

The subject of research is native understanding of tradition as manifested both in discourse and practice of indigenous people in Amazonia. I choose Moré Indians as an ethnographic example which is related to the problem of research. The research problem could be addressed as a question like: how notion of tradition is understood by so called "acculturated" native Amazonian populations? The aim of research is to know whether and in what sense the past (and more specifically the ancestors way of life) plays a role in the process of self-identification of contemporary Moré Indians. I make assumptions based on my preliminary research (2008, 2014) among Moré Indians. I assume that current Moré Indians maintain their social identity as a native group. I assume that exist some criteria by which this identity is constructed. I would like to search if notion of tradition is one of those criteria. That's why I would like to reconstruct native understanding of tradition (and related topics as native notion of past, ancestors, difference and change). I assume that native understanding of tradition may radically differ from our Western understanding of tradition. I lean on two research hypotheses, which I would like to verify in the course of empirical research. The first hypothesis assume the past plays an important role in the process of self-identification among Amazonian Indians. However from native point of view the past is not perceived as positive which contradicts the traditional attitude (Gow 1991). The second hypothesis assume that from the native point of view, more important than focusing on that which make similar to the ancestors is positive celebrating diversity and everything that makes possible to live in a different way (Viveiros de Castro 2011; Vilaça 2010).

I take methodological assumptions characteristic for cultural anthropology which is focus on so called native point of view. That's why I'm primary interested in native understanding of tradition as manifested both in discourse and practice of Moré Indians. Accordingly I'm less interested in discourse and practice of outside agents with whom Moré are in relations (as government, NGOs, missionary, etc.). Of course I will also take in context this outside point of view but my focus is on native point of view. This makes a fieldwork research crucial for this research proposal. Research will be divided on two parts empirical and desktop research. Empirical part refers to conducting fieldwork in two Indians community in Eastern Bolivia. Fieldwork will be conducted by ethnographic methods of participant observation and others qualitative methods like different form of interviews. All work will be documented by using different audio-visual tools and by systematical writing in fieldwork notes and diary. Desktop part of research refers to an analysis of textual and empirical data. Analysis will be proceed by using interdisciplinary methods mainly from cultural anthropology, history, sociology and cognitive linguistic.

The specific empirical research objectives are to reconstruct, on the basis of the declarations and praxis of the Moré Indians, (1) their attitude to previous generations, and more broadly to the past. (2) Local understanding of the differences in the ways of life among the previous generations, and the contemporary way of life. (3) The relation to foreign and native understanding of what the otherness is and how it affects their modern life.

To achieve these objectives during the fieldwork, I intend to focus on the clearly designated areas of research concerning the past (A1, A2) and the present (B1, B2), that can be verbalized and observed:

A1. the memory of previous generations and the attitude to their way of life (biographies, family stories, the native language and the circumstances of its use, the old ways of hunting, farming plots, celebrating, etc.)

A2. the memory of historical events and the relation to them (memories of historical events, pacification, living under the care of the patron, interference of cattlemen, etc.)

B1. the attitude to strangers (as exemplified by a variety of development projects: including food aid and the establishment of the institute for the Moré language and culture)

B2. the attitude to modern living conditions (current possibilities of making a living, working, hunting, trade, the presence of a school, development projects, etc.).

A1/A2 By analysing the only ethnographic texts on the Moré (Snethlage 1937; Castedo 1957) I was able to reconstruct the names of the 6 historic Moré families. On this basis, I conducted in the pilot study (2014) the interviews, in which I reconstructed the names of more than 45 huts of past generations, including more than 140 ancient names of people. Thanks to proposed research, I will be able to link Moré families living today with their ancestors, and on the basis of such a database containing names and events, to collect the data on the memories and opinions on the old way of life. This will be the data I systematically collected during my fieldwork. To sum up, reminding the Moré Indians about their ancestors, about the stories and events related with them, will be for me a good starting point for the implementation of the adopted objectives 1 and 2.

B1/B2 The life of the contemporary Moré is subject to great transformations. However, we do not know how the Indians understand these processes. During the pilot study I was very often a witness of the involvement, in this community, of external entities within the development aid. Over the last decade, the Moré Indians became the beneficiaries of the food aid (they receive food, with which their ancestors did not have, e.g. rice, salt, flour). In their talks they often emphasize the fact that their ancestors were not accustomed to eating such things because they were (in Spanish) *indios*. They are now (Spanish) *civilizados* or (Moré) *carafó* (a native term for non-Indians). It is interesting to what extent the reconstruction of these notions will enable to better understand how they interpret the differences between the contemporary way of life and the way of life of their ancestors. Young Moré Indians positively valorise the possibility of earning money, which enable them to buy a motorcycle or a gun, but at the same time they do not want to migrate to the surrounding towns (San Joaquin, Guayaramerín). How should such an attitude be interpreted when the Moré know about the possibilities to live in a different way than the one they practice in the villages?

I will especially pay attention to the latter project in context of the discourse and praxis that the Moré will undertake for this initiative. The government initiators of the Institute for language and culture of the Moré Indians assumed that the older generations of Indians will teach language and tradition to the younger generations. This project is likely to encounter a number of difficulties: lack of textbooks for learning the Moré language, unwillingness of the Moré to give priority to learning the language over working, getting food. During fieldwork, I will regularly observe and conduct interviews on the relationship of the Indians to the Institute (and to other development projects), but also to other changes that are taking place: the domination of the Spanish

language, mixed marriages, loss of community work, changes in diet (eating food which is taboo) and the religious conversion, taking into account how they value these changes and why. This strategy will allow me to systematically realize objectives Nos. 2 and 3.

The proposed project is a continuation of my previous research (total of six months) among the Moré Indians (3 month period in 2008, and 3 month period in 2014). The proposed research problem is important both for the substantial as well as empirical reasons. From the level of a substantive debate, the studies will provide new ethnographic data allowing a better understanding of the attitudes and discourse of indigenous peoples (Conklin 1997). This is particularly important in the context of a dynamic process of ethnic revival of indigenous peoples around the world (Derlicki and Lipinski 2002; Posern-Zielinski 2005a), also in the context of the debates on the criterion of indigeneity and authenticity of the peasant society aspiring to the status of indigenous peoples. The idea of tradition plays a key role in this discourse, and it also acts at the level of the national and international policy. Furthermore, focusing on so called acculturated Indian groups is a desirable direction of research in the Amazon studies (Gow 1991; Gow 2001; Nugent 1993). From a broader perspective, the proposed research problem is in the heart of the issues of cultural anthropology, referring to the now classic but still actual study of ethnic identity (Barth 1998; Brubaker 2004), the processes of socio-cultural change (Sahlins 1985), the conceptualisation of tradition (Boyer 1990; Hobsbawm and Ranger 1992), and the understanding of the processes of globalisation (Appadurai 1996; Giddens 1990; Wolf 1982).

Arguments of an empirical nature in favour of undertaking at this point so formulated research problem also come from my pilot study. During my stay in Monte Azul in August 2014, I had the opportunity to participate in a meeting with a representative of the Institute for the cultures and languages (IPELC) run at the Bolivian Ministry of Education. The purpose of the meeting was to make preparations for the establishment in an Indian village the Institute for the culture and language of the Moré Indians. The event provides evidence why a study on the perception of tradition among this Indians is right now worth undertaking. In addition, the event in itself stimulates the Moré Indians to reflect on such notions as the tradition, customs, and the native language. The statements and attitudes that the Moré presented in response to the idea of creating the Institute assured me that the topic I proposed is not only a research challenge for an anthropologist, but most of all it is important for the Indians themselves.