L. Winer

E. Aguilar

Spanish influence in the lexicon of Trinidadian English Creole

In: New West Indian Guide/ Nieuwe West-Indische Gids 65 (1991), no: 3/4, Leiden, 153-191

This PDF-file was downloaded from <http://www.kitlv-journals.nl>

LISE WINER & EDITH LILY AGUILAR

SPANISH INFLUENCE IN THE LEXICON OF TRINIDADIAN ENGLISH CREOLE¹

This paper investigates the influence of Spanish on the lexicon of Trinidadian English Creole (TEC), within a socio-historical context, and the socio-cultural factors which have influenced the retention or disappearance of words in particular domains. A list of all TEC words of known (and some of suspected) Spanish derivation is included, enabling discussion of this case as a particular illustration of general principles of linguistic borrowing.

SPANISH SETTLEMENT IN TRINIDAD

On July 31, 1498, Christopher Columbus sighted "La Ysla de la Trinidad". His description of the island and its Amerindian inhabitants was favorable for colonization. However, the Spanish government showed little interest in colonizing the island; the next ship did not arrive until 1510. Over the next century, small-scale efforts at settlement met with overwhelming resistance from hostile Indians, difficulties of climate, and attacks by British, French and Dutch pirates. In 1592, only 22 Spaniards and some 6,000 "war Indians" were resident (Carmichael 1961:23). Over a century later, in 1699, the still sparsely populated Spanish colony was diseased and impoverished (Carmichael 1961:30-32; Williams 1962:25-27). By 1778, the population of the island was only 3432, of whom 444 were white, 225 slaves (presumably African), 939 free colored, and 1824 Indians (Laurence 1970:36).² All would presumably have spoken Spanish as a first or second language. Decline in population continued; a total of 2763 was cited in 1783: 126 Whites, 295 Free Colored, 310 Slaves, and 2032 Amerindians (Kingsley 1889).

Nieuwe West-Indische Gids/New West Indian Guide, vol. 65, no. 3 & 4 (1991): 153-191

The Spanish government, interested only in precious metals and gems and the search for "El Dorado", gave little support to the fledgling colony; in fact it did all it could to discourage a potentially flourishing trade in tobacco and cocoa that bypassed the metropolitan ports. In 1776, restricted foreign immigration had begun; it was, however, the Royal Cédula on Colonization of 1783 that marked a turning point in the island's demographic development. This decree "offered generous grants of land to settlers on condition that they took the oath of allegiance to the King of Spain and that they were Roman Catholics. Additional grants were made to all immigrants who brought slaves with them" (Carmichael 1961:36). With the outbreak of the French Revolution, the island was flooded by refugee French planters, who brought their slaves with them. Their common language was French Creole - known in Trinidad as "Patois"; many of the slaves spoke African languages as well.³ Thus, as Laurence (1970:39-40) notes:

While the country continued to be Spanish with allegiance to the Spanish Crown, the Spanish element in the population began to diminish... the island became predominantly French in all aspects of its life, except government... The official language of the island continued to be Spanish, which was used for deeds, contracts, and other legal and official transactions, but it was spoken by comparatively few people at least in the urban areas... in the rural areas, and particularly in the valleys of the northern and central ranges and in the south, Spanish continued to flourish.

After a number of attacks, the British captured the island on February 18, 1797. A census report in 1798, just after the Capitulation, gives the population as follows: 2,500 Whites, 10,000 Slaves, 5,000 Free Negroes and Colored, 1,127 Indians, (Total 18,627) (Laurence 1970:39). By 1803 Trinidad had 505 white Spaniards and 1,751 "colored" inhabitants, plus the 1054 Amerindians at the missions - a maximum of 3310 Spanish-speakers out of a total population of 29,150: 4,028 free French, 663 white English, 599 colored English, and 20,564 slaves (Thompson 1957:357, from de Verteuil 1884:443).

The prestige of the remaining Trinidad Spaniards was not high among the British. Thompson quotes a letter from 1807 claiming that not more than twenty were of "much respectability or influence" (1957:357). Many were impoverished farmers, small shop-keepers, makers of crude sugar, or *alguacils* (police constables).

A number of other constraints on rapid change existed. First, under the terms of the Capitulation, the laws of Spain were to remain in force; they did, at least in part, into the 1840s (Campbell 1975).

There was, too, the problem of language [...] Spanish was the language of the law courts and the government office. Any attempt at a rapid change from Spanish ways to English would be difficult owing to the scarcity of English officials who could speak Spanish. (Carmichael 1961:43).

The Church was also an important factor. Sermons in Catholic churches continued primarily in French or Spanish until the mid-19th century. Catholic missions to the Indians – the most well known at Arima, Siparia, and Matura – had resulted in rapid and thorough hispanicization of that population (Laurence 1970:35, 54-56). By the time the British took over the island, the descendants of the indigenous inhabitants apparently used Spanish exclusively. Even now, pockets of Spanish-speakers are often remnants of former Indian mission settlements. The strong persistence of Spanish and French /French Creole moved Governor MacLeod to complain in 1841 that two thirds of the natives “still speak exclusively either Spanish or French” (Williams 1962:196).⁴ Although some new immigrants came from Spain, particularly from Barcelona, political and trade connections with the Spanish Main – the Spanish colonies along the northern coast of South America – were crucial as an area of contact with Spanish speakers and a source for Spanish speaking immigrants. The first British Governor, Thomas Picton, promoted trade along the Main, and in the interests of obtaining trade concessions, helped Spanish colonial rebels in the Venezuelan wars of independence. From this time on, the two primary factors supporting continued survival of Spanish in Trinidad were continued contact (including visits, legal and illegal trade, and family ties) between the island and the mainland, and the survival of Spanish in relatively isolated village areas.

By 1813, political turmoil in Venezuela was producing a constant stream of refugees to Trinidad. Many of them had left Trinidad after the Capitulation, settling mainly in Venezuela and Colombia (Laurence 1970:44), and were returning to their former home. Other immigrants were *peones*, people of mixed Spanish, African and Amerindian ancestry.

The *peones*' skills in growing cocoa and coffee were an important contribution to what economic well-being there was in the colony, and they were often hired as free laborers (Carmichael 1833:272-3). Their typical occupations (e.g., wood-cutting, stock-rearing, cocoa and coffee growing, hunting) are still associated with the Spanish population in Trinidad (Laurence 1970:44). Cockfighting is also associated primarily with the Spanish population. Because of its longstanding illegality there is little information available on it as yet, but people involved in this often speak or learn Spanish to converse with colleagues at “battles”, e.g. in Venezuela and Miami.

Spanish-speaking immigrants gravitated towards existing villages where Spanish, and Spanish-associated occupations, were dominant. They settled in Trinidad mostly in the Northern and Central Ranges and on the south coast, across the Gulf of Paria from Venezuela, in settlements such as Lopinot, Valencia, and San Rafael.⁵ Additional Spanish language strongholds developed along the south coast, in Erin and Moruga, in the 19th century in response to trade – mostly illegal – with the Spanish Main.

Called "payols" in Trinidad (pronounced /pāyol/ and usually spelled *panyol*), the immigrants spoke a variety of Venezuelan Spanish which was virtually the same as the Spanish of Trinidad spoken by the remaining Spaniards and hispanicized Indians. Many Spanish speakers in Trinidad ("by birth" or "by boat") learned French Creole – the island's true lingua franca until the end of the 19th century – as a second language (Pastner 1967).

The Spanish population was relatively isolated geographically, out of the educational and media mainstream, and small in number. To a great extent the Spanish groups "coalesced and subsequently underwent in rural areas with the rest of the population a process of 'creolization', moving towards a form of 'Creole folk culture'." (Laurence 1970:47). But this creolization and accommodation should not be confused with assimilation (Laurence 1970:47):

Not only is their contribution to this "Creole folk culture" very significant; they also maintained their traditions which formed a sub-culture within the creole structure. The *payol* population was characterised by its music, its dancing, its songs, food, and above all, its language, which was vigorously retained until two generations ago.

Under the pressures of urbanization and industrialization, and the shrinking of coffee and cocoa production, especially after the 1950s, great numbers of Spanish speakers moved from rural areas, and were 'lost' to the English (Creole) dominant culture. Spanish also lost ground in the face of improved communications, including roads, radio and television, and the introduction and extension of compulsory primary education in English (Lovelace 1968; Laurence 1970:61). However, many Spanish communities remained quite intact, completely Spanish in language, customs, and religion, at the end of the 19th century, and, in some isolated areas, well into the 20th. (See descriptions of Spanish and Spanish-influenced village life in Chaumette 1970; Kassiram 1970; Silva 1989, Thompson 1983.)

SPANISH LANGUAGE SURVIVAL IN TRINIDAD

The use of Spanish in Trinidad is oral; almost without exception its native speakers cannot read and write it. Spanish is used only for private-informal conversation in the home, within the family, or within the Spanish speaking community. If Spanish was not learned as a language at home, it was not generally learned at all, unlike Patois (French Creole) which, at least in the past, had clear communicative value and was learned by adults throughout Trinidad (Pastner 1967: 12). Increasing monolingualism of children in English has meant that even within the home, use of Spanish is confined to the older generations.

Since decreasing numbers of Trinidadians are able to understand the oral language, it has a very limited, constantly lessening, function within the general speech community. As a result of these social changes, virtually no one under the age of 30 speaks native Spanish fluently (Laurence 1970:62; Carrington, Borely, and Knight 1974).

Laurence (1970:63) reported that the Trinidadians she interviewed gave several reasons for the decline of Spanish:

- 1) Spanish is considered to be the language of the "rustic" segment of the population. Because of their desire to conform to the urban standard, children are unwilling to be associated with it, and refused to speak it even when encouraged by their parents.
- 2) Some parents prefer not to teach their children Spanish, keeping it as a sort of secret code in which they can communicate with each other without being understood by the rest of the family.
- 3) Some parents believe that a knowledge of the Spanish language "spoils" their children's English and puts them at a disadvantage within the school system.

Calypso, the most widespread traditional popular form of music in Trinidad, reflects the changing use of Spanish in Trinidad. Tiger's 1939 "Señorita Panchita" uses Spanish in quoting a Venezuelan woman:

As I were walking down Frederick Street
 A pretty *señorita* was enchant to meet
 [girl, young woman]
 She said *buenas tardes, señor*
 [good evening, sir]
Como la está usted
 [how are you]
Aquí estoy yo batallando
 [Here I'm struggling along]
 That's what I said...,
 She said *dónde vive* and she began.
 [Where do you live]
 I told her *señorita*, me no *compran* [sic]
 [Miss... understand]
 She said *El Tigre, mi amor*, you I love...
 [Tiger, my love]
 So then I *macha palanto* at my family
 [went quickly]
 She said *chico hombre levanta*
 [hey man, get up]
Yo me voy pa' abajo Camila
 [I'm going down by Camilla's]
 I took her by her hands and we began to walk
 Hear the child, mingling Spanish old talk.⁶

This quotational use of Spanish is also seen in Sparrow's 1983 "Margarita". But whereas Tiger's Spanish reflects a native-like dialectal grasp of Spanish, this song of Sparrow's contains only the occasional use of the kind of "universal Spanish" that can be recognized by people who don't know Spanish, e.g., *sombrero, mañana, mamacita*.

References in music to domains associated with Spanish are primarily to parang music (Spanish Christmas carols), as in Crazy's 1979 "Parang Soca":

I took the role of lead singer
 Parang-rama in Arima
 Fans heard of my parang band
 So thousands flock the grand-stand
 Dave Elcock was the M.C.
 When he introduce me
 People jumping like carnival
 To my rendition of serenal.
 Alpagata, alpagata
 Uno rum, uno paratha,
 María, María, María mi corazón.

Here is a mixture of Spanish - *mi corazón* 'my heart/love' - and Spanish elements found in TEC - *serenal* (kind of parang song) and *alpagata* (sandal) - along with the Spanish *uno* 'one' with the English *rum* and TEC *paratha* (a kind of bread) whose final vowel gives it a "Spanish sound," although every Trinidadian knows the word is Hindi in origin. As Rohlehr has noted for this song, "the very act of parody signals the death or inaccessibility of the language" (1985 personal communication).

Nonetheless, there are a number of factors working to maintain Spanish within the original Spanish-speaking community. Laurence (1970:64-66) cites feelings of "nostalgia", desire to maintain a unique social identity, an aesthetic attachment to the beauty of the language, and a recognition of the practical utility of Spanish for travel and commerce.

SPANISH INFLUENCE ON TEC LEXICON

Many of the Spanish words once commonly recognized in TEC have become archaic or obsolete. Generally speaking, the disappearance of these words is due to the disappearance of their referents. In addition, given the decreasing pool of native speakers of Spanish, the residual influence of Spanish on TEC is not likely to increase.⁷ Several factors are responsible for the integration of Spanish words into TEC. The most basic is temporal priority; the Spanish were the first outsiders to have extended contact with local Amerindians, learning new

vocabulary for new items from indigenous peoples who had already named them. As the first colonial power in Trinidad, the Spanish set up structures – with associated vocabulary, e.g., in government and official systems of measurement. But even after the Capitulation, such systems often continued; the fact that under the terms of the Capitulation many Spanish legal structures remained in place ensured the continuance of the vocabulary into the increasingly dominant English environment. Terms such as *escribano* and *cabildo* were kept long after the British conquest, most until the 1840s, some later. (These words now remain in use only in historical reference; however, terms used for land measure are still current in that they appear on many original land deeds.)

A second factor is the close association, described above, between Spanish speaking communities and particular domains of reference, such as cocoa cultivation, e.g., *debariar* ‘to prune’. Although relatively few in number, such words are often culturally quite salient within the larger Trinidadian community (Laurence 1970:69): *parang*, traditional Christmas music; the *velorio de (la) cruz*, a religious ritual; the *loraisons* used for *santiwa*, a healing ceremony; food items such as *pastel*; and a number of names for plants and animals.

Another point to be considered is the generally positive attitudes towards the minority Spanish community felt by the larger creole community. Although Spain was a European colonizer, the effects of the Spanish colonization have been largely overshadowed by the longer and more recent British colonial experience. Generally speaking, there are no strong negative attitudes towards the Spanish, although traditionally local payols may be criticized or looked down on as simple, rustic, naive country folk:

“Look here, Mr. Man”, flared the horse-killer, “you is too swift! Don’t you think you can humbug me with dem scales! I ain’t no stupid panol man, selling me cacao to you, now.”
(*The Hummingbird*, May 24, 1904:4)

On the other hand, Spanish women have often been considered physically attractive: “As is usual at any fete in TnT, beautiful women are in abundance, and at parang time, the sexy panyols reign” (*Punch* 1985).

Some attitudes towards the Spanish population reflect typical inter-group stereotypes, particularly an association with the “lighter” aspects of culture:

Another important layer of society is that of the not-aristocratic Spanish Creoles... They are a very gay, pleasure-loving lot – strict Catholics but not averse to uninhibited fun when the occasion demands it. The coloured middle class treats them with a sort of sniffing contempt (“dirty *pajols*”, they call them), and there is a joke about the “pajo” girls that is often retailed. They always look very well-groomed, but you must never (unless you want to be disillusioned) try to discover when last they had a bath. (Mittelholzer 1958:57-58)

A stereotype of Spanish people as “fond of music and dance and having a good time” would, however, generally be viewed positively within the creole community.

Some feelings towards local panyols are influenced by attitudes towards Venezuelans, which often depend on “trade winds” in the Gulf of Paria:

The Venezuelans have been unusually chummy and brotherly. Instead of chasing down our fishermen in the gulf, our panyol neighbours are mighty neighbourly. (*Bomb* 1983)

[He] plays he is a panyol cop and terrorises all Trinidadians who have been living [in Venezuela] for years. (*Bomb*, 27 March 1987)

The problem of the whisky-guzzling, trigger-happy “Panyols” using our fishermen for target practice is one that was founded on the late PNM government’s utter cowardice... how come the [Coast Guard] have never once saved any fisherman from loud Spanish calpets [blows]? (*TnT Mirror*, 13 October 1989:4)

Two further cultural phenomena have helped retention of an admittedly small number of words. One is the increased national attention given to various ethnic cultural manifestations, particularly music and dance, in vehicles such as “Best Village”, a long-running televised competitive cultural series organized on a village basis; this has given consistent exposure to Spanish dance names, for example. Similarly, although many traditional carnival masquerades have disappeared, the maintenance of the Spanish-origin *burrokeet* band has thus far ensured the word’s survival.

Another cultural factor is the crystallization of parang into the season that is Christmastime – from the last week in November to the “Day of the Kings” (Magi), or “Día de los Reyes,” January 6th (Taylor 1977:15). The positive association of parang and particular foods such as *pastels* with Christmas and Christmas activities is conducive to continued use of some relevant words outside the immediate Spanish community.

On the day of Christmas Eve my father usually went and helped Mr Sylvestre butcher a pig, and in the evening he would come home with a few drinks of rum in his head and in his hands a choice piece of pork and a coiled length of black pudding, and after he put down the meat and had a bath and something to eat, he would take up his *cuatro* and his two *shac shacs* and go into the kitchen where my mother would have started seasoning the meat, ‘I going down the road to see what the boys doing.’ And he would be gone until maybe, sometimes, Christmas day when he would come up the front steps with the rest of the *parang* band and stand on the verandah, with his head bent sideways and his eyes closed, singing in his rasping bass voice the plaintive serenades, his fingers flying over the strings of the *cuatro* cradled in his arms, and my mother would throw open the door for him, for them, and, with the rest of the band, he would enter, like a stranger, the drawing room, with its curtains and its polish and its paint, with everything already on the table, the rum and the wine and the ham and the sweetbread and the ginger beer and the sorrell and the cake... he would play music and sing and drink and eat and leave with them,

returning home maybe a day or two later, not content simply with making the rounds of the village, but, finding it necessary to go by his sister in Valencia, by his brother-in-law in Sangre Grande or by one of his cousins in Biche... 'Somebody have to keep it up, Pearl. Somebody have to play the music and go round by people for Christmas and bring some merriment.' (Lovelace 1988:8-9)

However, increasing scrutiny of parang has focused on the "corrupt Spanish" of the lyrics:

It's an odd thing. In this English-speaking country of ours, where the Spanish vocabulary of most is not much broader than *dinero* and *chica*, we insist on rolling off uptempo ballads in "Spanish" every time Christmas comes. Most of us haven't the least idea what we are singing. And the truth is: most of the time what we sing is just plain nonsense... One... researcher [said]... "to translate the words sung by the Trinidad parang group would be almost [impossible]; they mean nothing and are just 'parang Spanish' words put together to blend with the music" (Sankar 1990:40).

Such criticism is met with mixed response by paranderas and paranderos. On the one hand, few are fluent native or non-native speakers of Spanish, and most feel insecure about the quality and comprehensibility of their Spanish. On the other hand, criticism of parang Spanish is often based on a European model and could be equally leveled at Venezuelan Spanish. When Venezuelans criticize Trinidadian Spanish in songs, there is further ambivalence, fueled both by resentment of Venezuelans for political reasons, and the fact that while Venezuela is recognized as the original source of Trinidadian parang, the mainland groups are often felt to play not as "hot" or "sweet" as the local ones, despite any linguistic advantages. The National Parang Association now insists on "pronunciation" as a competition criterion, and the Venezuelan Institute for Culture and Co-operation is offering special lessons in parang (Sankar 1990:40).

LATIN AMERICAN SPANISH (LAS)

After 1504, the Spanish colonization of the New World was carried out by people from different regions of the country; prior to that year only Castilians had been permitted to undertake such enterprise. Statistical accounts for the period show the diverse regional provenance of the settlers (Alonso 1961:40fn). The most numerous were from the regions of Castile, Andalusia, Leon, and Extremadura; others came in significant numbers from Vasconia, Portugal, Galicia, the Canaries, Aragon, Valencia, Navarre, Catalonia, Murcia, and the Balearics. Each of these groups brought with them the regional language variety of their place of origin; once in the Americas, however, they had to adjust their dialects in order to interact efficiently with other Spanish settlers. The

development of this new mode of expression was achieved through a levelling of the different dialects, strongly guided by the prestige of the leading region, Castile (Alonso 1961:7-60). Castilian was universally recognized as the language of the court and government, of literature, and of the upper circles of society. Therefore, the linguistic basis of the Spanish in Latin America can be said to be a Castilian-oriented, levelled dialect of the varieties of Spanish brought by Spanish colonists.

Although there are many differences among the dialects of Latin American Spanish, they tend to share some significant characteristics: *seseo*, *yeísmo*, and Americanization of the vocabulary. *Seseo* occurs in words in which European Spanish has /θ/, and LAS uses /s/, e.g.: *cera* 'wax', *ciento* 'hundred', *caza* 'to hunt'. *Yeísmo* is the merger of /λ/ with /y/, e.g., /kayo/ for both *cayo* 'fell' and *callo* 'hushed'. In LAS, *yeísmo* is the dominant form, and it is also found in many areas of Spain.

"Americanisms" are words which were first adopted, adapted or invented by Spanish-speakers in the New World. For the most part, they arose from the need to assign a name to things in the New World and unknown in Spain. Flora and fauna are the most obvious realms of borrowing from indigenous Amerindian languages: *tucán* 'toucan', *patata* 'potato', *llama* 'llama'. In such cases, indigenous words were adopted or slightly modified into Spanish. In many other cases, existing Spanish words were used to denote new objects which shared some similarity with the original Spanish referent. For example, the European Spanish *comadreja* 'weasel' is widely used for the South American marsupial opossum, on the basis of their similar behavior in stealing and eating eggs and chickens.

A more subtle aspect of this process of reaccommodation is an "Americanism in the internal form of the language" (Alonso 1961: 61-83), a reorganization or shift of semantic categorization. In Argentina, for example, the word *yerba*, a type of prepared leaves used for tea, is replaced by *hierba*; the original European Spanish *hierba* means 'herbaceous vegetation'.

TRINIDADIAN SPANISH LANGUAGE

Some difficulties arise in the full description of Trinidadian Spanish. As Lipski notes in his examination of grammatical features of Trinidadian Spanish, there is a lack of data on earlier stages of the language, as well as on earlier Venezuelan Spanish; furthermore, a high proportion of current Trinidadian Spanish speakers are only "semifluent", and fairly isolated (1990: 11).

Moodie (1986b:187) states that Trinidadian Spanish is basically an oral manifestation of vulgar and rustic Spanish; it certainly exhibits the typical LAS

characteristics of *seseo* and *yeísmo*. The other phonological features most relevant to this study include the following (not in significant order).

a. The European sound /x/ is realized by /h/, e.g., *mujer* 'woman' > [muhé], *loropo* (a dance) > [horópo].

b. There is "softening" and sometimes dropping of intervocalic consonants: e.g., *pavo* 'turkey' [paβo] ~ [páwo] ~ [páo]; *tubo* 'tube' [tubo] ~ [tuo]; *dedo* 'finger' [dedo] ~ [deyo] ~ [deo]; *alrededor* 'around' [alrededor] ~ [alreol]; and of some voiced fricatives, e.g., *pulga* 'parasitic tick' [pulga] ~ [pulwa].

c. There is some lateralization of [d] and [r]: e.g., *dasheen* (a tuber) [dasin] ~ [lasin]; *rastrajo* 'land reverting to bush' [rastroho] ~ [lastroho]; *rara* 'strange' > [rála], *cerebro* 'brain' > [seléβro]. In some positions, particularly intervocalically, /t/ often disappears, e.g., *para* 'for, to' > [pa], *mire* 'look' [mie], *carnaval* > [kanaβál]. In final positions, /t/ appears sporadically, e.g., *caer* 'to fall' [kaeɪ] ~ [kae].

d. Final consonants are aspirated, vocalized, lateralized or lost: e.g., *doctor* 'doctor' [doktor] ~ [doktol]; *salchicha* 'sausage' [salčiča] ~ [saučič]; *absoluto* 'absolute' [absolúto] ~ [asoluto].

e. The [d] in initial [de-] is dropped: e.g., *después* 'after' [depwé] > [epwé]; *desnudo* 'naked' [deznudo] > [elnúo].

f. Certain consonants are neutralized, e.g., *despedida* 'farewell' [dehpēḏíra] ~ [dehpēḏíla]; *rara* 'rare' [rara] ~ [rala]; *bueno* 'good' [bwéno] ~ [gwéno] ~ [wéno]; *berenjena* 'eggplant' [merenḡhēna] ~ [berenḡhēna].

g. Some consonant groups are reduced: e.g., *catedral* 'cathedral' [kateḏrál] ~ [katedál] ~ [katerál]; *tendré* 'I will have' [tendré] ~ [tendé]; *pobre* 'poor' [póḑre] ~ [póre]; *grande* 'big' [grande] ~ [gande] ~ [rande].

h. Of particular relevance to American lexicon in Trinidadian English Creole is the loss of final unstressed vowels, e.g., *los ángeles* 'the angels' > *los ángel*; *zancúdo* 'mosquito' > *zancú* [saŋku]. Many words of Spanish origin (or Amerindian origin, through Spanish) entered Trinidadian Spanish without the final unstressed vowel: e.g., *poco a poco* > [pókapók] 'little by little', *arepa* [arep] 'cornmeal dumpling', *sancocho* [sankóč] (a type of stew).

i. There is a tendency for vowels left in final position after -s loss to be lengthened and opened, e.g., *dos* > [dɔ], *tres* > [trɛ], although this is not always the case, e.g., *viernes* [bjérne].

j. Shifting occurs with /e/ > /i/ tending to become higher or more closed in final position: e.g., *siete* 'seven' [sjéti] ~ [sjéti] ~ [sjét]; *quince* 'fifteen' [kinse] ~ [kinsi]; *mapire* (a type of basket) [mapire] ~ [mapiri].

k. Unstressed final /o/ undergoes similar changes, being dropped, devoiced or unreleased in final position: e.g., *poco* 'little' [póko] ~ [póku] ~ [pok]; *pecho* 'chest' [pečo] ~ [pečɔ]; *sancocho* (a stew) [saŋkóčo] ~ [saŋkóč].

l. Vowels in certain groups of successive identical vowels are reduced: *cree* 'believe' [krée] ~ [kre]; *alcohol* [alkóol] ~ [alkól]; /ue/ > /e/ in *nuez moscada* 'nutmeg' [memokáda] ~ [memoká].

m. Diphthongization of vowel groups occurs, sometimes accompanied by a shift of accent: *trae* 'bring' [tráe] > [trái]; *cae* 'fall down' [káe] > [kái]; *maíz* 'corn' [maís] > [máis]; *tenía* 'had' [tenía] > [ténja].

n. Reduction of diphthongs sometimes occurs, as it does normally in colloquial uneducated speech.

[e̞i̞] > [e̞], e.g., *veinte* 'twenty' > [bente]

[e̞u̞] > [e̞], e.g., *reuma* 'rheumatism' > [réma]

[e̞ũ] > [u̞], e.g., *reumatismo* > [rumatizmo]

[wa] > [o], e.g., *cualquiera* 'whoever' > [kolkera]

[wi] > [i], e.g., *muy* 'very' > [mi]

ái > [ái] and sometimes [áy], e.g., *maíz* 'corn' [maís] [máí] and [may];

oe > [we], e.g., *poeta* 'poet' [pwéta];

ao > [aũ], e.g., *ahorita* 'soon' [aũrita].

The vowel hiatus in *ea*, *eo* and *ia* is eliminated by the insertion of epenthetic *y*:

sea 'be' > [séya] *deseo* 'wish' [deséyo]

o. Richards (1970:265) also states that the velarization of the final /n/, e.g., /pion/ 'peon' is not due to French or English influence, but exemplifies a common Latin American Spanish feature.

SOURCES OF SPANISH-INFLUENCED LEXICON IN TEC

The lists in appendices A (Flora), B (Fauna) and C (General) contain words in TEC apparently deriving from Spanish in origin or transmission. In order to be included in these lists, the word must be familiar to and used by native speakers of TEC who do *not* know Spanish, and must not be Spanish words which have become part of an international standard English. Place names of Spanish origin (or Amerindian origin through Spanish) are not included (see Baksh-Soodeen 1986 and Thompson 1959). Pronunciations are included where known.

As mentioned above in discussing Latin American Spanish, some of these words are direct borrowings or minor adaptations of European Spanish (often ultimately traceable to Latin and Arabic). Most such words are relatively easy to trace historically. A far larger number cannot be traced directly to European Spanish. Words noted as Latin American Spanish presumably either were invented in the New World, or, much more commonly, were borrowed or adapted from Amerindian languages. Here the difficulties of tracing etymology make many cases impossible to ascertain with any degree of certainty.

The nature of Amerindian settlement in Trinidad is by no means clear. Popular belief that the Caribs were fierce warriors and the Arawaks gentle and even weak has perhaps encouraged revisionist descriptions of the pre-European population as being primarily Carib.⁸ Considerable controversy, based on historical and archaeological accounts, has failed to resolve this question (see Baksh-Soodeen 1986:16-18; Newson 1976:17-19; Pichardo Moya 1956; Stewart 1963, vol. 4). Groups mentioned as living in Trinidad include Arawaks (also spelled Arawacas, Aruacas, Araucas), Nepuyos (Nipuyos, Nepoios), Saluaios, Iaos, Carinepagotos, Guayanes, Camucuraos, Chacomares, and Guaiquiris. "A number of accounts mention the presence of Caribs in Trinidad but most evidence points to the Indians being friendly rather than hostile, although they are now considered to have been a more warlike branch of the Arawak stock" (Newson 1976:19). Newson concludes that "Trinidad on the eve of being discovered by Columbus was predominantly Arawak... the presence of some Carib settlements remains a possibility" (1976:19).

A reasonable working premise is that the main indigenous groups which had significant contact with Europeans in Trinidad were the Carib-Igneri and the Eastern Arawak (Lokono, Shebaio), both of whom apparently had more or less permanent settlements on the island at various times, as well as the Warrau (Guarao, Warahoon) of the Orinoco Delta, who maintained strong trade relations with Trinidad, particularly in the southern and central eastern areas, well into the 1930s.

Linguistic evidence is difficult to utilize in this argument because of a dearth of adequate research resources, particularly dictionaries. Although Taylor (1977) provides an extensive review of several relevant languages, the short word-lists are confined to basic vocabulary. He also points out the early start of lexical borrowing, noting that Breton's Carib-French dictionary (1665) "already contained some six dozen loans from Spanish" (Taylor 1977: 28). De Barral's dictionary of Guarao (1957) provides etymologies for only a small number of words known in Trinidad. Many of the attributions used in this paper are taken from studies which cite either no source for attribution to a particular Amerindian language, or sources which were not available to the authors. At this stage, the determination of the contribution of specific Amerindian languages to TEC lexicon was not possible.

However, given the demographic history outlined in the first section, it is unlikely that many Amerindian words came into TEC directly from native speakers of Amerindian languages. Most Amerindian etyma were probably transmitted to TEC through the medium of Spanish - many considered to be "Spanish" by the time they were fully absorbed into TEC. In some cases, words attributed to languages like Quechua, the predominant languages of the Andes, would have been brought to Trinidad by Spaniards who had migrated from one

area of the Spanish empire to another. Baksh-Soodeen (1986:1) notes, for example, that during the period of Spanish colonial rule, Taino words from the Greater Antilles were borrowed into the Spanish language brought to Trinidad.

The lack of adequate dictionaries means that a word may be "credited" to a particular source language because it is known from a dictionary of that language, despite the fact that the word may also exist or have existed in another language – perhaps geographically or culturally closer – for which no dictionary is available. In some cases, particularly flora and fauna, linguistic evidence (i.e., failure to find a European or African source, plus linguistic similarity to known Amerindian words) for a word has led to a designation as "Latin American Spanish". Of these words, some are doubtless from European Spanish, and some locally developed, but most are presumed to be from as yet undetermined Amerindian language sources.

A final difficulty to be noted in tracing etymology results from the large number of cognates shared by Spanish and French. As discussed above, although Spanish settlement was considerably earlier than French, the latter quickly outnumbered the former, and it was French Creole which spread widely, not Spanish. It is often linguistically impossible to determine whether a source is more likely to be the Spanish or French version. For example, *bakaday* 'loading wharf' could be either from Sp. *embarcadero* or from Fr. *embarcadère* – or indeed both. In some cases one can distinguish the sources. For example, the snake name *tigre* is probably Spanish, but *tig* 'ocelot' is probably FC, based on pronunciation and the alternate and (formerly common) FC *chat tig* for the latter. An English-pattern spelling, e.g., *pack-o'-tea*, may camouflage a Spanish origin; failure to recognize an English source for a word is also possible.⁹

In our study, we researched for etymologies all TEC words we suspected of possible Spanish origin or transmission. (Note that compounds using 'Spanish' as a definer, e.g., 'Spanish fowl,' 'Spanish thyme' are not included.) Although the list is no doubt incomplete, there are probably not many more, especially ones known outside the Spanish community. Breakdowns of etymologies, as far as can be ascertained, for the words listed in each appendix are shown in tables 1-3, and for all groups together in table 4.

SOURCES OF SPANISH DERIVED LEXICON

In this study, 331 TEC words were found to be of Spanish origin, or to have Spanish as a probable immediate source. Not surprisingly, the highest proportion of Spanish lexicon of Amerindian origin is in the domains of flora (71 words; about 39 percent Spanish, 11 percent LAS, 47 percent Amerindian) and fauna (69 words, about 62 percent Spanish, 10 percent LAS, 21 percent Amerindian).

TABLE 1: SPANISH-DERIVED LEXICON, FLORA

Source	Number	%
European Spanish	29	38.7
Latin American Spanish	8	10.7
Amerindian	35	46.7
Philippines Spanish	2	2.6
African	<u>1</u>	<u>1.3</u>
Total Derivations	75	100.0
Total Words	71	

Note: Multiple derivations lead to greater number of derivations than number of words. "LAS" includes "Amer"?

TABLE 2: SPANISH-DERIVED LEXICON, FAUNA

Source	Number	%
European Spanish	44	62.0
European Spanish and/or English	3	4.2
European Spanish and/or French	2	2.8
Latin American Spanish	7	9.9
Amerindian	<u>15</u>	<u>22.0</u>
Total Derivations	71	100.0
Total Words	69	

TABLE 3: SPANISH-DERIVED LEXICON, GENERAL

Source	Number	%
European Spanish	141	73.1
European Spanish and/or French	12	6.2
European Spanish and/or English	5	2.6
Latin American Spanish	13	6.8
Amerindian	19	9.8
African	2	1.0
European Spanish and/or Portuguese	<u>1</u>	<u>0.5</u>
Total Derivations	193	100.0
Total Words	191	

Note: "European Spanish" includes Spanish plus English or Amerindian.

For all other 191 general words, derivations are about: Spanish 73 percent, LAS 7 percent, and Amerindian 10 percent. For all domains combined for all 331 words, the proportion is about 63 percent Spanish, 8 percent LAS and 20 percent Amerindian. (Other languages, or possible convergences of Spanish and other languages, comprise the remaining.)

TABLE 4: SPANISH-DERIVED LEXICON, ALL DOMAINS

Source	Number	%
European Spanish	214	63.1
European Spanish and/or French	14	4.1
European Spanish and/or English	8	2.4
Latin American Spanish	28	8.3
Amerindian	69	20.3
African	3	0.9
European Spanish and/or Portuguese	1	0.3
Philippines Spanish	2	0.6
Total Derivations	339	100.0
Total Words	331	

PROPORTIONS OF SPANISH DERIVED WORDS BY LEXICAL DOMAINS

The patterns of lexical borrowing from or through Spanish into Trinidadian English/English Creole exemplify a number of recognized processes of language change. Word borrowing generally follows intense contact, including conquest and trade. A well documented example of this is the influx of French words into English after the Norman Conquest.

The largest single group among the words that came in early was associated with the church, where the necessity for the prompt transference of doctrine and belief from the clergy to the people is sufficient to account for the frequent transfer of words... After 1250... those who had been accustomed to speak French were turning increasingly to the use of English... [and] carried over into English an astonishing number of common French words... much of their governmental and administrative vocabulary, their ecclesiastical, legal, and military terms, their familiar words of fashion, food, and social life, the vocabulary of art, learning, and medicine. (Baugh and Cable 1978:168)

Words are usually borrowed from one language to another within specialized domains, particularly technological or natural items associated with the lender language culture (Hock 1986:384). The Trinidadian case demonstrates such influence clearly (table 5).

Of the Spanish-derived (or Spanish-intermediary) lexical items in TEC, about 22 percent are flora, and 21 percent fauna. The 112 words in domains associated economically, historically, and culturally with the Spanish population - agriculture, food, gaming, geography, government/historical, measures, music, dance and carnival - account for about 33 percent of the total Spanish derived lexicon. Of special interest, however, are the 79 words which are not exclusively associable with Spanish culture, including descriptions of appearance and behavior, race, and - arguably - greetings. Thus, of the total corpus of Spanish influenced lexicon, percentages are about 22 for flora, 21 for fauna, 33 for Spanish-associated domains, and 24 for non-associated domains.

TABLE 5: CATEGORIES OF SPANISH-DERIVED LEXICON BY SUBJECT DOMAIN

Domain	Number	%
Agriculture	17	5.1
Appearance & Behavior	20	6.0
Fauna	69	20.9
Flora	71	21.5
Food	18	5.5
Cockfighting, Games	15	4.5
Geography	9	2.7
Government/Historical	16	4.8
Greetings, expressions	7	2.1
Measures	11	3.3
Music, Dance, Carnival	26	7.9
Race, Ethnicity	6	1.8
Other	<u>46</u>	<u>13.9</u>
Total	331	100.0

Many of the terms listed are archaic or obsolete, reflecting the effects of both termination of legal status and lessening of social and cultural importance. That some should have continued to be used in specialized technical domains is perhaps not surprising, but that others, in domains not particularly associated with Spanish culture, have survived is more noteworthy.

CONCLUSION

The type of Spanish lexical influence on TEC and its process of integration are fairly typical of word borrowing patterns for other languages. One exception is the factor of prestige. Hock has pointed out that prestige is often an important factor motivating adoption of words from another language, e.g., French terms for cuisine in English. In some situations,

[A] fair number of native terms survived the onslaught of the more prestigious language, often coexisting with borrowed items... *basic* vocabulary tends to resist change most successfully (Hock 1986:384).

Similarly, Lozano (1981) has noted that while traces of Aztec culture in modern Spanish include Nahuatl words for flora, fauna and aspects of native religion, in the earlier colonial period, more vocabulary in philosophy, astronomy, poetry, mathematics, arts, music, and rhetoric was retained, reflecting the prestige and importance of these cultural areas. However, no obvious parallel for prestige appears in the Trinidadian data, presumably because the prestige of

Spanish in the wider community was never very high, though it was less stigmatized than in many comparable situations.

Most of the Spanish derived lexicon, outside of flora and fauna, is, not surprisingly, culturally bound to Spanish domains, including historical government, food, measures, music, dance, gambling, cocoa and cockfighting. Nonetheless, not all integrated terms fit the categorization of borrowing of cultural items, including words for geographic features and psychological characterizations of people; no doubt many of these had simple chronological precedence and were kept either because there was no obvious substitute or for affective reasons.

The patterns of borrowing from Amerindian languages through the intermediary of Spanish are also fairly typical (Baugh and Cable 1978:226-228). English has adopted vocabulary in extensive amounts from over 50 languages, with many Italian and Spanish words, for example, entering English through French.

Two other general phenomena in word borrowing are also exemplified in these data. The first concerns parts of speech.

It has been noted that verbs are crosslinguistically less easily borrowed than nouns... many languages instead borrow a nominal form of the verb and employ a native 'all-purpose' verb such as *do*, *make* as a means of turning that form into the equivalent of a verb (Hock 1986:386).

All the flora and fauna items in this corpus are of course nouns. Of the remaining general vocabulary, there are 127 nouns, 13 adjectives, 9 verbs, 5 interjections, and 2 adverbs. Of the four verb phrases, *make pacotee* is an example of the "all-purpose verb" process Hock describes; the rest are calques - *make hot/cold*, *have years*, *have belly*, *have head*. In morphology, Hock notes that "derivational morphemes... are borrowed much more readily than inflectional affixes" (1986:387). The Trinidad corpus does not contradict this generalization. No borrowing of inflectional affixes was found. Three examples of the derivational *-ado* were found, in two adjectives, *crazau* < Eng. *crazy* + Sp. *-ado* and *annisao* 'flavored with anis', and in one noun *tumbau* 'a type of injury to a fighting cock resulting in an inability to stand' < *tumbado* 'knocked down, stunned.'

Despite the relatively small influence of Spanish in Trinidad, 328 words of direct or indirect Spanish derivation were found in Trinidadian English Creole. Although many are archaic or historical, a number of words remain as significant parts of the vernacular, in a variety of subject domains, not all of which are bound to Spanish-associated cultural patterns.

APPENDICES

- A. Spanish Lexicon in TEC, Flora
- B. Spanish Lexicon in TEC, Fauna
- C. Spanish Lexicon in TEC, General

Key to Abbreviations and Symbols

- () = general definition
- ' ' = specific definition
- // = pronunciation, if known
- < = derived from, found in
- / = and/or
- Amer. = Amerindian
- LAS = Latin American Spanish
- Sp. = European Spanish
- Fr. = French
- (obs.) = obsolete in current TEC usage
- (arch.) = archaic in current TEC usage
- (hist.) = historical usage only

N.B. Pronunciations are only given where known.

Appendix A: Spanish Lexicon in TEC, Flora

- altamis* /altamis/ 'Ambrosia cumanensis, a fragrant-leaved plant' < Sp. *artemisa* (a fragrant medicinal plant) < Latin
- angelin* /anjəlɪn/ 'Andira inermis, a tree with pink flowers' < LAS *angelin* (a leguminous tree) < Portuguese
- agalie* /agli, agali/ 'Ficus sp., a parasitic tree' < Sp. *algalia* 'musk hibiscus' < Arabic
- areca* /areka/ 'Areca catechu, the betel nut palm' < Sp. (a palm) < Amer.
- balata* /balata/ 'Manilkara bidentata, tree with hard wood, edible fruit' < LAS < Carib
- bilimbi* /bilimbi/ 'Averrhoa bilimbi, a plant bearing cucumber-shaped acidic fruits' < Sp. *bilimbín* (a tree) < Philippines
- bois toucan* /bwa tukā/ 'Laetia procera, a tree' < LAS *tucán* 'toucan' < Amer. (Brazil)
- bruca* /bruka/ 'Cassia occidentalis, a tree, wild coffee' < LAS?
- caimet* /kaimet, kaimɪt/ 'Chrysophyllum cainito, a tree bearing an edible fruit' < LAS *caimito* (a tree, fruit) < Amer. (Taino)

- cajou de burro* (a tree) (obs.?) < *cajou* 'cashew' (Amer.) + *Sp. de* 'of' + *Sp. burro* 'donkey'
- calderon* (a tree) (obs.?) < LAS *calderon* (a plant) < Amer.?
- callisia* /kalizia/ (a plant) < LAS *calisaya* (a tree) < Amer. (Bolivia)
- candero* /kandero/ (a tree) < LAS *candelon* (a mangrove tree) < Amer. (Antilles, Mexico)
- carap* /karap/ '*Carapa guianensis*, a tree whose seed yields useful oil' < LAS *carapa* (a plant) < Amer. (Galibi, Calina, Arauco)
- carat* /karat/ '*Copernicia* sp., a palm tree used for thatching' < LAS *carato* (a tree) < Amer.
- carimo blanco* (a tree) (obs.?) < *carimo* (Amer.?) + *Sp. blanco* 'white'
- chachamunchin*, *chanchamunchin* /tʃatʃamutʃɪn, tʃantʃamutʃɪn/ '*Justicia secunda*, a plant' < LAS *chinchamuchina* (a Veneuelan plant) < Amer?
- chiquito* /tʃikito/ 'a type of very small banana' < *Sp. chiquito* 'small'
- chirimoya* /tʃirimoya/ (a tree and its fruit) < LAS *chirimoya* (a tree, fruit) < Amer.
- courba* 'pumpkin' < LAS *curbana* (a shrub) < Amer. (?)
- estralog* '*Gurania spinulosa*, a plant' < LAS *estragon* 'tarragon'
- gamalot* /gamilot/ '*Setaria poiretiana*, a plant whose leaves repel water; also *Chaetochloa sulcata* or *C. palmifolia*, a saw-edged grass' < LAS *camalote* 'water lily' < Amer.
- gatia* /gatia/ '*Astronium graveolens* or *Brosimum aubleti*, leopard wood, a tree with spotty, streaked wood' < LAS *gateado* 'cat-like'
- granadilla* /granadilla/ '*Passiflora quadrangularis*, the passionflower and fruit' < *Sp. granadilla* 'passionflower' < Latin
- guatecare*, *guatacare*, *watercare* /wataker, gwataker/ '*Eschweilera subglan-dulosa*, a tree' < LAS *guatacare* (a tree) < Amer. (Cumanan)
- guava* /guava/ '*Psidium guajava*, a tree with edible fruit' < LAS *guaba* 'guava fruit' < Amer. (Taino?)
- guma*, *aguma* /guma, aguma/ '*Solanum nigrum americanum*, a plant' < *Sp. gumamela* (a plant) < Philippines
- jagua* '*Melicocca bijuga*, chenette, a tree with edible fruit' (obs.?) < LAS *jagua* (a tree) < Amer.
- kalenda* /kalenda/ '*Trimezia martinicensis*, a plant' < *Sp. calenda* 'first day of month' < Latin
- kambut* '*Paspalum conjugatum*, a plant' < *Sp. cambuto* 'small, chubby' cf. *cambutera* (a wild liane) (Cuba)
- kayakeet* /kayakit/ '*Lantana camara*, a shrub with yellow-pink-orange flowers' < LAS *cariaquito* (a bush) < Amer. (Cumanagotan)

- kerekel* /kerekel/ (a palm tree and its edible fruits; also possibly inedible undeveloped seeds of normally edible piwa palm fruits) < LAS *quelenquelen* (a plant) < Amer. (Araucanian)
- lattan* /latan/ 'Desmoncus major, a climbing palm' < LAS *latania* (a palm) < Amer.
- lian-tasso* /lian taso/ 'Bauhinia excisa, a plant' < Sp. *liana* 'liana, vine' + Sp. *tasajo* 'dry salt meat'
- malanga* /malanga/ (a type of tuber) < LAS *malanga* (a tuber) < African (Zaire-Zimbabwe?)
- mamoo* /mamū/ 'Carludovica sp., a vine used in basketry' < LAS *mamure* (a liana) < Amer. (Tamanacan)
- manac* /manak/ 'Euterpe broadwayana, a palm tree' < LAS *manaque/manak* (an Orinoco palm) < Amer.
- mapurit* /mapuwit, mapurit/ 'Petivaria alliacea, gully root, a plant' < LAS *mapurite* (a plant) < Amer. (Carib, Cumanagotan, Yabarama, Beyote)
- marakee* 'Crotalaria incana, C. maraca, or C. retusa, a plant with leguminous pods which rattle when dry' < LAS *maraquito* (a bush) < ? + Sp. *-ito* (diminutive)
- Maraval lily* /maraval/ 'Spathiphyllum cannifolium, a plant with a white flower' < LAS *maravilla* (creeping plants) probably < Maraval, area near Port of Spain < *maravilla* + *-al* 'having many such plants'
- marouba* /maruba/ 'Simarouba amara, a tree' < Sp. *marrubio* (a mint) < Latin
- mataburro* /mataburo/ 'mankiller fig, a type of banana believed to be lethal if not properly cooked' < LAS < Sp *matar* 'kill' + Sp. *burro* 'donkey'
- matapal*, *matapalo* /matapal, matapalo/ 'Clusia rosea or C. palmacida, a strangling tree' < LAS *matapalo* < Sp. *matar* 'kill' + Sp. *palo* 'tree'
- matrang* 'Hyptis suaveolens, a plant' < Sp. *mastranto* (a plant) < Latin
- mauby* /mobi/ 'Colubrina reclinata, a tree whose bark is used in a beverage' < LAS *mobi* < Amer.
- melongene*, *balangene* /melɒnjen/ 'Solanum melongena, the eggplant or aubergine' < Sp. *berengena* 'eggplant'
- moriche* /mɔritʃ/ 'Mauritia setigera or M. flexuosa, a palm.' < LAS *moriche* (a tree) < Amer.
- orosul* 'Matelea viridiflora, a vine' < Sp. *orozuz* (a plant) < Arabic
- palma christi* /pama kristi/ 'Ricinus communis, the castor oil tree' < Sp. *palma cristi* 'castor oil tree' < Latin
- patacon* 'Cissampelas pareira, a vine with kidney-shaped leaves' < Sp. *patacon* (a silver coin, often having a wedge cut out) < Arabic
- pawpaw* /pɒpɒ/ 'Carica papaya, a tree with edible fruit' < LAS *papayo* 'papaya' < Amer

- pimento* /pɪmento/ 'Pimenta dioica, the allspice tree' < Sp. *pimiento* (a pepper plant) < Latin
- pitanga* /pitanga/ 'Eugenia uniflora, a tree with edible fruit' < LAS *pitanga* (a tree, fruit) < Amer.
- piwa* /piwa/ 'Bactris gasipaes, a palm tree with edible fruits' < LAS < Amer.
- pomelo* /pomelo/ (a citrus fruit) < Sp. *pomelo* 'grapefruit' < Latin
- rayo* /rayo/ 'Cordyline terminalis, a plant with striped leaves' < Sp. *rayo* 'ray, beam, flash' < Latin
- refriyau* 'Dorstenia contrajerva, a plant' < Sp. *resfriado* 'cold, illness' < *raiz de resfriado* 'root for [treating] colds'
- reidemat* 'Aristolochia rugosa, a vine' < Sp. *raiz* 'root' + Sp. *de* 'of' + *mata* (a plant) < Latin
- roble* /robəl/ 'Platymiscium trinitatis, a tree' < Sp. *roble* 'oak' < Latin
- samaan* /saman/ 'Pithecellobium saman, a tree' LAS *saman* 'samaan tree' < Amer.
- santa maria* /santa maria/ 'Lantana involucrata, a plant used medicinally' < Sp. *santa* 'saint' + Sp. *Maria* 'Mary'
- sapodilla*, /sapodila/ *sapotee* /sapoti/ 'Achras sapota, a tree with edible fruit' < LAS *zapotillo* < 'zapote < Nahuatl *tzapotl*? + Sp. *-illo* (diminutive)' (a tree and fruit)
- siriyo* /sirio/ 'Sambucus intermedia, a plant' < Sp. *cirio* 'long candle' < Latin
- tapia* /tapia/ 'Sporobolus indicus, a grass used in mud-wall construction' < Sp. 'earth bricks' < Latin/Arabic
- tekoe* 'a type of tuber' < LAS *tegue* 'a type of tuber' (Venezuela)
- tonca*, *tonka* /tɒnka/ 'Dipteryx odorata, a tree with a very fragrant seed' < LAS *tonca* < Amer.
- topatop* /topatop/ 'Physalis angulata, a plant with top-shaped fruit' < Sp. *topotopo* (a plant) < Amer.
- tural* /tural/, *turada* /turada/, *tulala* /tulala/, 'Sanseveria thyrsiflora, a plant with long narrow thick leaves' < LAS *turada*, *tura* (a plant) < Amer.
- waku* 'Mikania micrantha, a vine' < LAS *guaco* (a plant) < Amer.
- warakarajo* (a plant) < LAS *guaracaro* (a plant) < Amer.
- zeecack* /zikak, zikaks/ (*Chrysobalanus icaco*, a shrub with edible purple fruit) < LAS [h]icaco 'coco plum' < Amer. (Taino, Cumananan or Arawak *ikaku*)

Appendix B: Spanish Lexicon in TEC: Fauna

- ancho* /ancho/ 'Pomatomus sp., the bluefish' < Sp. *anchoa* (a fish) *anguille* /angwil/ 'eel' < Sp. *anguila*, *anguilla* 'eel' /< Fr. *anguille* 'eel'
- bagre* /bag/ 'Bagre bagre or *Arius spixii*, marine catfish' < Sp. *bagre* (a freshwater catfish) *barracouta* /barakuta/ 'Sphyræna barracuda, the barracuda' < LAS *barracuda* (a fish, *Sphyræna* sp.)
- barbe* /barb/ 'any catfish, especially the freshwater *Rhamdia sebae* or *R. quelen*, and the marine *Bagre bagre* and *Arius spixii*' < Sp. *barbo*/Fr. *barbe* 'whisker, beard'
- bonite* /bonit/, *bonito* /bonito/ 'Sarda sarda, a marine fish' < Sp. *bonito* (a marine fish)
- brochet* /brojel/ 'Centropomus sp., the pike or snook' < Sp. *brocheta* 'spike'
- cachicama* /katʃikam, katʃikama/ 'Dasypus novemcinctus, the tatu, nine-banded armadillo' (archaic) < LAS < Amer. (Tamanaca)
- campanero* /kampanyero/ 'Procnias averano, the bearded bellbird' < Sp. *campanero* 'bell-ringer'
- carau* /karau/, *crao* /krao/ 'Aramus guarauna, the limpkin' < LAS *carau* (a bird)
- carite* /karit/ 'Scomberomorus brasiliensis, a mackerel' < LAS *carite* (a fish)
- cascabel* /kaskabel/ (1) (obs.) 'Bothrops atrox, the mapepire balsain, a venomous snake'; (2) 'Corallus enydri cookii, the Cook's tree boa, a non-venomous snake' < Sp. *cascabel* 'rattle, rattlesnake' (although the Trinidad cascabel is not venomous, it strongly resembles the Venezuelan cascabel, which has a rattle and is venomous.)
- cascabel dormilon* /kaskabel dõrmilan/ 'Corallus enydris cookii, the Cook's tree boa, a non-venomous snake' < Sp. *cascabel* 'rattle, rattlesnake' + FC *dormillant* 'sleeping' [i.e., because it is not in fact venomous nor does it have a rattle]
- cascadoo* /kaskadu/, *cascadura* /kaskadura/ 'any of several armoured fish, especially *Hoplosternum littorale*' < Sp. *cascara dura* 'hard shell'
- catalufa* /katalufa/ (a fish) < Sp. *cataluja*, *catalineta* (a fish)
- chat* /ʃat/ 'Callichthys sp., a flat-headed catfish' < Sp. *chato* 'flat'
- cigal*, *cigale* /sigal/ (a cicada) < Sp. *cigarra* 'a cicada'
- cigar* /siga:/ 'cicada' < Sp. *cigarra* 'a cicada'
- colibri* /kolibri/, *kwilibee* /kwilibi/ 'hummingbird' < LAS *colibri* 'hummingbird' < Amer.
- colorado* /kolõrao/ 'Spinus cucullatus, the red siskin' < Sp. *colorado* 'red'
- congaree* /kõngari/ 'marine eel-like fish, conger eels or moray eels, *Lycodontis* sp.' < Sp. *congrío*/Eng. *conger eel* 'conger eel'
- congoroche* /kõngorotʃe/ ? 'Steirostoma depressum, the cocoa beetle, whose grub is very destructive to cocoa trees' < LAS *congorocho* 'centipede'

- cuckoo*, *coucou* /kuku/ 'Taraba major, the great antshrike' < Sp. *cucu*/Eng. *cuckoo* (a bird)
- cuckoo manioc* /kuku maniɔk/, *coucou mayok* /kuku mayɔk/ 'Piaya cayana, the squirrel cuckoo' Sp. *cucu*/Eng. *cuckoo* (a bird) + *manioc* 'bitter cassava' LAS < Amer.
- crao* (see *carau*)
- doncellas* /donselas/ 'Halichoeres bivittatus, a small parrotfish found around jetties' < Sp. *doncella* 'maid, housemaid'
- espadron* /espadron/ 'Pristis pectinatus, the sawfish' < Sp. *espadon* 'saw-fish'
- galap* /galap/ 'Rhinoclemmys punctularia, the fresh-water turtle' < Sp. *galapago* 'fresh-water turtle'
- garrapat* /garapat/, *carapatte* /karapat/, *garrapato* /garapato/ 'Ambylomma mixtum, a tick' < Sp. *garrapata* (a tick)
- gato-melao* /gato melao/ 'Eira barbara trinitatis, the tayra' < Sp. *gato* 'cat' + Sp. *melado* 'honey-coloured'
- gaulin* /gɔlin/ 'Butorides virescens, the green heron' < Sp. *gallina* 'hen, female chicken' (also other birds)
- gavilan* /gavilã, gabilã, gabilan/ 'hawk, especially Buteo platypterus, the broad-winged or chicken hawk' < Sp. *gavilan* '(chicken) hawk'
- guabine* see *wabeen*
- guacharo* /guatʃaro, watʃaro/ 'Steatornis caripensis, the oilbird' < LAS *guacharo* (a bird)
- guana* /gwana/ 'Iguana iguana, a lizard' < LAS *iguana* < Carib
- katraka* /katraka/? (pheasant-like bird, possibly the cocrico) (obs.) < Sp. *catraca* (a bird) < Amer.
- kukui* /kukui/ 'candlefly, firefly' < Sp. *cocuyo* 'firefly'
- lappe*, *lap* /lap/, *lapa* /lapa/ 'Cuniculus paca, a large rodent' < LAS *lapa* < Amer.
- lora* /lɔra/ 'Leptophis ahaetulla, a snake whose neck has a green-gold sheen' < Sp. *lora* 'female parrot'
- macajuel* /makawel/ 'Boa constrictor constrictor, a snake' < LAS *macaurel* (a snake) < Amer.
- machette* /matʃet/ 'Leptophis ahaetulla, a snake' < Sp. *machete* ('little mallet')
- malo* /malɔ/ 'Salvator merianae, a reptile' < Sp. *malo* 'bad'
- mama teta* /mama teta/ 'Hypostomus robinii, a fish that attaches itself to rocks by sucking with its mouth' < Sp. *mamar* 'suck' + Sp. *teta* 'teat'
- marabunta* /marabUnta/ (type of wasp) < LAS
- mariposa* /mariposa/? 'Chaetodon striatus, a marine fish' < Sp. *mariposa* 'butterfly'
- matapel* /matapel/, *mataperro* /matapero/, 'Myrmecophaga tridactyla, the great anteater' < Sp. *matar* 'to kill' + Sp. *perro* 'dog'

- matchin* /matʃɪn/ 'Cebus albifrons trinitatis, the capuchin monkey' (obs.) < LAS *machin* 'monkey' < Amer. (Colombia, Ecuador, Venezuela)
- matte, mat* /mat/ 'Tupinambis teguixin, the tegu lizard' < LAS *mato* (a lizard) < Amer. (Cumanagota)
- moriche* /mɔritʃ/ 'Icterus chryscephalus, the moriche oriole' < LAS *moriche* (an American singing blackbird) < LAS *moriche* (a palm) < Amer?
- morocoý* /mɔrɔkɔi/ 'Geochelone denticulata, the yellow-legged tortoise' < Sp. *morrocoyo* 'land tortoise' < Amer. (Taino?)
- oropendola* /ɔropendola/ 'Psarocolius decumanus, the crested oropendola' < Sp. *oropendola* (a bird)
- paraulata* /paraulata, parulata/ 'Mimus gilvus, the tropical mockingbird' < Sp. *paraulata* (type of thrush)
- pargue* /pa:g/ 'various marine snappers of the family Lutjanidae' < Sp. *pargo* (several similar fishes)
- patonero* /patɔnɛro/ (arch.) 'Pseudoboa newwiedii, a snake' < Sp. *ratonero* 'mouse-eater' (see also *ratonel*)
- pauji, paoui, pawi* /pawɪ/ 'Pipile pipile, the piping-guan' < LAS *pauji* (same bird) < Quechua
- pikoplat* /pikoplat/ 'Sporophila intermedia, the grey seedeater finch, or *Ramphocelus carbo*, the silver-beaked tanager' < Sp. *pico* 'beak' + Sp. *plata* 'silver'
- piłowki, pioki* /pɪlowki, pioki/ (insect) < Sp. *piojo* 'louse'
- pintade* /pɪntad/ 'Thamnophilus doliatus, the barred antshrike' < Sp. *pintada* 'Guinea hen'
- rabo frito* /rabo frito/ 'a juvenile Bothrops atrox snake' < Sp. *rabo* 'very short tail' + Sp. *frito* 'fried'
- ratonel* /ratonel/ 'Pseudoboa newwiedii, a snake' < Sp. *ratonero* 'mouse-eater' (see also *patonero*)
- ratonero* (see *ratonel*)
- rooti* /ruti/ 'Certhiaxis cinnamomea, the yellow-throated spinetail' < Sp. *rutilo* 'sparkling, shining, bright'
- sea-tatu* /si tatu/ (a type of banded crustacean, digs in sand) < Eng. *sea* 'marine' + LAS *tatu* 'armadillo' < Guarani
- tamandua* /tamandua/ 'Tamandua longicaudata longicaudata, the three-toed anteater' < LAS *tamandua* (same anteater) < Guarani
- tatu* /tatu/ 'Dasyus novemcinctus novemcinctus, the nine-banded armadillo' < LAS *tatu* 'armadillo' < Guarani
- tembladol* /tembladol/ 'Narcine brasiliensis, the electric eel' < Sp. *temblador* 'trembling, quivering, shaking'
- tia poco* /tia poko/ 'Ramphastos vitellinus, the channel-billed toucan' < Sp. *tia* 'aunt' + Sp. *poco* 'little bit'

- tigre* /tigrɛ/ 'Spilotes pullatus, a black snake with yellow stripes' < Sp. *tigre* 'tiger'
tinterero /tinterero/ 'Carcharhinus falciformis, the olive shark' < Sp. *tintero* 'inkwell'
toka (a bird) (obs.?) < Sp. *paloma de toca* 'pigeon, nun's dove' < Sp. *toca* 'wimple, headdress'
trompetero /trɒmpetɛro/ 'Fistularia tabacaria, the trumpet-fish' < Sp. *trompetero* 'trumpet-fish'
wabeen /wabin/ 'Rivulus hartii, a small freshwater fish' < LAS < Amer. (Antilles, Colombia, Venezuela)
zagaya /zagaya/ 'Graspus sp., a marine crab' < Sp. *zagaya* 'small dart or lance'

Appendix C: Spanish Lexicon in TEC, General

- adult* 'to forgive, atone' < Sp. *indultar* 'to forgive, exempt' < Latin
agua 'a nut handed over by the winner to the loser, to enable a game to restart, in blochay' (arch.) < LAS *agua* 'money' (Peru)
aguinaldo /aguinaldo/ 'a type of Spanish Christmas carol' < Sp.
ahwo /awo/ 'a friendly greeting, usually to someone some distance away' < Sp.
aho 'call used to hail someone'
albacea dativo 'court-appointed executor of a will' (hist.) Sp. *albacea dativo* 'court-appointed executor'
alcalde /alkalde/ 'magistrate, councillor' (hist.) < Sp. *alcalde* 'magistrate'
alcalde de barrio 'type of magistrate' (hist.) < Sp. *alcalde de barrio* 'justice of the peace for a ward'
alguazil /algwazil/ 'police constable, officer' (hist.) < Sp. *alguacil* 'constable, police officer' < Arabic
almide 'a unit of liquid measure, about a gallon' (obs.) < Sp. *medir* 'to measure'
alpagat /alpagat/, *alpagata* /alpagata/ 'a flat leather or rubber-soled sandal with woven top' < Sp. *alpargata* 'hemp sandal tied with ribbons'
annisao /anisaio/ 'an anise-flavored rum drink' < Sp. *annisado* 'flavored with anise'
arepa /arepa/ 'a fried triangular patty of corn meal with a meat filling' < LAS
arepa 'circular bread, us. cornmeal' < Amer.
aroba, *arroba* 'a measure of weight, 25 lbs.' (obs.) < Sp. *arroba* '25 pound measure'
avena 'a fermented corn beverage' < Sp. ? *avena* 'oats'
ayayay /aiaiai/ 'exclamation of indignation, distress, surprise or pleasure' < Sp.
ayayay 'expression usually of worry, pain'
ayo /ayo/ 'of a kite, to fly away after the string is broken' < Sp. *adios* 'goodbye'

- ayo panch* /ayo pant/ 'an exclamation describing someone's speedy disappearance' < Sp. *ayo* < *adios* 'goodbye' + Sp. *pancho* 'lazy stupid person'
- azil* /zil/ 'a slow-moving, short-beaked, fighting cock or hen with a very broad, heavy, stocky body, usually black-red feathers, with great endurance and stamina' < Sp. < ?Eng. < ?India idem.
- bacaday* /bakade/ 'a loading wharf, especially one particular area in San Fernando' < Sp. *embarcadero*/Fr. *embarcadère* 'loading wharf'
- bacalao* /bakalao/ 'salted dried codfish' < Sp./Ptg. *bacalao* 'salted codfish'
- bacchanal* /bakanal/ 'a wild party or fete; disorder' < Sp. *bacanal* 'orgy, disorder, tumult'
- bagasse* /bagas/ 'residue of sugar cane after juice is pressed out' < Sp. *bagazo* /Fr. *bagasse* 'residue of things squeezed for juice'
- bandol* /bandol/, *bandola* /bandola/ 'a tenor instrument with four double strings and a flat back' < Sp. *bandolin* 'an instrument with four double strings and a rounded back'
- barriga de vieja* 'type of cassava pudding' < Sp. *barriga* 'belly' + *de* 'of' + *vieja* 'old woman'
- batallando* /batayando/ 'struggling' (said in reply to greeting enquiring how you are) < Sp. *batallar* 'to fight, struggle in life'
- bebeiz* /bebeiz/, *bebediso* /bebediso/, 'a medicinal drink given to women after childbirth' < Sp. *bebedizo* 'medicinal drink, love potion'
- bich* /bit/ 'a dysenteric disease of poultry' < Sp. *bicho* 'fowl cholera'
- bisquankay* /biskwanke/ 'describing something twisted or falling apart, or an awkward, clumsy person' < Sp. (Aragon) *bizcuerno-a* 'person with cross-eyes or twisted limbs'
- blochay* 'a game played with nuts thrown in a hole in the ground' < ? LAS *brocha* 'a game'
- boca* /boka/ 'sea channel between the islands off the northwest peninsula of Trinidad' < Sp. *boca* 'entrance, exit, mouth, inlet' < Latin
- bole* /boli/ 'a calabash hollowed out as a water container' < LAS *bolo* 'tender calabash' < Amer.
- bolo* /bolo/ 'an underhand punch' < Sp. *bollo* 'punch, hit'
- botuella de compuesta* /botwela de compwesta/ 'a mixture of herbs steeped in alcohol used as an antidote for snake or scorpion bites' < Sp. *botella* + *de* + *compuesta* 'bottle of compound, mixture'
- boy* /boi/, *boyo* /boyo/ 'a steamed cornmeal dumpling, oval with pointed ends, hollow inside' < Sp. *bollo* 'spongy dough dumpling' < ? kiKongo *mbolo* 'cake'
- bucha sangray* /butʃa sangre/ 'in cockfighting, a wound in the bird's neck, with bleeding inside, resulting in swelling, choking and death' < S *buche* (d) *sangre* idem. (Sp. *buche* 'crop, mouthful' + *sangre* 'blood')

- burroquet* /bʊrokit/ 'a carnival masquerade which appears to be a donkey and its rider' < Sp. *burrito* 'little donkey'
- bukara* /bukara/ 'a red clay used for pottery' < Sp. *bucaro* 'clay' < Latin *bottle* /batəl/ 'a measure, usually liquid, about a quart' < Sp. *botella*/Eng. *bottle* 'bottle, liquid measure about a quart'
- cabecera* /kabesera/ 'headland, vantage point, high point of land' (arch.) < LAS *cabez* /kabez/, *cabesa* /kabesa/ 'cleverness, smartness' < Sp. *cabeza* 'head, brains, judgement'
- cabresse* /kɒbwes/ 'person of mixed Indian and Spanish ancestry, sometimes with some African' < LAS *cabres/cabrerres* 'Indians from Colombia and Venezuela'
- cabildo* /kabilɔ/ 'municipal council' (hist.) < LAS *cabildo* 'ecclesiastic body, town council' < Amer.? or Latin *capitulu(m)*
- cacique* /kasik/ 'Indian leader' (hist.) 'village headman' (hist.) < LAS *cacique* 'provincial or Indian chieftain' < Amer.
- cachap* /katʃap/ 'cornmeal dumpling' < LAS *cachapa* 'corn muffin' < Amer.
- canabai* 'a fighting cock or hen with a white neck and tail, brown chest, and half wing white' < Sp. *canaguay* 'white colour on the wing of any fowl'
- canaree* /kanari/ 'a large earthenware jar used for storing or cooking food' < LAS *canari* 'earthenware jar' < Carib
- canoe* /kanoe/ 'a fighting cock or hen with white feathers above, brown or black on the mid-body, and white underneath' < Sp. *cano* 'white-haired, white'; ?Sp. *canoco* 'pale')
- canook, conuco* 'a cultivated plot of land' (obs.) < LAS *conuco* 'cultivated plot of land' < Amer. (Taino)
- capiche* /kapitʃ/, *capriche* /kapritʃ/ 'a superstitious act which brings good luck, especially in gambling' < Sp. *capricho* 'whim, by good luck'
- caradol, cariadol* /karadol, kariadol/ 'a lower quality fighting cock used as a sparring partner for training or practice' < LAS *careador* 'fighting cock handler'
- cariadol* see *caradol*
- casa* /kasa/ 'owner/manager of a gambling house' < Sp. *casa* 'owner of gambling house' *casa real* 'residence of the corregidor' (hist.) < Sp. *casa real* 'royal palace'
- castillan* /kastiɣã, kastiyan/ 'a waltz' < Sp. *castellano* 'from Castile' or *castellana* 'type of verse'
- chinchora* 'hammock' < LAS *chinchorro* < Amer?
- chupon* /tʃupõ/ 'a secondary shoot or sucker on a tree' < Sp.
- chuponeer* /tʃuponir/ 'to prune, remove excess shoots from a tree' < Sp. *chupon* 'sucker of a tree' + -ir (verb)

- clear* /kli:/ 'light colour complexion' < Eng. *clear* + Sp. *claro* 'light complexion'
- cocal* /kokal/ 'a stretch of coconut palms along the east coast of Trinidad' < LAS *cocal* 'place planted with coconut trees' < *coco* 'coconut' + Sp. *-al* (place full of a plant) *coco* /koko/ 'a butt with the head' < Sp. *coco* 'head, skull'
- confetti* 'sweet candied fruit peel' < Sp. *confite* 'round sweets' / Fr. *confit* 'candied fruit'
- comai* /kɔmai/ 'godmother to one's child' < Sp. *comadre*/Fr. *comère* 'godmother to one's child'
- compai* /kɔmpai/ < Sp. *compadre*/Fr. *compère* 'godfather to one's child'
- concurso* 'official assembly' (hist.) < Sp. *concurso* 'assembly, gathering'
- contraveneno* 'antidote to snakebite' < Sp. *contraveneno* 'antidote'
- conuquero* 'small farmer, person who cultivates a small amount of land' (obs., hist.) < LAS *conuquero* 'conuco worker or owner' < Amer. *conuco* + Sp. *-ero* 'person who does'
- corregidor* 'Spanish colonial governor' (hist.) < Sp. *corregidor* 'colonial governor of Indians'
- crazau* /krezau/ 'scatterbrained' < Eng *crazy* + Sp *-au* < *-ado* (participial adjective)
- creole* /kriol/ 'born in Trinidad, local' < Sp. *criollo* 'born in the Americas'
- cuatro* /kwatro/ 'a small 4-stringed guitar' < LAS (Venezuela)
- cubrada* /kUbrada/ 'gully, ravine' < Sp. *quebrada* 'ravine, gorge'
- cuscuma* /kUskuma/ 'unattractive' < ? Sp. *cusma* 'Indian garment' < Amer.
- debaray* /debare/, *debariar* /debariar/ 'to do light pruning, especially of cocoa trees' < Sp. *desvastigar* 'prune'
- decima* /desima/ 'type of verbal song duel' < Sp. *decima* 'type of verse' < Latin
- depunta* /depUnta/ 'to remove tips of branches to balance a young tree' < Sp. *despuntar* 'remove a tip'
- do* /du/ 'harm' < Eng. *do*, often translation of *hacer* + 'do something to someone' + Sp. *hacer* 'do someone [harm]'
- don* /dan/ 'a fighting cock or hen with grey feathers underneath and on wings, a light brown nape (back of the neck), and dark brown or red on back' < Sp.?
- douen* /dwen/ 'the spirit of a child who has died unbaptized, and who lures children away to play' < Sp. *duende* 'haunting spirit causing confusion'
- escribano* /eskribano/ 'court clerk' (hist.) < Sp. *escribano* 'court clerk, notary' < Latin
- estabone* 'measure of about 110 inches, just over 9 feet' (hist.) < Sp.
- estribillo* 'type of parang song in which stanzas of verse are followed by same refrain' < Sp. 'refrain, chorus, theme'
- estadal* /estadal/ 'a land measure, 100 square varas' < Sp.

- fandang* /fandang/ 'a type of dance' < Sp. *fandango* 'a type of dance'
- faneg* /faneg/, *fanega* /fanega/ 'a measure of weight, about 110 lbs., especially for cocoa and coffee' < Sp. *fanega*
- faneg* /faneg/, *fanega* /fanega/ 'a measure of land, 2 quarees, 6.9 acres' (hist.) < Sp. *fanega* 'measure of area, about 6.5 acres, the area needed to sow a fanega of seed' < Arabic
- faneja* /faneha/ 'a liquid measure, about 8 gallons' (obs.) < Sp. *fanega* 'measure of capacity' < Arabic?
- faramayel* 'to show off, make style' < Sp. *faramallero*
- francomen* /frankomen/ 'frankly, honestly' < Sp. *francamente* 'frankly'
- fuma* /fuma/ 'smoke used to destroy ant-nests' < Sp. *fumar* 'to smoke'
- galeron* 'a type of song' < LAS 'type of popular song, to which people dance and sing verses' < Sp. *ganancias* 'property rights of a married woman' (hist.) < Sp.
- gancia* /gansia/ 'cheap wine; vermouth' < Sp. *Gancia* 'a brand of vermouth'
- garapacha* /garapatja/ 'type of fish trap' < LAS < Amer.
- gayal* /gayal, gayel/ 'fighting cock ring, stickfighting ring' < Sp. *gallera* 'cockpit'
- gayap* /gayap/ 'cooperative work group' < LAS *cayapa* 'work cooperative' < Amer. (Cumanagotan)
- gayin*, *gayen* /gayin, gayen/ 'a fighting cock of any colour, with all the tail feathers short and the same length, the cock thus resembling a hen' < Sp. *gayia* < *gallina* 'hen'
- gullet* /gʊlet, gʌlet/ 'a hooked knife, usually on a pole, used to cut down cocoa pods' < FC *golete*/Sp. *goleta*
- goubby* /gʊbi/ 'a hollow gourd with lianes plaited around it, used to carry liquids' < Sp. *gubilete* 'metal cup'
- hato* 'a stock farm' (obs.) < Sp. *hato* 'livestock farm, ranch'
- have belly* 'have courage, be brave' < Sp. *tener estomago* 'able to bear, brave' (possible influence from Fr. *avoir de l'estomac* 'show boldness, audacity', and from Eng. meaning of 'show spirit, courage, bravery' obsolete since c. 1660s in standard Eng.)
- have head* 'clever, tricky' < Eng. calque of Sp. *tener cabeza* 'to be clever'
- have years* (indicating age) < Eng. calque of Sp. *tener años*/Fr. *avoir ans* 'to have years' (age), e.g., "I have fourteen years."
- ingenios* 'sugar cane estate' (hist.) < Sp. *ingenio de azúcar* 'sugar mill or plantation'
- jefe* /hefe/ 'important person, big shot' < Sp. *jefe* 'chief, boss, leader, superior'
- jefe civil* /hefe sivil/ 'important person in town/country' < Sp. *jefe* 'chief, boss, leader' + Sp. *civil* 'municipal'
- jorop* /hɔrop/, *joropo* /hɔropo/ 'a dance' < Sp. *joropo* 'a dance' (Venezuela)

- koskel* /kɔskel/ 'in garish bad taste, loud mismatched colours' < Sp. *cosquillas* 'tickling' *lagoon* /lagun/ 'a small temporary pond from rainfall', 'a stream emptying into the sea' < Sp. *laguna* 'pond' < Latin
- laniappe* /lanyap/ 'extra bit given free by vendor to customer' < LAS *la ñapa* 'bonus' < Amer. (Quechua)
- latro* /latro/, *lastro* /lastro/ 'low forest, especially previously cultivated fields overtaken by bush' < Sp. *rastrajo* 'harvested field'
- loraison* /lɔzrezɔ/ 'healing prayer' < Sp. *las oraciones* 'prayers'
- lorito* /lɔrito/ 'pet name for a parrot' < Sp. 'little parrot'
- macha palante* /matʃa palante/, *macha palanto* /matʃa palanto/ 'walk quickly' < Sp. *marcha para adelante* 'walk ahead, forward'
- maga* /maga, mɔga/ 'thin' < Sp. *magro-a*/Fr. *maigre* 'thin' < Latin
- make cold* 'to be cold' (of the weather) < Eng. calque of Sp. *hacer tiempo frío*/Fr. *faire froid*
- make hot* 'to be warm, hot' (of the weather) < Eng. calque of Sp. *hacer tiempo calor*/Fr. *faire chaud*
- make pacotee* /pakoti/ 'to have a good time, to spree; to have illicit sexual activity' < Sp. *pacotilla* 'a group of people having a good time' (often lower class) (/Fr.? see also *pacotee*)
- maljo* /maljo/ 'evil eye' < Sp. *mal de ojo* 'evil eye'
- mamaguy* /mamagai/ 'tease, fool, flatter' < Sp. *mamar gallo* 'to make a monkey of, mock, pull leg'
- mandolin* /mandolin/ 'pear-shaped musical instrument with a flat back, four double strings' < Sp.
- mano mano* /mano mano/, *manos manos* /manos manos/ 'carried out between two people without outside involvement, e.g. argument, bet, or conflict' < Sp. *mano a mano* lit. 'hand to hand'
- manojos* 'a measure of tobacco, 5 lbs.' (arch.) < Sp. *manejo* 'handful'
- manzanares* /manzanares/ 'a type of song' < LAS 'songs celebrating the Manzanares River in Cumana, Venezuela' < river in Spain
- mariko* /mariko/, *maricon* /marikɔ/ 'a homosexual man' < Sp. *maricon* 'effeminate man'
- massamorja de maiz* 'a type of corn pudding' < LAS
- matador* /matador/ 1. 'carnival masquerade of bullfighter'; 2. 'woman who is aggressive, stylish, independent' < Sp. 'bullfighter'
- monton*, *montone* 'an earth mound used to plant crops' (obs.) < Sp. *monton* 'mound of soil constructed for the planting of tubers, improve soil drainage, or provide sufficient humus'
- nature* 'sexual drive, desire' < Eng. calque of Sp. *natura* 'genitals'/*naturaleza* 'sexual desire' < Latin

- pacotee pack-o'-tea* /pakoti/ 1. 'worthless thing, thing of little value'; 2. 'a loose or promiscuous woman' < Sp. *pacotilla*/Fr. *pacotille* 'inferior goods' also Sp. *pacotilla* 'a group of people having a good time' (often lower class)
- palang* /palang/ 'a long fishing line with hooks attached at intervals' < Sp. *palangre*
- pallet* /palet/ 'a long wooden stick with a flat end used to move bread in an oven, or a flat wooden stick used to turn flat bread' < Sp. *paleta* 'fire shovel, poker, spatula'/Eng. *pallet* 'long, thin, wooden board'
- panyol*, *payol* /pāyol/ 'a Trinidadian of Spanish descent; a Venezuelan' < Sp. *español* 'Spanish'
- papelon* 'a conical loaf of dark brown sugar, usually wrapped in banana leaves' (obs.) < LAS *papelon* 'conical mold of raw sugar' < Sp *papel* 'paper'
- parandera* /parandera/, *parandero* /parandero/ 'female, male parang singer' < Sp. *parrandero-a* 'person on spree, usually playing music'
- parang* /parang/ 'music played at Christmastime, usually by people going from house to house' < Sp. *parranda* 'serenading, going out and singing'
- paseo* 'a dance' < LAS *pasillo* 'a popular folkloric type of song and dance' < ? Sp. *paseo* 'stroll'
- paso* 'pace, unit of measure about 55 inches' (hist.) < Sp.
- pastel* /pastel/ 'a dish made of a cornmeal crust and spicy meat filling' < Sp. *pastel* 'sweet or meat-stuffed cornmeal crust' < Fr. < Latin
- pavil* 'a torch made of cloth soaked in beeswax' < LAS < ?
- peon*, *piong* /piŋ/ 1. 'person of Spanish descent who immigrated to work in Trinidad'; 2. 'aficionado, ardent fan' < Sp. *peon* 'labourer'
- picadol* /pikadol/ 'a knife with short handle and blade used to crack open cocoa pods' < Sp. *picador* 'person who sticks bulls with short spear'
- picong* /pikŋ/ 'teasing, ritualized ridicule' < Sp. *picon* 'trick, joke, ridicule'
- pint* /pint/ 'a fighting cock or hen with white and black, white and red, or silver and white feathers' < Sp. *pinta* 'spot, mark dot', *pintao* < Sp. *pintado* 'spotted, dotted, mottled, speckled'
- planasse* /planas/ 'a blow with the flat side of a cutlass' < Sp. *plana* 'flat' + *azo* 'hit'
- pocapoc* /pokapok/ 'slowly, little by little' < Sp. *poco a poco* 'little by little, slowly'
- poncha creme*, *poncha crema* /pʌntʃa kɾem, pʌntʃa kɾema, pʌntʃa krim/ 'a drink made of rum, milk, sugar and spices' < Sp. *ponche* 'rum drink' < + Sp. *crema* 'cream'
- poposeet flute* /poposit/ 'a small vertical flute' < Sp.? + Eng. 'flute'
- poyo* /poyɔ/ 'young inexperienced fighting cock which hasn't yet fought battles' < Sp. *pollo* 'chicken, young chicken'
- procurador* 'town clerk?' (hist.) < Sp. 'lawyer/solicitor, town clerk or treasurer'

- procurador syndic* [govt. or legal official] (hist.) < Sp. *procurador sindico* 'village representative on a council'
- pooch* /putʃ/ 'buttocks' < ? Sp. *pucho* 'tip or butt, e.g., cigar'
- pueblo* 'Indian mission station' (hist.) < Sp. 'town, village'
- pulgada* 'inch' (hist.) < Sp.
- quarilla* 'a dry measure' (obs.) < Sp. ?
- quintal* 'a measure of 100 lbs.' (obs.) < Sp. *quintal* 'weight measure'
- rachifée* /ratʃifi/ 'cheating, corruption, trickery' < ? Sp. *racha* 'brief period of good luck in gambling' [or Eng. *retrofit* 'to force something to fit, to use something not originally designed for the task']
- raff* /raf, ra:f/ 'to steal by snatching or grabbing; quick snatch, grab' < Sp. *rafaga* 'gust of wind, blast'/Fr. *rafle* 'to sweep away, snatch away'
- ranch* /rantʃ/ 'a small wooden house or shelter' < Sp. *rancho* 'shanty, humble thatched house'
- rat* /rat/ 'promiscuous woman, prostitute' < Sp. *rata* 'woman of the moment' + Eng. *rat*
- rebucan* 'a smaller, second harvest of cocoa pods' < Sp. *rebuscar* 'look for again, glean' *regidor* 'town councillor' (hist.) < Sp. *regidor* 'councillor attached to a cabildo'
- roundeer* /raundir/ 'to clean the area around a tree of weeds' < Eng. *round* + Sp. *-ir* (verb) or ? Sp. *rondar* 'to go around'
- sabana blanca* 'a type of song' < Sp. ? 'white sheet, altar cloth'
- sambo* /sambo/ 'offspring of a mulatto and a Negro' < Sp. *zambo* 'offspring of an Indian and a Negro' [< African?]
- sancoch*, *sancoche* /sankotʃ/ *sancocho* /sankotʃo/ 'a stew made with meat and root vegetables' < LAS *sancocho* 'a stew'
- sangaree* 'a drink made with wine' < Sp. *sangria* 'wine and fruit drink'
- santiwa* /santiwa/ 'to heal by special prayers' < Sp. *santiguar* 'to heal by prayer' < Latin
- sapat* /sapat/ 'a sandal with a wooden sole and rubber or leather strap across the front of the foot' < Sp. *zapato* 'shoe' < Turkish
- savanna* /savana/ 'wide treeless plain' < Sp. *sabana* 'wide treeless plain' < Amer. (Carib)
- sebucan* /sebukā/ 1. 'woven basket used as cassava squeezer'; 2. 'a Maypole-type dance which resembles this weaving' < LAS *sebucan* 'cassava squeezer' < Amer.
- serenal* /serenal/ 'type of parang song' < Sp. *serenata* 'serenade, or music for this'
- shac-shac* /ʃak ʃak/ 'rattle' < LAS *shac-shac* 'sound of maracas' < Amer.
- tache* 'large shallow sugar evaporating pan' < LAS *tacho* 'large shallow sugar evaporating pan'

- tapia* /tapia/ 'mud and grass wall construction' < Sp. *tapia* 'earth bricks' < Latin/Arabic *tassa salay* /tasa sale/ 'dried salt beef' (arch.) < Sp. *tasajo* 'dry smoked meat' + Sp. *salado*/(more probably) Fr. *salee* 'salted'
- tasso* /taso/ 'dried salt beef' (arch.) < Sp. *tasajo* 'dry smoked meat' < Portuguese
- taxador* 'public assessor' (hist.) < Sp. *tasador* 'public assessor'
- terital* 'place with many terite/tirite canes, *Ischnosiphon arouma*' < LAS < *terite* Amer. + Sp. *-al* (place full of a plant)
- timal* 'place with many timite palms, *Manicaria saccifera*' < Amer. *timite* + Sp. *-al* (place full of a plant)
- tiple* 'small treble metal-stringed instrument' < Sp.
- trabesau* /trabesau/ 'person of mixed racial descent' < Sp. *atravesado* 'mulatto, mixed race'
- trapich*, *trapitch* /trapitʃ/ 'a type of hand-operated sugar cane mill' < Sp. *trapiche*
- tumbau* /tumbau/ 'in cockfighting, an injury in which one cock's spur touches a nerve in the wounded cock's leg, resulting in an inability to stand, sometimes permanent' < Sp. *tumbado* 'knocked down, stunned, overcome, thrown down, keeled over'
- vara* /vara/ 'linear measure of about 33 inches'; 'area of land equal to about 3-5 acres' < Sp. (some variations in exact length) < Latin
- vega* /vega/ 'river valley or hollow' < Sp. 'fertile lowland'
- Velorio de Cruz* /velorio de kruz/ 'Cross wake' < Sp.
- wabeen* /wabin/ 'promiscuous woman, common, of loose morals' < *wabeen*, *guabine* '*Rivulus hartii*, a small common freshwater fish, often found in drains' < LAS < Amer.
- warap* /warap/ 'a type of parang song with a fast beat' < LAS
- warap* /warap/ 'sugar-cane juice' LAS < *guarapo* < Quechua *huarapu*
- wepa* /wepa/ 'an exclamation' < Sp. *epa* 'to cheer up, animate'
- wires*, *guaya*, *guayaguayare*, *guayare* 'a wicker basket carried on the back' (obs.) < LAS *guayare* < Amer.

NOTES

1. The authors are grateful for help to Hans E. A. Boos, Yasmin Baksh Comeau, Lancelot Cowie, Steven Lee Hartman, Sylvia Moodie-Kublalsingh, Clarita Rivas, and Glen Wilkes; final judgments – and errors – are of course our responsibility. We also appreciate support from the Office of Research Development and Administration, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale.

2. The decline of the Amerindian population is difficult to estimate. Newson (1976:76-77) gives the population of Trinidad at the time of conquest as 20,000-30,000, and that of three centuries later as about 2,000. In 1592, it was estimated at 15,000-20,000, half what it had been prior to conquest. The main causes of this decline were the enslaving raids of the Spanish and the Caribs, deaths from “battles which were attempts to prevent the Spanish from settling in the island” (Newson 1976:78), and indirect consequences of this conflict: the Indians could “no longer devote their full attention to food production, neither could they exploit effectively the island’s resources since considerations of defence demanded the movement of settlements inland” (Newson 1976:78).

3. “African languages of the Negroid inheritance exerted little influence on Trinidadian Spanish” as the proportion of Spanish colonizers to African slaves was relatively high and most of the earlier African population was brought by the French (Laurence 1970:75). Lipski, comparing Trinidadian Spanish with the *bozal* Spanish varieties developed and used by African-born slaves and their descendants, also concluded that

Although Trinidad Spanish exhibits nonstandard characteristics, as well as creoloid forms resulting from the gradual erosion, there is little convergence with demonstrably related creoles such as Palenquero and Papiamentu... if creoloid structures were already present in Trinidad *bozal* Spanish, subsequent contact with creole French would be expected to reinforce and extend these constructions. That this has not occurred weakens claims regarding inevitable relexification of existent creoles, and suggests that Spanish as spoken by Africans in Trinidad passed from an unstable pidgin to a stable nonstandard but noncreolized dialect of Spanish. (Lipski 1990:23)

4. During the period of time between Capitulation and the abolition of slavery in 1834-8, immigration to Trinidad was characterized by extreme variety: Madeirans, Chinese, Venezuelans, Africans, Black Americans, French/French Creole-speaking French and French Creole planters and their African and Creole slaves, English/English Creole-speaking planters and their African and Creole slaves. After 1845, the massive immigration of indentured laborers from India added a significant element to the ethnic and linguistic makeup of the island.

5. In the north at Toco, Salibia, Matura, Cumana, Tacarigua, Caura, Arima, San Francisco de la Arena, and Arouca; in the center at Savonetta, San Fernando, Princes Town and Montserrat; and at Siparia in the south. (Laurence 1970:54).

6. *Batallando* and *macha palanto* are still used in TEC.

7. Richards posits a lack of linguistic competence in English, and aesthetic sentiment:

It seems plausible to assume that these words of Spanish origin have survived in the English-based dialect of Trinidad because hard-core dialect speakers [sic], in general, are not

aware of the English equivalents of these forms. Besides, synonymous English terms tend to be less concise and lack the vividness of the dialect forms (Richards 1970:265).

8. Newson points out that "since many of the indian groups were provoked into attack by bad treatment at the hands of the Spanish, and since indians designated as Carib or 'cannibal' could be enslaved whereas Arawaks could not, the extent of Carib settlement is likely to have been exaggerated" (1976:18).

9. Richards posits the source of *saga boy*, 'a young man who dresses flashily and lives a carefree life' as the Spanish word *zagal*, in its sense of "mozo fuerte, animoso y gallardo" (1970). However, a more likely source is the English *swagger*, as seen in an article about dance halls, mentioning "swagger" clothes and "swagger dancing" (*Trinidad Guardian*, 6 Feb. 1921:7).

REFERENCES

- ACADEMIA ESPAÑOLA, REAL, 1970. *Diccionario de la lengua española*, 19th ed. Madrid, Editorial Espasa-Calpe.
- ACADEMIA VENEZOLENA DE LA LENGUA, 1983. *Diccionario de Venezolanismos*. Vol. 1. Caracas, Academia Venezolana de la Lengua, Universidad Central de Venezuela.
- AHYE, MOLLY, 1978. *Golden heritage: the dance in Trinidad and Tobago*. Petit Valley, Trinidad, Heritage Cultures Ltd.
- ALONSO, AMADO, 1961. *Estudios lingüísticos: temas Hispanoamericanos*. 2nd. ed. Madrid, Biblioteca Románica Hispánica.
- ALVARADO, LISANDRO, 1953. *Glosario de voces indígenas de Venezuela. Obras completas de Lisandro Alvarado*. 3 vols. Caracas, Ministerio de Educación.
- BAKSH-SOODEEN, RAWWIDA, 1986. *Amerindian toponyms of Trinidad: linguistic legacy of past Amerindian occupation*. Paper presented at the Conference of the Society for Caribbean Linguistics, Trinidad, August 27-30.
- BARRAL, BASILIO DE, 1957. *Diccionario Guaraio-Español, Español-Guaraio*. Caracas, Sociedad de Ciencias Naturales La Salle.
- BAUGH, ALBERT C., & THOMAS CABLE, 1978. *A history of the English language*, 3rd ed. Englewood Cliffs NJ, Prentice-Hall.
- BRETON, R.P. RAYMOND, 1665. *Dictionnaire Caraïbe-Français*. Reprint, Leipzig, B. G. Teubner, 1892.
- CAMPBELL, CARL, 1975. The transition from Spanish law to English law in Trinidad before and after emancipation. In Association of Caribbean Historians (ed.), *Some papers on social, political and economic adjustments to the ending of slavery in the Caribbean*. Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Conference of Caribbean Historians, Mona, Jamaica, pp. 25-52.

- CARMICHAEL, [MRS.], 1833. *Domestic manners and social condition of the white, coloured, and negro population of the West Indies*. Vol. II. London, Whittaker, Treacher & Co. [Reprint New York, Negro Universities Press, 1969.]
- CARMICHAEL, GERTRUDE, 1961. *The history of the West Indian islands of Trinidad and Tobago, 1498-1900*. London, Alvin Redman.
- CARRINGTON, L., C. BORELY & H. E. KNIGHT, 1974. Linguistic exposure of Trinidadian children. *Caribbean Journal of Education*, June:12-22.
- CHAUMETTE, BRENDA E., [ca. 1970]. *The Santa Rosa festival in Arima: its development as an aspect of Amerindian culture*. St. Augustine, Trinidad and Tobago, University of the West Indies, Caribbean Studies Project.
- COROMINAS, JOAN, 1954 [1980]. *Diccionario crítico etimológico Castellano e Hispanico*, 4 vols. Bern, Switzerland, Editorial Francke AG.
- GARCÍA DE DIEGO, VICENTE, 1954. *Diccionario etimológico. Español e Hispánico*. Madrid, Editorial S.A.E.T.A.
- HOCK, HANS HENRICH, 1986. *Principles of historical linguistics*. Berlin, Mouton de Gruyter.
- HOLM, JOHN A., 1978. *The Creole English of Nicaragua's Miskito Coast*. Ph.D. dissertation, University College, London.
- KASSIRAM, KATHLEEN, [ca. 1970]. *Spanish influence on the culture and society of Trinidad and Tobago*. St. Augustine, Trinidad and Tobago, University of the West Indies, Caribbean Studies Project.
- KINGSLEY, CHARLES, 1889. *At last: a Christmas in the West Indies*, 3rd. edition. London, Macmillan.
- LAURENCE, KEMLIN M., 1970. *Spanish in Trinidad: the survival of a minority language in a multilingual society*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of London.
- , 1980. The survival of the Spanish language in Trinidad. *Nieuwe West-Indische Gids/New West Indian Guide* 54, 3/4:213-28.
- LIPSKI, JOHN, 1987. Modern Spanish once removed in Philippine Creole Spanish: the case of Zamboangueno. *Language in Society* 16:91-108.
- , 1990. Trinidad Spanish: implications for Afro-Hispanic language. *Nieuwe West-Indische Gids/New West Indian Guide* 64, 1/2:7-27.
- LOVELACE, EARL, 1968. *The schoolmaster*. London, Heinemann Educational Books.
- , 1988. *A brief conversion and other stories*. Oxford, Heinemann Educational Books.
- LOZANO, ANTHONY GIRARD, 1981. Aztec traces in modern Spanish. *Hispania* 64, 3:410-17.

- MALARET, AUGUSTO, 1946. *Diccionario de Americanismos*. Buenos Aires, Emece Editores.
- MEGENNEY, WILLIAM, 1983. Common words of African origin used in Latin America. *Hispania* 66, 1:1-10.
- MITTELHOLZER, EDGAR, 1958. *With a Carib eye*. London, Secker and Warburg.
- MOLINER, MARÍA, 1966. *Diccionario de uso del Español*, 2 vols. Madrid, Editorial Gredos.
- MOODIE, SYLVIA MARIA, 1983. Survival of Hispanic religious songs in Trinidad folklore. *Caribbean Quarterly* 29, 1:1-31.
- , 1986a. *Restos de la tradición hispana en la literatura oral de Trinidad*. Caracas, Universidad Católica Andrés Bello.
- , 1986b. El español de Trinidad: variabilidad y desgaste articulatorio. *Anuario de lingüística Hispánica* (Universidad de Valladolid), II:177-95.
- NEVES, ALFREDO N., 1973. *Diccionario de Americanismos*. Buenos Aires, Editorial Sopena Argentina.
- NEWSON, LINDA, 1976. *Spanish and aboriginal colonial Trinidad: a study in culture contact*. London, Academic Press.
- PASTNER, CARROLL, 1967. *A sociolinguistic study of a rural Trinidad community*. Brandeis University, ms. 44 pp.
- PICHARDO MOYA, FELIPE, 1956. *Los aborígenes de las Antillas*. Mexico-Buenos Aires, Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- RICHARDS, HENRY, 1966. Some vestiges of Spanish in the dialect of Trinidad. *Hispania* 49:481-83.
- , 1970. Some Spanish words in the English-based dialect of Trinidad. *Hispania* 53, 2:263-65.
- SANKAR, CELIA, 1990. Aquí se habla parang: most of what they sing has been called 'parang Spanish'. *Express*, December 2, II:40.
- SANTAMARÍA, FRANCISCO J., 1942. *Diccionario general de Americanismos*. 3 vols. Mexico, Editorial Pedro Rebrezo.
- Simon and Schuster's international dictionary*. 1973. New York, Simon and Schuster.
- SILVA, JENNY, 1989. *The influence of the Spanish language and culture in Trinidad*. St. Augustine, Trinidad and Tobago, University of the West Indies, Caribbean Studies Project.
- STEWART, JULIAN H. (ed.), 1963. *Handbook of South American Indians*. vols. 4, 7. New York, Cooper Square Publishers.
- TAYLOR, DAPHNE PAWAN, 1977. *Parang of Trinidad*. Port of Spain, National Cultural Council.

Trinidad and Tobago, University of the West Indies, Caribbean Studies Project.

STEWART, JULIAN H. (ed.), 1963. *Handbook of South American Indians*. vols. 4, 7. New York, Cooper Square Publishers.

TAYLOR, DAPHNE PAWAN, 1977. *Parang of Trinidad*. Port of Spain, National Cultural Council.

TAYLOR, DOUGLAS, 1977. *Languages of the West Indies*. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press.

TEJERA, MARIA JOSEFINA (ed.), 1983. *Diccionario de Venezolanismos*. Vol. 1. Caracas, Academia Venezolana de la Lengua, Universidad Central de Venezuela.

THOMPSON, DEBORAH, 1983. *Some Hispano-Trinidadian customs related to birth, marriage and death*. St. Augustine, Trinidad and Tobago, University of the West Indies, Caribbean Studies Project.

THOMPSON, ROBERT W., 1956. Préstamos lingüísticos en tres idiomas trinitarios. *Estudios Americanos* 12:249-54.

——, 1957. A preliminary survey of the Spanish dialect of Trinidad. *Orbis* 6, 1:353-72.

——, 1959. Pre-British place-names in Trinidad. *Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 33:138-65.

WILLIAMS, ERIC, 1963. *History of the people of Trinidad and Tobago*. London, Andre Deutsch.

WINER, LISE, 1986. Socio-cultural change and the language of calypso. *Nieuwe West-Indische Gids/New West Indian Guide* 60, 3/4:113-48.

——, (in preparation). *Varieties of English around the world: Trinidad and Tobago*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia, John Benjamins.

LISE WINER
Dept. of Linguistics
Southern Illinois University
Carbondale, IL 62901-4517, U.S.A.

EDITH LILY AGUILAR
Universidad Nacional de San Juan
Primer Pasaje Corti 718
5500 Mendoza, Argentina