HL instruction to acknowledge and foster students' ethnic and cultural identity. Strengthening these aspects can reinforce positive feelings about their Spanish and culture. For instance, classroom reinforcement of the interconnection between language and identity made David realize that: "I, we as Latinos, we have to maintain our Spanish here in the United States umm, it is a language we have to value because it is part of us and it makes us who we are and makes us unique, and I am proud to speak it." As he explained, the significance of maintaining the language was reinforced by the value assigned to Spanish in class.

For her community project, Carla volunteered at an elementary school where she helped out the students who were in an English learning program. She mentioned that after completing her required hours: "*planeo quedarme más tiempo que las ocho horas, quiero trabajar más con estudiantes ahora de chiquititos a grandes. También quiero participar en organizaciones de inmigración para poder hablar más el español con la gente*" [sic]. Here we can see that Carla plans to continue helping out an older population and work at an immigration office to continue using her Spanish. The linguistic capital students are building in this course is not only from activities that foment their writing, reading, and other skills, but also from activities such as the interview, family tree, and community project that allow them to explore more about their identity and family and have opportunities to engage with the Spanish-speaking community.

Spanish Use Beyond the Classroom

In reflecting on their experiences in the class, participants stated that this class sparked their interest to use more Spanish and to continue using it in their everyday life. For instance, Carlos explained that this class motivated him to read and write more in the language. He also mentioned that: "I am trying to like get little books just to read in Spanish and just like practice so that it is stronger too, like what she [Professor] said, you have to be practicing" [sic]. In fact, the activities students completed in class such as the bilingual poem, one of the assignments of the Personal History Project, and the Community Project encouraged them to use Spanish in settings where they usually only use English. Paco, for instance, shares in his interview that "it's funny because I have actually started writing music in Spanish, so it definitely opened a new world. I love music so, um I just learned that I really enjoy writing music especially in Spanish. [This assignment] definitely has opened a new world in my passion for me in music where I am able to now write songs in Spanish." The assignment Paco is referring is to the bilingual poem him and his classmates had to write. Writing this poem led him to discover his gift for writing creative poems in Spanish but also composing Spanish songs. Completing this assignment sparked new interests,

such as listening to Spanish music. He specified that before this class, he only listened to music in English.

Another student, Carmen, decided to text only in Spanish to her family and her Spanish-speaking friends. She shared that by texting in the language she motivated her friends to use it more. Grace, another participant, discovered the value of Spanish through completing the Personal History Project and the Community Project. Grace shared, "Spanish is more important than what I used to think it was." She argued that the motivation to maintain Spanish should go beyond the economic benefits because Spanish is essential in validating their social experiences.

In sum, these reflections demonstrate the influence this course had on students. Specifically, completing the Community Project and the Personal History Project, students discovered new passions and new interests to use Spanish in settings they would normally only use English. Additionally, through these experiences, the participants became committed to expanding and further developing their skills in Spanish.

Conclusion

The analysis of course curriculum in a context of HL pedagogy shows that HL maintenance is promoted and reinforced among the students, therefore, meeting the primary goal of HL pedagogy: Spanish maintenance (Valdés 1995, 2006; Beaudrie, Ducar and Potowski 2014). There are many ways in which language maintenance is stimulated, but the most evident is by reinforcing students' confidence in using Spanish in class, at their homes, and in community settings. As Beaudrie and Ducar (2005) stated, the lack of confidence is one of the biggest obstacles for language maintenance. Gaining and reinforcing this confidence improves the students' self-esteem but also boosts the commitment for the HL speaker to develop their skills further and continue to use Spanish beyond the classroom (Beaudrie 2009; Leema et al. 2011). As it was reflected in the students' experience, the activities in class such as the family tree, bilingual poem, and community projects not only reinforced students' linguistic capital and commitment and motivation in maintaining their Spanish, but also provided them an opportunity to become advocates of language maintenance, to reconnect with their family members, and to strengthen the interconnection between their language and ethnic identities.

Given that a limitation in this study is that it only analyzes one class, we cannot assume that all HL courses have similar scenarios that reinforce language maintenance. However, this study provides valuable information on pedagogical tools that can be incorporated in HL classes to motivate students to maintain their Spanish. One of these strategies is centering students' experiences in the curriculum. The present study claims that a primary motivation for students'

Spanish maintenance beyond the classroom is the opportunity to explore Spanish in the context of their lived experiences, rather than limiting it to exposure to language diversity or the standard variation in the classroom. Students were particularly inspired by the opportunity to volunteer and contribute to their Spanish-speaking community. Future research should consist of interviewing instructors and conducting a semester-long longitudinal analysis to examine further how Spanish HL courses are impacting and/or contributing to Spanish maintenance.

In conclusion, due to Spanish's low vitality in the U.S., promoting Spanish maintenance should be a priority in any HL course. The efforts to promote linguistic agency in HL speakers can be carried out through classroom activities and projects that allow students to reinforce their linguistic capital and challenge hegemonic language ideologies by centering their bilingual and bicultural lived experiences. Furthermore, promoting students' linguistic capital and challenging hegemonic language ideologies can contribute to reversing language loss and Spanish's low vitality in states with high Spanish-speaking populations. To shift from low to high vitality, a collective effort is needed, and one step forward is incorporating activities to the HL curriculum prompting students to be agents of change and confident Spanish speakers in the light of Spanish language maintenance.

Works Cited

- Achugar, Mariana, and Silvia Pessoa. (2009). "Language Attitudes Towards Spanish in a Bilingual Academic Community in Southwest Texas." *Spanish in Context* 6.2: 199-223.
- Beaudrie, Sara, and Cynthia Ducar. (2005). "Beginning Level University Heritage Programs: Creating a Space for All Heritage Language Learners." *Heritage Language Journal* 3.1: 1-26.
- Beaudrie, Sara. (2009). "Spanish Receptive Bilinguals: Understanding the Cultural and Linguistic Profiles of Learners from Three Different Generations." *Spanish in Context* 6.1: 85-104.
- Beaudrie, Sara, and Marta Fairclough (Eds.). (2012). *Spanish as a Heritage Language in the United States: The State of the Field*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Beaudrie, Sara, Cynthia Ducar, and Kim Potowski. (2014). *Heritage Language Teaching*. San Francisco: McGraw-Hill.
- Beaudrie, Sara. (2015). "Approaches to Language Variation: Goals and Objectives of the Spanish Heritage Language Syllabus." *Heritage Language Journal* 12.1: 1-21.
- Bills, Garland, Alan Hudson, and Eduardo Hernández Chávez. (2000). "Spanish Home Language Use and English Proficiency as Differential Measures of Language Maintenance and Shift." *Southwest Journal of Linguistics* 19: 11-27.
- Bills, Garland. (2010). "Whither Southwest Spanish: Issues in the Assessment of Maintenance or Loss." *Spanish of the US Southwest: A Language in Transition*. Ed. Susana Rivera Mills and Daniel Villa. Madrid: Iberoamericana Vervuert. 85-92.

- Carreira, Maria. (2013). "The Vitality of Spanish in the United States." *Heritage Language Journal* 10.3: 396-413.
- . (2002). "The Media, Marketing and Critical Mass: Portents of Linguistic Maintenance." *Southwest Journal of Linguistics* 21: 37-54.
- García, MaryEllen. (2003). "Recent Research on Language Maintenance." *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 23: 22-43.
- Hudson, Alan, Eduardo Hernández Chávez, and Garland Bills. (1995). "The Many Faces of Language Maintenance: Spanish Language Claiming in Five Southwestern States." *Spanish in Four Continents: Studies in Language Contact*. Ed. Carmen Silva-Corvalán. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press. 165-183.
- Leeman, Jennifer. (2005). "Engaging Critical Pedagogy: Spanish for Native Speakers." *Foreign Language Annals* 38.1: 35-45.
- Leeman, Jennifer, and Glenn Martínez. (2007). "From Identity to Commodity: Ideologies of Spanish in Heritage Language Textbooks." *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies* 4.1: 35-56.
- Leeman, Jennifer, Lisa Rabin, and Esperanza Román-Mendoza. (2011). "Identity and Activism in Heritage Language Education." *The Modern Language Journal* 95.5: 481-495.
- Leeman, Jennifer, and Ellen Serafini. (2016). "Sociolinguistics for Heritage Language Educators and Students: A Model of Critical Translingual Competence." *Innovative Strategies for Heritage Language Teaching: A Practical Guide for the Classroom*. Ed. Sara Beaudrie and Marta Fairclough. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press. 56-79.
- Martínez, Glenn. (2003). "Classroom Based Dialect Awareness in Heritage Language Instruction: A Critical Applied Linguistic Approach." *Heritage Language Journal* 1: 44-57.
- . (2006). *Mexican American and Language ¡Del dicho al hecho!* Tucson: The University of Arizona Press.
- Martínez-Mira, María Isabel. (2009). "Spanish Heritage Speakers in the Southwest: Factors Contributing to the Maintenance of the Subjunctive in Concessive Clauses." *Spanish in Context* 6.1: 105-126.
- Rivera-Mills, Susana. (2012). "Spanish Heritage Language Maintenance: Its Legacy and Its Future." *Spanish as a Heritage Language in the United States: The State of the Field*. Ed. Sara M. Beaudrie and Marta Fairclough. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press. 21-42.
- . (2013). "La cuarta generación: ¿Punto de retorno al español o desplazamiento continuo?" *El español en los Estados Unidos: E Pluribus Unum? Enfoques multidisciplinares*. Ed. Domnita Dumitrescu and Gerardo Piña-Rosales. New York, NY: Academia Norteamericana de la Lengua Española. 85-104.
- Sánchez-Muñoz, Ana. (2013). "Identidad y confianza lingüística en jóvenes Latinos en el sur de California." *El español en los Estados Unidos: E Pluribus Unum? Enfoques multidisciplinares*. Ed. Domnita Dumitrescu and Gerardo Piña-Rosales. New York, NY: Academia Norteamericana de la Lengua Española. 217-232.
- Seidman, Irving. (2013). *Interviewing as Qualitative Research: A Guide for Researchers in Education and the Social Sciences (4th Edition)*. New York: Teacher College Press.

- Silva-Corvalán, Carmen. (2001). *Sociolingüística y pragmática del español*. Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
- Valdés, Guadalupe. (1981). "Pedagogical Implications of Teaching Spanish to the Spanish-Speaking in the United States." *Teaching Spanish to the Hispanic Bilingual: Issues, Aims, and Methods*. Ed. Guadalupe Valdés, Anthony G. Lozano, and Rodolfo García-Moya. New York, NY: Teachers College Press. 3-20.
- . (1995). "The Teaching of Minority Languages as 'Foreign' Language: Pedagogical and Theoretical Challenges." *Modern Language Journal* 73.3: 299-328.
- . (2001). "Heritage Language Students: Profiles and Possibilities." *Heritage Language in America: Preserving a National Resource*. Ed. Joy Kreeft Peyton, Donald A. Ranard, and Scott McGinnis. Washington, D.C.: Delta Systems and Center for Applied Linguistics. 37-77.
- . (2006). "Making Connections: Second Language Acquisition Research and Heritage Language Teaching." *The Art of Teaching Spanish: Second Language Acquisition from Research to Praxis*. Ed. Rafael Salaberry and Barbara Lafford. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press. 193-212.
- . (2015). "Latin@s and the Intergenerational Continuity of Spanish: The Challenges of Curricularizing Language." *International Multilingual Research Journal* 9.4: 253-273.
- Velázquez, Isabel. (2009). "Maternal Attitudes Toward Spanish Transmission in the U.S. Midwest: A Necessary but Insufficient Condition for Success." *Sociolinguistics Studies* 7.3: 225-248.
- Villa, Daniel. (1996). "Choosing a 'Standard' Variety of Spanish for the Instruction of Native Spanish Speakers in the U.S." *Foreign Language Annals* 29: 191-200.

Santiago puede ser una gran ciudad: La ciudad de la Transición en “Santiago” de Alberto Fuguet

Paula Thomas

University of California-Los Angeles

Resumen: Alberto Fuguet representa en su obra escrita el proceso evolutivo de la ciudad de Santiago de Chile. Sus primeras narrativas plasman una urbe intimidante; retrato desfavorable que muta en trabajos posteriores. El cuento “Santiago” de la colección de cuentos *Cortos* (2004), presenta cómo el cambio en la metrópoli apunta a la influencia que el libre mercado tuvo en el desarrollo de políticas urbano-públicas. Asimismo, “Santiago” evidencia que el proyecto ciudadano solo se realiza a través de habitantes involucrados que quieren a su ciudad. La importancia de esta propuesta recae en que exhibe una convocatoria para continuar el mejoramiento de una sociedad democrática urbana que se implique e incluya, un reclamo por un Santiago más justo que solo es posible tras un aprecio de la ciudad por parte de la ciudadanía, desde donde puede comenzar a concretarse el derecho a la ciudad.

Palabras claves: Alberto Fuguet, Santiago, urbanismo, libre mercado

Alberto Fuguet representa en su obra escrita el proceso evolutivo de la ciudad de Santiago. Sus primeras narrativas plasman una urbe intimidante y claustrofóbica; retrato desfavorable que muta en trabajos posteriores al bosquejar un proyecto ciudadano comunitario. En su más reciente novela, *Sudor* (2016), la imagen urbana no solo despliega el boceto metropolitano llevado a cabo exitosamente: “Santiago no es lo que era antes, ahora está encantador, ¿te fijas?” (69), sino que expone la planificación de uno nuevo. La metamorfosis que la capital sufre a partir del momento en que el neoliberalismo se consolidó como la nueva ortodoxia en Chile, apunta al modelo económico como responsable directo de su cambio. Sin embargo, a pesar de la fuerte presencia que el tema urbano tiene en la producción creativa de Fuguet, este ha recibido poco interés académico, y el cuento “Santiago” de la *Cortos* (2004) ha sido mayormente pasado por alto. En este trabajo analizaré el cuento “Santiago” y presentaré cómo la ciudad en el cuento presenta la influencia que el libre mercado tuvo en el desarrollo de políticas urbano-públicas; más aún, “Santiago” evidencia que el proyecto urbano solo se realiza a través de habitantes involucrados que quieren a su ciudad. La importancia de esta propuesta recae en que exhibe una convocatoria para continuar el mejoramiento de una sociedad democrática que se implique e incluya, un reclamo por un Santiago más justo que solo es posible tras un aprecio de la ciudad por parte de la ciudadanía. Es desde este punto que puede comenzar a concretarse el derecho a la ciudad.

El tema que une los ocho relatos de la colección de cuentos *Cortos* (2004), es según Catalina Forttes, “el conocido y siempre difícil proceso de perderse para encontrarse. *Cortos* traza un mapa íntimo que conecta la crisis que genera las preguntas que marcan las transiciones de la vida” (139). Forttes indica que el for-

mato de este “libro-objeto” interferido por “el cine, la fotografía, el periodismo y los archivos colectivos de cultura pop” resiste el nombre de cuentos, porque podrían ser “proto-guiones, diarios de viaje, crónicas, entrevistas o capítulos de novela” (139). Está pugna por definir un género refleja el estado paralelo que Fuguet vivía en aquel momento. En una entrevista que tuve con el autor para la revista *Mester*, este me comentó que el formato del libro evidencia su anhelo por filmar: “En *Cortos*, sobre todo con el título, era como: ¡Por favor, déjenme filmar! *Please! Please!*” (Thomas 134). Su incursión cinematográfica es clave para entender la totalidad de su obra. *Cortos* se presenta como bisagra en esta fase transitiva del autor, ya que tras realizar su primera película, *Se arrienda* (2005), su literatura muta al no tener que reemplazar la posibilidad de filmar: “le dejé de pedir cine a la literatura, o filmaba o escribía y no confundía las cosas” (Thomas 134). Este proceso evolutivo que vive Fuguet también se presenta en su narrativa. El cuento “Santiago” retrata la urbe de forma evolutiva mediante las impresiones del protagonista, Santiago Camus Letelier, quien decide regresar a Chile tras doce años de residencia en Estados Unidos, en donde finalmente reconecta con su familia, amigos, y, más importante aún, se reconcilia con la ciudad de Santiago. Como bien apunta Jeremy Cass, Fuguet enmarca “Santiago” dentro de un contexto de crisis de identidad y memoria, expuesto en el hecho de que Camus Letelier sufre una crisis apátrida, manifestado en su regreso espontáneo a Chile, que se desencadena en la espacialidad urbana y los recuerdos asociados a esta; sin embargo, me inclino a asignarle un papel secundario a esta interesante lectura de memoria, de espacios y no-espacios, por ser un tema bastante tratado en la obra fuguetiana,¹ y de este modo dar paso a una lectura nueva y enfocada en un tema político-económico-urbano. Las impresiones urbanas del protagonista en las viñetas comienzan a cambiar su acercamiento hacia la ciudad a medida que el texto avanza, y terminan bosquejando un proyecto ciudadano de reconciliación. La actitud del protagonista de “Santiago” permite una lectura que cuestiona el papel de los habitantes en la composición de la capital, porque lidia estrictamente con el vínculo entre ciudadano y ciudad, examinando el “sistema de relaciones sociales y económicas que la ciudad y la vida urbana tiene en la mente, imaginación y espíritu del habitante” (Morand 23).

Si el complejo proceso político conocido como Transición a la democracia buscaba rectificar la deuda social (Loveman) al reestablecer los consensos perdidos luego de la dictadura y deshacer sus agravios, “Santiago” califica como el cuento fuguetiano de este periodo, ya que no solo se enmarca en el momento histórico, “Chile ya no es igual. Esto no ha sido una transición sino una *trancasa*... Pinochet ganó y sigue a cargo” (58; la cursiva es suya), sino que captura su espíritu al desarticular el discurso anti-urbano y comienza un diálogo que reconcilia y recupera un aprecio por la ciudad. El protagonista tiene mucho en común con la metrópoli. Además del nombre, Camus Letelier comparte sus iniciales con el aeropuerto de Santiago, (SCL), y el mismo cumpleaños, “Valdivia

fundó la ciudad el 12 febrero de 1541 (*exactamente 424 años antes que yo*)” (48; la cursiva es suya). Estas similitudes resaltan la importancia del apelativo asignado, “Hay nombres que vienen con un extra, con un pasado o con un destino” (61); paralelismo entre capitalino y capital que ostenta el estado transitivo que ambos experimentan en el cuento. Camus Letelier exhibe una actitud al comienzo del relato de duras críticas, “*el acento, eso sí, es asqueroso*” (47; la cursiva es suya), y de mofa, “debido a su asombrosa (¿?) ubicación geográfica” (48; la cursiva es suya), que condensa el mensaje anti-urbano de *Mala onda* (1991), primera novela del autor. Sin embargo, el discurso transmuta, cerrando el cuento con un nuevo dictamen: “Es bueno estar de vuelta, pienso. Ésta puede ser una gran ciudad” (78). Las viñetas, cargadas de alusiones al cambio citadino, bosquejan una transición urbana en imágenes. Al salir a celebrar su regreso, el protagonista va a un local llamado “Pancho’s (o Juancho’s)” (59) y va sustituyendo el pedido inicial, Absolut Cranberry, hasta terminar con una “piscola” que le recuerda “viejos tiempos” (60). El eco del pub de *Mala onda* resalta la mutabilidad que ha ocurrido en los últimos años en la ciudad: “esta huevada, huevón, ha cambiado más que la cresta.” ¿Para mejor o para peor? ‘Para mejor, primito, Para mejor’” (60).

Una característica de la Transición es que el modelo socioeconómico diseñado e implantado durante la dictadura se mantuvo inalterado tras el retorno de la democracia.² Si bien es cierto que parte recayó en los “enclaves autoritarios” de la Constitución de 1980, también es en base a que no hubo un gran impulso de parte de la elite política democrática por querer modificarlo.³ Para los fines de este ensayo, asumo la fase de la Transición finiquitada en base a las 58 enmiendas de la Constitución que, rectificadas por el Congreso en el 2005, ponen fin a los mecanismos principales, también llamados “enclaves autoritarios”, y dan término al periodo.⁴ La Transición, criticada por politólogos, sociólogos y académicos, me parece un evento en sí admirable. Incluso con todo lo negativo que se le puede atribuir, tiene mérito al haber logrado dar término al conflicto de manera pacífica y, tal como indica el cientista político Daniel Mansuy, “revela una extraordinaria lucidez política”, puesto que, “más vale democracia limitada que continuación de la dictadura” (61). No obstante, esta ha sido criticada por figuras políticas y académicos en base al sistema económico que preservó al no ser considerado un inconveniente por los gobiernos de la Concertación;⁵ contrariamente, su resguardo fue prioridad en las políticas de la Transición (Loveman 323-24, 343). Esta defensa se le puede considerar como un legado de una “cultura de miedo”,⁶ ya que el terror, fuente de control durante el régimen militar, continúa siendo relevante en la Transición. De forma paralela, el protagonista del cuento presenta este dilema, puesto que tras reflexionar sobre su vida concluye que el temor fue el factor en su toma de decisiones, mientras su hermano Jonás le recrimina que su razonamiento se basó principalmente en un interés económico. Mansuy indica que aquellos ciudadanos que vivieron bajo

la dictadura internalizaron una actitud de “autocontención” que se mantuvo aún tras el regreso democrático:

Tanto el régimen militar como la primera parte de la transición estuvieron dominados por [el miedo]. Algunos temían al marxismo, otros a los militares o al eventual regreso de la dictadura. No faltaban aquellos que temían simplemente a los conflictos políticos demasiado marcados, que habían dividido al país en los años anteriores, lo que explica la distancia con una política demasiado intensa...[el miedo] funda la transición, con todo lo bueno y lo malo que eso supone. Digamos que la generación marcada por el miedo no quiso forzar la democracia naciente más allá de lo prudente. (73-74)

La falta de cuestionamiento de la hegemonía neoliberal, ya fuese por temor o por intereses creados, es la defensa de su lógica y de sus métodos. En base a que el capitalismo se guía por el lucro, emanando desigualdad y deterioro social, no existe certeza de que los miembros que componen el Estado que resguarda este modelo no se guiarán por intereses propios. La problemática se expone en el hecho de que los gobiernos de la Transición trataron de humanizar el libre mercado sin un intento real de problematizar su impacto negativo en el país (Huneus). Este dictamen es aplicable al urbanismo santiaguino del *shock-therapy*,⁷ ya que impugnar el paradigma es el primer paso para ajustar o reemplazarlo del todo, y en base a que los gobiernos de la Transición no lo objetaron, recae en los ciudadanos el disputar un desarrollo urbano que se guía por una lógica mercantil y exigir uno que se rija por el bienestar ciudadano. No obstante, cualquier discusión de temas urbanos debe comenzar por comprender qué papel juegan los habitantes en su contextura. La característica principal de la economía urbana, exhibida en *Mala onda*, fue el trastorno del concepto urbe tras la pérdida del espacio público. El Santiago dictatorial segregó a sus habitantes mediante demarcaciones espaciales y dinámicas económicas que crearon una

7 *Shock-therapy* se refiere al cambio del sistema económico en Chile bajo el régimen militar. Este incluyó la liberación de divisas, la eliminación de los subsidios estatales, y privatización a gran escala de la propiedad pública, entre otras alteraciones. Los economistas chilenos de ideología derecha y formados por la escuela monetarista de Chicago presentan en el ensayo *El ladrillo* un estudio teórico de economía neoliberal con pautas para su aplicación y debido funcionamiento en Chile. En este presentan al modelo de libre mercado como único medio de solucionar la lamentable situación económica del país, ya que éste ofrecía una posibilidad de salir del subdesarrollo. La visita a Chile y retórica de Milton Friedman presenta a Chile como un país enfermo y sumido en el caos que se puede rescatar con un tratamiento económico de shock; discurso que da inicio al laboratorio chileno de la Escuela de Economía de Chicago a mediados de la década del 70. Chile es el primer experimento capitalista de establecimiento estatal. Para mayor información ver el libro de Naomi Klein *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*.

ciudad dentro de otra. Por lo tanto, cualquier análisis urbano sobre la capital debe situarse en un contexto del libre mercado, tal como lo explica el urbanista Miguel Robles-Durán: “Any urbanist lacking an understanding of capitalist processes is simply an instrument of an invisible hand” (147).

En la viñeta “Información general” (47-50), el protagonista describe una ciudad moderna y cosmopolita, la cual ha logrado serlo al no haber alterado las implementaciones económicas-urbanas del régimen anterior. En 1994 la aprobación del nuevo Plan Regulador Metropolitano de Santiago (PRMS) buscaba implantar nuevos estatutos bajo la mirada de un gobierno democrático que trataba de borrar implementaciones dictatoriales. No obstante, el conjunto de códigos no varía de las prácticas establecidas durante el régimen militar, ya que se continuó con las políticas liberales respecto al suelo, incorporando provincias al PRMS según la demanda inmobiliaria. La Ley de Bases del Medio Ambiente de 1994 buscaba, en teoría, regir un orden territorial que controlara el crecimiento metropolitano sin poner fin a las planeaciones propagadas desde 1979. Su propósito, más bien, era establecer un marco de reglamentos y legislaciones que delimitaran el impacto ciudadano desde 1994 en adelante, lo cual no modificaba la espacialidad heredada.⁸ Posteriores ordenanzas urbanas (Ley de Zonas Urbanizables con Desarrollo Condicionado de 1997 y Ley de Proyectos de Desarrollo Urbano Condicionado del 2003) son edictos huecos que no abordan un modo claro de superar las problemáticas más latentes, como la continua espacialidad segregada y los elementos contaminantes. En otras palabras, las leyes decretadas como parte del PRMS de 1994 resultaban inútiles en base al contexto en donde debían implementarse. La inhabilidad gubernamental para interferir en el diseño urbano despliega de forma evidente que es el libre mercado, sin importar qué régimen lidera el país, dictatorial o democrático, quien está a cargo del impulso ciudadano, puesto que el Estado obedece la lógica neoliberal. El Decano de la Facultad de Arquitectura y Urbanismo de la Universidad de Chile, Leopoldo Prat, establece que aun cuando el país ha tenido importantes políticas públicas sectoriales, la ciudad siempre ha sido el capítulo pendiente de institucionalidad y gobernanza: “[Chile] nunca ha podido tener en su historia una política urbana promulgada en democracia que guíe su desarrollo territorial y oriente con armonía la redistribución de la población, la localización de la actividad económica, la infraestructura y los bienes públicos urbanos” (12). La Política Nacional de Desarrollo Urbano (PNDU) se define como un consenso entre el sector público y el bloque político en cuanto a la imagen, objetivos y gobierno de la ciudad. La ironía en el caso santiaguino es que

8 El sociólogo chileno Tomás Moulian provee una comparación que ejemplifica la desmedida territorial, dando una escala del desbordamiento. Santiago en el año 1994 tenía alrededor de 5 millones de habitantes y ocupaba 15.348 kilómetros cuadrados, “mientras que Buenos Aires, con 3 millones en la capital federal, ocupaba 200 kilómetros cuadrados” (126). Datos confirmados por el Instituto Nacional de Estadística en 1995.

ningún gobierno democrático ha convocado una PNDU, la cual aseguraría la convergencia de todas las voces relevantes en un diálogo productivo. El gobierno de Patricio Aylwin dio inicio a una consulta nacional a fin de crear una nueva Política Urbana, pero nunca se consolidó y ningún gobierno posterior hizo un intento por finiquitar la asamblea. Es frente a esta problemática que mi lectura de “Santiago” cobra relevancia mediante el cuestionamiento del papel que los ciudadanos tienen en la estructura y funcionamiento de la espacialidad que habitan al re-introducir al santiaguino y ubicarlo en el centro de las discusiones urbanas. El cuento aborda en un espacio ficticio el tema que una PNDU permitiría articular: el empoderamiento de los ciudadanos referente a asuntos urbanos. “Santiago” reconcilia la fractura citadina, expuesta en *Mala onda*, al apuntar la reciprocidad entre capitalino y capital. No importa cuántos cambios estructurales ocurran desde el gobierno como respuesta ante la demanda social por una urbe mejor, es imprescindible exigir el mismo cambio al ciudadano, “algún grado de conciencia urbana, de responsabilidad por su ciudad” (Lizama 102), sacándolos del individualismo al cual el modelo neoliberal los ha acostumbrado. Si el libre mercado es el causante de los males en Santiago, existe un consenso en la comunidad académica que las políticas neoliberales son las responsables, éste debe eliminarse; no obstante, en base a que no existe un interés gubernamental por hacerlo, recae en los santiaguinos el purgar la actitud mercantil e involucrarse en su ciudad y su discurso adyacente. “Santiago” transforma la diatriba anti-urbana de *Mala onda* al enmarcar el proyecto citadino en el año anterior al fin de la Transición, 2004, recalcando el proceso transitivo vigente de la democracia, doctrina política que es exigente al “demanda[r] un modelo de ciudadanía que no puede reducirse a la figura del consumidor en la medida en que requiere de un ideal mucho más elevado, y del cual todos somos responsables” (Mansuy 186). “Santiago” presenta como la capital “puede ser una gran ciudad” (78), pero paralelamente recalca que su materialización depende del ciudadano: “No preguntes lo que tu ciudad pueda hacer por ti...Pregunta mejor qué puedes hacer por tu ciudad. *Quererla*” (74; la cursiva es mía).

Una consecuencia de la economía urbana fue que la toma de decisiones referentes a la ciudad se restringió a especialistas técnicos, deshabilitando la involucración de civiles en su planeamiento. La presencia de asociaciones ciudadanas que existieron en el gobierno de Eduardo Frei Montalva (1964-1970)⁹ y de Salvador Allende (1970-1973),¹⁰ como “juntas de vecinos” o “centros de madres”, se desmovilizó bajo la dictadura y tras el regreso de la democracia permanecieron

9 Eduardo Frei Montalva fue presidente entre 1964-1970 por el partido Demócrata Cristiano. Su gobierno introdujo reformas estructurales al país a través de la creación de organizaciones sociales.

10 Salvador Allende fue presidente entre 1970-1973. Su gobierno introdujo grandes reformas sociales y la nacionalización de diferentes sectores. Su gobierno terminó con el golpe de Estado el 11 de septiembre de 1973, misma instancia que le lleva a Allende a suicidarse en el palacio presidencial.

con poca capacidad de influencia en políticas de corte público-urbano. Este traspaso a expertos tecnócratas significó que los métodos y procedimientos de margen teórico, estrictamente técnicos de la ciencia positivista, son los únicos considerados válidos, reduciendo o anulando la importancia y concurrencia de la sociedad civil en decisiones urbano-públicas (Zunino). La secuela más evidente de la desregulación del suelo urbano es el crecimiento espacial en forma de archipiélago que acentúa la fractura ciudadina, cuyos problemas segregativos de verticalización residencial, deterioro de infraestructuras, administraciones fragmentadas, crisis de transporte público y aumento de elementos contaminantes ambientales, difícilmente justifican la leyenda del cuento “una gran ciudad” (78); no obstante, “Santiago” expone que ésta depende del ciudadano. El protagonista recuerda un romance de su juventud, describiendo una urbe cómplice que en 1981 se presenta ideal: “El sol recién se ha puesto, aún no está oscuro...el cielo limpio de verano se ve rojizo detrás de los montes que separan la inmensa ciudad de los otros valles...nunca volvería a sentir a Santiago tan cómplice...esa tarde sentí que uno podía ser feliz en Santiago y que cada uno arma su propia ciudad” (67-68). Camus Letelier contrasta esta memoria positiva con el veredicto negativo que Isabel Parra¹¹ presenta por la misma fecha. La instancia ocurre cuando la artista maldice la ciudad: “se larga a cantar con su guitarra esta canción sobre Santiago. Onda Santiago, te hundirás...reventarás, reventarás. Algo así” (73). Estos recuerdos disienten en cómo cada ciudadano percibe la ciudad bajo dictadura. Si bien es claro que Parra denuncia los abusos militares, Camus Letelier, quien “venía llegando de Indiana” (67) tras un cambio estudiantil, encarna a gran parte del grupo de oriente de la ciudad que no sufrió bajo el régimen militar. El hecho de que Fuguet retrate las experiencias de ambos grupos de habitantes expone la división espacial que existió en Santiago bajo la dictadura, alterando la manera en que ésta se habitó. Camus Letelier, consciente de su privilegio parece disculparse, “Uno no elige ni el barrio, ni los padres, ni la época, nada; te toca lo que te toca, punto” (67), y Fuguet se refiere al hecho al dictaminar que, más que retratar toda la metrópoli, “me he hecho cargo de las comunas que me tocaron...el espacio donde uno habita” (Thomas 139); lo cual no lo desasocia de la capital ni invalida sus percepciones positivas bajo los años dictatoriales, puesto que una ciudad es percibida a medida que se la habita. La ciudad es un espacio de múltiples textos que no permite jerarquizar una experiencia sobre la otra, y el comparar las diferentes vivencias en la metrópoli resalta el potencial ciudadano que depende de la visión del ciudadano. Los hechos factuales no se discuten en “Santiago”, es la interpretación de lo que la ciudad puede significar para cada habitante el punto debatido. La actitud de escarnio hacia Santiago expuesta en Parra, contrasta con la imagen idílica de Camus

11 Isabel Parra es una cantautora y folclorista chilena, perteneciente a la Nueva Canción Chilena, movimiento músico-social que comenzó en la década de 1960. Hija de Violeta Parra.

Letelier, quien presenta los ataques contra la capital como: “el discurso fácil: puta la ciudad apestosa, puta el pueblo la nada, puta el lugar perdedor” (74), al eximir al crítico de su responsabilidad ciudadina. La palabra clave del cuento es cariño. El sentir afecto por la urbe lleva a los habitantes a involucrarse en sus decisiones y mediante este compromiso se funda el proyecto común. El cuento “Santiago”, a la par de la Transición, busca reestablecer los consensos perdidos y deshacer sus agravios en una invitación a desarticular el discurso anti-urbano, habitar la ciudad y reconciliar al santiaguino con su ciudad.

Dentro de la bifurcada valorización urbana, la figura del afamado arquitecto chileno Luciano Kulczewski resulta esclarecedora al encarnar el mensaje prourbano que el cuento “Santiago” busca instigar. El hermano del protagonista, Jonás, declara a Kulczewski como “el arquitecto más cool y gótico de América Latina”, quien “durante los años treinta, intentó transformar Santiago en la ciudad que él siempre quiso habitar. Kulczewski no aceptó que esta ciudad estaba al fin del mundo, o que era horrible, o que solo servía para escapar de ella. Kulczewski, a diferencia de sus compañeros de generación, no soñaba con viajar a Europa o vivir lejos. Kulczewski se la jugó por Santiago” (72). Su eclecticismo, mezcla de art-nouveau y neogótico, expone su genialidad. Si bien es cierto que toma estilos extranjeros, éste los renueva con referentes locales, creando un arte netamente chileno que potencia rasgos cosmopolitas sin dejar como telón de fondo lo particular de Santiago. El movimiento modernista, al cual Kulczewski perteneció, surgió como un intento por saldar la brecha existente entre sujeto y su ambiente, y su faceta arquitectónica exponía una ruptura con el capitalismo dominante y apostaba por un compromiso social que se evidenciara en el diseño y estética de la ciudad. La generación de arquitectos modernistas chilenos, pretendía recuperar los vínculos de solidaridad de la vieja comunidad preindustrial y “defender un modelo basado en la confianza del vecindario, en el conocimiento mutuo, donde la existencia de espacios de socialización y encuentro ayuda a la creación de vínculos entre las personas” (Valencia 47). Kulczewski diseñó espacios que incitan asombro y sentido de pertenencia, espacios que dominan en la obra de Fuguet, quien en una conversación privada me indicó que su selección es “a propósito” (Entrevista personal en Santiago de Chile. 1 de agosto de 2017). Vale señalar que Jonás se presenta como la figura literaria que guía a Camus en su proceso reconciliatorio con la ciudad, al reclamarle a su hermano por su desapego con la urbe y al ser quien lo lleva a recorrer Santiago durante la hora mágica para enseñarle a ver la ciudad con nuevos ojos; ocasión en donde el protagonista reconoce que la estética de Kulczewski siempre le gustó (72). Al despedirse de Jonás frente al edificio de La Gárgola, obra de Kulczewski, Camus observa la ciudad que ahora siente propia y dictamina: “Lo importante no es lo que te da, recuerdo, es lo que no te quita” (75), desplegando el proyecto urbano: “Ésta puede ser una gran ciudad” (78).

Por rica que sea la oferta con que una ciudad quiera tentar a sus ciudadanos, si éstos no son capaces de reconocerla, entonces la ciudad no será una buena ciudad, y la vida en ella no será una buena vida. Quizá sea hora de intentar, entonces, que el ciudadano sea también un etnógrafo de la ciudad; y acaso exponiendo lo que hasta ahora ha permanecido incuestionado podamos finalmente saldar las deudas que aún tenemos con Santiago. (Cáceres et al. 27)

La última viñeta, “Una gran ciudad”, informa que el protagonista decide radicarse de forma definitiva en la capital, tras renunciar a su puesto en el Fondo Monetario Internacional (FMI) y abandonar “la capital del Imperio” (38), este vuelve “al único lugar donde h[a] sido francamente feliz” (68): Santiago. Si el cuestionamiento del paradigma neoliberal conlleva a limitar el mercado en su influencia de diseño y desarrollo urbano, me parece significativo que Fuguet le asigne a Camus Letelier un trabajo en el FMI, el cual luego abandona. Esta institución es el ente que promociona y mantiene el neoliberalismo en el mundo a través de rescates económicos, los cuales en realidad son la adquisición de activos por un valor reducido, de crisis financieras producidas por el propio sistema que es implementado forzosamente en países para así poder competir a escala internacional. El FMI es la herramienta de “soft power” (Steger y Roy 136) que influencia internacionalmente la implementación de la teoría económica neoliberal en todos los aspectos; por lo tanto, la asociación del personaje al libre mercado es sugerente, puesto que apartarse del sistema capitalista es lo que le permite involucrarse en su papel ciudadano, “Pregunta mejor qué puedes hacer por tu ciudad” (74), y así llevar a cabo el proyecto ciudadano: “Ésta puede ser una gran ciudad” (78). En orden para que una urbe sea grandiosa debemos interrogar los alcances de ésta. La experiencia de la Transición en su planeamiento urbano expone cómo la lógica de los derechos debe exaltarse menos y más énfasis debe recaer en las obligaciones y en la responsabilidad ciudadana, las cuales, interdependientes al derecho civil, exige de cada habitante un compromiso para una vida buena en colectividad.

Obras citadas

- Cáceres, Gonzalo, et al. “Santiago y su renacimiento urbano”. *Todavía* (dic. 2004): 22-27. Impreso.
- Cass, Jeremy. “Memory, Displacement, and Reintegration in Alberto Fuguet’s ‘Santiago’”. *Hispanófila* 179 (2017): 173-186. Impreso.
- El ladrillo: Bases de la política económica del gobierno militar*. Santiago: CEP, 1992. 7-12. Impreso.
- Fortes-Zalaquett, Catalina. “Cortos de Alberto Fuguet: Diagnóstico fronterizo para un perdido”. *Hipertexto* 9 (2009): 139-146. Impreso.
- Fuguet, Alberto. *Las películas de mi vida*. Santiago: Alfaguara, 2003. Impreso.

- . *Mala onda*. 1991. Aguilar Chilena, 2001. Impreso.
- . “Santiago”. *Cortos*. Santiago: Alfaguara, 2004. 37-78. Impreso.
- . *Sudor*. Santiago: Penguin Random House, 2016. Impreso.
- . *Por favor, rebobinar*. Santiago: Alfaguara, 1994. Impreso.
- Garretón, Manuel Antonio. “El proyecto de transformación y la crisis político-institucional de la sociedad chilena: El gobierno de Bachelet entre 2014-2016”. *Chile y América Latina: Crisis de las izquierdas del siglo XXI*. Ed. Álvaro Iriarte y Claudio Arqueros. Santiago: Res Publica, 2017. 209-244. Impreso.
- Huneus, Carlos. *La democracia semi-soberana: Chile después de Pinochet*. Santiago: Taurus, 2014. Impreso.
- Klein, Naomi. *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*. New York: Picador, 2007. Impreso.
- Lechner, Norbert. *Los patios interiores de la democracia*. Santiago: FLACSO, 1988. Impreso.
- Lizama, Jaime. *La ciudad fragmentada, espacio público, errancia y vida cotidiana*. Santiago: Universidad Diego Portales, 2007. Impreso.
- Loveman, Brian. *Chile: The Legacy of Hispanic Capitalism*. 3rd ed. London: Oxford UP, 2001. Impreso.
- Mansuy, Daniel. *Nos fuimos quedando en silencio: La agonía del Chile de la transición*. Santiago: IES, 2016. Impreso.
- Morand, Carlos. *Visión de Santiago en la novela chilena*. Santiago: Aconcagua, 1977. Impreso.
- Moulian, Tomás. *Chile actual: Anatomía de un mito*. 1997. Santiago: LOM, 2002. Impreso.
- O’Connell, Patrick. “Narrating History through Memory in Three Novels of Post-Pinochet Chile”. *Hispania* 84.2 (2001): 181-192. Impreso.
- Pittenger, Rebecca. “Mapping the Non-Places of Memory: A Reading of Space in Alberto Fuguet’s *Las películas de mi vida*”. *Ciberletras* 20 (2008): n. p. Web.
- Prat, Leopoldo. “Prólogo”. *Chile urbano hacia el siglo XXI: Investigaciones y reflexiones de Política Urbana desde la Universidad de Chile*. Santiago: Universitaria, 2013. 35-40. Impreso.
- Robles-Durán, Miguel. “An Introduction to the Urbanization of Shock Therapy: Santiago”. *Urban Asymmetries, Studies and Projects on Neoliberal Urbanization*. Ed. Kaminer, Tahl, et al. Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 2011. 146-151. Impreso.
- Se arrienda*. Dir. Alberto Fuguet, Cinépatá—GOA Films Chile—El Asombro—Lastarria 90, 2005.
- Siavelis, Peter. “Enclaves de la Transición y democracia chilena”. *Revista de Ciencia Política* 29.1 (2009): 3-21. Impreso.
- Soja, Edward. *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-And-Imagined Places*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1996. Impreso.
- Steger, Manfred, y Ravi Roy. *Neoliberalism: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2010. Impreso.
- Thomas, Paula. “Rebobinando: Desde la cultura pop hasta el urbanismo santiaguino”. Entrevista con Alberto Fuguet. *Mester* 44 (2016): 125-142. Impreso.
- Valencia, Marco. *Proyecto, obra, comunidad. Arquitectura habitacional moderna en Santiago de Chile*. Santiago: LOM, 2016. Impreso.
- Venkatesh, Vinodh. “Growing Up in Sanhattan: Cartographies of the Barrio Alto in Alberto Fuguet and Hernán Rodríguez Matte”. *Hispanic Review* 80.2 (2012): 313-328. Impreso.

Zunino, Hugo. "Power Relations in Urban Decision Making: Neoliberalism, Technopolitians and Authoritarian Redevelopment in Santiago of Chile". *Urban Studies* 43 (2006): 1825-1846. Impreso.

Integrated Performance Assessments: A Review of the Literature and Steps to Move Forward

Stephanie Madison Schenck

Clemson University

Abstract: Integrated Performance Assessments (IPAs) have been heralded as a more authentic manner in which to evaluate language learners. Based on the principles of Dynamic Assessment (DA) and Performance-Based Assessment (PBA), IPAs continue to be used in both K-12 and university language classrooms. However, some teachers may be hesitant to implement IPAs due to concerns with logistics, including time constraints and giving feedback to every student in a large class. This review of the literature explores the theoretical underpinnings to the IPA, as well as practical considerations for teachers.

Keywords: Integrated Performance Assessment, Dynamic Assessment, Performance-Based Assessment, proficiency, feedback

As language teaching and learning continue to evolve in foreign language classrooms across the United States, so, too, are the methods of assessing students' performance (Malone and Sandrock 2016). The American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) first proposed the idea of a task-based assessment that would demonstrate what foreign language students could do in the target language in 1997. ACTFL, sponsored by the U.S. Department of Education International Research and Studies, participated in a three-year program to develop the Integrated Performance Assessment (IPA) which evaluates students' abilities in reading, writing, speaking, and listening in overlapping and integrated ways (Adair-Hauck, Glisan, Koda, Swender, and Sandrock 2006). This assessment model has its roots in Dynamic Assessment (DA), which focuses as much on instruction as the assessment (Davin 2013). The DA model was paired with Performance-Based Assessment (PBA), in which students address a task that reflects real-world situations in a holistic way that integrates linguistic skills, lexical knowledge, and cultural knowledge (Byrnes 2002). The result is what is now known as the IPA. The purpose of this literature review is to explore the rationale and benefits for using the IPA, as well as the shortcomings of such an assessment. I conclude by presenting possible solutions to address the reasons that classroom teachers are hesitant to implement the model.

Theoretical Framework

ACTFL developed the IPA in order to shift the focus of assessment from strict memorization to a performance and communicative model, which includes interaction with the teacher or with peers. This approach takes on a sociocultural perspective as opposed to a traditional cognitive perspective (Donato 2000).

Drawing on the work of Vygotsky, the zone of proximal development (ZPD) is “the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers” (1978: 86). Providing feedback and interaction throughout the assessment process is a concrete example of the ZPD in action.

Method

Research pertaining to IPAs was reviewed in order to examine the relationship between IPAs and participation by classroom teachers. Specifically, the purpose of this review is to identify the pros and cons to IPAs, and possible strategies to facilitate successful, or at least modified, implementation. In summary, this review explores the reasons IPAs are a beneficial assessment model for language learners, the implications for classroom instruction, and strategies to encourage IPA adoption for reluctant teachers.

A literature search was conducted for articles focusing on assessment models in foreign language classrooms. The following search terms were used in various combinations: assessment, integrated, performance, dynamic, task-based, acquisition, development, feedback, proficiency, L2, and foreign language. Academic Search Complete, Education Full Text, Education Research Complete, EBSCO Host, ERIC, PsychINFO, and Teacher Reference Center were searched for articles. I also searched with Google Scholar and used the “cited by” feature to see who referenced these articles in other papers.

To be included, an article had to meet the following criteria: (a) printed in a peer-reviewed journal published between 1997–2019; (b) written in English; (c) must address foreign language assessment; (d) focused on learners in K-12 and postsecondary settings; and (e) empirical study or scholarly article. The year 1997 was chosen as the start date because that is the year that IPAs were beginning to be developed. Book chapters and seminal pieces were also included for analysis, as well as information from ACTFL’s website and publications. Essays, commentaries, government reports, book reviews, and magazine and/or newspaper articles were excluded.

Findings

This review will outline the principals of DA and PBA to demonstrate their influence on the IPA as we know today. All three models focus on the importance of feedback throughout the learning and assessment process. However, there are several factors and challenges that may hinder the implementation of the IPA in classrooms.

Dynamic Assessment

DA is how students are able to achieve greater success in their individual ZPD in the same way they achieve success with guidance from the teacher in daily lessons and interactions (Vygotsky 1978). The assessment is not only designed to show what students know and can do, but what they can do with the support of the teacher. When applied to advanced learners of a second language, Antón (2009) found that DAs show more deeply and more clearly the extent of the student's emerging language abilities, allowing for more individualized guidance from the teacher. On the other hand, one of the complaints against DA is the lack of validity or reliability in the final scores, and it may appear some students unfairly receive more support from teachers than others (Lantolf and Poehner 2007; 2013). If the student's grade on the assessment is what they can do with the support of the teacher, then it is not going to demonstrate what students are capable of producing on their own. However, this view is problematic when considering DA through the lens of the ZPD, as DA intentionally provides varying degrees of support for each student according to what they need (Kozulin and Garb 2002).

DA frequently follows a three-step process, in which students are given an assessment, the teacher provides feedback, and then students are given an additional assessment, with the goal that the feedback will be sufficient to help students grow in the target language (Antón, 2009). The process focuses as much on instruction as the assessment, as the two are integrated and intertwined throughout the course (Davin 2013; Leung 2007). The individualized guidance is a logical consequence of DA, as the teacher is constantly interacting with each student throughout the feedback and assessment cycle. However, this constant interaction can be difficult, because it requires a great deal of in-the-moment decision making from teachers as they decide how to best respond to each student (Davin, Herazo, and Sagre 2017; Davin and Troyan 2015). In foreign language classrooms, the next step in the assessment process is to apply this model specifically in performance-based tasks.

Performance-Based Assessment

The goal of PBA is for students to address a task that reflects real-world scenarios in a holistic way that integrates skills, lexical knowledge, and cultural knowledge (Adair-Hauck et al. 2006). Byrnes (2002) said a task-based or performance-based approach to instruction and assessment is important, because students need to see the connection between what they are doing in class and what could potentially be done in the real world. The learning that is taking place is not simply for the sake of learning, but for the sake of applying it to interactions with others outside of the classroom.

However, even though tasks in PBAs are meant to mimic real-life situations in the target language, and therefore predict how an L2 learner would actually perform in such a situation, the unpredictable nature of language interactions make evidence for this assumption difficult to prove (Bachman 2002). The teacher can only provide an approximation of what a real-world interaction might look like as factors such as planning time and task structure can influence student performance (Tavakoli and Skehan 2005). In the classroom, these interactions are then judged holistically, not with specific point values deducted for each error or added for each correct answer. Rather, the teacher judges the answer provided as a whole before assigning a grade. Research suggests even a minimal amount of training in judging student performance can help with consistency in this type of evaluation (Norris, Brown, Hudson, and Bonk 2002).

Integrated Performance Assessment

The IPA model of assessment requires three separate tasks under the umbrella of a single theme or context. The student must exhibit presentational (speeches, essays), interpretive (reading or listening to an authentic resource in the target language), and interpersonal (exchange of information, conversation) skills that are all related to one another (Adair-Hauck et al. 2006). All of these tasks are based on an authentic context or topic that one would likely encounter in the target language in a similar way to PBA.

IPAs judge how well students can use what they know in different situations and how they apply one task to the performance of another, such as using the reading assignment to inform their writing or the listening section to inform their speaking (Frost, Elder, and Wigglesworth 2012; Plakans and Gebriel 2013). As in DA, IPAs also include feedback so students can see how they are progressing in various areas of language learning. When assigning a grade for an IPA, carefully designed rubrics tied to authentic tasks are the recommended form of evaluation (Montgomery 2002). Even though this model is quite different from traditional language testing, research suggests students' perception of the holistic and integrated approach of IPAs is generally positive (Altstaedter and Krosl 2018; Martel 2018).

Feedback

Whether one is discussing DA, PBA, or IPAs as strategies to encourage students to progress in the ZPD, feedback is an essential component. The feedback needs to come throughout the learning process, not merely at the end with the assessment. Formative assessments, not only summative, should be used regularly to help students gauge their own progress (Adair-Hauck and Troyan 2013; Hattie and Timperley 2007; Warin 2008).

According to Hattie and Timperley (2007), “To be effective, feedback needs to be clear, purposeful, meaningful, and compatible with students’ prior knowledge and to provide logical connections” (102). Waring (2008) took this assumption a step further and said that by solely providing unspecific praise, the teacher essentially “shuts down” any additional attempts the student may have made at communication and stifles the learning process. Clearly, this is not the goal in any DA model. Lantolf and Poehner (2011) pointed to the struggle the learner must go through in order to develop in the target language, which comes from feedback, reflection, and ultimately growth. In short, it is the quality of feedback that matters.

One of the challenging aspects to feedback is that it can be difficult to provide the best type in every situation that classroom teachers are likely to encounter (Lyster and Ranta 1997; Lyster, Saito, and Sato 2013; Rassaei 2014). For example, the great “implicit versus explicit” feedback and error correction debate continues as research has not conclusively shown one to be more universally advantageous than the other in all situations. Explicit feedback may be better if the goal is to increase student language production and pronunciation development (Ellis et al. 2009; Saito 2013). However, implicit feedback in the form of “recasts,” or restating the incorrect sentence to the student to draw attention to the error, has been shown to have advantages with long-term L2 acquisition (Ellis 2008; Li 2010). In addition, recasts that cause students to notice their own errors could help move them along their individual ZPD, as the teacher feedback served the goal of helping students discover something about the language on their own (Lantolf and Poehner 2011). Because feedback is such an essential part of the DA model, it is important for teachers to keep feedback types and strategies in mind.

Weaknesses

Even though IPAs tend to reward the student for what they know instead of penalizing them for what they don’t, there are still some challenges to be considered (Barkaoui, Brooks, Swain, and Lapkin 2013). For example, if a student does not fully understand the reading or listening section, which generally comes first in the IPA process, then the subsequent sections may show lower scores since the tasks build upon prior sections (Jamieson, Eignor, Grabe, and Kunnan 2011). On the other hand, university language instructors reported concerns about grade inflation when awarding points for completing tasks instead of docking points for grammatical inaccuracy (Martel and Bailey 2016).

Integrated tasks may also measure not only language production skills, but cognitive components as well, such as the ability to organize, remember, and appropriately use information from one task to the next (Frost et al. 2012; Skehan 2009). This is especially true when the IPAs take many days to complete.

Students who struggle with grasping material and fully understanding each task may have a difficult time holding a specific concept in their mind for days at a time. The reading or listening activity, which generally comes first, may not actually be helpful in the “integrated” part of this assessment if the student cannot remember it.

The need for vertical alignment becomes clear when one examines the use of IPAs in elementary school all the way up to college classes. IPAs used for elementary school L2 learners can be valuable to help students to progress in the target language (Davin, Troyan, Donato, and Hellman 2011). Although many elementary language programs focus on oral proficiency, which is reflected in student performance on IPAs, this type of assessment serves an important purpose in helping teachers know where to focus their efforts in the future. In addition, there should be a seamless connection between what is done in elementary, middle, and high schools, and beyond that, what is done in college language classrooms. Research suggests, however, this may not always be the case (Glisan, Uribe, and Adair-Hauck 2007; Ricardo-Osorio 2008; Zapata 2016).

Communicative Mode Imbalance

With the current trend of IPAs in the L2 classroom, it appears each section of the assessment is not always given equal attention. The emphasis on “communicative tasks” such as writing a thank-you note or completing an application comes at the cost of teaching students to produce extended discourse in academic writing (Bernhardt, Molitoris, Romeo, Lin, and Valderrama 2015). Studies show a positive correlation between writing proficiency and oral proficiency in the target language (Hubert 2013; Rifkin 2005), which suggests the need for the writing portion of the IPA to receive as much attention as the speaking portion. In addition, research suggests middle and high school teachers tend to focus more on interpretive reading and presentational writing than on speaking and listening (Kaplan 2016; Kissau and Adams 2016), while elementary programs tend to focus on oral proficiency (Davin et al. 2011), further illustrating this imbalance.

One problem with judging oral proficiency of students is a lack of training for the teachers doing the assessing (Glisan and Foltz 1998; Malone 2013; Malone and Sandrock 2016). The ACTFL guidelines do, to be fair, include descriptions of what students should be able to do at each level of language development. For example, speakers at the Novice High sublevel “are able to handle a variety of tasks pertaining to the Intermediate level, but are unable to sustain performance at that level. They are able to manage successfully a number of uncomplicated communicative tasks in straightforward social situations” (ACTFL 2012: 8). Perhaps, though, the definition of “uncomplicated communicative tasks” might vary from teacher to teacher, and perhaps the threshold for how long one must “sustain performance at that level” is easier or harder for

different teachers. Teachers may also have a difficult time encouraging students to participate in non-rehearsed conversations, as factors such as whether or not it is a teacher interview or peer conversation can influence students' language production (Tsou 2005; Sandlund, Sundqvist, and Nyroos 2016).

Teacher Resistance

Even with all of the benefits to DA, PBA, and IPAs in the language classroom, some teachers may be reluctant to abandon the traditional way of testing. One reason teachers are hesitant to embrace IPAs is the perception that these assessments require too much class time (Adair-Hauck et al. 2006; Glisan et al. 2007; Kaplan 2016). Even though DAs help students to progress through the ZPD with feedback and guidance from their teacher, this is generally carried out through one-on-one interactions with each student, which is time-consuming and may not be practical in large classes (Antón 2009). In fact, while most of the research and implementation of IPAs is focused on middle and high schools, post-secondary classrooms may also be slow to embrace the IPA model for these same reasons. The problem isn't that teachers are not in favor of this type of assessment; even teachers who believe in a communicative approach to teaching and assessment still face challenges such as limited resources and large class sizes that can make implementing this approach difficult (Bell 2005; Borg 2003; Kissau, Algozzine, and Yon 2012). The problem is in the logistics.

Another challenge with the IPA model is the degree to which the assessment is mimicking authentic interactions and tasks. For the interpretive task, it can be time-consuming for teachers to find appropriate authentic materials, particularly with novice-level students (Gilmore 2007; Simonsen 2019). In addition, even though performance assessments are meant to be as authentic as possible with a real-world context, students still employ various strategies to take these assessments and navigate the language. They do not simply pretend they are actually in a real-world situation, but rather, they use cognitive, metacognitive, and affective strategies in addressing the tasks before them (Huang 2010; Nasab and Motlagh 2015; Seker 2016). Perhaps, even though the goal is to promote communication in the target language by mirroring what is done in real life, the IPA is not quite as "authentic" as we may have believed (Spence-Brown 2001).

Finally, if the IPA is meant to be used as an assessment, teachers want to see how their students are performing in various aspects of the language. On more traditional tests, there is a standardization against which all students are measured, which is important for teachers giving common assessments (Martel and Bailey 2016). In DA models, the student's abilities fluctuate and, through the ZPD, increase with the support of the interaction with the teacher or peers. In fact, according to Lantolf and Poehner (2007), "In what to some is no doubt a curious turn, the more reliable the procedure, the less effective it is in promot-

ing individual development” (67). Standardized tests may give more accurate scores, but do not address students’ ZPD. DA does address the ZPD, certainly, but may not always be an accurate reflection of what the student can do in the target language.

Discussion

The IPA is a recommended method of assessment by ACTFL and has many benefits in helping students progress in the target language. It relies on the DA model of feedback, the PBA principles of real-world contexts, and addresses students’ ZPD. Even with the challenges associated with implementing IPAs in the classroom, there are ways teachers can adapt and modify this type of assessment to meet the needs of their students.

Time Constraints

One of the main complaints of IPA implementation is the time-intensive nature of conducting each section. Even teachers who agree with a proficiency-based approach to language teaching choose assessments such as true/false or multiple choice in order to manage the burden of grading (Huhn 2013; Kaplan 2016). There must be a trade-off somewhere. If teachers, for example, give all three sections of the IPA in the same class period, they lose the feedback loop that comes with grading and returning each section separately. Yet if teachers administer the IPA over multiple days, they feel overwhelmed with the time commitment.

I propose separating the formative DA classroom activities from the summative IPA. Constant feedback on formative assessments is one way teachers can help their students increase their language proficiency and interact in authentic contexts with the important caveat that it can be done within the class period (Davin et al. 2017). These assessments could be conversations the teacher has with an individual student or a group of students. Assessments could also be written quizzes or in-class assignments where the teacher provides feedback to which a student must respond. Finally, formative assessments such as the aforementioned examples could be taken for a grade or they could be part of daily class instruction. Teachers should not feel as if DA is only possible with lengthy, summative assessments.

The body of research is clear on why IPAs are important, yet in-depth exploration of solutions to the logistical challenges is glaringly absent in the academic literature. However, practicing teachers have filled in the gaps by sharing their own coping strategies. For example, professional conferences have long had a great number of sessions geared towards this very topic. One of these sessions recommended teachers develop a “flow” to administer the IPA within a single class period (Reschly, Schenck, Carlson, and Howard 2016). Under this model,

each piece of the IPA is given at once. Students are given the reading portion with comprehension questions, along with a writing prompt that aligns with the topic of the authentic resource. Students can choose which section to do first and use the reading to inform their writing. In the meantime, students participate in oral interviews at the teachers' desk while everyone else works on the other two parts. While one student (or pair of students) is being interviewed and the teacher completes the evaluation rubric, the following student waits in the wings, immediately ready to be interviewed the moment the previous student finishes. In this manner, it is possible for 30 students to complete all three portions of an IPA within a 90-minute block.

Technology Solutions

Authenticity can be challenging in a classroom setting, but that doesn't mean teachers should abandon the premise of setting a context and establishing the reason for using the language in a particular scenario. One way to help with the daunting task of finding and implementing authentic resources is for teachers to use banks of resources available online that have already been curated and organized for language learners. Kissau and Adams (2016) mentioned the Center for Open Educational Resources and Language Learning at the University of Texas at Austin with free authentic listening resources (laits.utexas.edu) as well as yabla.com and fluentu.com. In addition, websites such as pinterest.com are easily searchable and teachers from all over the world contribute to building banks of resources for thematic units. In the Spanish classroom, zachary-jones.com/zambombazo and speakinglatino.com are but two examples of extensive collections of authentic resources with accompanying activities appropriate for students of all levels. Teachers can integrate these resources daily as part of their classroom activities in addition to selecting resources specifically for an IPA.

Technology can also be leveraged to address the challenges of providing sufficient feedback to individual students (Chun 2016; Blake 2016). Even in large classrooms with too many students for the teacher to give sufficient feedback in speaking interactions, the teacher can still engage and evaluate students' oral proficiency through videoconferences with programs such as Skype, or asynchronous conversations with programs such as VoiceThread. If a teacher struggles to provide feedback on written assignments, she can allow students to write collaboratively in programs such as Google Docs and address multiple students on one written product. These types of solutions can be applied to both formative assessments conducted throughout the unit as well as summative IPAs at the end. By design, the IPA allows for freedom in development and implementation as teaching contexts and challenges can vary widely.

Conclusion

This review explored the theoretical underpinnings of the IPA to highlight the principles of DA and PBA. Research demonstrates the benefits of such an approach, while also recognizing the challenges faced by teachers. Future areas of study should look for meaningful, sustainable ways to address the logistical challenges and time constraints that make IPA implementation difficult. In addition, as teachers are already adapting and modifying the IPA to meet their needs as well as curating and utilizing authentic resources, researchers should investigate how the IPA plays out in real life. A balance must be struck between what scholars have determined to be best practices and what classroom teachers are actually able to accomplish.

Works Cited

- ACTFL. (2012). *Proficiency Guidelines*. Alexandria, VA: American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages.
- Adair-Hauck, B., Glisan, E. W., Koda, K., Swender, E. B., and Sandroock, P. (2006). "The Integrated Performance Assessment (IPA): Connecting Assessment to Instruction and Learning." *Foreign Language Annals* 39.3: 359-382.
- Adair-Hauck, B., and Troyan, F.J. (2013). "A Descriptive and Co-constructive Approach to Integrated Performance Assessment Feedback." *Foreign Language Annals* 46.1: 23-44.
- Altstaedter, L. L., and Krosz, M. (2018). "Perceptions of Integrated Performance Assessments Among Beginning Spanish College Students: A Preliminary study." *Journal of Foreign Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics* 5.2: 99-114.
- Antón, M. (2009). "Dynamic Assessment of Advanced Second Language Learners." *Foreign Language Annals* 42.3: 576-598.
- Bachman, L. F. (2002). "Some Reflections on Task-based Language Performance Assessment." *Language Testing* 19.4: 453-476.
- Barkaoui, K., Brooks, L., Swain, M., and Lapkin, S. (2013). "Test-takers' Strategic Behaviors in Independent and Integrated Speaking Tasks." *Applied Linguistics* 34.3: 304-324.
- Bell, T. R. (2005). "Behaviors and Attitudes of Effective Foreign Language Teachers: Results of a Questionnaire Study." *Foreign Language Annals* 38.2: 259-270.
- Bernhardt, E., Molitoris, J., Romeo, K., Lin, N., and Valderrama, P. (2015). "Designing and Sustaining a Foreign Language Writing Proficiency Assessment Program at the Postsecondary Level." *Foreign Language Annals* 48.3: 329-349.
- Blake, R. (2016). "Technology and the Four Skills." *Language Learning & Technology* 20.2: 129-142.
- Borg, S. (2003). "Teacher Cognition in Language Teaching: A Review of Research on What Language Teachers Think, Know, Believe, and Do." *Language Teaching* 36.2: 81-109.
- Byrnes, H. (2002). "The Role of Task and Task-based Assessment in a Content-oriented Collegiate Foreign Language Curriculum." *Language Testing* 19: 419-437.

- Chun, D. M. (2016). "The Role of Technology in SLA Research." *Language Learning & Technology* 20.2: 98-115.
- Davin, K. J. (2013). "Integration of Dynamic Assessment and Instructional Conversations to Promote Development and Improve Assessment in the Language Classroom." *Language Teaching Research* 17.3: 303-322.
- Davin, K. J., Herazo, J. D., and Sagre, A. (2017). "Learning to Mediate: Teacher Appropriation of Dynamic Assessment." *Language Teaching Research* 21.5: 632-651.
- Davin, K. J., and Troyan, F. J. (2015). "The Implementation of High-leverage Teaching Practices: From the University Classroom to the Field Site." *Foreign Language Annals* 48.1: 124-142.
- Davin, K., Troyan, F. J., Donato, R., and Hellman, A. (2011). "Research on the Integrated Performance Assessment in an Early Foreign Language Learning Program." *Foreign Language Annals* 44.4: 605-625.
- Donato, R. (2000). "Sociocultural Contributions to Understanding the Foreign and Second Language Classroom." *Sociocultural Theory and Second Language Learning*. Ed. J. P. Lantolf. New York: Oxford University Press. 27-50.
- Ellis, R. (2008). *The Study of Second Language Acquisition*. 2nd edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ellis, R., Loewen, S., Elder, C., Erlam, R., Philip, J., and Reinders, H. (2009). *Implicit and Explicit Knowledge in Second Language Learning, Testing and Teaching*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Frost, K., Elder, C., and Wigglesworth, G. (2012). "Investigating the Validity of an Integrated Listening-Speaking Task: A Discourse-based Analysis of Test Takers' Oral Performances." *Language Testing* 29.3: 345-369.
- Gilmore, A. (2007). "Authentic Materials and Authenticity in Foreign Language Learning." *Language Teaching* 40.2: 97-118.
- Glisan, E. W., and Foltz, D. A. (1998). "Assessing Students' Oral Proficiency in an Outcome-based Curriculum: Student performance and teacher intuitions." *Modern Language Journal* 82.1: 1-18.
- Glisan, E. W., Uribe, D., and Adair-Hauck, B. (2007). "Research on Integrated Performance Assessment at the Post-secondary Level: Student Performance across the Modes of Communication." *Canadian Modern Language Review* 64.1: 39-67.
- Hattie, J., and Timperley, H. (2007). "The Power of Feedback." *Review of Educational Research* 77.1: 81-112.
- Huang, L. S. (2010). "Do Different Modalities of Reflection Matter? An Exploration of Adult Second-language Learners' Reported Strategy Use and Oral Language Production." *System* 38.2: 245-261.
- Hubert, M. D. (2013). "The Development of Speaking and Writing Proficiencies in the Spanish Language Classroom: A Case Study." *Foreign Language Annals* 46.1: 88-95.
- Huhn, C. (2013). "Evaluating Effective Teaching in the 21st Century World Language Classroom." *Dimension* 104-119.
- Jamieson, J. M., Eignor, D., Grabe, W., and Kunnan, A. J. (2011). "Frameworks for a New TOEFL." *Building a Validity Argument for the Test of English as a Foreign Language*. Ed. C. A. Chapelle, M. K. Enright, and J. M. Jamieson. New York: Routledge. 55-96.

- Kaplan, C. S. (2016). "Alignment of World Language Standards and Assessments: A Multiple Case Study." *Foreign Language Annals* 49.3: 502-529.
- Kissau, S., Algozzine, B., and Yon, M. (2012). "Similar but Different: The Beliefs of Foreign Language Teachers." *Foreign Language Annals* 45.4: 580-598.
- Kozulin, A., and Garb, E. (2002). "Dynamic Assessment of EFL Text Comprehension." *School Psychology International* 23.1: 112-127.
- Lantolf, J. P., and Poehner, M. E. (2007). "Dynamic Assessment of L2 Development: Bringing the Past into the Future." *Journal of Applied Linguistics and Professional Practice* 1.1: 49-72.
- Lantolf, J. P., and Poehner, M. E. (2011). "Dynamic Assessment in the Classroom: Vygotskian Praxis for Second Language Development." *Language Teaching Research* 15.1: 11-33.
- Lantolf, J. P., and Poehner, M. E. (2013). "The Unfairness of Equal Treatment: Objectivity in L2 Testing and Dynamic Assessment." *Educational Research and Evaluation* 19.2-3: 141-157.
- Leung, C. (2007). "Dynamic Assessment: Assessment for and as Teaching?" *Language Assessment Quarterly* 4.3: 257-278.
- Li, S. (2010). "The Effectiveness of Corrective Feedback in SLA: A Meta-analysis." *Language Learning* 60.2: 309-365.
- Lyster, R., and Ranta, L. (1997). "Corrective Feedback and Learner Uptake: Negotiation of Form in Communicative Classrooms." *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* 19.1: 37-66.
- Lyster, R., Saito, K., and Sato, M. (2013). "Oral Corrective Feedback in Second Language Classrooms." *Language Teaching* 46.1: 1-40.
- Malone, M. E. (2013). "The Essentials of Assessment Literacy: Contrasts between Testers and Users." *Language Testing* 30.3: 329-344.
- Malone, M., and Sandrock, P. (2016). "Assessment Issues in World Languages." *Meeting the Challenge to Measurement in an Era of Accountability*. Ed. H. Braun. New York: Routledge. 217-235.
- Martel, J. (2018). "Postsecondary Students' and Instructors' Evaluative Comments about ACTFL's Integrated Performance Assessment." *Applied Language Learning* 28.1: 1-18.
- Martel, J., and Bailey, K. M. (2016). "Exploring the Trajectory of an Educational Innovation: Instructors' Attitudes toward IPA Implementation in a Postsecondary Intensive Summer Language Program." *Foreign Language Annals* 49.3: 530-543.
- Montgomery, K. (2002). "Authentic Tasks and Rubrics: Going Beyond Traditional Assessments in College Teaching." *College Teaching* 50.1: 34-40.
- Nasab, M. S., and Motlagh, S. F. (2015). "A Complete Review for Metacognitive, Cognitive, and Social/Affective Strategies as Essential Components of Learning Strategies and their Relationships with EFL Learners' Reading Comprehension Promotion." *Advances in Language and Literary Studies* 6.3: 166-184.
- Norris, J. M., Brown, J. D., Hudson, T. D., and Bonk, W. (2002). "Examinee Abilities and Task Difficulty in Task-based Second Language Performance Assessment." *Language Testing* 19.4: 395-418.
- Plakans, L., and Gebril, A. (2013). "Using Multiple Texts in an Integrated Writing Assessment: Source Text Use as a Predictor of Score." *Journal of Second Language Writing* 22.3: 217-230.

- Rassaei, E. (2014). "Scaffolded Feedback, Recasts, and L2 Development: A Sociocultural Perspective." *The Modern Language Journal* 98.1: 417-431.
- Reschly, J., Schenck, S. M., Carlson, E., and Howard, C. (2016, November). "Kick Back with a Cool IPA." Session presented at the Annual Convention and World Languages Expo of the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, Boston, MA.
- Ricardo-Osorio, J. G. (2008). "A Study of Foreign Language Learning Outcomes Assessment in US Undergraduate Education." *Foreign Language Annals* 41.4: 590-610.
- Rifkin, B. (2005). "A Ceiling Effect in Traditional Classroom Foreign Language Instruction: Data from Russian." *The Modern Language Journal* 89.1: 3-18.
- Saito, K. (2013). "Reexamining Effects of Form-focused Instruction on L2 Pronunciation Development: The Role of Explicit Phonetic Information." *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* 35.1: 1-29.
- Sandlund, E., Sundqvist, P., and Nyroos, L. (2016). "Testing L2 Talk: A Review of Empirical Studies on Second-Language Oral Proficiency Testing." *Language and Linguistics Compass* 10.1: 14-29.
- Seker, M. (2016). "The Use of Self-regulation Strategies by Foreign Language Learners and its Role in Language Achievement." *Language Teaching Research* 20.5: 600-618.
- Simonsen, R. (2019). "An Analysis of the Problematic Discourse Surrounding 'Authentic Texts.'" *Hispania* 102.2: 245-258.
- Skehan, P. (2009). "Modelling Second Language Performance: Integrating Complexity, Accuracy, Fluency, and Lexis." *Applied Linguistics* 30.4: 510-532.
- Spence-Brown, R. (2001). "The Eye of the Beholder: Authenticity in an Embedded Assessment Task." *Language Testing* 18.4: 463-481.
- Tavakoli, P., and Skehan, P. (2005). "Strategic Planning, Task Structure, and Performance Testing." *Planning and Task Performance in a Second Language*. Ed. R. Ellis. Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company. 193-216.
- Tsou, W. (2005). "Improving Speaking Skills through Instruction in Oral Classroom Participation." *Foreign Language Annals* 38.1: 46-55.
- Vygotsky, L. S. (1978). *Mind in Society: The Development of Higher Psychological Processes*. Harvard University Press.
- Waring, H. Z. (2008). "Using Explicit Positive Assessment in the Language Classroom: IRF, Feedback, and Learning Opportunities." *The Modern Language Journal* 92.4: 577-594.
- Zapata, G. C. (2016). "University Students' Perceptions of Integrated Performance Assessment and the Connection between Classroom Learning and Assessment." *Foreign Language Annals* 49.1: 93-104..

Hibridez, letramiento y ecofeminismo: Imágenes de resistencia en *Hija de la laguna* de Ernesto Cabellos

Fritz Culp

University of South Carolina

Resumen: Asediados por las propuestas del mercado neoliberal y otras prácticas extractivistas, las comunidades representadas en el filme de Ernesto Cabellos, *Hija de la laguna* (2015) se esfuerzan por negociar la continuación de su realidad tanto ecológica como culturalmente. Mientras la obra cinematográfica reproduce las luchas sociales de los espacios andinos afectados por la minería, este análisis profundiza en las estrategias de los campesinos que enfrentan los sistemas económicos y coloniales de poder. A las periferias del neoliberalismo, señalamos la potencia de los indígenas híbridos y letrados por su habilidad de diseñar otra realidad que no está basada en la destrucción de otros mundos ni la destrucción del medio ambiente. Entramos en diálogo con Ángel Rama y Néstor Canclini para comparar sus respectivos conceptos de la *ciudad letrada* y la *ciudad moderna* para marcar la necesidad de tales individuos que tienen que entrar en el presente sistema de poder para preservar las onto-epistemologías que caben dentro de ello hoy.

Palabras claves: Cajamarca, minería, hibridez, modernidad, diseño

En julio de 2012 una década de tensión sobre la minería en el Perú desembordó en las muertes de cinco manifestantes en la plaza de armas de la ciudad de Cajamarca. La proposición del proyecto Conga, una extensión de la mina preexistente, Yanacocha, catalizó la ampliación de los desacuerdos con la empresa transnacional e inició un estado de emergencia por un plazo de 60 días. El presidente de la centroizquierda, Ollanta Humala, había prometido en su campaña presidencial, y otra vez, después de las elecciones, regular a nivel nacional la minería y parar su expansión. Por consiguiente, la autorización de expandir la minería en esta zona contestada indignó a las comunidades indígenas y a los campesinos de la zona.

Frente a la expansión minera en Cajamarca, el trabajo presente considera las estrategias opositoras inesperadas de los indígenas y la movilización de la comunidad rural. En condiciones parecidas a otras luchas sociales latinoamericanas, el documental *Hija de laguna* (2015) por el director peruano, Ernesto Cabellos Damián, ilustra a las mujeres andinas en la defensa del medio ambiente que, al mismo tiempo, desafía a las construcciones coloniales que se figuran en la política, el género y la onto-epistemología. Exitosamente, el documental representa las presiones económicas entre lo local y lo global, no obstante, argumentamos que los medios de resistencia utilizadas por las mujeres de Tragadero Grande —la tecnología, el letramiento, el documental— no solo crean el conflicto neoliberal en los Andes, más bien estas apropiaciones del mundo moderno posibilitan otros futuros decoloniales.

Más allá de captar las imágenes de la destrucción del paisaje andino, el filme logra visualizar a las mujeres indígenas y a la naturaleza como agentes propias. A medida que las capas del colonialismo se develan en la destrucción extractivista, Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui explica que estos actores sociales tienen que moverse en varios mundos al mismo tiempo (70). En este sentido, las mujeres indígenas expresan las ecologías andinas de maneras impensables: se utiliza el celular, el radio y otros aparatos de la tecnología moderna; las indígenas se representan a sí mismas en el campo político y llevan su lucha a la capital; y, por último, destinan el documental mismo como herramienta de autorepresentación mediática y el equipo técnico del documental sirve como protección de la violencia policial y seguridad del respeto de los derechos humanos.

En su totalidad, el documental yuxtapone tres narrativas aisladas de distintas partes de la región andina: la primera, relata la relación de los enfrentamientos de las mujeres Máxima Acuña de Chaupe y Nélida Ayay Chilón con la compañía minera, Yanacocha, empresa asociada de Newmont Mining Corporation de los EE.UU. Acuña es la propietaria legal de un terreno contestado, el cual impide la expansión de minas a cielo abierto. La otra mujer indígena, Ayay, es la figura de la movilización local que protesta la actividad extralegal de las empresas mineras y la violencia estatal en Cajamarca. Como la trama principal, los eventos de Tragadero Grande manifiestan el coste potencial del desarrollo económico, y al mismo tiempo, muestran en la última escena del filme la posibilidad de defender exitosamente las ecologías de vida y conocimiento en los Andes.

La segunda narrativa es de una artesana holandesa, quien representa el mercado internacional que está interesado en la producción minera, la cual sostiene su negocio de joyerías con piedras preciosas y oro. Al principio, su historia representa la fuente de dónde emergen las demandas económicas internacionales y el motivo de las presiones extranjeras en las comunidades rurales como Tragadero Grande. Después de experiencias de primera mano en las zonas de destrucción vida humana y ambiente en la región amazónica de Madre de Dios, el artesano holandesa decide recentrar su negocio en la compra de joyas extraídas de manera ética.

Por último, el documental representa un segundo grupo de mujeres indígenas en Totoral Bolivia que son testigos moribundos de los daños ambientales y de la destrucción extractivista. El agua contaminada y el equipamiento minero abandonado en el paisaje devastado son los residuos visuales de las promesas del desarrollo. Las voces de los sobrevivientes advierten de las consecuencias de la extracción desenfrenada y de las estructuras desiguales de poder. De paso, el artículo hace referencia a esta imagen ambiental de Totoral para yuxtaponerla con la de Tragadero Grande, no obstante, por cuestiones de tiempo y espacio, solo se concentra en analizar la primera narrativa del documental en profundidad. Ya que *Hija de la laguna* archiva los eventos y los testimonios del desgase onto-epistemológico en tres sitios mineros, la interseccionalidad entre

el ecofeminismo, el letramiento y la hibridez que sigue en el resto del estudio aportan inicios de un decolonialismo naciente en medio del extractivismo y de los avances modernos.

Imaginando los Andes en *Hija de la laguna*

Para estudiar la región andina, es necesario desenmarañar las construcciones que crean lo andino. En general, el sistema neoliberal ha producido una imagen rentable de los Andes al conectar el mercado con las llamas, la cultura incaica y el turismo. Por más que esta invención de marketing nacional sea cierta, esta proyección quedará inconclusa hasta que incluya a los mismos habitantes del paisaje andino. Entretejido con esta expansión del mercado disfrazado bajo la celebración de un nacionalismo histórico, el colonialismo replica la división inmemorial del género con construcciones raciales a fin de profundizar las dicotomías con el *Otro* (Quijano 534-35). En base de tales construcciones imaginadas, el diseño hegemónico separa el ventajoso espacio andino del sujeto andino inferior. Aunque habitan el mismo espacio físico, los dos grupos son mutuamente excluyentes en las construcciones del poder.

A partir de la conquista, esta (re)invención de los Andes ha facilitado el borramiento del campesino y del indígena. Aunque la actividad minera tiene raíces en las culturas prehispánicas, la transformación colonial de la práctica minera se radica en el desplazamiento y en la destrucción a propósito de dejar una *terra nullis* (Cadena y Blaser 3). Las zonas habitadas se apropian con promesas de desarrollo y de movilidad social, no obstante, estas mismas áreas de interés minera son las que sufren un aniquilamiento directo, tanto ambiental como económico. A partir de esa nueva política minera, Patricia Nolasco Clemente destaca la totalidad de esta transformación:

La contaminación que causa dicha actividad al medio ambiente comprende el desgaste excesivo del suelo y la disminución en la calidad del aire y el agua debido al uso de químicos para extraer los minerales. Esto ha mermado las actividades ligadas a la agricultura y a la pesca practicadas por los habitantes de los territorios donde se desarrolla la minería, lo cual se traduce en la erradicación obligada de muchas familias de origen autóctono al verse forzadas a emigrar a otros lugares. A largo plazo, esto ha significado el fin de muchas culturas y poblaciones originarias. (179)

A pesar de estas desventajas, los índices económicos argumentan a favor de la minería. En países como el Perú, el boom económico no hubiera ocurrido en las últimas décadas sin el agrandamiento de la minería. De este modo, las presidencias de Alan García y Ollanta Humala favorecieron a este patrón económico a toda costa. La violencia política en Bagua Grande, Cajamarca y

otras zonas extractivistas son representativos del poder ilimitado que se otorga al crecimiento económico en la política peruana, el cual no deja lugar para leyes proteccionistas ambientales ni para el reconocimiento de todos los ciudadanos.

Las experiencias de estas zonas rurales no enseñan que no carecen de la globalización ni del mercado. Al contrario, las realidades de las comunidades en conflicto enfatizan un exceso de desigualdades exacerbadas por la modernización. La falta de educación y de capacitación especializada excluye a la gente autóctona del empleo minero, y a la vez, el limitado acceso a representación legal, la corrupción política a nivel local y los sobornos impiden acceso a los medios de representación legal.

A medida que la integridad de las comunidades se desmorona, estas cargas recaen con más fuerza sobre las mujeres indígenas. Doblemente marginalizadas, inferiores en términos de raza y género, Vandana Shiva y Maria Mies vinculan el pleito de las mujeres a la tierra destinado a la explotación:

Women's increasing underdevelopment was not due to insufficient and inadequate 'participation' in 'development' rather, it was due to their enforced but asymmetric participation whereby they bore the costs but were excluded from the benefits. Development and dispossession augmented the colonial processes of ecological degradation and the loss of political control over nature's sustenance base. Economic growth was a new colonialism, draining resources away from those who most needed them. (73-74)

De manera visual, el documental hace eco de esta degradación señalada por Shiva y Mies al yuxtaponer las zonas verdosas de Cajamarca Perú con la desolación de las zonas mineras en Oruro Bolivia. Aquí, las imágenes del paisaje y de las mujeres bolivianas devastadas personifican el patriarcado y el colonialismo que Julieta Paredes observa a principios de la civilización occidental, la que comenzó ejercer el poder a través del dominio sobre el cuerpo de la mujer (53-54). De igual modo, las escenas del erial boliviano encajan fundamentos coloniales al representar la decadencia física de las mujeres bolivianas y los seres no humanos, como la *Pachamama*, madre tierra, y la *Yacumama*, madre agua.

Los sujetos de género ya sean humanos o no, pagan el precio del crecimiento económico en su muerte, deshumanización y invisualización. Los efectos degradantes del colonialismo son claros, no obstante, el mensaje del largometraje invierte la dominación neoliberal. Sencillamente, la ecocrítica de Lawrence Buell apoya nuestra aproximación tierra-céntrica del filme, la cual permite que la naturaleza deje de ser solo un marco de referencia en el escenario geográfico real y que se convierta en otra personaje (7-8). La personificación de los cerros y las lagunas en el filme de Cabellos concuerda con los fundamentos de las culturas andinas que, el indigenista, José María Arguedas describió en relaciones

onto-epistemológicas: “Para el hombre quechua monolingüe, el mundo está vivo; no hay mucha diferencia, en cuanto se es ser vivo, entre una montaña, un insecto, una piedra inmensa y el ser humano” (Flores 12). Al contrario del mundo colonial, el sistema ontológico andino no jerarquiza las formas de vida. Así es como esta diferencia de conocimiento, en su sentido más básico, prohíbe la coexistencia entre las onto-epistemologías indígenas y las epistemes occidentales que solo reconocen a la mujer y la tierra como medios de explotación.

A partir de aquí, las siguientes secciones abren camino para crear nuevas perspectivas de la minería andina. El primer marco, la *ciudad letrada* de Ángel Rama ofrecerá las condiciones históricas que siguen intactas hoy y permiten la supervivencia de aspectos del colonialismo histórico en partes del mundo actual. Asimismo, la conceptualización de la hibridez de Néstor García Canclini es útil en la descripción de la nueva realidad de las comunidades rurales que están interconectadas a la red global. La encrucijada del letramiento y la hibridez ofrece la posibilidad de expandir el piñón principal del documental —la movilización indígena frente a la minería— desde marcos que (re)consideran lo indígena en las periferias del neoliberalismo.

El poder de la letra y el letramiento en las Américas

Los mecanismos de la colonización que aparecieron a partir de 1532 en las costas peruanas han empleado la letra para diferenciarse a medida que construían el *Otro* del Nuevo Mundo. Para teorizar las relaciones del nuevo poder en la época colonial Ángel Rama ofrece la *ciudad letrada*. Tanto un espacio urbano como un concepto ideológico para los intelectuales, la ciudad letrada es un sistema de poder basado en la palabra escrita que subordina a las poblaciones analfabetas. Tras de instituciones reales del Estado, la Administración y la Iglesia, la ciudad letrada desvanece al indígena de la nación en proyectos biopolíticos y neoliberales.

El caso de la protagonista iletrada, Máxima Acuña de Chaupe, refleja el apuro de la población analfabeta. Sujetando los certificados de su propiedad, Acuña reclama que, “ellos [la minera Yanacocha y las fuerzas estatales] se aprovechan porque yo no conozco una letra, no sé leer” (*Hija de la laguna*). Aunque sea dueña legal del terreno en Tragadero Grande, la mujer iletrada se paraliza porque es consciente de que no es capaz de navegar las normas de la ciudad letrada. De este modo, las subjetividades y las epistemologías indígenas pierden prestigio frente al orden colonial.

Asimismo, el caso de Rigoberta Menchú en Guatemala destaca semejantes dificultades de la mujer indígena en convertir su testimonio oral en un archivo aceptable para la ciudad letrada. Las experiencias de la guerra civil en Guatemala le motivaron comenzar el trabajo a través de una interlocutora del mundo letrado. Cuenta la transcriptor, Elizabeth Burgos, que Menchú

había reconocido que “La palabra es su única arma...saliendo así del enclausramiento lingüístico en el que los indios se han parapetado voluntariamente para preservar su cultura” (9). A pesar de visibilizar la realidad indígena guatemalteca, el testimonio de Menchú se envolvió en controversias sobre la validez de los hechos y la información aportada. Para los iletrados, el resultado del proceso que trastorna las experiencias en otro sistema de conocimiento se describe en lo que el antropólogo Eduardo Viveiros de Castro expresa como *equivocation*, ambigüedad, para notar los matices de la traducción cultural que se manifiestan por medio de las diferencias conceptuales, gramaticales y prácticas comunicativas de los interlocutores (10-11). A base de la ambigüedad, Marisol de la Cadena subraya la imposibilidad de llevar a cabo la traducción de un ser multifacético como el *apu*, un ser de la tierra y deidad andino. La ontología del *apu* habita múltiples fronteras epistemológicas que determinan si es un ser de la tierra o si es un espíritu de la montaña (*Earth Beings* 116). De igual modo, las protestas del documental en Cajamarca se giran en torno del discurso onto-epistemológico: ¿realmente existen seres que viven dentro de la tierra y de las lagunas del conflicto, o a lo mejor, simplemente son vistas del paisaje y fuentes de recursos? ¿Igualmente, son las mujeres indígenas verdaderas poseedoras de conocimiento y de derechos humanos, o son ellas reductoras de velocidad fugaces del extractivismo? Últimamente, estas cuestiones son dependientes de los analfabetos y su habilidad de invadir la ciudad letrada. Aunque la función de la letra en las Américas y no es algo novedoso, la mujer indígena letrada es, ya que desmonopoliza este aspecto del colonialismo histórico.

La ciudad moderna y la hibridez

Para contextualizar las fronteras entre los universos del occidente y los Andes, la hibridez se tenía que presentar junto al letramiento. No existe un concepto único ni un paradigma universal para la hibridez. A pesar de que los espacios temporales, físicos y culturales van cambiándose, identificamos la hibridez en relación con la alfabetización. Semejante al paradigma de la ciudad letrada, Néstor García Canclini teoriza la *ciudad moderna*, un espacio urbano y el apogeo de la modernización, la cultura, el conocimiento y el poder. Para llegar a estas alturas de la humanidad, García identifica tres *caminos* de ingreso: lo culto, lo popular y la cultura masiva (16). Juntos, los tres elementos construyen el concepto de la modernidad. La identidad del espacio teórico no gira en torno de un *algo*, sino se constituye por límites para excluir un *alguien* ajeno. Por lo tanto, la infiltración de extranjeros —migrantes, indígenas, negros y mujeres— pondría en cuestión la pureza de la sede de poder occidental.

Aunque la pureza y autenticidad definen la sociedad occidental, los límites de la ciudad moderna son fluidos y parcialmente indefensos. Profundizando en el concepto de caminos, García sugiere que los individuos no-modernos emplean

“estrategias para entrar y salir de la modernidad” (13). Por una parte, se confirma el miedo de la modernidad ya que desviados sociales pueden contaminar y alterar el centro de poder. Por otra parte, acceso a dichos caminos ofrece ciertas ventajas económicas y sociales. No obstante, una crítica subyacente del centro de poder señala la importancia de caminos —los extranjeros que pueden llegar a la ciudad no moran en ella— una vivienda en la ciudad moderna no es un deseo universal. Los individuos híbridos representan este grupo pasajero que cruza y pasa por la ciudad con fines de entrar y salir. Este aprovechamiento híbrido, aunque sea solo por un momento, es una especie de extracción fugaz y un aprendizaje de las propias prácticas capitalistas modernas.

Pese a que la ciudad moderna ha puesto las onto-epistemologías ajenas en una crisis existencial, estas logran sobrevivir al entrar y salir de la modernidad por estos caminos. Una ecología de sabres y prácticas, lo que José Carlos Mariátegui llama *tradición*, está viva y flexible. Para el intelectual peruano, el carácter de la sociedad tradicional es una paradoja: lo tradicional se ubica en las antiguas costumbres comunitarias, pero con el contacto ajeno se renueva y enriquece la tradición (240). En este sentido, el letramiento, y el conocimiento de cómo acceder a la ciudad moderna producen un individuo no tradicional, el individuo letrado-híbrido, una persona de la comunidad que puede equilibrar el campo de juego. Aunque las zonas rurales de Cajamarca carecen de individuos letrados que pueden navegar la ciudad moderna, la existencia de unos pocos letrados-híbridos pueden incorporar un gran número de analfabetos al discurso oficial y preservar la tradición.

La comunidad rural del documental aporta una mujer indígena que representa este arquetipo subversivo. Tras cinco años matriculada en la universidad para estudiar el derecho, Nélica Ayay Chilon, se convierte en la cabecilla de la defensa de las lagunas y las tierras de la región. Al principio, se la conoce por su amistad con Acuña, no obstante, esta relación tiene otras facetas debido a los consejos que Ayay le da en cuanto al sistema legal. Ya que Acuña es iletrada y la propietaria más importante de la región, ella depende de Ayay para navegar los trámites legales y superar las amenazas de Yanacocha.

Más allá del letramiento, el acto más perturbador de Ayay y Acuña es su habilidad de acceder a la ciudad moderna por la tecnología. El uso histórico de la tecnología ha creado binarios jerarquizados entre los mismos poseedores de la tecnología y los incivilizados; el hombre y la naturaleza; la ciencia y lo acientífico (creencia y conocimiento no occidental); el desarrollo y el subdesarrollo. Si Marisol de la Cadena describe encuentros entre líderes indígenas locales y políticos del estado que determinan que el indígena político no es un posible acontecimiento (*Earth Beings* 75), el mismo sentimiento se extiende a las mujeres indígenas y la tecnología. No obstante, el documental quiebra con estos límites de género y raza al grabar a Acuña llamando por su teléfono celular a su emisora local de radio, desde la cual denuncia las fuerzas extralegales que amenazan a

su familia. Los avances neoliberales producidos por el mercado global potencian a estas mujeres campesinas con herramientas cotidianas para criticar la globalización y el extractivismo. De manera más profunda, la siguiente sección discute el papel del documental como otra herramienta de descolonización y muestra del letramiento y la hibridez en los Andes.

Imágenes de resistencia: *Hija de la laguna*

El enfrentamiento de los actores sociales con los agentes del estado y las empresas mineras se captura a lo largo del documental a medida que la cámara simplemente observa el evento. La herencia neorrealista italiana está intrínsecamente presente en esta obra, especialmente en la manera en que cineastas como Cabellos partieron de los centros urbanos hacia el campo con su cámara para capturar la realidad social y física del espacio rural (Shiel 10). De igual manera, consideramos el *New Latin American Cinema*, nuevo cine latinoamericano, de Cynthia Tompkins por el rodaje de sujetos reales en localidades reales. Y también, por el énfasis en el evento mismo, de por sí, como la herramienta que efectúa el cambio social y puede socavar los controles hegemónicos (1, 17).

Al grabar este espacio-tiempo, el documental observatorio no puede intervenir en los eventos, solo representarlos. El ejemplo más claro ocurre en un día cualquiera en la Plaza de Armas de Cajamarca que se deshace en caos en unos segundos. Las tensiones entre manifestantes y policías terminan con cinco muertos civiles. Aunque los inicios no sean evidentes, el montaje y el uso de la cámara a mano graba el realismo granoso del evento que se despliega en el centro público, archivando una copia audiovisual de la detención del padre Marcos y la brutalidad policiaca.

La representación del evento se recrea intencionalmente en fotogramas, una serie de fotos que se proyectan velozmente para dar la ilusión cinematográfica de movimiento (Afinoguénova 27). A diferencia de la secuencia de imágenes necesarias para establecer una continuidad de movimiento, normalmente veinticuatro por segundo, ciertas porciones del montaje de la violencia policial en la plaza se reproducen de manera fragmentada. La ausencia de ciertas imágenes reduce la velocidad de su reproducción, hasta fragmentan los movimientos de los sujetos en las calles. Esta alteración quiebra la representación del evento, y como resultado, (re)crea un sentido de terror y miedo para que la audiencia se acerque más a la posición de un público amenazado por las fuerzas estatales. La negación de valor al ambiente y a los habitantes de estas tierras rurales se extiende ahora a los de la ciudad de Cajamarca, inscribiéndose otra vez la superposición del oro por encima del medio ambiente y las diversas ontologías encontradas en la zona de conflicto.

Después del peregrinaje a Lima, protestas y la violencia policiaca en Cajamarca, la última escena de *Hija de la laguna* vuelve al entorno de las lagunas de

Conga donde el film comenzó. Por las alturas andinas, Acuña, Ayay, las rondas campesinas y otros comuneros se reúnen para defender las lagunas y la tierra de Tragadero Grande. Esta última etapa provee un escenario auténtico en que el largometraje graba la llegada de buses que llevan aproximadamente 200 fuerzas antidisturbios al sitio contestado. Todavía presentes las imágenes de la cámara portátil en la Plaza de Armas, la violencia y el despojamiento de las lagunas son las expectativas de la audiencia.

Los siguientes momentos en las alturas de las lagunas de Conga unifican los temas del letramiento, la hibridez y la ecocrítica. La tensión entre la policía armada y los comuneros se negocia a través de representantes del estado que anuncian que la tierra es legalmente propiedad de la mina Yanacocha. A diferencia de la dominación explícita de una nación sobre otra en el colonialismo histórico de América Latina, la lucha por el control de las lagunas andinas echa una representación contemporánea de la colonialidad de poder que define a cultura, labor, relaciones intersubjetivas y producción del conocimiento (Maldonado-Torres 243). Si la colonialidad sobrevive al colonialismo, el letramiento y el conocimiento del sistema legal moderno son de suma importancia en los ejemplos más sencillos de la decolonización. Gracias a las destrezas de las mujeres letradas-híbridas, los manifestantes pueden negociar con la fiscalía de la nación. Por último, el empoderamiento del letramiento brindado por Ayay y las ventajas de un equipo de cámaras del documental, subvierten la colonialidad de poder en estas manifestaciones a las orillas de las lagunas de Conga.

La decisión de los comuneros de defender el medio ambiente resulta en la partida pacífica de los agentes estatales. Pese al éxito de la defensa andina en Cajamarca, quedan dudas sobre la reproducibilidad de este éxito en el futuro. El mismo gobierno responsable por casi la mitad de los 69.000 muertos en el Conflicto Armado Interno (1980-2000), la esterilización de 300.000 mujeres indígenas y otros conflictos ambientales han mostrado la mano dura en las interacciones indígenas. ¿Qué factores hicieron que la manifestación en las lagunas de Conga acabara sin derramar sangre cuando otros actores indígenas terminaron muertos? ¿Por qué la culminación de *Hija de la laguna* termina siendo un no-evento?

Aparte de actores letrados-híbridos, hace falta considerar la presencia del equipo documental. Por más que los cineastas quisieran ser solamente observadores, no pueden substraerse de la misma escena, aunque no son visibles para el espectador del film. Bajo circunstancias similares, la producción cinematográfica de otro espacio-tiempo desvela la manera en que el equipo documental se convierte en un actor social. El film, *A Place Called Chiapas* (1998) de Nettie Wild relata la lucha de los zapatistas frente a los cambios causados por la implementación del Tratado de Libre Comercio de América del Norte (TLCAN) y el neoliberalismo en México. En los comentarios de Wild sobre su trabajo, ella reconoce que la presencia de los cineastas trastornó la trayectoria

del conflicto zapatista, que motivó a Brian Gollnick a notar que Wild se convirtió en una defensa y una voz de autoridad en Chipas (155). Asimismo, la presencia física de Cabellos y el equipo de cámaras del documental cambia totalmente las posibles acciones para los antidisturbios y para los campesinos. No solamente la cámara valida la lucha indígena, sino que responsabiliza legalmente a todos los actores al suceder el evento.

Conclusión

En un futuro próximo, la continuación de las siguientes prácticas neoliberales examinadas aquí asegurará una profundización de los mismos problemas a nivel global. La última escena del documental es una victoria por los defensores del agua y de la tierra, no obstante, el diálogo entre la fiscalía de la nación y los campesinos es inquietante. La advertencia del estado a los habitantes de la zona es: “Si aquí no hay seguridad sobre quién es propietario, se coloquen en algún lugar donde ustedes estén seguros, donde nadie pueda pedirles que los desalojen” (*Hija de la laguna*). El vacío del mensaje del gobierno deja más preguntas que respuestas para las comunidades rurales e indígenas. La negligencia explícita del estado (re)afirma su posición en el mercado neoliberal. Además de ignorar a los propios ciudadanos, la incertidumbre existencial se extiende al hogar colectivo. La amenaza de perder el espacio más íntimo hace imposible seguir la sugerencia de recolocarse en un lugar donde nadie pueda desalojarles, especialmente si consideramos el medio ambiente como el fundamento necesario para establecer cualquier hogar.

Si en décadas anteriores los zapatistas declararon, “En el mundo que queremos nosotros caben todos. El mundo que queremos es uno donde quepan muchos mundos”, las movilizaciones andinas hacen eco de este llamado hoy (Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional). El conjunto de la hibridez, el letramiento y otras prácticas que pertenecen a las zonas rurales, son ejemplos de los esfuerzos de los mundos dominados que todavía existen en el mundo colonial de los poderosos. Por diferentes ontologías y conocimientos locales, *Hija de la laguna* exhibe un mensaje de la interconectividad entre todos los mundos y la necesidad de preservar el único mundo que habitamos todos.

Obras citadas

- Afinoguénova, Eugenia. “Cognición audiovisual: un lenguaje para analizar el cine”. *Hispanófila* 177.1 (2016): 27-44.
- Buell, Lawrence. *The Environmental Imagination: Thoreau, Nature Writing, and the Formation of American Culture*. Harvard University Press, 1995.
- Cabellos, Ernesto, dir. *Hija de la laguna*. Guarango Cine y Video, 2015.
- Canessa, Andrew. *Intimate Indigeneities: Race, Sex, and History in the Small Spaces of Andean Life*. Duke University Press, 2012.

- Clemente, Patricia Nolasco. "Hija de la laguna". *GénEros* 24.21 (2017): 178-184.
- Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación. *Informe final: (Perú: 1980-2000). El proceso, los hechos, las víctimas: Exposición general. I.* Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 2004.
- de la Cadena, Marisol, and Mario Blaser, eds. *A World of Many Worlds*. Duke University Press, 2018.
- . *Earth Beings: Ecologies of Practice Across Andean Worlds*. Duke University Press, 2015.
- de Sousa Santos, Boaventura. *The End of the Cognitive Empire: The Coming of Age of Epistemologies of the South*. Duke University Press, 2018.
- Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional. "Cuarta declaración de la selva Lacandona". 1 de enero, 1996. Web.
- Escobar, Arturo. *Designs for the Pluriverse: Radical Interdependence, Autonomy, and the Making of Worlds*. Duke University Press, 2018.
- Flores, Julio. *José María Arguedas y la nueva novela indígena del Perú*. Ed. Universitaria, 1970.
- García, María Elena. *Making Indigenous Citizens: Identities, Education and Multicultural Development in Peru*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005.
- García Canclini, Néstor. *Culturas híbridas: Estrategias para entrar y salir de la modernidad*. México: Mondadori, 2005.
- Gollnick, Brian. *Reinventing the Lacandón: Subaltern Representations in the Rain Forest of Chiapas*. University of Arizona Press, 2008.
- Isla, Ana. "The Guardians of the Conga Lagoons: Defending Land, Water and Freedom in Peru". *Canadian Woman Studies* 30.2-3 (2015): 25-40.
- La Serna, Miguel. *The Corner of the Living: Ayacucho on the Eve of the Shining Path Insurgency*. First Peoples: New Directions in Indigenous Studies. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012.
- Maldonado-Torres, Nelson. "On the Coloniality of Being: Contributions to the Development of a Concept". *Cultural Studies* 21.2-3 (2007): 240-270.
- Mariátegui, José Carlos. "Reflections". *The Peru Reader: History, Culture, Politics*. Ed. Orin Starn, Carlos Iván Degregori and Robin Kirk. Duke University Press, 1995. 240-45.
- Menchú, Rigoberta. "Así me nació la conciencia". Cuba: Ediciones Casa de las Américas (1983).
- Paredes, Julieta. *Hilando fino: Desde el feminismo comunitario*. Comunidad Mujeres Creando Comunidad, 2010.
- Quijano, Aníbal. "Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism, and Latin America". Trans. Michael Ennis. *Nepantla: Views from the South* 1.3 (2000): 533-80.
- Rama, Ángel. *La ciudad letrada*. Santiago: Tajamar, 2004.
- Rappaport, Joanne, and Tom Cummins. *Beyond the Lettered City: Indigenous Literacies in the Andes*. Duke University Press, 2012.
- Rivera Cusicanqui, Silvia. *Un mundo ch'ixi es posible: Ensayos desde un presente en crisis*. Buenos Aires: Tinta Limón, 2018.
- Sarlo, Beatriz. *Una modernidad periférica. Buenos Aires 1920 y 1930*. Buenos Aires: Ediciones Nueva Visión, 2003.
- Shiva, Vandana, and Maria Mies. *Ecofeminism*. Zed Books, 2014.
- Shiel, Mark. *Italian Neorealism: Rebuilding the Cinematic City*. Columbia University Press, 2006.

- Stensrud, Astrid B. "Harvesting Water for the Future: Reciprocity and Environmental Justice in the Politics of Climate Change in Peru". *Latin American Perspectives* 43.4 (July 2016): 56-72.
- Tarica, Estelle. *Inner Life of Mestizo Nationalism*. University of Minnesota Press, 2008.
- Taylor, Ariel, and Michelle D. Bonner. "Policing Economic Growth: Mining, Protest, and State Discourse in Peru and Argentina". *Latin American Research Review* 52.1 (2017): 3-17.
- Tompkins, Cynthia. *Experimental Latin American Cinema: History and Aesthetics*. University of Texas Press, 2013.
- Viveiros de Castro, Eduardo. "Perspectival Anthropology and the Method of Controlled Equivocation". *Tipiti: Journal of the Society for the Anthropology of Lowland South America* 2.1 (2004): 3-20.

La imagen de *Rinconete y Cortadillo* a través de las emociones

Roxana Ambrosini
Florida Atlantic University

Resumen: *Rinconete y Cortadillo*, dos pícaros delincuentes cervantinos, llevan al lector haciendo uso de sus vivencias y emociones por un paseo imaginario donde se disfrutará con ellos de sus aventuras y desventuras. El propósito de este ensayo es analizar cómo la narrativa utilizada en la novela conecta e invita a formar una imagen de los personajes a través de las emociones y los sentidos creando una empatía cognitiva al generar un vínculo emocional entre el lector y la obra. Igualmente, esta empatía invita al aprendizaje de la problemática de la época y, al mismo tiempo, sirve al lector para discernimiento de sus propias experiencias. Para este efecto se ubicará al lector dentro de la historia a través de la imaginación, explicando la importancia de lo visual y lo sensorial en la identificación de los personajes. El uso del lenguaje de y entre los personajes es factor importante para determinar la posición jerárquica de cada uno y la afiliación emocional entre ellos. Finalmente, se une las emociones con lo cognitivo corporal, los sentidos y a la empatía cognitiva, técnica que Cervantes usa en muchas de sus obras para incentivar la imaginación del lector. Así podrá disfrutar esa posición privilegiada de ser parte de la obra sin sufrir las consecuencias directas de las conclusiones que pueda tomar al finalizar de leerla; una estrategia cervantina que captura activamente a su público en un proceso de comprensión de la historia y al mismo tiempo de ellos mismos.

Palabras claves: *Rinconete y Cortadillo*, *Novelas Ejemplares*, pícaros, emociones, empatía cognitiva, cognitivo corporal, imaginación

Rinconete y Cortadillo es una novela corta que forma parte de las doce *Novelas Ejemplares* que Cervantes Saavedra publicara en 1612. Sus líneas transportan al Siglo XVII usando como vehículo la narración de los acontecimientos en la vida de dos pícaros delincuentes. Haciendo uso de su visión como narradores testigos llevarán al lector por un paseo imaginario a través de sus aventuras y desventuras. El propósito de este ensayo es analizar cómo la narrativa utilizada en la novela conecta e invita a formar una imagen de los personajes a través de las emociones y los sentidos creando una empatía cognitiva a través del vínculo emocional entre el lector y la obra, al igual que al aprendizaje de la problemática de la época y, que al mismo tiempo, sirva al lector para discernimiento de sus propias experiencias. Para este efecto se abarcará el posicionamiento del lector dentro de la realidad de la historia a través de la imaginación, para luego pasar a la importancia de lo visual y lo sensorial en la identificación de los personajes. Se concluirá con el uso del lenguaje para determinar la afiliación emocional con los diferentes grupos y finalmente unir las emociones con lo cognitivo corporal.

La historia empieza en un caluroso día de verano en la “venta del Molinillo” (Cervantes 16) cerca de los campos de Alcudia entre Castilla y Andalucía, donde

dos jovenzuelos se encuentran e inmediatamente estrechan vínculos emocionales por tener mucho en común. Luego deciden ir hacia Sevilla invitados por unos “caminantes a caballo que iban a sestar a la venta del Alcalde” (21), y por supuesto practicar su negocio que era el engaño y el hurto. Luego de unos cuantos robos, llegan a Sevilla y los recluta un “mozo de la esportilla, que vio todo lo que había pasado” (29) para registrarlos con Monipodio, personaje que controlaba a todos los truhanes de la zona, y que sin su permiso nadie podía atreverse a hurtar “pues les costará caro” (29). Rincón y Cortado son aceptados y los bautizan como Rinconete y Cortadillo. Luego que prueban su honestidad al devolver la bolsa que había robado al sacristán familiar del alguacil, a Cortadillo le dan el nombre de “Cortadillo el Bueno” (41). Es a partir de ese momento que Monipodio presenta uno a uno los miembros de la cofradía y les explica el rol que desempeñaban, siendo Rinconete y Cortadillo testigos de los quehaceres de la fraternidad, al igual que de sus problemas. Luego de solucionar algunas dificultades entre sus miembros, Monipodio saca “un papel doblado...donde estaba la lista de los cofrades” (62) y les pide que añadan sus nombres y sus obligaciones: “Rinconete y Cortadillo, cofrades...Rinconete, floreo; Cortadillo, bajón” (62). Termina la historia con Rinconete riendo sobre las ocurrencias de la cofradía, del lenguaje utilizado, de los personajes, y hasta juzgando la relación tan especial que tenían con Dios. Fueron tantas las experiencias de los dos mozuelos que no pudieron ser contadas pues “le sucedieron cosas que piden más luenga escritura” (64) y queda abierto el final, asegurando que todas las historias servirán de ejemplo y aviso a los que los leyeren” (64).

Como punto de partida, la narrativa de Cervantes ubica al lector no solo literariamente dentro de la historia, sino que lo posiciona imaginariamente y casi físicamente en el lugar y el tiempo. A pesar que en ningún momento se detalla la fecha exacta en la cual ocurre la aventura, se proveen referencias espacio-temporales que ubican al lector. Según Bel Bravo, “no hay referencias cronológicas directas al momento en que se desarrolla la acción, pero sí indirectas, como por ejemplo la fecha de construcción de la Puerta de la Aduana que nos induce a situar la acción entre los últimos años del siglo XVI y primeros del XVII” (47). Al abrir la historia en “la venta del Molinillo...de los famosos campos de Alcadia...de Castilla a la Andalucía, en un día de los calurosos del verano” (16) el lector tiene una idea de dónde se encuentra. Según el modelo cognitivo de David Herman, cuatro aspectos son necesarios dentro de la narratología emocional: “situatedness,” “event sequencing,” “worldmaking/world disruption,” and “what it’s like” (9). Dentro de la secuencia de los eventos, el tiempo es central; así como la estructura temporal, “the temporal structure” (12), del contenido de la historia también es igualmente importante. Estas *temporal structures* son creadas como resultado de la interacción entre el tiempo en el cual el texto se lleva a cabo y las propias estructuras temporales del lector que se activan en su imaginación al ir leyendo. Como consecuencia, el lector podrá

construir “mental representations of narrated worlds, that is, storyworlds” (19). En *Rinconete* el narrador sitúa al lector en ese lugar específico, una venta, entre Castilla y Andalucía, un día de mucho calor. El lector que se conecta a través de la lectura ya tiene la idea del momento en que se produce el encuentro de los dos jovenzuelos. Incluso podrá sentir el calor del verano, y seguramente el lector más sensible podría oler el polvo del camino y percibir el sudor por el caminar extenuante. Asimismo, puede escuchar a la gente conversando, ver el movimiento de los viajeros y locales, observar y disfrutar de los paisajes campestres del valle. Con esta narración, la conexión sensorial ha sido abierta para el receptivo lector y consecuentemente se empieza a crear la historia del texto y unirla con su propia historia; lo cual seguirá ocurriendo llevado por la voz del narrador y de los diálogos que lo transportarán por diferentes escenarios y situaciones.

Haciendo uso del lenguaje descriptivo unido al corpóreo o *embodiment* según Gibbs, donde las estructuras lingüísticas están estrechamente ligadas y motivadas por el conocimiento conceptual, por experiencias corpóreas y por las características comunicativas del lenguaje del individuo, quien a su vez recurre a metáforas lingüísticas que conectan los sentidos y sus movimientos para entender y unir la noción cuerpo-mente-lenguaje. El autor de *Rinconete* utiliza magistralmente estos “body-based metaphorical concepts” de manera nueva y creativa para invitar a sus lectores a “understand given their own embodied experiences” (100). Es así como el lector, al sentirse identificado personalmente, camina metafóricamente a la par con los personajes de la obra, viendo, oliendo, sintiendo y hasta casi tocando lo mismo que ellos.

Siguiendo con la historia ya conectados a través de la narrativa que fusiona lo corpóreo y los sentidos, se ve que desde los primeros párrafos se utiliza una descripción muy detallada donde la visión y la imaginación se unen para ir formando la identidad de los personajes. El narrador menciona las edades de dos muchachos “de hasta edad de catorce a quince años”, siendo ambos muy simpáticos, “pero muy descosidos, rotos y maltratados” (16). El lector recibe la información y construye la imagen de los dos muchachos como muy pobres pues sus vestimentas, descritas minuciosamente desde los calzones, las medias, los zapatos, la capa, el sombrero y demás prendas, todas ellas raídas y desgastadas, hasta un cuello “tan deshilado de roto, que todo parecía hilachas” (17). Sin embargo, a pesar de la pobreza al vestir, sorprende lo educados y respetuosos que los jóvenes eran al dirigirse la palabra; hablando con un lenguaje fino que no corresponde con la imagen que el narrador ha brindado con su descripción y que el lector se ha hecho de ellos. El narrador intencionalmente presenta así a los personajes, para mostrarlos diferentes, como García López menciona sobre la novela de Cervantes, que en ella está presente “un juego entre la narración omnisciente” y la narración de los personajes donde existe un “diálogo sinuoso de dos jóvenes pordioseros que abrazan a conciencia —aunque sin finalidad

aparente— un tono retórico de nobleza; más que un diálogo de desarrapados jovenzuelos nos parece asistir al indolente intercambio de saludos en una recepción cortesana” (115). Este manejo narrativo de empezar con un narrador omnisciente y luego pasar a la narrativa en diálogo de los personajes, volviendo al narrador en algunos momentos para despertar conciencia, y finalmente entregarles el control a los protagonistas es una técnica usada por Cervantes que invita al lector a un proceso de identificación con los personajes y a formar parte de la misma obra. En realidad, no se trata de probar las razones que tiene el narrador o medir los efectos que esta narrativa tiene en el lector, sino, como explica Barthes, el problema central es “to describe the code through which the narrator’s and the reader’s presence can be detected within the narrative itself” (260). Ese código se da en los silencios del narrador cuando la narrativa es “unknown to the reader” (260) y esto abre las puertas para que el lector sea parte de la obra deduciendo y creando vínculos con la historia y sus personajes.

El autor podría haber adoptado fácilmente las características de los personajes de la picaresca debido a la época en que fue escrita; sin embargo, según conclusión de José A. Calzón García:

Curiosamente, no parece que sea el retrato de los protagonistas lo que el autor del *Quijote* incorporó en cuanto principal hallazgo de la picaresca, sino una forma nueva de narrar donde distintas instancias enunciativas —con sus correspondientes destinatarios— juegan a construir un relato superponiendo distintos mecanismos de representación de la historia, dejando así en manos del lector la refundición final, y con ella el sentido último de la obra. (491)

Asimismo, Wesson explica que durante la época de Cervantes las obras eran actuadas o leídas en alto, por eso los cambios narrativos y,

la presencia de un narrador omnisciente y onnipresente que todo lo sabe y todo lo ve, refuerza la idea de un lector que a medida que iba leyendo la novela, iba actuando, es decir, cambiando el tono de voz de acuerdo con el personaje que interpretaba y luego identificándose con el narrador en los pasajes no dialogados. (89)

Esa identificación que ocurre con el lector al percibir los cambios narrativos y sentirse parte de la obra al verse involucrado dentro de los diálogos y la narración, aportan positiva o negativamente al sentido final que se le pueda dar a la obra, según la reconstrucción mental individual de cada uno según sus propias experiencias.

Otro momento importante descriptivo para efectos de conexión de los sentidos es la aparición de Monipodio. Luego de haber generado una gran

expectativa por saber quién era ese tan importante personaje donde se debían registrar todos los delincuentes de la ciudad, al cual nombraban como “su padre, su maestro y su amparo” (Cervantes 29), Cortado y Rincón se apuraban en ir a conocerlo diciéndole a su guía, “he oído decir, que es muy calificado y generoso, y además hábil en su oficio” (30). Ya en la cofradía, y luego de reunirse todos los miembros presentes en el patio, Monipodio hizo su aparición, “Tan esperado como bien visto de aquella vistuosa compañía” (34). En la descripción se da la edad de alrededor de 45 años de alta estatura y piel morena. Para enfatizar la idea que era de personalidad y físico fuerte, el narrador lo describe con mucho cabello tanto por la cara, “cezijunto, barbinegro y muy espeso” (34), al igual que en el pecho, “descubría un bosque: tanto era el vello que tenía” (34). Continúa con el detalle minucioso, solo nombrando las vestimentas y característica físicas como si las estuviera listando. Esta técnica narrativa realista le da un fuerte tono de veracidad pues lo que ve es lo que plasma en su descripción: “le colgaba una espada ancha...las manos eran cortas, pelosas, los dedos gordos, y las uñas hembras y remachadas...los pies eran descomunales, de anchos y juanetudos” (34). El lector tiene ya la imagen de un ser descomunal, casi salvaje por su figura que “representaba el más rústico y disforme bárbaro del mundo” (34). Esta representación es ideal para el jefe de la delincuencia, un individuo que infunde miedo y respeto con tan solo verlo. La conexión sensorial a través de la descripción detallada del narrador invita al lector a visualizar esa imagen descrita, y ya Monipodio no es solo un nombre sino un personaje real en la imaginación literaria del lector.

Por lo descrito anteriormente es que surgen las conexiones emocionales con los personajes en la obra, una empatía cognitiva. Al leer las descripciones de Rincón y Cortado o de Monipodio, el lector siente aceptación o tal vez en otros casos rechazo hacia ese “otro” dependiendo de la posición mental que cada lector tenga de los personajes. Por ejemplo, en el caso de los muchachos, la presentación de la sociedad, de la pobreza y de las necesidades que pasan cuando no se nace en una posición favorable, el lector podría procesarla primero para entenderla, y luego asimilarla. Se podría preguntar al avanzar con la lectura si ha pasado por un momento similar o tal vez imaginar qué haría si pasase por alguna situación semejante; se genera una empatía cognitiva. De acuerdo a Carrera, el formar un “cognitive empathy” se refiere a los intentos conscientes de cada persona para entender a los otros, esto es “activating one’s personal representations of his or her situation or emotional state” (114). Toda forma de empatía incluye representaciones personales y afectivas ligadas a las sensaciones, emociones y al cuerpo “embodied cognition” (115) y esto es lo que pasa al leer la narrativa de *Rinconete y Cortadillo*.

Continuando con lo cognitivo corporal, se hace presente en este relato en primer lugar una fuerte emoción que conecta a todos los lectores con los personajes: la amistad. Se ve con satisfacción como en situaciones adversas de

la vida los vínculos se estrechan y se generan afectos que unen. Diego Cortado luego de conversar con Rincón al momento que se conocieron dice “pues nuestra amistad, como vuesa merced, señor Rincón, ha de ser perpetua” y luego proceden a abrazarse “tierna y estrechamente” (Cervantes 21). Existe un vínculo amical entre los jóvenes desde el primer momento que se encuentran. Esos lazos de unión se generan al notar que tienen vidas con pasados afines, ambos están solos. Cortadillo es el primero que comparte su pasado y hablando sobre su tierra, “pues no tengo en ella más de un padre que no me tiene por hijo y una madrastra que me trata como alnado” (17). El joven Rincón cuenta que forzosamente huyó de su casa pues luego de aprender de su padre el negocio de las bulas le robó el dinero, “me abracé con un talego y di conmigo y con él en Madrid” (19). Como resultado de ese robo, fue perseguido, castigado y azotado, y finalmente desterrado por cuatro años de Madrid. Solo tuvo que partir para Sevilla. Los dos contaron sus historias, como un acto de agradecimiento recíproco para confiar uno en el otro. Rincón engañaba con los naipes, y Cortado era diestro robando con el corte de la tijera. A pesar de sus tan bien admiradas cualidades, ambos vivían en extrema pobreza y ya ninguno tenía la necesidad de aparentar otra realidad pues, dice Rincón, “ya nos conocemos, no hay para qué aquesas grandezas ni altiveces: confesemos llanamente que no tenemos blanca, ni aun zapatos” (21). La emoción de amistad que surge entre los dos es expresada con lenguaje corporal y verbal. Casi de inmediato ambos demuestran su afecto, como por ejemplo, prestarse atención total cuando hablaban, o sentirse agradecidos por haber confiado en ellos al decir, “merced muy grande tengo lo que vuesa merced me ha hecho en darme cuenta de su vida” (20). En combinación despiertan sentimientos de identificación con su propia experiencia, el deseo de lograr una amistad especial y a la vez tan sencilla que pueda ser sellada con un simple abrazo entre los dos jóvenes.

Otra emoción importante que el narrador nos transmite es la solidaridad, la unión y el apoyo comunal que se tienen los miembros de la cofradía de Monipodio. Es inadmisibles pensar que en lugares donde practican el hurto y el engaño como forma de vida existan cualidades que contradicen a la situación marginal de los integrantes de ese grupo. Sin embargo, por algo están presentes en la obra, justamente para hacer uso de esa forma irónica de describir la problemática real de la época, donde al invertir los valores sociales el lector podría percibir mejor el mensaje que el narrador quería enfatizar. Por lo tanto, cuando llega Juliana la Cariharta a pedir justicia por los abusos de su amante Repolido, corren a ayudarla otras dos mujeres, la Gananciosa y la Escalanta, quienes la limpian y dan fe de los golpes que la Cariharta había recibido. Igualmente, Monipodio, quien era la autoridad, la respalda y le asegura, “Sosiegate, Cariharta...que aquí estoy yo, que te haré justicia” (46) e igualmente le afirma “no ha de entrar por estas puertas el cobarde envesado si primero no hace una manifiesta penitencia del cometido delito” (47). De esta manera, al demostrar estas emociones de

apoyo y protección, de justicia dentro de un entorno injusto, se enfrenta al lector con una realidad literaria que servirá como nexo entre la narrativa y la creación mental de los personajes.

Por ende, este tipo de narrativa centrada en las emociones incita a lograr una empatía a través de “bodily sensations” (Carrera 118) y de la expresión de emociones afines o distintas a la realidad del lector. El lector hace uso de todas las emociones para crear su respuesta o afinidad hacia el texto. Este tema también se puede vincular perfectamente a las teorías de recepción del lector. En su libro *A Teacher's Introduction to Reader-Response Theories*, Richard Beach abarca los diferentes aspectos que afectan la recepción del lector y la aceptación de los textos que lee. Parte importante de esos aspectos son las “Psychoanalytical Theories of Response” (94) donde explica lo que depende de la forma en que los temas de ficción del subconsciente de los lectores “shape the meaning of their experience” (94). Estas características psicoanalíticas de la identidad del lector le ayudan a identificarse con diferentes elementos o personajes de un texto, su “identity style” (95). El “identity style” de un lector representa su “unique, consistent way of coping with experience” (95). Por ejemplo, un lector que es perfeccionista se dará cuenta de los pequeños detalles de la narrativa de una escena, como por otro lado los que son dominantes se identificarán con los personajes y situaciones de poder. Ambos, la aceptación y el rechazo formaran parte del proceso mental cognitivo, su hipótesis de recepción para con la obra. Beach (1993) explica que los lectores “draw on their identity style to assess the validity of their hypotheses according to what feels satisfying...readers learn to balance perceptions and the resulting feedback according to their own identity style” (96). Así vemos pues, que el lector captará los elementos que van de acuerdo con su identidad lectora, y harán una evaluación de lo que realmente es aceptado o rechazado basado en sus percepciones. En el caso del lector de *Rinconete y Cortadillo*, las emociones como amistad y solidaridad serán aceptadas y asimiladas de acuerdo a cada estilo de identidad, y por otro lado rechazadas por aquellos lectores que no cuentan con esas características de identidad o que no les resultan primordiales, teniendo en cuenta que ambas acciones contribuyen a su proceso receptivo e identidad como lector. Lo descrito encaja perfectamente con la “Theory of Mind” explicada por L. Zunshine,

Theory of Mind is a cluster of cognitive adaptations that allows us to navigate our social world and also structures that world. Intensely social species that we are, we thus read fiction because it engages, in a variety of particularly focused ways, our Theory of Mind (127).

Es decir, el lector acepta o rechaza una obra de acuerdo a su receptividad, o conexión con su “Theory of Mind” (ToM). Al respecto continúa Zunshine,

we do read novels because they engage our ToM, but we are at present a long way off from grasping fully the levels of complexity that this engagement entails. Fiction helps us to pattern in newly nuanced ways our emotions and perceptions; it bestows “new knowledge or increased understanding” and gives “the chance for a sharpened ethical sense”; and it creates new forms of meaning for our everyday existence. (128)

Igualmente, ya con la base de las emociones y la receptividad del lector, se debe tomar en cuenta que los sentidos juegan un papel muy importante en la obra. Se ve en la narración cómo la observación, a través de la vista, y la argucia, a través del habla y el oído, ayudan a los personajes a llevar a cabo sus actividades, en este caso particular sus engaños. Ellos divisan a sus víctimas, los estudian rápidamente y escuchan lo que dicen para saber dónde pueden cometer o no sus fechorías. Invitan engañosamente al arriero, para timarlo en el juego de veintiuno haciendo pasar como si fuese su idea, pero en realidad ya estaba planeado por Rincón cuando le dice a Cortado, “armemos la red, y veamos si cae algún pájaro destos harrieros que aquí hay” (Cervantes 20). Igualmente, Cortado roba al francés “dos camisas buenas, un reloj de sol y un librillo de memoria, cosas que cuando las vieron les dieron mucho gusto” (22). Luego ven como pueden ingresar al negocio de la carga, observan atentos lo que necesitan llevar y consiguen sus “costales pequeños” (23) para llevar la carga. Cortado avista al estudiante sacristán y entablan conversación hasta, primero, robarle su bolsa “con quince escudos de oro en oro y con tres reales de a dos y tantos maravedís en cuartos y en ochavos” (25). Luego que el sacristán fuese a reclamarle por la bolsa y ve su pañuelo y le gusta, “apenas lo hubo visto Cortado lo marcó por suyo” (28). No puede evitar desearlo pues se lo roba sin que se dé cuenta. Ya lo tiene mareado, “embelesado”, con su sagacidad y engaño verbal, “estábale mirando Cortado a la cara atentamente y no quitaba los ojos de sus ojos; el sacristán le miraba de la misma manera, estando colgado de sus palabras” (28). Siguen a sus víctimas con sus vivaces ojos, ganando así conocimiento de su accionar, el cual compartían dentro de su diálogo y narración. Ven al jefe de la banda, Monipodio, y según lo observan lo van describiendo. Así pasa con todos los demás integrantes de la cofradía, sus actividades, sus acciones, todo es asimilado visualmente y relatado en forma detallada. Observan al alguacil corrupto, a las prostitutas, a las mujeres abusadas, a los delincuentes abusadores, a las autoridades ineficientes, a los clérigos, a los personajes correctos y a los ancianos valorados. A través de esa visión panorámica y descripción detallada entre los diálogos de *Rinconete y Cortadillo*, el lector crea su propia visión de la realidad de esa época, que a pesar de ser ficción, tiene mucho de real, y adopta una posición con respecto a la obra y a los personajes. Mancing en su ensayo sobre “Embodied Cognitive Science and the Study of Literature” abarca breve, pero a la vez ampliamente, la relación entre la narrativa y la recepción del lector,

resaltando la importancia de ambos, “Narrative theory and reader-response theory have always been closely related, and this is certainly the case in cognitive studies” y cómo la mente del lector se relaciona con los personajes a través de los sentidos (30).

Se podría comparar este efecto de los sentidos con los comentarios de Jaén en su ensayo “Sensing and Understanding in Calderón de la Barca’s *La vida es sueño*”, donde explica cómo los sentidos al estar tan ligados a nuestro cuerpo afectan ambos, la imaginación y a las sensaciones del lector, una “bidirectional connection between sensing and behaving (135), que en su análisis de Calderón podríamos compararlo con Cervantes en el énfasis que le dan al “embodied nature of the mind by pointing at the effect that imagination and the body exert upon each other” (135).

Siguiendo con la formación de la imagen mental de los personajes de la obra, al final, cuando Rinconete, utilizando el sentido de la vista y siendo los ojos de Monipodio pues no sabía leer, se le es dado el “libro de memoria” (Cervantes 58) para que lo lea. El lector escucha atentamente todas las actividades de los delincuentes de la cofradía conjuntamente con Monipodio, “Memoria de las Cuchilladas que se han de dar esta semana” (59) y lee sobre las cuchilladas que reciben, el precio pagado y quién fue el ejecutor. Así pasan a la “Memoria de Palos” (59) donde detallan los palos recibidos y los que iban a cuenta y la fecha en que iban a terminar de dar los palos, al igual quien era encargado de darlos. En todas estas descripciones Monipodio brinda sus comentarios ya sea de aprobación o de desaprobación, llegando también a justificar y perdonar por haber estado enfermo al “secutor el Desmochado” (59) diciendo, “si no fuera por tan justo impedimento, ya él hubiera dado al cabo con mayores empresas” (60). Igualmente, reparte entre todos “hasta cuarenta reales” (63), con lo que todos “le volvieron las gracias; tornáronse a abrazar a Repolido y la Cariharta, la Escalanta con Maniferro y la Gananciosa con Chiquiznaque” (63). Existe todo un sistema de control del movimiento de los delincuentes, y quien está en control, Monipodio, no solamente tiene el poder, sino que también les brinda afecto, aceptación, los acoge y los perdona. Estas muestras de emociones positivas mezclado con lo corpóreo influyen en la empatía del lector y en su recepción al texto. Como Fish explica en “Literature in the Reader” que lo que pasa por la mente de “one informed reader of a work will happen, within a range of nonessential variation, to another” (147), pero que sus experiencias en diversas áreas ya sean literarias, políticas o culturales, convergen con sus experiencias personales y eso hará que su reacción hacia los mismos textos sean diferentes en cada lector.

A pesar que los delincuentes cometen actos censurables, éstos no son vistos como tales debido justamente al tono irónico de la narración. Al describirse un mundo invertido con delincuentes unidos por emociones positivas, se entiende que tales descripciones forman parte de la fantasía literaria, pero al ser narradas

con tonos emocionales positivos lo negativo (i.e., el hurto) pasa a segundo plano y lo que se resalta es la unión del grupo. Lo que se describe es narrado de una manera tan especial que conecta mental y sensorialmente a la audiencia, haciéndola parte de la historia a través de la imaginación; algo esencial que ocurre de manera constante en la mente del ser humano al ser estimulada, pues según Carrera es “the human mind-brain that enables us to ‘simulate’ not only familiar situations and events, but also new situations based on familiar ones” (115).

Estimulando los sentidos, sobre todo los de la visión y la audición, es que se logra la compenetración con los personajes de la obra. Al conectar los sentidos con los del narrador al leer la obra y, al mismo tiempo, con las experiencias sensoriales de los personajes, el lector puede mimetizar las mismas sensaciones y entender mejor las escenas importantes, como especifica Burke en *Vision, the Gaze, and the Function of the Senses in Celestina* al demostrar que a través de lo visual, del “gaze, in the hope that the individual would focus on the affirmative paradigm and disregard the negative” (106) y establecer una idea que vaya más allá de lo literario, y envuelva los sentidos. Igualmente, Burke añade en lo relativo a observar o leer se produce una consecuencia similar, “Whether the individual actually saw a thing or saw some variety of reproduction of it, whether the individual read a description of something, or of some topic or concept” (28) el efecto es el mismo; el lector se forma la imagen en la memoria y los asimila como parte de su entendimiento. A través de esa conexión, utilizando lo visual y lo auditivo, lo que rodea a cada personaje, se produce en el lector “a process of assimilation” (29).

Por lo tanto, al ya haber obtenido la conexión con la obra y los personajes, el lector recibe la invitación casi personal de conocer más sobre la historia de los personajes, está alerta a los mensajes que cada comportamiento detalla sobre no solo el momento sino sobre el entorno socio-histórico de la obra. Al final se obtendrá una imagen de lo que cada personaje luciría en persona, y hasta se podría describir en detalle su personalidad. Incluso, a través del lenguaje utilizado por cada uno, el lector determina cómo era la sociedad, los valores dominantes e incluso las fallas sociales y abusos de poder de la época, utilizando el lenguaje como un espejo de la realidad social.

En *Teoría y estética de la novela*, Mijail Bajtin habla sobre el lenguaje como descriptor de los grupos sociales:

De esta manera, el lenguaje es diverso en cada momento de su existencia histórica: encarna la coexistencia de contradicciones socio-ideológicas entre el presente y el pasado, entre las diferentes épocas del pasado, entre los diferentes grupos socio-ideológicos del presente, entre corrientes, escuelas, círculos, etc. Estos lenguajes del ‘plurilingüismo’ se cruzan entre si de manera variada, formando nuevos lenguajes socialmente típicos. (107)

En *Rinconete y Cortadillo* se puede ver claramente esa fusión de diferentes lenguajes que representaban los diversos grupos sociales. La cofradía de Monipodio, que incluía a personajes del más bajo nivel cultural y social, tenía su propio lenguaje que lo hacía distintivo, sus palabras en jerigonza, en voz de germanía, como les explicaba el guía que reclutó a Rincón y a Cortado, “que les fue diciendo y declarando otros nombres de los que ellos llaman *germanescos o de la germanía* en el discurso de su plática” (Cervantes 30). A través del lenguaje, de la visión y de la audición, dichas palabras luego de ser identificadas por el lector forman parte también de su imaginaria literaria y de su conocimiento.

Es mucho lo que se puede analizar en base a las emociones, los sentidos y a la empatía cognitiva en *Rinconete y Cortadillo*. Sin embargo, podemos resumir que en esta obra, como en muchas de Cervantes, el lector es invitado a usar su imaginación y juicio para disfrutar esa posición privilegiada de ser parte de la obra sin sufrir las consecuencias directas de las conclusiones que pueda tomar al finalizar de leer la obra; una estrategia cervantina que captura a su público y además logra “engage readers in an active process of understanding the stories and themselves” (Carrera 114). *Rinconete y Cortadillo* lleva a sus lectores por un viaje de los sentidos y las emociones que generan no solamente placer al deleitarlos con sus picardías y aventuras, sino que al mismo tiempo aprenden sobre la época y toman conciencia para poder emitir un juicio, ya sea a favor o en contra, de la problemática social de esos días.

Obras citadas

- Bajtin, Mijail. *Teoría y estética de la novela*. Madrid: Taurus, 1989. Impreso.
- Barthes, Roland and Lionel Duisit. “An Introduction to the Structural Analysis of Narrative”. *New Literary History* 6.2 (1975): 237-272. Impreso.
- Beach, Richard. *A Teacher's Introduction to Reader-Response Theories*. National Council of Teachers of English, 1993. Impreso.
- Bel Bravo, Ma. Antonia. “El mundo social de *Rinconete y Cortadillo*”. Biblioteca Cervantes Virtual. Publicado en Studia Aurea. *Actas del III Congreso de la AISO* (1993): 45-53. Web. 2 feb. 2018.
- Burke, James F. *Vision, the Gaze, and the Function of the Senses in Celestina*. Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000. Impreso.
- Calzón García, José Antonio. “El Lazarillo a ojos de Cervantes. Deudas enunciativas y reformulaciones del molde picaresco en *Rinconete y Cortadillo*”. *Lemir* 20 (2016): 477-491. Impreso.
- Carrera, Elena. “Embodied Cognition and Empathy in Miguel de Cervantes's ‘El celoso extremeño’”. *Hispania* 97.1 (2014): 113-124. Impreso.
- Cervantes, Miguel de. *Rinconete y Cortadillo y la Ilustre Fregona*. Zaragoza: Editorial Ebro, 1982. Impreso.
- Fish, Stanley. “Literature in the Reader: Affective Stylistics”. *New Literary History* 2.1 (1970): 123-162. Impreso.

- García López, Jorge. "Rinconete y Cortadillo y la novela picaresca". *Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 19.2 (1999): 113-124. Impreso.
- Gibbs, Raymond W. *Embodiment and Cognitive Science*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005. Impreso.
- Herman, David. *Basic Elements of Narrative*. Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009. Impreso.
- Jaén, Isabel. "The Making of a King: Sensing and Understanding in Calderón de la Barca's *La vida es sueño*". *Making Sense of the Senses in Spanish Comedia*. Ed. Bonnie Gasior and Yolanda Gamboa. Newark: Juan de la Cuesta-Hispanic Monographs, 2017. 129-144. Impreso.
- Mancing, Howard. "Embodied Cognitive Science and the Study of Literature". *Cognitive Cervantes*. Ed. Julien Simon, Barbara Simerka, and Howard Mancing. *Special Cluster of Essays of Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 32.1 (2012): 25-69. Impreso.
- Wesson, Walter G. "Teatralidad y función del narrador en la novela de *Rinconete y Cortadillo*". *Cuaderno Gris* 7 (1990): 889-96. Impreso.
- Zunshine, Lisa. *Why We Read Fiction. Theory of Mind and the Novel*. Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 2006. Impreso.

Dificuldade na utilização dos artigos que antecedem aos possessivos para hispanofalantes

Gabriel Orlando Quiñones Maldonado

Bircham University (Madrid)

Resumo: Este artigo apresenta uma dificuldade existente para falantes nativos de espanhol que estudam português como língua estrangeira em Porto Rico. Aqui você encontrará exemplos comparativos do uso de artigos, possessivos em frases em espanhol e português. Também, explica-se onde é mais frequente utilizar os artigos que antecedem aos possessivos em frases escritas e faladas.

Palavras-chave: Brasil; Portugal; Porto Rico; Português Europeu; Português Brasileiro; Espanhol; Possessivos; Artigos; Linguística.

Neste caso prático é analisado o uso do artigo e o possessivo em duas línguas, português e espanhol. Com esta breve análise, chegamos a uma comparação geral da estrutura de cada língua, quando se usa o artigo e o possessivo. Além disso, podemos ver a semelhança ou diferença com estes dois fatores determinantes. Finalmente, será discutida a dificuldade que pode se apresentar num estudante de português como língua estrangeira para estudar esta estrutura sintática. Por este meio, vou apresentar algumas perguntas básicas que serão respondidas na conclusão do trabalho de investigação.

Questões para Discussão

1. A língua espanhola tem artigo diante de um possessivo?
2. Como os hispanofalantes colocam o artigo e possessivo numa oração?
3. Que dificuldade apresenta o uso da estrutura (artigo + possessivo + pronome), para estudantes hispanofalantes que estudam o português brasileiro?

Os Artigos e os Possessivos na Língua Espanhola

O artigo é uma palavra variável (pode ser masculino, feminino, singular ou plural), sem sentido próprio, que anuncia a presença de um substantivo ou uma palavra substantivada (palavra que muda sua classe de origem por um substantivo). Exemplo: *El estudiar me cansa*. Neste caso, estudar, cuja categoria natural é como verbo impessoal, mudando a substantivo, portanto, leva um artigo diante. O artigo organiza-se em gênero e número, com o substantivo que ele determina. O artigo funciona sempre como um determinante de um substantivo ou uma palavra substantivada. Exemplos: *El gato*, *los libros*, *el carro*, *las mesas*, *los colores*.

Os possessivos são palavras variáveis (apresentam gênero e número), que expressam a filiação de um objeto para um ou vários possesores, ou a pertença a um grupo. Exemplos: *Mi casa*, *sus patines*.

Formas dos possessivos (espanhol)

Um Titular	<i>masculino</i>	<i>femenino</i>	<i>neutro</i>	<i>masculino</i>	<i>femenino</i>
<i>Primeira pessoa</i>	mío, mi	mía, mi	mío	míos, mis	mías, mis
<i>Segunda pessoa</i>	tuyo, tu	tuya, tu	tuyos, tus	tuyas, tus	
<i>Terceira pessoa</i>	suyo, su	suya, su	suyo	suyos, sus	suyas, sus
Vários Titulares					
<i>Primeira pessoa</i>	nuestro	nuestra	nuestro	nuestros	nuestras
<i>Segunda pessoa</i>	vuestro	vuestra	vuestro	vuestros	vuestras
<i>Terceira pessoa</i>	suyo, su	suya, su	suyo	suyos, sus	suyas, sus

Como podemos ver, alguns têm duas formas possessivas, “*mi*”, “*míos*”, etc. Formas monossilábicas são chamadas atônicas possessivas porque elas são pronunciadas sem acentuação e são sempre colocados diante do substantivo o qual acompanham: Exemplos: *Mis abuelos*, *su tía*.

Formas dissilábicas (*mío*, *tuyo*, *suyo*, etc.) são chamadas possessivas tônicas porque elas são pronunciadas com acento. Formas tônicas dos possessivos estão localizadas atrás dos substantivos, aquelas que modificam. Eles também funcionam como substantivos (pronomes). Exemplos: *Los zapatos míos*; *una prima suya*; *los míos son los vuestros*.

Os possessivos em espanhol são únicos e exclusivamente adjetivos, a posição tomada hoje por quase todos os autores. Mas não podemos esquecer que, para a grande maioria deste caráter adjetivo, não é de modo nenhum em desacordo com o pronome; pelo contrário, os possessivos oferecem ambas características, ao mesmo tempo, de modo que em última análise, seriam pronomes adjetivos ou adjetivos pronominais, que é uma novidade óbvia contra a visão tradicional, o que implica uma oposição irreduzível entre pronome e categorias. As categorias dos pronomes são as seguintes: pronomes pessoais, pronomes possessivos, pronomes demonstrativos, pronomes indefinidos, pronomes interrogativos e pronomes relativos. Neste caso são os pronomes possessivos. Exemplos:

- Meu esposo Eric chega hoje de Porto Rico. (O pronome adjetivo

meu determina o substantivo comum esposo que está ligado ao substantivo próprio, Eric.)

- Seus gastos serão pagos pela universidade. (O pronome adjetivo seus determina o substantivo comum, gastos.)

No espanhol medieval, existe o uso do artigo diante de um possessivo. No espanhol, o que eu aprendi como língua materna, nunca me ensinaram que no passado foi usada como: (artigo + possessivo + pronome). Com a realização desta pesquisa, eu achei que no espanhol medieval foi usada essa estrutura, que hoje não é mais usada. Estudos indicam que existiam regiões que tinham dialetos do espanhol que usavam a estrutura (artigo + possessivo + pronome). Como analisa Ana Rodríguez no artigo “La sintaxis del posesivo en castellano medieval: Una construcción característica”, uns exemplos são “O evangelho” e “O cantar de mio Cid”.

Agora, nós entraremos na comparação da utilização do artigo e o possessivo no espanhol e o português atuais. Enquanto ao espanhol, contemporâneo foi eliminada, a estrutura (artigo + possessivo + pronome), no português atual este uso foi reforçado na língua. No português medieval, a utilização da referida estrutura não era utilizada, foi com o passar do tempo que adquiriu a importância, o uso e o costume, para assumir a estrutura sintática atual.

O uso do artigo determinado

Espanhol	Português
El	O
La	A
Los	Os
Las	As

Em muitas variantes do português, os substantivos são geralmente precedidos por um artigo determinante (também se encontra esse recurso em catalão). Este é um desenvolvimento relativamente recente. Alguns dialetos brasileiros ainda não adotaram este padrão, principalmente no Nordeste do Brasil. Nesses dialetos do português, geralmente são usados artigos determinados diante dos nomes próprios, o artigo pode ser omitido para denotar formalidade, ou para mostrar a distância na narrativa literária. Compare, o exemplo, “*La María salió*”, em espanhol, com “A Maria saiu”, em português.

No português também se usa o artigo definido diante dos nomes da maioria dos países e muitas cidades. Em espanhol, os nomes de países e cidades não levam, em geral, um artigo, mas há exceções (exemplos: *los Estados Unidos de América*, *la China*, *el Japón*, etc.) Contudo, mesmo nestes casos, o espanhol não sempre requer um artigo determinado.

- *San Juan es la capital de Puerto Rico.*
- São João é a capital de Porto Rico.
- *Él es de Puerto Rico, que está en el Caribe.*
- Ele é de Porto Rico, o que fica no Caribe.
- *Tengo un viaje a los Estados Unidos de América.*
- Tenho uma viagem para os Estados Unidos da América.

Além disso, na maioria dos dialetos do português, coloca-se um artigo definido antes do adjetivo possessivo (como em italiano), o que não seria correto em espanhol. Por exemplo: “*Esta es mi madre*” se traduziria como “Esta é a minha mãe”, em português. No entanto, em alguns dialetos brasileiros (principalmente no Nordeste) não é utilizado o artigo: Esta é minha mãe.

Todos os adjetivos possessivos concordam em gênero com a coisa possuída, enquanto em espanhol, só acontece com “*nuestro*”/“*nuestra*” e “*vuestro*”/“*vuestra*”. Esses adjetivos são geralmente precedidos por um artigo definido em português, mas não em espanhol.

- *Mi hermano nació tres años antes que mi hermana.*
- O meu irmão nasceu três anos antes do que a minha irmã.
- *Pienso que sus camisas son mejores que sus pantalones.*
- Penso que as suas camisas são melhores do que as suas calças.

Por outro lado, em espanhol, os pronomes possessivos, expressam gênero, e são diferentes dos adjetivos possessivos. Em português, no entanto, os possessivos são iguais aos adjetivos (mas, neste caso, o artigo definido é sempre obrigatório em todos os dialetos).

- *Mi camisa es más grande que la suya.*
- A minha camisa é maior do que a sua.

No português do Brasil (PB) a tendência é de não usar o artigo diante de um possessivo. Esta estrutura sintática seria mais semelhante ao espanhol contemporâneo. Ao contrário da forma falada e escrita do português europeu (PE), a que mantém a estrutura sintática (artigo + possessivo + pronome) (Castro 1). Exemplo: (PE) o meu livro (PB) meu livro.

Em espanhol, por não usar o artigo diante do possessivo, a sintaxe seria a mesma que a do PB. (*) A estrutura (artigo + possessivo + pronome), o que não é usada na língua falada nem na língua escrita em espanhol contemporâneo.

Português		Espanhol
PE	O meu livro	El mi livro*
PB	Meu livro	Mi libro

Silva expõe a variante de usar e não os artigos definidos diante os diferentes possessivos:

Observações semelhantes se aplicam aos nomes próprios, também empregados para a identificação de um referente único. Todavia o português não se conforma a tais moldes, favorecendo, pelo contrário, a alternância entre as variantes com e sem artigo definido: o meu filho/ meu filho; o Arthur/ Arthur. O uso dos artigos definidos em tais contextos deixa-se explicar pela atuação ... o português europeu e o português brasileiro diferem quanto aos contextos que facultam o emprego do artigo. (Silva 45)

A língua espanhola tem artigo diante de um possessivo? No espanhol contemporâneo, colocar um artigo diante de um possessivo não é correto. Deixando claro que através desta pesquisa, eu pude descobrir que na Idade Média era comum usar essa estrutura. Segundo Rodríguez, o artigo de Lapesa (2000) argumenta que o artigo diante do possessivo, que seria mais frequente desde o início em prosa e prosa retórica, seria gradativamente restringido à poesia tradicional e aos textos arcaicos (romances de cavalaria), finalmente acabando por desaparecer ao longo do século XVI (281).

Como os hispanofalantes colocam o artigo e o possessivo numa oração? No espanhol moderno, a estrutura usada para o prefixo possessivo está sem o artigo. Diga-se que a estrutura comum é: (possessivo + substantivo) ou (artigo + substantivo + possessivo).

Que dificuldade pode estar presente, com o artigo e possessivo, em estudantes de português como língua estrangeira? No meu país, Porto Rico, o português ensinado é o português brasileiro, o que implica que é de uso comum, e semelhante à língua espanhola na estrutura do artigo omitido, (possessivo + pronome). Educacionalmente e socialmente, encontra-se a ignorância desta variação. No espanhol de Porto Rico, não é conhecida a existência de uma utilização do artigo diante de um possessivo. A estrutura correta do espanhol é (artigo + pronome + possessivo).

No português brasileiro temos o ensaio de Schei, que nos explica a mesma situação social de desconhecimento da variação (usar ou não usar o artigo) que está presente neste trabalho. O português brasileiro é mais proeminente entre as diferentes universidades da América Latina, do Porto Rico e dos Estados Unidos, por terem uma proximidade com o Brasil. Além disso, o governo dos Estados Unidos concede bolsas de estudos para que os alunos estudem sobre a cultura do Brasil e o português brasileiro. Ao serem expostos ao português europeu, os alunos podem mostrar grande dificuldade na compreensão e na aplicação da estrutura gramatical, já que não lhes são apresentadas nem a escrita nem a oralidade de: (artículo + possessivo + pronome).

Obras Citadas

- Brito, Ana Maria. "Os possessivos em português numa perspectiva de sintaxe comparada". *Revista da Faculdade de Letras, Línguas e Literaturas* 20.2 (2003): 495-522. Impresso.
- Castro, Ana. "Possessivos e artigo definido expletivo em PE e PB". *Encontro Nacional da Associação Portuguesa de Linguística*. 599-613. Impresso.
- Rinker, Esther. "A combinação de artigo definido e pronome possessivo na história do português". *Estudos de Linguística Galega* 2 (2010): 121-139. Impresso.
- Rodríguez, Ana. "La sintaxis del posesivo en castellano medieval: Una construcción característica". *Res Diachronicae* 2 (2003): 281-290. Impresso.
- Schei, Ane. "O artigo definido frente a pronomes possessivos na literatura brasileira do século XIX". *Revista Abralin* 8.2 (2009): 15-34. Impresso.
- Serradilla, Ana. "¿Existe la originalidad en sintaxis? El caso de la <desaparición> de la construcción <artículo + posesivo> en español". *Pandora: revue d'études hispaniques* 3 (2003): 257-272. Impresso.
- Silva, Giselle Machline de Oliveira. "Artigo frente a possessivos e nomes próprios". *Projeto subsídios sociolinguísticos do projeto censo à educação* 2 (1989): 232-255. Universidade do Rio de Janeiro, Faculdade de Letras. Impresso.

Review: Balderston, Daniel. *How Borges Wrote*.

Faith Blackhurst

University of California-Davis

Balderston, Daniel. *How Borges Wrote*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2018. Pp. 375. ISBN 978-0-8139-3964-3.

Daniel Balderston's newest book, *How Borges Wrote*, seeks to elucidate the meticulous—though intensely fragmentary—writing process of Jorge Luis Borges, a man known as both an expert reader and wordsmith. As director of the Borges Center and a professor of Modern Languages at the University of Pittsburgh, Balderston's nearly four-decade-long interest in Borges has made him one of the foremost experts in his field. Through such dedication, Balderston has acquired the expertise necessary to analyze the scattered Borgesian archive, a puzzle which the researcher must piece together himself from a myriad of sources held in a variety of physical locations. Upon surveying such an archive, the question of how to conceive of the fragments as making up a whole that can be “read” and understood is certainly challenging. (One can only imagine that from beyond the grave Borges is pleased that he has left us yet another enigma to incessantly mull over.)

Due to such difficulties, the material gathered here does not allow us to observe each successive stage of the same story or essay from genesis to publication—an unsurprising fact considering that Borges published approximately 2,700 separate texts during his lifetime. Although such an example would be most instructive, this is no fault of Balderston's; as he explains, collectors that acquired notebooks and manuscripts often cut up or destroyed portions to drive up the price of remaining pages, leaving us with a fragmented archive. Notably, it is a telling reflection of Borgesian texts, which also often leave us with more questions than answers. As a result of the archival limitations, rather than approach Borges's works chronologically, Balderston chooses to reconstruct model stages of the writing process using examples from the nearly 200 archival documents that he has accessed since 2009. Balderston follows Borges from his early stages of reading and research through his repeated revisions of published material. Chapters on “Reading,” “Jottings,” “Notebooks,” “Possibilities,” “Copies,” “Typescripts,” “Revisions,” and “Fragments” allow us to capture a fairly comprehensive view of Borges's reading and writing habits, which Balderston convincingly posits is a reflection of the content and structure of his published works. We come to see that Borges rarely outlines his works in advance, relying on jottings and notes which are intriguingly written in all sorts of directions, sometimes on the front covers of notebooks, often in the first and last pages of books from his personal library. As we open the appendices that contain

facsimiles of Borges' work, we get an intimate view of the miniscule block letters that follow the disciplined lines of graph paper, at times growing messy and falling into disarray. We witness neat geometric symbols in the left-hand margin outlining crucial bibliographic references, often overt though sometimes latent in the final text, obsessively checked and rechecked by our author. We examine the constant reworking and reimagining of works already published, which may contain significant alternate endings or, as Balderston argues, signs of a deliberately suppressed Baroque style or *criollismo*.

Balderston goes beyond simple archival research, skillfully connecting the philosophy and process of Borges's writing with the themes and structures of his stories. Most importantly, he demonstrates that the characteristic ambiguity of Borgesian texts is inherent from the beginning of the writing process in which Borges allows multiple possibilities to coexist as he literally inscribes meaning in between the lines of his own texts, jotting a series of possible words from the same semantic field or several possible phrases, sometimes with radically different meanings. Such bifurcations and ambiguities seem to not only permeate his works, but also his very mode of thinking, which offer us fascinating insights into Borges's mental universe. Even more interesting, in fact, is that these possibilities continue generating themselves once work is published in print. Because Borges completely rejects the idea of a definitive, completed text, he chooses to keep revising his works long after his own philosophies and stylistic preferences have evolved, which yield even deeper insights into how Borges constructs his identity as both reader and writer as he cyclically evaluates and reevaluates his own texts in the same way that we do when we read them. As Balderston explains, "[t]he unfinished nature of the text, even the published text, is bound with an aesthetic of the fragment: the idea that the unfinished, messy, self-contradictory draft, with its plethora of variants, is for him *an ideal literary text*" (210, emphasis mine).

In sum, *How Borges Wrote* provides valuable and intensive case studies of both Borges's writing process and the overarching characteristics that seem to grow out of that process; however, the specific texts analyzed in-depth seem biased towards Borges's lesser-known works, which may not be as useful to the average scholar. Despite this, Balderston does include intriguing though brief explorations of more widely read texts, such as "La lotería en Babilonia," "El jardín de los senderos que se bifurcan," "El Sur," "Tlön, Uqbar, Orbis Tertius," and "El Aleph." Balderston's close readings strike me as the beginning of a much larger project that would not only provide illustrative examples of the stages of Borges's writing projects with close textual analysis, but also demonstrate the consistency of such stages with more ample evidence and a wider range of examples. The incomplete and scattered nature of the archive, however, may preclude the completion of a more comprehensive project. The most useful sections of this book for scholarly research may be Appendices 2 and 3, which contain crisp facsimiles of numerous primary documents conveniently gathered in one place.

As a quite specialized overview of the Borgesian archive, Balderston's work is likely to be of value for researchers who are reasonably familiar with Borges's work.



CENTRO FRAY LUIS DE LEÓN AT THE UNIVERSITY OF SALAMANCA

Spanish Language and Culture for Teachers of Spanish July 2020



UNIVERSIDAD
DE SALAMANCA

CAMPUS DE EXCELENCIA INTERNACIONAL



4 weeks (130 hours) – for K-12 and Community College Teachers of Spanish

For full information contact: Prof. Dr. Alberto Ferreiro at betomicielo@gmail.com



institute of spanish studies SINCE 1950

Study Abroad Programs Valencia, Spain



ISS is proud of having had over 20,000 satisfied students since 1950.

Studying Spanish at ISS is much more than taking classes. It is an unforgettable experience. Discover a new culture, language and country, and make friendships that will last a lifetime.

Summer Institute for Spanish Teachers

In collaboration with

Marywood
UNIVERSITY

The program is designed for Spanish teachers who are currently teaching or planning to teach Spanish. At the end of the session we will take a short tour to Madrid and Toledo. Participants may earn three graduate credits from Marywood University.

Faculty-Led Programs

Faculty can take advantage of our tailored academic and cultural packages for faculty-led trips to meet your specific needs.

Summer sessions

We offer two sessions in which students can take up to three classes each term.

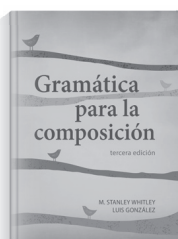
School Year

Students can attend Fall or Spring semesters or both.

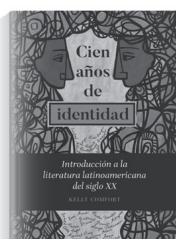


info@issvalencia.com | www.issvalencia.com

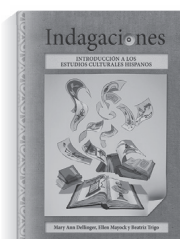
GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY PRESS



Gramática para la composición with website
tercera edición
M. Stanley Whitley, Luis González, and Claudia Ospina
Student Bundle, \$89.95, £67.50,
978-1-62616-275-4



Cien años de identidad
Introducción a la literatura latinoamericana del siglo XX
Kelly Comfort
paper, \$84.95, £63.00,
978-1-62616-567-0



Indagaciones
Introducción a los estudios culturales hispanos
Mary Ann Dellinger, Ellen Mayock, and Beatriz Trigo
paper, \$99.95, £74.00,
978-1-62616-673-8



Sociolingüística y pragmática del español
segunda edición
Carmen Silva-Corvalán and Andrés Enrique-Arias
cloth, \$94.95, £71.50, 978-1-62616-394-2
paper, \$49.95, £37.50, 978-1-62616-395-9
ebook, \$49.95, £37.50, 978-1-62616-396-6



Fonología generativa contemporánea de la lengua española
segunda edición
Rafael A. Núñez Cedeño, Sonia Colina, and Travis G. Bradley, Editors
paper, \$69.95, £52.50, 978-1-62616-041-5
ebook, \$69.95, £52.50, 978-1-62616-042-2



En otras palabras
Perfeccionamiento del español por medio de la traducción
segunda edición
Patricia V. Lunn and Ernest J. Lunsford
paper, \$29.95, £22.50, 978-1-58901-974-4
ebook, \$29.95, £22.50, 978-1-58901-975-1



El español y la lingüística aplicada
Robert J. Blake and Eve C. Zyzik
Foreword by Lourdes Ortega
cloth, \$164.95, £123.00, 978-1-62616-289-1
paper, \$54.95, £41.50, 978-1-62616-290-7
ebook, \$54.95, £41.50, 978-1-62616-291-4



The Seven Keys to Communicating in Brazil
An Intercultural Approach
Orlando R. Kelm and David A. Victor
cloth, \$89.95, £67.50, 978-1-62616-351-5
paper, \$29.95, £22.50, 978-1-62616-352-2
ebook, \$29.95, £22.50, 978-1-62616-353-9



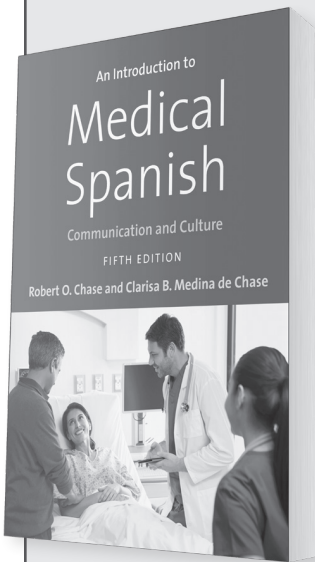
The Seven Keys to Communicating in Mexico
An Intercultural Approach
Orlando R. Kelm, Olivia Hernandez-Pozas, and David A. Victor
cloth, \$89.95, £67.50, 978-1-62616-722-3
paper, \$29.95, £22.50, 978-1-62616-723-0
ebook, \$29.95, £22.50, 978-1-62616-724-7



**GEORGETOWN
UNIVERSITY PRESS
LANGUAGES**

www.press.georgetown.edu
800.537.5487

Yale UNIVERSITY PRESS



Introduction to Medical Spanish

Communication and Culture, Fifth Edition

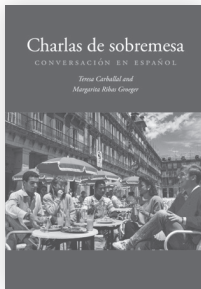
Robert O. Chase and Clarisa B. Medina de Chase

As the Spanish-speaking population grows, nurses, doctors, dentists, and other health care professionals increasingly need to communicate in Spanish with their patients.

Formerly titled *An Introduction to Spanish for Health Care Workers*, the fifth edition of this popular textbook is designed for students with little or no formal background in the language, and uses text, audio, video, classroom activities, and electronic exercises to teach basic grammar, specialized medical vocabulary, and colloquial terms as well as Latino customs and communication styles.

The only program on the market with online videos demonstrating doctor-patient interactions, the fifth edition has been updated to include:

- High-frequency vocabulary lists
- New activities to support the presentational mode of communication
- Additional structure and lexicon related to Zika, diabetes, pediatrics, heart disease, and neurological evaluation
- A more interactive website with self-correcting exercises and supplemental material



Charlas de sobremesa

Conversación en español

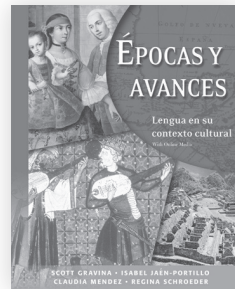
*Teresa Carballal and
Margarita Ribas Groeger*



¡A Su Salud!

Spanish for Health Professionals

*Christine E. Cotton, Elizabeth Ely
Tolman, and Julia Cardona Mack*



Épocas y avances

Lengua en su contexto cultural

*Scott Gravina, Isabel Jaén-Portillo,
Claudia Mendez, and
Regina Schroeder*

yalebooks.com/language



Sigma Delta Pi

Sociedad Nacional Honoraria Hispánica
(National Collegiate Hispanic Honor Society)

Founded in 1919 at the University of California, Berkeley, ΣΔΠ is the largest collegiate foreign language honor society with over 620 chapters in the U.S. A member of the Association of College Honor Societies and a partner of the AATSP, the *Sociedad Honoraria Hispánica* (SHH), the *Academia Norteamericana de la Lengua Española* (ANLE), the *Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas* (AIH), the Gabriela Mistral Foundation and the Community Colleges for International Development (CCID), ΣΔΠ also has an honor society program for 2-year colleges: *Sociedad Honoraria de la Lengua Española* (www.sociedadhonoraria.org).

Exclusive benefits:

- Undergraduate study abroad scholarships and stipends
- Graduate research grants
- Chapter project grants and joint grants with SHH
- National awards for exceptional chapters, advisers and members, including joint student awards with the AATSP (undergraduate), the AIH (graduate) and the SHH (high school)
- Student presentations at the annual AATSP conference
- Graduate student presentations at the annual KFLC
- Leadership opportunities at both local and national levels

For further information, please contact the Executive Director:

Dr. Mark P. Del Mastro
delmastromp@cofc.edu
www.sigmadeltapl.org