ON SPANISH LOANWORDS AND LOANBLENDS IN HAWAI'I CREOLE ENGLISH

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Hawai'i Creole English (HCE) has been the object of much linguistic research. Virtually all researchers agree that its principal lexical sources include English, Hawaiian, and Japanese. Other languages, such as Chinese and Portuguese, have also contributed. To date, however, few sources have considered Spanish as an important lexical source for HCE. The research reported herein attempts to remedy that oversight by considering ten putative loanwords and loanblends thought to derive from Spanish. These include ethnic markers associated with and local dishes brought by Filipino and Puerto Rican immigrants in the early twentieth century. By documenting cultural traditions and consulting authoritative sources, I conclude that eight of the ten items reported on are unquestionably of Spanish language origin. By also employing survey methodology, I observe that five of the ten terms are used or recognized by at least half of my thirty-three respondents, attesting to their vitality in HCE.

Introduction

Due to its cultural history and ethnic mix, the Hawaiian archipelago is rightly associated with Polynesian and Asian cultures. However, other ethnic/cultural groups have played important roles in Hawaiian history. In particular, the Hispanic influence has been noteworthy, although it remains largely unknown to most scholars, historians, and linguists alike. A brief historical survey of Hispanic influences in the Islands would include at least the following six entries: (1) the possibility that the Spanish may have been the first Europeans to set foot on Hawaiian soil (sometime prior to Cook's

Pacific Studies, Vol. 36, No. 3—December 2013

discovery of the archipelago in 1778); (2) the visit in 1791 of a Peruvian sea captain, Manuel Químper, who reconnoitered the Sandwich Islands under the Spanish flag with an eye toward establishing a strategic outpost for the galleon trade between Mexico and the Philippines; (3) the forty-year presence of the Andalusian Don Francisco de Paula Marín, who arrived in Hawai'i during the winter of 1793–1794 and later became a trusted adviser to Kamehameha I (serving in several roles, including that of royal translator and interpreter), who also introduced and cultivated many useful plants and became a successful businessman; (4) the enduring legacy of the *paniolos*, Alta California mission ranch hands of Indian and Spanish/Mexican extraction who taught the Hawaiians how to handle cattle during the period 1830–1859; (5) the immigration of Filipino (120,000), Spanish (7,735), and Puerto Rican (5,200) laborers at the beginning of the twentieth century who harvested and processed sugarcane on Hawaiian plantations; and (6) the presence of numerous Hispanics in the Islands today—according to the 2000 Census, 87,699 persons, or 7.2 percent of the population in Hawai'i, were of Hispanic origin (in 2010, that number had risen by 37.8 percent to 120,842, or 8.9 percent of the total; Ennis, Ríos-Vargas, and Albert 2011: 6). The label "Hispanic" is a broad one, including the descendants of some immigrants, recent Mexican immigrants, and other Latinos. Their presence is also manifested by some Spanish language media and institutional and commercial resources in the Islands.

This article deals specifically with the legacy of the Hispanic immigrants (Filipinos and Puerto Ricans), who introduced certain Spanish terms and expressions into plantation pidgin, which later became Hawai'i Creole English (HCE). Ten of these terms are examined using survey methodology and written sources (fiction and nonfiction, including reference works). In order to contextualize the Hispanic contribution to Island English, we briefly consider the history of the immigrant laborers in Hawai'i and the development of HCE. Furthermore, we consider certain cultural practices that made possible the dissemination of these loanwords.

Immigrants and the Development of a Pidgin/Creole

A brief note on pidgins and creoles may be helpful at this point. *The Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED* 2013) observes that *pidgin* derives from *business* as filtered through Chinese; its earliest attestation with that meaning dates to 1807, while the earliest documentation for its use to refer to what some have called a trade jargon, Chinese Pidgin English, dates from 1845. According to the *Concise Oxford Dictionary of Linguistics* (*CODL* 2007), a pidgin is "a simplified form of speech developed as a medium of trade,

or through other extended but limited contact, between groups of speakers who have no other language in common."

A creole, on the other hand, is defined by the *CODL* (2007) "as a language that has developed historically from a pidgin. In theory, accordingly, a pidgin develops from trade or other contacts; it has no native speakers, its range of use is limited, and its structure is simplified. Later it becomes the only form of speech that is common to a community, it is learned by new speakers and used for all purposes, its structure and vocabulary are enlarged, and so on." Technically speaking, in addition to standard varieties of English, what is spoken by many "locals" in Hawai'i today is a creolized form of English. Informally, however, it is often referred to as Pidgin (English).

Pidgin Hawaiian, according to Reinecke (1969: 24–25), may have begun as early as 1786 (some eight years following Cook's discovery of the archipelago). It was spurred on by commercial activities: fur trade between America and China, sandalwood trade (1810–1830), whaling (1820–1880), and, of course, the sugar industry, which began in 1835 with the first plantation and lasted almost 150 years. Siegel (2008: 46) notes that varieties of pidginized English were also introduced early on and may have become more important as the white population in the Islands grew (originating mainly from the United States and Great Britain).

While Pidgin Hawaiian dominated during the first part of the sugar plantation era, with the decreasing numbers of native Hawaiians available as laborers and their increasing dissatisfaction with the demands of plantation life, the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association began to import contract laborers from distant shores. According to materials summarized in Siegel (2008), Norma Carr (1989), and Lozano (1984), the first to arrive were Chinese (mainly Cantonese speaking) who came in two waves; in total, some 39,000 took up residence in Hawai'i from 1852 to 1897. Other numerically significant groups who also immigrated as laborers in the sugar industry include 23,000 Portuguese (also in two waves, mainly from the Azores and Madeira islands) from 1878 to 1913; 200,000 Japanese in 1884–1924; **5,200 Puerto Ricans** (mainly during 1900–1901, with an additional group arriving in 1921); 7,850 Koreans in 1903–1905; **7,735 Spanish** (from Andalucía, also in two waves) from 1907 to 1913; and **120,000 Filipinos** (mainly Ilocanos and Visayans) between 1907 and 1930. Of the three Hispanic groups (bolded for easy reference), it is noteworthy that the Spanish did not remain in Hawai'i; nearly all of them left the Islands for California following their plantation experience. With the exception of *paella*, a Valencian dish that may have been introduced by the other two groups, no known remnant, linguistic or otherwise, of the Andalusians' presence in the Islands is evident today.[1]

I include the Filipinos as Hispanics since many spoke Spanish or had borrowed a significant number of Spanish language loanwords (e.g., a conservative estimate places these at 20.5 percent of the Cebuano lexicon, according to Quilis 1995: 300); furthermore, during three centuries of Spanish rule, they had incorporated many Hispanic cultural practices into daily life, some of which will be treated in the following pages.

The sugar plantations were organized into camps according to ethnicity. That is, a few Puerto Ricans, for example, were assigned to a particular plantation and lived in dwellings grouped together. However, they rubbed shoulders with others in their daily work assignments and celebrated certain holidays and important life events with other ethnic groups. As Siegel (2008: 47) observes, the first generation maintained its ethnic tongue and created a restricted pidgin for intergroup communication (Hawai'i Pidgin English [HPE]). The second generation, segregated as it was on the plantation, learned their parents' language first and was not exposed to other languages until they entered school. In school, they began to interact with others, and their socialization included acquiring some Hawaiian or Pidgin Hawaiian and some English. However, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, due to the sheer number of immigrant languages spoken, the second generation, now off the plantation, began to employ HPE as the preferred mode of interethnic communication. In the period from 1895 to 1920, older second-generation children and adults adopted HPE as their primary language. As their children were born during the years 1905 through the 1920s, the third generation became the first monolingual speakers of Hawai'i Creole English (HCE).

HCE, traditionally associated with poverty and illiteracy in the Islands, has enjoyed a resurgence and a greater appreciation in recent years. Formerly the bane of "local" comedians and storytellers like Frank Da Lima, Andy Bumati, Bula'ia, and Kent Bowman, HCE has received considerable attention during the first two decades of the twenty-first century. On the linguistic front, one can point to the creation in 2002 of the Charlene Sato Center for Pidgin, Creole, and Dialect Studies at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa as well as publications like Sakoda and Siegel (2003), an introductory grammar of HCE. With respect to literature, Bess Press, Bamboo Ridge, and others have published anthologies including prose and poetry in HCE (examples are cited herein), and there is even an HCE translation of the New Testament, titled *Da Jesus Book*. The persistence of HCE is due in large part to its perception as a marker of "local" identity and the fact that for many speakers it is still the preferred form of expression in private domains. In essence, for many of these bidialectal speakers, diglossia obtains. Diglossia can be defined as "the case in which a community uses two distinct forms of the same language, one acquired through

education and appropriate to one range of contexts, the other acquired before formal education and appropriate to another" (*CODL* 2007). These varieties are commonly designated, on the basis of overt prestige, as High (H), for academic or standard varieties, and Low (L) for vernacular or home/community varieties. Applying these values to the situation in the Islands, Standard English is H, and HCE is L.

Siegel (2008: 92–103) advances the hypothesis that Portuguese and Cantonese are the source for the grammatical markers in HCE.[2] It has long been recognized that the vocabulary of HCE has been drawn from English (the principal or lexifier language), Hawaiian, and some other immigrant languages, such as Japanese or Portuguese. Some representative examples follow (compiled from Elizabeth Carr 1972; Sakoda and Siegel 2003; Tonouchi 2005). Note that the Hawaiian replicas do not appear with long vowels (marked by macrons) or glottal stops (marked by the *'okina*, or reverse apostrophe) since these are not realized as such in HCE.

English: *beef*, "to fight"; *bulai* (<*bull* + *lie*), "to tell lies"; *cockaroach*, "to steal, sneak away with"; *da kine* (<*the kind*), a universal filler word with numerous meanings; *garans*, "sure, guaranteed"; *howzit*, "hi, how are you"; *mo bettah*, "better"; *shave ice*, a Hawaiian-style snow cone; *stink eye*, "dirty look"; *talk story*, "converse; gossip, tell stories"
Hawaiian: *akamai*, "smart"; *hapai*, "pregnant"; *huhu*, "mad, angry"; *kapulu*, "messy, half-done"; *kumu*, "teacher"; *lolo*, "crazy, stupid"; *make*, "die, dead"; *niele*, "nosey, curious"; *pau*, "done, finished"; *okole*, "rear end"
Japanese: *ajinomoto*, "monosodium glutamate"; *bachi*, "punishment; payback"; *daikon*, an edible root similar to a radish or turnip; *hanabata*, "snot"; *ichiban*, "number one"; *mochi*, "rice cake"; *musubi*, "one or two slabs of rice frequently with a Spam center and wrapped in *nori*"; *nori*, "dried seaweed wrapper"; *shoyu*, "soy sauce"; *skebbe*, "dirty old man"
Portuguese: *babooze*, "stupid (guy) "; *malassadas*, "donut holes"; *pão doce*, "Hawaiian sweet bread"; *vinha d'alhos*, "pork marinated in vinegar and garlic"

Shared Food Traditions

Kirkendall (1985: 249), who reviewed oral history data collected by the University of Hawai'i with respect to culinary customs and food practices, notes that Filipinos [and others] who lived in multiethnic communities customarily shared their own foods with those of other backgrounds and, in turn, enjoyed the foods of other groups. The following three excerpts illustrate this practice: the first is from a Filipino immigrant who arrived in Hawai'i in 1915, the second from a Puerto Rican who reminisces about the

plantation experience and the work camps in particular, and the third from a woman of an ethnically mixed background who grew up in Waimea, on the Big Island.

> 1: Filipino
> I get some friends, lunchtime. They tell me . . . "Come eat." And they offer me da kine sandwich peanut butter sandwich, you know. Or sometimes, some of those Japanese boys . . . they got rice with sardine or da kine they call "iriko," you know. Iriko o da kine codfish. . . . They share. . . . Come eat some. . . . Sometimes, when I bring my lunch, I bring plenty lunch. I share my food with them, too. My mother fry fish or some iriko, codfish, like that. Sometimes, she make a little bit soup . . . we used to bring what we call this kau kau tin . . . [plantation-style lunch box]. Double-decker lunch can, small one . . . Japanese kids . . . American kids. . . . They bring sandwich . . . peanut butter sandwich. (Kirkendall 1985: 249)

> 2: Puerto Rican
> When the Japanese had anything to do like New Year's, they celebrate. They bring all kinds Japanese [food]. . . . Our people, they don't care too much for Chinese food, Oriental food, but the Japanese used to enjoy our food. You know, all the *pasteles* and all that. Oh, Mama, good all. I always used to like Japanese food. Had this old lady. "Mama, you get sushi?" Come, come . . . you come tomorrow. . . . She would cook something good, eh? We used to enjoy. All the Japanese, the Portuguese, and the . . . didn't have too much Hawaiians in our camp; Russians, all stick together. Whenever something, everybody invited. Then everybody bring, you know what they cook. Then everybody bring, you know what they cook for the Christmas and New Year's. That's why, everybody was very much sharing . . . (Kirkendall 1985: 250; italics added)

> 3: Mixed Ethnicity
> NP (Interviewer): When you went to school, did you bring your own lunches?
> BR: Um hmm.
> NP: Remember what you used to take?
> BR: My mom used to make little biscuits with the sardine filling. I used to like that.
> NP: Canned sardines?
> BR: Sardines, you know? In the biscuits or she would cut them, like a sandwich?

NP: Yeah.
BR: And then little crackers, she put on top, and, ah, she peeled an orange and one piece of orange or two. And then the other children used to look in my lunch and tell, "Hoy! What kind lunch that?" [Laughter] I said, "what kind lunch you have?" [Laughter] The Japanese, they used bring rice in their bags, and they hide, they hide and eat.
NP: Yeah, to be polite.
BR: You can't even look inside at what they got, but some girls would show, "Oh!" "That's good! "Oh!" 'Give me one of your sandwich, I give you some rice!" [Laughter]
NP: So you would share.
BR: Yeah, but you have to be good friend. (Friends of the Future 2005, 2: 239)

As the preceding excerpts have shown, familiarity with ethnic foods in Hawai'i occurred not in the restaurant setting (as is the case for Mexican or Chinese food on the Mainland) but through the cultural practice of food sharing at lunchtime (at school or on the plantation) and during holiday celebrations. Among those that intermarried or who were the product of such unions, the family usually experienced at least two culinary traditions firsthand. Both types of experiences led to a more intimate experience and greater appreciation of ethnic foods—so much so that certain ethnic dishes may represent "comfort foods" for some individuals of another ethnicity. As we shall see, a number of Hispanic foods and ingredients are known to HCE speakers today, having been introduced by shared food traditions. The linguistic labels of these foods were, of course, borrowed into HCE. This is one important source for the terms investigated in this article.

Demographic Data: Structure of the Survey

In order to more completely document some of terms derived from Spanish in HCE, I devised and administered a survey designed to test familiarity with these terms among a small sample of self-identified speakers of the variety in question. Thirty-three HCE speakers responded to the survey instrument. Of these, thirty respondents completed the survey. With respect to gender, the sample is quite balanced: eighteen males and fifteen females began the survey. In terms of age, the fifteen to twenty-five, twenty-six to thirty-five, and forty-six to fifty-five age groupings all consist of eight respondents, respectively, while the thirty-six to forty-five grouping consists of nine respondents.

The ethnicity of the respondents is not straightforward; indeed, the respondents were instructed to check all applicable categories. Because intermarriage among the different ethnicities began during the plantation period and is common today, very few individuals can claim a single ethnic label. In almost all cases, then, each respondent has claimed a mixed ethnicity, selecting two or more categories. Eighteen respondents claim (part) Chinese ancestry, sixteen claim (part) Japanese origins, and fifteen claim at least part Hawaiian ancestry. Nine can be classified as (part) *haoles*, a Hawaiian term with the meaning of "foreigner, white or Caucasian"; this category in our sample corresponds to Irish, English, German, and Caucasian origins. Other (part) ethnicities include six Portuguese, four Filipinos, four Polynesians (whose ancestry is from Samoa or Tahiti), two Okinawans, and one Puerto Rican.

Eighty-eight percent (or twenty-nine) of the respondents were raised in the Islands. Over half of these (sixteen, or 55 percent) were raised on O'ahu; seven respondents claim to have spent some time growing up on the Outer Islands, including Maui, Kaua'i, and Moloka'i. Five respondents claim to have been raised in/on Hawai'i. It is not clear whether they are referring to the state (without specifying a particular island or islands) or whether they mean the island of Hawai'i (often referred to as the Big Island to avoid the ambiguity demonstrated here). Only four respondents were raised on the Mainland: in Utah, Arizona, and California.

Two-thirds (or twenty-two) of the respondents claim at least a part-time residence in the Islands today. Sixty-eight percent (or fifteen) of the respondents claim O'ahu as their home. One-third of the respondents claim either Utah (seven) or Arizona (four) as their (part-time) residence. When queried as to where they had lived the longest, 94 percent (or thirty-one) responded that they had spent more time in the Islands.

The questionnaire proper consisted of sixteen items (fourteen individual terms; two items had additional extended meanings, and these were presented separately). The terms themselves were selected from Elizabeth Carr (1972), Sasaki, Simonson, and Sakata (1986), Sakoda and Siegel (2003), Simonson, Sasaki, and Sakata (2005), and Tonouchi (2005); with the exception of the first source cited, the terms were not designated as of Spanish origin, but their association with Local Ricans (those descendants of the original immigrants who still reside in the Islands) and/or Filipinos was noted in some instances. Each item, along with variant forms (if any) and a brief definition, was presented with three possible choices. The respondent was asked to indicate whether the item was "a term I use," "a term someone else would use," or "a term I'm not familiar with." If he or she selected the first option, the respondent was also asked to "please provide

a sentence that includes it." If the respondent selected the second option, he or she was asked to indicate "what group of people would use it." All complete responses were analyzed; thus, the total number of these varies from thirty to thirty-one. These responses provide the bulk of the results.

It is noteworthy that the terms included on the instrument were referenced to authoritative Spanish, English, and, in some cases, Filipino lexicons, including regional dictionaries. In addition to the survey results, the terms in question were documented in print and Web sources (both fiction and nonfiction). Because three terms, *tilapia*, *ratoon*, and *paniolo*, were devised as distractors and the other three items did not elicit enough responses to fully analyze, only ten terms will be analyzed.[3] Statistically, the analyses are purely descriptive since my limited sample does not lend itself to additional tests of significance. Each putative Spanish language borrowing will be presented along with its definition and the results of the survey. Additional documentation and commentary will follow. Note that one respondent has provided his responses in Odo orthography for HCE (Sakoda and Siegel 2003: 23–30), which I have reproduced along with a (Standard) English version.

Ethnic Foods: Spanish Loanwords or Loanblends and Their Referents

Five terms and their variants are addressed in this section. These include *achiote*, "a red coloring or flavoring"; *pastele*, "a Puerto Rican–style tamale"; *gandule rice*, "rice with pigeon peas"; *adobo*, "a sauce of vinegar and garlic for chicken or pork"; and *lechon*, "roast suckling pig." Each term will be presented and illustrated and commentary provided for the linguistic elements and the referent itself.

Again, it may be helpful to review the basics of borrowing and two common, related results. All of our terms can be categorized as loanwords or loanblends. These are formed when a model from the source language is borrowed into the host language. The replica thus formed incorporates both the form and the meaning of the model, although it may be adapted to an appreciable extent and realized according to host language rules. The difference between the two lies in the addition of host language elements in the case of the loanblend. Two examples should suffice to make these distinctions clear. The model, *adobo*, is pronounced in Spanish as [aðóβo] with the approximates and simple vowels as transcribed. At some point, the loanword, while written the same way, acquired English pronunciation and was realized as [adówbow] with the occlusives and diphthongs as noted. When a host language element (bolded for easy reference in the following

examples) co-occurs regularly with the loanword, as in the case of *gandule* ***rice*** or *bolo**knife***, a hybrid is created, named a loanblend. Lastly, for our purposes, a referent is the object in the real world that the linguistic expression denotes.

Achiote or Achote: A Red Seasoning or Coloring Used to Prepare Some Dishes

Only eleven (or 36 percent) of the respondents indicated that they were familiar with the term; five marked the "I use" category, and six marked it as "a term someone else would use," principally Puerto Ricans (four responses). Some example sentences from my respondents follow.

(1) My father-in-law uses *achote* in his delicious Spanish rice.
(2) You can buy *achote* at the Puerto Rican market in Kahili.
(3) I just found out that *achiote* is what makes gandule rice mo ono [more delicious].
(4) *Achote* kam fram da lipstick plaent. [Achote comes from the lipstick plant.]

According to Cabrera (1982: 27) and Santamaría (1992: 28), *achiote* is Spanish term of Aztec origin. The variant form *achote* can be explained as a case of yod absorption (Whitley 2002: 98) wherein the preceding palatal consonant absorbs the high front vowel, a glide in this instance.[4] Spanish historical linguistics designates a high or mid-front vowel as a *yod*, hence the name. This phenomenon is commonly found in Spanish with verbs like *reñir*, "quarrel"; *henchir*, "swell"; and *bullir*, "boil, seethe," whose stem ends in a palatal consonant. When conjugated in the preterite for the third-person singular, for example, the expected forms **riñió*, **hinchió*, and **bullió* do not obtain. Rather, the <i>, which represents the glide [j], is absorbed or elided, leaving the standard forms *riñó*, *hinchó*, and *bulló*, "he, she, it, or you singular, formal quarreled, swelled, boiled or seethed." Similarly, *achiote* reduces to *achote*, particularly in rapid, relaxed speech. *Achote* is attested to in Spanish.

Achiote seeds produced from the fruit of the *Bixa orellana* can be processed either as an (industrial) dye or as a condiment/coloring. As one respondent noted, it is commonly known in English as the "lipstick plant" since the coloring obtained from the seeds can be used to dye the lips red. As a condiment or food additive, the technical term employed in Standard English (on packaging or ingredient lists) is *annatto*.

Achiote is available commercially as dried seeds, powder, or paste. Its use is common in Latin America; in southern Mexico it is used as a substitute for *chile*, "hot pepper" (it adds red coloring but no "heat"). It is also manufactured in Central America (the paste or powder available in local Hispanic markets on the Mainland is frequently manufactured there). In the Philippines, it is known *achuete* or *atsuete* (most likely derived from *achiote*, probably via metathesis or transposition of /i/ and /o/ with the accompanying lowering of /i/ to /e/ and the raising of /o/ to /u/, where the high vowel becomes mid- and the mid-vowel high).

Vaquero and Morales (2005: 39) cite Hernández Aquino, who notes that the Nahuatl term "ha substituido literaria y oralmente en Puerto Rico a la voz antillana [*bija*]" [(it) has replaced in both written and oral sources in Puerto Rico the Caribbean Spanish word (*bija*); my translation]. He also observes that the first attestation of *achiote* for this Caribbean isle occurs in 1765. The *OED* (2013) records the first attestation of the term in English in 1648; the citation notes that *achiote* was added to chocolate to give it a brick-red color.

"Local" ethnic cookbooks, such as Sasaki, Simonson, and Sakata (1986: 7) and Corum (2000: 117, 214), as well as Starbulletin.com (the online newspaper archives for the *Honolulu Star Bulletin*), provide recipes for *achiote* oil and note its use in both local Filipino and Puerto Rican cooking. It is used as a condiment or coloring in rice and meat dishes, including *pasteles*. According to Norma Carr (1989: 178), some Puerto Ricans immigrants brought *achiote* with them, although they were not the first to do so. Norma Carr (1980: 21–24) provides further information on *achiote* and other Puerto Rican dishes. The fact that only about one-third of the respondents were familiar with this term is indicative of its technical nature (one would have to at least observe the preparation of some dish that incorporates that ingredient and learn its name).

Pa(s)tele(s): Similar to Tamales; Made with Green Banana, Pork, and Wrapped in Ti Leaves

Over three-quarters of the sample claimed to be familiar with the term and referent. Of these, fourteen (or 47 percent) reported using the term themselves; nine (or 30 percent) reported hearing others use it. Three of these respondents claim to have heard the term from Puerto Ricans; others claim that Filipinos, Portuguese, Hawaiians, Tongans, and other "locals" use the term. Perhaps this can be taken as an indication of the popularity of the dish. Only eight (or 27 percent) of the respondents claimed they were not familiar with the term. A few of the respondents' sentences follow:

(5) I want to go to the swap meet to see if the *patele* woman is there.
(6) We go buy *patele* on the side of the road. Da buggah stay winnah! [It's a real winner!]
(7) Had taim fo pil grin baenaena fo mak *patele*. [It's hard to peel the green banana to make *patele*.]

The variant form *patele* can be derived from *pasteles* via aspiration or elision of /s/, a common feature of Caribbean Spanish.[5] However, *patele* is frequently employed as a singular form in HCE, similar to *abalone* (<*abulón*) and *tamale* (<*tamal*), where dialect features may not account for the elision of word-final /s/. Furthermore, the term is frequently viewed on roadside stands and some menus and pronounced via English spelling pronunciation—with an aspirated <p> and <t>, a "dark" or velarized <l>, a schwa and other English vowels. The plural form is commonly pronounced as [pʰətʰɛɬɪyz], with primary stress on [ɛ], as in *bet*.

Vaquero and Morales (2005: 586–87) cite Del Rosario, who defines the traditional Puerto Rican *pastel* as

> Masa de plátano y yautía, con relleno de carne de cerdo y que para cocinarla se envuelve en hojas de plátano atadas con cordón u hollejo de plátano. Se hace también con otros ingredientes. Considerado uno de los platos más típicos de Puerto Rico. [Dough made of plantains and yautia (a dryland taro; my addition), with a filling of pork and wrapped in banana leaves tied with string or a strip of the banana peel to cook it. It is also made with other ingredients. Considered one of most typical Puerto Rican dishes; my translation.]

Two recipes for *pasteles* "local style" mention only green bananas, plantains, and potatoes as the chief ingredients for the dough (Sasaki, Simonson, and Sakata 1986: 110–12; Corum 2000: 111, 119, 218). Other descriptions of this Puerto Rican delicacy in Hawai'i include yautia (mentioned above), cassava and pumpkin in addition to (green) bananas.[6] A "local" innovation is noted in the definition; ti leaves (*Cordyline terminalis*) are regularly used instead of banana leaves for the husk or wrapper. Also popular in the Islands is *patele stew*, a tangy tomato-based broth with typical fillings: pork, olives, celery, and other ingredients.

While recipes for and descriptions of *pasteles* are readily available, the beginner is warned that making *patele* is a labor-intensive process and is best left to the experts. Many roadside stands and restaurants include *pateles* on the menu; indeed, it is reported that some of the best *patele* makers in Hawai'i are not of Puerto Rican ancestry.

Gandule or Gandude Rice: Rice with Pigeon Peas

Apparently, this Puerto Rican dish does not enjoy the same level of popularity in the Islands as *patele*. Over half of the respondents (seventeen, or 57 percent) reported that they were unfamiliar with the loanblend or referent. Only nine (or 30 percent) claimed to use the term themselves; another five (or 17 percent) claim to have heard others use it; however, only two respondents correctly attributed it to Puerto Ricans. Some of their example sentences follow:

(8) I am craving some *patele* and *gandule* rice.
(9) My neighbor used to make *gandude* rice.
(10) Ho, you get some *gandule* rice wit chicken and *bacalao* . . . winnahs! [Wow, you eat some *gandule* rice with chicken and *bacalao* (cod) . . . it's a real winner!]
(11) *GanduDi* rice aen Spanish rais seim ting? [Are *gandude* rice and Spanish rice the same thing?]

Candule has also lost the word-final /s/. However, since it is a plural (one would not prepare or consume rice with a single *gandul*!), we can assume that the /s/ deletion in this case is indeed the result of aspiration or elision in Spanish. The final consonantal segment, a liquid, is also variable in its realization. It can be realized as lateral or a vibrant (as a /l/ or a /r/). This phenomenon, which results in a partial neutralization of these two liquids in coda or syllable-final position, is common in Caribbean Spanish. Thus, the following forms obtain: *gandule(s)* or *gandure(s)*.[7]

According to the *DRAE* (Real Academia Española 2001), the term and referent are found in parts of Central America, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Colombia. Vaquero and Morales (2005: 355) cite Nazario, who states,

> La voz *gandul* o *gandur* denomina a una semilla o grano comestible producido por el arbusto leguminoso de igual nombre (*Cajanus indicus*, *Cytisus cajan*, *Cajan cajanus*). [The term *gandul* or *gandur* names an edible seed or grain produced by the leguminous bush of the same name; my translation.]

Pigeon peas, the English translation equivalent, may be named for the shape of the pod, which resembles a dove, or because the seeds were feed to pigeons, according to the *OED* (2013). Again, Corum (2000: 114–15, 120, 218) and Starbulletin.com contain information on and recipes for *arroz con gandules* Hawaiian style.

Adobo: A Dish Made with Pork or Chicken Cooked in Vinegar and Garlic

Nearly all respondents (twenty-nine) indicated a familiarity with the loanword *adobo*. Twenty (or 67 percent) of our HCE speakers claimed to use the term themselves; another nine (or 30 percent) correctly claimed that local Filipinos used the term. Some example sentences follow:

(12) My grandpa makes the most awesome pork *adobo*.
(13) Ho, some mean dat guy's *adobo*. Talk about some ono grinds. [Wow, that guy's *adobo* is really good. Talk about some delicious eats.]
(14) I hope dat not dog *adobo*.
(15) Brah, Manang's *adobo* was winnas! [Bro, Manang's (stereotypical Filipino name) *adobo* was a winner!]

According to Kirkendall (1985: 242–43), an expert on ethnic Island cuisine,

> Food cooked in the *en adobo* style may be called the Philippines' national dish. The combination of garlic and vinegar is added to meat or fish in a two-fold cooking process of simmering in seasoned water followed by frying, a process which was probably introduced by Spanish explorers in the sixteenth century.

The *OED* (2013) also provides a pertinent definition, stating, "[Adobo is] a spicy stew, typically consisting of pork, poultry or seafood cooked in a vinegar-based sauce, seasoned with garlic, soy sauce, bay leaves, and peppercorns." Their earliest attestation is from the *Los Angeles Times* in 1938; no citation is included from Hawai'i.

The *DRAE* also includes a similar definition for *adobo*:

> Caldo, y especialmente el compuesto de vinagre, sal, orégano, ajos y pimentón, que sirve para sazonar y conservar las carnes y otras cosas. [A marinade, in particular the combination of vinegar, salt, oregano, garlic, and sweet red peppers, that is used to season and preserve meat and other things; my translation.]

However, neither this definition nor the previous one refers to the "twofold cooking process," which may be an innovation practiced by some Filipino cooks. Indeed, *adobo* was originally used as a means to preserve meat

without refrigeration. *Adobo* is found in Waray (Unruh 1993: 59), while the form in Cebuano is *adúbu* (Wolff 1972, 1:10).

Again, "local" cookbooks, such as, Sasaki, Simonson, and Sakata (1986: 7–8), Corum (2000: 146–47, 153, 214), and Laudan (1996: 155), as well as Starbulletin.com, contain further information and recipes for chicken or pork *adobo*.

Finally, Filipinos are often accused of being "dog-eaters" as sentence 14 (p. 18) intimates. In a real sense, it constitutes a racial slur, particularly since other ethnic groups, such as the Native Hawaiians, also include or have included dog as a source of protein in the diet.

Lechon: Roast Suckling Pig

Only eleven respondents (or 37 percent) claimed to be familiar with *lechon*. Five indicated that they used the term themselves; another six claimed to have heard others use it. Four respondents attributed the term to Filipinos; one ascribed it to caterers and another to Puerto Ricans. One can easily imagine lechon replacing the Hawaiian speciality, *kalua* pig (pork steamed and roasted in an *imu*, or underground oven, and served shredded), particularly if the caterers are Filipino. Then again, the term and its referent are also associated with Puerto Rico and the Local Ricans. Vaquero and Morales (2005: 457) include both *lechonera*, "establishment where *lechones* are roasted and sold," and *lechonada*, "a feast where *lechon* figures prominently" for Puerto Rico (my translation). Two example sentences follow (neither of these appear to incorporate any features of HCE):

(16) Thelma's (restaurant in Waipahu, O'ahu) has a fantastic *lechon* special.
(17) Some like *lechon* cold; I like to eat it hot.

Two Puerto Rican recipe books that specialize in traditional dishes (Dooley 1948: 49–50; Sivila Vda. De Fernández 1982: 193–94) include instructions for the preparation and cooking of *lechón a la vara* [lechon on the spit; my translation]. Norma Carr (pers. comm.) also informs me that the dish figured prominently in the annual Three Kings Celebration in Honolulu (sponsored by the United Puerto Rican Association) held around Christmastime. Finally, in an oral history interview conducted by Norma herself in 1976 with Miguel Guzmán, a first-generation Local Rican, he mentions *lechón asado* as part of the traditional marriage celebration (Guzmán 1976).

Indeed, the dish appears to have originated in Spain, where the term *cochinillo* is also used. The entry for *lechón* in the *DRAE* refers the reader to the corresponding entry for *cochinillo* and Lynn Williams (pers. comm.) assures me that the latter is preferred term.

Variant forms for *lechon* are found in two Visayan languages, according to sources I consulted. For Cebuano, Wolff (1972, 2:624) provides *litsun* with the meaning "pig roasted whole over coals." With the addition of *dilitsi*, the term comes to mean "roast suckling pig." Unruh (1993: 120) provides the form *litson*, meaning "(young) roasted pig" for Waray.[8]

Kirkendall (1985) provides some insights into the importance of this dish for the Filipino immigrants to Hawai'i and describes the preparation of the same. She notes that during the plantation period, it was prepared and served for Christmas, Easter, and the daylong celebration following births in the Filipino camps. Regarding its preparation, she observes, "At these fiestas, lechon was cooked by roasting the whole pig skewered on a long steel pole with a steering wheel mounted at one end which served as an effective rotisserie" (254).

She also describes how this dish was served:

> Lechon, roast pig, is considered a delicacy. . . . Slaughtered just prior to the feast, the pig is roasted over an open pit and basted with flavorful sauces. Diners pull off pieces of the crisp skin with bare hands, and afterwards eat the tender white meat with a vinegar flavored sauce made from the pig's liver. (240)

Finally, while *lechon* continues to be prepared and consumed on certain occasions, it is no longer as common as it once was. She provides the following reasons:

> For example, whole pigs are not easy to obtain in urban areas. Such animals are expensive, slaughtered under non-traditional conditions (when blood and entrails are reserved), are difficult to transport and to prepare in the customary manner. (262)

A final note on the local or HCE pronunciation is in order. Some speakers preserve the word stress evident in the model [leʧón], where the final syllable is stressed, while others adopt a spelling pronunciation with the stress on the first syllable, rendered with a diphthong in the first syllable and a reduced vowel (schwa) in the second [lɛyʧən].

It should be observed that the handful of terms here do not exhaust the Spanish terms for ethnic dishes or foods prepared and eaten by the Puerto

Ricans, Filipinos, and others in Hawai'i . According to Sasaki, Simonson, and Sakata (1986), Corum (2000), Laudan (1996), and Bueno (2008), there are many others. For example, other Puerto Ricans foods include *bacalao*, "dried salted cod"; *cazuela*, "sweet potato-pumpkin pudding"; *chicharrones*, "fried pork rinds"; *paella*, "rice, seafood and/or poultry, and vegetables" (originally a Spanish dish); *pastelillos*, "fried pork turnovers"; *pescado en escabeche*, "pickled fish"; *serenata*, "codfish salad"; *sancocho*, "vegetable stew"; *sopa borracha*, "cake with rum sauce"; and *tostones*, "plantain fritters." Other Filipino foods include *bunuelos*, "fried dumplings rolled in sugar" (<*buñuelos*); *camote*, "sweet potato"; *cascaron*, "sweet dumplings"; *chicharones* (noted above), "fried pork rinds" (commonly spelled with a single <r> among Filipinos) *embutido*, "meat rolls"; *pork with guisantes* or *gisantis*, "pork and peas stew"; *karabasa*, "a type of squash" (<*calabaza*); *leche flan*, "caramel custard"; *menudo*, "pork and potatoes"; *pochero*, "casserole of meat, vegetables, garbanzos, and sweet potatoes" (<*puchero*); and *sayote*, "similar to a pear in appearance and eaten like squash" (<*chayote*, a Mexican Spanish term derived from Nahuatl). However, most of these terms and their referents may represent intraethnic food choices and may not be as well known to other ethnic groups in the Islands.

Ethnic Markers: Expressions, Referents, and Associations

In addition to ethnic foods, our instrument also investigated the five ethnic markers: *Ay soos*, "an exclamation denoting surprise and other related emotions"; *boloknife*, "a straight machete or long knife"; *tata*, "a polite term of address for (grand)fathers or older, respected men"; *kompa*, "an invitation to share or partner with"; and *Borinkee*, "a 'local' Rican or person of Puerto Rican ancestry." These terms, along with their variants, meanings, and usage, will be presented and discussed in the following subsections.

Ay soos, Aysus or Isus: "Oh, no!" or a Similar Exclamation

Twenty-five (or 83 percent) of the respondents claimed to be familiar with the expression. Ten respondents (33 percent) reported that they used it themselves, and fifteen (50 percent) claimed to have heard it from other speakers of HCE. Only six speakers reported that they were unfamiliar with the expression. Ten respondents correctly attributed the exclamation to Filipinos and two to the Elderly/Older Generation, while one respondent each referenced Tongans, Part Hawaiians, and Everyone. Some example sentences follow:

(18) *Ay soos*, you cut your hair bolohead [shaved your head, cut your hair very short].[9]

(19) *Ay soos*! What sa matta with you? Why you tro [throw] the oil in the stream?

(20) You take some chicken or pork with dis one here. *Aysus*, broke da mouth [it's delicious]. Bueno (2008: 91)

Two "local" lexicons include this Filipino expression: Tonouchi (2005: 6) and Simonson, Sasaki, and Sakata (2005: 2).[10] Linguistically, the source of this expression is fairly transparent. *Ay* is a standard exclamation in Spanish and is agglutinated with the final syllable of *Jesús*. It probably derives from an abbreviation of a litany used as an interjection, *Jesús, María y José* (Jesus, Mary, and Joseph), which, according to the *DRAE*, "denota admiración, dolor, susto o lástima" (denotes wonder, pain, fright or pity; my translation). With regard to Filipino sources, Wolff (1972, 1:69, 334–35) defines *ay* as a "particle showing exasperation or frustrated helplessness," and *Hisus*, "Jesus" as a "mild interjection uttered when something happens that cannot be remedied." *Hisus, Mariya i Husip* (frequently agglutinated as *Hisusmaryusip*) is Cebuano for *Jesús, María y José* and "is a rather strong interjection expressing fright or discomfiture." *Aysus* is widely attested to in Visaya and other parts of the Philippines as discussions with my son, Justin Smead (pers. comm.), who spent nearly two years in the region, have led me to believe.

Boloknife: A Short, Straight Machete Used to Cut Vegetation or as a Weapon

Nearly three-quarters of the sample claimed to be familiar with the loanblend. Thirty-three percent (or ten) of the respondents marked it as "a term I use." Another thirteen (or 43 percent) marked it as "a term someone else would use." Only eight (or 27 percent) indicated that they were unfamiliar with it. Four speakers attributed the expression to Filipinos, three to the Plantation/Older Generation, and one each, respectively, to Locals, Hawaiians, Farmers, or Polynesian Landscapers, Samoans, and "Nut Guys." A few of the respondents' sentences follow:

(21) Eh cuz, you no like mess wit dat Filipino guy, bumbai he go bust out his *boloknife* on you. You know dem ah, dey no scare pull knife. [Hey, dude you don't want to mess with that Filipino guy, 'cos he's gonna bust out his *boloknife* on you. You know what they're like, they're not afraid to pull out a knife.]

(22) Da bugi maen wen cheiz mi wit wan *bolonaif*. [The boogey man chased me with a *boloknife*.]
(23) I used to play wit my faddas *boloknife*. [I used to play with my father's *boloknife*.]
(24) Was anykine knives, like *bolo knife* and swords from all ovah da world and put on one piece of wood, j'like one shield. [There were all sorts of knives, like a *boloknife* and swords from all over the world and they were attached to one piece of wood, just like a shield.] (Lum 1998: 72; italics added)

Santamaría's (1992: 1165) brief definition of *bolo* observes that the term is not uncommon in Mexico, stating that is also known by other names: "En algunas partes del país, [es] el machete llamado *mojarra, moruna*, etc." [In some parts of the country, it is the machete called *mojarra, moruna*, etc.]. The *OED* (2013) also provides a Spanish etymology for the term while referencing two other loanblends found in the Philippines: *bolomaker*, "one who manufactures the item," and *boloman*, "one who wields it as a tool or, more commonly, a weapon." However, Quilis (1995: 295) puts forth the opinion that *bolo* is not of Spanish language origin. He notes,

> Hay también palabras filipinas que se utilizan en el español de aquel territorio: *bolo* (machete recto), que se distingue del *machete*, que es curvo. [There are also Filipino terms that are used in that región: *bolo* (a straight machete), which is distinguished from *machete*, which is curved; my translation]

Unruh (1993: 73) includes *bólo* glossed simply as "weeding knife" for Waray. In Cebuano, *búlu* (from *bolo* via vowel raising) refers to a "heavy weeding knife with a blunt rectangular end" (Wolff 1972, 1:116).

Lastra (1992: 250), speaking of the Iberian creoles in the Philippines and the Spanish military presence there, flatly states, "Las tropas españolas pertenecían a las clases bajas, y muchos de los soldados eran mestizos mexicanos" [The Spanish troops were from the lower classes, and many of the soldiers were Mexican mestizos.]. Linguistically, there is ample evidence of Mexican influence since many Aztequisms that are restricted to Mexico (and perhaps Central America) are found in Filipino languages. These include some terms noted here (*atsuete*, *camote*, and *sayote*) and others, such as *sakati* (<*zacate*, "grass"). Nonetheless, the origin of *bolo* remains unclear. Were the referent and its linguistic sign carried from the Philippines to Mexico or vice versa? The addition of *knife* to form the loanblend is, of course, unproblematic since the referent does resemble a large, long, straight knife.

Tata: Father; a Respectful Address to an Old Man

Only five (or 17 percent) of the respondents indicated that they used the term. Another nine (30 percent) claimed that they had heard others use *tata*. Five respondents attributed it to Filipinos, while one indicated that it was heard in New Zealand. Other respondents simply indicated that they had heard it somewhere. Thus, the majority (seventeen, or 57 percent) were unfamiliar with the term *tata*. Some example sentences follow:

(25) Eh *tata*! Mahaloz fo' da da kine, ah! Now I know how fo' catch dem oama. [Hey, tata! Thanks for this thing here, yeah! Now I know how to catch those young goatfish.]
(26) Don't walk in front of *Tata* without saying "excuse me."
(27) Anybody who might have worked on the plantations, his own *tata*, might have spent two weeks below deck coming to Hawai'i so far down in cargo that they were actually below the water line. (Lum 1997: 148; italics in the original)

Some lexicologists, such as Cabrera (1982: 123), have posited Nahuatl or other Latin American indigenous languages as the source for *tata*. However, Corominas and Pascual (1983, 5:380–81) trace the origin of the term to Latin and further note that it exists in other unrelated tongues as a simple reduplicative creation characteristic of child language. Santamaría (1992: 1014) observes that "en algunas partes se usa como tratamiento aplicado a los hombres de avanzada edad" [in some places it is used as a form of address for men of advanced age; my translation], and the *DRAE* states that in certain regions of the Americas, it is used "como tratamiento de respeto" [a polite or respectful form of address; my translation]. All sources concur with the principal meaning of "father or grandfather." Cebuano has two related loans: *tatang*, "an address of respect given to an old grandfather or great-grandfather, sometimes used to address an old and well-respected leader in a community," and *tatay* or *tátay*, "term of address to one's father and sometimes uncle or grandfather," according to Wolff (1972, 2:996). Waray also has the form *tátay*, "daddy or father" (Unruh 1993: 163). The latter term may have derived from *taita*, a variant form, via metathesis.[11]

Kompa or Kompan: An Invitation to Share or Be Partners With

Only eight respondents (27 percent) indicated that they were familiar with *kompa*: four indicated that they used it themselves, and another four had

heard others use it; two attributed it to Old Plantation and one each to Filipinos and Japanese. Nearly three-quarters of the sample claimed to be unfamiliar with the term. A few of the respondents' sentences follow:

(28) *Kompa kompa* your grapes (and said only to little kids).
(29) Nobadi laik *kompa* dea mani aezwai weis taim dis hui. [Nobody wants to *kompa* their money that's why this club is a waste of time.]
(30) Plantation days, husband, wife used to *kompan*, work together, and den wen dey harvest da cane dey get bonus. [On the plantation, the husband and wife used to *kompan*, work together, and when they harvested the sugar cane, they got a bonus.] (Tonouchi 2005: 52)

At least three possible Spanish models exist for this borrowing: *compartir*, "to share"; *compadre*, "godfather of one's child; (intimate) friend" (often abbreviated *compa*; see Santamaría 1992: 281); and *compañero*, "companion." *Compa* would seem to be the most likely model. According to Vaquero and Morales (2005: 230), *compa* does exist in Puerto Rico; however, the more common form is *compae* or *compay* (also spelled *compai*). Furthermore, in Cebuano, *compadre* has been borrowed as *kumpadri* or *kumpári* (Wolff 1972, 2:501), but the expected form **kumpa* remains unattested. The form *kompan* also renders *compañero* a likely model. Wolff (1972, 2:501) notes that *kumpanyíru* functions as a "term of address to intimates." Whether through the Puerto Ricans or the Filipinos, the model is likely an apocopated or shortened form of *compadre* or *compañero*. It also is an older term, probably originating during the plantation era in HPE. It may have been disseminated by first-generation immigrants who became caretakers for their grandchildren and used this term to teach them to share.

Brinki, Borinque, or Borinkee: A "Local Rican," a Person of Puerto Rican Ancestry

One-half of the respondents recognized this term, although some attributed extended meanings to it, as we shall see. Nearly a quarter (or seven) of the respondents claimed to use the term themselves. Another eight respondents have heard others use it; they attributed to Puerto Ricans, "Locals," Portuguese, Japanese, and the older generation; and three respondents were unsure of whom they heard use it. Fifteen (50 percent) were unfamiliar with the term. Some of their sentences follow:

(31) Eh, da kine's family is *borinkee* 'o what? [Hey, whachamacallit's family is *borinkee* or what?]
(32) Ah, *borinkee* food!
(33) Yu mas no hau fo daens kachi kachi if yu wan *BoDingki*. [You must know how to dance kachi kachi if you're a *Borinque*.]
(34) I have *borinki* hair when it rains! (Interesting, I never would have associated it with this group always thought it described kinky hair, i.e., black).
(35) That boy has big *borinkee* hair.
(36) He is so *borinkee*. (A less refined individual with regard to manners and cleanliness.)

Bori(n)quen, the Taíno term for Puerto Rico, serves as the model for the replicas presented here. According to materials summarized in Vaquero and Morales (2005: 120–21), the model means "tierras de los valientes señores [land of the brave men]" or "tierras de los fuertes hombres [land of the strong men;" my translations]. The form *borinque*, where the final *-n* is apocopated or eliminated, is pronounced in English as the other two forms suggest: *borinkee* and *brinki*. The latter form has undergone two additional steps that affect the first syllable: vowel reduction and, subsequently, schwa deletion.[12] Additionally, as Solís (1995: 123) notes, the <*-i*> may be pronounced as a long vowel in English (actually a diphthong). Sentences 31 and 32 provide examples of the core meaning of the loanword. Sentence 33 introduces the term *kachi kachi*, coined by the Japanese immigrants to refer to traditional *jíbaro* music, featuring the *güiro* (a gourd scraper) and the *cuatro* (a guitar-like instrument), that the Puerto Ricans brought with them (Norma Carr 1989: 231).[13] Sentences 34–36 introduce extended meanings that do not appear in the reference materials I consulted. Frizzy or kinky hair, typical of (Puerto Rican) Blacks, is referenced in Sentences 34 and 35. Sentence 36 indicates that unfounded racial/ethnic bias and prejudice have persisted (for the history of such sentiments against the Local Ricans, see Norma Carr 1989: 356–80).

Conclusions

This article has opened the door on empirical research into the lexical contribution from Spanish to HCE via the Filipino and Puerto Rican immigrants to Hawai'i. It has focused on ten putative Spanish loanwords or loanblends in HCE. Five of these denote ethnic dishes or ingredients that originate among either the local Puerto Ricans or Filipinos: *achiote* (*achote*), *pa(s)tele(s)*, and *gandule rice* (*gandure* or *gandude rice*) are Puerto Rican

in origin. *Adobo* is of Filipino origin. *Lechon* is a shared item; both Puerto Ricans and Filipinos have prepared this dish in the Islands. All of these are attested to in Spanish, and their existence in HCE is due to a "shared food tradition."

Five other expressions or terms that constitute ethnic markers for either the Filipinos or the Local Ricans were also analyzed. *Ay soos* (*Isus*, *Aysus*), *boloknife*, and *tata* are clearly of Filipino origin. The language origin of *bolo* remains unclear; it is found in Visayan languages and is also documented for Mexico. Likewise, the term *kompa* (*kompan*) may derive from Spanish but cannot be attributed definitively to either the Puerto Rican or the Filipino immigrants. Finally, the term *borinkee* or *brinki* (*borinque*) is of Puerto Rican origin.

All of the terms are documented for HCE. According to the survey I employed, *adobo*, *patele*, *Ay soos*, *boloknife*, and *borinkee* were recognized by at least half the sample. *Achiote*, *lechon*, *gandule rice*, *kompa*, and *tata* were all recognized by substantially less than half the respondents.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My deep, heartfelt thanks to the Department of Spanish and Portuguese, the College of Humanities, and the Latin American Center at Brigham Young University and to Brigham Young University Hawai'i for their financial and moral support of my *Hispanics in Hawai'i* project, of which this a part. Also, *mahaloz* (thanks) to David Keala, Makana Whitford, Nahinu Navares, Linden Wada, Jodie Mattos, Lee Tonouchi, and all the other respondents for their *kokua* (help) and *aloha* spirit; it is greatly appreciated. Kent Sakoda deserves a *mahalo nui loa* (mil gracias or thanks a million) for his expertise and willingness to help as I consulted with him on several occasions. Last but not least, thanks and a big *abrazo* to my research assistant, Anthony Gardner, for his tireless research and admirable computer skills (placing the questionnaire online, researching the terms in question, and creating PowerPoint presentations, among many other tasks).

NOTES

1. On Spanish immigration to Hawai'i and subsequently to California, see Schmack (1940), Lozano (1984), Santucci (1994), and Ma and Cader (2006).

2. For another view on the genesis of morphosyntax in creoles, see Bickerton (2008).

3. Both *ratoon*, "shoot or sprout," a term commonly used in the planting and cultivation of sugarcane, and *paniolo*, referenced above, are thought to derive from Spanish; however, *tilapia*, "a type of trash fish," does not, although the *DRAE* notes its use in the

Philippines. Nonetheless, neither the Puerto Ricans nor the Filipinos were responsible for introducing these terms into any variety of English spoken in the Islands.

4. The phoneme or sound family /ʧ/, represented orthographically as <ch>, is an alveo-palatal consonant, meaning that the blade of the tongue straddles the alveolar and palatal regions in its articulation. Since the glide [j] (a realization of the vowel phoneme /i/) begins its articulation in approximately the same position in the bucal cavity, the consonant and vowel fuse. This leads to the perception that the vowel has disappeared or been elided. A simple experiment can illustrate this: if one articulates the syllable <chio> (represented phonetically as [ʧjó]), with increasing rapidity, <cho> (or [ʧó]) will emerge.

5. Aspiration is common in "lowland" Spanish (on the mainland coasts and islands where Spanish is spoken). Sociolinguistically, it is more frequent in the relaxed speech of all classes while being more common in lower classes. It generally affects the /s/ in the coda or syllable-final position. In terms of its articulation, it occurs when the tongue is left in rest position in the mouth and a puff of air is produced instead of [s]. This realization is represented phonetically as [h], a voiceless glottal fricative. The grapheme or letter <h> in English represents the same sound. When it is shortened or otherwise rendered imperceptible, it results in Ø, or consonant deletion.

6. Additional information is available at Starbulletin.com. See, for example, Sofrito: The Heart of a Puerto Rican Meal, April 15, 1998, and Hispanic Group Cherishes Food, Heritage at Maui Festival, September 2, 2007, *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*.

7. The form *gandude* represents an attempt to render the Spanish tap or flap [ɾ] in English orthography, where an intervocalic <t, tt, d, dd> is also tapped or flapped in American English; that is, said consonants in intervocalic position are pronounced like the simple vibrant in Spanish. For example, compare the pronunciation of pairs like *write* and *ride* (easily distinguishable) to *writer* and *rider*. In the latter pair, the <t, d> is flapped or tapped (and is voiced, in the case of /t/), and the pair becomes homonymic in normal, relaxed conversation. See Whitley (2002: 57–58) for further details on this phenomenon.

8. Both *litsun* and *litson* provide evidence of vowel raising. In other words, the two mid-vowels [o,u] are realized as high vowels [i, u] in the first case. Since we have seen examples of other Spanish loanwords in these Filipino languages undergo vowel raising (and lowering), I will assume that it is a regular feature.

9. See the discussion on *boloknife* below. *Bolohead* is likely another loanblend with the figurative meaning of being "scalped" with said tool or weapon, resulting in a "buzz cut" or baldness.

10. This popular collection of "local" expressions, while quite accurate in its definitions and usages, is actually not paginated. On the second page, they list "Ai-Sos or Ai-Zoos," defined as "Sound of Filipino praying." All in all, this is a very enjoyable read, intended for the average "Pidgin" speaker, not the academic.

11. Earlier I provided the synonym *transpose* or *transposition* to help define metathesis. The process may be mutual; two elements may "exchange places," or, as we see in this case, a single element, written as <i> or <y>, shifts its placement. The process is an

important one in historical linguistics, but I suspect it is quite common as well in language contact.

12. A schwa is mid-central vowel represented phonetically as [ə] with the approximate value of "uh." It is a reduced vowel that occurs regularly in unstressed syllables in English. In this case, the two transcriptions correspond to [bəɹɱkɪy] with the vowel reduction (creation of the schwa in the first syllable) and [bɹɱkaɪ] with the schwa deletion in the first syllable (and a diphthong in word-final position). See Whitley (2002: 60–61) for further details.

13. A popular song, "Katchi Katchi Music Makawao," composed and sung by Willie K. (2000), celebrates Local Rican music. Makawao is an up-country Paniolo town on Maui.

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