

DOI: 10.17516/1997–1370–0771
УДК 811.873.122

«Language Conquest»: Colonial Quechua Grammars as a Model of Cultural and Linguistic Acculturation

Elena V. Novoselova, Nadezhda I. Chernova*
and Natalya V. Katakova

*MIREA – Russian Technological University
Moscow, Russian Federation*

Received 17.04.2021, received in revised form 11.05.2021, accepted 25.05.2021

Abstract. The article is devoted to the role and place of Quechua in colonial Peru, which is the most widely spoken native language in both American continents. A comparative analysis of a number of grammars and dictionaries (including records) written in the 16th-17th centuries by the representatives of the clergy has become the basic method for recent scientific investigation. Those were the representatives of the clergy who took the most active part in the process of «language conquest» which led to Quechua integration into the intellectual field of Spanish culture and then consequently into the European one. The paper also presents the analysis of the current state of the issue study, which concludes that many points of the problem have not found the proper coverage in science yet. The sources are analyzed on the following points: the attitude of the authors of grammars to the Quechua language; the main goals of writing grammars; their structure and content's peculiarities; the main cultural and linguistic categories used to describe and analyze the Quechua language in the period under review. The analysis made it possible to come to the following conclusions. Firstly, the attitude of the clergy towards Quechua can be described as ambivalent. Secondly, the main goals of writing can be interpreted as a practical one (mastering the language in order to Christianize the Indians more effectively) and as well as an ideological one (integrating Quechua into the Christian cultural field through its study), although both of them, of course, are interrelated. Thirdly, the analysis allowed us to distinguish the following cultural and linguistic categories that were applied to Quechua: eurocentrism, theoretical and religious orientation. Finally, the main conclusion drawn from the study is that the relationship existed between Spanish and Quechua can be characterized by the term «acculturation».

Keywords: Quechua language, Spanish language, language contacts, colonial Peru, acculturation, assimilation.

Research area: culturology.

© Siberian Federal University. All rights reserved

* Corresponding author E-mail address: chernova@mirea.ru

ORCID: ORCID: 0000–0001–8593–8572 (Novoselova); 0000–0002–5685–9733 (Chernova)

Citation: Novoselova, E.V., Chernova, N.I., Katakova, N.V. (2021). «Language conquest»: colonial Quechua grammars as a model of cultural and linguistic acculturation. J. Sib. Fed. Univ. Humanit. Soc. Sci., 14(6), 927–938. DOI: 10.17516/1997–1370–0771.

«Языковая конкиста»: колониальные грамматики кечуа как модель культурно-языковой аккультурации

Е.В. Новосёлова, Н.И. Чернова, Н.В. Катахова

*МИРЭА – Российский технологический университет
Российская Федерация, Москва*

Аннотация. В статье рассматривается роль и место в колониальном Перу народа кечуа – крупнейшего по числу носителей индейского языка в обеих Америках. Ведущим методом исследования стал сравнительный анализ ряда грамматик и словарей (в том числе используется и архивный материал), написанных в XVI–XVII вв. представителями клира. Именно они приняли наиболее активное участие в процессе «языковой конкисты», то есть интеграции кечуа в интеллектуальное поле испанской и, как следствие, европейской культуры. Представлен также анализ современного состояния изученности вопроса, в котором делается вывод, что многие аспекты проблемы еще не нашли должного освещения в науке. Источники проанализированы по следующим аспектам: отношение авторов грамматик к языку кечуа; основные цели написания грамматик; характерные особенности структуры и содержания этих произведений; базовые культурно-языковые категории, с помощью которых описывался и анализировался язык кечуа в рассматриваемый период. В результате проведенного исследования сделаны следующие выводы. Во-первых, отношение клира к кечуа можно охарактеризовать как амбивалентное. Во-вторых, основные цели написания: практическая (овладение языком с целью более эффективной христианизации индейцев) и идеологическая (включение кечуа в орбиту христианского культурного поля посредством его изучения), хотя обе они, конечно, взаимосвязаны. В-третьих, можно дифференцировать следующие культурно-языковые категории, которые применялись по отношению к кечуа: европоцентризм, теоретичность и религиозная направленность. Наконец, главный вывод, который был сделан по результатам проведенного исследования, заключается в том, что существовавшее взаимодействие между испанским языком и кечуа можно охарактеризовать термином «аккультурация».

Ключевые слова: язык кечуа, испанский язык, языковые контакты, колониальное Перу, аккультурация, ассимиляция.

Научная специальность: 24.00.00 – культурология.

1. Introduction

Language interaction issues in multicultural and multilingual communities are becoming particularly urgent in the modern world, although the problem itself is not new. In dif-

ferent times and eras, it was solved in various ways under the specific context. Meanwhile past efforts could be rather useful not only for studying the past as such but also for meeting challenges of the present.

Colonial Peru is a region of great interest and especially in terms of interlanguage links. It was the result of a wide variety of local languages, belonging to diverse linguistic families. Even today, the Andean region is one of the richest in the world in the context of language diversity, and before the Spanish conquest that diversity was even more striking. Each language, on its part, is a cultural code of the people and nation (Red'kova, Chernova, Katakova, 2020), which determines the importance of the related issues study.

Many factors contributed to the linguistic diversity reduction in the Andes but the authors do not aim at considering this point. Just let us mention that one of the reasons was the Spaniards policy to evangelize Amerindians in Quechua¹, the official language of the Incas, which nowadays is one of the most widely spoken². However, such decision preceded the discussion; the main point made was as follows: whether Christianization is appropriate in using the «barbarian» language? They decided in favor of the Quechua language, which had a great impact on its future and many other languages as well. Meanwhile it was the Jesuit order that played the key role in the process.

The main aim of this paper is to consider peculiarities of culture and linguistic interaction of Spanish and Indian principles in colonial Peru using the examples of the Quechua language grammars and dictionaries. To realize the objective we need to meet the following challenges:

- to provide a brief overview of the main sources and analyze the degree of the issue study;
- find out the attitude of grammars authors to the Quechua language;
- define the main grammars writing goals;

¹ This circumstance was already realized in colonial times: at least one of the authors of the Quechua grammar and dictionary, Santo Tomás, notes in the preface to the dictionary that in ancient times this language was not used so actively (Santo Tomás, 1560: 5).

² The concept of «Amerindian» in this case is synonymous with «Indian». For more on the concept of the Amerindian language family, see (Starostin, 2016: 496–502).

- analyze these grammars in terms of their structure and content and

- determine the main cultural-linguistic categories through which the Quechua language was described and analyzed in the 16th-17th centuries. All this will make it possible to draw certain conclusions regarding the problem stated and come closer to a more complete understanding of such an important aspect as linguistic and cultural contacts in colonial Peru.

The methodology of the current research based on the descriptive and comparative methods as well as the sampling method for relevant lexical items. Besides, when analyzing the era's cultural and linguistic environment, which is far chronologically from the present (we refer to the 16th-17th centuries), one cannot do without the historical approach. It implies the research objects analysis based on cultural, public and other such contexts existed at that time that allows us to avoid archaism, incorrect assessments and fundings.

2. Main sources and related research

The main source for writing this article was both published and archive materials of the colonial era on Quechua grammar. Quite a large number of works related to the Quechua language have come down to us, primarily various grammars and dictionaries. Among grammars and dictionaries published, the most famous and reputable are: Dictionary (Santo Tomás, 1560b), «Grammar or art of the universal language of the Peruvian Indians» (Santo Tomás 1560a, 1995), «Grammar and the new art of the universal language of Peru, called Quechua, or Inca language» (Holguín González, 1607), «the Art of Quechua» (Torres Rubio, 1619), the «Art of Quechua, the universal language of the Peruvian Indians» (Angeles Caballero, 1987)³ and the anonymous «Art and Dictionary of the common language of

³ The only existing edition of this work, published in 1939 in Tucuman (Argentina) facsimile, is a bibliographic rarity. However, there is a monograph on this grammar, which contains a large number of lengthy quotations. This article uses this edition. Taken together, it allows you to get an idea of the structure and content of the work of Juan de Aguilar.

Peru called Quechua» (Anónimo 2014, 2018)⁴. The latter two authors belonged to the Jesuit Order, while Domingo Santo Tomás was a Dominican. It was his grammar that came out earlier than the others did, in 1560 (Santo Tomás, 1560), and, as a result, to some extent influenced the later texts. All these works belong to the 16th-17th centuries. Although in this article, the authors will focus namely on grammars analysis they also note that dictionaries and translations of religious texts into Native American languages are also of importance for the issue of the authors' interest. Moreover, the differences between these sources can sometimes be quite blurred (Zwartjez, Zimmermann and Schrader-Kniffki, 2014: 41). The main unpublished document for the article is a Quechua short grammar, stored in the General Archive of the Nation (Archivo general de la nación) (Lima, Peru) (Archivo general). The document is a 36-page text written by an anonymous author, a member of the Order of Jesus⁵. The exact date of its writing is unknown, but the features of paleography allow us to date the manuscript to the second half of the 17th century.

Regarding the study of the issue, we can say the following. Although such topics as the cultural interaction of Spaniards and Native Americans in the colonial era, as well as the history and features of the Quechua language (Cerrón-Palomino, 2008, 2013; Torero, 2005, 2007, 2013; Itier, 1997; Calua Terán, Cerna Cabrera, 2006) cannot be regarded as poorly studied, they are relatively rarely considered together. The topic of Indian evangelization was also studied thoroughly (Baciero, 1986; Dominguez Faura, 1994; García, 1986; Jeffrey Klayber, 2013; Maldavsky, 2013; Marzal, 1999; Green, 2016; Villegaz, 1993), which is directly related to the language as detailed below. Despite the fact that in recent years the language interaction topic has begun to attract more researchers' attention (Oesterreicher, 2019; Mannheim, 1991), the problem is still far from

its solution. In the domestic science, the subject designated has not been actually considered (there are only a few single works on the Quechua language itself, mainly at its modern stage (Rakuts, 2009; Natarov, 2016)), which itself encourages the authors to fill in this gap in scientific literature.

3. Attitude towards the Quechua language

The first point to be discussed is the attitude of the authors of grammars to the Quechua language. Although the point is reported as a side issue the findings of its analysis can be seen as a reference for further research.

Since all the authors of grammars belonged to the educated clergy and were members of the spiritual Orders, it is possible with a certain amount of caution to extrapolate their views to the entire social group as a whole, as well as partly to the colonial administration, since often it was the clergy who carried out its orders. These views were greatly influenced by the general cultural environment in the Viceroyalty of Peru. The Spanish conquest of America was not only a socio-political, social, but also a linguistic process. Faced with the languages completely unfamiliar to Europeans, the Spaniards had to not only speak them, but also analyze and study them through the conceptual framework they knew, which did not always properly interpret the essence of those languages.

In general, we can call the attitude of the authors of grammars to the language studied as ambivalent. On the one hand, it was a sincere interest in a new and unusual language, a kind of an academic hobby; on the other hand, it was a natural wariness towards the unknown. Another important point was the desire to give an assessment, to fit into a certain framework, even with some damage to the truth. With the discovery of America, the hitherto known world expanded to an unimaginable scale, and everything new and unknown had to be placed within the framework of the known. This was not just an idle interest – for the sincere believers, the discovery of vast territories and numerous peoples, about which the Holy Scriptures say nothing, was like a shock. Hence the long argument as to whether the Amerindians can

⁴ Various points of view have been expressed in the literature on the authorship of this work (Cerrón-Palomino, 2014: 13), but none of them can be called dominant. For more information on Quechua / Quichua, see (Cerrón-Palomino, 2013: 300–313).

⁵ Unfortunately, the text is not completely preserved: it starts from page 14, therefore, the first 13 pages are most likely lost.

be considered human beings at all, as well as attempts to explain their origin. As a result, they were still inscribed in the world's biblical history, the most striking example of which is the introduction to the «New Chronicle and Good Governance» by Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, one of the most famous sources on the Inca state. The same should have been done with the language.

The statements of Santo Tomás in the prefaces to his works are of most significance in this regard. They are also the most valuable, since they belong to the initial period of learning Native American languages: «It is a soft and pleasant-sounding language, which can easily be written in our letters ... very similar to Latin and Spanish» (Santo Tomás, 1995a: 8–9). In his address to the reader, he writes: «This language of Peru is so strange, so new, so unknown and so alien to us» (Santo Tomás 1995a: 14). In our opinion, there is no internal contradiction in these seemed diametrically opposite statements: Santo Tomás understands all the differences between the Quechua language and the languages known to him, but at the same time he attempts to protect it and, as a result, the Amerindians themselves from accusations of «barbarism», attributing similarities to Spanish and Latin.

In the preface to Santo Tomás's dictionary, there are statements that help clarify the author's attitude to the Quechua language. He outlines that this language is not difficult to learn, since its pronunciation and spelling do not cause difficulties (Santo Tomás, 1560b: 3–4). Here we need to detail the comment. Anyone who has heard the speech in Quechua pays attention to the fact that its phonetics (which is actually typical for almost any Native American language) is very different from the phonetics of European languages, which creates difficulties for learning. As a result, it is not very clear what Santo Tomás based on in his assessment. Perhaps the reason is that at the initial stages of acquaintance with the language, the phonetic complexities of the Quechua language were not fully understood and discussed in the relevant works. Another possible explanation is that the Spaniards tried to use a simplified version of the Quechua language widely used in the vicin-

ity of Cuzco, the once capital of the Inca state, for the purposes of Christianization, and this language simplification concerned phonetics as well (Mannheim, 1991: 67). As for the «simplicity» of the Quechua spelling, we should say that before the conquest this language was not a written one; the Spaniards wrote in it based on their own perceptions about spelling, caring little about how this system is suitable for Quechua and whether it properly interprets its features.

In the preface to his grammar Diego González Holguín calls the Quechua language «fallen and forgotten» (*caído y olvidado*) (González Holguín, 1607: 3–4), implying, most likely, the second-rate position of the majority of the Quechua speakers in colonial society. At the same time, he also recognizes the distinctiveness and elegance of the Quechua language (González Holguín, 1607: 4). All of this clearly demonstrates that, despite the fact that the representatives of the church often looked down upon Amerindians, but being educated people, they understood the value of their language as well as some features of their culture.

4. Grammar writing goals

As for the goals of writing grammars, we must say that one of them had been already partly discussed as the most obvious – the evangelization of the Amerindians. At the earliest stage of this process, the so-called «little books» (*cartillas*) contained translations of the most important prayers into Amerindian languages (Dominguez Faura, 1994: 65). However, it quickly became obvious that direct communication between priests and the newly converted flock was almost impossible, and that was why the clergy had to master their language to Christianize Amerindians.

The authors of grammars themselves often gave this reason the first priority. For example, in the preface to his work, Diego de Torres says the following: «With the help of the general rules that exist in this Art of the Quechua language, one can learn to speak sufficiently, which is necessary for catechesis, confession and preaching» (Torres Rubio, 1619: 5). However, for such work to become possible in general, an enormous preliminary activity needed

for studying and analyzing the language grammatical structure. This brings us to another goal of compiling grammars – the including the Quechua language in the mainstream of European science and practice of that time, which should be discussed in more detail. This goal was not directly called and, perhaps, was not always realized by the authors of grammars, but its importance can hardly be overestimated.

As it has been already noted, the conquest had not only military and political, but also cultural and linguistic integral parts. It is not hard to guess what surprise the Quechua language caused among the first missionaries, who had never encountered the language of such a structure before. This kind of «linguistic conquest» – the acquisition of Native American languages by Europeans through the European linguistic and cultural experience seems to be very important for the interaction of the Old and New World cultures, which is not always given due attention. This «conquest» even touched upon such a fundamentally important point as the name of the language: it is known that the term «Quechua» is a product of European linguistic thought; the native speakers themselves called (and continue to call) their language *runa simi*, that is, «human speech» (for more details, see (Mannheim, 1991: 6–8)).

We believe that the compilers of the first Quechua grammars themselves did not always properly understand the linguistic differences of Quechua and European languages, at least in the final versions of their works they do not tell us about the corresponding problems. However, these kinds of issues had to be faced by them – the missionaries of that era working in America, in the Old World could only meet with such «exotic languages» as Hebrew and Arabic (decoding of ancient Eastern languages will take place only two centuries later). However, these languages in their structure have nothing in common with the Quechua language that is why there are so many discrepancies in the description of the same phenomena by different authors.

In this regard, there is the question about the readiness of the authors of grammars to solve such a complex problem. In our opinion, this should be judged by the results of their ef-

forts. One can assess the degree of the Native Americans' Christianization in different ways, but we cannot deny the fact that in the end it did take place. Consequently, the main goal for which grammars were written was achieved.

5. Colonial Quechua grammars: structure and content

The next important point is the general structure and content of grammars. The idea of a significant influence of the work «The Art of the Castilian Language» (Nebrija, 1492) on the authors of Quechua grammars has become entrenched in the literature. It is the first experience of describing the structure of the Spanish language. The book was published in a very symbolic year, when the Reconquest having completed⁶ transferred to the conquest, the beginning of which was initiated by the discovery of America. The influence of Nebrija's work on Quechua grammars cannot be denied, especially when it comes to parts of speech analysis. However, there are aspects in which the authors of Quechua grammars did not follow Nebrija. First of all, this concerns spelling: if Nebrija devotes the entire first book of his work to it (Nebrija, 1492: 7–32), then in Quechua grammars, at best, several lines are devoted to this point, or even nothing at all. The only exception is Santo Tomás's grammar, which contains several pages devoted to spelling. On the other hand, this is quite understandable: at that time Quechua spelling was still in its infancy.

The second important point concerns the general approach to the description of grammar: Nebrija's approach was called «natural» in the literature, while the Quechua grammars authors' one (in particular, Holguín) was called «doctrinal» (Gordillo, 2010: 94). This is because Nebrija analyzed his native language, which cannot be said about the authors who wrote about the Quechua language. Also striking is the almost complete absence of any information about the Quechua phonetics. Consequently, there is a visible gap between the

⁶ Reconquista (literally «reconquest») – a long process of return by Christians of the Iberian Peninsula, almost entirely conquered by the Arabs in the 13th century. The Reconquista ended in 1492 with the conquest of Granada, the last Muslim state in Spain.

goal (practical mastery of the language for the sake of the Native Americans Christianization) and the means of its realization.

In general, the structure of all analyzed grammars is similar, although it differs in details (sometimes, however, very significant). Most authors begin their analysis with nouns (case declension, plural forms, etc.), without clearly separating them from other nominative parts of speech. As a result, in one group (nombres), one can come across different parts of speech from the point of view of modern linguistics: numerals, adjectives, verbal nouns, etc. Further, as a rule, a description of the Quechua verbal system (tenses, moods, voice) is presented. Not all authors pay due attention to suffixes, which are of fundamental importance for the Quechua language, conveying virtually all spectra of grammatical categories. Gonzalez Holguín in the next-to-last section of his work, as well as Angeles Caballero (Angeles Caballero, 1987: 66–69), focus on suffixes, but their presentation lacks proper systematization. However, this is not surprising, if we take into account the unusualness of such a language structure for European authors.

At the same time, the analysis of various aspects of the language by different authors clearly shows that a unified view of the Quechua structure had not yet been developed⁷. For example, Diego González Holguín writes about five kinds of nouns (González Holguín, 1607: 51), noting at the same time: «I cannot believe that they say that there are no genders in this language, rather they did not try to find them» (González Holguín, 1607: 51). In turn, other authors either name the standard number of genera for Latin (namely, three) or even deny their existence in the Quechua language (Angeles Caballero, 1987: 101). It should be noted that the above remark by González Holguín shows

that this point of view on the problem was very common.

Even greater discrepancies can be traced in the analysis of verbs: some authors mention a large number of tenses based on Latin terminology (Perfect, Imperfect, Pluperfect, etc.), while the anonymous author of the «Art and Quechua dictionary» specifies only three tenses – present, past and future (Anónimo, 2018: 350). The same applies to the case system: someone declares its presence and gives a list of cases (usually 6, which is very symbolic and undoubtedly refers to Latin), someone does not mention this at all. Let us especially note that there are frequent and outright grammar mistakes caused by an insufficient understanding of the linguistic features of the Quechua language. Santo Tomás gives a detailed analysis of such mistakes in the introductory article to his grammar, written by R. Serrón-Palomino (Santo Tomás, 1995: 25–49), one of the leading experts in Quechua. At the conclusion of the grammar structure review, it should be stated that it is necessary to focus on the structure of the unpublished manuscript in more detail so that the scientific community interested in this issue has the opportunity to familiarize with its content without referring to the records. It begins rather not standard for the colonial Quechua grammars – with a verb. Firstly, the author considers the general features of the formation of forms for imperative, conditional and indicative moods. In the document, as well as in grammars published, the term «particle» (partícula) is used, although the authors speak of course, about suffixes / postfixes that are most common in the agglutinative languages, which the Quechua language belongs to. Here methods of forming negative and interrogative sentences are given (Archivo general: 4–5).

After the verbs, the author turns to such an aspect as «transition» (transición), that is, the peculiarities of the direct object's accusative case formation (Archivo general: 10–19). This issue is considered in detail with the detailed examples, not only in Quechua, but also in Spanish in different tenses and moods, apparently, in order to demonstrate as clearly as possible the importance of this linguistic item for the Quechua language. Further (and much

⁷ To a certain extent, this is still relevant today. As an example, one can see how the grammar of two modern regional variants of Quechua is presented in different studies (Itier, 1997; Calua Terán, Cerna Cabrera, 2006). Moreover, there is still no consensus on whether to count Quechua as a single language with many dialects or as a group of related languages (Cerrón-Palomino, 2008: 35–36; Itier, 1997: 33; Calua Terán, Cerna Cabrera, 2006: 10; Torero, 2011: 298; Torero, 2005: 54; Mannheim, 1991: 9).

more briefly) the author gives information about the gerund, supine and passive voice (Archivo general: 22–24).

The next lengthy section is devoted to nouns. The author identifies eleven types of them: noun, proper noun, appellative, quasi-adjective, abstract, verbal, relative, pronoun, comparative, superlative, numeral, and the compound ones (Archivo general: 20). In turn, in the noun they single out such a type as a collective noun. As an example, the author cites paired or simply numerous parts of the body (eyes, legs, teeth) (Archivo general: 20). Thus, it is clearly shown that the collective noun is not the same in its meaning as the plural or uncountable nouns. By the way, Juan de Aguil considers this category of nouns based on the same vocabulary, with the exception that he has hair instead of legs (Angeles Caballero, 1987: 61).

Quite a lot of attention is paid to the verbal name, which is formed from the infinitive (Archivo general: 21–22), as well as various types of numbers (separating, adverbial, ordinal) (Archivo general: 22–23). Further, the author notes that there is no separate category of abstract nouns in the Quechua language (Archivo general: 24–25), although the form similar in the meaning is in the language. Then the comparative and superlative degrees of adjectives, as well as the diminutive form, are interpreted in detail. The document ends with the subtitle «On the preposition», breaking off in mid-sentence (Archivo general: 34). From the fact that only a few lines are written on the last page of the manuscript, we can conclude that the author, for unknown reasons, did not finish his work.

What conclusions can be drawn regarding the structure of the manuscript? Obviously, in the form in which it has come down to us, this is not a full-fledged grammar of the language, but rather a short overview. The very idea of starting such a review with a verb, at first sight, has no practical meaning. All of Quechua grammars listed begin with nouns, moreover any adult who started learning a foreign language will probably remember that in a grammar course, nouns (declensions, gender, plural, etc.) usually go first from a practical point of

view, and this is justified. However, from the scientific point of view, the manuscript author's approach looks more reasonable, because the tense system is the core of any language for carrying the most significant semantic load. From this we may conclude that in compiling his manuscript, the anonymous Jesuit pursued (consciously or not) not only purely practical, but also research goals.

When comparing the text of the manuscript with the grammars published, it becomes obvious that conceptually and textually it is closest to the anonymous work «Art and the Dictionary of the Common Language of Peru ...», however, there is no doubt that these are not brief extracts from it, but an independent work.

While analyzing the grammars content, it is also necessary to touch upon such an important point as the lexical component. All the works analyzed are actually the same. It is striking that when analyzing the verb system, all authors start with the same verb – amar («to love»). Perhaps this is due to the conciseness and frequent usage of this Spanish verb, which makes its conjugation paradigm as clear as possible. The influence of the tradition cannot be excluded: in Nebrija grammar, it is also one of the most frequent verbs for analysis.

With regard to other lexical layers, we can state that such words and phrases as «our God» (Anónimo, 2018: 350; Archivo general: 2–3), «angel» (Anónimo, 2018: 346–347; Angeles Caballero, 1987: 62), «demon» (González Holguín, 1607: 35), «creator/maker» (Anónimo, 2018: 350; Torrez Rubio, 1619: 13) are quite often used. All these words are directly related to the Christian cult, and this feature of grammars will be discussed below.

6. Quechua language within cultural and linguistic categories framework

Having analyzed the writing grammars goals, as well as their structure and content, there is a reason to differentiate those cultural and linguistic categories with the help of which the authors described the Quechua language. In many ways, they were a product of the social and cultural environment in which the authors of grammars lived. Obviously, none of these

categories is called a clear text and not always, the authors themselves realized it, however, the texts of their works allow us to conclude about their existence.

The first category that should be named is *Eurocentrism*. By this term, we mean an orientation towards European languages when analyzing Quechua primarily towards Latin and Spanish. It is widely known that many of the clergy who determined the policy of Christianizing the Native Americans were well-educated people who spoke several languages. It is also known that other languages were inevitably compared with Latin or partly ancient Greek, as a peculiar linguistic standard. All the terminology used by Western European language theorists of the 16th-17th centuries comes from Latin. Moreover, because of this, it is not surprising that grammarians sometimes rather diligently tried to include the Quechua language into the European framework, which was not always appropriate and sometimes led to curiosities (issues related to the analysis of the verb system or presence / absence of a genus category in Quechua).

The second significant category is *the theoretical presentation* of linguistic categories. By this term we mean the presentation of the grammatical structure in a schematic form to the detriment of other components of the language. Despite the fact that grammars were written for the purpose of practical mastery of the language, they do not seem suitable for this role: they have almost no information about the phonetic structure, and the presentation of grammar is limited to diagrams and analysis of short sentences. Here, however, we must not forget that we deal with the products of the time when the linguistic and philological theory in the modern sense was just emerging. The most developed was the tradition of teaching classical languages, a natural element of which was detailed paradigms of conjugation, declension, etc. In this sense, teaching Latin and Ancient Greek has changed little even in comparison with the present. As a result, methods and approaches to teaching dead languages were naturally carried over to teaching live, colloquial speech. Thus, theoretical representation was an integral com-

ponent of a foreign language teaching in that era. Despite this, the awareness was already coming that the theory alone was not enough to master spoken language. A Jesuit Jose de Acosta, who had a great influence on the Spanish policy towards the Quechua language claims that constant oral practice with native-speaking Amerindians is necessary (Baciero, 1986: 142). At the same time, the role of theoretical training, provided not only through the textbooks, but also by special chairs for training Native American languages, was not denied (Baptista, 1993: 15; Maldavsky, 2013: 278) and first of all, of course, for the Quechua language.

Another important aspect is *the religious orientation of grammars*. On the one hand, this may seem obvious, but it is necessary to point out the following. The main goal of compiling grammars was the Amerindian population's Christianization and, as a result, communication with it through religious context. This largely predetermined the content of these grammars. It was already noted above that when analyzing certain grammatical structures phrases that are directly related to Christianity are often cited as examples. Among the verbs, the first place undoubtedly can be given to the verb «love». Possible reasons for the popularity of this verb among the authors of Quechua grammars have already been mentioned above, but its connection with the Christian cult should also be emphasized.

The use of such vocabulary, on the one hand, is fully justified due to the needs of Christianization carried out in conditions when the language lacked analogues to many key Christian concepts. As a result, this approach affected directly the language itself – it is the vocabulary related to the Christian cult that represents one of the earliest borrowings in the Quechua language from the Spanish one (Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz, 2003: 388). Examples include words like God (Dios) or soul (alma).

On the other hand, this practice shows a certain disregard for the traditional Amerindian culture and language, the desire to fill them with new, Christian content. At the same time, knowledge of this culture was no less neces-

sary for the needs of evangelism. The most educated members of the clergy, however, were aware of this (Villegaz, 1993: 355), and a rather respectful attitude towards Native Americans was widespread among the Jesuits (Jeffrey Klaiber, 2013: 298; Reff, 1993: 307) and the desire to protect them from the arbitrariness of the colonial authorities (García, 1986: 226; Green, 2016: 116). For example, Luis Jerónimo de Ore argued that the failure of Christianization was due to inadequate training of the clerics (Andrago-Walker, 2018: 97), and not to any defects of the Amerindians themselves. Diego Gonzalez Holguín expressed similar thoughts in the dedication to his work (Gonzalez Holguín, 1607: 3–4).

7. Conclusion

What conclusions can be drawn from the above analysis? In our opinion, despite the limited source base from only one source group, its analysis allows us to come to some general findings. It seems that the existed relationship between the Spanish language and the Quechua language in the period under review can be characterized by the term «acculturation». As part of this process the Quechua language was included in the Spanish (and, more broadly, European) cultural field and studied with the

help of the appropriate conceptual framework, was an important tool of the colonial policy, and, of course, was directly influenced by the Spanish language (the most obvious evidence of this is numerous borrowings). The analysis of the sources directly or indirectly confirm all these points. However, at this stage one cannot talk about assimilation (at least in relation to the general population and the entire territory of the Viceroyalty) as there was not a mass use of the Spanish language by Amerindians, although in some areas one could see a replacement of the Quechua language by the Spanish one (Green, 2016: 116). A similar policy within the entire Peru will be consistently pursued by the colonial authorities later, in the second half of the 17th century and especially in the 18th century. However, the model of the relationship between languages and cultures, which formed in the 16th-17th centuries, contributed to the expansion of the Quechua's area, resulted in a considerable extent of the current language appearance in the Andean region. Although the current situation with the Quechua language is far from favorable (Rakuts, 2018: 39–41; Mannheim, 1991: 27–28), this language continues to serve as an important link between the glorious past and the troubled present.

References

- Andrago-Walker, C. (2018). *The Indian Catholic symbol (1598) by Luis Jerónimo de Oré. Colonial knowledge and the problems of evangelization in the Andean region* [*El símbolo católico indiano (1598) de Luis Jerónimo de Oré. Saberes coloniales y los problemas de la evangelización en la región andina*]. Madrid – Frankfurt am Main, Iberoamericana, Vervuert, 238 p.
- Angeles Caballero, C.A. (1987). *Quechua grammar by Juan de Aguilar* [*La gramática quechua de Juan de Aguilar*]. Lima, Consejo Nacional de Ciencias y Tecnología, 140 p.
- Anónimo (2014). *Art and vocabulary in the general language of Peru* [*Arte y vocabulario en la lengua general del Perú*]. Lima, Instituto Riva Agüero, PUCP, 449 p.
- Anónimo (2018). *Art and vocabulary in the general language of Peru, called quichua, and in the Spanish language* [*Arte y vocabulario en la lengua general del Perú, llamada quichua, y en la lengua española*]. Lima, Argos, 465 p.
- Archivo general de la nación. Compañía de Jesus. Sermones. Leg. 41. Doc. 137.
- Baciero, D.C. (1986). The promotion and evangelization of the Indian in the plan of José de Acosta [La promoción y evangelización del indio en el plan de José de Acosta]. In *Doctrina cristiana y catecismo para instrucción de los indios*. Madrid, Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas, 117–162.
- Baptista, J. (1993). Jesuits and indigenous languages [Los jesuitas y las lenguas indígenas]. In *La Compañía de Jesus en América evangelización y justicia, siglos XVII–XVIII*. Córdoba, Imprenta San Pablo, 11–21.

Calua Terán, S., Cerna Cabrera, L. (2006). *Let's talk Quechua. An introduction to the Quechua of Cajamarca* [Rimashun Kichwapi. Hablemos en quechua. Una introducción al quechua cajamarquino]. Cajamarca, La academia regional del idioma quechua de Cajamarca, 166 p.

Cerrón-Palomino, R. (2013). *Languages of the Incas: puquina, aymara, and quechua* [Las lenguas de los incas: el puquina, el aymara y el quechua]. Frankfurt am Main: Internationaler Verlag der Wissenschaften, 386 p.

Cerrón-Palomino, R. (2014). Prologue [Prólogo]. In *Anónimo. Arte y vocabulario en la lengua general del Perú*. Lima, Instituto Riva Agüero, PUCP, 11–36.

Cerrón-Palomino, R. (2008). *Voices of the Andes. Essays about the andean onomastic* [Voces del Ande. Ensayos sobre onomástica andina]. Lima, Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 412 p.

Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz, S. (2003). *The voices of Huarochiri. Native American-Quechua traditions from the colonial period between the maturity and writing* [Die Stimmen von Huarochiri. Indianische-Quechua Überlieferungen aus der Kolonialzeit zwischen Mündigkeit und Schriftlichkeit]. Bonn, Universität Bonn, 732 p.

Dominguez Faura, N. (1994). Juan de Betanzos and the first letters of evangelization in the general language of the Inga (1536–1542) [Juan de Betanzos y las primeras cartillas de evangelización en la lengua general del Inga (1536–1542)]. In Ramos, G. (ed) *La venida del reino. Religión, evangelización y cultura en América. Siglos XVI–XX*. Cusco: Centro de estudios regionales andinos Bartolomé de Las Casa, 65–74.

García, A. (1986). The reform of the 3d Lima Council [La reforma del concilio tercero de Lima]. In *Doctrina cristiana y catecismo para instrucción de los indios*. Madrid, Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas, 163–226.

González Holguín, D. (1607). *Grammar and art of the general language of Peru, called Quichua, or language of the Incas* [Gramática y arte nuevo de la lengua general de todo el Perú, llamada Quichua, o lengua del Inca]. Lima, Francisco del Canto,.

Gordillo, A.S. (2010). Grammar and new art of the general language of Peru (1607) by González Holguín and the grammars by Nebrija [La gramática y arte nueva de la lengua general de todo el Perú (1607) de González Holguín y las Gramáticas de Nebrija (H. 1488 y 1492)]. In *Anuario de Lingüística Hispánica*, XXVII, 89–114.

Green, B. (2016). Colonial Theodicy and the Jesuit Ascetic Ideal in José de Acosta's Works on Spanish America. In Maryks, R.A. (ed) *Exploring Jesuit Distinctiveness. Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Ways of Proceeding within the Society of Jesus*. Boston, Brill, 114–136.

Heggarty, P., Pearce Adrian J. (2011). *History and language in the Andes*. New York, PALGRAVE MACMILLAN, 289 p.

Itier, C. (1997). *Let's talk Quechua, the language of Cuzco* [Parlons Quechua, la langue de Cuzco]. Paris, L'harmattan, 206 p.

Jeffrey Klaiber, S.J. (2013). Jesuit missions: possible utopias or paternalistic enclaves? [¿Las misiones jesuíticas: utopías posibles o enclaves paternalistas?]. In Paredes, J.S. & Curatola Petrocchi, M. (eds.) *Los rostros de la tierra encantada. Religión, evangelización y sincretismo en el nuevo mundo*. Lima, IFEA, PUCP, 297–311.

Maldavsky, A. (2013). *Uncertain vocations: mission and missionaries in the Jesuit province of Peru in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* [Vocaciones inciertas: misión y misioneros en la provincia jesuita del Perú en los siglos XVI y XVII]. Sevilla-Lima, Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas, Instituto francés de estudios andinos, 466 p.

Mannheim, B. (1991). *The language of the Inka since the European invasion*. Austin, University of Texas Press, 356 p.

Marzal, M. (1999). Jesuit missions, a possible utopia? [Las misiones jesuitas, una utopía posible?]. In *Un reino de la frontera. Las misiones jesuitas en la América colonial*. Lima, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 489–503.

- Natarov, A.N. (2016). *Quechua: chto eto?* [*Quechua – What is it?*]. Available at: <https://www.indiansworld.org/Articles/kechua-cto-eto.html> (accessed 18 July 2020).
- Nebrija, A. de. (1492). *Art of the Castilian language* [*Arte de la lengua castellana*]. Salamanca, 135 p.
- Oesterreicher, W. (2019). Colonial grammar in America as a historical form of the linguistic knowledge [La gramática colonial en América como forma histórica del saber lingüístico]. In Cerrón-Palomino, R., Rivero, A.E. & Zwartjes, O. (eds.) *Lingüística misionera. Aspectos lingüísticos, discursivos, filológicos y pedagógicos*. Lima, PUCP, 409–439.
- Rakuts, N.V. (2009). Infeyskiye iasyiki Iuzhnoi Ameriki [Indigenous languages of South America]. In *Latinskaia Amerika* [*Latin America*], 5, 94–100.
- Rakuts, N.V. (2018). *Kul'tura indeiskih narodov i politika gosudarstva. Iuzhnoamerikanskii realii* [*The culture of indigenous peoples and state politics. South American realities*]. Moscow, Institute of Latin America RAS, 259 p.
- Red'kova, I.S., Chernova, N.I., Katakova, N.V. (2020). Akademicheskaiia kommunikatsia v diskursivnykh praktikakh universitetov Germanii gendernii aspekt [Academic communication in discourse practices of German universities: gender aspect]. In *Rossiiskii Tekhnologicheskii Zhurnal* [*Russian Technological Journal*], 8, 110–119. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.32362/2500-316X-2020-8-1-110-119>
- Reff, T.D. (1993). Representation of the indigenous culture in the jesuit discourse of the 17th century [La representación de la cultura indígena en el discurso jesuita del siglo XVII]. In *La Compañía de Jesus en América: evangelización y justicia, siglos XVII–XVIII*. Córdoba, Imprenta San Pablo, 307–314.
- Santo Tomás, D. (1560). *Art of the general language of Peru, called quichua* [*El arte de la lengua general del Perú, llamada quichua*]. Valladolid: Francisco Fernández de Córdova, 192 p.
- Santo Tomás, D. (1995). *Grammar or art of the general language of the Peruvian indians* [*Gramática o arte de la lengua general de los indios de los reinos del Perú*]. Cuzco, Centro de estudios regionales andinos Bartolomé de las Casas, 186 p.
- Santo Tomás, D. (1560). *Vocabulary of the general language of the Peruvian indians called quichua* [*Vocabulario de la lengua general de los indios del Perú, llamada quichua*]. Valladolid, Francisco Fernández de Córdova, 352 p.
- Starostin, G.S. (2016). *K istokam iazikovogo raznoobrazii. Desyat' besed o sravnitel'no-istoricheskoi iazikoznani* [*To the origins of linguistic diversity. Ten conversations about comparative historical linguistics*]. Moscow, Publishing house Delo, 584 p.
- Torero, A. (2011). *Questions of linguistics and the Andean history* [*Cuestiones de lingüística e historia andinas*]. Lima, Huacho, 440 p.
- Torero, A. (2007). *Quechua and the social history of the Andes* [*El quechua y la historia social andina*]. Lima: Fondo Editorial del Pedagógico de San Marcos, 151 p.
- Torero, A. (2005). *Languages of the Andes. Linguistic and history* [*Idiomas de los Andes. Lingüística e historia*]. Lima, IFEA, 565 p.
- Torres Rubio, D. de. (1619). *Art of the quichua language* [*Arte de la lengua quichua*]. Lima, Francisco Lasso.
- Villegaz, J.J.S. (1993). The Indian and his evangelization according to the guidelines of Fray José de Acosta [El indio y su evangelización de acuerdo a los lineamientos del P. José de Acosta]. In *La Compañía de Jesus en América: evangelización y justicia, siglos XVII–XVIII*. Córdoba, Imprenta San Pablo, 331–375.
- Zwartjes, O., Zimmermann, Klaus and Martina Schrader-Kniffki (2014). *Missionary Linguistics V. Translation theories and practices*. Amsterdam-Philadelphia, John Benjamins publishing company, 350 p.