Rewriting Memory: A Postcolonial Translation of *Don Quixote* into Kichwa

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Introduction

efore Spanish colonization, the northernmost part of the Tawantinsuyu or Inka Empire was known as the Chinchaysuyu, today Ecuador. Three million indigenous people currently speak Kichwa in Ecuador. Its speakers consider it a language of communication between human beings (runakuna), divinities (ayakuna/ achillikkuna), animals (wiwakuna), the ancestors (apukkuna), and Nature (Pachamama). Thus, it serves as the language of initiation into Andean epistemology. Its delicate, melodious nature and the lack of words for insults make it ideally suited for diplomatic communication. Kichwa belongs to the IIB group in the Quechua linguistic family, and it is not the same language as the one spoken in Peru and Bolivia, that is, Quechua I and Quechua IIA/IIC respectively (Torero 1964, 451).

Some differences between Kichwa and Quechua are that the former only has three vowels, corresponding to the proto-Quechua, while the latter has five (Adelaar

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and Muysken 2004, 197). It lacks glottal sounds and draws upon phonemes from pre-Colombian languages such as the Karanki's "ts" or "z" or the use of a labial "f" (Adelaar and Muysken 2004, 392-394). Kichwa has four variants: Northern, Central, Southern, and Amazonian dialects.

¹ Among Ecuadorian Kichwa dialects, there is semantic variation, but the dialectic differentiation mostly happens at the level of allomorphs and varying morpho-phonologic processes (Adelaar and Muysken 2004, 242).

These dialects are the result of the hybridization of Quechua with Karanki and Spanish, a result of long-term word borrowing (Gómez Rendón 2005: 42; 2008: 176) and an adoption of certain structural elements such as demonstratives *shuk* and *kay* (Fauchois 1988; Gómez Rendón 2007).

Through conquest, colonialism, and nation building, Spanish settlers imposed their language on native populations. As in many postcolonial situations, Kichwa was the vanquished language of barbarity, while the colonial language narrated the conquered territory in a civilizing prose. In his essay "El proceso de la literatura" (1928), Peruvian indigenist² José Carlos Mariátegui claims that "lo único casi que sobrevive del Tawantinsuyoes el indio. La civilización ha perecido. No ha perecido la raza" (2008, 289).³ Since indigenous literature is mostly oral, mestizo writers have composed the nation, narrating the Indian in Spanish in the many moments of indigenist literature, from the first indigenist novel in republican times, Juan León Mera's Cumandá (1879), through the social realist vanguard fiction, Huasipungo by Jorge Icaza (1934) to the first magical realist novel by Angel Felicísimo Rojas, El Éxodo de Yangana (1949).

Although socially committed, these works use one-dimensional, stereotypical characterizations of what it means to be indigenous: a state of being at odds with culture and civilization. Their plots focus mainly on the conflict among Indians, mestizos, and white populations, leaving out indigenous self-representations and the complex, multi-layered relationship between natives and non-indigenous peoples in the past five hundred years. Already in 1892, Catalan philologist Antonio Rubió i Lluch wrote to the most renowned architect of the Ecuadorian nation, Juan León Mera, warning him that he could not speak for the Indian race, especially not in Spanish, and that a true indigenous poetry could only be expressed in Kichwa (Rubió 1893, 591–593). Rubió i Lluch advocated for a revitalizing of Catalan, while León Mera merely took Kichwa tropes to strengthen a Latin American Spanish.

By translating Miguel de Cervantes's *Don Quixote de la Mancha* (1605/1615) into Kichwa, Otavalo economist Lucía Rosero and I have attempted to provide (1) a fictional language in Kichwa; and (2) the linguistic tools for native writers to narrate themselves. The process of translation involves both a re-imagining of the nation and a rewriting of the language. We also hope to provide the first of a series of books in Kichwa that can be used for bilingual education. Indeed, as a consequence of this project, we have already received an offer to translate J. K. Rowling's *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* (1997) into Kichwa. No final arrangements have been made.

In this paper, I study the historical connections between Spanish and Kichwa, evincing the imperial linguistic policies that led to the subjugation of the latter to the former.

² The indigenist movement was a vanguard pro-indian movement that was particularly strong in the Andes and served as a nostalgic national rhetoric that spoke for the folklorized Indians while claiming that their civilization had been destroyed in the past. As a result, indigenists did not respect indigenous people as groups with a civilization of their own, but as people in need to be civilized and slowly assimilate in the mestizo nation. I use indigenist to refer to thinkers and writers from this movement and indigenous to refer to the cultural production emerging from the subaltern Kichwa.

³ The only remnant of the Tawantinsuyu is the Indian. Its civilization has perished. The race has not perished. (Unless otherwise noted, all translations are mine.)

Through a historical overview of this subjugation and its resistance, I show that the linguistic and the social struggles of Kichwa people are interconnected. Thus, the people's liberation requires an expanded acceptance and use of the Kichwa language. I focus on the figure of Tránsito Amaguaña, a Kichwa leader who spent a century-long life fighting for the valorization of her language and her culture, and for the incorporation of indigenous rights into the mestizo nation. After placing Kichwa in its historical context, I establish a dialogue between this language and Catalan, another language subjugated to Spanish through colonialism and conquest. Catalan's revalorization began at the end of the nineteenth century; one of its first advocates corresponded with Ecuadorian intellectual León Mera discussing the issue of Kichwa. In Ecuador, however, Kichwa continued to be subdued, while Catalan began a steady and unprecedented renaissance. Then, I present a brief history of translation into Kichwa. Finally, following the *Noucentisme* Movement's strategies to revitalize Catalan, I propose a translation of *Don Quixote* into Kichwa as a possible seed for a linguistic and cultural movement of our own.

The Linguistic Cross-Pollination between Spanish and Kichwa

rom 1492 until 1599, Spain slowly constituted itself as a nation through a process of imperialism at the time of the emergence of early modernity (Carcelén-Estrada 2011). From the Enlightenment on Western epistemology developed thanks to the emergence of its foundational sciences, namely history, geography, medicine, military development, and grammar. During the time of the Conquest, Kichwa, or Runa Shimi, was spoken as a language of cultural, ritual, and commercial exchange. Given its wide use, it is safe to conclude that this language had been introduced by the *mindalaes* or traders (Gómez-Rendón 2008, 175), but was not imposed as a *lingua franca* by the Inka Empire (Torero 2002, 93-105). Scholars know that Felipillo translated for Francisco Pizarro, and that he was a Guancavilca, evidence that Quechua was indeed spoken by people other than the Inka. It is possible that a bilingualism occurred, and that, over the centuries, Quechua creolized with local languages resulting in Kichwa, a language that today has about 70 percent coincidence with modern Quechua (Sacha Rosero, personal communication), and 30 percent Spanish-derivate lexicon (Gómez Rendón 2005, 46).

Inspired by Antonio de Nebrija's imperial views on grammar, the early colonial linguistic policies adopted Quechua as an Andean *lingua franca* and Nahuarl as the Mesoamerican one (Oberem and Hartmann 1971; Leon-Portilla 2002; Rafael 1999). Although the use of native languages as an evangelizing tool was not always the official policy (Mannheim 1991, 64), scholars agree that Runa Shimi was spread through Catholic missionaries for conversion purposes in the context of the Counter Reform (Mignolo 2005, 15–22). Missionaries translated sacred texts and prepared grammars (*artes*) and dictionaries (*vocabularies*), thus beginning the reduction of indigenous languages to a written form (Rafael 1993, 20). However, after the initial conquest consolidated into the form of a colony, this *lingua franca* was later supplanted by Spanish. The surviving indigenous languages resisted the new linguistic imposition in the many corners of the conquered territories, varying from Runa Shimi to Kiché to Tagalog to Vasque to Catalan.

As the colony strengthened, Runa Shimi increasingly acquired negative connotations becoming the *Yanka Shimior*, the 'useless' language, causing shame and rejection of the native language and culture. This continued to be the case after Ecuador became a republic. Runa Shimi was deeply repressed, except for a couple of punctual moments when presidents, motivated by the rise of folkloristic studies and anthropology in Europe, compiled dictionaries and attempted Kichwa literacy programs.⁴ But the fact remained that Kichwa served as the language of the hacienda workers, as a vanquished language. In this regard, when thinking about the future of Kichwa as a language of knowledge, National Anthem writer Juan León Mera claimed that 'Las escuelas civilizan, y no veo la posibilidad de establecer escuelas en que se dé la enseñanza en quichua. Contribuye, asimismo, a difundir la cultura el trato frecuentemente e íntimo con gente ilustrada y la lectura de buenos libros, y esagente no habla quichuani hay en quichua libros buenos ni malos' (León Mera 1892, ix).⁵ Indeed, bilingual education did not occur until the following century.

During the twentieth century, indigenous people became better organized, and they slowly began to emerge as a social movement. In the 1920s, at the age of fourteen, one of its early leaders, Tránsito Amaguaña, began her work by forming peasant unions, organizing strikes, and mobilizing protests to the capital. Mama Tránsito founded the Federación Ecuatoriana de Indios (FEI), initiated bilingual education, and incorporated the indigenous struggle to national politics through the Communist Party (Miño Grijalva 2009, 179; Rodas 2009, 43). After witnessing her father's torture and the miserable conditions under which her people lived, she took it upon herself to take revenge in the name of indigenous people, a revenge that was based on principles of friendship and love. Mama Tránsito remembers that, along with Dolores Cacuango and Luisa Gómez de la Torre, organizamos las escuelas para guaguas janchis en quichua y en español. Por eso me cogieron presa la primera vez. Para que no organice la escuela para los indios' (Amaguaña in Miño Grijalva 2009, 96). Tránsito spoke for the first time at a national level after she allied with President José María Velasco Ibarra during his second term (1944–1947). She addressed Congress with the following words:

Yo he gritado en castellano y luego en kichwa: que la ley sea justicia para todos, para blancos, para ricos, para pobres. Que no pongan a un lado al indio. Que sea igualito el trabajo para todos, que tengamos amistad, que trabajemos cariñosamente para vivir así; comunista es de la comunidad... No revolución. (Amaguaña in Miño Grijalva 2009, 180)⁸

⁴ For example, in 1892 as the president of Ecuador, Luis Cordero Dávila, wrote *Diccionario Quichua-Español*, only published in 1904. He also wrote poetry in Kichwa, for example, his famous poem "Rimini llakta" from 1875.

⁵ "Schools civilize, and I don't see the possibility of establishing schools with teachings in Kichwa. Similarly, a frequent and intimate exchange with enlightened people and the reading of good books enables the dissemination of culture, and that kind of people don't speak Kichwa nor can Kichwa have books, be it good or bad."

⁶ Tránsito is by no means the first to work for indigenous rights. Her mother was an activist as many women before her had done throughout the colony. I begin with her because she was the first to organize nationally and around the issue of language and bilingual education.

⁷"We organized the schools for children in Kichwa and in Spanish. That's why they took me prisoner the first time. So that I would not organize schools for Indians."

⁸ "I have screamed in Spanish and then in Kichwa: that the law may be the same for all, for whites, for

Mama Tránsito Amaguaña strove for a revalorization of her culture through bilingual education in the frame of a larger goal, namely to preserve universal peace in an atmosphere of friendship and cooperation for justice among peoples. She was persecuted, tortured, imprisoned, isolated, and ostracized. The last time she was beaten while alone in her home on the Andean plateaus she was ninety-seven years old. She died four months short of her hundredth birthday.

The next generation of indigenous leaders organized after the failure of the 1964 Agrarian Reform. Some of its members began to study at the university, as was the case of linguist Luz María de la Torre Amaguaña, today a professor at UCLA. She remembers how difficult it was to create a system of writing that departed from the alphabet systematized by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) linguists, recounting that the SIL missionaries would say that 'K' was the letter of the devil, or that *mashi*, a word today used as 'friend', had the communist connotation of 'comrade'. But most importantly, SIL linguists differentiated dialects from one community to the next, making it very difficult to communicate among each other. ¹⁰

When the Indigenous Movement became the largest social movement in the continent in the 1990s, the politics of Kichwa writing and grammar had a decades-long history of rivalry between missionaries and native linguists (Hornberger 1995, 199).11 In the context of the 'long night of the 500 years,' 12 and as a consequence of the massive mobilizations that paralyzed Ecuador for almost two months in 1990, the indigenous plight became visible continentally, motivating a positive revalorization of ancestral languages and cultures. Moreover, in 1992, Rigoberta Menchú won the Nobel Peace Prize and remains the only indigenous person to have done so. 'Native' became increasingly fashionable and indigenous language use increased. In the context of Ecuador, the SIL was expelled from the country in 1981 (Lara 2007, 186), leaving the linguistic authority to the native linguists. By the end of the 1990s, simultaneously fighting from linguistic and political fronts, the indigenous linguists finally had their unified Kichwa alphabet supported by official institutions. In particular, the DINEIB (National Board for Intercultural Bilingual Education), is now preparing and publishing didactic materials, dictionaries, and poetry books with the goal of spreading the use and learning of the Runa Shimi. The people using the language, however, continue to be confused by the various forms of writing.

rich, for poor. That the Indian may not be put aside. That work may be the same for all, and may we have friendship, work with affection to live like this: communism is of the community... not revolution."

⁹ Interview with Luz María de la Torre Amaguaña, November 1, 2006, Northampton, MA.

¹⁰ For detailed information, see the Ethnologue, where SIL classifies Kichwa in at least nine variants. http://www.ethnologue.com/show_country.asp?name=ec

¹¹ Peru does not yet have a unified Quechua. During the II Inter-American Indigenist Congress in 1954 and again in 1985, linguists such as Nancy Hornberger have proposed systems of standardization, but the SIL has been instrumental in rejecting them. In this sense, SIL prepares grammars, dictionaries, and books from the United States and opposes standardization (Hornberger 1995, 199). Nonetheless, Peru has a *Qheswa Simi Hamut'ana Kuraq Suntur* (Academia Mayor de la Lengua Quechua/Quechua Language High Academy), albeit one controlled by the SIL (Cerrón-Palomino 1997, 63).

¹² Zapatista Sub-commandant Marcos used this phrase to refer to the five hundred years of colonization over indigenous populations in his speech on January 1, 1994, when taking over San Cristóbal de las Casas (in Estévez 2006).

Another linguist from the 1970s generation, Ariruma Kowii, who received a BA in Political and Social Sciences from the Universidad Central del Ecuador, today leads the 'Campaña Nacional y Continental por la valoración, uso y desarrollo de las culturas y lenguas del Abya-Yala,' which provides the institutional frame for our translation of *Don Quixote* into Kichwa. Kowii, the coordinator of the Master's Degree Program on Indigenous Peoples at the Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar in Quito, Ecuador, has proved instrumental in achieving an institutional backing for today's unified Kichwa. He is also one of the most recognized poets in the country.

Oppressed Languages in Dialogue

he process of normalization and unification of Kichwa was not solely a Kichwa endeavor. It had, for example, the input of the *Consorci de Normalizació Lingüística de Catalunya* (Catalan Institute of Linguistic Normalization), a wealthy institution that came into being as the result of the successful resistance of Catalan to Spanish. The Catalan resistance is best exemplified through the Noucentisme Movement, a bourgeois cultural-political movement that began at the end of the nineteenth century (D'Ors 2000, 187). The first step was to create a newspaper, 'La Veu de Catalunya', which ran from 1899 to 1936. Moreover, a large sector of the Catalan intellectual and political bourgeoisie started a political party called the *Lliga* in 1901. The triumph of their conservative politics resulted in a rise of Catalan pride (Figuerola et al. 1986, 13).

One of the primary tools for their organization and success was the recovery and preservation of Catalan language. In 1907, they published a dictionary (D' Ors 2000, 34). Noucentisme began to be labeled a movement after the death of writer Joan Maragall in 1911. In 1918, Pompeu Fabra published a Catalan grammar, and a new generation of writers emerged, among them Josep Carner, Joan Fuster, and Eugeni D'Ors. The latter stopped writing in Catalan in 1920 (Figuerola et al. 1986, 11), but most continued relexifying and revalorizing the language. The main objective was to 'convert Catalan culture into a normal European culture, and it basically succeeded' (emphasis added, my translation, 15). Fina Figuerola described this project as 'mitjaçants la creació d'un compleix sistema de signes lingüistics i iconogràfics [...] establir pautes de comportament social tendents a possibilitar la viabilitat d'una acció reformista' (16): ¹⁴ 'Filològs i lingüistes, doncs, s'encarregarien de cisellar, codificar, estructurar i homogeneïtzar la llengua [...] Basta canviar el llenguatge per què canviï la realitat. I s'estableix una identitat mágica entre l'un i l'altra, nous simbols, noves realitats' (emphasis added, 19). ¹⁵

¹³ "National and Continental Campaign for the valorization, use, and development of Abya-Yala's cultures and languages."

¹⁴ Through the creation of a complex system of linguistic and iconographic signs [...] to establish guidelines of social behavior that would enable the viability of a reformist action.

¹⁵ Philologists and linguists, then, were in charge of compiling, codifying, structuring, and homogenising the language [...] In order to change reality, it is enough to change the language. And a magical identity between one and the other is established; new symbols, new realities.

The revitalization of the language also allowed for new social integration practices (Figuerola et al. 1986, 18), but with the Spanish Civil War, this language was confined to the domestic sphere. The Catalans, like the Kichwa, hold that 'en el origen de tots als grans pobles i tots les grans cultures hi trova la poesía, causa primordial del seu desvetllament, car no en va és l'eina indicada per a crear del no-res, per a enunciar el no dit' (ibid.). In the Kichwa tradition, poetry holds an important place given that the poets or *Amautas* were often at once philosophers and political leaders. Today, Kichwa people are writing poetry to develop their culture, an attempt to make it 'normal', in the national imagination of Ecuador. Ariruma Kowii is one Amauta who is both a laureate and politician, a cultural and a political leader. That is also the case of Auki Tituaña, the first indigenous candidate to have won town hall elections in Ecuador, whose policy aims at local autonomy. In 2002, his citizen-participation model received the 'Peace City' award by UNESCO, revealing the legacy that Tránsito Amaguaña left for the future Kichwa generations, a governance of friendship and peace. Thus, Kichwa is finally at the gateway to move from the domestic to the public spheres of Ecuadorian society.

There is another reason to use *Noucentisme* as a strategy for linguistic resistance to Spanish. As seen before, the first President of the Institute for Catalan Studies, Antonio Rubió i Lluch was corresponding with a foundational figure of the Ecuadorian Republic precisely about the role of Kichwa in the nation. Rubió i Lluch was the first to incorporate Catalan literature within the Spanish educational system in the nineteenth century. Thus, he believed in the capacity of the language to define and control ideas. Both Catalunya and Kichwa territories have suffered under five hundred years of Spanish imposition. Both languages have resisted and survived. Both peoples have worked from the site of language to rebuild a revalorized identity. But most importantly, both sites are connected by contemporary migration routes.

In the first decades of the twentieth century, Catalans moved to Ecuador to escape from the persecution of anarchists. In 1925, Onofre Castells, one of these first wave Catalan migrants, founded a soccer team in Guayaquil, Ecuador called 'Barcelona'. Catalan migrants found in Guayaquil a port city where they could work in shipyard related activities as they had done back home. This first wave of Catalan migrants also organized unions in this city. Many organized workers were heartlessly massacred on November 15, 1922. After the Spanish Civil War, a second wave of migrants came trying to find a safe haven from Franco's persecution of Spanish minorities in the 1930s and 1940s. Moreover, the separatist politics of Guayaquil are highly influenced by the Catalan intellectuals and activists that migrated to Ecuador during this period of time.

During the 1960s, as a consequence of development policies, peasants were victims of the rapid industrialization and urbanization of the country, which promoted large migrations from the agricultural countryside to the manufacturing city. Some Kichwa Otavalo went beyond the city, into the world. The first Kichwa to migrate travelled only with their passports

¹⁶ At the origin of all great peoples and all great cultures, there is poetry, primordial cause of its development, because not in vain, it is the appropriate tool to create from the no-nothingness, to enunciate what is not said. This statement echoes the words previously quoted that Rubió i Lluch wrote to León Mera in 1892.

Translation played a significant role in the development of *Noucentisme*, as can be seen from the translation of Shakespeare into Catalan. Artur Masriera translated *Hamlet* (1898), Salvador Vilaregut translated *Julius Caesar* (1907), Cebrià de Montoliu translated *Macbeth* (1907), and Josep Carner translated *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1908). Anfós Par translated *King Lear* (1912) and Magí Morera i Galícia translated *Coriolanus* (1915). The translations most performed and best-known in Catalan are the twenty-seven plays that Josep María de Sagarra began translating in 1941, making him the Catalan translator of Shakespeare. In El Parony del Ratollí: The Translation of Shakespeare into Catalan (1998), Helena Buffery has written on the implications of translating Shakespeare for the development of *Noucentisme* (1998). She concluded that these translations aimed at expanding the Catalan literary possibilities, endowing the language with a cultural value. She conceives the various translations as an excess of representation that can be best explained in the metaphor of a mouse trap that unveils the anxiety about the origin and originality of the Catalan people.

The translations of *Don Quixote* have proven similarly instrumental in the rebirth of Catalan. The most known translation of *Don Quixote* was done by Antoni Bulbena i Tussell (1891). It was entitled *L'enginyós cavallier Don Quixot de La Mancha*. Other translations include those by Jaume Pujol (1836), Antes Magi Pers i Ramona (1847), Francesc Pelag i Briz (1868), Galetà Vidal i de Valenciano (1873), and Joan Rosellò (1905). ¹⁷ Bulbena's edition reinforced the standardized Fabrian alphabet of Catalan, eliminated most Castilianisms, changed some names to Catalan phonology, and omitted chapters (Figuerola 1986, 184). Thus, his translation remains the most successful in the Catalan context. It was republished in 1930, and again in 2003, commemorating the four-hundredth anniversary of Cervantes's classic. The Catalan translations were intended to endow the language with an official stature, ¹⁸ and proved pivotal for the development of Noucentisme. Without these

¹⁷ 'La primera traducció del Quixot al català de què tenim constància va ser datada entre 1836 i 1850, si bé no va sortir a la llum fins al 1986, i és obra del mallorquí Jaume Pujol, qui en un breu tractat gramatical, Observaciones sobre la ortografía mallorquina, va incloure la traducció del capítol 12 del primer llibre del Quixot com un material didàct' (Bacardi and Estany 1999, 51). (The first translation of Quixote into Catalan of which we have a record dates between 1836 and 1850, although it did not see the light until 1986. It is the work of Mallorcan Jaume Pujol, who, in a brief grammar treatise, Observations on Mallorcan Spelling, included a translation of chapter 12 of the first book of Quixote as didactic material'.].

¹⁸ This was the intention in the prologue of the first known translation into Catalan, by Jaume Pujol (ibid.).

translations of *Don Quixote*, Catalan would have never gone from an endangered language to the official language of the richest region in Spain.¹⁹

The translation of *Don Quixote* into Kichwa comes in a context of its revalorization. The second generation Kichwa intellectuals residing in Barcelona are closely working with the Consorci to revive their endangered languages. In the fall of 2010 and sponsored by the Ecuadorian National Secretary of Migration (SENAMI), Runapacha began teaching Kichwa to their Diaspora and other interested students in Barcelona and Madrid, the main host cities to Kichwa migrants in Europe. Moreover, Runapacha's president, Sacha Rosero, was recently trained to recover ancestral languages in the Basque country,²⁰ another territory occupied by Spain, whose language also survived Spanish imposition. In the context of the Campaña Nacional y Continental por la valoración, uso y desarrollo de lasculturas y lenguas del Abya-Yala', Runapacha is using new technologies to provide opportunities to use and learn Kichwa from any place in the world. This organization is preparing a modern and simple grammar, an online trilingual dictionary (Kichwa-English-Spanish), a hundred quotidian conversations in an audio-visual format, a cultural website (otavalosonline.com), a language-based website (kichwa.net), and an online Kichwa campus to provide one-onone tutorials. The goal is to establish Kichwa in the official educational system, first in the Indigenous provinces such as Imbabura, and then in the entire Andean region. This education requires texts. Like Noucentisme, translating Shakespeare and Don Quixote are central to the universalizing and officialization of a language. In this sense, translating Don Quixote is an entry point to be recognized as a legitimate language in the mainstream Spanish context. Translating Don Quixote is as important as translating Shakespeare or the Bible, completing the Eurocentric epistemological triad. It will enable Kichwa cultural leaders to render their culture into the 'official' Ecuadorian culture.

Kichwa and Translation

In 1920, Crisólogo Barrón translated the New Testament into Quechua. In 1972, SIL missionaries localized the New Testament into Kichwa for Napo speakers. In 1978, Diosmanta Sumaj Willaycuna Runaspaj was translated by the United Bible Society of Peru. In 1986, the whole Bible was published in Bolivia by the Sociedad Bíblica Boliviana (SBB). In Peru, the Bible was published again in Ayacucho in 1987. In Ecuador, the Sociedad Bíblica del Ecuador (SBE) published it in Kichwa in 1989. The following year, the Bible was published in Chimborazo and Cañar. In 1994, the SIL published another version in Otavalo, carried out among the Salasaca and published in 2007.²¹

¹⁹ To see the importance of this connection, the day of the book, which commemorated the death of Shakespeare and Cervantes on April 23, 1616, is in Barcelona celebrated in conjunction with the Catalonian patron saint, Saint Jordi.

²⁰ In June 2011, Rosero received a graduate degree in 'Desarollo de las lenguas e identidades originarias' at the University of Mondragon, Bilbao.

²¹ For a list of Bible translation into any language, see www.findabible.net, an alliance of twenty-five international Bible agencies.

The first Kichwa grammar appeared in the sixteenth century in the context of the Conquest. In 1570, the first standardization of Kichwa as different from Quechua took place in Quito (Obrerem and Hartmann 1971, 676). In 1582-1583, the Arte de la Lengua General was presented in the Third Council of Lima (Cerrón-Palomino 1992, 1995; Godenzzi 1992; von Gleich 1994; and Gugenberger 1992). Diego de Torres Rubio compiled a Quechua grammar and dictionary that was first published in Seville in 1603. In 1616, he compiled an Aymara grammar, and in 1627 a Guarani equivalent (Winsor 1889, 279). Juan de Figueredo produced a vocabulario for the Chinchaysuyu (Ecuador today) and the best vocabulario was that of Diego González Holguín published in 1586 and republished along with the grammar in 1607 (ibid.; Adelaar and Muysken 2004, 181). In the eighteenth century, the difference between Quechua and Kichwa had grown to the point that the 1725 catechism by Francisco Romero already used the impersonal -ri, and the subordination clause by using -kpi and -shpa as spoken today in Ecuadorian Kichwa. Thus, in 1753, Nieto Polo's grammar clearly spoke of a Quechua from Quito as a separate language and that same year Jesuit Velasco published his Vocabulario de la lengua índica. In the nineteenth century, President Luis Cordero published his archaic grammar (1884) and his Vocabulario appeared in 1905.

In contemporary times, Gary Parker (1963) and Alfredo Torero (1964) pioneered in Andean linguistics. Both linguists compiled data of the different Quechua variants that are spoken in five countries: Ecuador, Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, and Argentina. Besides the Andean linguistic references, Robert Cooper's Language Planning and Social Change (1989) illustrates how language is used for the political and ideological agendas of priests, politicians, military officials, and nationalists. According to Cooper, the linguistic planning has four main areas: (a) graphicalization, (b) standardization, (c) modernization, and (d) renovation. In Kichwa, the graphicalization has finally achieved an official alphabet, which goes hand in hand with a continuing process of standardization. The translation of Don Quixote into Kichwa attempts to expand the Kichwa lexicon and to modernize its use as a language of intellectual and cultural exchange, moving it from the domestic to the public sphere. It also attempts to solidify the use of the new standardized alphabet that continues to confuse many Kichwa speakers. Moreover, it attempts to provide students with a literary text for bilingual education schools and to invite writers, or Amautas, to explore writing beyond the field of poetry.

Tiyu Kijuti, our Translation

ranslating a text from the Spanish Golden Age into a historically subjugated language such as Kichwa could be taken to be an imperial endeavor. Linguistic, foreignizing, functional theories seem inadequate because they focus on the possibilities of linguistic transfer, the position of the translator in the transferring process, and the function the new text will have within the target audience. Yet, none of these theories looks at the metaphysical and therefore meta-linguistic struggle that takes place when a colonial language meets a subaltern language, a struggle that moves the focus from the transfer of linguistic meaning into an exercise of translation as impeding such transfer, making visible the historical haunting that inhabits subaltern languages. I therefore suggest that Alberto Moreira's concept of translation as betrayal might be helpful in articulating our underlying strategy; our postcolonial translation attempts to reproduce the principles of Tránsito Amaguaña, namely a multicultural nation with bilingual education can succeed only if based on a principle of friendship and cooperation for a common good.

Building from Derrida's notion that, after postmodernism, the possibility of friendship is the last radical opening or thought of rupture and irruption' (1997, 293), Moreiras proposes that radical difference can only be possible through the 'betrayal' of translation. For Moreiras, a 'fulfilled translation cancels the crossing at the cost of the structural conversion of subaltern negation into colonial discourse' (2001, 22). Accordingly, radical critical thinking must resist all processes of commodification—colonialism and neocolonialism included. Thus, the 'betrayal' of translation mimics a process of survival that prevents the alien from subsuming and expropriating the subaltern, while leaving an 'untranslatable excess' that stands as 'the first and last condition of critical thinking' (Moreiras 2001, 23). With friendship in mind, our betrayal in translation stands for another step in the long process of formation of an inclusive democracy, or a Derridian democracy to come.

This translation comes as a Derridian event, a moment of reappropriation of the very conditions of experience' (2001, 104), an appropriation of the most famous text ever written in the colonial language. This translation as appropriation must simultaneously—and precisely through its own process of translating—prevent an expropriation of the 'local' culture, namely the commodification of the subaltern Kichwa experience must remain an untranslatable excess, a radical difference that when facing the nation, the Kichwa reader sees subalternity rather than recognition. Respecting this excess and this difference constitutes the friendship that Amaguaña theorized throughout the twentieth century.

In The African Palimpsest: Indigenization of Language in the West African Europhone Novel (1991), Chantal Zabus used the term 'relexification' to describe the phenomenon by which endangered languages in the African context borrow words from colonial languages in order to survive. On the other hand, 'nativization' describes, 'the writer's attempt at textualizing linguistic differentiation and at conveying African concepts, thought-patterns, and linguistic features through the ex-colonizers language' (Zabus 1991, 3). This translation attempts to relexify the language by creating neologisms, recovering terms that have not being used for many centuries, or by nativizing in Zabus terms—or domesticating in Venuti's terms—the borrowings from colonial Spanish. While we incorporate borrowings

in our translation of *Don Quixote*, we also localize the text within a Kichwa cosmology or thought-pattern. Thus, at the moment of choosing such borrowing or creating neologisms, we try to select the most localized correspondent while reinforcing the radical difference of the Kichwa people from their colonizers.

A translation of a complex text such as *Don Quixote*, with all its intertextualities, culturallyspecific references, and religious and political humor into a language that is declared endangered by the UNESCO (Moseley 2010) cannot be carried out into pure Kichwa' and necessarily produces a hybrid text. Yet, this hybridity consciously attempts to depart from transculturation or *mestizaje* by making the use of borrowings or appropriations local precisely to reveal their farcical performance of the native. The world of early modern imperial Spain is made obviously foreign by disguising it as native. Our Tiyu Kijuti is then at once foreignizing and domesticating, relexified and nativized. It is, after all, a betrayal of translation.

But what kind of hybrid text are we producing? To help better understand our position, I suggest considering the postcolonial Achebe-Wa Thiong'o debate over the use of ancestral languages to write fiction might be helpful.²² Siding with Ngugi Wa Thiong'o, we have chosen to translate into Kichwa to provide a literary language that could open the path to write fiction in the vernacular for and about the Kichwa people. This could move Kichwa literature beyond the lyrical and religious genres. As we have seen, however, Kichwa has been constantly repressed by Spanish, the colonial language, inevitably producing a text using what Paul Bandia identified as code-mixing in the African context (1996). While Bandia spoke of different languages used to recognize one group from another, thus creating a group identity through language, in postcolonial LatinAmerica, the language division is different. Although the setting of Don Quixote is domesticated, it necessarily remains foreign, unfamiliar to the Kichwa reader. Similarly, the characters are disguised in native clothing, but are engaged in activities such as war and fantasy reading that are completely foreign to the modern Kichwa. Like the Kichwa living in the margins of the nation, the Kichwa setting and characters are at the center, yet by being at the center, the reader feels a profound displacement, a radical misidentification with the characters.

Yet, this absurd hybrid text produces an irony as rich as Cervantes's. The Kichwa reader can't stop laughing from the first line. This estranged feeling produced by travestying the most known character in modern fiction and then placing him in the Andes creates a sort of code-mixing within a single language. Kichwa readers identify their language of intimacy, yet identify it as foreign; they identify the intimate spaces of their *chiriwrku*, but see it invaded. Within a Kichwa on the making, Spanish does not appear as a distinct language. In fact, it does not appear at all. Yet, it is ever present in the form of a haunting. In *Contracting Colonialism* (1993), Vicente Rafael described a process of remembering as haunting, living as embodying death people from the past, those who refuse to die and come into the narration of history as 'unreadable signs' (9-12). This translation, or may I say, the performance of a native Kijuti, expects to leave in the residues and excesses, an interlinear

²² While Chinua Achebe opts to use English to reach a major audience, Ngugi wa Thiongo decided to stick to the vernacular language to write for and about his people.

interference²³ that reminds the group, in this case the Kichwa, of their identity as others to the nation, resisting linguistic domination.

In terms of relexification and nativization, following Zabus's terminology, we created neologisms such as ayllukuna (a repetition of family) for 'generation', hatun hatun (really really big) for 'giant', umamuskuy (dream-like images in the head) for 'fantasy', umayuyay (a reason in the head) for 'thought', pukushka (blown away or very mature) for 'enchanted', wakllichina (receiving damage) for 'offense' or 'insult', and wakllichinata sumakyachina (turn damage into great wisdom) for 'undoing wrongs'. Other neologisms include 'insolent' (haplla), 'arrogant' (apuskachak, pretending to be like a god), 'condition' (kawsan, a state of living), and strange (puchuy, different, a remainder). We also revived words from the sixteenth century that are no longer used, but which could be understood in the context. For example, for the word defiance (desafío), we brought back a term that is no longer used, kakunamakiy (to rub hands). While we create the new concepts, we record them in our online dictionary at www.kichwa.net.

Besides creating words that narrate an unfamiliar reality, we tried to bring into the text a multiple temporality, where all the times of history are present in the history, a translation as haunting. For 'crown' (corona), we used the word for the Inka's headdress, maskapaycha. For empire we used the Inka word tawantinsuyu as in Trapisunta Tawantinsuyu (Trapisonda Empire). For duelos y quebrantos, a typical dish of La Mancha with a connotation of violence (duel and suffering), we used yawarlukru, an Andean potato blood soup that also connotes the Battle of Yawarcocha (1487), where the Kayampis lost against the Inkas, and their blood tinted the lake with a bright red. When Cervantes first described Quijote, he used the phrase enjuto de rostro, or lean face, bony face. We translated this as nawi rumi, face of stone, with no meat, which, if the word order is reversed, one gets Ruminawi, which is the name of the general that led the resistance against the Spanish Conquistadors after Atahualpa had been killed. Moreover, we translated castle as pukara, an Inka type of fortress, and rubicund (reddish blonde) as pirakucha, a pre-Colombian transgender God that was associated with the conquistadors because of their whiteness, and a word still used to refer to the mestizos of the nation.

In many other cases we selected words, whether neologisms or revived vocabulary, that made obvious the interlinear interference. The objective was to make visible the violence that enabled Spanish colonialism at the level of religion, education, and military force. In other words, these elements were culturally translated to render the haunting visible. For 'dagger' (adarga), we used the word for stick, while for 'sword' we created a neologism, kaspimakana, wooden weapons that are, of course, not used as such among the Kichwa people. For the 'priest', we used tayta kura, instead of the keeper of the faith, iñikamak, because the Spanish word for priest, cura, is often used. We left the word tayta to show that it is a figure of respect. Yet, when transliterating his University, Sigüenza, we chose Tiwintza, a place in the recent memory of indigenous and mestizo populations alike as symbol of our small victory in the grand scheme of our defeat against Peru, where half of the Ecuador-

²³ For interlinear translation and language as haunting, I am using Vicente Rafael's ideas presented at the 2011 Nida School of Translation.

ian territory—all of it indigenous—was lost (wars in 1941, 1982, 1996). For Mahoma, or Mohammed, we decided to recognize his position as a prophet of God and not an impostor as Renaissance Christianity had done. *Mukama Achillik* transliterates the name and adds the capitalized word *achillik* as deity. When Quijote speaks of adventure, he usually means a violent encounter among knights or a fight against giants. Thus, for 'saga' or 'adventure', we used *tinkuy*, which is a form of public battle among music collectives during the *Intiraymi*, the summer solstice festival, the main celebration for Kichwa people today. Spanish colonialism is revealed through the word choices we make.

Finally, for names and places, we used a combination of transliterations and translation of words with a semantic content. In the case of transliteration, Feliciano de Silva became Pilisyanu di Silpa; Aristotle, Aristutilis; Nicolás, Nikulas; Hercules, Irkulis; Anteon, Antyun; Morgante, Murkanti; and Allende, Allinti. Among the translated names we have, for example, the Knight of the Ardent Sword, which became Rawranay Kaspikuchuna Kapak (el caballero de la ardiente espada). We also combined translation or adaptation and transliteration, as in the case of Palmerín de Inglaterra (Inklatirramanta Palmirin), Amadís de Gaula (Kawlamanta Amadis), Bernardo del Carpio (Karpyumanta Pirnartu), Reinaldo de Montalbán (Muntalpanmanta Riynaltu), and Dulcinea del Toboso (Tupusumanta Mishkiku, mishki meaning sweet and rendered even sweeter with the diminutive 'ku'). In all these cases of toponymy, we used the Kichwa postposition manta, similar to the German preposition von. For Roncesvalles, we translated 'valley', and transliterated Ronces (Runsispampa) and for Roldán, the enchanted, we translated enchanted and transliterated the name (Pukushka Ruldan). In other cases, we used the Kichwa honorifics as in the case of Caballero del Febo (Kapak Pipu), don Galaor (Tayta Kalawr), and Cid Ruy Díaz (Tayta Ruys Dyas). These honorifics or nobility titles were translated to honorifics in Kichwa of different levels of reverence that have resonance with Inka nobility. Tayta connotes more respect that Tiyu, and Kapak more than Tayta. For errant knight', we used Purina Kapak (as in the walking gentleman). For 'maese' or 'master', we used ruranayuk (the one who can make).

Conclusions

In conclusion, the postcolonial translation of *Don Quixote de la Mancha* into Kichwa is a project that is not only cultural and linguistic, but also political. Framed under an international campaign that has had echoes in the mainstream national media, translation participates in a movement that affects the perception that people have of the Kichwa language to the point that on October 12, 2011, 519 years after the arrival of Columbus, 49.2 percent of Ecuadorians responded that they considered it important for their children to learn Kichwa.²⁴ But these children need books. The success of our translation project is perhaps best demonstrated by the fact that also in October 2011, we received an offer to translate *Harry Potter* into Kichwa and another to localize computer software.

²⁴ http://www.teleamazonas.com/index.php?option=com_poll&id=92%3Aiconsidera-importante-quesus-hijos-aprendan-quichua, accessed on October 13, 2011.

The exchange in the Kichwa language in our social-network pages is ongoing and attempts to build spaces exclusively for the use of the Kichwa language. Ours is another step in a political battle that seeks an inclusive democracy, a democracy to come.

When we shared our first chapter with Kichwa readers, the response was ambiguous. On the one hand, they loved to read such a famous text in their language, and they laughed while reading it. On the other hand, readers still revealed their position as subject to the Western episteme and wanted to respect the names of the greats in history, such as Aristotle and Don Quixote. Yet, these names are translated into English, French, and other languages. Then, why should we not localize them into Kichwa? When UCLA professor Luz María de la Torre Amaguaña read the text, her eyes filled with tears, illustrating the significance of this particular moment in the long history of the Kichwa battle for cultural recognition and for a real and meaningful bilingual education. This Quixote translation is therefore an event.

Besides providing a text for bilingual education and working as a subversive political event, this text also provides an invitation for Kichwa writers to explore different genres, and maybe, just maybe, culminate in a successful cultural movement, similar to the Noucentisme movement that resulted in a fully bilingual territory, where the Catalan language and culture are not only respected, but honored. Let's not forget that Kichwa and Catalan have parallel histories of survival, and the points of dialogue are not new. Kichwa and Catalan were placed together, precisely at the birth of the *Noucentisme* movement, but most political leaders lacked the respect or the interest to promote the Kichwa language and culture, preferring to speak for the Indians. Catalans developed their own literature, while in Ecuador at best had a few moments of indigenist Literature. But it does not have to be this way. This 'betrayal' of translation attempts to disrupt the hegemony of Spanish, while refusing to commodify the Kichwa experience.

Finally, this project has no budget or financing. To date, this project is supported solely by the effort of Lucía Rosero and myself to realize our dream of friendship, community, equality, and democracy. We meet weekly, connected by new technologies and aided by new media, creating a text, enlarging our dictionary, deciding on strategies for the linguistic community, updating ourselves on events on both sides of the Atlantic, and keeping ourselves informed about the current state of affairs in Ecuador. We would, however, consider partnering with organizations or insitutions of a similar mindset willing to collaborate or help fund this project that could take up to a decade.

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