

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 high 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 *Kōtkōra 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: Manoel 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 mayãp ebõ* (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 Ozelio 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 *Arik^wajõ* discovered that *Kõtõkõra*, a shaman from a neighboring group, had maize. *Arik^wajõ* then went to visit that shaman and stole the seeds.



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

Arik^wajõ 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 *Arik^wajõ* 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 *Arik^wajō*’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, *Arik^wajō* 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*, *Arik^wajō* 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 *Arik^wajō* 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 absolutive 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’¹

- (1) *Arik*^w*ajō asisi aapi ara sekoa kōnkōrā tegeri.*
arik^w*ajō asisi aapi at-a se-ko-a kōtkōra tek=eri*
Arik^wajō corn crop.seed get-THV 3COR-AUX.MOV-THV cicada house=ABL
‘Arik^wajō got corn seed from *Kōtkōrā*’s house.’
‘Arik^wajō arrumou semente de milho na casa da Cigarra.’

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

- (6) *Soa kot kaap⁵ 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) *Pia⁶ setoa ãem te k^wako setset nããrã.*

pia se-to-a ãẽp te k^wako
wait 3COR-AUX.LIE-THV already FOC black-fronted.piping.guan
se-set neara
3COR-leave again

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

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

- (8) *Ati⁷ sete sitõmnã tõpnã sekoa pibot Kõnkõrã taap.⁸*

ati sete s-itõp=na tõp=na se-ko-a pibot
INTJ 3SG 3SG-follower=VBLZ follower=VBLZ 3COR-AUX.MOV-THV arrive
kõtkõra taap
cicada village

‘Poor guy, he followed him all the way until he arrived at *Kõtkõrã*’s (Cicada’s) village.’ (*Arik^wajõ* followed the bird all the way to *Kõtkõra*’s house)

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

⁵There 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.

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

⁷*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).’

⁸*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 itegõ⁹ kōjẽ siko õpinã.*

kerep i-tek=õ kōjẽ s-iko õp-pit=na
 enter 3SG-house=DAT sit 3SG-food give-NMLZ=VBLZ

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

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

- (10)
- Kōjẽ poget kop.*

kōjẽ 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 kēra eke aose setserara, ke te Kōnkōrã 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 *Kōtkōrã*’s daughters.’

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

- (12)
- Teeri ka aotse atsisi ’ara nããn 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.’

⁹The dative postposition has two allomorphs: *õ* after consonant-final stems; and *bõ* 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 arak^wibō i'ara komatabō i'ara kaat naat kop aose.*

tapsit=bō i-'at-a asisi=bō i-'at-a arak^wi=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., *Arik^wajō*).’

‘Levou mandioca, milho, amendoim, feijão, ficou carregando tudo, o homem.’

- (14) *Poret òēm 'arabetse set nēārā.*

poret òēp '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.¹⁰*

pibot neara se-top-ap=ō
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'ēm porēsopega¹¹ petsetagiat:*

ta=bō=ēp porēsopeg-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.’

¹⁰The 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*.

¹¹We 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 jāōmō ka te ikāw taaga kit ara naat te kijkona taaga kit ara.*

ose-si jāō=bō ka te ikāo taaga kit
 1PL.EXCL-mother DEM.DIST=DAT move FOC DEM.TIME walking.palm seed
at-a naat te ki-iko=na taaga kit at-a
 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).¹²

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

- (19)
- Poret ejarora¹³ ipegara taaga kit aratk^wa nōm pegat.¹⁴*

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

“Then, go call her, it is no longer necessary to bring walking palm seed”
 (*Arik^wajō* told his daughters).’

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

- (20)
- Kiopap ta eba jē ěma kaareri imāã ke te kiape, kieba mōtk^wa ke te siraamnã.¹⁵*

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

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

¹³Sakurabiat 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.

¹⁴The 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)t*.

ke te ki-iape kieba mot-k^{wa} ke te siraap=na
 DEM FOC 1PL.INCL-our.beverage tuber make-PL.EV DEM FOC *massaco*=VBLZ

“Our corn is here, make our beverage from it, and prepare the manioc to make (our) *massaco*.”¹⁶

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

- (21) *Ik^{wa}aksoa te itagiat sirik=ne’ëp pibot.*

i-k^{wa}ak-so-a te i-tak-iat sirik=ne=’ëp 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^{wa} kip perek piora nããn kop.*

ak^{wa} kip perek piora naat kop
*cará*¹⁷ stick long dig COP AUX.MOV

‘She was digging for wild *cará* tubers.’¹⁸

‘Ela estava cavando *cará* do mato.’

- (23) *Abitop¹⁹ epegarat, osi.*

abi-top e-pek-a-ra-t o-si
 father-father 2SG-call-THV-REP-PST 1SG-mother

“Our father called you, mother.”

“Nosso pai te chamou, mamãe.”

¹⁵Two 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.

¹⁶*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.

¹⁷*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.

¹⁸This 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 *koa*.

¹⁹This 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 m̃a ke te kiopaberi ita kaat ikãw.*

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

“(Call her) to make our *chicha*²⁰ 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 mōtk^wa siraapnã kaat ikãw.*

kieba mot-k^wa siraap=na kaat ikão
 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 tiinã sitoabip etoabip tōên, ejattaibiat sara, aose igorerōp sete.*

erek tiinã=na s-itoabip 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, plantação dele! Plantou nada! Coitados dos filhos de vocês, esse aí é homem que não tem nada.”’

- (27)
- Arēm sirik nēārã 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.’

²⁰*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 tēēn te otsetsi.*

kaap tēēt 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.)’

‘‘Mam e disse assim.’’ (Assim as filhas contaram pro pai o que a m e falara.)’

- (29) *Ke eb  te setaipk^wa paat te.*

ke eb  te se-taip-k^wa 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.’’

‘‘S o agorinha que t a assim (brava comigo), vai se amansar.’’

- (30) *Setoorek^wa m j  ikoop sete.*

se-toorek^wa maj-a i-koop sete
3COR-laugh tell-THV 3SG-AUX.MOV 3SG

‘‘She is still going to laugh,’’ he (said).’ (That is what *Arik^waj * thought about his wife.)

‘‘Ela ainda vai dar risada.’’ Ele disse.’

- (31) *Pia setoa ar m te aramir  ’ibat n ar .*

pia se-to-a ar p 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, a  a mulher chegou de novo.’

- (32) *Taibap sek r k^wa saraka te P r r kotsa.*

taib-ap se-e-k r -k^wa sara-ka te P r r kosa
gentle-NEG 3COR-INTRVZ-angry-VBLZ pitied-VBLZ FOC P r r kosa

‘She was angry, poor *P r r kosa*.’

‘Estava brava, coitada dela, a *P r r kosa*.’

- (33) *Poget kop peropka pe ak^wa kip perek*
poget kop perop-ka pe=ak^wa 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 cozinhar *cará* do mato.’
- (34) *Kaa kaat ebō nā sekoa 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 k^wirik poret.*
et-a k^wirik poret
 sleep-THV clear now
 ‘Then it dawned.’²¹
 ‘Aí amanheceu.’
- (36) *Ejariape kaabōpk^wa²² kot.*
ejat-iape kaabōp-k^wa kot
 2PL-beverage bless;heal-PL.EV IM.FUT
 ‘(After that *Arik^wajō* came and said to his children:) “I will cure your beverage.”’
 ‘(Aí *Arik^wajō* veio e disse:) “Vou curar a chicha de vocês.”’
- (37) *Ko sogā!*
ko sogā
 ingest HORT
 “You can drink! Drink!”
 “Pode beber! Bebe!”

²¹ *era k^wirik*, 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 k^wirik era k^wirik*.

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

- (38) *Ejatjāj sigika kotke²³ òn.*

ejat-jāj sigi-ka kot=ke=òt
 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) *Kaabò’èm sigi tejatjāj.*

kaap ò’èp 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 otagiāt 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 *Arik*’*ajō* to his children.)

‘‘Não vai ser duro, minhas filhas, a comida de vocês.’’

- (41) *Kaanã’èp poret kap kapnã te kijāj pogeri poret.*

kaat=na=’èp 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.’

²³The 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) *Kaannã²⁴ te te kijāj ipěnnã kenôm.*
kaat=na te te ki-jāj i-pět=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) nao é duro.’
- (43) *Sesigika k^waap tēñ.*
se-sigi-ka k^waap tēet
 3COR-drop-VBLZ HAB only
 ‘They just drop out (and grow again).’
 ‘Só cai (e nasce de novo).’
- (44) *Kirit sīt jāj etsigika.*
kirit sīt 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) *Kek^waap nãã²⁵ tēñ.*
Ke k^waap=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.’

²⁴One 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 *nã* (see Galucio (2011), for a thorough discussion of adverbial clauses in Sakurabiat.)

²⁵It 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 *kekwaapnã tēet*.

- (47) *Kaabese nããn aapi òtsop te atsitsi.*
kaap=ese naat aapi ò-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) *K^weeet piro kiiko pek kîrêp.*
k^weeet piro ki-i-ko pek kîrêp
 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 nããriat.*
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) *Kõnkõrârõpnã arobõ te atsitsi nããn 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-rõp
 corn-NEG
 ‘(There would be) no corn.’
 ‘Não tinha milho.’
- (52) *Arobõ te piro tapsit ak^wa k^waako piroap.*
arop-õ te piro tapsit ak^wa k^waako 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) *Arik^wajõ ekap sigot nẽnõã.*
arik^wajõ ekap s-igot ne=no-a
 Arik^wajõ SBJV 3SG-possessor COP=NEG-THV
 ‘If it were up to Arik^wajõ, he wouldn’t own anything.’
 ‘Arik^wajõ não tinha nada.’
- (54) *Sigot tiii nẽnõã.*
s-igot tii ne=no-a
 3SG-possessor INTJ COP=NEG-THV
 ‘He possessed nothing.’
 ‘Ele não tinha nada, não.’
- (55) *K^wai mariko kipkiba ’a mariko²⁶ sete.*
k^wai 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 (*Kõt^kõrã*), (there would be nothing.)’
 ‘Se não fosse esse homem (*Kõt^kõra*), (não teria nada mesmo, não.)’
- (57) *Õẽm.*
õẽp
 already
 ‘It’s finished.’
 ‘Acabei.’

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

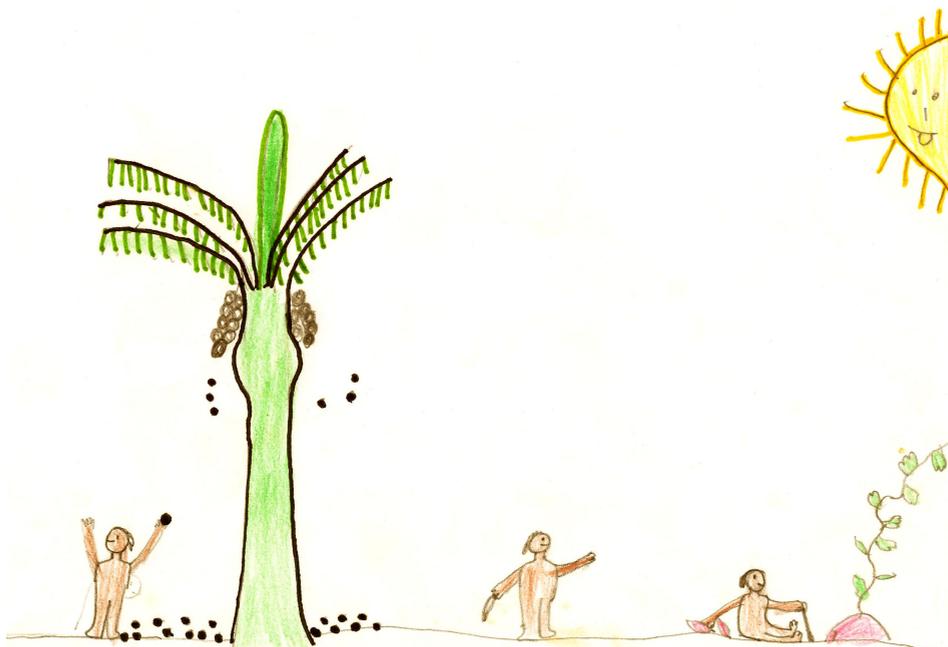


Figure 4: The old and the newly acquired crops. Illustration by Lidia Sakyrabiar and Ozélio Sakyrabiar

Acknowledgments

Galucio would like to acknowledge the continued support of the Sakurabiat people, especially the elders who shared the wonders of their traditional narratives, and her collaborators in this article. A special token of gratitude goes to the late Mercedes Guaratira Sakyrabiar and Manoel Ferreira Sakyrabiar, *in memoriam*. Manoel was a very good friend, and an enthusiast and great supporter of the study of Sakurabiat. Dona Mercedes was not only a supporter but also a grandmother figure in all the visits to the Sakurabiat village. They are both greatly missed. We thank Ana Carolina Alves for helping with the audio files, Ellison Santos for helping with the figures, and Hein van der Voort for facilitating permission of the map. The present work was carried out with the support of CNPq, the National Council of Scientific and Technological Development, Brazil (Process number 308286/2016-2).

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

References

- Galucio, Ana Vilacy. 2011. Subordinate adverbial constructions in Mekens. In Rik van Gijn, Katharina Haude & Pieter Muysken (eds.), *Subordination in native South American languages*, 25–44. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Galucio, Ana Vilacy. 2014. Estrutura argumental e alinhamento gramatical em Mekens. In Luciana Storto, Bruna Franchetto & Suzi Oliveira de Lima (eds.), *Sintaxe e semântica do verbo em línguas indígenas no Brasil*, 167–196. Campinas: Mercado de Letras.
- Gildea, Spike & Flávia de Castro Alves. 2010. Nominative-absolutive: Counter-universal split ergativity in Jê and Cariban. In Spike Gildea & Francesc Queixalós (eds.), *Ergativity in Amazonia* (Typological Studies in Language 89), 159–200. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Moore, Denny, Ana Vilacy Galucio & Nilson Gabas Júnior. 2008. O desafio de documentar e preservar as línguas amazônicas. *Scientific American (Brasil)* 3. 36–43.
- Rodrigues, Aryon Dall’Igna. 1985. Relações internas na família lingüística Tupi-Guarani. *Revista de Antropologia* 27/28. 33–53.