

clauses, etc., had to be expressed by a verbal clause complete in itself, there is a sentence break in the translation. Wherever semicolons appear in the Spanish of the diglot, the Mazateco has periods. Simplicity was sought for.

The above are just a few of the points, mainly along the syntax lines, wherein Mazateco differs from Greek, English, and Spanish. They illustrate some of the important types of syntactic adaptations which must be made if the indigenous translation is to be understood by the people.

Translation Problems in Ecuadorean Quechua

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Ecuadorean Quechua is divided into two principal dialects: (1) the speech of the *altiplano* (the highlands of Ecuador), spoken by approximately one-half million people, and (2) the speech of the jungle regions of the headwaters of the Amazon. This latter dialect is spoken by perhaps 10,000 people and is quite uniform as regards its structure and vocabulary. The speech of the highlands is divided into three principal sub-dialects, but intelligibility between the dialects is rather high. Nevertheless, such differences in form as do exist add considerably to the translator's task in attempting to select the proper words which will have meaning in as wide an area as possible.

Significant Problems

In many ways the translation of the New Testament into the Quechua of the highlands of Ecuador involved us in the same types of problems which missionaries must struggle with in any area of the world. But it seemed to us that there were some difficulties peculiar, perhaps, to the Ecuadorean Quechua. These included (1) the general cultural circumstances in which the Quechua Indians live, (2) the grammatical problems of word order and cross reference, and (3) special terms which reflect particular cultural and linguistic difficulties.

Problems of Indian Life

Undoubtedly the circumstances in which people live enter into many phases of the translation and missionary work, but the desperate conditions of the Quechuas in the highlands make the problems of translation and Scripture distribution many times more difficult. In the first place, the Indians in Ecuador, as in many parts of the Andes, suffer from extreme cultural morbidity. The older forms of life of the Inca Empire were completely swept away and slavery was the substitute. In the previous culture there had been important incentives for work and progress, but with the coming of the Spanish conquerors there was nothing left to make life worth living. When the social restraints

of the older forms of life were swept away, the people became quickly debauched by drunken festivals, sponsored by the superficial veneer of Christianity, which the people were often forced to accept at the threat of death.

The system of economic slavery, which made the Indian little more than an animal, had its effect upon the social system and is still manifest in the attitudes of many Ecuadoreans. Some non-Indian landowners object strongly to missionaries even greeting an Indian with the same words which are used to greet a non-Indian; rather, the Indian is supposed to recite certain phrases of the mass, as a grim reminder of his inferior social standing. For years the education of Indians was prohibited, except in rare instances, and even today there is great social discrimination against Indians who attempt to obtain an education. In many ways this situation is different from what takes place in Peru, where there is much more pride in the Indian heritage; and though the people in Peru seem sometimes to be weak in carrying out their proclaimed good intentions concerning the Indian, nevertheless, Peru does offer much more hope to the Indian population.

It may seem that such economic and social factors have very little to do with the translator's problems, and yet indirectly they are of great importance. For one thing, the lack of educational facilities for Indians has meant that there are relatively few adequately trained Quechua-speaking people. This of course is quite different from Peru and Bolivia. Likewise, the social pressures exerted against the Indian population have resulted in the Indians withdrawing more and more from contacts with whites. This isolation, which has been in many ways the Indian's only defense, nevertheless has not made for facility in reaching the Indian population or in eliciting from them the richness of their linguistic heritage.

There are several thousand Indians who have had enough "schooling" to be able to recite the alphabet and even to pronounce some Spanish words; but not more than two or three thousand could be considered as literate, and out of a population of half a million this is a desperately small figure.

The Indian population has not, however, escaped from the same tendency to social snobbery. For example, some drunks have been known to stagger down the street shouting at the top of their voices bombastic words of self-praise about their ability to read, and hence their superiority to the other Indians who are in their words, "no better than animals". This type of behavior only reflects their reactions to being socially spurned and despised by the non-Indian population, which maintains its standard of living principally by exploiting the Indian people.

At the present time there are laws for compulsory education, but a very small percentage indeed of the Indian population is in school. For one thing, it is not to the advantage of the landowners to have people who are able to defend their rights by being able to read. Furthermore, what education does exist is almost exclusively in Spanish, and the Indian child learns to read mechanically without understanding

what he is reading. The whole approach to education is so often just a system of unthinking memorization (almost as meaningless as the Latin liturgy learned from the catechists), and as a result the Indian receives little or no benefit from what he does learn.

This system of education in Spanish implies two problems for the missionary. First of all, it is assumed by the Quechuas that any education which does exist should be in Spanish, for the Spanish language is taught as the only speech of intelligent people. This means that Quechuas often tend to despise their own language, and their interest in learning to read it is very small. In the second place, if they do learn to read, they frequently fall into the errors which they have acquired from learning to read Spanish, namely, they just recite a series of syllables without apparently attempting to understand. The reason for this is that reading is regarded by many of them as a kind of mechanical reproduction of sounds, not as a means of receiving information from a printed page.

Grammatical Problems

The grammatical structure of Quechua is such as to make it a rather complicated language to learn and into which to translate. The roots of all words are initial, and they may be followed by numerous suffixes and particles. Words with ten syllables are not at all rare. In contrast with this structure of the words, in which the modifying elements always follow the roots, the structure of phrases is almost the reverse; that is, modifying words and expressions tend to precede the forms which they modify.

The problems of the grammatical structure are made greater because of the fact that most of the grammars written to describe the Ecuadorean Quechua language usually follow the form of the language which was more or less standardized by the Roman priests, who first reduced the language to writing and attempted to fit it into the mould of Latin grammar. Hence, one cannot follow the so-called "authorities" in the detail of grammar, for one must depend upon the richer subtleties which are constantly brought out in the everyday speech of the people.

In order to gain some idea of the order of words and some of the complications of sentence structure, I am including four verses of Colossians 2:12-15. The translation is more or less literal, and the hyphens between the English words indicate that everything so combined represents a single word in Quechua. Of course, one must not expect a one-to-one correspondence between words or grammatical forms; such a translation can only be a sort of rough approximation:

12. Him-with buried baptism-in, that-in him-with raised-have-been-you-him God-of dead-from-among resurrecting work-in, believed-having-by.
13. You-to-also sins-in body not cutting-in died having him-with you God raised, all sins forgiving.
14. God us against having-been written, this that do called writing removing, midst-from removing, cross-on crucifying.

15. Principalities, powers destroying, all before ashamed them showed-
he, Christ self-in them overcoming.

A comparison of this literal translation with the Greek (or the de Valera Spanish Version, which it follows somewhat more closely since it is designed to be published in diglot form) will reveal a number of interesting contrasts. In the Nestle Greek text these four verses are included within a single sentence, and in the Spanish de Valera the only sentence break is between verses 12 and 13. In Quechua this passage must be translated as four separate sentences.

One of the difficulties in translating into Ecuadorean Quechua is the nonconformance of pronominal usage between Spanish and Quechua. There is just one third person pronoun *pay*, which may mean "he", "she", "it", and in some instances "they". In the Spanish there is no need of using the nouns "God" or "Christ", for the relationship of the participants to the action is quite clear, but not so in Quechua. For example, we had to introduce the subject "God" in verse 13, so that it would be evident who was doing the "raising from the dead". Likewise, the subject "God" was included in verse 14, so as to conform to the regular grammatical structure in Quechua. In verse 15 the subject "Christ" was included on the basis of the context. The Quechua demands some type of explicit subject. Of course, where we could be ambiguous, following some ambiguity in the original, we attempted to do so; but to be ambiguous or obscure just in order to follow the literal word-for-word rendering of the Spanish would be defeating the purpose of translating. It is true that the Quechuas themselves often use pronouns in circumstances which appear to us to be ambiguous, but that is usually in contexts which are well known to them. When they talk of things new to the experience of the listeners, they tend to use nouns instead of the pronouns, even as we have attempted to do in translating this passage in Colossians.

Vocabulary Problems

Finding the right words to express the ideas of the New Testament was made doubly difficult because of the general cultural morbidity which we mentioned above. Many of the words with specialized meanings, especially those concerning religious beliefs, remain very hazy in the memory of some of the people. Very little of the "higher" aspects of the old religion of the Incas remains, and what there is of religious vocabulary in everyday use concerns the practices of the medicine men, who employ certain magic rituals to secure the healing of their clients. But it is very difficult to obtain much information about these practices; for the Quechuas regard such knowledge as their own special heritage, and hence are very loath to speak of such beliefs. Even those who have been converted seem very hesitant to discuss such matters. Furthermore, much of the vocabulary is so specifically applicable to the particular practices that it cannot be used to describe the Christian faith.

The types of solutions to problems of vocabulary which may be of interest to other translators are of two kinds: (1) expressions which

tend to describe an object or process, and (2) expressions which introduce direct discourse as a means of indicating the meaning.

Descriptive Terms

It may seem strange that the Ecuadorean Quechuas would not have some specialized term for such a word as "proud" (e.g. in Romans 1 : 30), but the most adequate way of translating this term is by the phrase "making yourself a chief". Such an expression attempts to define the state by describing the process involved in becoming proud. Such a phrase is, of course, based on the cultural patterns in the society.

The term "covenant-breakers" in the same context (Romans 1 : 31) is translated as "not fulfilling promises". The Spanish *deseales* "disloyal", "faithless" is very adequately translated by this phrase, which attempts to describe the behavior of such individuals.

The translation of "heirs" (Romans 8 : 17) is accomplished by means of the phrase "those who receive what belongs to the father". This may seem unnecessarily long and involved, but it is the accepted way of rendering the meaning of "heirs". In many instances what is a single word in Spanish, Greek, or English must be translated by an entire clause in Quechua, and similarly what is a phrase in an Indo-European language may often be translated by a single word in Quechua.

Translations Employing Direct Discourse

Ecuadorean Quechua makes considerable use of direct discourse in contexts where the Spanish uses indirect discourse and as a means of rendering certain ideas which can only be adequately expressed by the introduction of a phrase. For example, to translate the verb "agree" it is often necessary to translate as "say: It is all right". In order to render the phrase "no respecter of persons" (Romans 2 : 11), the Quechua reads literally, "God to one rather than another not says: You are better". There are some other possible ways of translating this phrase in Romans 2 : 11, but they are not as accurate and as much in conformity with the Quechua manner of speaking as this particular rendering.

Probably one of the most difficult expressions to translate was Hebrews 11 : 1 "faith is the substance of things hoped for". The Ecuadorean Quechua has no such abstract term as "substance". The only thing which we could do was to introduce a phrase of direct discourse which would in a measure represent the meaning of the original. After considerable work on the phrase we were able to form the expression, "faith is of everything expected: I have it". This last phrase "I have it" is an attempt to translate the word "substance" by a phrase which describes the certainty of the object of faith.