

# Chapter 8

## Sakurabiat

Ana Vilacy Galucio

Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi

Mercedes Guaratira Sakyrabiar

Manoel Ferreira Sakyrabiar

Rosalina Guaratira Sakyrabiar

Olimpio Ferreira Sakyrabiar

### 1 Introduction

This short narrative is a fragment of a mythological tale that describes the origin of maize and other crops, such as beans and manioc (yucca), among the Sakurabiat people. Sakurabiat is pronounced [sa'kirabiat]. In the orthographic convention for the language the grapheme <u> represents the hight central vowel [i]. The Sakurabiat are very reduced in number. In the last survey done in 2016, there were only 65 people living in the Rio Mekens Indigenous Land.

The *Kötköra asisi* story is told by Mercedes Guaratira Sakyrabiar, one of the oldest speakers of Sakurabiat at the time of the recording. Sadly, she passed away in December of 2015. Mercedes's age was not known for certain, but she was believed to be more than 75 years old when she told this story in 2006. The story was recorded in audio as part of a long term project for the documentation and study of the Sakurabiat (Mekens) language, which had partial support from the Endangered Language Documentation Program, funded by the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS).

Transcription and analysis was done by Galucio with the assistance of Rosalina Guaratira Sakyrabiar, Mercedes's daughter, and the two brothers who have



been Galucio's main collaborators in the study of the Sakurabiat language: Ma-noel Ferreira Sakyrabiar, a very talented man and an enthusiast of the study of his language, who was brutally murdered in 2016, and his younger brother Olimpio Ferreira Sakyrabiar. All three are bilingual speakers of Sakurabiat and Portuguese.

This text is one of the 25 mythological tales, recounted by some of the most distinguished Sakurabiat elders, that appear in the book *Narrativas Tradicionais SAKURABIAT mayāp ebō* (organized by Galucio 2006). Some of the illustrations used in that book, which were drawn by two Sakurabiat children at the time of publication, Lidia Sakyrabiar and Ozélio Sakyrabiar, are included here.

According to the account given in the narrative, the Sakurabiat were unfamiliar with maize and other edible crops until one day *Arikʷajō* discovered that *Kōtkōra*, a shaman from a neighboring group, had maize. *Arikʷajō* then went to visit that shaman and stole the seeds.



Figure 1: *Arikʷajō* following the black-fronted piping guan bird. Illustration by Lidia Sakyrabiar and Ozélio Sakyrabiar

*Arikʷajō* is the great mythological figure in Sakurabiat traditional stories. He is considered to be the great shaman with vast powers and wisdom. In the mythological narratives, he appears as the creator of many aspects of nature. For instance, he created the mountains and the valleys, and he had water and fire when no one else had them. He is also portrayed as the father of the sun, named *Kiakop* 'our warmth', and the moon, named *Pakori*, and the one responsible for sending them both away from earth as punishment for inappropriate social behavior. *Kiakop*, the sun, had set his sisters on fire, and *Pakori*, the moon, had tricked his sister into having an incestuous sexual relationship with him. In the present narrative *Arikʷajō* is married to his second wife, *Pārārēkosa*.

The other main character in the narrative, *Kōtkōra*, which means ‘cicada’, is another mythological shaman, apparently from a distinct ethnic mythological group. *Kōtkōra*’s group had edible crops that *Arikʷajō*’s people, the Sakurabiat, did not have.

The fragment of the story analyzed here focuses on how, after noticing that a black-fronted piping guan bird was defecating corn, *Arikʷajō* followed the bird to find out where it was eating corn. When he discovered that it was at *Kōtkōra*’s village, he visited the other shaman’s house with the intent to get corn for himself and his family. Thus, despite being well received by *Kōtkōra*, *Arikʷajō* used his special powers to steal the seeds from *Kōtkōra*’s house. After bringing the crops to his village, and starting to make his food from maize and yucca, he changed his children’s teeth, adapting them to their new condition of eating crops rather than stones. That is, since they no longer had to eat stones and wild seeds, they could have softer teeth, teeth that would fall out, eventually. The complete narrative recalls the first meeting of these two shamans and how both ended up having crops to eat. After *Arikʷajō* was received in *Kōtkōra*’s house, he took seeds for his village, but did not destroy *Kōtkōra*’s fields. Thus, it is a mythological tale that touches upon relationships of hospitality and rivalry among neighbors.



Figure 2: The arrival at *Kōtkōra*’s house. Illustration by Lidia Sakyrabiar and Ozélio Sakyrabiar

The language of the Sakurabiat people has been traditionally referred to in the literature as “Mekens”. In more recent years, it has also been referred to as Sakurabiat in an attempt to acknowledge the self denomination of the group, and we adopt this name in this work, to refer to the language, one of the five surviving languages of the Tuparian branch of the large Tupian family.

The Tupian family is composed of ten subfamilies (Rodrigues 1985), which include about 40-45 languages that are spread throughout the Amazon (Moore, Galucio & Gabas Júnior 2008). Alongside Sakurabiat, the other four languages of the Tuparian branch are: Akuntsú, Makurap, Tupari, and Wayoro. All five languages are spoken in the state of Rondônia, in the northwestern part of Brazil, near the Brazil-Bolivia border, and they are all highly endangered due to the greatly reduced number of speakers. According to information collected in 2016, from Galucio's field work and from colleagues working with these specific languages, Tupari has about 300 speakers, Makurap has about 55-60 speakers, Akuntsú only 4, and Wayoro just 3 speakers. Sakurabiat has about 16 speakers, and they are all adults.



Figure 3: The Rio Mekens Indigenous Land, where the Sakurabiat live in the Brazilian state of Rondônia, is shown in yellow.

It is noteworthy that the current state of Rondônia houses representatives of six of the ten Tupian subfamilies, including five that are spoken exclusively there: Arikém, Puruborá, Mondé, Ramarama, and Tupari. The other five subfamilies are Juruna, Munduruku, Mawé, Aweti, and Tupi-Guarani, which is the largest and most widespread of the Tupian subfamilies.

Sakurabiat is a typical Tupian language. It is a primarily suffixing language, but it also has a few prefixes, such as the pronominal person markers and valence changing morphemes (causative and intransitivizer). The language shows a head-marking profile, with locus of morphosyntactic marking on the head of the phrase. In clauses, the syntactic functions of subject and object are marked on the verb rather than on the nominal arguments. In simple transitive clauses with nominal arguments, both noun phrases tend to precede the verb, following basic SOV order. There are three types of lexical verbs: intransitive, transitive, and uninflectible or particle verbs. Transitive and intransitive verbs take person agreement and TAM inflectional markers. Only one argument is indexed on the verb by means of person prefixes. The intransitive verb indexes the subject and the transitive verb indexes the object. The particle verbs do not inflect in that way. In order to take person and TAM inflection, they undergo derivation via the verb formatives (-ka, -kwa, e-), which give as output transitive or intransitive verb stems.

Based on the distribution of the person markers, the morphosyntactic alignment can be described as nominative-absolutive in simple main clauses, as proposed for some Cariban and Northern Jê languages by Gildea & de Castro Alves (2010). The set of prefixes marks the absolute argument (S/P), while the set of free pronouns expresses the nominative (A/S). In the case of transitive verbs, pronominal subjects obligatorily occur as free pronouns, except for third person, which can be left unmarked. With intransitive verbs, on the other hand, free pronouns are optionally used, co-occurring with the subject verb agreement markers. For its part, the O argument is never expressed by a free pronoun. For an overall description of Sakurabiat verb agreement and argument structure, see Galucio (2014).

Auxiliaries also show person agreement and TAM inflections. Person indexing on auxiliaries follows a nominative pattern, always indexing the clause subject (A or S). Auxiliaries and demonstratives are positional roots that indicate the body posture of the subject, in the case of auxiliaries, and of the referent, in the case of demonstratives. In addition to the positional demonstratives, there is a series of discourse anaphoric demonstratives or proforms that are used to replace a syntactic unit: they can replace a syntactic phrase, an entire clause, or even larger stretches of discourse.

Nominalization is the main strategy used to form adverbial (temporal, conditional, causal, and final) clauses in Sakurabiat (Galucio 2011). The adverbial modification is encoded by a nominalized verb form (with the nominalizer *-ap* ‘instrumental; circumstantial’) or one of the demonstrative proforms followed by a postposition. The ablative postposition *eri* is used for causal clauses, and the locative postposition *ese* for temporal/conditional and also some causal clauses.

Three dialects have been identified for Sakurabiat: Guaratira, which is the one spoken by the narrator of this story, Siokweriat, and Sakurabiat/Guarategayat. The major differences among them are phonological and lexical.

The *Kōtkōra asisi* story is transcribed phonetically in the first line, and segmented phonologically and morphologically in the second line. There is nasal harmony inside the word in Sakurabiat. Nasality spreads rightwards from a nasal consonant or vowel, and is blocked only by an obstruent in onset position. Thus, in the second line, only the underlying nasal element is indicated as being nasal. The third line gives a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss. English and Portuguese free translations are given in the fourth and fifth lines. The Portuguese translation attempts to maintain in as much as possible the structure of the original Sakurabiat narrative.

## 2 Kōtkōra asisi

‘*Kōtkōra’s corn*’ or ‘The origin of maize and other crops among the Sakurabiat people’

‘O milho do *Kōtkōra*’ ou ‘A origem do milho e outras plantas entre o povo Sakurabiat’<sup>1</sup>

- (1) *Arikʷajō asisi aapi ara sekoa kōnkōrā tegeri.*  
ari<sup>w</sup>ajō asisi aapi at-a se-ko-a kōtkōra tek=eri  
Arikʷajō corn crop.seed get-THV 3COR-AUX.MOV-THV cicada house=ABL  
'Arikʷajō got corn seed from *Kōtkōrā*'s house.'  
'Arikʷajō arrumou semente de milho na casa da Cigarra.'

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<sup>1</sup>Recordings of this story are available from <https://zenodo.org/record/997447>

- (2) *Kʷako sejērora ek piitse.*

*kʷako*                            *se-jēt*                    *ot-a*                    *ek*                    *pi=e*  
 black-fronted.piping.guan 3COR-feces leave-THV house inside=LOC  
 ‘The black-fronted piping guan bird<sup>2</sup> (that was around) defecated inside the house.’

‘Jacutinga (filhote de jacutinga que estava andando por lá) defecou dentro da casa.’

- (3) *Pi ke itoa<sup>3</sup> enīitse.*

*pi*            *ke*            *i-to-a*                            *eni=e*  
 lying DEM 3SG-AUX.LIE-THV hammock=LOC  
 ‘He (*Arikʷajō*) was there just lying in the hammock.’  
 ‘E ele (*Arikʷajō*) estava lá deitado na rede.’

- (4) *Sete itsoa ajēēri te kērā atsitsi ko?*

*sete i-so-a*                    *a-jē=eri*                    *te*            *kērā*            *asisi ko*  
 3SG 3SG-see-THV Q-DEM.PROX=ABL FOC NASSERT corn ingest  
 ‘(Then) he looked, (and thought): “Where does he (the bird) eat corn?”’  
 ‘Aí ele olhou (e pensou): “Aonde será que ele come milho?”’

- (5) *Sitōm<sup>4</sup> nē pa õt, otagiat.*

*s-itōp*                            *ne*            *pa*            *õt*            *o-tag-iat*  
 3SG-follower COP FUT 1SG 1SG-daughter-COL  
 ‘Then (he said to this daughters): “I will follow him, my daughters.”’  
 ‘Aí (falou pras filharadas): “Eu vou atrás dele, minhas filhas.”’

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<sup>2</sup>The black-fronted piping guan bird (*Aburria jacutinga*) is a large bird that is easily identified, since in almost all its area of occurrence it is the only cracid with a white spot on the wing. Its scientific name comes from *burria*, *aburri*, *aburria* = Colombian Amerindian onomatopoeic name for birds generally called *jacu*; and from Old Tupi *jacú* = Jacu, and *tinga* = white, in reference to the head, nape and wings of this bird that has feathers with white coloration (<http://www.wikiaves.com.br/jacutinga>).

<sup>3</sup>The third person singular prefix has two allomorphs: *i-* before consonant-initial stems; and *s-* before vowel-initial stems.

<sup>4</sup>*itōp* is an adjective root that is reported by Sakurabiat speakers to mean something like ‘the follower, the one that follows someone or something, the one that accompanies someone’.

- (6) *Soa kot kaap<sup>5</sup> te pekaat soa kot.*

*so-a      kot      kaap te    pe=kaat    so-a      kot*  
see-THV IM.FUT QUOT FOC OBL=DEM see-THV IM.FUT

“I will look to see, I will look at that.”

“Eu vou atrás pra ver.”

- (7) *Pia<sup>6</sup> setoa õẽm te kʷako setset nēärā.*

*pia    se-to-a                õẽp      te    kʷako*  
wait 3COR-AUX.LIE-THV already FOC black-fronted.piping.guan  
*se-set        neara*  
3COR-leave again

‘He (*Arikʷajō*) stayed there waiting for the black-fronted piping guan bird to come back.’

‘Ele (*Arikʷajō*) ficou esperando esse jacu para poder ver a hora que ele ia de novo lá (comer).’

- (8) *Ati<sup>7</sup> sete sitōmnā tōpnā sekaoa pibot Kōnkōrā taap.<sup>8</sup>*

*ati    sete s-itōp=na                tōp=na                se-ko-a                pibot*  
INTJ 3SG 3SG-follower=VBLZ follower=VBLZ 3COR-AUX.MOV-THV arrive  
*kōtkōra taap*  
cicada village

‘Poor guy, he followed him all the way until he arrived at *Kōtkōrā*’s (Cicada’s) village.’ (*Arikʷajō* followed the bird all the way to *Kōtkōrā*’s house)

‘Aí ele coitado acompanhou (o jacu), acompanhou, acompanhou até que chegou na casa da Cigarra.’

<sup>5</sup>There are two third person quotative forms: *kaap* and *kaat*. The quotative in combination with the immediate future morpheme *kot* derives a desiderative clause. Desideratives are grammaticalizing as future. The quotative form *kaat* is also homophonous to the demonstrative *kaat*, a proform that is used anaphorically to replace a stretch of discourse.

<sup>6</sup>*pia* ‘wait’ is the form in the Guaratira and Siokweriat dialects. It corresponds to *pisa* in the Sakurabiat dialect.

<sup>7</sup>*ati* is an interjection used as a negative exclamation expressing an emotional reaction, such as negative astonishment or bewilderment. It does not form a syntactic constituent to the rest of the sentence. It can be translated sometimes as ‘pitied guy’ or ‘pitied thing’. It is used to cast doubt about the proposition that one considers to be unlikely or absurd. For instance, if someone says to you *osera kot ameko miapna* ‘I’m going over there to kill a jaguar’, you can respond with *ati nop* ‘Poor you, no (you won’t).’

<sup>8</sup>*taap* is a word that has several meanings, it could be translated as either ‘village’ or ‘house’, but it contrasts with the regular word for house, which is *ek*.

- (9) *Kerep itegð<sup>9</sup> kōjē siko ðpinā.*

*kerep i-tek=ð*      *kōjē s-iko*      *ðp-pit=na*  
 enter 3SG-house=DAT sit 3SG-food give-NMLZ=VBLZ

‘He (*Arikʷajō*) entered the house, sat himself down, and was given food.’

‘(*Arikʷajō*) entrou na casa, sentou, aí começaram dar comida pra ele comer.’

- (10) *Kōjē poget kop.*

*kōjē poget*      *kop*  
 sit standing AUX.MOV

‘He sat down, then got up, and stayed around there.’

‘Ele sentou, depois levantou, ficou por ali.’

- (11) *Ma te kērā eke aose setserara, ke te Kōnkōrā tagiat.*

*ma*    *te*    *kēra*    *eke*    *aose se-set-a-ra*                  *ke*    *te*    *Kōtkōra*  
 when FOC NASSERT DEM.N man 3COR-leave-THV-REP DEM FOC cicada  
*tak-iat*  
 daughter-COL

“When is that man leaving?” said *Kōtkōra*’s daughters.’

“É esse homem não vai não embora, não, será?” Assim que a filharada do *Kōtkōra* falou.’

- (12) *Teeri ka aotse atsitsi ’ara nāän kop.*

*te-eri*    *ka*    *aose asisi ’at-a*    *naat kop*  
 3SG=ABL move man corn get-THV COP AUX.MOV

‘Through his mind, the man is carrying off the corn.’ (Lit. ‘It comes from him, the man is taking the corn.’)

‘Ele no pensamento dele tá carregando milho.’

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<sup>9</sup>The dative postposition has two allomorphs: *ð* after consonant-final stems; and *bð* after vowel-final stems. This postposition has a meaning that is broader than the usual datives. It can express the indirect object, but also the instrumental, the general locative, and the temporal locative.

- (13) *Tapsirō i'ara atsitsibō i'ara arakʷibō i'ara komatabō i'ara kaat naat kop aose.*  
*tapsit=bō i-'at-a asisi=bō i-'at-a arakʷi=bō i-'at-a*  
*yucca=DAT 3SG-get-THV corn=DAT 3SG-get-THV peanut=DAT 3SG-get-THV*  
*komata=bō i-'at-a kaat naat kop aose*  
*beans=DAT 3SG-get-THV DEM COP AUX.MOV man*  
 ‘He got manioc, corn, peanuts, beans, he stayed there doing that (taking everything), the man (i.e., *Arikʷajō*).’  
 ‘Levou mandioca, milho, amendoim, feijão, ficou carregando tudo, o homem.’
- (14) *Poret õēm 'arabetse set nēārā.*  
*poret õēp 'ar-ap=ese set neara*  
 now already get-NMLZ=LOC leave again  
 ‘Then, when he had already got it all, he left again.’  
 ‘Aí quando já tinha carregado tudo, ele foi embora de novo.’
- (15) *Pibot nēārā setoabō.<sup>10</sup>*  
*pibot neara se-top-ap=õ*  
 arrive again 3COR-lying.down-NMLZ=DAT  
 ‘He arrived again at his own hammock.’  
 ‘E chegou na sua rede (na casa dele) novamente.’
- (16) *Tamō'ẽm porētsopega<sup>11</sup> petsetagiat:*  
*ta=bō=’ep porēsopég-a pe=se-tak-iat*  
 DEM.STAND=DAT=EMPH ask-THV OBL=3COR-daughter-COL  
 ‘He just got there and asked his daughters.’  
 ‘Entrou, foi direto perguntar pra filharada dele:’

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<sup>10</sup>The word *toap* ‘hammock’ is a derived noun, formed by the auxiliary root *top* ‘AUX.LIE’ plus the circumstantial nominalizer *-ap*; the final *-p* is deleted before the vowel *-a*: *top+ap* → *toap*.

<sup>11</sup>We have not been able to do a morphological analysis of the word *porēsopega* ‘ask’, but it is clearly a complex word, where it is possible to identify the root *pek* ‘call’. Monomorphemic words in Sakurabiat are usually shorter than four syllables.

- (17) *Aeke te ejatsi?*

*a-eke te ejat-si*  
Q-DEM.N FOC 2PL-mother  
“Where is your mother?”  
“Para onde foi a mãe de vocês?”

- (18) *Osesi jāõmō ka te ikāw taaga kit ara naat te kikkona taaga kit ara.*

*ose-si jāõ=bō ka te ikāo taaga kit at-a naat te ki-iko=na taaga kit at-a*  
1PL.EXCL-mother DEM.DIST=DAT move FOC DEM.TIME walking.palm seed  
get-THV COP FOC 1PL.INCL-food=VBLZ walking.palm seed get-THV

“Our mother went over there at that time to get walking palm’s seed for us to eat, get walking palm’s seed,” (they replied).<sup>12</sup>

“Nossa mãe foi por ali, buscar caroço de paxiúba pra nós comermos.”

- (19) *Poret ejarora<sup>13</sup> ipegara taaga kit aratkʷa nōm pegat.<sup>14</sup>*

*poret ejat-ot-a i-peka-ra taaga kit at-a-t-kʷa nop pegat*  
now 2PL-leave-THV 3SG-call--THV-REP walking.palm seed  
get-THV-PST-PL.EV NEG IRR.FUT

“Then, go call her, it is no longer necessary to bring walking palm seed”  
(*Arikʷajō* told his daughters):

‘Aí (*Arikʷajō* disse:) “Vão chamar ela, não era pra trazer mais semente de paxiúba, não.”’

- (20) *Kiopap ta eba jē ēma kaarerimāā ke te kiape, kieba mōtkʷa ke te siraamnā.<sup>15</sup>*

*ki-opap ta eba jē eba kaat=eri i-ma-a*  
1PL.INCL-CORN DEM.STAND EVID DEM.SIT EVID DEM=ABL 3SG-make-THV

<sup>12</sup>The walking palm tree (*Socratea exorrhiza*) is known as *paxiúba* in Brazil. Its seeds are not edible.

<sup>13</sup>Sakurabiat has two types of hortative constructions. The first type uses the special hortative verb *soga* following the lexical verb. The other type of hortative construction, illustrated in this example, uses the verb *ot* ‘leave, go’ prefixed by either first person plural or second person (plural) subject agreement, followed by the lexical verb.

<sup>14</sup>The irrealis future morpheme *pegat* seems to be a complex form that contains the morpheme *pek* ‘FUT’ plus an allomorph of the past tense morpheme -(a).

ke te ki-iape                            kieba mot-k<sup>w</sup>a    ke te siraap=na  
 DEM FOC 1PL.INCL-our.beverage tuber make-PL.EV DEM massaco=VBLZ  
 “Our corn is here, make our beverage from it, and prepare the manioc to  
 make (our) *massaco*.<sup>15</sup><sup>16</sup>

“Nosso milho tá aqui pra fazer nossa chicha, e amassar macaxeira pra  
 fazer massaco.”

- (21) *Ik<sup>w</sup>aksoa te itagiat sirik=nē'ēp pibot.*  
*i-k<sup>w</sup>ak-so-a                         te i-tak-iat                        sirik=ne= 'ēp                pibot*  
 3SG-sound-see-THV FOC 3SG-daughter-COL go.PL.SBJ=?=EMPH arrive  
 ‘They heard him, the daughters, then they left, went straight there and  
 arrived (where their mother was).’  
 ‘Escutaram o que ele falou, as filhas. Aí saíram foram até lá (onde a mãe  
 estava).’
- (22) *Ak<sup>w</sup>a kip perek piora nāñan kop.*  
*ak<sup>w</sup>a kip perek piora naat kop*  
*cará<sup>17</sup> stick long dig COP AUX.MOV*  
 ‘She was digging for wild *cará* tubers.<sup>18</sup>  
 ‘Ela estava cavando cará do mato.’
- (23) *Abitop<sup>19</sup> epegarat, osi.*  
*abi-top                                e-peka-ra-t                        o-si*  
 father-father 2SG-call-THV-REP-PST 1SG-mother  
 ‘Our father called you, mother.’  
 ‘Nosso pai te chamou, mamãe.’

<sup>15</sup>Two pieces of information are necessary here. First, the words *ma* and *mot(kwa)* are synonymous, both translate as ‘make, prepare, build’. The root *mot* is generally used with the verb formative suffix *-kwa* that is also a marker of event plurality. Secondly, the noun *kieba* is a general word that can refer to any type of edible tuber, either manioc (*yucca*), sweet potato, *cará*, etc.

<sup>16</sup>*Massaco* is a Portuguese word used to describe a dish that is made with cooked banana or *yucca*, pounded with a pestle. This dish is very popular among the Sakurabiat.

<sup>17</sup>*akwa* ‘*cará*’ is a cultivated type of tuber. The wild, uncultivated *cará* is called *akwa kup perek* because is elongated (stick-like), unlike the cultivated one, which is more round.

<sup>18</sup>This sentence is translated in the past tense, to agree with the rest of the text. However, the auxiliary form *kop* is the present tense form; the past tense form would be *koá*.

<sup>19</sup>This form is the special vocative for father for female egos. It combines the vocative *abi* ‘my father’ for male egos, and the referential stem *-top* ‘father’.

- (24) *Kiape mā ke te kiopaberit aat ikāw.*

*ki-iape ma ke te ki-opap=eri i-ta*  
 1PL.INCL-beverage make DEM FOC 1PL.INCL-corn=ABL 3SG-AUX.STAND  
*kaat ikāo*  
QUOT DEM.TIME

“(Call her) to make our *chicha*<sup>20</sup> from our corn here, that (is what he) said at that time.”

“(Chama ela) pra fazer chicha pra nós, do nosso milho que tá aqui.”  
 Assim (ele disse) àquela hora.’

- (25) *Kieba mötkʷa siraapnā kaat ikāw.*

*kieba mot-kʷa siraap=na kaat ikāo*  
 tuber make-PL.EV *massaco*=VBLZ QUOT DEM.TIME

“To prepare manioc to make *massaco*,” that (is what he) said at that time.’  
 “Pra amassar macaxeira pra fazer massaco.” Assim ele disse àquela hora.’

- (26) *Erek tiinā sitoabip etoabip tōēn, ejattaibiat sara, aose igorerōp sete.*

*erek tii=nā sitoabip e-toabip tōet ejat-taip-iat*  
 speak INTJ=COP 3SG-cultivated.field 2SG-cultivated.field DUB 2PL-son-COL  
*sara aose igot-e-rōp sete*  
 pitied man possessor?-NEG 3SG

‘She said: “Poor bastard, I doubt he has a crop. You poor children, he is a man who has nothing.” (Lit. ‘She said: “Pitied one, I doubt his crop (exists). Poor people of your children, this man has nothing.”’)

‘Aí ela falou: “Esse coitado aí, plantaçāo dele! Plantou nada! Coitados dos filhos de vocês, esse aí é homem que não tem nada.”’

- (27) *Arēm sirik nēärā te itagiat.*

*arēp sirik neara te i-tak-iat*  
 then go.PL.SBJ again FOC 3SG-daughter-COL  
 ‘They went again, his daughters.’  
 ‘Foram embora de novo, as filhas dele.’

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<sup>20</sup> *Chicha* is a regional word in Brazilian Portuguese to refer to a fermented beverage. This beverage, which is very popular among several indigenous groups in Amazonia, can be made out of corn, yucca or any other kind of tuber.

- (28) *Kaap tēñ te otsetsi.*

*kaap tēet te ose-si*  
DEM only FOC 1PL.EXCL-mother

“Mom said just that.” (And, thus, the daughters told their father what their mother had said.)’

“Mamãe disse assim.” (Assim as filhas contaram pro pai o que a mãe falara.)’

- (29) *Ke ebō te setaipkʷa paat te.*

*ke ebō te se-taip-kʷa paat te*  
DEM really FOC 3COR-get.calm-VBLZ FUT.3 FOC

“It is like that now (she is angry at me), but she’ll calm down.”

“Só agorinha que tá assim (brava comigo), vai se amansar.”

- (30) *Setoorekʷa mājā ikoop sete.*

*se-toorekʷa maj-a i-koop sete*  
3COR-laugh tell-THV 3SG-AUX.MOV 3SG

“She is still going to laugh,” he (said).’ (That is what *Arikʷajō* thought about his wife.)

“Ela ainda vai dar risada.” Ele disse.’

- (31) *Pia setoa arēm te aramirā 'ibat nēärā.*

*pia se-to-a arēp te aramira 'ip-a-t neara*  
wait 3COR-AUX.LIE-THV then FOC woman come-THV-PST again

‘He stayed there waiting, then the woman came back again.’

‘Ele ficou esperando, aí a mulher chegou de novo.’

- (32) *Taibap sekērēkʷa saraka te Pārārēkotsa.*

*taib-ap se-e-kērē-kʷa sara-ka te Pārarekosa*  
gentle-NEG 3COR-INTRVZ-angry-VBLZ pitied-VBLZ FOC Pārarekosa

‘She was angry, poor *Pārarekosa*.’

‘Estava brava, coitada dela, a *Pārarekosa*.’

- (33) *Poget kop peropka pe akʷa kip perek*  
*poget      kop      perop-ka      pe=akʷa    kip    perek*  
 standing AUX.MOV cooked-VBLZ OBL=cará stick long  
 ‘She stayed there, and then went to cook wild cará tubers.’  
 ‘Ficou por aí, e foi cozinar cará do mato.’
- (34) *Kaa kaat ebō nā sekaoa imē*.  
*ko-a        kaat ebō=na      se-ko-a                  'ime*  
 ingest-THV DEM really=VBLZ 3COR-AUX.MOV-THV dark  
 ‘She ate, and stayed there the way she was (angry), until it got dark.’  
 ‘Comeu, ficou por ali assim (brava mesmo), até que escureceu.’
- (35) *Era kʷirik poret.*  
*et-a        kʷirik poret*  
 sleep-THV clear now  
 ‘Then it dawned.’<sup>21</sup>  
 ‘Aí amanheceu.’
- (36) *Ejariape kaabōpkʷa<sup>22</sup> kot.*  
*ejat-iape      kaabōp-kʷa      kot*  
 2PL-beverage bless;heal-PL.EV IM.FUT  
 ‘(After that *Arikʷajō* came and said to his children:) “I will cure your beverage.”’  
 ‘(Aí *Arikʷajō* veio e disse:) “Vou curar a chicha de vocês.”’
- (37) *Ko soga!*  
*ko        soga*  
 ingest HORT  
 “You can drink! Drink!”  
 “Pode beber! Bebe!”

<sup>21</sup>*era kʷirik*, which literally means ‘sleep and clear’ is the expression used to announce that the day dawned, and also to count how many nights/days have passed, in an iterative way. Thus, to say something like ‘two days after’ one would say *era kʷirik era kʷirik*.

<sup>22</sup>The consultant that was helping with translation and morphemic analysis explained that the verb form should be *kaabōa*, not *kaabōp*, but he could not explain why. We chose to keep the form that was given by the narrator.

- (38) *Ejatjāj sigika kotke<sup>23</sup> ōn.*

*ejat-jāj sigi-ka kot=ke=ōt*  
2PL-tooth drop-VBLZ IM.FUT=QUOT=1SG

“I am going to make your teeth fall out.”

“Eu vou fazer o dente de vocês cair tudo.”

- (39) *Kaabō’ēm sigi tejatjāj.*

*kaap ō’ēp sigi te-jat-jāj*  
DEM already drop 3SG-COL-tooth

‘It happened really that way, their teeth fell out.’

‘Fez mesmo, caiu todos os dentes delas.’

- (40) *Pērām te otagiat ejariko pek.*

*pēt-ap te o-tak-iat e-jat-iko pek*  
hard-NMLZ FOC 1SG-daughter-COL 2SG-COL-food FUT

“It won’t be hard, your food, my daughters.” (This sentence continues the speech of *Arikʷajō* to his children.)

“Não vai ser duro, minhas filhas, a comida de vocês.”

- (41) *Kaanā’ēp poret kap kapnā te kijāj pogeri poret.*

*kaat-na=’ēp poret ko-ap ko-ap=na te*  
DEM=VBLZ=EMPH now ingest-NMLZ ingest-NMLZ=VBLZ FOC  
*ki-jāj poget=i poret*  
1PL.INCL-tooth standing=AUX.PL now

‘They stayed that way, our teeth, in order for us to eat.’ (Lit. ‘They became that way in order to be (our) eating instrument, our teeth stayed that way.’)

‘Ficou assim mesmo pra ser aquilo com que se come, os nossos dentes ficaram assim.’

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<sup>23</sup>The first and second person desiderative construction is formed with a combination of the immediate future morpheme plus the quotative morpheme for first and second persons (*kot+ke* ‘IM.FUT + QUOT’ = DESIDERATIVE).

- (42) *Kaannā<sup>24</sup> te te kijāj ipēnnā kenōm.*

*kaat=na te te ki-jāj i-pēt=na ke nop*  
DEM=VBLZ really FOC 1PL.INCL-tooth 3SG-hard=VBLZ DEM NEG

'That's why our teeth are not hard.' (Lit. 'In being that way really, our teeth are not hard.')

'Por isso que o nosso dente (de hoje em dia) não é duro.'

- (43) *Sesigika kʷaap tēen.*

*se-sigi-ka kʷaap tēet*  
3COR-drop-VBLZ HAB only

'They just drop out (and grow again).'

'Só cai (e nasce de novo).'

- (44) *Kirit sūit jāj etsigika.*

*kirit sūit jāj e-sigi-ka*  
child DIM tooth INTRVZ-drop-VBLZ

'(That's why) kids' teeth drop out.'

'(Por isso que agora) dente de criança cai tudo.'

- (45) *Kekʷaap nāām<sup>25</sup> tēen.*

*Ke kʷaap=na-ap tēet*  
DEM HAB=VBLZ-NMLZ only

'It is always just that way.' ('The cycle keeps repeating itself, it is always like that.')

'É todo tempo só assim.'

- (46) *ke te kijāj.*

*ke te ki-jāj*  
DEM FOC 1PL.INCL-tooth

'That's how our teeth are.'

'É assim nosso dente.'

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<sup>24</sup>One of the morphosyntactic strategies to express causal adverbial clauses in Sakurabiat is to use a derived verb phrase formed by the anaphoric demonstrative *kaat* with the verbalizer *nā* (see Galucio (2011), for a thorough discussion of adverbial clauses in Sakurabiat.)

<sup>25</sup>It is possible to delete the nominalizer morpheme *-ap*, with no apparent change in meaning. The consultant said that another way of saying the same thing was *kekwaapnā tēet*.

- (47) *Kaabese nāñ aapi õtsop te atsitsi.*

*kaap=ese naat aapi      õ-sop      te      asisi*  
DEM=LOC COP crop.seed CAUS-see FOC corn

‘That is how (they) found corn seed.’

‘Foi assim que acharam semente de milho.’

- (48) *Kʷeet piro kiiko pek kĩrep.*

*kʷeet piro ki-i-ko                        pek kĩrep*  
thing exist 1PL.INCL-OBJ.NMLZ-ingest FUT now

‘And that’s how it appeared the things that we eat.’

‘Assim que apareceram as coisas de comer.’

- (49) *Kaap te eba nāriat.*

*kaap te    eba    naat=iat*  
DEM FOC EVID COP=REM.PST

‘(But) that’s how it was at those times.’

‘Mas era assim antigamente.’

- (50) *Kõnkõrãrōpnã arobõ te atsitsi nāñ eteet.*

*kõtkõra-rop=na    arop-õ      te      asisi naat eteet*  
cicada-NEG=VBLZ thing-NEG FOC corn COP HYP

‘If it were not for *Kõtkõra*, there would be nothing, no corn. (All edible things were first planted by *Kõtkõra*, who was also a shaman).’

‘Se não fosse *Kõtkõra*, não tinha nada, não tinha milho, não. (Tudo foi *Kõtkõra* quem plantou, ele era *kwamoa* (‘pajé’) também.)’

- (51) *Asisirõp.*

*asisi-rop*  
corn-NEG

‘(There would be) no corn.’

‘Não tinha milho.’

- (52) *Arobõ te piro tapsit akʷa kʷaako piroap.*

*arop-õ      te      piro      tapsit      akʷa      kʷaako      piro-ap*  
thing-NEG FOC exist yucca cará sweet.potato exist-NEG

‘There wouldn’t be anything, no yucca, no cará tuber, no sweet potato.’

‘Não tinha nada, nem mandioca, nem cará, nem batata, não tinha nada.’

- (53) *Arikʷajō ekap sigot nēnōā.*

*arikʷajō ekap s-igot ne=no-a*  
Arikʷajō SBJV 3SG-possessor COP=NEG-THV

'If it were up to *Arikʷajō*, he wouldn't own anything.'

'*Arikʷajō* não tinha nada.'

- (54) *Sigot tii nēnōā.*

*s-igot tii ne=no-a*  
3SG-possessor INTJ COP=NEG-THV

'He possessed nothing.'

'Ele não tinha nada, não.'

- (55) *Kʷai mariko kipkiba 'a mariko*<sup>26</sup> *sete.*

*kʷai mat i-ko kipkiba 'a mat i-ko sete*  
stone ? OBJ.NMLZ-ingest tree fruit ? OBJ.NMLZ-ingest 3SG

'He only eats stone and fruit (as if he were not human).' (Lit. 'Stone is what he eats, and fruit is what he eats.')

'Comida dele é pedra, é fruta de pau (como se não fosse gente).'

- (56) *Aose eteet.*

*aose eteet*  
man HYP

'If it were not for this man (*Kōtkōrā*), (there would be nothing.)'

'Se não fosse esse homem (*Kōtkōra*), (não teria nada mesmo, não.)'

- (57) *Ōẽm.*

*ōẽp*  
already  
'It's finished.'  
'Acabei.'

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<sup>26</sup>The expression N *mariko* is used when you want to refer to something that is someone's preferred choice of food. For instance, *Kwe mariko ōrōn*. 'I only like to eat game meat.' / 'I only eat game meat.' (*kwe* 'game meat' – *mat* (?) – *i-ko* 'OBJ.NMLZ-ingest' – *ōr-ōn* 1SG-EMPH).

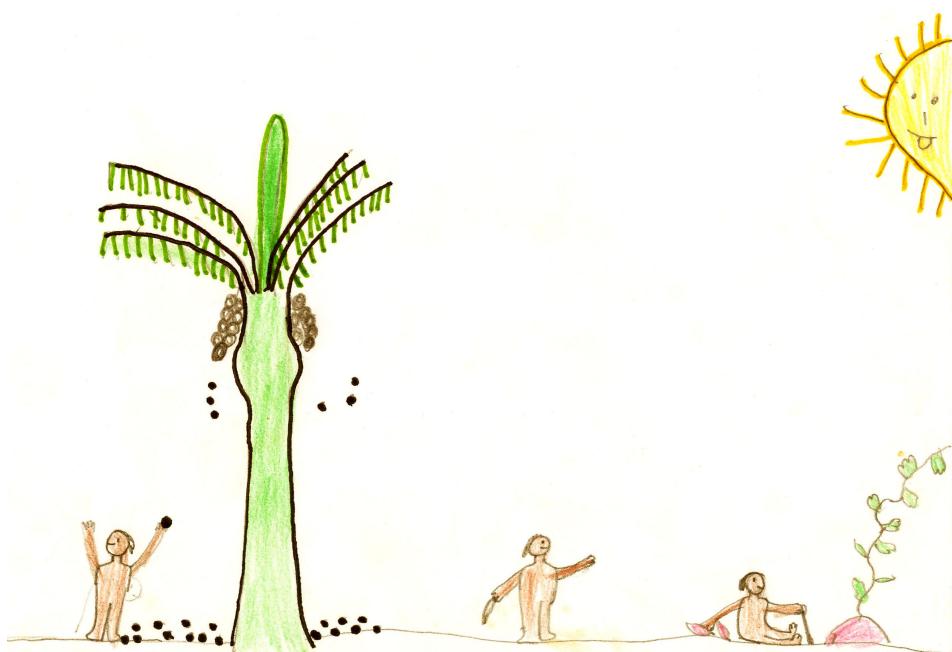


Figure 4: The old and the newly acquired crops. Illustration by Lidia Sakyrabiar and Ozélio Sakyrabiar

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## Non-standard abbreviations

COL	collective	IM	immediate
COR	co-referential	INTRVZ	intransitivizer
DUB	dubitative	LIE	lying
DEM.TIME	temporal demonstrative	MOV	moving
EMPH	emphatic	NASSERT	non-assertive
EV	event	REP	repetitive
EVID	evidential	SIT	sitting
HAB	habitual	STAND	standing
HORT	hortative	THV	thematic vowel
HYP	hypothetical	VBZL	verbalizer

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## **Part III**

# **Ancestors and tricksters**

