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***Ou ka palé Patwa? A study of surviving traditional domains of
Patois usage in Paramin Village, Trinidad***

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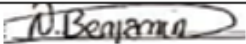
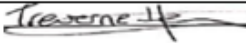

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Ou ka palé Patwa? A study of surviving traditional domains of Patois usage in Paramin Village, Trinidad

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I. *Avan, Annou Koumansé!*

A. ABSTRACT

This research project expounds on the lexicon of the surviving traditional domains of Trinidadian French Creole (Patwa/Patois) regarding the folktales, proverbs, jokes, and riddles that are in use among the surviving Patois speakers of Paramin Village, Trinidad. The purpose of this study is to aid in the preservation of Trinidadian Patois by exploring, documenting and adding to existing data of this endangered language within these traditional domains. This study is based on a collection of 9 proverbs, 6 folktales, and 2 jokes through the employment of two focus groups, an interview as well as secondary sources. Findings of this study indicated that the Patois speakers of Paramin Village were knowledgeable of the linguistic practices of folktales, proverbs and jokes in Trinidadian French Creole. However, they were unfamiliar with riddles in Patois. This project is anticipated to be effective in building a greater awareness of Trinidadian French Creole within these linguistic practices as this endangered language plays an integral part in the rich and vibrant culture of Trinidad. This study can also inspire future research in the linguistic domain of language preservation of other endangered languages.

B. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to thank Dr Jo-Anne Ferreira, Carlos Cornelius Felician, Nnamdi Hodge, Raisa Belcon as well as our hospitable participants from Paramin Village, for their assistance, time, and patience.

C. KEY TERMS

Creole - a contact language that generally emerges in multilingual situations and has native speakers.

Endangered Language - "An endangered language is one that is likely to become extinct in the near future" (Woodbury).

Folklore - An expressive body of culture shared by a particular group of people; it encompasses the traditions common to that culture, subculture or group.

Joke - a display of humour in which words are utilised in a specific narrative structure to cause laughter or amusement.

Kwéyòl - a French-lexified Creole language.

Patwa/Patois - a French-lexified Creole language.

Proverb - a short, metaphorical phrase that contains a wise thought and expresses a perceived truth based on experience.

Riddle - a mystifying, misleading or puzzling question posed as a problem to be solved or guessed.

Trinbagonian - A citizen of Trinidad and Tobago.

Soucouyant - A person, usu. an old woman, who sheds her skin, travels as a ball of fire and sucks people's blood, leaving a blue mark (Winer 838).

Lagahoo/Lagahou/Legawu/Lougarou/Loup Garou - In folklore, a human who takes the form of an animal, generally at night (Winer 543).

Jumbie/ Zombie bird - a bird active at night; has a mournful cry (Winer 475).

Lajablesse/ La Jablesse/ La Diabliesse - A folklore character, a beautiful woman in a long dress who has one foot like a cow's; she entices men astray at night in the forest or on lonely roads (Winer 511).

II. *Annou Koumansé!*

A. INTRODUCTION

1. Thesis Statement

This project illustrates the exploration of lexicon, by expanding on the already existing documentation of the linguistic practices of proverbs, folktales, jokes, and riddles through the surviving speakers of Paramin Village in Trinidad.

2. Brief Historical Background

The status of Trinidadian French Creole was that of a widely spoken language from the 18th century to the early 20th century, due to the effect of the 1783 Royal Cedula de Población, a plan that welcomed Catholics which included French and French Creole speakers swearing to the Spanish crown. However, in the mid-19th century, anglicisation led to fewer native speakers of French Creole in Trinidad (Ferreira, “The Last Spheres” 2).

3. Motivation

Motivation is an integral part of the successful completion of a research study. There are predominantly two motivations for this research paper, the first being the need for language preservation. Patois, the name (or autonym or endonym) used by native speakers in Trinidad, also referred to by linguists as Trinidadian French Creole, has been facing endangerment for quite some time and this can be slowly reversed by increasing the documentation and transparent

records of the language in the hope of bringing more awareness and increasing the sense of the importance of preserving Patois for future generations. The second is from a personal standpoint: we all have developed a keen interest in Patois and wanted to expand our knowledge while carrying out this research.

B. HYPOTHESIS

The surviving speakers of the endangered language of Trinidadian French Creole in Paramin Village are knowledgeable of the linguistic domains of folktales, proverbs, jokes, and riddles, and as such, the gathered data shall add to the documentation and preservation of this language.

C. LITERATURE REVIEW

Within the study, “Patois in Trinidad and Tobago: From John Jacob Thomas to Lawrence D. Carrington”, Ferreira expounds on the history, current state as well as the endangerment of French Creole in Trinidad (and Tobago), highlighting its use of lexicon within several domains, inclusive of the fact that Patois was the first language of folktales, proverbs, and songs. Additionally, she acknowledges linguists John Jacob Thomas and Lawrence D. Carrington on their pioneering work in documenting the grammar system of Trinidadian and St Lucian French Creole, respectively.

By the same token, Ferreira maintains within her article, “Trinidad’s French Creole Linguistic and Cultural Heritage: Documentation and Revitalization Issues” that Patois is a language that still exists in many aspects of Trinidad’s cultural heritage and cultural expressions. Throughout this course of study, it is acknowledged that Trinidadian French Creole is endangered in Trinidad and was almost considered dead at some point. Language shift can be seen through the process Trinidadian French Creole being replaced with Trinidadian English Creole with many vocabulary words loaned from Patois. It is, therefore, not spoken as widely as it used to be, and as a result has been lost within the younger generations. Even though the language is primarily of oral heritage, it still maintains its impact in other domains such as Carnival, folklore, flora, fauna and folk medicine. Ferreira concluded that the issue was not particularly the number of speakers but rather the attitudes towards the language. She also acknowledged the small changes such as the insertion of Patois in the education system of Trinidad and Tobago at the kindergarten and primary school level one and at the tertiary level.

In the article, “The Last Spheres of a Dying Language: The Case of French Creole in Trinidad”, Ferreira discusses the emergence and current status of French Creole in Trinidad as well as the factors that contribute to the surviving aspects of the language which is inclusive of language attitudes, relative isolation, and lack of access to formal education. The study focuses attention on areas in which French Creole is still present in Trinidad such as flora and fauna, culture, proverbs, and onomastics. In addition, Ferreira recognises the influence of the structural features of Trinidadian French Creole on Trinidadian English Creole.

Furthermore, the research paper, “Are They Dying? The Case of Some French-lexifier Creoles” by Ferreira and Holbrook, entails background information from three French-lexifier Creoles spoken in Grenada and Carriacou, Trinidad, as well as Louisiana in the United States of America through the use of language surveys. The paper examines the degree of language development, the attainments of the languages as a mother tongue, the presence of bilingualism or monolingualism as well as the discussion of existing education programmes in utilising these French Creoles. Additionally, positive and negative attitudes towards the French Creole languages were analysed. Both authors also illustrate the comparison of the different French Creoles as well as detailed information on Trinidadian French Creole.

Moreover, with reference to Martin’s “The French Creoles of Trinidad and the Limits of the Francophone”, that author fixates on previous studies done on Francophone postcolonial studies, its culture and impacts on literary content in the islands of the Caribbean. The change from Spanish rule to French rule of the former colony, Trinidad, was discussed. It can be observed that status became important and therefore the Spanish started to marry into French families of noble origins. French Creoles in Trinidad began to publish works in French and write

poetry that later held much historical value. Trinidadian written poetry had been disregarded when examining Trinidadian culture. It is of the assumption that at one point in time, a plethora of Trinidadians was able to speak French-lexicon Creole in Trinidad until the majority shifted to using English and English Creole as their primary languages.

Additionally, John Jacob Thomas' book *The Theory and Practice of Creole Grammar* explores the perception of French Creole being exhibited as a derivative process directly from French. Accordingly, he composed a compilation of the grammar of French Creole to give rise to a Creole language that has not been given significant attention and this compilation also gives access for comparison for those who are pursuing the study of French Creole or who want to study and compare the etymology of other languages to French Creole. Furthermore, Thomas attempts to debunk the notion that French Creole is a mispronunciation of French. He produced the research with a few collections of French Creole sources and French dictionaries. This book focused on orthography, etymology, and interpretations/idioms which includes idiomatic expressions, proverbs, and translations.

With reference to "Folktales from Paramin and the Lopinot Pageant. La Romaine, Trinidad and Tobago" by Barbara Eugene-Wafe, this Caribbean Studies project illustrates a sociohistorical study of Patois in Paramin whereby she expounds on both the history of Paramin as well as the various folktales and proverbs utilised by the Paramin inhabitants which are compiled in English. Eugene-Wafe maintains that the themes present in the folktales are inclusive of heroism, trickery and betrayal. In addition, the form of the folktales was examined and were noted to consist of plots, settings, language and imagery. Eugene-Wafe also asserts that the proverbs are put into tales/folktales with the protagonist giving advice and certain folk

characters are used to display various lessons and morals. Two folk superheroes, namely, Ti Jean and Compere Lapin, are the main protagonists of the folktale and proverbial stories.

The *Language Varieties* website showcases an article by Gertrud Aub-Buscher, entitled “Trinidad French Creoles” whereby the author illustrates various aspects of the Trinidadian French Creole language, inclusive of the language’s historical background which entails its current use in Trinidad as well as attitudes towards the language. Certain lexemes, phonological and syntactic aspects are also provided by Aub-Buscher. The author provides meanings for the French Creole words and phrases, an inventory of sounds in Patois and also supplies Patois proverbs with their corresponding translations. Additionally, with reference to syntax, information is given on several parts of speech as well as articles and word order of the French Creole language.

Rhona Baptiste’s dictionary, *Trini Talk: A Dictionary of Words and Proverbs of Trinidad and Tobago*, consists of a compilation of Trinidadian English Creole words and proverbs in English that are used by speakers in Trinidad and Tobago. The dictionary offers correct pronunciations and definitions in Trinidadian English Creole. Baptiste wrote her first edition of this dictionary in 1994 and has since updated and expanded on new proverbs and vocabulary as cultures and influences have evolved within the twin-island, thereby continuously impacting language existence.

The songbook, *Vini Chanté an Patwa (Come Sing in Patois)*, is researched and compiled by Florence Blizzard and Nnamdi Hodge. It contains a plethora of titles and lyrics of popular Patois songs that are both presented in Patois and English. This compilation of works attempts to revitalise the Patois heritage of the people of Trinidad and Tobago, since this language is an

integral aspect of the country's rich culture. This songbook also gives insight to the spelling system of French Creole. In addition, a short history of the French Creole languages of the Caribbean, as well as retention of linguistic aspects of the Patois language in Trinidad and Tobago, are discussed.

In his "Creole Discourse and Social Development", Lawrence Carrington combines a series of meeting documents, internal reports, as well as preliminary technical documents with the ambition of further developing his research into a formal publication. Despite this study not being directly related to Creoles spoken in Trinidad and Tobago, Carrington focuses his research on the French-lexicon Creole language varieties spoken in St. Lucia, Dominica and Haiti which is useful for comparing and contrasting the lexical aspects of the Trinidadian French Creole data within this research project.

The article, "Language Revitalization and Identity in Social Context: A Community-Based Athabascan Language Preservation Project in Western Interior Alaska", by Beth Dementi-Leonard and Perry Gilmore describes the revitalisation of five languages spoken in Alaska. Although the study focuses on Alaskan languages, it also incorporates ways to revitalise a language. The article illustrates that a major way of revitalisation is to bring awareness of the history and culture of the language to its citizens. Furthermore, Dementi-Leonard and Gilmore maintain that projects should be created to document languages within their respective speech communities and these projects should work with organisations to aid in further outreach to the awareness and attitudes of the public towards these languages. The study also stresses the importance of bilingualism which is showcased as one of the reasons behind preserving and researching a language.

III. *Annou Apwoché Pwojé-Sala!*

A. METHODOLOGY

The methodology of this project included a research design created to evaluate this project's hypothesis. The design is inclusive of a collection of methods and procedures that were used in collecting and analysing measures of the variables specified in the hypothesis. Accordingly, a qualitative research design, in the forms of primary and secondary sources, was employed. The primary data were acquired from the research method of two focus groups consisting of three to five participants on three separate occasions, specifically on December 1st 2019, March 1st 2020 and March 8th 2020. Secondary sources consisted of articles, books, etc. containing proverbs, folktales, jokes, and riddles written in both Trinidadian French Creole and its English translations.

The participant sample size of the focus groups varied each day they were carried out. Focus groups are considered an ethical approach as they generate information about the linguistic practices of the speech community. This method of data collection also utilises the procedures of audio and tape recording, note-taking and participant observation. Focus groups stimulate motivated discussions or debate on the research topic as it simultaneously generates qualitative data. They aid in capturing empirical differences in the participants thus leading to the rise of new perspectives on the topic. Additionally, this project utilised homogeneous focus groups which entailed male participants all ageing between fifty-five (55) and ninety (90) years. These participants shared ethnic or social class backgrounds which improved the quality of discussion between the participants and by extension, the results of the focus groups. The

participants' names are not listed in this study as the researchers sought permission for solely their audio and stories to be used. This method also allowed consultation and evaluation of the different aspects being discussed, thereby clarifying and extending findings on the topic.

At the beginning of each focus group, the discussion with the participants and facilitators was guided by a list of questions that contained ethics approval, based on the research objectives and the main aim of some of the traditional domains of Patois usage. With respect to the demographics of the surviving speakers of Patois, the method was convenient for them because they all live nearby and as senior citizens, it would therefore be the most comfortable setting. The qualitative data that were collected were prepared via orthographic transcription by the researchers. It was then edited and subsequently analysed by categorising it into three distinct sections, namely proverbs, folktales and jokes which are included in the study under Appendix 1, Appendix 2 and Appendix 3. The data transcriptions were done in French Creole and afterwards translated into English, whereby most of the English translations were provided by the participants. This, in turn, allows for both Trinidadian English and French Creole speakers to understand as well as view both languages side by side and therefore discern the correlation between each other.

There are, however, a few limitations that should be noted. An interview was conducted in place of a focus group because the participants were unavailable at that specific time. This, in turn, could have affected the accuracy of data collected from the focus groups. Secondly, the participants were in familiar settings with enough space to comfortably interact with each other and the project's coordinators. On the other hand, a few distractions were presented to the participants which subsequently led to loud background noise that was acquired in the

recordings. Thirdly, due to the unpredictable circumstances of the COVID-19 pandemic, further data could not be collected.

B. FINDINGS

The type of data analysis used within this study is narrative analysis, as this refers to a category of analytic methods whereby researchers decipher stories or visual data that are told within the framework of research and/or are shared in everyday life (Gimenez 200). The researchers of this project coordinated this analysis by focusing on the linguistic domains of folktales, proverbs and jokes. In addition, this form of data analysis integrates aspects such as the structure of their related stories and its function as language preservation via documentation as well as the oral delivery of the stories which demonstrates the oratory culture of Trinidad that plays an essential role.

In line with the study's hypothesis, it was established that Trinidadian French Creole is indeed used in recognised cultural forms such as folktales, proverbs and jokes. However, no data was obtained on riddles as this cultural domain was not familiar by the sample size of surviving speakers in Paramin Village who were included in this research. Secondary sources revealed categorised listings of folktales and proverbs which were then used to compare to the new data produced by the surviving speakers of Paramin within this study. The focal points of this research were the prominent folktales, proverbs and jokes recalled by the participants from their childhood days. A total of nine proverbs, six folktales, and two jokes were documented and analysed.

The proverbs collected¹ were told through stories of animal characters, inclusive of tigers, donkeys, goats, crabs, frogs, pigs and monkeys as well as through stories of inanimate objects

¹ The data on the proverbs is illustrated in Appendix 1- Proverbs

such as the moon and sun, and a boat. The tiger and donkey characters are illustrated within Proverb 1: *toujou kwè la ni moun pli bon pasé ou* ('Always believe there is someone greater than you'). The goat is seen in Proverb 2: *pa bwè épi vini sou* ('Don't drink and get drunk'). The crab and frog are portrayed in Proverb 3: *Bon tjè kwab i fè depi pa te ni tèt jouné* ('Is crab good heart that caused him not to have a head today'). The pig is highlighted in Proverb 5: *lè ou pli vyé ou kay konpwann* ('When you get older, you will understand'). The monkey is seen within Proverb 6: *Makak konnèt ki bwa li ka monté* ('Monkey know what tree to climb'), Proverb 7: *sa makak wè, makak fè* ('Monkey see, monkey do') as well as Proverb 8: *Makak pa jamen di li timamay sé lèd* ('Monkey never says its young is ugly'). By the same token, the moon and sun characters are highlighted in Proverb 4: *Lalin kouwi jou bawé* ('the moon will run but the sun will always catch up to it') and the inanimate boat object is illustrated in Proverb 9: *Gwo kannòt-la èpi ti vwèl* ('A big boat with a small sail').

The folktales collected², which were inclusive of jokes, also incorporated stories of animal characters such as dogs, rabbits and agoutis as well as supernatural characters, specifically Soucouyants, Lougarous, zombie birds and the La Diabliesse. The dog and agouti characters are showcased in Folktale 1: *chyen-an èk gouti-a* ('The dog and the agouti'). The rabbit is seen in Folktale 6: *Pouki lapen zòwèy lonng* ('Why rabbit ears are so long'). Simultaneously, the Soucouyant is highlighted in Folktale 2: *soukouyan-an* ('The soucouyant'), the Lougarou in Folktale 3: *lougawou-a* ('The lougarou'), the Zombie Bird in Folktale 4: *zwézo zòbi-a* ('The Zombie Bird') and the La Diabliesse in Folktale 5: *ladjablès-la* ('The La Diabliesse').

² The data on the folktales is illustrated in Appendix 2 - Folktales

In addition, the jokes collected³ also integrated stories of animal characters, particularly dogs. Joke 1 presents *lè dé dwòl chyen jwenn ansanm pa ka santi fès-yo* ('When two strange dogs meet together by sniffing their behind'), while Joke 2 portrays *Masonn-an ki té ka tonbé an chyen-an* ('The wall that was falling on the dog').

³ The data on the jokes is illustrated in Appendix 3 - Jokes

IV. *Annou Palé!*

A. DISCUSSION

This study's hypothesis maintains that the surviving speakers of the endangered language of Trinidadian French Creole in Paramin Village are knowledgeable of the linguistic domains of folktales, proverbs, jokes, and riddles, and as such, the gathered data shall add to the documentation and preservation of this language. Accordingly, with reference to the data obtained, it was established that the surviving speakers of Paramin Village were knowledgeable of folktales, proverbs as well as jokes in Trinidad Patois. However, these participants were not familiar with the domain of riddles in written or spoken forms in Trinidadian French Creole.

Despite being an endangered language, Trinidadian French Creole continues to be a surviving language in the Paramin community, where it was utilised as the prominent language of folktales and proverbs. Similar to Ferreira's study, "Patois in Trinidad and Tobago", the data obtained from this study illustrates that these linguistic domains are part of the oratory culture in Trinidad that was recounted in both Patois and Trinidadian English Creole by the participants, which consequently showcases "the lexical and grammatical frameworks of the everyday speech of Trinbagonians" (Ferreira, "Patois in Trinidad and Tobago" 3).

With reference to Barbara Eugene-Wafe's "Paramin: A Sociocultural Study via its folktales", this Caribbean Studies project incorporated organised listings of folklore and proverbs which were then used to compare to the data produced by the Paramin speakers within this study. The themes from Eugene-Wafe's compilation of folktales and proverbs are also maintained within this study's data collection. These themes are inclusive of trickery, betrayal, ingratitude, greed, envy as well as disobedience. In the collected data, the folktale of *Chyen-an èk gouti-a*

('The Dog and the Agouti') showcased themes of trickery and betrayal. Both animals had fake horns in which they used to get on board. When Agouti got caught, he then betrayed his friend and told the other animals that he was a traitor who also had a fake horn. Another theme portrayed was greed in the folktale of *kòpè lapen épi kòpè Tig* ('Comrade Rabbit and Comrade Tiger'), where the animals wanted to become smarter and were punished because of greed.

In addition, Eugene-Wafe's folktale stories are mainly composed of animal characters. Likewise, there are two categories of characters that are showcased within the folktale and proverbial stories in this thesis, namely animal characters and supernatural characters.

Correspondingly, Ferreira's article entitled "Trinidad's French Creole Linguistic and Cultural Heritage: Documentation and Revitalisation Issues," asserts that Trinidad Patois in Trinidad has been and is still closely associated with rural life as it incorporates a "richly developed lexicon in the areas of flora and fauna, and it is the lexicon from these linguistic domains that have most heavily contributed to the more widely spoken English and English Creoles" (Ferreira, "Trinidad's French Creole" 118). The fauna words mentioned within this study's data, such as 'agouti' and 'kwapo', were familiar and recognizable because of their widespread usage in Trinidadian English Creole. The animal characters were mostly employed throughout the proverbs by the Patois speakers. By way of example, the participants related a proverb such as 'Is crab good heart that caused him not to have a head today' which tells the story of the *kwapo* ('frog') and *kwab* ('crab'). In addition, the Patois speakers spoke of the folktale, *chyen-an èk agouti-a* ('the dog and the agouti'). As such, it is seen that these aspects of these linguistic practices are undeniably part of Trinidad's cultural expression to this day. One observation is that Patwa proverbs are intertwined with folktales as folktales are usually used to

explain what the proverb means. For instance, the proverb *toujou kwè la ni moun pli bon pasé ou* ('Always believe there is someone greater than you') was told through the story of the tiger and the donkey.

Pertaining to the supernatural characters of the folktale stories, it is noted that the Paramin inhabitants related slightly different versions of the stories of these creatures as compared to the popular Trinidadian conceptions of these characters. The most common Trinidadian conception of the soucouyant portrays her as a remote, old woman who flies and sucks the blood off her victims at night, while the interpretation given by the Patwa speakers of Paramin narrate the soucouyant to be either a male or a female creature, as the soucouyant was said to travel together in a group on afternoons and even kill their own kind due to animosity. The most popular notion of the La Diabliesse showcases a beautiful woman with a cow heel foot who lures men to their demise and is afraid of sulphur and light. Within the Paramin Patwa speakers' adaptation of this character, they also related their personal encounters with these creatures, which further emphasised the oratory culture of Trinidad that encompasses these specific linguistic domains. In addition, with regard to the Lagahoo, the most familiar understanding of this character is that it is a male shapeshifter. However, the Paramin community refers to this figure as a 'lougarou' while the wider society of Trinidad refers to him as a 'lagahoo'. This, in turn, shows that over a period of time, aspects of folktale stories may be altered due to the evolution of culture. Thus, it is significant to preserve endangered languages such as Trinidadian French Creole in order to better document all versions of these stories. It should be noted that a story will not always be told the same way. Even if it is told by the same

person, once retold from memory, these stories may be modified over time based on the speaker's audience or sense of recollection.

On the other hand, the Patois speakers recounted a folktale which seemed to be exclusive to their community and oratory culture, since this story was not common to the wider Trinidadian society. It depicts a bird with a long tail and big eyes that makes a peculiar sound like /gu:t gu:t gu:t/. Furthermore, this study also showcases two jokes in French Creole which included varieties of a dog character. It was also seen that jokes were integrated within certain folktales, such as *Pouki lapen zòwèy lonng* ('why rabbit ears are so long') as well as proverbs, namely, *lè ou pli vyé ou kay konpwann* ('when you get older, you will understand').

Moreover, while Eugene-Wafe's project was utilised as a guide to these linguistic domains in Paramin Village, this study essentially added more data to the French Creole language within these domains. Her data were presented in Trinidad Standard English, while this study's data incorporated both the French Creole language and its respective Trinidadian Standard English translations. Her project also showcased orthographical issues as her titles were not implemented in the accurate French Creole orthography.

In referring to conflicting results of this thesis, it was maintained within Ferreira's article, "Patois in Trinidad and Tobago", based on works done by John Jacob Thomas, that Patois was also used as a language for riddles. However, despite giving examples to the participants in attempts to prompt any riddles that they may have learnt, the participants did not know any. In *Folk-lore of the Antilles, French and English Part III*, Elsie Clews Parsons mentions several riddles she compiled from her research. This brought contradictory views since the findings of

this research shows that riddles do not exist within the linguistic repertoires of the Patois speakers of today

Continuing, the importance of research findings is to further already existing research, thereby encouraging the preservation of French Creole within Trinidad and Tobago. It is unfortunate that upcoming generations are unaware of the cultural impacts Patwa has on the culture and identity of Trinbagonians. This is an opportunity to increase documentation and hopefully create a wider awareness of Patwa as the speakers and researchers fight language endangerment. Documentation is especially important when it comes to the prevention of cultural erasure. This is discernible in relation to “Are They Dying? The Case of Some French-lexifier Creoles” by Ferreira and Holbrook as the paper investigates the vitality of the language and language attitudes through the number of education programmes that use French Creole. These findings were made accessible in order to compare the difference in the vitality and development of Patois then to future research. The degree of language development was mini-scale when interest was displayed for furthering new language development but this cannot tell if the development attempts would have a real impact on the future (Ferreira and Holbrook 17). Subsequently, the language attitudes and development efforts have changed gradually since there exist Patois masses throughout Trinidad, increased research and documentation, and courses outside of the University of West Indies teaching Patois to children and adults.

The ability to conduct an interview and focus groups with willing participants was a great advantage to the completion of the research as it allowed us to get the necessary data needed for the completion of the research. With the help of a resident. Another major advantage as it pertains to language is that all researchers were familiar with Patwa and were able to understand

and communicate with the participants using both Patwa and English Creole. This also served as a benefit when transcribing and translating data.

Nevertheless, this study had several limitations. Initially, finances affected the physical research aspect of the project as money was needed for transport and a tour guide with the ability to carry the researchers throughout the village and with knowledge of the surviving speakers of Paramin. Secondly, it was quite difficult setting a date and generating a specific number of participants because the reliance of outside parties to contact participants for the researchers was inadequate at times, as there was no prior information of the speakers. Following, the interview did not progress as hoped, as the participants in the first focus group had a tendency to stray off the topics presented to them whereas the second participants were a lot more attentive and concentrated.

Additionally, most of the documented data was obtained by technological devices such as phones and cameras which led to unpredictable error occurring with one of the recordings and consequently erasing valid information. The focus group also allowed the participants to speak in the language they felt most comfortable in, so they spoke in Patwa and then explained almost everything afterwards in English because they were caught up in relating the stories, proverbs and jokes. Therefore, the researchers had to consecutively decipher the best possible translations for the data.

This research can be used to spread awareness of Patois which in turn can influence the insertion of Trinidadian French Creole into Trinidad and Tobago education systems. This study can inspire lecturers and teachers to view it as an opportunity to share cultural texts with students and continue the movement of the preservation of Patois. This project will also be accessible to

Linguistics majors or those who are promoting language preservation in order to use this information to continuously add, document, or to utilise these data within the field of cultural studies. Future studies will be able to utilise this thesis in addressing Patois in a different location of Trinidad and compare and contrast the differences or similarities of the areas. Furthermore, a larger sample size can be used, consisting of both men and women along with multiple technical devices to collect data to increase documentation.

B. CONCLUSION

The aim of this research project was to successfully expand on the existing traditional domains of the endangered language of Trinidadian French Creole with respect to the linguistic practices of folktales, proverbs, jokes and riddles that were utilised by surviving speakers of Paramin Village, Trinidad. As the study's purpose was accomplished, this in turn efficiently assists in the language preservation of Trinidad Patois. Findings of this study pinpointed that the French Creole participants of Paramin Village were aware of the linguistic domains of folktales, proverbs and jokes in Trinidad Patois. A total of nine proverbs, six folktales and two jokes were documented and analysed, which were inclusive of animal and supernatural characters. However, the linguistic field of riddles in Patois and also in Trinidadian English was exhibited to be unknown and uncommon to the participants. The limitations of this research included financial and scheduling issues with respect to the collection of data, lack of a proper environment to conduct research which resulted in various distractions for the participants as well as complications with the storage and management of data. For future research within this linguistic field, researchers should manage language preservation within different territories of Trinidad that entail endangered languages with a larger sample size.

V. *Annou Mansyonnen Moun-nan Enpòtan!*

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VI. *Annou Mansyonnen Bagay!*

A. Appendix 1

Proverbs

Some proverbs are usually intertwined with stories and therefore they are interlinked with each other.

Proverb 1: *Toujou kwè la ni moun pli bon pasé ou* ('Always believe there is someone greater than you') - told through the story of the tiger and the donkey

Patwa Transcription

Kòpé tig li kwel li sété pli mèchan-an a gwo bwa. Bouwik ka di'y lè ou jwen nonm ou ka pale difèwan. Ou sé alé ka gadé pou nonm èpi dèstans chimen – an i jwenn an tibway mé tibway “ou sé nonm?” I di nonm, wa pa mwen pòkò nonm. Papa mwen sé nonm dèstans chimen-an ou ka jwen nonm. I kontwè maman'y, i di dèstans chimen-an ék ou kay kontwè nonm. I kontwè papa'y. Tig di, “ou sé nonm”. I di mwen pasé nonm ka lè, he is an old man now but if you want to meet man dèstans chimen-an mal pou li , lè'y pasé kwen-an a i jwen nonm. Dépi bonmaten mwen ka gadépu nonm épi nonm an kout bois a tèt li épi hale kout la épi tiwé zowéy li. Misyé pa ti lè'y vé lakay pa ti lè tout mété fiwaj dépi ka di ou pa api nonm.

English Translation (told by a participant)

Tiger is a very ferocious animal, and he always believed that he is the greatest in the forest. However, Donkey always told him “you are only talking about being a man until you meet Man because when you meet him you will talk differently. Eventually, he got tired of Donkey telling him that Man is greater than him. So, Tiger takes off looking for Man because he wanted to destroy man. He met a young boy and asked him if he was Man, to which he replied, “I am not a man as yet but if you are looking for Man you have to walk down the road”. He met Woman and asked her “are you the one that they call Man?” She replied, “No, I am Man's mother, but if you want to meet Man, walk down the road.” He met Old Man and asked if he was Man. He said he was not Man anymore and if he wanted to meet Man, he should walk down the road to meet Man. Unfortunately for him, the man was tired and returned from the forest where he cut a piece of wood as a cutlass handle and had it and the cutlass case on his side. As Tiger turned the corner, he was head to head with the young man. Tiger said “Are you the one they call Man? Since morning I have been looking for Man”. The young man hit him a blow to his face with the stick and pulled out his blade and took off one of Tiger's ears. Tiger took off and when he

reached home, he told his wife to call all the beasts. He told them while walking down the road, he did not do Man anything and all of a sudden Man just hit him a blow and pulled out a bone from his ribs and took off an ear. So, he told them not to trust Man. When you are always talking about being great, believe you there is always somebody greater than you.

Proverb 2: *Pa bwè épi vini sou* ('Don't drink and get drunk') - told through the story of the goat getting drunk and how drums are made)

Patwa Transcription

Kabwit bwè épi i kité lapo'y an mizé

English Translation (told by a participant)

Goat drink and get drunk and leave his skin in trouble. When he got drunk, he fell down to the side of the road. People took his skin to make drums.

(According to the saying, when someone is seen beating a drum, it is said that the drum is usually made out of goat's skin, therefore it is said that the goat is dead and that is what its skin is used for)

Proverb 3: *Bon tjè kwab i fè depi pa te ni tèt jouné* ('Is crab good heart that caused him not to have a head today') - told through the story of the crab and the frog

Patwa Transcription

Bon tjè kwab i fè depi pa te ni tèt jouné. Kòpé kwab pwété kwapo tèt li, pou i ale fèt-la. Lè i sòti a fèt-la, i pwan tjè-li épi'y.

English Translation (told by a participant)

Crab had a nice head, you know. Yes, Crab was a beautiful thing. But Frog was always ugly. So, the frog wanted to go to a party and he asked the crab to borrow his head. Therefore, Crab had a good heart and gave it to the frog. But Frog did not bring back Crab's head for him. And that is why the crab does not have his head up till this day.

Proverb 4: *Lalin kouwi jou bawé* ('the moon will run but the sun will always catch up to it')

Patwa Transcription

La lin kouwi jou bawe.

'You do as much as you want but someone will always catch up with you'

English Translation/ Explanation

The moon will rise but sooner or later the sun will catch up with it. – you can do as much as you want but somebody will catch up with you. Sooner or later the law will catch up with you.

Proverb 5: *Lè ou pli vyé ou kay konpwann* ('When you get older, you will understand') - told through the story of the pig's snout

Patwa Transcription

Kochon ma di manman'y kouman jann ou telman lonng. Piti kochon-an ma di manman'y kwesyon-an : gade manman kouman jann ou pe longg kosa. Manman gade'y an zye

English Translation

The young pig asks his mother why his snout is so long, his mother tells him later you will know what I am talking about.

Proverb 6: *Makak konnèt ki bwa li ka monté* ('Monkey know what tree to climb')

Patwa Transcription

makak konnèt ki bwa li ka monté

English Translation

Bullies know whom to intimidate. Ruffians take advantage and 'climb' all over those who they know they can handle. However, they dare not offend the wrong person.

Proverb 7: *Sa makak wè, makak fè* ('Monkey see, monkey do')

Patwa Transcription

sa makak wè, makak fè

English Translation

When one person mimics the actions of another.

Proverb 8: *Makak pa jamen di li timamay sé lèd* ('Monkey never says its young is ugly')

Patwa Transcription

makak pa jamen ka di ich-li lèd

English Translation

People will criticise everyone else but their own loved ones.

Proverb 9: *Gwo kannòt- la èpi ti vwèl* ('A big boat with a small sail')

Patwa Transcription

Gwo batiman piti vwèl

English Translation (told by participants)

When someone has a lot of pride in themselves but when one takes a closer look at them, it is seen that in reality, they have nothing to show/offer. They make a lot of claims but have nothing to back up those claims.

B. APPENDIX 2

Folktales

Some folktales include jokes.

Folktales 1: *Chyen-an èk gouti-a* ('The dog and the agouti')

Patwa Transcription

Bèt la té ka alé an voyaj èk yo anmasé bèt épi kòn. Chyen èk gouti fè “fake” kòn. Lè gouti wivé abò machin li. Gouti mandé Dog, “Ou ni an kòn “fake” òsi?. Dog di wi wi. Yo tjenbé bò zowèy li èk jété i mè kòn nan wété an lamèn yo. Yo wéyalizé i té “fake”. Gouti di ègzanminé tout moun kòn paski “a traitor” abò machin li. Yo koumansé ègzanminé èk konnèt dog kòn “fake.” Ou ki ma si ka najé dèwo pou jwen gouti sa sou las la. Lè’y koumansé ka najé pou jwen pou ti sa la gouti an mem koumansé wè misyè ka vin dèyè i koumansé pwan. Gouti an pwan chimen an ka gadé bay twou an pou séwé. Iché bay pa latjé ‘y.

English Translation (told by a participant)

The animals were going on a trip and they were only taking up animals with horns so Dog and agouti got themselves false horns in order to be let in. When Agouti reached on board, he asked the dog if his horn was false too. Dog replied and said yes.

They held Agouti by his ears and threw him out but his horn remained in their hands and they realised it was fake. Agouti started to shout on the beach and argue that they should examine the horns of others as well because there is a traitor on board. The traitor he was referring to was Dog. So they went to examine Dog’s horn, when they realised his horn was fake they kicked him out. Dog started to swim trying to meet Agouti. When Agouti saw Dog he started looking for a hole to hide in but before he could find one, Dog bit his tail off and that is why Agouti does not have tails anymore. Although Agouti lost his tail, when Mr. Dog died, Agouti was so happy they decided to throw a wake. At the wake, they proudly sang “Nine days, nine nights, Dog never conquer again!”

Folktale 2: Soukouyan-an ('The soucouyant')**Patwa Transcription**

Yon jou, yon bonmaten senkè i té ka twavay bò a ta sa mi pouki té a Paramin bon air... twouvé lou a bòs-la apwèzè a Maraval. Mé mwen tè ka desann chimen-a asou mon bètouj... mon wè kon si sé i yon bou difé... i ki até-a épi i ki mòté, mòté, mòté. Ou konnèt an soukouyant? la té ni an lo soukouyant. senkè, katwé diwi senkè mwen ka maché desann pou twavay sizè. Mé apwé an soukouyant, an vyé fanm sa, sa yo ki kwiyé'y, eh, si yo ki ka vole soukouyant... yo ka fé zafè yo, mwen ka fè zafè-mwen. épi yo long ten, mweté jenn ka alé lékòl Maraval. Yon famn la ki ka ... i té vyé, vyé, vyé. Nou konnèt an fanm ki ka vann toolum a Maraval. Lè ou wè lékòl fini apwé-midi bò twazè, yo ka kouwi pou achté toulum a famn. Epi tout sé manmay-la sa fanm-lan sé an soucouyant. Lè i té ka mò, i té kwiyé jan li pou alé épi wè'y. lè'y té wè yo, i té ka wi. i di jan-li, "woi! ou konnèt lè i té ka volé épi apiyé anba pyé-a?" Mé jan-li i té faché! épi li denman jan-li mò!

English Translation (told by a participant)

"Well, I was a young boy and attending Maraval school. When school finished in the afternoon, you would see children running up the road for them to be the first ones to buy toolum from an old woman. But because this woman was very old, the children used to say that she was a soucouyant. But when she got sick, she was lying on her deathbed and called her friends to come and see her. And they came to see her. When she saw them, she started to laugh. She told one of them, "hey! Do you remember the time he used to fly and rest under the tree in Soucouyant Village?" This friend that she was talking to used to play with the old woman's husband under that tree when they were young. Then, her husband asked the friend if he remembered the time when they were playing a game by the tree. But, another friend got upset by this. Anyway, the first friend went back the next day... and there is something that these old soucouyants do to people. That is, if someone is talking excessively and they are also talking about someone else's business, then the soucouyant simply puts an end to that discussion. The soucouyant did something once and one of the friends never spoke about it again. She never mentioned it again. She could not even talk. Because all of them were active together in their young days. They were a clique. So, one friend told another that if he has a high fever, that will cause him to hallucinate. Two days later, one of their friends died. Because the other friend killed her because she was talking about other people's business."

Folktale 3: Lougawou-a ('The loularou')**Patwa Transcription**

motoka wè'y toupatou ka drive òswè yon mennwit òswè toupatou... yon lè i pasé koté béké... lè i pasé la ... Russel mwen apwézan ... boug-la ka di Russel "annou alé pwé an drayv na!" Russel di "ki kalité an kouyon i di?" i di sa i konnèt i sé ka drayv. Russel di "alright". i tè ka drayv. Mé boug-la ki ka drayv an plézi... Russel, i konnèt boug-la pa lékòl. Russel di "i pa konnèt i sé ka drayv mé i vlé pou drayv an motoka" patan i tè ka drayv ... i tonbé adidan ... an gwan wivyè. Motoka pasé alé la! Sa si menm glo a desann Blue Basin. Menm glo sa. Russel sé bédji. Boug-la an motoka sé an loularou. i gadé pou boug-la épi nonm-lan alé! Russel di "gason, kouman mwen wivé isi?" ... Mwen sòti an cinema yon òswè épi mwen té ka alé pou an drayv asou menm chimen-an. Apwé an nonm vini épi i di "ey! pouki ou ka drayv asou chimen-an tèlman tadé?" mwen di mwen sòti an cinema épi i di "ou pou alé lakay apwézan sala"... patan mwen té ka drayv, mwen santi tout chivé-mwen lévé. Paski sa sé loularou!

English Translation (told by the participant)

"With the Lougarou, we used to see this man driving a motorcar everywhere at night. One time, there was a white man who saw a man named Russel. The man told Russel, "let us go for a drive!" But Russel said to himself, "what kind of nonsense is this?" The man said that he knew how to drive and needed to go somewhere. Russel said "alright". Russel went in the car and he was driving and was viewing the nice roads. But the man saw that he was driving without paying attention to where he was going. Russel knew this man from his school days. Russel said to himself, "he does not know how to drive but he wants to drive a motorcar". While he was driving, he fell in... a big river. The car went in there! It went into the Blue Basin waterfall. Russel was shocked. He had to walk from Grand Riviere to down inside here (in Paramin) because he was seeing nice roads. The man was driving a car and did not know the loularou was in the car! The next moment, he turned around and the man was gone. It was then that Russel realised where he was. He said, "but how did I reach here?"... I went to the cinema one night and then I went for a drive on the same road. Then a man came and said "hey! why are you driving on the road so late?" I said that I just came out of the cinema and he said that it was really late in the night and I should go home. Then, while I was driving, I felt all my hair stand up on my body because I was frightened. It was the loularou!"

Folktale 4: Zwézo zòbi-a ('The Zombie Bird')

Patwa Transcription

Koté mwen ka wèsté la. lè ou ékoutan “goot... goot... goot” sé jwé jo ka fè yon son kon sa. sé “zombie bird” ... zwézo zòbi. zwézo zòbi ni an latjé lonng épi an gwo zyé. ou ka tan i ka bò... i ka sòti alé bon la. a ta sa i pò ti tèlman ka yé épi i di “goot... goot... goot” ka desann chimen-an épi lékòl pal a ta sa... kon si sé an chimen’y, “goot... goot... goot” épi ou konnèt koté min la wèsté. sa fèla sala ka maché desann chimen-an a ta sa plas WASA paté adidan... WASA paté la. jibyé-a ka sété asou bamboo épi yo patjit gwo-a. sé wè yo ka pasé Ming... Ming sété jenn gason. lè i ka pasé chimen-an ou ka ta wavin épi di “goot... goot... goot”.

English Translation (told by a participant)

Where I stay, I can hear them there. When you hear “goot... goot... goot”, it is the zombie bird that goes like that. It is called the “zwezo zobi”. This creature has a long tail and big eyes. You would see this creature a long time ago. It used to come and go as it pleased. It would come and go “goot... goot... goot” down the road and by the road by the school, it would go “goot... goot... goot” and you would know where it was. Once, a man was walking down the road by the WASA infrastructure. The bird was hiding in the bamboo and its pouch was very big. The man was Ming and he was a young man. One time, he was walking by a road near a ravine and he heard “goot... goot... goot”.

Folktale 5: Ladjablès-la ('The La Diabliesse')

Patwa Transcription

ladjablès, sé an fanm épi yon wob lonng épi yon pyé kon an chouval. sé an bèl fanm. lè mwen wivé an Maraval, mwen ka mouté chimen-an. épi i té ka jwenn li épi jwenn-ou, i té wè mwen épi i di “ey ey Ken!” épi i konnèt mwen... “How come you came out in the road at this hour?” Mwen di, “I come to go to the cinema”. I di, “Can I walk up the road with you? I am going home, you know.” i an bèl fanm, mwen pa kay di non. nou ka maché épi mwen mété fimén épi i di, “oh gosh, don’t smoke, na. I don’t like the smell of cigarettes. It irritates me.” Mwen di “all right”. Mé mwen déjà limen an lafimé épi i dispawèt. mwen pèd! mwen pèd épi mwen koumansé hélé! sé an ladjablès! yo konnèt moun-la, yo konnèt nonm-lan épi yo ka vini fanm-li. yo pa vlé souf-la adan zalimèt-la. apwézan i ni limyen toupatou adan an vilaj.

English Translation (told by a participant)

La Diabliesse is a woman with one long dress with one foot that is like a horse’s. She is a beautiful woman. Once I came to Maraval and walked down the road. And this woman could be my friend or your friend. She saw me and said, “Hey Ken!” and she knows my name. She goes

on, “How come you are out on the road at this hour?” I said, “I came to go to the cinema”. She said “Can I walk up the road with you? I am going home now, you know.” She is a beautiful woman, so I will not say no. We are walking and I decided to smoke a cigarette and she said “oh gosh, don’t smoke, please. I don’t like the smell of cigarettes. It irritates me.” I said “all right”. But I had alright lit the cigarette and she disappeared. I was so confused and I started to cry! She was a La Diabliesse! They know people, they know our names and they come with their families. They do not like the sulfur in the matches. Nowadays, light is everywhere.

Folktales 6: Pouki lapen zòwèy lonng ('Why rabbit ears are so long')

Patwa Transcription

kòpè lapen épi kòpè tig. kòpè lapen alé ti bondyé. i vlé pé sévél. i vlé vini savan. mé kònnòt tout kònnòt déja lapen si an bèt ki savan. mwen ni an pli sévèl lè savan. li épi kòpè tig yo alé fè an tig ka yo, yo ka lè koté bondyé. kòpè lapen vlé twouvé pli sévèl vlé vini savan. yo piti alé koté bondyé. bondyé ma dé mé sa zòt vini pou. kòpè lapen di “bondyé! mwen vini épi ou. mwen wè vini savan. mwen vlé pli sévèl na ti plis. mwen pwan kò mwen savan... i di sa ou bizwen sévèl savan ka ou dja lidé, dja ou ka fè bagay dé dja. i di ”non! mwen bagay fè sé an bon an pli sévèl la ti mwen. mwen an pli sévèl an plis. i di “alright. ou wè kwi sa ki la alé an ban kwi sa épi wété la.” lapen alé an ban pou wété pou’y, konsa bondyé ki té apwézan. bondyé ki alé fè ... pou vyé. lè i wè bondyé touné épi alé gwò sa i fè kòpè tig sin vini vini vini antwé antwé. épi soté anba kwiyé épi fouté ka wè mò asou koté chimen-an la. i gadé an gadé. bondyé vwé an loway. kwazé i kwiyé miyèt épi lapousyè. kòpè tig mò kò kouyon. kòpè lapen soté waz épi maté épi maté épi i di “konsa bondyé! si mwen té anba la konsa sé sa ou té ki fè mò té ki kwazé mwen an miyèt la konsa!” bondyé di “ou savan twòp. vini” i té hapé zòwèy-li épi i té twa tòdyé an distans an lékòl-la. zòwèy-la naté. lè zòwèy-la naté dé lonng konsa tèt-li. sa sé kòz-la ki fè tout lapen jòdi jou. tout zòwèy lonng konsa. sé fon sévèl yo té ni.

English Translation (told by participant)

Rabbit and Tiger went to God because Rabbit wanted to be smarter and God asked him why he wanted to be smarter. Rabbit said he wanted this because he wanted to be more knowledgeable and further his studies. So God told him to go behind the calabash and wait for him. As he went below the calabash, he knew he was already smart but he went because he wanted to know what would happen. He thought he was so smart that when God turned around, Rabbit told Tiger to go behind the calabash instead. When God returned, he sent thunder and destroyed the calabash and Tiger and turned them into dust. So Rabbit jumped out of the bush and said, “oh! That is what you would have done to me if I was below there. You would have destroyed me like that!” God said, “you are too smart. Come.” God grabbed him by his ears and wrung it three times and then let him go. The ears unraveled and stretched.

C. APPENDIX 3

Jokes

Joke 1: *Lè dé dwòl chyen jwenn ansanm pa ka santi fès-yo* ('When two strange dogs meet together by sniffing their behind')

Patwa Transcription

Sé lyon kouté ka bay yo dansé an la sal bay. lapay an tan èpi té évité chyen pou vini mé lè ou ka atwé. Yo ni pou kité bonday yo épi té atwè, épi chyen ka lè ka atwé mwen bonday ni pou wété bon la pot la.

Lyon gadé chyen ka atwé gason i ka té plastika penyen la fè koumansé ka poi se manjé chyen. Madamn li di pwan ta ou pòkò ou ka vini tan ou pòkò ou ka fè ou vini sa vot mwen kònnè i ka gadé manjé gason chyen koté la. Lè an sètè la minnuit awivé. Madam li zapat tout ou sa ou apwézan sa ou. Ni yon a se chyen i obzevé jwe la èk vèti lèzot la. Chyen koumansé fè yan èk hapé pyés do. Jou, chyen ka mandé yonn a lòt ki do sé yo.

English Translation

Lion was having a dance at his house and he decided to invite dogs. His only rule was that dogs have to leave their tails by the door in order to enter the dance. When the party started to look full enough Lion decided it was "meal time." He started to feel hungry and he thought it was okay to take a bite but his wife told him to wait.

When Lion realised it was midnight, and dog dancing, he decided he didn't want to wait anymore and he was ready to make his attack. One of the dogs detected what was going on and warned the others. The dogs started running out and picked up whatever tail they saw in fear of Lion which meant that none of the dogs had the right tails. They came out asking each other who had their tails and started sniffing each other to find them. That is why, to this day, you would see dogs that don't know each other, sniff their behinds in hopes of one day finding their tail.

Joke 2: *Masonn-an ki té ka tonbé an chyen-an* ('The wall that was falling on the dog')

Patwa Transcription

Lontan mal chyen té ka bésé menm kon fimèl chyen lè yo vlé pisé. Yon jou, yon mal chyen té ka bésé pisé bò masonn-an. Touswit i alé pisé, "Bap !" masonn-an tonbé èpii kouvé'y. I hélé, I hélé èk I hélé ! I té blésé toupatou mè i pa té pèd lavi'y. lè I lévé i di tout mal chyen èpi'y kouman té maléwé.

Jik jou sa sé mal chyen pa té obliyé. Sé mal chyen pa té obliyé. Dépi mal chyen té ka pisé bò yon pyé bwa ében an masonn, yo lévé yon janm pou fè défans kò yo.

English Translation

Long ago, male dogs used to stoop just as female dogs when they wanted to pee.

One day, a male dog stooped to urinate against a wall, just then, the wall fell on his back. He screamed, he screamed and he screamed. He was injured everywhere but he did not lose his life.

When he got up, he told all the male dogs with him about his bad time.

Until this day, male dogs lift one leg to pee to defend themselves from anything falling on them.