

# **A Time-based Semantic Analysis of Selected Afro-Iberian Creole Narratives**

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*This paper presents a semantic-pragmatic analysis of the TMA (tense, mood, and aspect) categories that occur in the narrative discourse of Spanish- and Portuguese-based Creoles, and attempts to briefly describe the linguistic and extra-linguistic composition of the temporal frames of narrative structure of representative folktales in Palenquero, Papiamentu and Cape Verdean<sup>i</sup> selected according to their genetic and semantic correlations at the sentence and discourse levels, utilizing pragmatic and cognitive considerations.*

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## **Temporal Frames in Discourse**

Research in TMA categories within the realm of Creolistics has been very productive. Topical terms such as ‘nonpast’, ‘anterior’, ‘punctual’, habitual’, ‘(im) perfective’, ‘(ir) realis’, and the like, are of common use in the literature<sup>ii</sup>. As pervasive as this terminology may be, its scope has hardly surpassed sentence-level analysis.

In attempting an analysis of TMA categories as occurred in the narrative discourse of Afro-Iberian Creoles, linguistic as well as extra-linguistic considerations (i.e., pragmatic, functional, cognitive) can to be counted to describe substrate and superstrate constituents, and determine possible universal properties. Hence, it is assumed that narrative structure in Creoles contains substratal as well as superstratal influences<sup>iii</sup>, which motivates an analysis at, morpho-syntactic and the discourse levels.

Furthermore, TMA frames in discourse involve considerations of time reference, space location, and deictic relations, where notions such as distance, participant roles, and speakers’ point of view interact in the occurrence of a given temporal situation. First, the morpho-syntactic level is dealt with, where frames are measured in terms of local TMA markers. Thus, temporal predications (events and states) are described by verb morphology within sentence boundaries. Secondly, a short analysis at discourse level follows, where TMA frames are seen in a more general perspective wherein temporal predications are treated in terms of conceptual domains<sup>iv</sup> across inter-sentential boundaries.

### Scope and Method of Analysis

This analysis describes concepts rather than objects, thus no specific linguistic processing of data is attempted. Temporal frames are categorized into two separate, yet inter-related templates, one for each level of analysis (i.e., the sentential and the inter-sentential). The former, are used as mentioned above, for the morpho-syntactic level and describe temporal events and states based on information provided mostly by local affixation. The latter, are used for the discourse level to describe temporal events and states within the universe of discourse based on information provided by the inter-sentential interaction of linguistic and extra-linguistic factors, mainly, pragmatic, functional, and cognitive.

#### Temporal Frames of Afro-Iberian Creoles: The Morpho-Syntactic Level

As stated above, this level of analysis relies on TMA markers, which are largely isomorphic in Afro-Iberian Creoles, as shown in Table 1, below:

Table 1: TMA markers in Palenquero, Papiamentu, and Cape Verdean

<u>Creole</u>	<u>Tense markers</u>	<u>Aspect markers</u>	<u>Modal markers</u>
Palenquero:	'bae' /'tan' 'á/'tá'	'á/'tá'; '-ba-'	'-ké-', keba, akeba <sup>v</sup>
Papiamentu	'lo'; '-kaba'	'á'- / 'tabata'-	'lo'...'a'
Cape Verdean	'ta - ba'; 'ja'	'ta'; 'sta - ba'	'sta'; '-ba'

Table 1 shows the distribution of TMA markers in Palenquero, Papiamento, and Cape Verdean. As shown above, the aspect morpheme *-ba-* is used to mark past tense in two of the three languages and, crucially, it is consistently used in all three Creoles to mark Imperfective aspect. It is also shown that ‘a’ and ‘(s)ta’ occur variously to mark verbs describing (non)-past perfective and imperfective events and states across-the-board. Some examples are given in (1), below, for illustration:

- (1) a. Éra un bes tenba un kabra ki txumaba Tia Ganga (CVD)  
‘Once there was a goat called Aunt Ganga’
- b. Entonse tigre á teneba de to (PAL)  
‘So the tiger had everything’
- c. Tur tin gana de hanja e baca PAP  
‘Everybody really wanted to get the cow’

Notice that all of the examples above use ‘-ba-’ to describe imperfective states, something consistent with the grammars of Spanish and Portuguese. These similarities show how closely related these Creoles prove to be while they exhibit common substratal influences at the morpho-syntactic level and this fact also prompts the feature [ASPECTI] as a super-ordinate semantic category that ranges over TMA frames to specify local events and states for tense. In postulating aspect as a “higher” semantic category to set temporal frames at a morpho-syntactic level, two conditions are anticipated: restriction to narrative texts; and applications to past tense only<sup>vi</sup>.

Furthermore, it is here hypothesized that, at the morpho-syntactic level, these Creole languages share similar substrate and superstrate properties in their temporal descriptions. In fact, substrate similarities include recurrent pre-verbal distribution of TMA markers as well as pragmatic relevance in meaning such as the use of deixis and metaphoric expressions at morpheme level. And superstrate influence similarities include the use of adverbs and modifiers to convey temporal meaning, and morphological variation to signal TMA meanings.

## **The Discourse Level**

Discourse level is a thorny issue when approaching Creole grammars and thus its attempting to draw a line between morpho-syntactic and discourse levels (i.e., sentential and inter-sentential); yet it is possible to examine this question by looking into frame theories <sup>vii</sup>. For instance, a frame-based analysis can support the assumption that TMA markers at the morpho-syntactic level are semantically specific (i.e., marked), because they operate locally and sentential events must be interpreted independently. Such interpretation should be for each individual sentential event, in terms of tense and aspect (at least, according to the narratives considered here), even though aspect stands for a super-ordinate category, for genetic reasons.

In turn, at the discourse level, TMA categories become even more abstract and generic because sentential events need to interact temporally with each other in order to account for discourse context meaning. In this sense, morpho-syntactic frames in TMA processing become a function of discourse frames. Evidence for this claim stems, unlike sentential events, temporal events at inter-sentential level that are semantically non-compositional and non-linear, hence content meaning is not equal to the sum of all of the individual sentential events in a narrative text, unless they are properly ordered, interactive, and fully edited for coherence.

Hence, TMA categories in discourse must be symmetric before they can be properly interpreted. Symmetry here refers to an attribute of temporal frames understood in terms of conceptual domains <sup>viii</sup>. In Afro-Iberian Creole languages such as Palenquero, Papiamentu, and Cape Verdean, discourse temporal frames need to be determined essentially in conceptual domains to account for their peculiar genetic nature and development. Thus postulate connects with linguistic and extra-linguistic underpinnings including pragmatic, cognitive, and even functional considerations.

Linguistically, the grammars of these Creoles have a double source: A “resource” grammar (in Hymes`terms), originated in the substrate, and a discourse grammar, influenced by the superstrate. Pragmatically (and functionally), Afro-Iberian Creole discourse structure involves interactions of context functions and participant roles that determines the way temporal frames are to be viewed and processed at this level. Finally, a cognitive analysis is also needed to account for the innate communicative competence of participants and the internal composition of the narrative texts (that is, whether they are monologues, dialogues, quoted narratives or the like). As it stands, all of these linguistic and extra-linguistic factors are conversational and interdependent, both internally and externally.

As Masuda (2000: 231) points out: “(D)iscourse grammar of Creole languages is not merely established by an innate internal ability of human beings, but it is influenced by substratal factors as well”.

According to the above, temporal frames, as identified in the narrative texts of the Afro-Iberian Creole languages in this study; they need to be put together into three sets of domains at discourse level, one for each ATM category. For illustration, a symmetric feature matrix is provided in *Table 2*, below:

**Domains for Temporal Frames at Discourse Level**

<i>Domains</i>	<i>Aspect</i>	<i>Tense</i>	<i>Mood</i>
<b>Semantic</b>	[IMPRFTV]	[(NON)PAS T]	[(NON)FACT]
<b>Pragmatic</b>	[DISTANCE]	[REFERENCE ]	[ATTD]
<b>Functional</b>	[EVENT]	[TEXT]	[PARTIC]

As *Table 2* shows, this symmetric feature matrix provides conceptual criteria for a linguistic and extra-linguistic analysis of temporal frames in three Afro-Iberian Creole languages, at the discourse level. A brief specification of these criteria follows. Table 2 first shows an Imperfective Aspect domain, indicating that such predication functions as the event theme for the narrative texts, at any point of temporal distance<sup>ix</sup>. This position is consistent with and motivated by the super-ordinate status given to category Aspect at the morpho-syntactic level presented above.



In contrast, the next sentence in the sequence is a past state, so it has to be interpreted as past imperfective, as shown in (3)<sup>x</sup>:

(3) Entonse losita konejo era un losita chikitiko PAL

‘So rabbit’s hole was a tiny hole’

However, this sequence of sentences is only a part of the whole discourse content of the Palenquero text, which happens to lack a sentence expressing the event theme. That is, a sentence like (4) is presupposed:

(4) Once upon a time there was...

Such sentence is overtly expressed in the other two Creole texts, as seen in (5) and (6), below:

(5) Shon Arey tabatin un tereno grandi, cu tabata yen di brigamosa

(PAP)

‘The king had a plot of land, which was covered with nettle’

(6) Un dia, Nho Lobu y se sobrinhu, Tubinhu, staba ta pranta

mandioka di juntu

CVD

‘One day, Nho Lobu and his nephew, Tubinhu, were planting

manioc together’

On the other hand, such restriction holds for events at discourse level, too, both in the past and in the present. This property can be an additional piece of evidence to justify the status of imperfective as a subsuming aspect domain in inter-textual discourse. (See text B in the Appendix). As for the Mood category, its interpretation depends on the functional structure of the text, that is, whether it is directly or indirectly narrated.

Finally, as is the case in Spanish and Portuguese, imperfective aspect can also eventually subsume progressive meaning in Afro-Iberian Creoles. (Compare, for instance, (6) above and (7) below):

(7) Tur es tem´, Nanzi tabata grawata e lugarnan, cu e ta mustra

na su smak

PAP

‘All the time, Nanzi was scratching his body on the places

he was showing to him’.

As seen in the verb phrase “tabata grawata”, the modal verb ‘tabata’ contains the suffix –ba, which expresses imperfective meaning. Thus, the whole phrase is rendered imperfect progressive in meaning.

## **Conclusions**

This semantic analysis of Cape Verdean, Palenquero, and Papiamentu folktales in terms of linguistic and extra-linguistic criteria related with temporal frames in discourse show that Afro-Iberian Creole languages share relevant semantic and genetic properties at the morpho-syntactic and the discourse levels. Focusing on representative narratives, it is argued that Spanish and Portuguese-based Creole discourse is influenced by substrate and superstrate characteristics, as revealed by common temporal frames. Thus, substrate TMA markers are largely isomorphic, while superstrate features at discourse are conceptually symmetric with cognitive domains basically matching universal language, and the specific properties of language.

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## **Appendix**

### **A. Nho Lobu y se sobrinhu, Tubinhu (Text in Cape Verdean: CVD)**

Un dia, Nho Lobu y se sobrinhu, Tubinhu, staba ta pranta mandioka di juntú. Nho Lobo gusta di kume mandioka, ma el ka gusta di trabadja. Nho Lobu ngana Tubinhu y el kume tudu kel mandioka el só na un dia. Tubinhu fika ku raiba. Nton, dos dia dispos, el pasa pa ká Nho Lobu ku un korda grandi na mon. El fra: "Nho Lobu, un tenporal grandi sta ben ki sta ba mata tudu kuza ki ka sta maradu." Nho Lobo fra-l: "Mara-m primeru!" Nton, Tubinhu mara-l n'un arvi grandi. El dixa-l la pa un monti tenpu. Un makaku staba na kel figera. Nho Lobu fra-l: "Bota-m un figu, makaku, N tené fómi." Kel makaku bota un figu na bóka di Nho Lobu. Nho Lobu pidi-l: "Dismara-m, makaku, dismara-m." Nton, makaku sinti péna di Nho Lobu y el dismara-l. Kantu kel makaku dismara-l, Nho Lobu pega-l na se rabu y el puxa-l. Kel makaku fika ta grita. Tubinhu staba pértu pa la. El obi kel makaku ta grita. El txoma, "Oh Nho Lobu, nho sabe midjor manera pa nho kume kel makaku? Nho mara-l se pé di juntú y nho bota-l pa riba. El ta kai dentu bóka di nho." Nton, Nho Lobu mara-l y el bota-l pa riba. Kantu kel makaku kai, el ku Tubinhu kóre. Nho Lobu fika la tudu dia ku se bóka abértu...ta spéra pa makaku kai dentu bóka.

**Translation:**

One day, Nho Lobu and his nephew, Tubinhu, were planting manioc together. Lobu liked eating manioc, but he didn't like working. Nho Lobu tricked Tubinhu and he ate all the manioc himself in one day. Tubinhu was angry. So, two days later, he went by Nho Lobu's house with a long cord in his hand. He said, "Nho Lobu, a big storm is coming and it is going to kill everything that is not tied down." Nho Lobu said, "Tie me first!" So, Tubinhu tied Nho Lobu to a big tree. He left him there for a long time. A monkey was in the fig tree Nho Lobu said, "Throw me a fig, monkey, I'm hungry." The monkey threw a fig in Nho Lobu's mouth. Nho Lobu begged him, "Untie me, monkey, untie me." So, the monkey felt sorry for Nho Lobu and he untied him. When the monkey untied him, Nho Lobu grabbed the monkey by his tail and pulled him. The monkey started screaming. Tubinhu was nearby. He heard the monkey screaming. He called out, "Oh, Nho Lobu, do you know the best way to eat that monkey? Tie his feet together and throw him up in the air. He'll fall right into your mouth." So, Nho Lobu tied the monkey's feet together and threw him in the air. When the monkey fell down, he and Tubinhu ran away. Nho Lobu stayed there the whole day with his mouth wide open..waiting for the monkey to fall into his mouth.

**B. Lobo co garça (Text in Guiné Bissan crioulo)**

Narrador: -- Er-ier...

Ouvintes: -- Era ba, certo!

Narr.: -- Lobo ta comê dessalmado!

Ouv.: -- Bardade!

Narr.: -- Falado, comâ lobo co sê okessa comê um dia tork oss trabessal na gargante.

Ouv.: -- Bom fêto!

Narr.: -- Pó preto sta ba tarpalhado; nim par púpa. Par si sorte, garça sá ba ta passâ; mofino fassel sinal, garça bem: surjon-grande! kel ora, ê cabâ rincal-óss d'garganta ê pidi sê págo.

Ouv.: -- Cô rossom.

Narr.: -- Mas ti-lobo jobéel ... ê bidâ ê falal: abóo .. bo stá na mangaçom: comâ-ké? bô pago! ... Logo bô ca contente inda êm dessá bo bussô bô gargante dentro na nha gherla? -- Assó báí! ... bô mal concido. Tamá sintido cam-torna panhabo, park-ê-ca dreto.

(Publicado por Marcelino de Barros e Adolfo da Silva em *A Fraternidade*, Guiné a Cabo Verde, Bolama, 31 de outubro de 1883. Reproduzido por COELHO 1886, cf. MORAIS-BARBOSA 1967, p. 156-157).

### C. Conejo, Sapo i Tío Tigre (Text in Palenquero: PAL)

Tigre asé un losa; entonse konejo asé uto losita. Entonse losita konejo era un losita chikitiko ke akansaba ni pa kumé un día nu; I losa tigre era ngandísima. Entonse tigre á teneba de to: á teneba yuka, patiya, maí. Entonse kuando tigre dekuídaba, konejo á seba yegá ku sorra a rroba maí aí, patiya, meló, de to. Entonse tigre á nda kuenta ke konejo taba rrobando ele ma yuka ele e maí ele. Entonse tigre á poné un muchacha aí. Kuando konejo bae, konejo á jayá rrancho di tigre bien oganisao; dise konejo: “Iuuuui; si tío tigre á tená ese rrancho bien bonito agué, á ten, muchacha, á ten sebbesa, á ten rron, á ten de to akí. Agué si borrachera mí tan sendá ngande”. Entonse dise konejo: niña, suto tan. jugá un juego baraja akí. Muchacha kontentalo nu. Entonse a lo ke konejo miná ke muchacha kontetalo nu, konejo á poné a jugá ele solo; dise konejo: niña, í á nganá, í á nganá, si bo no me paga, yo me pago yo memo. Konejo á kojé plata I á metelo aí mbosa. Entonse dise konejo: niña, í á kelé un sebbesa, si bo no me depachá, í tan depachá yo memo. Kuando konejo tomá sebbesa, dise, Pero ké niña tan bonitu i t´akí, ¿no?, í tan besalo, í tan besalo. Kuando konejo ba besá mujé, konejo ;tran; á kelá pegao. Entonse dise konejo: si bo no me sutta, í tan nda bo un puño. Konejo á tirá muchacha un puño,i konejo ;pa; á kelá pegao. A lo ke konejo sindí ke konejo á taba kojío di boka i di mano, dise konejo: i tan nda bo ku barika; konejo ;tan; á kelá pegao tambié. Kuando konejo sendí pegao aí, tío Tigre á yegá I tío tigre á buká sapo pa kuidá konejo. i sapo á dejá konejo bae. Entonse tío tigre á kojé sapo pa matalo; entonse sapo ablá tío tigre ke pa tiralo andi un laguna; depué sapo dejá kojé má nu. Tío Tigre miná sapo má nunca nu.

#### **Translation:**

Tiger made a hole (in the bushes). Then Rabbit made another little hole. But Rabbit's hole was so small that stored food was not enough, even for one day; and tiger's hole was huge; he had everything: yucca, watermelon, corn. Then, when Tiger was not watching, Rabbit came down with Fox to steal the corn, the watermelon, everything. But Tiger found out that Rabbit was stealing his corn, his yucca. So Tiger put a girl there. When Rabbit goes, he finds a well-organized ranch. As soon as Rabbit saw the ranch that way, he said, “Oh, my!, what a nice ranch Uncle Tiger has today; there's a girl, there's beer, there's rum, there's everything here. Today I'll have binge drinking”. Then Rabbit says to the girl, “Let's have a card game, kid. The girl does not listen to him. Then when he sees she won't listen, Rabbit starts playing by himself. Rabbits then says, “Kid, I won, I won, and Rabbit grabbed the money and put it in his pocket.

Then Rabbit says, “Kid, I want a beer, if you don’t serve it, I’ll serve it myself. When he drank the beer, he said, “What a pretty girl I have here, I’ll kiss her, I’ll kiss her. When Rabbit kissed the woman, uff!, he got sticked. Then Rabbit says, “If you don’t let me go, I’ll give you a blow”. When he punched her, he got sticked again. When he saw himself sticked on mouth and hands, he said, “I’ll hit you with my belly, and pa!, he got sticked also. When Rabbit was all sticked, uncle Tger came and brought a frog to look after Rabbit, but the frog let him go. Then Uncle Tiger grabbed frog to kill him. Then the frog asked the tiger to throw him into a pond. Then he could not catch the frog; the tiger never saw the frog again.

#### **D. Compa Nanzi i baca pinta (Text in Papiamentu: PAP)**

Shon Arey tabatin un tereno grandi, cu tabata yen di brigamosa. Nada e no por a haci cu e tera ey, p’esey el a bai busca hende, cu quier roza e lugar. Esun, cu por rosa a tera, sin grawata su curpa, lo hanja un baca grandi i gordo. Ma esun cu grawata, lo mester caba su bida na palo di horca. Ningun hende no quier a bai purba. Tur tin gana di hanja e baca, ma ora nan corda sol, cu casi sigur Shon Arey lo larga horca nan, nan ta larga e cos ey para. Nanzi tambe a pensa e cos ey mashá bon. Te un día e no por a wanta mas. El a conta Shi María, cu awe lo e bai purba su suerte. Shi María a yora: “Nanzi, nunca mas lo mi weita-bo. Ta con bo por ta golos asina?. Larga e baca queda na su lugar”. Nanzi tabata mashá terco, el a bai toch. Yegando palacio Shon Arey a largu’é bini cerca dje. E quier a mira e hende, cu a bin’ tuma su morto. Shon Arey a hari chiqui-chiqui, ora el a mira Nanzi. Sinembargo e di cun’é: “Ta gana di muri bo tin?. Ni bieew bo no ta”. “No Shon Arey, mi no tin gana di muri, ni lo mi no muri tampoco. E baca sí lo mi gana. Mi tin un fabor sí di pidi Shon Arey. Promer, cu mi rosa e tera, lo mi quier scoge e baca. Mi ta spera, cu Shon Arey lo no tin nada contra”. “Wel, no Nanzi. Siguimi”. Nanzi a camma bon mucha tras di Shon Arey, té ora nan a queda pará dilanti di hopi baca bunita i gordo. “Shon Arey, lo mi por hanja esun bunita aqui?” Nanzi a muntra un baca gordísimo i tur pintá. “Sigur no, Nanzi. Ta bon. Mira pa bo gana e baca, tende;. Ayoo”. Un coprà a bin’ busca Nanzi p’é rosa e tera. Nanzi a cuminza traha, ma e bringamosanan a dun’é mashá gana di grawata su curpa. El a hiza su cara p’é wak e coprà. Esaqui tabata wak e bon.

Poco mas aleuw el a mira su baca. “Coprà, coprà, bo sá ta cua baca ta pa mi?. Ta esun, cu tin un mancha aqui, un mancha aya, un mancha p’aqui, un mancha p’ey”. Tur es tem’, Nanzi tabata grawata e lugarnan, cu e ta mustra na su smak. Cada bez, cu e ta sinti, cu e mester grawatá, e ta mustra e coprà, na unda e baca ta pintá. Den menos cu mei ora, el a bini clá cu su tera. Coprá i soldá mester a declara cu Nanzi no a grawata su curpa ni un ora sol. Nan no a comprendé, cu ta grawata Nanzi tabata grawata, ora e ta papia cu nan.

Asina Nanzi a gana su baca grandi i gordo. Cantando na boz haltu el a bolbe cas. Shi María i tur e yiunan a curi bin' contr'é. Nan a braz'é, sunch'é cu mashá gracia. Nan a quere sigur, cu nunca mas lo nan a mir'é. P'esey nan a grita: "Biba Papa Nanzi;"

**Translation:**

Shon Arey (Sir King) had a large plot of land, which was covered with nettle. He could do nothing with this land of his, so he went out to look for people, who wanted to plough his land. He who managed to plough the land without scratching his body, would win a big, fat cow. But he who could not, would end up hung on the pitchfork. Nobody wanted to try. Everybody really wanted to get the cow, but as soon as they realized the king would surely kill them, they gave up trying. Nanzi also thought it was great thing. One day he could not wait for longer. He told Shi Maria, that he wanted to give it a try. She cried, "Nanzi, I will not see you any more; how can you be so daring? You die and will have no cow". Nanzi was stubborn and determined to do it. Upon arriving at palace, the king came out to meet him. He wanted to see who came to die. The king smile when he looked at Nanzi. However, he said, "You are really anxious to die. You are still young". – "No, Your Majesty, I am not anxious to die, nor will I die either. But I am anxious to get the cow. But I have a favor to ask of you. Before I plough the land, I need to choose the cow. I hope Your Majesty will not oppose to it". "Well, no, Nanzi. Follow me". Nanzi walked a long way after the king, until they stopped by a nice, fat cow. "Your Majesty, can I have this one?". Nanzi showed a very fat, spotted cow. "Sure, Nanzi, no problem. But make sure you win it, understand? Good by". A sergeant came along to watch Nanzi plough the land. Nanzi began to work, but the nettle gave him much anxiety to scratch his body. Nanzi looked up to see the sergeant. He was watching him closely; then he looked at his cow, farther down. "Sergeant, sergeant, do you know which cow is for me?. It's that one with a spot down here, another spot up here, one more over there. Nanzi was scratching his body all the time on the places he was showing to him. Each time he needed to scratch, he would show the sergeant where the cow had a spot. Thus, he finished to plough the land in less than a half hour. Sergeant and soldiers had to declare that Nanzi had not scratched his body at any time. They did not realize that Nanzi was scratching his body while he talked with them. So, Nanzi won his big, fat cow. He came back home, singing aloud. Shi Maria and all his kids rushed out to meet him. They gave him a big, long hug. They thought they would not see him back again. So, they shouted, "Long live Papa Nanzi!"

## 7. Notes

<sup>1</sup> The three selected folktales are:

<sup>1</sup> See Bickerton, and his followers

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Masuda, pp.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Langacker 2002:3-4 et passim

<sup>1</sup> See Schwegler, ...

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Comrie 1976:71

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g.,

<sup>1</sup> See, among others,

<sup>1</sup> See Porras 2002:

<sup>1</sup> Palenquero 'era' mirrors the Spanish imperfect form to describe states in the past. This rule applies to Portuguese also and, extensively, to Spanish and Portuguese-based Creoles

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## 7. Notes

<sup>i</sup> The three selected folktales are:

<sup>ii</sup> See Bickerton, and his followers

<sup>iii</sup> Cf. Masuda, pp.

<sup>iv</sup> Cp. Langacker 2002:3-4 et passim

<sup>v</sup> See Schwegler, ...

<sup>vi</sup> Cf. Comrie 1976:71

<sup>vii</sup> See, e.g.,

<sup>viii</sup> See, among others,

<sup>ix</sup> See Porras 2002:

<sup>x</sup> Palenquero 'era' mirrors the Spanish imperfect form to describe states in the past. This rule applies to Portuguese also and, extensively, to Spanish and Portuguese-based Creoles