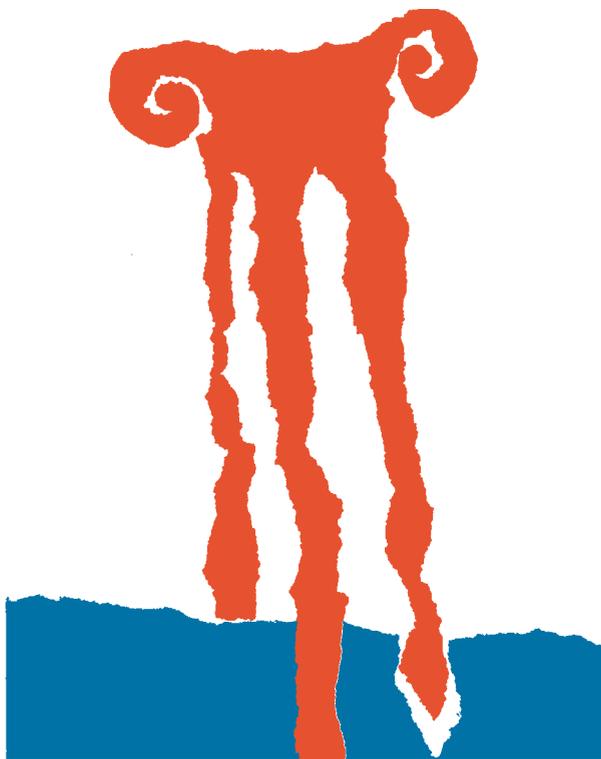


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**Panama Canal Zone, the Virgin Islands,
and the Cayman Islands!**

David L. Gold

Contents

Panama Canal Zone, the Virgin Islands, and the Cayman Islands!	6
1. Introduction	6
2. Jewish Jamaican English	7
3. Zonian English	22
4. English of the Virgin Islands of the United States	25
5. Caymanian English	35
6. Further Discussion of the Origin of Regional English calaban 'box-like trap made of sticks used to catch birds'	35
Works Cited	40
Notes	45

Panama Canal Zone, the Virgin Islands, and the Cayman Islands!

David L. Gold

Colligite fragmenta ne pereant (John 6:12)
'Collect the fragments lest they perish'

1. Introduction

Among the English lects which researchers have more or less neglected are the Jewish English of Jamaica and the English of the Panama Canal Zone (Zonian English), the British Virgin Islands, the Virgin Islands of the United States, and the Cayman Islands. **(note 1)** It is especially important to record Jewish Jamaican English because the Jewish community of Jamaica is disappearing and to record Zonian English because with the abolition of the Panama Canal Zone (on 1 October 1979) and the end of American responsibility for the Panama Canal (at high noon on 31

Panama Canal Zone, the Virgin Islands, and the Cayman Islands!

David L. Gold

December 1999) that variety of English is likewise now just a memory in the minds of an ever smaller number of people. Following are some usages in most of those lects. For the British Virgin Islands, I have none.

2. Jewish Jamaican English

The Caribbean has several either declining or defunct Jewish communities, none of which has been studied exhaustively, one of the dwindling ones being that of Jamaica, which, like all other Jewish communities in the region, has been mostly Sefardic. Its community goes back to before 1655, the year in which the British drove the Spanish out of Jamaica but allowed the Jews, mostly planters, to stay because of their value to the economy. For decades, the Jewish community of Jamaica has been bleeding as a result of frequent marriage to non-Jews, conversion from Judaism, and emigration. [\(note 2\)](#) Many non-Jewish Jamaicans bear family names which point to Jewish ancestry. [\(note 3\)](#) For more on Jamaican Jewry, see Holzberg 1987 and the new *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 9:1272-1274.

The material given below was gathered during the second half of the 1980s and the text written in 1990. “Now,” “today,” “current,” the present-tense verbs, and so on thus refer to 1985-1990.

The remaining members of the Jewish community of Jamaica are not Jewishly knowledgeable (as far as I can tell, hardly any Jews in Jamaica today can read, much less understand, even a pointed Hebrew text). All indications are that it will in the near future disappear completely, as several other Jewish communities in the Caribbean already have. Because most of the Jewish cemeteries in Jamaica are in a state of abandon and decay, it would be good to restore and study them.

Here are three recipes current among the Jews of Jamaica. Since they are eaten after the fast of the Day of Atonement, they are sweet, the idea being to ensure a sweet year.

No one could tell me how the name of the first recipe is spelled in English, because no one had ever seen it written. It is a penultimately stressed word pronounced /speisi:/, thus identically to English *space* plus *ee* as in English *jubilee*. I forgot to ask whether the word is a mass or a count noun: *"I'm making spacee"? *"I'm making a spacee"? In any case, it is related in some way Spanish *especia* 'spice' or (now obsolete) *especie* 'idem' or to Portuguese *especiarias* 'spices'.

Panama Canal Zone, the Virgin Islands, and the Cayman Islands!

David L. Gold

/speisi:/

1 quart (= 1 pound) cashew nuts

6 quarts peanuts (originally, cashew nuts, not peanuts, were used but when cashew nuts got too expensive, peanuts were substituted)

2 ounces mixed spice

2 ounces cinnamon

2 tablespoons ginger

3 teaspoons black pepper

6 pounds brown sugar

3 quarts water

Dry and peel the nuts and grind them fine. Mix the sugar into the water and then strain the water to remove the impurities. Boil the water and then add the dry ingredients, stirring all the time. When the mixture is nearly finished (that is, when it is nearly dark brown and thick), add the spices. The custom is to bottle this food.

Dosee

Dosee, which has appeared in print in Jamaica, is a penultimately stressed word pronounced /dousi:/, thus identically to English *dose* plus *ee* as in English *jubilee*. The word comes from Portuguese *doce* ‘sweet’.

Pumpkin Dosee

10 pounds pumpkin

1 pound raisins, soaked (they should weigh a pound BEFORE soaking)

3 pounds sugar

6 drops rose water

cinnamon to taste

1 egg white

Boil and peel the pumpkin and then pass it through a strainer. Cook the strained pumpkin with the sugar until the latter has melted and everything is boiling nicely. When nearly finished (that is, when the sugar has melted and everything is boiling nicely), add the rose water, cinnamon and soaked raisins. Remove from the fire and beat in a slightly beaten egg white.

Watermelon Dosee

16 pounds granulated sugar (13 pounds for the red flesh of the watermelon and 3 pounds for the white flesh)

16 pounds watermelon

cinnamon to taste

mixed spice to taste

zest of 3 dozen limes

Panama Canal Zone, the Virgin Islands, and the Cayman Islands!

David L. Gold

Boil the red flesh of the watermelon (13 pounds) with six and a half pounds sugar till syrupy (= about half an hour). Then add the other six and a half pounds of sugar and cook for about an hour till the mixture looks transparent. Boil the white flesh from the rind (3 pounds) with one and a half pounds of sugar until syrupy. Then add the rest of the sugar (one and a half pounds). and cook until the mixture is transparent. Keep each mixture separate (that is, in a separate pot). Add the spices and lime zest to each mixture separately. This gives two kinds of watermelon dosee. Or, the contents of both pots can be combined, thus giving a third kind. These mixtures are bottled.

During Passover, a nut ring called *pindola* is eaten. The word, which is stressed on the antepenult, is presumably of some Hispanic origin, though I have been unable to determine its precise immediate origin or origins. Unfortunately, I have mislaid the recipe.

There was also a Passover food called *Passover cakes*, made with flour (!), but none of the Jamaica Jews I have met remembers any more how they were made. Presumably, when the community was more knowledgeable, the cakes were made without flour. *Passover cakes* is used synonymously with *matzos* and *unleavened cakes* in the Jewish cookbook

which Esther Levy published in Philadelphia in 1871 (Gold 1986:166), but in the absence of a recipe for Jamaica we cannot tell whether Levy's recipe is the same as the one used in Jamaica.

Spacee, *dosee*, and *pindola* are thus three items of Jewish Jamaican English, whose substratal languages are at least Jewish Portuguese, Jewish Papiamentu, and Jewish British English.

Two greetings still used by Jamaican Jews are *Happy Tabernacles!*, heard during the Feast of Booths, and *Have a nice fast!*, heard before a Jewish fast day. In Britain and South Africa, by the way, Jews say *Well over the fast!* or *Have an easy fast!* before a fast. At least in Britain, the latter variant of the greeting is newer than the former one. The South African Jewish greetings are of British Jewish origin.

In connection with the Feast of Booths, let us note a possibly hitherto published version of the hymn which Jews in Jamaica sing after the Grace after Meals in the booth erected for that holiday (this booth is now called a *tabernacle* in Jamaican Jewish English). Salomon 1969:70 said "we can surmise that the Bendigamos was unknown in Jamaica before 1900". None of the versions he gave for Bendigamos (the name of

Panama Canal Zone, the Virgin Islands, and the Cayman Islands!

David L. Gold

that hymn) is identical to the one I have heard Jamaican Jews sing, which is:

Bendigamos a el Altísimo,
Al Señor que nos creó.
Démosle agradecimiento
Por los bienes que nos dio.
Alabado sea su santo nombre
Que de nos siempre se apiadó.
Odu ladonái qui tob
Qui lengolam jasdó.
Bendigamos a el Altísimo
Por el pan primeramente
Y después por los manjares
Que comimos juntamente,
Pues comimos y bebimos alegremente.
Su merced nunca nos faltó.
Load a Adonái que es bueno
Y para siempre su merced.
Dios bendiga la casa esta
Que nunca falta en ella fiesta
Tarde ni mañana ni siesta a nos
Y a todos Hijos de Israel.
Amén veamén.

Two of the three lines in Hebrew (romanized here according to Spanish orthography) need a bit of comment:

1. Sefardic Hebrew does not have /h/. Hence *Odu*.
2. In Jamaican Sefardic Hebrew, undageshed bet is pronounced /b/. Hence *tob*.
3. Jamaican Sefardic Hebrew has a pharyngeal voiced fricative, which is represented by the letter ayin in the Jewish alphabet and by *en* in the Roman alphabet. Hence *lengolam*.

Here is the English translation, taken from the prayer book now used by Jamaican Jews, *Prayers -- Meditations and Order of Services* (published by the United Congregation of Israelites):

Let us bless the Highest,
The Lord who created us,
Let us give Him thanks
For the good things He has given us.
Let His Holy name be praised
Who has always had pity on us,
Give ye thanks unto the Lord, for He is good,
For His loving kindness endureth forever.
Let us bless the Highest
For bread, first of all,

**Panama Canal Zone, the Virgin Islands,
and the Cayman Islands!**

David L. Gold

And then for the food
Which we have eaten together.
For we have eaten and drunk together.
His mercy never fails us,
Praise to the Lord for He is good
And his mercy is forever.
God bless this House
That it may never be without rejoicing,
Evening or morning or afternoon, for us
And for all sons of Israel.

Audrey de Sola Pinto told me that her father took the hymn from Jamaica to England, where he introduced it to the members of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue on Lauderdale Road, London. Since Salomon said that the hymn did not reach Jamaica until after 1900, Mr. de Sola Pinto must have taken it to London after that year.

Query 3235 in *Jewish Linguistic Studies* (vol. 2, 1990, p. 415) reads in part as follows: “The Jamaican English word for ‘unleavened bread’ is *roti*. Is there any chance that unleavened bread was introduced to non-Jews on Jamaica by Jews?” The answer is no. The bread in question is not just any unleavened bread and it is not what Jews eat for Passover but unleavened bread prepared in Indian fashion. English *roti*, in fact, which

is found not only in Jamaica but also in South Africa, comes from the Hindi and Urdu words for 'bread' (the English word thus has a narrower meaning than its immediate etymons).

Allsopp 1996:259 lists “**gizzada** (< Sp. *guisado* ‘prepared, cooked, stewed’) A small round tart baked with a filling of grated and sugared coconut. JAMAICA” and, with more than just a little confusion and error, she comments on that word as follows: “Other examples of morphological change are *gizzada* in Jamaican English and [...]. The word *gizzada* comes from Spanish *guisado* ‘prepared, stewed, cooked’. The spelling change occurs by analogy with other words beginning with the voiced velar stop /g/ followed by /i/, the /u/ which makes the velar /g/ voiced in Spanish being lost, and the Spanish /s/ giving way to double /zz/ indicating voicing of the intervocalic consonant /s/” (p. 261). “In Jamaican English the word *gizzada* has also undergone a semantic change in that whereas it originally derived from the word *guisado* ‘prepared, cooked, stewed’, it now means a particular type of coconut tart baked in a pastry shell” (p. 262).

Since Spanish has the noun *guisado* and Portuguese the noun *guisado*, both meaning ‘[any] stew [of several kinds]’ (the possibility of Portuguese influence in the Caribbean should not be overlooked [see, for example, section F], Jamaican Eng-

Panama Canal Zone, the Virgin Islands, and the Cayman Islands!

David L. Gold

lish *gizzarda* is possibly not derived from an adjective; and if it does come from one, that adjective must have originally been part of a noun phrase (compare, for instance, earlier English *private soldier* and *submarine boat* > current English *private* and *submarine* respectively).

To speak of “spelling change” is probably unwarranted because we presumably have an oral, not a written, borrowing (formerly, as still in many if not most places around the world today, people learned to cook mostly by listening and watching, not by following written sources). Consequently, we assume that English-speakers heard a Spanish or Portuguese word and tried to write it down in English as best they could improvise, regardless of how the etymon was spelled at the time.

Since Spanish and Portuguese *gu* before *i* stands for /g/ and since Jamaican English *gizzarda* has /g/, the phonological correspondence is in order and nothing further need be said (“by analogy with other words beginning with the voiced velar stop /g/ followed by /i/, the /u/ which makes the velar /g/ voiced in Spanish being lost” makes no sense).

No difference of pronunciation should be supposed between English intervocalic *z* and *zz* here. Both stand for /z/. Once that observation has been made, we go on to note that the

second of the three consonants of Spanish *guisado* was once /z/ and now it is /s/ and that the second of the three consonants of Portuguese *guisado* is still /z/. (note 4) Consequently, one of these three possibilities must be right: (1) *gizzarda* comes Spanish *guisado* before its /s/ became /z/; (2) it comes from Portuguese *guisado*; (2) both those possibilities are right. Whether the Jamaican English word was introduced by Jews or non-Jews is also an unanswered question.

One should not infer from the last letter of *gizzarda* that it necessarily derives from a word ending in *a*. See Gold in press for the correct inference.

Allsopp is sure of semantic innovation here but she can allow herself that luxury only because she is sure of the immediate etymon of the Jamaican English word, yet until we know its immediate etymon or etymons, we must leave that question too in abeyance.

On page 264, speaking of Trinidadian English, Allsopp writes: "Note that the word *pasteles* refers to a boiled *savory pie made of meat* cooked in a thin layer of cornmeal dough, wrapped and tied in a piece of bleached banana-leaf. It has undergone semantic shift from the original Spanish meaning in that originally *pastel* meant *a cake and usually a fruit cake*. It has however come to mean a *savory pie* in the passage

Panama Canal Zone, the Virgin Islands, and the Cayman Islands!

David L. Gold

from Spanish to Caribbean English”. Again, her supposition of a neosemanticism in English rests on her assumption that the immediate etymon of the word means such and such, but that assumption is not proven. Indeed, both Portuguese *pastel* and Spanish *pastel* can refer to meat pies (compare more explicit forms, Portuguese *pastel de carne* and Spanish *pastel de carne*). For what is may be worth, let us note that the Salonika Judezmo count noun *pastel* (plural: *pasteles*), besides referring to pies filled with things other than meat (this variety of Judezmo has at least *pastel de kezo* ‘cheese pie’ and *pastel d’espinaka* ‘spinach pie’), can refer to pies filled with meat of at least two kinds, as we see from the more explicit forms, *pastel de bofe* ‘lung pie’ (eaten by poorer Jews in Salonika because the lungs were cheaper than other meats) and *pastel de karne* ‘meat pie’ (eaten by Jews who could afford meat other than lungs).

Whether Jews have influenced any non-Jewish cuisines of the Caribbean or food terminology in any non-Jewish lect of that area remains to be seen. In general, the Jewish presence in the Caribbean is still largely terra incognita. These quotations give two leads of the many leads that competent researchers should follow up:

“Then there’s the mystery of the lost temple. It must have stood somewhere near the small Jewish cemetery, a grassy square of 16 worn gravestones on a hill behind the center of town, with dates as early as 1679 and inscriptions in Portuguese, Hebrew and English. Sephardic Jews from Brazil brought to Nevis the secrets of sugar-processing technology and were a presence at least until the latter half of the 18th century, when Nevis-born Alexander Hamilton was schooled by Jewish teachers. David Robinson, curator of the Historical and Conservation Society, had always suspected that there could have been a synagogue nearby. One morning in 1992, on his way to work, he passed a small, nondescript building used by the Government as storage space and noticed that, for the first time in years, it was not locked. Peeking in, he was astonished to find a Moorish-style room with stone columns and a vaulted ceiling. He knew immediately that it must have been part of the lost synagogue. Archeologists now say yes, the room was probably a cistern attached to the synagogue, perhaps the earliest known in the Caribbean” (Humphreys 1992:42 and 52).

According to another source, the extant tombstones in the Jewish cemetery of Nevis date from 1654 to 1768.

Panama Canal Zone, the Virgin Islands, and the Cayman Islands!

David L. Gold

On the island of Nevis, “there’s the Jewish cemetery in Charlestown, with its gravestones, some of them from the seventeenth century, carved in Hebrew and Spanish. The cemetery is kept in good repair through the efforts and expenditures of Robert Abrahams, an American lawyer from Philadelphia who has a house on the island” (Cecil and Wolfe 1992:62).

“I grew up on the island of Montserrat, and my parents were supposed to be Christian. But in the years that I was home I always wondered why my people were so particular about what they did. We did not eat pork. My uncles were all circumcised. We ate challah bread on Friday night. If we had an animal that died by itself we did not eat it -- we would kill an animal by tying the hind legs, cutting the throat and allowing the blood to fall back to the earth where it came from. All of that we did, and we did not know why we were doing it -- because they told us that we were Christians. But I knew something was wrong, see? My grandfather told my mother we came from West Africa. And many years later I heard that the people on Monserrat were Hebrews that were taken as slaves from Ghana and carried to the island. So that’s why this was” (McLeod 1999; the writer was aged ninety-five at the time of writing). These hypotheses may be likelier: Caribbean Blacks who consider themselves Jews probably descend

from crypto-Jews of Iberian origin or from Protestants who (in the nineteenth century?) adopted certain Jewish customs. Descent from African Jews (which ones?) is unlikely.

Gold (in preparation a) will fill another gap in our knowledge of Caribbean Jews.

3. Zonian English

1. **Acquisition Day** '4 May 1904, the day on which, under the terms of the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty (1903), the Panama Canal Zone came into existence'. Consequently, 4 May was a holiday in the Panama Canal Zone.

2. **C.Z.** [abbreviation] 'Canal Zone'. See *P.C.Z.* for the full form.

3. **district** 'one of the two administrative divisions, called *Balboa* and *Cristobal*, into which the Panama Canal Zone was divided'.

4. **gold**. When the Panama Canal was being built, rigid segregation was observed in housing and eating halls, at shop counters, post-office windows, and railway stations, on trains, and so on. Workers were divided into gold (or gold workers), so called because they were paid in gold, and silver (or silver workers), so called because they were paid in silver. Whites

Panama Canal Zone, the Virgin Islands, and the Cayman Islands!

David L. Gold

were gold and Blacks were silver. Whites had the higher-paying jobs and Blacks the lower-paying ones.

5. **gold worker**. See *gold*.

6. **Green Hell** is the nickname which American soldiers gave to Fort Sherman, a military installation where American troops were trained for jungle combat in Vietnam, *Green* being an allusion to the lush vegetation and *Hell* to the rigors of the training. The nickname thus does not predate the American military presence in Vietnam.

7. **make the cut** '[person or vessel] go through the Panama Canal'. Does this expression pun on the American English slangism *make the cut* 'make the grade, meet a certain standard'?

8. **mule** 'locomotive used to pull a ship through the Canal'.

9. **P.C.Z.** [abbreviation] 'Panama Canal Zone'. See *C.Z.* for the short form.

10. **Peter Magill** 'Pedro Miguel [an area in the Canal Zone]' (= an English reinterpretation of *Pedro Miguel*).

11. **silver**. See *gold*.

12. **silver worker**. See *gold*.

13. **sovereignty** ‘Panamanian sovereignty over the Canal Zone’. Spanish *soberanía*, literally ‘sovereignty’, has acquired that meaning in Panama. It is not clear whether we have Zonian English influence on Panamanian Spanish here or vice versa.

14. **the Spoil** ‘the rocks and earth excavated from the Gaillard Cut (also called *the Culebra Cut*), used to make the Gatun Dam’. An onymization of the English common noun *spoil* ‘refuse, earth, rock, etc., excavated in mining, dredging, excavation, etc.’ (so defined in *Webster’s New International Dictionary of the English Language: Second Edition: Unabridged*, 1934).

15. **the tropical differential** ‘the fifteen percent extra paid to Americans working in the Panama Canal Zone’.

16. **the work** [informal] ‘construction of the Panama Canal’.

17. **the Zone** [at least somewhat informal] ‘the Panama Canal Zone’.

18. **Zonian** ‘native and/or resident of the Panama Canal Zone; of the Panama Canal Zone’, as in “I’m a Zonian” and “Zonian English”.

Panama Canal Zone, the Virgin Islands, and the Cayman Islands!

David L. Gold

4. English of the Virgin Islands of the United States

1. **alien** is the somewhat contemptuous synonym of *down-islander* (q.v.).

2. **bata bata** is the name of a certain edible wild plant, which I have been unable to identify further.

3. **bush tea** is the name of a certain tea brewed from local herbs, which I have been unable to identify further. This term and South African English *bush tea* 'tea made from the dry leaves and twigs of various aromatic shrubs, especially *Aspalathus linearis* and *Cyclopia* species' are probably etymologically unconnected, for it is hard to conceive of South African influence anywhere in the Caribbean or vice versa.

4. **callaloo** ~ **kalaloo** 'a certain stew consisting of meat that has been seasoned with bata bata, papalolo, and whitey Mary (three wild plants) and of seafood'.

Southeastern American English has *callaloo* 'a thick soup of crabmeat, greens, and various seasonings'.

Jamaican English has *calalu* 'any of a variety of greens used as an ingredient in soup'.

Louisiana French has *calalou*, which William A. Read treated as follows:

This word is used in Pointe Coupée in such a phrase as *je lui ai fait manger du calalou*, 'I have made him eat calalou'--that is, 'I have got even with him.' *Calalou* is apparently not found elsewhere in Louisiana; nor has it, strange to say, any other meaning in Pointe Coupée than that which has just been noted.

The West Indian *calalou* is a thick soup or stew, made almost exactly like the Louisiana *gombo*. Here is Turiault's recipe for the *Calalou* of Martinique:

"Fameux ragoût créole dans lequel entrent des bourgeons de giraumon, du pourpier, du gombo, des feuilles d'amaranthe, de l'oseille de Guinée et autres herbages, une volaille, un morceau de jambon, des crabes, des écrevisses, du jus de citron et surtout beaucoup de piment". (note 138)

In Haitian French *calalou gombo* is the popular name of the okra plant (*Hibiscus esculentus* L.). (note 139)

Carlos Gagini observes that the *calalú* of Costa Rica is the *Phytolacca decandra* L., a plant which is known in English as *Poke*, *Scoke*, or *Pigeon-berry*. It is also called *Inkberry*, *Red-weed*, *Red-ink plant*, *Pocan-bush*, *Coakum*, *Cancer-jalap*, *American nightshade*, and *Pokeweed*. (note 140)

Panama Canal Zone, the Virgin Islands, and the Cayman Islands!

David L. Gold

C. Suárez gives the Cuban-Spanish *calalú*, *m.*, first, as the name of a species of wild plant belonging to the family *Amaranthaceae*; and secondly, as the name of a soup made with various vegetables, among which is the *calalú*. (note 141) The plant that he mentions is probably the spiny amaranth (*Amaranthus spinosus* L.).

F. Ortiz traces Cuban-Spanish *calalú* to the African *colilú*, a Mandingo name of an edible plant resembling spinach. (note 142) The French language of Louisiana may have received the word from African slaves as well as from French refugees and Spanish settlers. (note 5)

The English of Trinidad and Tobago has *callaloo* ‘a certain soup made with many ingredients’ (I have been unable to get more details).

Cuban Spanish has *calalú*, which the 1956 edition of *Diccionario de la lengua española* of the Royal Spanish Academy defines as ‘potaje compuesto de hojas de la planta de su nombre, verdolaga, calabaza, bledo y otros vegetales picados y cocidos con sal, vinagre, manteca y otros condimentos. Lo comían principalmente los negros’ and ‘nombre que se da en Cuba a una planta amarantácea que produce una legumbre que sirve para aderezar el calalú. También se llama jaboncillo’. Should “comían” not be “comen”?

Salvadoran Spanish has *calalú*, which the same dictionary defines as ‘planta herbácea originaria de África y cultivada en América, de la familia de las malváceas, de tallo recto y velludo, hojas grandes y flores amarillas, parecidas a las del algodónero, y fruto alargado, casi cilíndrico y lleno de semillas que al madurar toman un color oscuro. El fruto tierno se emplea en algunos guisos, dando una especie de gelatina que los espesa, y también en medicina. La planta, que es filamentososa, se emplea como textil’.

Martinique French Creole has *kalakou* ‘gumbo soup’.

Brazilian Portuguese *caruru* ‘green amaranth, redroot; rough amaranth, rough pigweed’; a dish prepared by stewing minced herbs with oil and spices’ presumably comes from Tupi *caárurú* ‘thick leaf’, which may be related to the foregoing words. (note 6)

5. **Continental** ‘person considered to be a recent arrival from the mainland United States’. “At a cocktail party I heard one gentleman refer to another as a ‘continental.’ As the speaker bore the look of an old tropic hand, I assumed his ancestors had been among the shiplot of Danish colonists who in 1672 waded ashore on St. Thomas from the *Fero*, the local equivalent of the *Mayflower*. Later I found that this particular

Panama Canal Zone, the Virgin Islands, and the Cayman Islands!

David L. Gold

early settler got off an airplane five years ago--against two for the man he was talking about!" (Mitchell 1968:82-83).

Puerto Rican Spanish has *continental* 'native and/or resident of the mainland United States'. (note 7) Do we therefore have here an instance of Puerto Rican influence on the English of the Virgin Islands of the United States? Vice versa? Convergence?

6. **Crucian** is the informal synonym of *St. Crucian* (q.v.). Omission of *St.* in the derivative is found outside the Virgin Islands too: *Kittitian* 'native and/or resident of St. Kitts'. *Crucian* is based on *cruc-*, the inflected stem of Latin *crux* 'cross'.

7. **Cruzan** (stressed on the last syllable) = *Crucian*. *Cruzan* is based on *Santa Cruz*, the name which Christopher Columbus gave to the island now known as *St. Croix* in English (he reached it on 14 November 1493). When the French occupied the island in the seventeenth century, they called it *Sainte Croix*, which is a translation of *Santa Cruz*. English *St. Croix* is derived from the French name. (note 8)

8. **down-islander** 'anyone from elsewhere in the Caribbean'.

9. **Emancipation Day** 'legal holiday, celebrated on 3 July, that commemorates the abolition of slavery, on 3 July 1848, in the Danish West Indies'. At least until 1968 the holiday was called

Liberty Day, a name changed to *Emancipation Day* because, this holiday coming right before American independence day, people associated it with the latter day and thus thought that it celebrated the freedom (= “liberty”) of the Thirteen Colonies from Great Britain.

10. **Frenchie** [*informal*] ‘French person or descendent of a French person’. This word is contemptuous and offensive at least in certain other varieties of English but not in that of the Virgin Islands of the United States.

11. **Hurricane Thanksgiving Day** ‘legal holiday celebrated on 25 October, by which time the storm and hurricane season is usually over’. I have been unable to determine whether the holiday is observed if the season was particularly bad. See *Supplication Day*.

12. **the Garden of the West Indies** was once the nickname of St. Croix.

13. **Johnian** is the informal synonym of *St. Johnian* (q.v.). See the comment at *Crucian*.

14. **Liberty Day**. See *Emancipation Day*.

15. **limin’ it**. “[Residents of the Virgin Islands of the United States] have their own name for their mañana mentality -- ‘Limin’ it,” which roughly translates to just plain hanging out”

Panama Canal Zone, the Virgin Islands, and the Cayman Islands!

David L. Gold

(Colman 2003:F1). What is the precise meaning of *limin' it* and what is the origin of the first element?

16. **Mocko Jumbie** ‘merrymaker on stilts [during the carnival on St. Thomas]’. United States Virgin Islands English *Jumbie*, Haitian *zonbi*, and Guyanan English *Jumbie* ~ *Jumby* are cognates of African origin.

17. **palalolo** is the name of a certain edible wild plant.

18. **prog**. In Mitchell 1968:79-80 we read:

Sylvester appeared unexpectedly on the other side of the road. He crossed over, leaned against the front fender of my car, and took a banana from inside his shirt. From the bulge I could see he had quite a few more hidden away.

“Hello,” I said. “What’s your name?”

“Sylvester”.

“What’s the rest?”

“Ain’t no rest. Jes’ Sylvester”.

“Where do you live?”

He made a gesture of beyond the next hill. “Ova dere”.

“And where did you get the bananas?”

He waved toward a clump of trees in a different direction. “Ah been proggin”.

“You mean stealing?”

“No, sah! Proggng, that’s something you takes ‘cause you got use for it. Stealing, that’s if you sells what you takes!”

Definers rely on quotations to the extent that they do not know the lexeme or the meaning at first hand. When using quotations as the basis for writing definitions, they must be on guard against quotations which suggest a broader or a narrower meaning than the lexeme under scrutiny actually has. Furthermore, definers must always try to distinguish meaning and reference. For example, although “I got zilch” REFERRING to, say, money is a well-formed utterance, we should not conclude that *zilch* MEANS ‘nothing [in reference to money]’ or ‘no money’.

Bearing the foregoing in mind, we see that from the Mitchell quotation alone it is impossible to tell whether Sylvester’s definition was just his own self-serving one or, rather, one shared by others in the U.S. Virgin Islands and possibly elsewhere. As I can attest from conversations with residents of the U.S. Virgin Islanders and of Haiti, his view of what constitutes fair use and stealing is widespread in those two countries. (note 9) But that does not necessarily mean that his definition of *prog* is not idiolectal.

Since British English slang, but not American English, has *prog* ‘search or prowl about, as for plunder or food; forage’,

Panama Canal Zone, the Virgin Islands, and the Cayman Islands!

David L. Gold

we assume the word was taken from the British Isles to the British Virgin Islands and thence reached the U.S. Virgin Islands.

Almost all the nonstandard features of Black English of the Virgin Islands of the United States illustrated in the quotation are also found in certain varieties of Black English of the Southeastern United States:

A. *ain't no* 'there is no, there are no'.

B. *jes* 'just'.

C. *ova* 'over'.

D. *dere* 'there'.

E. *sah* 'sir'.

F. -s in all persons and numbers of the simple present tense, as in "you takes" and "you sells".

19. **St. Crucian** [*formal*] 'native and/or resident of St. Croix; of St. Croix'.

20. **St. Johnian** [*formal*] 'native and/or resident of St. John; of St. John'.

21. **St. Thomian** [*formal*] 'native and/or resident of St. Thomas; of St. Thomas'.

22. **Supplication Day** ‘legal holiday celebrated on 15 July, when Virgin Islanders pray that they may be spared storms and hurricanes’. See *Hurricane Thanksgiving Day*.

23. **Thomian** is the informal synonym of *St. Thomian* (q.v.).

24. **Transfer Day** ‘legal holiday celebrated on 31 March which commemorates the acquisition by purchase of the Danish Virgin Islands by the United States of America on 31 March 1917’.

25. **the United States Virgin Islands** [*informal*] ‘the Virgin Islands of the United States’.

26. **the U.S. Virgin Islands** = the short form of *the United States Virgin Islands*.

27. **the Virgins** [*informal*] ‘the Virgin Islands’.

28. **Virgin Islander** ‘native and/or resident of the Virgin Islands’.

29. **white Mary** is the name of a certain edible wild plant.

It is evident from the mention of other varieties of English and of other Caribbean languages in this article that speakers of U.S. Virgin Islands English have had multiple linguistic contacts. (note 10)

Panama Canal Zone, the Virgin Islands, and the Cayman Islands!

David L. Gold

5. Caymanian English

1. **Bracker** ‘native and/or resident of Cayman Brac’.
2. **Cayman**. The second syllable of this name has a full vowel in Caymanian English and a reduced one in American English. As a consequence, it has more stress in Caymanian than in American English.
3. **Caymanian** ‘of, referring to, or characteristic of the Cayman Islands; native and/or resident of the Cayman Islands’.
4. **wamper** ‘sandal which is made from old truck tires and has a cord made from the fibers of the silver thatch’.

6. Further Discussion of the Origin of Regional English *calaban* ‘box-like trap made of sticks used to catch birds’ (note 11)

The foregoing remarks make clear the need to compare the languages of the Caribbean -- not just offshoots of European English compared between themselves, offshoots of European French compared between themselves, offshoots of European Spanish compared between themselves, but all the lects of the Caribbean compared not only with their antecedents but between themselves too, this endeavor being part of what may aptly be called *Caribbean linguistics*. Following is another example of how the broad view is preferable.

Cassidy 1980 proposes that the word *calaban* (which he defines as ‘box-like trap made of sticks, used to catch ground-walking birds’), found in the English of Jamaica, Trinidad, Guyana, and elsewhere (with related forms in other languages of the Caribbean) comes from Portuguese *caravana* ‘device, trick’. He notes that the word “was probably introduced to Jamaica in the seventeenth century”. As several Jamaicans have told me, a *calaban* in Jamaica is a trap for catching not only ground-walking birds but also flying ones (traps made for flying ones hang from trees).

Since a different etymology has been offered for the related form in Cuban Spanish, let us first present that explanation and then compare it with Cassidy’s for the English word. Sub voce *casilla*, Pichardo 1862 and 1875 lists Cuban Spanish *caravana* ‘trampa a manera de jaula en que se hace caer a las aves’ (that is, ‘cage-like trap into which birds are made to fall’). Sub voce *caravana*, Corominas and Pascual 1980 write that “la acepción más común en la literatura clásica se refiere a las primeras campañas que hacían los caballeros jóvenes de Malta y de San Juan en persecución de las caravanas navales musulmanas, requisito necesario para profesar en estas órdenes” (that is, ‘in Classical Spanish literature, the word most often refers to one of several campaigns against

Panama Canal Zone, the Virgin Islands, and the Cayman Islands!

David L. Gold

Muslim naval convoys [“caravans”] which young men who wanted to become Knights of Malta or of St. John had to carry out, this being one of the requirements for entering those orders’ (**note 12**). Then they say that that meaning of the word was the basis for the idiom *correr la caravana* ‘hacer algo peligroso (como un ataque marítimo)’ (that is, ‘do something dangerous, like make a naval attack’), literally ‘run the caravan’. From that idiom, Corominas and Pascual derive several regional senses of Spanish *caravana*, one of them being the Cuban one that Pichardo gives. Presumably, then, they see a trap for a bird as similar to a trap set for a naval convoy.

Corominas and Pascual are not aware of the related forms in other Caribbean lects, just as Cassidy is not aware of their explanation of the Cuban Spanish word. Cassidy is aware, however, of that Cuban Spanish word and of its meaning, though he does not see it as being the etymon of any of the other Caribbean words. This, then, is another of the many instances in science when all the possibly relevant data need to be gathered before we can proceed.

Although Germán de Granda (1978) supposes that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries a Portuguese-based pidgin-creole was widespread in the Caribbean (and along the West African coast), Spanish has, on the whole, been much bet-

ter represented in the Caribbean than Portuguese or Portuguese-based pidgins or creoles. Statistically, therefore, one could argue that Cuban Spanish *caravana*, Jamaican English *calaban*, and related forms in other Caribbean lects are likelier to be from Spanish than from Portuguese. However, a likelihood is only that -- our problematic words could turn out to belong to a minority of forms derived from Portuguese or from Portuguese-based pidgins or creoles.

One could also argue that if a Portuguese word was introduced into part of the Western Hemisphere where Portuguese was appreciably less represented than Spanish, it should have been introduced into Brazil as well, where Portuguese is extremely well represented -- yet so far as I can tell, *caravana* does not refer to any kind of trap in Brazilian Portuguese. Again, however, an a-fortiori argument of that kind would rest only on an expected probability; and again we could counterargue that a probability need not be a certainty, that is, a European or an African Portuguese word could, by way of exception, have entered one or more Caribbean lects but not Brazilian Portuguese.

A third argument against a Portuguese origin might be that Portuguese *caravana* 'device, trick' seems to be extremely rare and thus statistically not likely to be the etymon of any al-

Panama Canal Zone, the Virgin Islands, and the Cayman Islands!

David L. Gold

lolingual word. **(note 13)** That too might be a weak argument because from a tiny seed a mighty oak may grow. Still, we would like to know the spatial and chronological distributions of the word in that sense.

In recent years, linguists have come to consider more and more the possibility of multiple causation, that is, a usage may have more than one immediate etymon or source: “Wescott (1979, 84) has made the point that slang is one of the lexical areas where multiple etymology is most remarkable since ‘in the absence of a plurality of overlapping or mutually reinforcing source forms, most lexemes would not develop or, having developed, would not persist’” (Lillo 2000:149-150). **(note 14)** Consequently, English *calaban* could be both of immediate Spanish and of immediate Portuguese origins.

In sum, even though the entire canvas has not yet been painted, we have advanced by filling in some empty spaces. **(note 15)**

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David L. Gold

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David L. Gold

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Panama Canal Zone, the Virgin Islands, and the Cayman Islands!

David L. Gold

1. For some information on the English of the Virgin Islands, see Mencken 1948:247-248. For some Zonian English items, see Chalmers 1950. *The Star & Herald*, the newspaper published in Panama City during the building of the Panama Canal, which I have been unable to see, may contain Zonianisms.

2. See, for example, the story which Frederic Gomes Cassidy tells in *Jewish Language Review*, vol. 3, 1983, p. 415.

3. A number of Jewish Kingstonians, with family names like *De Pass*, *Desnoes*, and *Alberga*, have been prominent in the country's affairs. A Kingston publisher of the 1860s at least was DeCordova, MacDougall and Company, the senior partner being of at least partial Jewish ancestry. Two family names borne by Christian Jamaicans which may point to Jewish ancestry are *Hendricks* and *Mendes*.

4. Allsopp gives more evidence of being weak in Spanish: on page 261, speaking of "Spanish *parranda* > English *parang*", she mentions "the voiced dental fricative in Spanish /d/ with the resultant loss of the entire final syllable". Since Spanish /d/ is always [d] after /n/, we have a stop, not a fricative, here.

5. William A. Read, *Louisiana-French*, revised edition, Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1963, pp. 119-120. Read's footnotes are:

138. *Etude sur le Langage Créole de la Martinique*, p. 488.

139. *Identification des Plantes d'Haïti*, p. 9.

140. *Diccionario de Costarriqueñismos*, p. 81. Gagini cites H. Pittier, *Ensayo sobre las Plantas Usuales de Costa Rica*, Washington, D. C., 1908.

141. *Diccionario de Voces Cubanos*, p. 96.

142. See *Glosario*, p. 94, and the references given there.

Read *Étude sur le langage créole de la Martinique, Identification des plantes d'Haïti*, *Diccionario de costarriqueñismos*, *Ensayo sobre las plantas usuales de Costa Rica*, and *Diccionario de voces cubanas*. The *Glosario* in question is Fernando Ortiz's *Glosario de afronegrismos* (Havana, 1924). "Cuban-Spanish" *calalú* is actually a Black Cuban Spanish word.

Haitian actually has at least three words meaning 'okra': *kalalou gombo* (= "Haitian French *calalou gombo*"), used for example in Jacmel, *kalalou*, used for instance in Baintet, and *gombo*, used for example in Cap Haïtien (in Port-au-Prince, because of the continuing influx of people from other parts of Haiti, all three words are now used). They are related to Cuban Spanish *quimbombó* 'okra', non-Cuban Spanish *quingombó* 'okra', English *gumbo*, Louisiana French *gombo* ~ *gumbo*, European French *gobo* ~ *gombo*, and Portuguese *quiabo*. All go back in one way or another to the name for okra in one or more languages of Africa. Systematic fieldwork in Haitian topolectology and sociolectology is a desideratum. Three more instances of topolectal variation have to do with the words meaning:

Panama Canal Zone, the Virgin Islands, and the Cayman Islands!

David L. Gold

1. 'sesame; sesame seeds': *jiriri* (in Cap Haïtien, for example; *j* represents / *ʃ* /) and *roroli* (in Port-au-Prince, for instance; *r* stands for /*r*/ but seems to the untrained ear of anglophones to be [w]).

2. 'time' (in the sense of 'instance'): *fwa* (< French *fois*) in for instance Cap Haïtien (as in *shak fwa* 'each time, every time') and *kou* (< French *coup*) in for example Port-au-Prince (as in *shak kou* 'each time, every time').

3. 'boat, ship': *bato* (< French *bateau*) in most topolects and *stimè* (< English *steamer*) in some. Since the United States Marines occupied Haiti from 1915 to 1934, we wonder whether *stimè* and any other English-origin items which older Haitian may have date to that time.

The expression which Read reported for Pointe Coupée French, *faire [quelqu'un] manger du calalou* 'get even with [someone]', has an exact analog in Haitian, *fè [yon moun] mangé kalalou* 'idem' (a variant of which is *baou [yon moun] mangé kalalou*, literally 'give [someone] okra to eat'). Systematic comparisons of Haitian and of Louisiana French are additional desiderata.

Gold (in preparation b) will suggest that glottonyms literally meaning 'Haitian' (English *Haitian*, French *haïtien*, Spanish *haitiano*, Yiddish *haytish* and so on) are the best names for the largely French-origin language that arose in Haiti and that those meaning 'Haitian French' be reserved for varieties of French used there.

6. Unfortunately, Caribbean English vocabulary and Caribbean Spanish vocabulary are frequently studied separately. Entry 14 shows the need to look at them together. Two more groups of words illustrating

the connections between Caribbean English and other languages are Jamaican English *escobitch* ~ *escovitch* = Spanish *escabeche* and Jamaican English *chocho* = Spanish *chocho*.

Likewise needed are comparative studies of Caribbean Spanish and Haitian. Here are two similarities:

1. “‘OH-oh,’ the Dominican [Spanish (D.L.G.)] expression of surprise that starts with a high-pitched ‘OH’ and flows into the lower-pitched ‘oh’” (Kugel 2002:21). Either the same (?) or approximately the same (?) usage exists in Haitian. Did one language borrow it from the other; or do both go back to a third language (which in this case could be only a language of Africa); or is this an instance of convergence?

2. The Cuban Spanish and the Haitian equivalents of the (American?) English proverb *the squeaky wheel gets the oil* are almost identical semantically: respectively *niño que no llora no mama* ‘a child who does not cry does not [get to] suck’ and *pitit ki kriyé sé li ki mandé tété* ‘the child who cries is the one asking to ask’. The questions asked in the previous paragraph need to be asked here too.

Some research has been done on Dominican Spanish influence on Haitian vocabulary (see Valdman 1978), but not enough.

And since we have just proposed one topic for research, let us suggest another, namely Black Spanish. The earliest reference to that lect which I can find is dated 1867: “Like the Negroes of the United States, the Negroes of Spanish America have a dialect and pronunciation of their own. The same guttural voices, and almost unintelligible pronunciation, the same queer gesticulation and shaking of the body,

Panama Canal Zone, the Virgin Islands, and the Cayman Islands!

David L. Gold

the same shrewd simplicity and good humor, the same love of fun and merrymaking that characterize the Negro in the rice swamps and cotton fields of Georgia and South Carolina, distinguish his race on the banks of the Chota, at Guajara, and La Concepción” (Hassaurek 1967:194).

7. In Puerto Rican Spanish, *continental* is also an adjective meaning ‘pertaining to the mainland United States’, this usage being of American English origin (< American English *continental* ‘idem’).

8. Here is revised and expanded version of my “Query: The Pronunciation of *St. Croix*” (*American Speech*, vol. 58, no. 4, winter 1983, p. 318):

When of French origin, English *oi* ~ *oy* is now pronounced /oi/, as in *adroit*, *Beloit* (a place name in the United States), *Boise* (a place name in the United States), *choice*, *cloisonné*, *coy*, *Detroit* (a place name in the United States), *joy*, *moist*, *Roy* (a male given name), *royal*, and *St. Croix* (the English name of one of the islands of the Virgin Islands of the United States, the English name of a river on the American-Canadian border between Maine and New Brunswick, the English name of an island in that river, and the English name of a river flowing through Wisconsin and Minnesota). In the French cognates of those words, the corresponding vowel is now /wa/. The question thus arises: does English /oi/ here continue a French pronunciation (*oi/), is it an English phonological development, or is it an English spelling pronunciation? At least today’s Standard French has /wa/ in those cognates.

Certain Anglophone possessing at least a smattering of French pronounce *cloisonné* and at least the token of *St. Croix* in the English of

the Virgin Islands of the United States with /oi/ rather than /wa/ (I began hearing that token of *St. Croix* with /oi/ around 1978 from “trendy” jetsetters and travel agents in New York City). To my ear, /wa/ in those English words is a snobbism. Not surprizingly, *Fodor’s Caribbean and the Bahamas 1982* (New York, David McKay Company, Inc.) warns its readers that “the island is pronounced ‘Saint Croy’ by the local people and everyone else ‘in the know’ (no one uses the French form)” (p. 466).

English has at least one other place name *St. Croix*: an island in Algoa Bay, South Africa, is so called. It would be good to know how it is pronounced.

9. So too in Brazil, Ecuador, and Mexico:

In October 1816, having lived in Brazil from 7 December 1809 to early in 1815 except for a few months spent in England (he arrived in Falmouth on 20 May 1811 and left for Recife the following December), Henry Koster published *Travels in Brazil*. In Gardiner’s edition we read: “There is also a strange custom among the lower orders of people; they scruple not in passing a field, to cut down and make a bundle of ten or a dozen canes, from which they suck the juice as they go along, or preserve some of them to carry home. The devastation which is committed in this manner is incalculable, in the fields that border upon much frequented paths. It is a custom; and many persons think that the owner has scarcely a right to prevent these attacks upon his property” (Koster 1966:163-164).

Panama Canal Zone, the Virgin Islands, and the Cayman Islands!

David L. Gold

“Slaves are much inclined to pilfer, and particularly toward their masters this is very frequent; indeed many of them scarcely think that they are acting improperly in so doing” (idem, p. 182).

“In large and wealthy families, there is sometimes an *ama de llaves* (literally, a mistress of the keys), a kind of female overseer, or stewardess, who has charge of the whole household, with the care of which ladies will have as little to do as possible. Such an *ama de llaves*, however, often increases the peculations to which you are exposed, because she will steal first, and the others will steal after her. Stealing is hardly considered a sin by the common people. I once heard an *ama de llaves* express her abhorrence of Protestantism because Protestant clergymen had no power to forgive sins; and she thought it horrible that little insignificant thefts, which, in her opinion, everyone committed, should, without absolution in this world, be carried to the other side of the grave” (Hassaurek 1967:67-68). This passage may be distantly relevant: “When eating at someone else’s expense the [Ecuadorian] Indian can devour fabulous quantities; but when faring at his own cost, he is rather parsimonious, and prefers drinking to eating” (idem, pp. 19-20).

“Even the *lépero*, the representative of the very lowest and most degraded of the male element, assumes the extremes of two conditions. On the one hand, he has no compunctions of conscience in appropriating the property of another, nor does his moral nature shrink, perhaps, from plunging the deadly dagger into the back of his unsuspecting victim, while other vicious and ignoble traits are imputed to him; but, on the other hand, he has a heart and much of the sentimental and

romantic instinct which invests him with many of the attractions of the bandit" (Gooch 1966:180, referring to Mexico City of 1880-1887).

"Mexican servants as a whole are tractable, kind, faithful, and humble. They shrink instinctively from harshness or scolding, but yield a willing obedience to kindly given orders. They are accused of being universal thieves, in which accusation I do not concur, although, indeed, the extremely low wages for which they work might seem to warrant, or at least excuse, small peculations. But they have this redeeming trait, that they generally appreciate the trust placed in them, and this sometimes to a remarkable degree" (idem, p. 191).

The custom mentioned in the first citation may be based on Leviticus 19:9-10: 'And when ye reap the harvest of your land, though shalt not wholly reap the corner of thy field, neither shalt thou gather the gleanings of thy harvest. And thou shalt not glean thy vineyard, neither shalt thou gather the fallen fruit of thy vineyard; thou shalt leave them for the poor and for the stranger: I am the Lord your God' (repeated, with abridgment, in Leviticus 23:22).

Anywhere the custom is followed in the Roman Catholic world the Roman Catholic catechism may have triggered it or, if not, that catechism at least countenances it, for, in a passage which Robert Singerman calls to my attention, we read that "[...] the Mexican *peon* is immensely below the American laborer, and still has to be watched as a thief, for the want of a little morality intermixed with his religious instruction. It is a degrading sight to stand at the door of one of the large coach manufactories at Mexico, and to witness the manner in which they search them, one by one, as they come out. The natives, who have learned

Panama Canal Zone, the Virgin Islands, and the Cayman Islands!

David L. Gold

the most difficult parts of coach-building from English and French employers, can not for a moment be trusted, lest they should steal their tools or the materials upon which they are employed. I saw even the man who was placing the gorgeous trimmings on the Nuncio's coach carefully searched, lest he should have concealed about his person a scrap of the valuable material. That they are thieves is not to be wondered at when their catechism teaches them 'that a theft that does not exceed a certain amount is not a grave offense'" (Wilson 1855:281, where the asterisked footnote reads: "Having lost my memorandum, I am uncertain whether the number of days is one or more, and whether the number of *francs* named was six or eight. The following is my best recollection of the question and answer on theft: ¶ 'A. A theft that does not exceed in value a day's labor is not a grave offense; some theologians contend that a theft that does not exceed six francs is not a grave offense.'").

Still another possibility is that Leviticus 23:22, the Roman Catholic catechism, or both are irrelevant and that, rather, we have here a non-Western concept of what constitutes private and nonprivate property: "What distinguishes the Western property system from the systems of most, if not all, other societies is that its category of private property is a default category. Western legal systems regard individual ownership as the norm, derogations from which must be explained. The legal concept of property in the West is characterized by a tendency to agglomerate in a single legal person, preferably the one who is currently in possession of the thing in question, the exclusive right to possess, privilege to use, and power to convey the thing" (*The New Encyclopædia Britannica*, 15 ed., 1991 imprint, vol. 9, p. 731). "In the technical

language of jural relationships, Western law tends to ascribe to the possessor of the thing: (1) the right to possess the thing with a duty in everyone else to stay off, (2) the privilege of using the thing with no right in anyone else to prevent that use (coupled with a right in the possessor to prevent others from using the thing), [...]" (idem, vol. 26, p. 181). That is, Sylvester and others see the bananas as being in the default category of property available to anyone who could use it, whereas Mitchell, Koster, Hassaurek, Gooch, and Wilson, brought up in societies organized according to some kind of secular Western law, saw them as being in the default category of private property, or, to put it in simple language, Sylvester and those like him see themselves as having the right of imperfect usufruct (= quasi usufruct).

Yet another possibility is that the degree to which "minor expropriations" are acceptable may depend on where the human group in question is located along the *gemeinschaft-gesellschaft* continuum: the more members of the group feel solidarity toward one another, the more it is acceptable. Thus, one expects that the members of a nuclear family, for example, will feel freer taking from one another than residents of, say, the United States who do not know one another (though I knew one lower-class family in which the mother, of Lithuanian ancestry, charged her children for food if they ate at her house after they married and moved out).

10. So far as I know, nothing has been done to record and analyze the speech and writing of the Jews of the Virgin Islands. Perhaps the Johnny Weibel Museum of St. Thomas Jewish History will lead the way.

Panama Canal Zone, the Virgin Islands, and the Cayman Islands!

David L. Gold

11. This section is a revised and expanded version of a note which appeared in *American Speech*, vol. 62, no. 3, fall 1987, pp. 280-281.

12. I have translated “las primeras campañas” as ‘one of several campaigns’ rather than ‘the first campaigns’ because the word being glossed is in the singular and refers to one event. I have likewise taken liberties with the translation of “los caballeros jóvenes” (‘young men who wanted to become Knights’ rather than ‘young knights’) because, as is evident from the definition, these men had not yet been accepted as knights.

13. Cassidy could find Portuguese *caravana* ‘device, trick’ only in Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcelos’s dictionary. José Machado wrote me on 5 January 1983 that he found the word in that sense in no other dictionary available to him in Lisbon libraries and Dieter Messner, who is publishing, in fascicules, *Dicionário dos dicionários portugueses*, which is a union dictionary of Portuguese dictionaries published between the sixteenth and the mid-nineteenth centuries and some other works, wrote me on 6 May 2001 that he too was unable to find it in any other dictionary, not even in Bluteau’s. Some lexicographers put non-existent words into their dictionaries in the hope that if their works are plagiarized, among the stolen material will be those ghost forms, which would constitute prima-facie evidence of plagiarism (judge to defendant: “Where did you get this if not from the plaintiff’s dictionary?”), but I have no reason to believe that Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcelos followed that practice. If so, what was her source for the usage in question?

14. Linguists have long recognized the possibility of more than one immediate etymon but it was Wescott who suggested, though did not prove, that many slangisms arose in that way. His inspiration was presumably the psychoanalytic concept of overdetermination, which he endorsed: "Accepting the psychoanalytic principle of overdetermination--to wit, that most forms of behavior are products of multiple motivation, I [...]" (Wescott 2000:243-244).

The idea of more than one immediate etymon or of multiple causation is not too different from that of indefinite composites: "An associative blend need not be limited to two etyma, or indeed to any determinate number. Those words in which Otto Jespersen (1922, p. 314) saw 'sound symbolism' and which Louise Pound (1913) called INDEFINITE COMPOSITES can be thought of as blends, not of individual words, but rather of classes of words. Thus *glop* 'viscous liquid, un-appetizing food, offensive sentimentality' might be explained simply as a blend of *glob* and *slop*, but it more likely combines the head of words like *gland*, *glare*, *glass*, *glean*, *glib*, *glide*, *gloam*, *gloat*, *glob*, *gloom*, *glottal*, *glub*, *glug*, *glue*, *glum*, and *glut* with the body of words like *chop*, *drop*, *flop*, *lop*, *plop*, *slop*, and *sop*. Other symbolic forms like *glunk* and *gloop* or *blop* make it likely that *glop* has its origin, not in a blend of two forms only, but rather as a combination of PHONESTHEMES, to use the handy term J. R. Firth (1930, p. 184) applied to the elements from which indefinite composites are built" (Algeo 1977:60). The English slangisms *dweeb*, *twat*, *twerp*, and *twit* constitute another set with the same or similar phonesthemes and phonotactics.

Panama Canal Zone, the Virgin Islands, and the Cayman Islands!

David L. Gold

15. Cassidy gives de Augusta's *Diccionario araucano-español* (1916) and Erize's *Diccionario comentado Mapuche-Español* (1960) as being "dictionaries of Arawak" (p. 303). The language called *Araucanian* and *Mapuche* in English and *araucano* and *mapuche* in Spanish -- a language spoken in Chile and Argentina -- is, at best, remotely related to Arawak, a language, which, as Cassidy notes, was the language of "bands [...] native to the Caribbean islands at the time of the European conquest" (today it is spoken only in Guyana).