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**CULTURAL CHANGE AND THE DEVELOPMENT
OF THE WHOLE PERSON: AN EXPOSITION OF
THE PHILOSOPHY AND METHODS OF THE
SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS¹**
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Introduction

This chapter is a description of the philosophy and anthropological methodology underlying the work of SIL in Peru, especially those aspects pertaining to human relations and cultural change.²

The first section discusses the reality of the Peruvian jungle where the long history of contact between the ethnolinguistic groups and the Spaniards and mestizos have resulted in many cultural changes. Secondly, universal human needs and other basic concepts are considered. In the third section a general account is given of the founding of SIL, its basic principles, and its methods of operation. The report concludes with specific examples of the activities of SIL in the Peruvian jungle and some of their results.

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The reality of the jungle and cultural change

The ethnic groups of the Peruvian jungle have been in contact with Western society for many years (in many cases since the arrival of the first explorers and missionaries in the seventeenth century). According to Varese (1972:82): "More than 70% of these minorities maintain permanent relations of interaction with members of the rest of the country... 35% [which includes some local groups of those already mentioned] maintain sporadic relations; but directly or indirectly, and to a greater or lesser degree, *all of the native societies are linked to the Peruvian economic system* [italics added]."

This long history of contact has not only affected the native economy but has also resulted in changes in many aspects of the culture. For example, the religion of the Amuesha, like that of many jungle groups, has an animistic base. They believe that the shaman can transform himself into a jaguar, and they are afraid of the boa, which is the mother of all the water demons. But we also find the Inca concept of the deity of the sun, whose worship is a vital part of the Amuesha's festivities. One discovers, along with the native beliefs and those which are the result of the influence of the Inca empire, a syncretism with themes such as the cross and the virgin mother of "our father." These themes have obviously been incorporated into the Amuesha religion from the teachings of the first missionaries, who established themselves in the area in 1635.

In the light of this it would be nothing more than romanticism to state that no possibility of cultural change should be introduced, especially with regard to the native religion, but rather that the natives should be left in their original state. The concept which many have of the "pure native" and the "happy savage" is a myth. The authors of this work agree with the following affirmation of the Unit for Assistance to Native Communities:

Those who consider the native communities totally isolated from the social and economic structures which affect the rest of the country are certainly mistaken. This can only

be blamed on ignorance or on the manipulation of that concept for the benefit of those who believe it. In any case, an analysis of the native societies which does not consider said relations will be based on a false premise" (Chirif Tirado et al. 1975:258).

Today the native groups are confronting, in ever-increasing intensity, waves of people from different cultures: those searching for oil, lumbermen, hunters, colonists, missionaries, traders, travelers, tourists, students, and others throughout the jungle. The contacts and changes which result are intense and can be destructive. Furthermore, they tend to disturb the equilibrium and weaken the behavioral norms of the native culture. For instance, the Amueshas abandoned their traditional marriage ceremonies when the mestizos ridiculed them, saying, "These marriages are not legal." This appears to be one of the factors that contribute to the instability of marriage among the Amuesha today.

Furthermore, the material base of the group is now very precarious. Game animals are much farther away (and are almost extinct in some areas); consequently, it is more work to supply basic needs, and there is less and less time in which to do so because the natives are obliged to work for their *patrones* to pay off debts.

Another serious problem is that the colonists have taken possession of the land that has belonged to the Indians for many generations. Since they had little or no access to legal help, the only recourse for the Amueshas and some other groups has been to emigrate to less desirable areas where they could preserve their cultural integrity even though these places would offer fewer possibilities for subsistence. The price they have had to pay for this has been great physical hardship and psychological damage to the members of the group. Unless the territory proved to be of no value to the dominating society, in

time "civilization" would, without doubt, encompass it.³ Thus, in many cases, the native must not only contend with tensions within his own culture, but also must combat upheavals caused by contact with the outside world.

Some cultural traits favor survival in the face of contact with a dominant, larger cultural group, and others do not. For example, Ribeiro (1973:27), using as a basis his study of the history of the contact with indigenous groups in Brazil, proposes that groups which have unilinear structures, such as exogamous clans, seem to be more resistant to external, destructive factors than those with extended family structures as the largest organized social unit. For an isolated group, organization into small communities, that is to say, in extended families, is a good adaptation to the jungle environment. Nevertheless, this feature, added to a predisposition to change, could lead to the disintegration of the native society in the face of intensified exploitative contacts.

Another aspect to be considered is that within the limits of a given society, differences of behavior are not only allowed but in some cases, are even encouraged. The degree of liberty to choose alternatives varies as much within a culture as between cultures. Also, tolerance to change varies from one institution to another both within a culture and between cultures. If the pressures to change key institutions exceed the tolerance of the cultural system, the result will be individual disorientation and cultural disintegration. In the preface to "Culina Texts" Mendizábal Losack (1962:92) observes: "One of the questions which is raised while reading the following texts is, *does the Culina culture condition in those who are a part of it, an adaptable personality, capable of confronting the social and cultural changes provoked by acculturation?*—a question which Peruvian ethnologists should ask concerning every ethnic group... [italics added]."

3 The authors recognize that over the past years the situation of the ethnic groups has improved through the implementation of the Law of Native Communities, the Educational Reform, and other government programs which provide favorable external conditions for the Indians' community and personal development.

An additional aspect of the reality is that once contact has been established with the outside world, many natives desire change. In the Yurúa and Purus River basins, a number of Culina and Cashinahua communities are found. These groups were subjected to intensive and abusive contacts during the time of the rubber boom and fled to the headwaters, where they stayed without contact until the 1930s in the case of the Culina and more or less 1945 in the case of the Cashinahua. However, when their axes and machetes were completely worn out, they decided to again make contact with the whites who asked rubber of them in exchange for merchandise. Consider also, the case of the Candoshi. When counselled not to abandon their customs, they responded: "You want us to continue cutting off each other's heads in revenge killings? No thank you. We do not want to live like that."

We must also acknowledge that groups that have been pushed aside are eager to know the outside world, a need which is legitimately satisfied by printed literature (since radios are still scarce in the native communities and there are no programs transmitted in the vernacular). For example, an Aguaruna who had traveled to Lima, recognizing this desire in his community, wrote a book in his own language about what he had experienced during his visit. When he was asked about the matter, he replied, "We want to learn new things as well as things in our own culture. That is why I wrote this book."

The truth of the matter is, then, that the ethnic groups have had contact with the Western world for a long time, in many cases dating from the arrival of the Spaniards, and since then have been in the process of change. Change is normal and inevitable since it is the basic mechanism for cultural adaptation. Every culture is dynamic and is in a constant state of change and development; this can be positive and beneficial when the changes arise from the free choice of the society, which has had various alternatives from which to choose.

Therefore, using force to prevent a change can be simply a form of repression. On the other hand, the desire neither to force members of an ethnic group to adjust to other patterns, nor to oblige them to maintain the *status quo* (if that were

possible), necessitates helping them find alternatives in order to retain their identity within a viable, strong, united, and just society whose values can survive in the face of extracultural contact.

BASIC CONCEPTS

In every culture the values, social groupings, and activities (Pike 1967) are interrelated in such a way that it is impossible to change one part without varying the whole. Furthermore, the presence of an outsider (e.g., a field worker) in a native group inevitably produces change. For these and many other reasons, it is important that the field linguist have a knowledge of the basic principles of general anthropology. The principles discussed in this section are based on the following psycho-cultural considerations:

- that man has diverse needs that should be satisfied for his development as a whole person
- that culture is dynamic, not static
- that certain aspects of a culture lead to the well-being of the group and its members, while others are to their detriment
- that the mother tongue is a key to maintaining cultural identity and taking advantage of new information.

Universal needs

In the heart of every human being there are material and psychological needs and traits which are common to all men. These are inherent in the human personality and are interwoven with sociocultural needs. Some of the most important ones are discussed below.⁴

Physical needs. Man has certain basic physical needs for maintaining life: he needs a geographical area designated as his

4 Since the theoretical orientations of SIL anthropologists vary considerably, we neither attempt to delineate here a complete list of universal needs, nor to follow specific lists, as for example those to be found in the works of Malinowski (1944) and Aberle *et al.* (1950).

sphere of life—even nomadic groups have a certain territory within which they tend to move about. He also needs food, certain health safeguards (adequate medicines and hygiene), and protection from hostile natural elements.

Psychological needs. Each individual needs a feeling of security within a social context (this varies from culture to culture) and a sense of his own identity. There are various factors which contribute to a healthy concept of personal identity; among them are: to be esteemed and accepted by others; to have a feeling of personal dignity and esteem; to be aware of the value of his cultural heritage; to know that he loves and is loved; to know the satisfaction of being able to express himself in creative ways through language, art, handicrafts, work, and music; to have the satisfaction of having succeeded in something; to have hope and courage; and to hold to a moral code.

Sociocultural needs. Among sociocultural universal needs are the following: differentiation of social roles and criteria to assign roles to the members of the community, means of communication shared by the members (language), common objectives and values, norms for regulating the expression of the emotions, socialization of the members, and negative and positive sanctions for the control of conduct which are put into effect for the well-being of all.

Although one can enumerate these necessities among cultural universals, the ways in which they are satisfied vary from one society to another.

Traits which lead to the well-being or detriment of the society

All societies, like the people who constitute them, have tendencies and traits which lead to their well-being or viability in the face of contacts with the outside world, while others become a detriment to them or may even lead to their extinction. According to the values held by the authors of this work, aspects of the first type can be considered positive; those of the second, negative. As far as negative aspects are concerned, it is not a case of the culture of a minority social

group being inferior or "bad" in comparison with a "good" majority or with a dominant Western culture. Rather it involves aspects which lead to the *self-destruction of the culture* and/or *the physical or psychosocial detriment of its people* or that lead to *injustices to individuals within or outside the culture*. Injustices are defined, in general, by commonly recognized values, such as those stipulated in the United Nation's "Universal Declaration of Human Rights." Traits that can be classified as *positive* are those which lead to well-being and include all the traits that are not negative. They cover the whole gamut of the social, material, and spiritual reality of a people: norms concerning marriage, family structure, kinship system, social structure of the community, social controls, world view, language, oral traditions (legends) and history, division of labor, art, music, dress, type of housing, etc.

Examples of traits which lead to well-being. The pattern of matrilocal residence with cross-cousin marriage in a jungle society, for example, is a well-adapted response to the situation and might include the following beneficial factors:

- Security for the husband when he must be away from home for whatever reason, such as to hunt or to do special work for his *patrón* (for example, extraction of rubber and wood); he can leave knowing his wife will be in good hands (those of her parents).
- Security for the wife: her parents do not allow her husband to mistreat her, which is of special importance in a society where the woman occupies an inferior position to the man.
- Security in old age for the parents of the woman: the son-in-law continues to support them.
- Social security: each member of the family has at least one group of relatives (extended family) to which he feels he belongs.
- The activities of the group are automatically structured according to a pattern of established categories along with an understanding of the functions of each. That is to say, each member of the extended family has a definite function.

- This model often provides a reciprocal redistribution of excess goods obtained by individuals.

There are countless examples of such positive aspects in each ethnic group in Peru. In fact, many scholars believe that tribal life is frequently much more significant and satisfactory for the members of a group than "civilization" is for those who work many hours a day at jobs in which they find neither satisfaction or the fulfillment of their ambitions (Sapir 1964).

Members of the ethnic groups of the Peruvian jungle evidence an extraordinary knowledge of their environment. They distinguish between plants which are edible, those which are medicinal, and those which can be used for other purposes (in construction, for example). Their adaptation to the natural resources of the jungle is complicated and promotes the maintenance of ecological balance. Their system of slash-and-burn agriculture is obviously convenient for the tropics. The cultivated areas which are later left to return to jungle are not lost, but rather slowly recuperate fertility for future cultivation (Meggers 1971). The following are two examples which serve to illustrate this adaptation to their environment:

The Mayoruna live on hilly land near the headwaters of small rivers. There, "... as soon as the trees are cut, erosion begins. They have seen that it is best to cut the trees parallel to the hill using the trunks as terraces to hold the top soil which would be carried downhill by the rain" (Vivar A. 1975:345).

Ground satisfactorily cleared by the Aguaruna would not impress the outside observer because it has uneven borders and because some trees have been left here and there. But the fact of the matter is that these trees are often species whose fruit attract certain varieties of birds that can be hunted with the blow gun and serve to augment the meat supply for the family (Grover 1971:1).

Other customs which might appear detrimental at first glance actually show a good adaptation of the native to his environment and are adequate means to protect the rights of all the members of a society. For example, the very popular use

of nettles to discipline children might seem severe, but among the Amuesha and some other groups, a single nettling is normally sufficient to teach the child to obey his parents. Afterwards, the mere threat of such a punishment is sufficient to quell misbehavior. There is no danger of permanent damage to the child,⁵ and it is unnecessary to look for other, potentially harmful forms of punishments. They severely criticize parents from another culture who spank their children, but the use of nettles is always approved.

Examples of traits that are detrimental to the individual or the society. In one of the native communities, a young couple was in anguish seeing their four-month-old become gravely ill with a respiratory infection. The people, who attributed the disease to supernatural causes, counselled the parents to bathe the child in urine, feed it with the same, and put powdered tobacco into its nostrils. The anguish caused by the death of the child was felt no less intensely by its parents than that experienced by parents in other cultures; and, in all probability the "treatment" contributed to the child's death. It is evident that in such cases other means of treating the sick are needed, as well as hope and spiritual comfort.

For an example of a trait which does not favor the survival of the group, see the case of revenge killings among the Candoshi (pp. 386-87).

Examples of traits that could result in well-being or detriment. Some traits embrace both positive and negative values. That is to say, they could turn out to be both beneficial and detrimental to the society or the individual. If one were to study the pros and cons of female infanticide—as well as the infanticide of deformed males—among the Mayoruna, a custom related to that of raiding other groups or mestizo settlements to provide themselves with women and servants, it would include at least the following:

⁵ We refer to the varieties of nettles which cause stinging and itching for approximately a half hour. There are other varieties which can cause inflammation and other longer lasting discomfort.

Positive

- Furnishes a more varied genetic source for a small community, bringing genetic benefit.

- Permits the expression of aggression, needed by every human being, within the normative standards of the culture.

- Frees the woman from the responsibility for unwanted daughters and avoids the tragedy of deformities.

- Some terrorized neighbors are careful not to make incursions into Mayoruna territory, thus slowing down the rate of acculturation and enhancing the prospects for survival of the group.

- They procure implements for hunting and farming.

- It strengthens the cultural control over the members of the native society.

- The fulfillment of their objectives gives a basis for a feeling of self-identity and security.

Negative

- The women are taken by force, subjugated and intimidated. They often never become linguistically or socially adapted and so are destined to live in cultural isolation and on an inferior level.

- The captured children are raised as slaves and sometimes do not gain the same level of acceptance as the authentic Mayorunas.

- Children are exterminated by their own parents (infanticide).

- The innocent husbands, children, and brothers of the captured women are assassinated.

- The Mayorunas as well as neighboring groups live in constant fear, apprehension, and suffering realizing their inability to maintain a constant state of alertness in order to defend themselves.

- The communities of the victims organize expeditions for revenge.

- A considerable portion of the Mayorunas are preoccupied with getting to the outside world; the captives, their children, and others unite in a desire to escape the terror of reprisals and internal violence; some not only flee but take others with them.

Since at one time or another all cultures manifest characteristics which act in opposition to the well-being of their members, collective as well as individual solutions are needed. Often, the solutions take the form of cultural sanctions against the offenses and injustices perpetrated in favor of one individual at the cost of his colleagues. Not all of these sanctions are successful, and when they are not, frustration and social disintegration may result.

In other cases the question is not a matter of success or the lack of it, but rather of different anthropological interpretations. For example, Mendizábal Losack (1962:91) observes how the Culina resort to magic to satisfy their needs: "While the Culina are obviously in a state of anxiety, their culture offers relief through magic, a practice constantly referred to in the texts. For example, in La Rana 'Dsaphua' (text 25) the informant says: 'like we do in our ceremonies to obtain food'." On the other hand, Siskind (1970), later analyzing the Culina's frequent recourse to magic, showed that it is precisely this trait which impedes their making a satisfactory adaptation to their environment, since their movements are restricted by their suspicion of the motives behind every act.

Extreme manifestations of backbiting, egotism, hate, jealousy, hostility, etc., are traits which, if not brought under control, can destroy personalities and cultures. Love, joy, harmony, unity, common objectives, and mutual help build up and fortify individuals as well as cultures. But these qualities cannot be produced by imposition. They must spring from within by personal or group option.

What each individual needs is an opportunity for personal fulfillment, freely and conscientiously exercising his right to a personal decision in the face of various alternatives. As far as society as a whole is concerned, the ideal is a culture that offers its members the very best conditions for its well-being, but there is no culture completely adequate to fulfill this function. Internal and external factors at times cause pressures with which the existing cultural mechanisms cannot contend.

The attitude of a field investigator. As has already been mentioned, every human being needs to adhere to a moral

code, and all cultures have such codes, although these vary a great deal both outside and even within the same culture. As Herskovits (1948:76) has said: "morality is universal." The anthropologist is no exception: he needs and has a professional code of ethics, and one aspect of his system of beliefs might well be the doctrine of cultural relativism. Following this relativism to its logical conclusion, one sees it as a system which favors the *status quo*. Evaluating relatively a cultural structure which foments exploitation or which results in the extinction of one group in favor of another, one would come to the conclusion that it is neither better nor worse than another system.

Nevertheless, even though he may try not to evaluate the cultures he studies or to judge between the "good" and the "bad," the anthropologist, the linguist, or other investigator in the field, as a human being, must recognize in all cultures the existence of injustice and suffering with regards to the individual, as well as to the group to which he belongs. Furthermore, although he may not admit it, he believes that his own rights should be respected. That is to say, although his dogma is actually relativism, not all of his actions and expectations are in agreement with that doctrine.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, epidemics of smallpox and other foreign diseases decimated the population of many groups and completely exterminated others. Those who survived became victims of extreme cruelties during the height of the rubber boom and were later exploited by *patrones* and merchants who did not pay just prices for their lumber and other products, and who at the same time charged exorbitant prices for their merchandise. In the face of individual cases of suffering and the precarious situation of the ethnolinguistic groups which survive, the field worker must make an effort to help in accordance with the available possibilities and the desires of the native community—making medicines and seeds available, helping in the organization of cooperatives, cooperating in bilingual education programs and other development projects. While such help might result in a temporary dependence, it is

expected that care will be taken not to allow the dependence to become permanent. This was expressed by a leader of the Piro group: "We needed the help of the Summer Institute of Linguistics at the beginning [of the bilingual school program and community development projects], but now we can go along independently." In order to gain this confidence and independence, *the form of assistance should not destroy the traditional system of social organization, beliefs, etc., but rather should function within these systems with discernment and by means of the participation of the members of the group itself.*

The importance of the mother tongue

One of the consequences of contacts between a majority culture which has had access to reading and writing and the other benefits of education and a minority culture which as yet has not had these benefits is that the member of the latter has a tendency to feel inferior and discouraged. This is partly due to the fact that he does not recognize the positive elements of his own culture and partly because he knows that others do not acknowledge them as being positive.

Language is one of the extremely important and positive elements of a culture since it constitutes a means of communication as well as of reflecting a substantial part of the culture. It is a key trait for the preservation of group unity and sense of identity for the individual. Therefore, the fact that his language is considered worthy to be used in education and his oral cultural heritage is worthy of being preserved and propagated through the written word contributes to his expectations, his personal dignity, and his self-esteem. When those who have just become literate discover they can express themselves in writing, they not only have a means of achieving fulfillment and self-identification, but they also have the satisfaction of contributing to the preservation of their cultural values by putting their stories and traditions into written form.

The literate person who speaks a vernacular tongue also has the advantage of being able to obtain the necessary information

to maintain good health through pamphlets printed in his language on hygiene and prevention of disease. Also, to give him confidence and courage, he has at his disposal, among other things, laws concerning his rights, collections of his own people's folklore, portions of the Bible, etc. To adapt himself to changes in his environment and free himself from his *patrón*, if he wishes, he has manuals of instruction for agriculture and cattle and chicken raising. An indication of the self-esteem he has once he is literate is that he now considers himself capable, like any other individual, to take advantage of the information available *in his language*, using it for his own development and defense.

On the other hand, he also needs the benefits of bilingualism. One of the conclusions of a workshop held in January, 1978, reads as follows: "Almost all groups that speak an indigenous language are found on the lowest level of society and generally are also on the fringes of the national economic life. Those speaking the vernacular do not have the same opportunities to participate in national life as do Spanish-speaking groups" (Solá and Weber 1978:9).

When an Indian lives in contact with the dominant culture, but does not speak the national language, he feels cut off and isolated. But if he is able to communicate with Spanish speakers, his social and cultural sphere is expanded, and he need not feel dominated. Bilingualism is not necessarily a manifestation of alienation, but rather can contribute to a feeling of dignity and self-esteem. An Aguaruna expressed it very well when he said, "We, the Aguaruna, are intelligent. We can learn two languages."

The use of the mother tongue in daily life contributes to the unity of a group and strengthens the local social units, preventing them from being dominated by Spanish speakers. On the other hand, bilingualism opens new doors of communication and interchange among those who speak different languages. Taking the latter into account along with the other basic concepts considered in this section, we turn now to an exposition of the philosophy and methods of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

*WHAT IS THE SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS
AND WHO ARE ITS MEMBERS?*

Origin

The SIL was founded in 1934 by William Cameron Townsend with the desire to give practical help to the world's minority groups. Fourteen years of experience among native groups in Guatemala, especially with the Cakchiquel, had convinced him of various important principles which are presented below.

Townsend's basic principles.

(1) That the Scriptures offer to the man who accepts them a moral basis and a hope which can transform his life, giving him the necessary motivation and spiritual strength to fulfill his own deep desires as well as those of the society of which he is a member.

(2) That, although it is necessary to respect the indigenous cultures and their right to fulfillment and to reject the domination and imposition by force of foreign values, it is also necessary to make it possible for these societies to have a knowledge of the Biblical message so that they might enjoy its benefits if they so desire.

(3) That, totally apart from the spiritual motivation, the privileged of the world are obligated to help the needy and oppressed in any way they can, for they, too, have the right to develop as free people and choose their own future with an understanding of what the consequences of such decisions might be.

(4) That, since the available resources are few and provision for all the needs of the indigenous societies is impossible, it is necessary to limit ourselves to what is most important:

- translate portions of the Bible so that the ethnic groups can take advantage of their teachings if they so desire;
- promote the study and appreciation of the worth of the vernacular tongues;
- open channels of communication and cultural interchange, principally through bilingual education, always respecting to the fullest the dignity of the Indian and his culture;

- serve without discrimination by humanitarian and practical works within the scope of the existing resources; and
- cooperate, in a nonsectarian way and without participating in political movements, with academic, government, and other entities that request collaboration.

(5) That, in order to carry out this work, it is imperative that scientific methods be used (descriptive linguistics along with other disciplines—anthropology and education, for example) in order to assure that the field worker do his work effectively and well.

The founding of the twin organizations: SIL and WBT. With the vision of preparing young people for a difficult task, a course in descriptive linguistics was organized in the summer of 1934. After attending the second course in the summer of 1935 and having been approved, following an appropriate process of selection, the first researchers were appointed to Mexico.

In 1942, eight years after having begun work, SIL was incorporated in the state of California to facilitate the negotiation of agreements and contracts with academic and governmental agencies. At the same time the twin organization, Wycliffe Bible Translators (WBT), was founded. It is significant that SIL was not established in an attempt to mask the activities of WBT, but that WBT was founded to solve a problem which in time became more and more apparent: those who were enthusiastic about the work of SIL and wanted to support it experienced difficulties in understanding how it was possible that representatives of a scientific organization should also be interested in translating the Bible. At the same time, other individuals and entities enthusiastic about supporting the work of translation had difficulty in comprehending the need for a strong emphasis on the scientific aspect. The solution was to establish two organizations which together reflect the dual motivation of the members. From the beginning the public has been adequately informed about the functions of both.⁶

⁶ See for example, *Who Brought the Word*, 1963 and *Language and Faith*, 1972 (Wycliffe Bible Translators, Inc., in cooperation with the Summer Institute of Linguistics).

Financial policies. The financial policies which evolved during those first years and have since been established are as follows:

- The greatest amount of support for SIL and WBT activities, like that of its members, is provided by private donations. Each individual is responsible for his own expenses. He is supported by relatives and friends and by churches or other private groups who are interested in the work. There is no fixed budget, and salaries are not guaranteed.
- Apart from private donations, certain public institutions have contributed generously, e.g., subsidies for gasoline and printing material. It is important to note that these contributions are received sporadically and are designated for specific local projects. They are also the exception rather than the rule.

In addition to this, the members of SIL share their material possessions and intellectual capacity in a brotherly fashion. Concerning this a visiting anthropologist remarked: "I am amazed that you being from capitalistic countries are true communists in your life-style."

Methods of operation

Philosophy. SIL began with the conviction that every human being has the need and the right to fulfillment as a whole person and that he needs that which will help him maintain with dignity his cultural identity and his own personality traits. On the other hand, he must be free to adapt positively to the continuous flow of new situations which he encounters, in order to retain or recover his security and self-respect as a member of a culture which is valuable in itself and is recognized as such by others. Since contact with Western societies is an unavoidable reality for the great majority of aboriginal groups, a major function of the field worker at present is necessarily to help lessen the shock of cultural clashes as wisely and as appropriately as possible, in the face of extremely varied and complex circumstances.

Members of SIL try not to work with a paternalistic attitude which could foster dependency or domination. Their objective is to complete their task as quickly as possible, leaving behind "tools" with which the native groups can adapt themselves as they see fit to new sociological realities. The linguist must also make an effort to avoid the errors of his own society—materialism in its diverse forms, ethnocentrism, and the possible disadvantages of its economic system, among others. That is to say, he must bear in mind that a clear distinction exists between cultural domination and a fruitful cultural exchange.

In addition, SIL holds the conviction that every language has inherent value; that even in the case of those that seem destined to extinction, as a scientific organization it is obligated to make an effort to preserve data from them. This interest can be documented by the fact that time and personnel have been dedicated not only to relatively large ethnic groups but also to groups with very few speakers. In Brazil Dr. Sarah Gudschinsky worked several months with the last survivor of the Ofaié-Xavante group who suffered with tuberculosis. In Peru, studies of three languages which are about to become extinct—Andoa, Taushiro, and Resígaro—have been published.

Scientific basis. Members of SIL form a team which is organized and trained in the following manner. Young people with college degrees are trained in the basics of linguistics, anthropology, and literacy in ten summer courses held every year in six different countries. The attendance of new candidates at the course also serves as a trial period. In accordance with SIL regulations, the training is available to all who wish to take advantage of it. After being accepted as a member of SIL, the applicant is required to attend orientation and survival courses that will help him to adapt to new cultural and ecological environments. It is important that at all times he show an altruistic spirit.

After being trained and assigned to work with a certain ethnic group, the new researcher is counselled and supervised by a team of experienced specialists who act as advisers for the linguistic, anthropological, and educational work done. This consultant system, in which all the field workers are included,

accelerates the work, helps to control the quality of the research, and fosters encouragement and understanding among the members of the team. Seminars on a variety of topics help keep linguists up to date on new theories and methods. Many members do advanced studies in their speciality during their sabbatical leaves.

As a result of this program, SIL offers in its 1935-1975 *Bibliography* the titles of research studies carried out on 638 languages in 30 countries; these have been published in some 190 linguistic and anthropological journals and monographs. Plans are to continue to make data obtained available to the academic world, as well as to the general public, as quickly as experienced consultants can supervise their preparation.

The majority of works published by SIL comprise descriptions of phonological and morphological systems, sentence structures, and aspects of the culture and social organization; dictionaries; compilations of folklore; and in more recent years, paragraph and discourse analyses. Nearly all of these studies concern ethnolinguistic groups which did not have alphabets in common use before the studies began. Since the majority of scientific journals do not publish data compilations and descriptive studies without theoretical conclusions, even though such publications are part of SIL's objectives, microfiche reproductions are beginning to be used to make the materials available at a reasonable cost to those scholars who need them.

As an example of SIL's scientific production, including applied linguistics—translations and contributions to the Bilingual Education Program—a detailed list is included here which was presented to the Minister of Education of Peru in a General Report pertaining to the year 1975:

*Statistics of Works Published
on 41 Peruvian Vernacular Languages
June 1946 - December 1975*

No. of Works	Type of Work
38	Phonology: studies of the sound system of each language, one of the principal bases for establishing an alphabet.
90	Grammar: studies of word structure (meaning and order of each affix) and the syntax of each language. The studies are based on various linguistic theories, such as structural linguistics, tagmemics, generative semantics. Various theoretical papers are also included.
7	Pedagogical grammars.
18	Vocabularies and dictionaries (one publication includes lists of words in 20 languages, and another includes useful phrases in 25).
27	Comparative linguistics: studies comparing phonological, grammatical, and lexical features of various languages. These contribute to the classification of each language within a family and to hypotheses regarding prehistoric demographic movements of indigenous communities.
37	Anthropology: ethnological studies of social organization, material culture, world view, etc.
29	Legends and other folklore (there are another 24 included in educational materials).
673	Educational material: prepared in 30 languages for Bilingual Education Centers of the Ministry of Education. The breakdown is as follows: 443 Language arts: Reading, writing, and grammar. 81 Mathematics. 48 Social sciences and natural science. 21 Religious education. 41 Native literature collections. 39 Practical manuals and teaching guides.

- 314 Translation: Universal Declaration of Human Rights; New Testament books; summaries of portions of the Old Testament; topics covering hygiene, cattle, and poultry raising, etc.
- 31 Topics covering education and community development.
- 33 Reports and general topics.

1,297 (Grand total)

Environment for research. It should be made clear that the linguist must learn the language within the context of the indigenous life-style. To do this, he must travel to a tribal community which, in the majority of cases, is isolated and far from urban centers, without communication systems or nearby centers of supply, and which offers very few conveniences. He requires a considerable period to adapt to the environment and the sociocultural reality in which he will live and work. The linguist who masters the language has a means of communication whereby the people feel free to express themselves. Consequently, he must devote much time to interpersonal relations, attend to the sick, and lend his services in emergencies such as floods and epidemics.

The manner in which the linguist's basic plan is carried out varies considerably due to a great diversity of cultural, geographic, sociopolitical, and other factors. For example, in South America's Amazon region, particularly during the first years of the work, the isolation and difficulties in transportation required the establishment of various centers to provide the field workers with transportation and supplies, medical care, education for their children, permanent housing, supervision of studies, publication of compiled data, and other help. We are grateful to the governments which have authorized the use of such facilities, without which it would have been almost impossible to reach the majority of jungle groups. In other countries such as Mexico, the linguists are assigned from a

central office located in the capital and depend on supplies obtained locally. In some countries SIL cooperates with government entities in literacy, bilingual education, and community development projects. In others the work is oriented almost exclusively towards ethnolinguistic studies and translation.

The length of time a linguist needs to complete his task depends on such varied factors as the degree of difficulty of the language, the amount of time which native speakers who are capable and desirous of helping with the studies may have at their disposal, the degree of confidence established with the ethnic group, health, facilities available, and interruptions. The time invested may be as much as twenty years. However, this period may be shorter if conditions are optimum or objectives reduced.

In any event, the linguist is responsible for his expenses, including paying an adequate salary to the vernacular language helpers who assist him in his studies or render other services. In addition, he must adjust his way of living to avoid unfavorable socioeconomic contrasts as much as possible.

Identification with the ethnic group in which they work, the aspiration of every field researcher, was confirmed in the case of two young female linguists one day as they arrived at an Amuesha community. The dogs ran out as usual to chase them off, but the Amueshas assured them that there was nothing to fear as the dogs bit only "white people."

Services. SIL is dedicated to serving people to the fullest extent of its capabilities and without discrimination. At the request of many different entities, it has been privileged to cooperate in such activities as the training of linguists and native authors; in educational projects (preparation of materials, literacy campaigns, and training of bilingual teachers); emergency flights and vaccination campaigns; community projects; training of national technicians; and training of health promoters. In all of this it has endeavored to follow the example of Jesus who said: "the Son of Man did not come to be served but to serve, and to give His life a ransom for many" (Mark 10:45).

*SIL'S ATTITUDES AND ACTIVITIES IN PERU**Attitudes of the members*

Each member of SIL is conscious of the fact that his cultural heritage has negative traits of which he does not approve and which he does not desire to transmit to others. The basic attitude is:

We are fallible human beings who are continuously being renewed intellectually by a wholesome, positive, encouraging, and refreshing spiritual fountain. We wish to place this within the reach of those who could use it but do not yet possess it. We are also conscious that ethics demand that we do everything possible to contribute to our fellow man's fulfillment as a whole person. Our human and economic resources are merely a grain of sand compared with the needs. Therefore, we contribute as much as possible to the implementation of national programs, endeavoring to help the Indian communities take advantage of the assistance provided by official organizations.

SIL's policy regarding the positive traits of a culture is to reinforce them as much as possible, for example, wearing typical clothing on appropriate occasions and stimulating the use of the mother tongue by the children. As to the negative aspects, the basic attitude is that no action should be taken, but that the people must make their own decisions after considering various alternatives, for example, those found in health manuals, in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and in the teachings of the Gospel. On rare occasions, however, when the life of a human being is at stake, human compassion demands intervention.

In serving Peru, the members of SIL seek to work closely with government, scientific, and educational programs, making the linguistic and cultural data obtained available to the public. We deem this contribution ethically appropriate.

Out of courtesy and good ethics, the foreign members, as

guests of a host nation, do not participate in internal political affairs and do not support any politicoeconomic system. They consider it the sacred right of each country to choose its own organization and social process without foreign intervention or comments. In addition, they are nonsectarian and seek to maintain a position of impartiality toward religious doctrines.

They always reject violence as a way to social progress. On the other hand, they believe that nonviolence is not synonymous with passivity, weakness, and submission to exploitation. They are certain that native cultures do not need more violence, but rather that courage, vision, and love should be stimulated to build a society with neither exploiters nor exploited, dedicated to serving every man and all men.

Activities

Identification with the objectives of the ethnic groups. SIL members believe that in each case the help given to an ethnic group should be in response to needs felt and expressed by the group itself. Rather than imposing projects upon them, then, SIL works along with them so that their aspirations might be fulfilled. Each linguist is expected to cultivate the ability to recognize the deep desires expressed to him and know how to offer help and suggest alternatives within the total context. On the other hand, some of the problems of the indigenous groups have already been publicly expressed, for instance, at the 25th Annual Latin American Congress in a mimeographed bulletin entitled "The Autochthonous Americans Give Their Opinion" (University of Florida, Gainesville, February 17-23, 1975). Some of the problems and recommended solutions are listed here, along with some of SIL's activities and methods which might be considered positive responses to them.

The following are the conclusions of the Congress, with SIL activities and methods appearing in italics following each point:

- (1) That American Indians do not receive an education suited to their social and cultural reality and consequently are pushed to the fringes of society.

Literacy and bilingual education programs in cooperation with the Ministry of Education.

2. That aboriginal languages, being mostly only spoken, are considered inferior.

Formulation of alphabets, preparation of books, compilation of folklore, and other materials in the vernacular languages; emphasis on the value of each culture and language; training of indigenous authors.

3. That it is unjust that the present sociopolitical system of the American Indian be basically that of mere subsistence.

Programs of community development; training of Indian leaders and technicians; aid in finding markets and marketing products (always bearing in mind the objective of training them to assume responsibility and initiative, not creating dependence).

4. That the Indians do not knowledgeably participate in the politics of the social system which surrounds them.

Through bilingual education, travel, and other means, doors are opened to fruitful contacts with the "outside" world. In addition, members of minority language groups are assisted in the acquisition of the personal documents necessary to participate in the civic life of the country.

5. That there is a lack of interethnic unity.

Training courses provide opportunities for meeting other groups; frequently enemies are reconciled when they get to know each other.

6. That there are diverse types of organizations operating... in the native groups which, rather than raising the level of human existence, serve as elements of alienation.

The fostering of literature in vernacular languages has resulted in a growing sense of cultural identity and has helped to avoid alienation.

Following are some of the recommendations made by the Congress:

1. Instruction in the mother tongue as a means of education according to the cultural traits of each ethnic group.

A fundamental principle on which SIL's work is based.

2. Create autonomous indigenous linguistic institutes, directed by Indian professionals competent in the field.
A work plan was drawn up for an intensive introductory course in descriptive linguistics, psycholinguistics, and sociolinguistics for speakers of vernacular languages in Peru.⁷ In 1978 a brief introductory course in descriptive linguistics was offered to a number of bilingual teachers.
3. In the bilingual education programs, the teachers should be bilingual natives.
A fundamental principle on which the bilingual education program in which SIL has cooperated with the Ministry of Education since 1953 is based.
4. In the headquarters of educational organizations in whose area of responsibility there are monolingual or incipient bilingual populations, there should be personnel specialized in bilingual education.
SIL cooperates to train specialists in bilingual education when invited to do so by the government entities responsible.
5. Restitution of lands usurped from indigenous communities and at the same time providing implements, necessary credits, and technical assistance.
Before the establishment of the Unit for Assistance to Native Communities, which took responsibility for such matters, SIL helped many communities with the legal documents, transportation of surveyors, and other necessary steps to acquire titles to their lands. It has also helped to obtain loans and tools. A number of SIL's agricultural engineers have given technical assistance at the request of the Indians.
6. Seek markets and promote the sale of the native products by the producers themselves.
A donation was obtained to initiate a transportation project to facilitate the independent marketing of products by various groups—Machiguenga, Piro, Shipibo-Conibo, Ticuna, Aguaruna, and Chayahuita.⁸

7 SIL collaborates with the University of New Mexico in a course of this kind for native speakers of languages indigenous to the United States.

8 For more details see Instituto Lingüístico de Verano (1975), pp. 27-31.

7. Train natives to participate in the planning and execution of integrated development programs in Indian communities.

For several years SIL has collaborated in occupational training courses and artisan workshops, and has helped some natives to attend other courses. Some of the students and leaders have participated in the planning and carrying out of development projects in the communities. For example, during a course held in an Amuesha community, the native leaders made decisions and plans for the future.

8. Preservation of native cultural values.

Folklore stories and other manifestations of cultural aspects have been published, contributing not only to the preservation of native values, but also to the understanding of these values by scientists and public officials. The use of the vernacular languages as the medium of instruction and written communication has given them greater prestige. In the case of the Piro, this has prevented the language from falling into disuse among the Indians themselves. In the case of the Amuesha, having their language in written form seems to be one of the factors which has contributed to the strengthening of their sense of ethnic identity.

Medical aid. It is well known that throughout history, isolated tribal groups have been decimated or even extinguished as a result of having come in contact with Western diseases against which they had no resistance. SIL gives emphasis to the preservation of the health of the peoples whom they serve. As a result, no group has become extinct since members of SIL have begun work in it. On the contrary, several groups which would have disappeared are now increasing in number. As an example, we cite the Arabela of the Záparoan linguistic family. In 1954, when SIL field workers first arrived, the population of the group was 40. In 1975 there were about 150 people. The increase is due to improved health and the integration of 33 persons from other ethnic groups, mainly Quechua. From the arrival of the linguists until 1976, only four adults and seven children (some of whom were abnormal at birth) died. Although their population is still very low for a

viable group,⁹ there is at least a chance that the Arabela will survive as an ethnic group for several more generations.

The Mayoruna, among whom SIL has recently begun to work, are seminomadic and since the time of the rubber boom had kept themselves totally isolated from "civilization." Their only contacts were sporadic attacks for the purpose of stealing women, shotguns, and other tools.

Statistics kept during the first six years after the arrival of the linguists among the Mayoruna are given in Table 22.1.

TABLE 22.1. MAYORUNA VITAL STATISTICS, 1969-1974

Year	1069	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	Total
Births	2	13	21	30	34	18	118
Deaths	0	8	13	5	2	4	32
Causes of death:							
Accidents		1	1			1	3
Infanticide			2		1	1	4
Suicide						2	2
Snakebite		2	1				3
Jaguar bite		1		2			3
Homicide		1	1				2
Pneumonia			4 ¹⁰	1			5
Other diseases		3	4 ¹⁰		1		8
Stillborn				2			2

In 1971 and 1973 there were severe epidemics of influenza and pneumonia. The reduced number of deaths is due to the medical attention given by the SIL members. In 1971 a number of patients who were unconscious with cerebral malaria were saved with injections of Aralen. In addition, the linguists and SIL medical personnel, at great cost in terms of time and money, have successfully treated two cases of jaguar bite and several cases of snakebite.

⁹ We base our proposal of the minimum population for a viable group on a comparison of the state of the ethnic groups in 1900 and 1975. For more details see Ribeiro and Wise (1978).

¹⁰ Linguist absent.

In cooperation with the Ministry of Health, vaccination campaigns have been carried out, using DPT, polio, tuberculosis, and measles vaccines.

The Mayoruna, who remember the terrors of other epidemics, have remarked, "Before, we used to die in groups due to sicknesses brought by kidnapped women and endemic diseases, but now we die one by one."¹¹

From the many examples that we could add, the following have been selected:

In 1975 a bilingual health promoter received months of treatment in Lima after being seriously hurt in an accident. The surgeon offered his services free of charge, but the other expenses, amounting to over \$5,000, were covered mainly by donations from individual members of SIL and by people whom they interested in the case. This same type of help has been given in numerous cases.

In 1975, there were 5,818 immunizations given in a number of tribal communities. In the first months of 1976, three immunization flights were made among the Campa, who were suffering a whooping-cough epidemic. The time invested by SIL personnel amounted to 38 eight-hour days. Their donations towards the cost of the flights were over \$350.

Such assistance for specific cases is necessary, but the health problems of the tribal groups cannot be solved without the establishment of a system providing long-term prevention and treatment. In places where no facilities exist, SIL cooperates with the Ministry of Health in training bilingual native health promoters. With their services, the general health of the communities has noticeably improved. Thus, dependence on

¹¹ Many of the groups are dispersed, living in small, scattered communities, making it impossible to provide exact demographic data on the population increase from the beginning of the work of SIL in each group. The examples given represent the general tendency toward population increases. It can be shown that in the groups where SIL works, no reduction in population has been registered from the time the field researchers began their work.

foreign sources is not created, and aspirations which cannot be fulfilled on a long-term basis are not fostered.

A study of two Chayahuita communities, published in July 1976, exemplifies the results of this program. The charts in that article present the data given in Table 22.2, compiled by the researcher in a visit made in March 1976 (Lee and Congdon 1976).

TABLE 22.2. CHAYAHUITA HEALTH STATISTICS

	% Population of San Miguel (no health promoter	% Population of Palmiche (with health promoter
Sick people	48	20
Incidences of disease:		
Skin infections	3	3.5
Malaria	4	1
Intestinal parasites	28	9
Gastrointestinal infections	6	1
Respiratory infections	3.5	0.5
Sick persons who recognized they were ill	20	98
Patients who received treatment the previous year	0	98.8
Deaths attributed to witchcraft	90	20
Population with latrine	0	18

From the above and other data, one can agree with the author on the following conclusions:

Reviewing the comparisons between San Miguel and Palmiche, there is sufficient evidence to show that the health promoter has contributed to raising the community's health standards. The inhabitants of Palmiche enjoy better health than those of San Miguel although they live in an environment much less conducive to good health. If there were opportunity to visit the posts of the forty-five other health promoters dispersed in the Peruvian jungle, similar

results would be noted. The degree of success would be greater or less than that achieved by Juan Tamiche depending on the aforementioned factors and on the personal dedication of each promoter (Lee 1976:34).

Community development. It is not just the privilege, but also the obligation of every man to support himself and his family and to help his community. Ceasing to do so would downgrade him to the status of a social parasite, living off others without making his contribution within the unit. For this reason SIL helps the ethnolinguistic minority groups to acquire titles to their lands. It has also cooperated with the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Health in programs which train Indians to serve as bilingual teachers and health promoters among their own groups. Additional programs equip the Indians to participate in the economic development of their community through native crafts, transportation, cattle-raising, and agriculture, fostering a general spirit of cooperation within the tribal communities.

SIL has collaborated in these programs which respond to various universal human needs to promote the development of the communities as a whole. For example, hunting and fishing have traditionally been an adequate source for the provision of proteins. However, the construction of roads has brought an influx of colonists, and this, along with normal growth of the native population, means that game animals and fish are becoming more and more scarce, causing a number of communities to suffer from lack of protein. To supply this physical need, SIL members are searching for other sources of protein appropriate for the ecology of the jungle.

Education and contact with government authorities. The members of SIL consider it a privilege to offer their cooperation to the Ministry of Education's bilingual education program. Up until the past few years the linguists have devoted a great part of their time to the preparation of basic textbooks in the indigenous languages. At the request of the Ministry, they have also taught bilingual teaching methods in the Bilingual Teacher-Training Program.

It has been advantageous for the minority groups that the Educational Reform defines education globally. This includes the education the student receives outside the school, particularly in the home and in the community. His self-image as a member of a group which possesses a valuable cultural patrimony is strengthened when part of that heritage becomes the subject of his textbooks. Moreover, the Indians themselves participate in the preparation of books. Thus, they are accorded the satisfaction and the prestige of becoming authors. At the same time they have the opportunity of expressing themselves positively for the enjoyment of others and for the preservation of community values.

Among the textbooks in the vernacular languages there are over fifty volumes which record the cultural patrimony of these groups. Furthermore, native authors have been trained and have already produced some 130 booklets on a variety of subjects of interest. These publications not only contribute to the prestige of the native culture, but they also constitute a source of ethnographic information within reach of the scholar.

Since the tribal communities are in contact with the majority culture, their members feel the need to be able to speak the national language. They also need a basic knowledge of mathematics in order to conduct their business affairs in such a way as to avoid being exploited and being perpetually in debt. Once the first bilingual school was established among the Candoshi, other communities of this monolingual group recognized the benefits and demanded bilingual education for their communities.

In addition, they need to know their rights in order to defend themselves both effectively and legally, safeguarding the interests of the community against exploitation. Thus, they avoid entering into a dependency relationship with "civilized" people or with the nearest populated centers. Here is an example of how they can be helped in this aspect:

In 1973 some members of SIL organized a trip to Quillabamba, Machu Picchu, and Cuzco for the Machiguenga and Piro bilingual teachers. Quillabamba is

the educational district to which the Machiguenga schools belong. However, being geographically separated from Quillabamba and Cuzco, with the exception of one school, there had been no contact between the authorities and the teachers.

The Supervisor of Education in Quillabamba received the delegation very kindly and placed the teachers in contact with the Ministry of Agriculture and many other civil authorities. He also gave them a tour of the city. The morale of the teachers was boosted considerably by the interest the supervisor showed in them. In Cuzco, the teachers were courteously received by the President of the Supreme Court of that state, who accepted their requests for birth certificates.

As a result of that trip, two communities obtained civil registries, and now many Machiguengas can receive their legal documents in their own communities. Moreover, having learned to whom to go and where the offices are located, the teachers have overcome their instinctive fear of the unknown city. Several of them have returned to do official business. Once they have transportation by road, this will occur more frequently.¹³

Spiritual values. In the majority of tribal cultures, life depends on the weather and various other phenomena which are beyond human control. Therefore, the Indians recognize their dependence on the supernatural to a greater degree than is the custom in mechanized cultures, where man feels himself in control of his existence. As a result, indigenous cultures are usually less compartmentalized into sacred and secular aspects than Western ones. The spiritual penetrates all aspects of daily life, but traditional spiritual values are not always adequate to satisfy the new needs of a society in contact with the outside world.¹⁴

13 For more details on the philosophy and methodology of the Bilingual Education Program in the Peruvian jungle, see other chapters of this volume.

14 This is amply documented by Wilson and Wilson (1954).

In this context, it would be a mistake not to recognize the need the tribal groups feel for spiritual help when facing the difficult life of the twentieth century. The teachings of the Gospel can replace fear, so common in their religions, with the certainty of the love of God. This love gives man hope and motivates him to feel and show this same love toward his brethren. These teachings are presented to the ethnic groups as an option, not as an imposition.

The need for a new moral code as a basis for the revitalization of a culture can be seen in the history of the Capanahua. As a result of their prolonged contact with "civilization," the Capanahua culture was disintegrating:

- With the propagation of alcoholism, fights, hatred and resentments arose. Occasions of drunkenness provided an opportunity to seek revenge. The victims of alcoholism felt oppressed by their incapacity to reject—due to their condition—the merchandise which the traders offered for sale. As a result, they were trapped in a cycle of increasingly greater indebtedness.

- Prostitution was introduced, and with it venereal disease.
- They lost their community social organization.
- They lost their material culture (type of housing, ceramics and other manual arts, etc.).
- Social solidarity was ruined. Robbery, rivalry, and hostility prevailed.
- Positive reactions to tuberculin tests rose as high as 90 percent.
- They felt inferior to others. They were of the lowest social class.

But many Capanahuas have shown a considerable change and overcome such tendencies, although they have never recovered their traditional material culture. As a result of a campaign against tuberculosis, many who were at the point of death recovered. The impact of having books written in Capanahua has produced a notable improvement in their self-esteem, which had suffered from more than three generations of direct contact with *patrones* and rubber hunters.

They have adopted a new life which includes a set of moral values based on the brotherly love taught in the Gospels. These, translated into the Capanahua tongue, produce joy, diligence, mutual love, forgiveness, and brotherhood. They have been involved in a gradual process of progress toward maturity and growth as whole persons. The love of God for mankind, when it is accepted, generates love toward others. When man, impelled by love, makes an effort to help others and to forgive the enmities that exist, mutual acceptance and friendship are fostered. The teachings contained in the Scriptures concerning the love of God, His care for mankind in the present, and the hope offered for the future provide stability in the face of the problems and pressures of cultural change. They provide an internal stability which would otherwise be lacking, giving the people an optimistic prospect for the future.

Love does not imply defeatism. To the contrary, many Capanahuas are now free of the exploitation they suffered when they let themselves be intimidated by their Cocama neighbors. The Cocama have a reputation among the Capanahua of being very powerful sorcerers. The Capanahua, because of fear of that sorcery, used to sell their products at the price fixed by the Cocama *patrón*. Now free of fear, they demand a fair price for their goods.

Other groups, such as the Candoshi, did not suffer cultural disintegration to the same extent as the Capanahua. They had contacts with the missionaries in the seventeenth century but defended their territory and preserved their social system almost intact. However, during the first decades of the twentieth century, they began to have sporadic contacts with *patrones*, traders, and rubber workers on the main rivers. For the most part, they did not allow them to enter their communities but had good relations with several outside the communities. Evidently due to such contacts, there was an epidemic around 1940 during which hundreds of Candoshi died, leaving a population of perhaps only a thousand.

Another factor which reduced the population was the custom of revenge killings. The entire male population was involved in

these, resulting in much tension and grief. Totally apart from exterior forces, the group was headed towards self-destruction. At last, when one of the present chiefs was still young, the chiefs of the Candoshi, Huambisa, and Achual met to discuss the seriousness of the situation. To avoid the extermination of their people, they agreed to stop killing, but the agreement lasted only a short time.

However, over the past twenty years the Candoshi population has steadily increased and now has reached about two thousand. This increase is due to two main reasons: first, the new standards and hopes of the Christian ethic have almost entirely eliminated revenge killings. Thus, the men have lived to have children, and their children have also lived to have theirs. Second, they have accepted the use of medicines and have adopted improved hygienic measures. This has considerably reduced infant mortality, and other diseases have been controlled.

This is an important case history, the influences from the outside world having been reduced and the delineation of the factors being clearer than in certain other situations. With groups such as the Candoshi, SIL has contributed to the maintenance of social vitality through Bible translation. At the same time, it has helped to build bridges of communication and participation in the national life through advice and encouragement in the development of bilingual schools and other community projects.

Newly adopted Christian teachings can overcome other negative traits of the native culture. For example, a trait which predominates in the daily life of the Machiguenga is the ever-present fear of death. This influences the majority of their actions and attitudes. It is typically expressed in the reply which surprised some visitors when saying good-bye:

“Goodbye. We’ll see you next year.”

“I won’t be here next year. I’ll be dead.”

If one believes he will die within a year (and, although it is sad to have to admit it, a great deal of Machiguenga history justifies such pessimism), there is not much reason to make

long-term plans, such as planting coffee or cacao, beginning to raise cattle, or even building a school for the children. It is the hope of living forever in the presence of Jesus Christ, promised in chapter 14 of the Gospel according to John, which—once discovered by the Machiguenga—has encouraged many and given them a sense of security. Now they know that if worse comes to worst, there is always Someone who loves and cares for them.

At present the Machiguengas are building schools, planting coffee and cacao, raising cattle, and cooperating in efforts to develop not only agricultural production but also a network of transportation for getting produce to market. Now when a traveler says: "Goodbye, we'll see you next year," the answer which one sometimes hears, thanks to their new attitude of confidence, is: "Yes, I'll probably see you next year because God will take care of us."

Without this confidence the Indian is unable to participate actively in the integral development of his community. For example, Martín is a Campa who followed the custom of fleeing from the spirit of the dead, whenever someone died in the family. Due to deaths which occurred in the village, he had to do this every six months for several years. And each time he had to abandon his crops, he lost any benefit he might have obtained from them. Martín eventually found liberation from his fear of the dead in Biblical passages translated into his tongue. This change allowed him to attain economic stability in the face of the pressures of the dominant culture which surrounds his people. He was able to make productive the land on which he settled permanently and for which the government had granted ownership title to his community.

These cases serve to illustrate that a fruitful cultural interchange can lead to the strengthening of the tribal society. When the native community participates in such interchange of its own free will, the society enjoys better prospects for improving the quality of its community life. Thus, the Biblical message can give the Indian a new sense of values.

We wish to cooperate with the ethnic groups so that the native can recognize and value the positive aspects of his

culture and have the moral strength of a new spiritual dynamic and the will to work for the common good of his fellowmen. In order to do this, he must maintain with dignity his own cultural identity and be able to answer the following question:

“Are you an Aguaruna?”

“Yes, I am an Aguaruna, and proud to be a Peruvian.”

SUMMARY

In summary, the fundamental principles of SIL prompt it to serve minority groups, fully respecting their customs and their right to self-determination. SIL believes that linguistics and anthropology should contribute to the well-being of the groups studied—“well-being” which is not determined and imposed by foreigners but is significant to the tribal society. Where exploitation and domination exist, SIL reaches out with compassion to the oppressed. It recognizes that culture change is an immensely complex problem. The mere presence of scientific researchers can have a deleterious effect on a native community. According to Tax (1975:515), field workers must not only apply the available anthropological theories to a situation of change, but also recognize “that the proportion of new knowledge which must develop in the situation [on the field] is much greater than the old knowledge which can be applied.” Therefore specialists in anthropology are a part of SIL. Counsel or other assistance which specialists outside the organization wish to offer is welcome, particularly from those who have experience in field work among the groups with which SIL works. In addition, we endeavor to serve both Peruvian and foreign scholars by cooperating in field work and publishing scientific material.

We recognize that for three centuries the ethnic groups of the Peruvian jungle have had contacts with the outside world which have resulted in exploitation and in the death of a great proportion of their population. Also, it is obvious that many cultural traits have been adapted effectively to the changes in their environment. At the same time, we are also certain that

there are still many psychocultural clashes ahead because of ever-increasing contact. Therefore, we are convinced that it is necessary to work in such a way as to reduce the devastating effects of contact and to strengthen the unity and self-esteem of each group. With these criteria, the members of SIL affirm once more that:

We do not believe that a foreign religion should be imposed upon the members of any community, but we do believe that every man should have access to master works in his own language, including the teachings of Jesus Christ as they are presented in the New Testament. In them we have found help and sincerely hope that others will also. It will be by his own decision that the individual chooses to seek in its pages the route for fulfilling his aspirations and those of the society to which he belongs.

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(Lemke, 1968)

Aguaruna school children learn about what causes disease as health promoter Julio Paukai points out a colony in a bacterial culture (see chapter 22).



(Congdon, 1973)

Oral polio vaccine is administered to a Ticuna infant by the health promoter, Lucas Cándido (see chapter 22).