Chapter 8
Sakurabiat

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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 height central vowel [ɨ]. 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 Kõtkõra 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 mayap ebó (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*ajọ discovered that Kötkôra, a shaman from a neighboring group, had maize. Arik*ajọ then went to visit that shaman and stole the seeds.

Figure 1: Arik*ajọ following the black-fronted piping guan bird. Illustration by Lidia Sakyrabiar and Ozelio Sakyrabiar

Arik*ajọ 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*ajọ is married to his second wife, Pärårēkosa.
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 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 indexation 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 Kõtkõra 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 Kõtkõra asisi

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

‘O milho do Kõtkõra’ ou ‘A origem do milho e outras plantas entre o povo Sakurabiat’

(1) Arik*ajó asisi aapi ara sekoa könkörã tegeri.

Arik*ajó corn crop.seed get-THV 3COR-AUX.MOV-THV cicada house=ABL
‘Arik*ajó got corn seed from Kõtkõrã’s house.’

‘Arik*ajó arrumou semente de milho na casa da Cigarra.’
(2) *Kʷako sejẽrora ek piitse.*

*kʷako* se-jẽt ot-a ek pi=ese
black-fronted.piping.guan 3COR-feces leave-THV house inside=LOC

‘The black-fronted piping guan bird\(^2\) (that was around) defecated inside the house.’

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

(3) *Pi ke itoa\(^3\) enĩitse.*

*pi* ke i-to-a eni=ese
lying DEM 3SG-AUX.LIE-THV hammock=LOC

‘He (*Arikʷajõ*) was there just lying in the hammock.’

‘E ele (*Arikʷajõ*) estava lá deitado na rede.’

(4) *Sete itsoa ajẽeri te kẽrã atsitsi ko?*

*sete i-so-a a-jẽ=eri te kẽrã asisi ko*
3SG 3SG-see-THV Q-DEM.PROX=ABL FOC 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) *Sitõm\(^4\) nẽ pa õt, otagiat.*

*s-itõp ne pa ŵt 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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\(^2\)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).

\(^3\)The third person singular prefix has two allomorphs: *i*- before consonant-initial stems; and *s*-before vowel-initial stems.

\(^4\) *-itõp* 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’.
A Galucio, M. G. Sakyriabiar, M. F. Sakyriabiar, R. Sakyriabiar & O. Sakyriabiar

(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 ōem te kʷako setset nēarā.
    pia se-to-a ōēp te kʷako
    wait 3COR-AUX.LIE-THV already FOC black-fronted.piping.guan
    se-set neara
    3COR-leave again
    ‘He (Arìkʷajò) stayed there waiting for the black-fronted piping guan bird to come back.’
    ‘Ele (Arìkʷajò) ficou esperando esse jacu para poder ver a hora que ele ia de novo lá (comer).’

(8) Atɨ⁷ sete sitõmnā tōpnā sekoa pɨbot Kõnkõrā taap.⁸
    atɨ sete s-itōp=na tōp=na se-ko-a pɨbot
    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 Kōtkōra’s (Cicada’s) village.’ (Arìkʷajò followed the bird all the way to Kōtkōra’s house)
    ‘Aí ele coitado acompanhou (o jacu), acompanhou, acompanhou até que chegou na casa da Cigarra.’

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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.

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

⁷ati 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).’

⁸taap 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 itego⁹ køjē siko ōpinā.
kerep i-tek=ō køjē s-iko ōp-pit=na
enter 3SG-house=DAT sit 3SG-food give-NMLZ=VBLZ
‘He (Arîkʷajô) entered the house, sat himself down, and was given food.’
‘(Arîkʷajô) entrou na casa, sentou, aí começaram dar comida pra ele comer.’

(10) Kojē poget kop.
køjē 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 kërâ eke aose setserara, ke te Kōnkōrã tagiat.
ma te kēra eke aose se-set-a-ra ke te Kõtkõra
when FOC NASSERT DEM.N man 3COR-leave-THV-REP DEM FOC cicada
tak-iat
daughter-COL
‘When is that man leaving?’ said Kõtkõrã’s daughters.’
‘É esse homem não vai não embora, não, será?’ Assim que a filharada do Kõtkõra falou.’

(12) Teeri ka aotse atsitsi ‘ara nāan 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: ō after consonant-final stems; and bō 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) Tapsɨrõ i’ara atsitsibõ i’ara arakʷi=bõ i’ara komatabõ i’ara kaat naat kop aose.

tapsɨt=bõ i’-at-a asisi=bõ i’-at-a arakʷi=bõ i’-at-a yucca=DAT 3SG-get-THV corn=DAT 3SG-get-THV peanut=DAT 3SG-get-THV komata=bõ 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., Arɨkʷajõ).’

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

(14) Poret ōêm ’arabetse set nẽãrã.

poret ōep ’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) Pɨbot nẽãrã setoabõ.10

pɨbot neara se-top-ap=ô arrive again 3COR-lying.down-NMLZ=DAT

‘He arrived again at his own hammock.’

‘E chegou na sua rede (na casa dele) novamente.’

(16) Tamõ’ẽm porẽsopega11 petsetagiat:

ta=bõ=’ẽp pe=se-tak-iat porẽsopeg-a dem.stand=DAT=EMPH ask-THV 3COR-daughter-COL

‘He just got there and asked his daughters:’

‘Entrou, foi direto perguntar pra filharada dele:’

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

(18) *Osesi jâomô ka te ikâw taaga kit ara naat te ikkona taaga kit ara.*  
*ose-si jâo=bô ka te ikâo taaga kit 1PL.EXCL-mother DEM.DIS=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 aratkʷa nôm pegat.*  
*poret ejat-ot-a i-pek-a-ra taaga kit now 2PL-leave-THV 3SG-call--THV-REP walking.palm seed at-a-t-kʷa a nop pegat get-THV-PST-PL.EV NEG IRR.FUT*  
“Then, go call her, it is no longer necessary to bring walking palm seed” (Arıkʷajõ told his daughters).’  
‘Aí (Arîkʷajõ disse:) “Vão chamar ela, não era pra trazer mais semente de paxiúba, não.”

(20) *Kiopap ta eba jê êma kaareri imâã ke te kiape, kieba môtkʷa ke te siraamnã.*15  
*ki-opap ta eba jê eba kaat=eri i-ma-a 1PL.INCL-corn DEM.STAND EVID DEM.SIT EVID DEM=ABL 3SG-make-THV* 

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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*.  
15The walking palm tree (*Socratea exorrhiza*) is known as *paxiúba* in Brazil. Its seeds are not edible.
“Our corn is here, make our beverage from it, and prepare the manioc to make (our) massaco.”

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

“Itak-soa te itagiat sirik=nê’êp pibot.

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).’

“She was digging for wild cará tubers.”

‘Ela estava cavando cará do mato.’

“Our father called you, mother.”

“Nosso pai te chamou, mamãe.”

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.

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.

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

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 koa.

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’.
Kɨape mǎ ke te kiopaberì ita kaat ikãw.

"(Call her) to make our chicha\textsuperscript{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.’

Kieba mõtkʷa sɨraapnã kaat ikãw.

"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.’

Erek tiinã sitoabip e tôœn, ejattaiabit sara, aose igoterôp sete.

‘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.”’

Arẽm sirik nêârã te itagiat.

‘They went again, his daughters.’

‘Foram embora de novo, as filhas dele.’

\textsuperscript{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 těen te otsetsi.

"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 ebõ te setaɨpkʷa paat te.

"It is like that now (she is angry at me), but she'll calm down."

"Só agora que tá assim (brava comigo), vai se amansar."

(30) Setoorekʷa mājã ikoop sete.

"She is still going to laugh," he (said). (That is what Arɨkʷajõ thought about his wife.)

"Ela ainda vai dar risada." Ele disse.

(31) Pia setoa arẽm te aramîrã 'ipat nēarã.

‘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.

‘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 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 kʷirik poret.**

et-a  kʷirik  poret
sleep-THV  clear  now

‘Then it dawned.’

‘Aí amanheceu.’

(36) **Ejariape kaабōpkʷa22 kot.**

ejat-ɨape  kaабōp-kʷa  kot
2pl-beverage  bless;heal-PL.EV  IM.FUT

‘(After that Arɨkʷajô came and said to his children:) “I will cure your beverage.”’

‘(Aí Arɨkʷajô veio e disse:) “Vou curar a chicha de vocês.”’

(37) **Ko soga!**

ko  soga
ingest  HORT

“‘You can drink! Drink!’”

“‘Pode beber! Bebe!’”

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21 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.

22 The consultant that was helping with translation and morphemic analysis explained that the verb form should be kaaboā, not kaabōp, but he could not explain why. We chose to keep the form that was given by the narrator.
(38) *Ejat’jäj sigika kotke*²³ ön.

>ejat-jäj 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) *Kaabo’ẽm sigi tejatjäj.*

>kaap ō’ẽp sigi te-jat-jäj

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 Arîkʷajô to his children.)

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

(41) *Kaanã’ẽp poret kap kapnã te kijäj pogeri poret.*

>kaat=na=’ẽp poret ko-ap ko-ap=na te

DEM=VBLZ=EMPH now ingest-NMLZ ingest-NMLZ=VBLZ FOC

ki-jäj 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)  

\[
\text{kaat}=\text{na} \quad \text{te} \quad \text{te} \quad \text{ki-jáj} \quad i-pět=\text{na} \quad \text{ke} \quad \text{nop}
\]

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)  

\[
\text{se-sígi-ka} \quad \text{kʷaap} \quad \text{tẽẽn}
\]

3COR-drop-VBLZ HAB only

‘They just drop out (and grow again).’

‘Só cai (e nasce de novo).’

(44)  

\[
\text{kirít} \quad \text{síit} \quad \text{jáj} \quad \text{e-sígi-ka}
\]

child DIM tooth INTRVZ-drop-VBLZ

‘(That’s why) kids’ teeth drop out.’

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

(45)  

\[
\text{ke} \quad \text{kʷaap}=\text{na-ap} \quad \text{tẽet}
\]

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)  

\[
\text{ke} \quad \text{te} \quad \text{ki-jáj}
\]

DEM FOC 1PL.INCL-tooth

‘That’s how our teeth are.’

‘É assim nosso dente.’

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

25 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 kekwaapnà tẽet.
(47) *Kaabese nāān aapi ōtsop te atsitsi.*

*kaap=ese naat aapi ō-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 kɨ̃rẽp.*

*kʷeet piro ki-i-ko pek kɨ̃rep*

thing exist IPL.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 nāāriat.*

*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) *Kõnkõrõpnã arobõ te atsitsi nāān eteet.*

*kõtkõra-rop=na arop-ō 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.*

*assis-rõp*

corn-NEG

‘(There would be) no corn.’

‘Não tinha milho.’

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

*arop-ō 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 nēnōã.
    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 tiii nēnōã.
    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 mariko26 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 etet.
    aose etet
    man HYP
    ‘If it were not for this man (Kōtkōra), (there would be nothing).’
    ‘Se não fosse esse homem (Kōtkōra), (não teria nada mesmo, não).’

(57) Õem.
    ōēp
    already
    ‘It’s finished.’
    ‘Acabei.’

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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 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).
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Non-standard abbreviations

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<td>COL</td>
<td>collective</td>
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<tr>
<td>COR</td>
<td>co-referential</td>
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<td>dubitative</td>
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References


