

SOWING SOCIAL SYNONYMS:
THE INFLUENCE OF AGE, ETHNICITY
AND SOCIAL NETWORKS ON LEXICAL
CHOICE FOR FLORA ITEMS IN
NORTHERN TRINIDAD

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ABSTRACT

Because Trinidad and Tobago is such a culturally and thus linguistically diverse nation, there are many articles about the sociolinguistic situation of the country, with a focus on Trinidadian English Creole and Trinidadian French Creole (Patois). There are also some studies on how social variables like age and education affect citizens' use of these languages. However, the studies that focus on Trinidadian Bhojpuri (Hindustani) generally have not considered the intersection between lexical variation and choice (except for those by Regis, for Dougla-Trinidadians), and language attitudes and context. To fill this gap, using French Creole, Bhojpuri, English and English Creole terms, this study focuses on variation in lexical choices for four flora items in Northern Trinidad in relation to age and ethnicity. An online questionnaire was distributed to 60 residents of this region, who were instructed to pass it on to two other residents, resulting in the collection of only 100 responses, rather than 180. The data were used to discover trends in their lexical choices, by analysing their responses from the perspective of their ages and ethnicities, together with the frameworks of audience design and social network theory. Generally, it was discovered that the Indo-Trinidadians who responded to the questionnaire, tend to use Bhojpuri variants, such as *baigan* and *bandhania*, while Afro-Trinidadians in the group use French Creole-origin ones, like *chadon beni*. That being said, some terms like *baigan*, *chadon beni*, and *zaboca* appear to be popular among the population sample regardless of ethnicity, suggesting that they are now fully ingrained in Trinidadian English Creole lexicon. The moribundity of Patois and Bhojpuri was also confirmed, because of English dominance, especially due to the increasing prevalence of social media among the younger generations. Hence, further studies should be conducted to examine the influence of social media on lexical choice in Trinidad, specifically between English and English Creole terms.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

TB - Trinidadian Bhojpuri

TrinEC - Trinidadian English Creole

TFC - Trinidadian French Creole

TTSE - Trinidad and Tobago Standard English

STATEMENT OF ORIGINAL AUTHORSHIP

The work contained in this thesis has not been previously submitted to meet requirements for an award at this or any other higher education institution. To the best of our knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Language variation is a branch of sociolinguistics which concerns the systematic ways in which languages change due to different social and discourse factors. For this project, we study lexical choice, which is the process by which speakers select a single appropriate word, or lexical variant, from their sociolinguistic repertoire of multiple similar variants for each specific conversation. Specifically, we examine this through the popular discourse factor, language use, and the anthropological theory of social network analysis, which is essentially the study of how a social group affects each of its members' behaviour.

Lexical choice is particularly pertinent to Trinidad and Tobago, because it is a uniquely diverse nation, with an extensive history of different ethnicities settling in the islands, bringing their own cultures, and more relevantly, their many languages. Even though many of these languages are dying, like Trinidadian French Creole (TFC) (brought from varieties created from the interactions between French enslavers and enslaved Africans), and like Trinidadian Bhojpurī (TB) (one of the languages brought by the Indian indentured labourers after emancipation), Winer asserts that these languages have survived through their “creolisation” (“Creole in the Kitchen” 3) into the lexicon of the vital, dominant languages of English and English Creole, specifically through flora terms. Thus, there is the situation of Trinidadians having to select, for example, one lexical variant, from several of different linguistic origins, all referring to the same food item.

Within this diverse linguistic landscape, which has provided many lexical variants for locals to choose from, we have noticed that certain lexical items have been used over others, such as *melongene* (archaically spelled as <malanagene> and referred to as *balangen*, *balangene*, *ballangine*) and *baigan* (also *bigan*, *bhaigan* and *bygan*) over *eggplant* (*Solanum melongena* L.; 2n = 24). Furthermore, certain trends in these variations have become obvious to us where it intersects with specific factors such as age and ethnicity. For example, people

of Indian descent tend to refer to said vegetable as *baigan*, those of African descent as *melongene*, and people belonging to Generation X or older as *aubergine*. Therefore, we aim to find out whether lexical variation in Trinidad and Tobago is based on social factors, such as ethnicity and age, or anthropological frameworks like social network analysis, or both. To accomplish this, we distributed the questionnaire to 60 people who lived in Northern Trinidad, which includes towns like Tunapuna, Sangre Grande, and Port-of-Spain, which are rather socially diverse like the entire nation. At the end of the questionnaire, we asked participants to share it to two other individuals within their social network who were not their family and lived in North Trinidad, with the intention of collecting 180 responses, but we only received 100.

In addition, this study has significant implications for TFC and TB, which have chiefly been studied through a retentionist lens, rarely a variationist one, and in very few cases, with social factors and social network analysis as variables. These languages may also enjoy renewed appreciation, and hence, a boost in a target audience for revitalisation projects from both participants and readers of this study.

Finally, concerning the structure of this project, the second chapter features a review of the relevant literature, Chapter Three outlines the methodology, including the sampling and methods of data collection and analysis, while Chapter Four presents and analyses the results of this data collection, using the social factors, social network theory, and supplemental literature. Lastly, Chapter Five summarises all this information, precipitating areas for future research.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Trinidad and Tobago has a diverse linguistic history, which has greatly contributed to the lexicon in the English and English Creole languages. This has resulted in allonymy which involves alternative names for the same referent, usually due to language contact (Kozlova et al. 83). Hence, the national population has access to and uses a variety of lexical items (words) to refer to the same entity, which is called lexical variation. A rule of allonymic groups is that it includes “an item which has the largest area of functioning” – the dominant, or “primary” allonym (Kozlova et al. 85).

Flora items are a particularly interesting group within allonymy, because they are given a standard scientific name mainly in Latin and Greek, usually derived from a pre-existing common name based on, for example, Amerindian languages, as is the case with *Chrysobalanus icaco* and Taino’s *zeekak* (pork fat). However, these language communities often come into contact with languages who lack this influence and, thus, have their own flora terms, such as *baigan* in Bhojpuri, which enter the Creole vernacular. In these situations, the common term from which Latin is derived is not always the dominant one, necessitating an investigation into the factors that cause this.

In fact, lexicographical botanists face challenges such as one plant may have different names in a single country and this can be seen in the *Dictionary of the English/Creole of Trinidad and Tobago* where “of the 1,143 plant species that have common names, 897 (approximately 78%) have more than one common name” (Baksh-Comeau and Winer 55). The common names that are used in Trinidad and Tobago to refer to flora also “indicate a certain closeness and feeling of attachment, as well as, contribute to national identity” (Baksh-Comeau and Winer 53). This is reinforced by Trinidad and Tobago’s “long tradition...of writing the vernacular TTEC and English” (Baksh-Comeau and Winer 47).

2.1. History of French Creole, Bhojpuri and Trinidadian English Creole

Including before 1498, with almost six centuries of extensive language contact among speakers of various languages, Trinidad is thought to have one of the most diverse linguistic backgrounds of any Caribbean island (James 6). Trinidad, the focus of this study, was initially discovered and occupied by the indigenous people who spoke several different Arawakan (Ta-Maipurean) and Cariban languages, making it an already linguistically diverse environment, then they were colonized by the Spanish (Baksh-Comeau and Winer 37-38). In order to develop the colony, the Cedula of 1783 was implemented to encourage migration to the island, resulting in a large influx of French Catholics from the French West Indies. With their arrival, they brought their languages, French and French Creole (Patois), to the shores of Trinidad. French Creole native speakers became a sizable proportion of the population and the language served as the lingua franca of Trinidad for more than a century, from 1783 until the late 19th century (Ferreira, “The History of Trinidad and Tobago’s Languages” 5).

In 1797, the Spanish colony was captured by Britain and formally ceded in 1802. In 1814, Governor Ralph Woodford made efforts to introduce English in the law courts and in other areas of public life, but French still dominated (Ferreira, “Trinidad’s French Creole” 112). English became the official language of Trinidad in 1823 which is more than two decades after the British took rule over the island (Holm 350). The French language was deliberately targeted and gradually taken away from the speakers as a result of the British challenge to French dominance, particularly because language is the “chief culture marker for most groups” (Ferreira, “The Sociolinguistic Situation of Trinidad & Tobago” 3). Only in 1851, was English introduced via primary schools, initiating the beginning of the end for nearly all other languages on the island (Ferreira, “Trinidad's French Creole Linguistic and Cultural Heritage” 112).

With the full emancipation of the enslaved Africans in 1838 in Trinidad, new labour was sourced from different territories such as China, Portugal (mainly Madeira), the USA, Ireland, Scotland, India, and other West Indian colonies. However, the Indian indentured labourers were considered the most reliable. They were brought to Trinidad between 1845 and 1917, and Bhojpuri speakers were the heart of the first well-established Indian community in Trinidad (Mohan 22). According to Mohan (28-29), the language of TB faded into obscurity due to Canadian Missionary primary schools targeting the Indian children to convert them to Christianity. In these schools, children were exposed to English at a young age, through socialisation with other children of their own age. Moreover, the missionaries took advantage of the economic insecurity of the Indians and education conducted in English as a way of integration into the British state.

Migration of English-speaking West Indians from other Caribbean islands from 1900 onwards also helped in reinforcing the position of English (Winford, “Creole’s Culture” 37). Thus, the influences of French, French Creole, English and the English Creoles of other West Indian territories have resulted in the formation of Trinidadian English Creole (TrinEC) which is one of the national languages of the country (Winford “Creole’s Culture” 41-42). In addition to language education policies, etc., the increasing dominance of TrinEC has contributed to both TFC and TB dying out in Trinidad (Ferreira “Trinidad’s French Creole” 113; Sealey and Aquino 18).

2.2. Language Attitudes

For Trinidad, there is relatively very little research on the language attitudes to Trinidadian English, TrinEC, TFC, and TB. In a study done by Winford in 1976, TrinEC was stigmatised by teachers and labelled as “bad English” where they did not view TrinEC as having its own grammatical system or having a different grammatical system from English, and TrinEC was deemed appropriate only in informal domains (“Teacher Attitudes” 58).

Despite the positive attitudes towards English, particularly Standard English, its consistent usage was considered “annoying” in informal settings since participants perceived that it indicated reservedness and that the speakers were pretentious (Warner 159). In a later study in 1993 conducted by Mühleisen, language attitudes to TrinEC have greatly improved, where many see it as a marker of identity (especially when some Trinidadians in another country meet other Trinidadians) and acknowledge it as a language in its own right (“Attitudes toward Language Varieties” 65). However, both studies found that TrinEC and Trinidad and Tobago Standard English (TTSE) were for the most part used in certain domains like the professional sphere, but Mühleisen found that the usage of TTSE was not as restricted to specific domains as before where there was greater use of TrinEC in certain genres of media and politics (Winford, “Language Attitudes” 61; Mühleisen, “Attitudes towards Language Varieties” 67).

In a study of Paramin, the language attitudes of TFC speakers defined their language as ‘broken French’ but ironically, it was generally not considered inferior to French. Some were indifferent to the language, but most held positive and nostalgic attitudes towards it, especially among the formally educated (Ferreira and Holbrook, “Are They Dying?” 14-15). In a pilot study, teachers from the Paramin R.C. School were highly interested in learning TFC and at the end, they expressed enthusiasm about it and have made attempts to incorporate it within school assemblies and other activities (Ferreira and Holbrook, “Are They Dying?” 14-15). TFC speakers perceived the language as a distinct marker of their in-group identity and solidarity, and in Paramin, they held certain events in their language such as “the annual Dimanche Gras (pre-Carnival) Patois mass, other masses with Patois songs (including the Christmas crèche songs), traditional rites and rituals such as wakes” (Ferreira “Trinidad’s French Creole” 116 cf. Sealey and Aquing 15), in which Patois is an autonym for the exonym, TFC. Generally speaking, it was used in informal situations or settings but depends on certain factors such as age of interlocutors, topic, presence of a third

party or presence of a stranger (Dopson-Morris 27). However, they perceived English as the language of progress and social mobility and did not see it as a threat to TFC; their only concern was that English would completely displace TFC (Dopson-Morris 31).

Meanwhile, the only documented evidence of language attitudes towards Bhojpuri is that it was considered a deficient Hindi, and thus had lower prestige, even before it arrived in Trinidad (Mohan 21-23). TB speakers often refer to it as ‘broken Hindi’ or ‘bad Hindi’ and it was often compared to what was heard in Indian cinema, songs and within services at Hindu temples (Sealey and Aquino 17; Mahabir 22). However, relatively little focused, systematic or comparative research has been done on the language attitudes of the general public towards French Creole and Bhojpuri within one study.

2.3. Language Loss

Language loss or death is defined by Jaspaert and Kroon as an alteration in an individual’s level of language proficiency and language shift as a change in language utilisation within a minority group (80).

In Joseph’s project, she asserts that it is commonly agreed upon by many researchers that language shift is largely impacted by language attitudes, especially when looking at TFC (11). For example, the older generation of TFC speakers were reluctant to speak it with the younger generation, which is one reason for language loss (11). In Fishman’s book *Reversing Language Shift*, he proposed eight stages of language loss, in which the eighth stage is parallel to the situation in Trinidad; Joseph stated that TFC has reached that stage in language loss in Trinidad, where only a few elderly people speak the language as their first language (Fishman 88; Joseph 47). Thus, TFC is a dying language.

In a study done by Dopson-Morris in 1982, inhabitants of Paramin who were over 49 years old learnt TFC as their first language and learnt English in school, while those under 49 learnt English as their first language within the home (18). An effort was made in the 1930s

to teach children English, rather than TFC (Dopson-Morris 19). TFC was previously used when speaking to family and friends, joke-telling, intimate conversations, proverbs, folklore, expressing emotion, passing down traditions and customs and singing calypso, but its functions and domains were limited, as it was quickly substituted by TrinEC after the 1900s (Winford “Creole’s Culture” 51).

TB has become a dying language since the number of speakers are declining due to no children speaking the language. In 1983, Sealey and Aquing’s study found that most TB monolinguals were over 75 years old, while TrinEC/TB bilinguals were between 55 and 75 years old and those under 55 were usually TrinEC monolinguals (18). TB monolinguals are often located in isolated, rural, agricultural areas with high Indian populations, while bilinguals were a product of an education that was provided by the Canadian missionary schools and exposure to TB (Sealey and Aquing 18).

In the language change/replacement process, most times, the third generation feels the sense of cultural loss the most because the older generation still has the language, the middle-aged purposefully did not want to learn the language, but the younger generation was not given a proper opportunity to learn the language (Schneider 209). The “shift” away from the community’s mother tongue and toward another language starts when the latter gains traction and is adopted by the youth, who are the ones who determine the language’s survival (Ferreira, “The Portuguese Language in Trinidad and Tobago” 69).

2.4. Vestiges of Trinidadian French Creole and Trinidadian Bhojpuri Today

The vocabulary and terminology of TrinEC have been heavily influenced by TFC (Ferreira, “Trinidad’s French Creole Linguistic and Cultural Heritage” 111). According to research conducted by Joseph in Beausejour, Diego Martin, the most French-lexical retentions were found in Carnival and Folklore, subsequently followed by Fauna then Flora,

and lastly, Folk Medicine with the least number of retentions (49). French and TFC retentions can be abundantly found when mentioning fauna; for example, the word *crapaud* is commonly used to refer to a frog (Michaelis et al. 67). According to Ferreira, there are 274 common names of birds of French and TFC provenance in Winer's *Dictionary of English/Creole of Trinidad & Tobago: On Historical Principles*, and 276 common names of plants and trees with French and TFC origin in terms of flora (Ferreira "Trinidad's French Creole Linguistic and Cultural Heritage" 118). The many toponyms, idioms, and lexical terms used during Carnival celebrations are just a few examples of how Patois words are still used in Trinidadian speech and recent research by Leps suggests that language shift from TFC to TrinEC is happening more quickly as younger generations are not being exposed to TFC and are losing touch with TFC words and expressions (27).

As for TB, it has become a distinct marker of Indo-Trinidadian culture, even though the use of TB is limited to "lexical items relating particularly to the domains of religion, food and kitchen, kinship and abuses" (Mahabir 22). In particular, many popular Indo-Trinidadian dishes are seen as local and have "been naturalized into general Trinidad English (Creole) usage" (Winer, "Creole Kitchen" 5; Mahabir 22). TB lexical items are also used within the indigenous art form, chutney. In addition, TB lexicon persists in the writings of Indo-Trinidadian novelists like Seepersad Naipaul, Samuel Selvon and sometimes in the literature of non-Indo-Trinidadians such as Derek Walcott, who is not even Trinidadian but St. Lucian, where a glossary is not needed to define these terms (Mahabir 24; Winer, "Indic Lexicon" 10).

2.5. Language Variation in relation to Ethnicity and Age

As aforementioned, several elements influence language variation. Firstly, Drummond and Schleef assert that "a significant proportion of variation can be attributed to social

reasons” (50), which are usually relatively broad and of a census-type macrosociological nature, such as gender, social class, age and ethnicity (51). For instance, ethnicity is determined through social characteristics defined along the lines used in governmental censuses, including religious background, national origin, native language, food, literature, folklore and music, as well as other cultural markers (Leets et al. 116), wherein the members of an ethnic group may or may not belong to the same race, which pertains to biological physical traits such as skin colour, hair texture and eye shape (Waters 167). Noels adds that ethnicity is also assessed through subjective assessments of personal experience (89), with Cameron suggesting a tripartite model for ethnicity identification: “(1) the centrality or the importance of the ethnic group to one’s sense of self, (2) in-group affect, or one’s sense of esteem associated with this membership, and (3) in-group ties or a sense of connectedness to the group” (241).

Furthermore, age is defined as “the measure of the time elapsed from the date of live birth to a specific point in time, usually the date of collection of the data” (Australian Bureau of Statistics). In sociolinguistics, this more biological definition contrasts -- and even works in tandem with -- social age, which Eckert considers as a person’s place at a given time according to the social order: namely a life stage of childhood, adolescence, adulthood or old age, as well as the history of the person, of their community, and of society (1).

There are two types of time: real and apparent. Real time is time measured with calendars and clocks and because of this, it is objective. Real-time studies interview the same speakers from the same speech community at different points in time to detect historical change within the community. Conversely, apparent time is time measured by age at a specific point in time (Eckert 1), and its studies analyse the speech of a sample of people of different ages, and assume that patterns of variation between these age groups indicate that a change is in progress in the community (Cheshire 8). Apparent time is subjective, determined

by individuals using different criteria, exemplified by the varying segregations of the generations among sociologists. For example, Dimock affirms Generation Z is born from 1997 to 2012, but the Center for Generational Kinetics argues that they range from 1996 to 2015, which is why this type of time is dubbed “generation-specific” by Cheshire (1). However, she recognises that apparent time is problematic, because behaviour that may be assumed to be generation-specific, may actually be the result of age-grading (8), which refers to a change in linguistic habits with age that happens to every individual speaker (3).

2.6. Previous Variationist Studies and Language Choice Studies in the Caribbean

There is a plethora of studies examining the effect of these social and audience factors on language variation, but relatively few have been done on French Creole in the English-official Caribbean. One of these studies by Mitchell and Mopsus concerns the variation in and the attitudes toward the usage of St. Lucian French Creole (Kwéyòl) in St. Croix, in the U.S. Virgin Islands, along gender and education lines. They found that male speakers generally use Kwéyòl more than their female counterparts, with the more highly-educated participants, irrespective of gender, restricting Kwéyòl use to the home, while less-educated ones were more likely to use it in other locations, like the workplace (6). The majority of respondents harboured positive feelings toward French Creole, such as it is “beautiful, the best”, “different, unique, special” and “beneficial” (7).

Furthermore, a study was done by Regis about the influence of the ethnicity identity of Douglas on lexical choice, where Bhojpuri was one of the linguistic sources for their lexicon. The definition of who is classified as a Douglas is more complex than a person simply sharing Indian and African lineage since “the degree of this mixture is always a cause for contention” and this has hindered the establishment of a distinct Douglas identity (Regis, “The Trinidad Douglas” 13). Regis focused on terms associated with cooking, kinship and family, folk and cultural terms used among Indo-Trinidadians and lastly, insults and taboos among

Douglas (Regis, “The Trinidad Dougla” 56-67). Thus, Dougla, “like others, would draw from a pool of resources available to them via their community, the linguistic tools needed for social interaction” (Regis, “The Trinidad Dougla” 59). However, it is not feasible to link Douglas to an African lexicon because African words and phrases have become entrenched in TrinEC. This is emphasised by the fact that the Dougla participants of her study do not associate these terms to their African identity since “their provenance is unrecognizable and largely unquestioned” (Regis, “The Trinidad Dougla” 62). Contrastively, Indic terms are more recognizable and can be indexed as markers of alignment to one’s Indo-Trinidadian ethnicity, depending on the frequent usage of these terms. (Regis, “The Trinidad Dougla” 60). Some Afro-Trinidadians and those who lean more to their Afro-roots “attempt to project a distinct identity” and “refrain from employing Indic terms, from eating Indian foods and from participating in Indic cultural and religious observances” (Regis, “The Trinidad Dougla” 63).

2.7. Social Network Analysis

A social network refers to individuals who interact with each other regularly, resulting in the formation of interpersonal relationships (Swan et al. 283; Holmes and Wilson 271). By studying social networks, language is refocused from the social variable of a speaker to the nature of interaction between a speaker and other people (Holmes and Wilson 271). Once someone is embedded within a social network, it will be influential in the selection of one’s linguistic style and consequently, a person’s will signal what network they belong to (Sharma and Dodsworth 342; Holmes and Wilson 273). A person may belong to more than one network and subconsciously change their speech when shifting from one context to another (Holmes and Wilson 273). Social network analysis involves the usage of tools and concepts by researchers to describe the structural nature of these relationships (Swan et al. 283). Social

network analysis has been used as an analytical framework to determine language variation. As proposed by Milroy, a linguistic variant might act as “network marker” (157).

Within social network analysis, the term ‘ethnic homophily’ is “the proportion of same-ethnicity ties in a network” and this often fortifies the usage of vernacular linguistic forms (Sharma and Dodsworth 352; Stoessel 124). In Stoessel’s study of immigrant women in the US, it was found that the number of L1 speakers within a strong social network was important in language maintenance of their ethnic language in the host country. If these individuals had weak ties with L1 speakers, they often shifted to the dominant language, American English (Stoessel 124). However, ethnicity does not always correlate with the use of ethnic variants nor is it consistent across variables or individuals (Sharma and Dodsworth 352).

That being said, sometimes the selection of one’s speech style is for the sake of accommodation of the interlocutor’s speech style, rather than an act of ethnic identity (Sharma and Dodsworth 352). A study done in East London looked at whether or not ethnicity was a significant factor of variation in spoken English of young working-class people; whether a speaker’s friend group encouraged linguistic innovation within phonology and if the latter interacts with the former. It was found that the seven speakers had large friendship groups that were multi-ethnic in nature, and they were more prone to using innovations than the others (Cheshire et al., 22). They proposed that because these people had dominant personalities among their friend groups, they engaged in the act of ‘brokering’ which refers to the “use of multi membership to transfer some element of one practice into another” (Wenger 109; Cheshire et al., 23). Some people tend to be very adept at being ‘brokers’, “regularly creating connections and engaging in ‘import-export’” (Wenger 109; Cheshire et. al 23).

The intersection between social networks and the factor of age in sociolinguistic studies is seen as inevitable according to Sharma and Dodsworth (352). They stated, “networks inevitably change over the course of an individual’s life span, and cultural norms and patterns of social engagement are never entirely stable over time” (Sharma and Dodsworth 352). Because a community is made up of people, it is always dynamic and “may change its patterns of contact and values because of changes in cultural practice, social norms, urbanization, mobility, mechanization of work, social independence, and many other factors, and these changes can in turn affect whether and how networks influence language variation” (Sharma and Dodsworth 352). In a study on Detroit inner-city residents integrating into their neighbourhood, Edwards found that participants in the older age groups (40–59, 60+) were more likely to choose Black English variants than respondents in the younger age groups (18–25, 26–39) (112).

However, there are no known or accessible studies about the impact that social networks have on influencing one’s linguistic choices within Trinidad and Tobago.

2.8. Addressing the Gaps

Evidently, there is a need to fill this absence of studies on language attitudes towards the multiple linguistic sources of the country’s English Creole and English lexicon, in relation to social factors such as age and ethnicity in influencing lexical choice. This is a particularly critical gap as TFC lexical items would be competing with the equivalent items from other languages such as TB, which is ethnically coded to Indian descendants, as well as with English, the official language. As aforementioned, TFC terms, in particular, usually survive through flora, and this domain has not singularly been concentrated on before in variationist and retentionist studies. Extra-linguistic factors such as context, solidarity and prestige have also never been examined, much less paired with the more popular social factors, in TFC studies.

Hence, we intend to address these elements for research with the following question: To what extent do age and ethnicity influence the lexical choice between variants for food items in Northern Trinidad, namely between *avocado*, *avocado pear*, *pear* (*Persea americana*) and *zaboca*, *aubergine*, *baigan*, *brinjal*, *eggplant* (*Solanum melongena* L.; 2n = 24) and *melongene*, *banana* (*Musa sapientum*) and *fig*, and *bandhania*, *chadon beni*, *cilantro*¹ and *culantro* (*Eryngium foetidum*)? This will be supported by the following sub-questions:

- Which variant is used the most by each ethnic and age group?
- Why is this variant the most used?
- Does this preferred variant change in different contexts, and if so, why?

¹ The scientific name for *cilantro* is *Coriandrum sativum*.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes and rationalises the methodology, research design, and data analysis of the project, while addressing the limitations and ethical concerns of these methods.

3.1. The Case Study

Primarily, the methodological approach chosen for this project was the case study. This approach is the detailed analysis of a single case: “single person (e.g., a language learner), a group of people (teachers of a particular course), or a phenomenon (e.g., providing feedback to students) in a particular context with which the researcher has developed some ties or interests” (Riazi 25). For this investigation, the case was the residents of Northern Trinidad, specifically Diego Martin, Port-of-Spain, San Juan-Laventille, Tunapuna-Piarco and Sangre Grande, which we designated based on the 1990 map of Trinidad and Tobago’s regions, municipalities and wards (see figure 1).

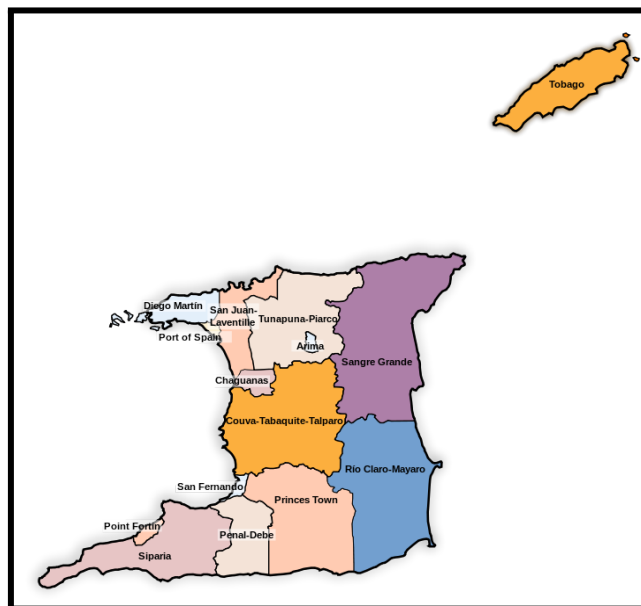


Figure 1. Labelled Map of the Regions, Municipalities and Wards of Trinidad and Tobago

We preferred the case study methodology because unlike most approaches, its purpose is to be both “descriptive and... explanatory” (Riazi 26). As aforementioned, we have observed, and been curious about, variation in lexical choice for the food items in question in

our daily lives, so we intend to systematically *describe* this phenomenon of lexical variation -- exactly which variants are used, by whom, in which contexts, etc. -- then *explain* this lexical choice and variation with social and extra-linguistic factors, and perhaps even frameworks determined by our intuitive analysis of the phenomenon, namely language shift from TFC, and even TB, to TTSE and TrinEC.

3.2. Participants

Evidently, the group of people forming the case for the study was necessarily narrowed for feasibility. Firstly, Northern Trinidad was selected as the study's area of focus where participants came from multiple ethnicities: 43 Indo participants, 29 Afro, 11 Dougla, and 17 Mixed (other). A number of them came from backgrounds where their family spoke a language or multiple languages (see table 1). In addition, our sample initially focused on the three generations, Generation X, Y and Z, which accounted for 36, 29, and 31 individuals, respectively. However, four respondents belong to the Baby Boomer Generation.

Table 1

Number of Respondents Whose Families Spoke a Different Language, Alongside Their Ethnicity

Number of Participants	Ethnicity	Linguistic Background (other than English/English Creole)
5	Afro-Trinidadian	Patois
15	Indo-Trinidadian	Bhojpuri
2	Indo-Trinidadian	Bhojpuri and Patois
2	Dougla-Trinidadian	Patois
1	Dougla-Trinidadian	Bhojpuri
2	Mixed-race Trinidadian	Patois
1	Mixed-race Trinidadian	Patois and Chinese
3	Mixed-race Trinidadian	Patois and Spanish
1	Mixed-race Trinidadian	Spanish
1	Mixed-race Trinidadian	Patois, Bhojpuri and Spanish

3.3. Data Collection

Although “case studies are predominantly qualitative”, this project chiefly analysed the frequency of each of the variants within each age and ethnicity, which is numerical, thereby necessitating quantitative data. Consequently, the data collection method employed was an electronic questionnaire, with 35 simply-worded, non-invasive (not inquiring about their income, sexual orientation and activity, abuse, addiction, etc.), multiple-choice questions (see Appendix).

Regarding sampling, the broad population of Northern Trinidadians was reduced into a sample size using stratified sampling. The strata were already evident from the social factors of age and ethnicity. For age, we used the three most populous generations of the general population, as indicated by the Central Statistics Office (16): Generation Z, Millennials and Generation X. We defined these according to Dimock: Generation Z born from 1997 to 2012, Millennials from 1981 to 1996, and Generation X from 1965 to 1980. For ethnicity, we used all the ethnicities delineated by Brereton et al. above. Since, as aforementioned, the apparent time of generations is subjective, and ethnicity is often conflated with race, we included these definitions in the questionnaire to allay any befuddlement of the participants that may compromise the reliability of their responses.

From Tuesday 9 April to Wednesday 17 April 2024, each of the three investigators distributed the questionnaire to 20 people in their neighbourhood, totalling 60 respondents. Then, applying snowballing sampling, these 60 respondents were asked to share the questionnaire with two people outside their family, who belong to a different generation to themselves and also live in Northern Trinidad, welcoming an additional 120 respondents, and intending to gain a total of 180 respondents. However, not all respondents were able to send it to two people, so there were ultimately 100 participants. In any case, this total, along with the numbers for each stratum reflecting the aforementioned ratio of the general population (43

Indo participants, 29 Afro, 11 Dougla, 17 Mixed (other)), allowed us to discern general trends for the Northern population.

The questionnaire was deemed apt because it was time-efficient compared to the sociolinguistic interview, and allowed the interpretation of statistics through graphs, making it easier to compare the variation patterns of each ethnic and age group.

However, with questionnaires, respondents often experience a certain ‘survey fatigue’ whereby they tire of too many questions, resulting in them not answering some questions or answering them superficially, thereby compromising the robustness of the data. We circumvented this issue by using close-ended questions for the majority of the questionnaire, in conjunction with separating them into five short sections and making the response to questions that are critical to analysis mandatory — respondents could not submit the questionnaire until these mandatory questions were answered.

Google Forms’ automatic tabulation of the responses minimised human error, and the anonymity and lack of ethical violations of Google Forms encouraged respondents’ honesty, increasing data reliability.

3.4. Data Analysis

This study situated lexical variation as being influenced by one’s social network, with specific attention to one’s age group and ethnic group. This is because one’s lexical choices are often, but not always, reinforced through exposure to another individual’s language style, specifically those that make up their social networks. Thus, a person may adopt the usage of certain lexical items in order to project an image that aligns with the identity of the group that they want acceptance from, such as people of the same/different ethnicity or age. Moreover, variation is also dependent on the context of a given conversation, pertaining not only to the individuals involved, but the topic and the setting as well. Therefore, the framework of analysis is shaped by social network theory and audience design.

3.4.1. Theoretical Framework Using Social Network Theory and Its Influence on Research Design

A social network refers to individuals who interact with each other regularly, resulting in the formation of interpersonal relationships. Social network analysis involves the usage of tools and concepts by researchers to describe the structural nature of these relationships. Anchorage refers to a network from the perspective of one person, and general statements will be made about the social relationships that person has with other people. This one person is the focus called the ego, from which lines radiate, while the people with whom the ego comes into contact are the alters. The people who are directly linked to the ego make up the first order network zone (Milroy 46), as illustrated in figure 2 from Degenne and Forse (26).

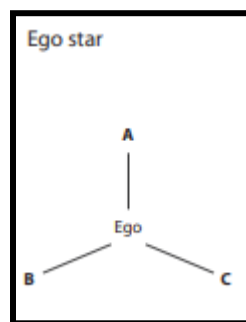


Figure 2. Diagram of an Ego and its Alters as the First Order Network Zone

We intended to investigate whether the relationships between individuals of the same age and/or ethnicity reinforce the use of markers related to one's ethnic and/or age identity. We are selecting ego-star network analysis, which is defined as focusing “on the number and nature of ties reported by individuals, but does not aim to describe how everyone is connected to each other within a given community” (Swan et al. 283). The benefits of this data collection method are that it is quick and easy since it does not require access to the entire community, and that the ego star requires participants to provide some information about their network while allowing for stratified sampling since participants do not need to be

linked to each other (Sharma and Dodsworth 343). However, the participants' self-report may not always be reliable (Sharma and Dodsworth 345).

Our first section in the questionnaire focused on collecting ego-star information, gathering network data on one's family and friend group, while comparing the variants that each respondent uses with each social context to discern any correlation with the factors of age and ethnicity. Questions 3), 4) and 5) collected information about the ethnicity of one's family, while questions 6), 7) and 8) investigated the ethnicity of one's friend group. Question 6) was an index for ethnicity on a scale from 1-6, each number with a specific percentage of many friends of the same or different ethnicity that a participant has. Below is the range that was used:

1	= OVER 80% of a different ethnicity/different ethnicities
2	= UP TO 80% of a different ethnicity/different ethnicities
3	= up to 60% of a different ethnicity/different ethnicities
4	= up to 40% of a different ethnicity/different ethnicities
5	= up to 20% of a different ethnicity/different ethnicities
6	= all friends are the same ethnicity as self

Figure 3. Ethnicity Index for Question 6) of the Questionnaire

Questions 8) and 9) pertained to the age of individuals that made up a participant's friend group. This was used to see how influential these relationships are regarding one's lexical choice: their decision to choose one lexical item over another may signal their ethnic or age identity.

Question 10) inquired about any non-English languages the respondents' families might have spoken, which may, in turn, influence any non-English variants they may use.

In the following four sections of the questionnaire, each section was concerned with a different food item where respondents were shown a picture, and they were asked to choose

which variant they preferred to use to identify the item and where they learnt it from, to make clear connections between the social network whether they learnt it from and social aspects of the network such as age and ethnicity that were collected in the first section. These elements worked in tandem to allow us to gather frequency data of preferred lexical variants to determine whether certain choices are influenced by one's social network group being composed of individuals of a particular age group or ethnicity.

3.4.2. Theoretical Framework Using Audience Design and Its Influence on Research Design

Audience design is a sociolinguistic model that accounts for one's shift in language style being influenced by the nature of a speaker's audience for the purpose of creating solidarity or distancing themselves, with the main goal being to gain approval from the intended audience.

Within our questionnaire, each section dealing with a food item, asked whether or not their preferred lexical variant changed (Questions 13, 19, 25, and 31), to which other variant it changed to (Questions 14, 20, 26, and 32) and under which context (Questions 15, 21, 27, and 33). With subjective questions like when and why the variant was used, respondents were provided a wide range of options in the multiple choice -- at least five -- with the opportunity to write out their own answers, if the default responses were not applicable. The choices that were used for the question asking about the preferred variant were repeated for the changed variant and this question was followed by another one that enquired about the reason for this change (Questions 16, 22, 28, and 34).

CHAPTER 4: PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

As outlined in the previous chapter, the questionnaire first gathered bio-sociological data about the respondents, such as their ages and ethnicities, those of their friends and family, as well as the languages spoken by their families. Then, the participants were asked to indicate their preferred variant for each of the four food items, and whether this variant changed under any circumstances. This chapter will present these lexical choices against the bio-sociological data, from the first item to the last (according to how they were ordered in the questionnaire), and explain any patterns of correlation that appear, in order to answer the three research questions (RQs).

4.1. Food Item #1 (Eggplant/Melongene/Aubergine/Baigan/Brinjal)

Table 2

Number of Respondents for Each Variant, according to Ethnicity, Age, and Reason for Choice

Lexical Variant	Indo (43)						Afro (29)							
	Z (36)		Millennial (29)		X (31)	Boomer (4)	Z (36)		Millennial (29)		X (31)	Boomer (4)		
	Learned from parents and family (14)	Learned from media (1)	Learned from parents and family (12)	Other ("I am in Agriculture") (1)	Learned from parents and family (12)	Learned from parents and family (3)	Learned from parents and family (9)	Learned from friends (1)	Learned from parents and family (10)	Learned from friends (1)	Learned from parents and family (8)			
Eggplant	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0		
Melongene	0	0	0	0	0	1	7 *1 comes from Patois-speaking family *1 comes from Spanish-Patois-speaking family	0	8 *2 come from Patois-speaking families	0	5	0		
Aubergine	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Baigan	14 *4 come from Bhojpuri-speaking families *1 comes from Bhojpuri-Patois-speaking family	0	12 *2 come from Bhojpuri-speaking families *1 comes from Bhojpuri-Spanish-speaking family	0	10 *6 come from Bhojpuri-speaking families *1 comes from Bhojpuri-Patois-speaking family	2 *1 comes from Bhojpuri-speaking family	1	1	2	1	2 *1 comes from Patois-speaking family	0		
Brinjal	0	0	0	0	2 *1 comes from Bhojpuri-speaking family	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Other ("All above")	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Lexical Variant	Douglas (11)						Mixed (17)							
	Z (36)		Millennial (29)		X (30)	Boomer (4)	Z (37)			Millennial (29)		X (31)	Boomer (4)	
	Learned from parents and family (1)		Learned from parents and family (4)		Learned from parents and family (6)		Learned from parents and family (8)	Learned from media (2)	Never heard of the other terms (1)	Learned from parents and family (1)		Learned from parents and family (3)	Learned from friends (2)	Learned from parents and family (1)
Eggplant	0		0		0	0	0	2	1	1		0	1	0
Melongene	0		2 *1 comes from Patois-speaking family		0	0	0	0	0	0		1	0	1
Aubergine	0		0		0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0
Baigan	1		2		6 *1 comes from Bhojpuri-speaking family *1 comes from Spanish-Patois-speaking family	0	7	0	0	0		2	1	0
Brinjal	0		0		0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0
Other ("All above")	0		0		0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0

This table highlights the number of respondents who come from families who spoke languages in addition to English and English Creole, as gleaned from question 10 of the questionnaire. If the family speaks only English, they are not flagged.

To begin, to answer RQ1, as table 2 illustrates, Indo-Trinidadians use the *baigan* variant the most, exclusively learning the term from their families (in response to RQ2). Most likely, this is because *baigan* is a word of Bhojpuri origin, Bhojpuri being the lingua franca among the 20 languages that were spoken by the Indo-Trinidadians' ancestors who came to Trinidad. As evidence, 18 of the 38 Indo respondents who say *baigan* come from families who spoke Bhojpuri. Evidently, these respondents who come from TB backgrounds represent the minority, demonstrating the “obsolescent” (Ferreira, “Caribbean Languages” 139) status of Bhojpuri in Trinidad; the language is “slowly but surely disappearing” (Ferreira, “Caribbean Languages” 140) because its older speakers are not transmitting it to their children and grandchildren. Thus, the popularity of *baigan* is more likely due to the entrenchment of the word in TrinEC lexicon than the vitality of the language, with the term being used by all Trinidadian citizens regardless of ethnicity.

This supposition is supported by the fact that the term is the second-most used by Afro-Trinidadian respondents, who have no Indian ancestors and do not originate from Bhojpuri-speaking families. Parenthetically, this adoption of *baigan* by TrinEC may also explain why it surpasses the other Hindi/Bhojpuri variant *brinjal* (two respondents in total, only Generation X Indos), which has not received the same treatment. Notably, *brinjal* is ultimately derived from Arabic via Portuguese, perhaps demonstrating the precedence of non-English languages (and terms) replacing European ones in Trinidadian flora allonymy, a phenomenon which will be explored further below.

Similarly, the most popular variant among Afro-Trinidadians is *melongene* (20 respondents), possibly because, as discussed in Chapter 2, some Afro-Trinidadians use

French Creole variants because they do not wish to compromise their ethnic identity by using Indo terms like *baigan* (Regis, “The Trinidad Dougla”, 63). All these respondents also learned the term from their families, four of which spoke French Creole. This minority of families who spoke Patois signals its moribundity due to lack of cross-generational transference, as explained in Chapter 2, but, interestingly, among these respondents, the younger generations of Z and Millennials use *melongene* more than the oldest Generation X. Not only does this prove Winer’s (“Creole in the Kitchen” 3) earlier assertion that dead and moribund languages survive through flora terms in Creoles, but, perhaps, it also shows that the possibility of Patois revitalisation exists among the youth, aligning with Ferreira and Holbrook’s findings (14) in Chapter 2, since most are already familiar with Patois terms, whether they realise it (through their ancestors having spoken the language) or not. Winer is further validated by the fact that, apart from the aforementioned *brinjal*, the English variants *eggplant* (eight respondents in total) and *aubergine* (0 respondents) are the least popular, even though Trinidad is English-official, foregone in favour of terms of non-English origin.

In addition, two of the 18 aforementioned Indo Bhojpuri-speaking families also spoke TFC, along with one of the seven Afro respondents who say *baigan*. This is noteworthy for two reasons: 1) in contemporary society, Patois heritage continues to transcend ethnic barriers to be known by the general population (even if it is solely through flora terms), ever since the 19th century when it was the lingua franca of Trinidad (Braithwaite and Ferreira “Patois History” par. 10), but 2) this is still not enough to keep the language vital, as the majority of this study’s respondents still choose *baigan*.

With nine respondents, *baigan* is the most used among the Dougla-Trinidadians as with Indo-Trinbagonianians possibly because, unlike the Afro-Trinidadians, they also have Indian ancestors from at least one side of the family, even if only one respondent hails from a Bhojpuri-speaking family. As Douglas have African ancestors, the second-popular and only

other variant used by Douglas is *melongene* (two respondents, with one from a Patois-speaking family).

Once again, *baigan* is the most used among the Mixed-Trinidadians with ten respondents. This is expected because, despite not fitting neatly into any of the previous ethnic groups, as aforementioned, *baigan* appears to be the variant most engrained in Trinidadian language.

Proceeding to age groups, Generation Z uses *baigan* the most (24 respondents), as can be expected from the youngest generation, who usually follows popular trends, like that outlined for *baigan* above. That being said, as one of the least popular variants, *eggplant* is mostly used by Generation Z as well (five of eight respondents), with three learning the term from the media (the only variant to be learned from the media and the only Generation to do so) and one never having heard of the other variants. Thus, the media has a greater influence on Generation Z's lexicon than older generations', especially as out of the four groups, Generation Z spends the most time on social media (Dixon par. 1), where the eggplant emoji () is always mentioned and used. In addition to the vegetable, this emoji has another connotation as representing a penis, which only Generation Z is consistently able to recognise, according to Lu (35). As Millennials are the second-youngest generation, and their most used variant is also *baigan* (17 respondents), this explanation may also apply to this group. Notably, one Millennial uses all the terms because they work in agriculture, where they evidently must know and use all variants to accommodate customers of varying backgrounds who may use any term, thereby introducing profession as an uninvestigated factor in lexical choice.

Finally, Generation X's most used variant is *baigan* (21 respondents), whose parents and family, as a part of the Silent/Traditionalist (born 1925-45) and even the Greatest (born 1901-24) Generations, most likely transferred the term to them, as Bhojpuri was more

prevalent when they and their parents were alive. To a greater extent, this is also true for the oldest Boomer respondents, who exclusively use the ethnic variants of *baigan* and *melongene* (two respondents each).

Table 3

Number of Respondents for Each Variant, according to Their Families' Ethnicities

Lexical Variant	Indo (43)						Afro (29)								
	Option A (39)	Option B (2)		Option C (0)	Option D (2)		Option A (20)	Option B (1)			Option C (5)			Option D (3)	
		Mixed (1)	Indo (1)		Indo (2)			Mixed (1)			Afro, Mixed (2)	Mixed (2)	Indigenous (1)	Afro (2)	Afro, Mixed, Chinese (1)
Eggplant	1	0	0	0	0		1	0			0	0	0	0	1
Melongene	1	0	0	0	0		14	1			2	1	1	1	0
Aubergine	0	0	0	0	0		0	0			0	0	0	0	0
Baigan	34	1	1	0	2		5	0			0	1	0	1	0
Brinjal	2	0	0	0	0		0	0			0	0	0	0	0
Other ("All above")	1	0	0	0	0		0	0			0	0	0	0	0

Lexical Variant	Douglas (11)							Mixed (17)									
	Option A (0)	Option B (1)		Option C (6)			Option D (4)		Option A (1)	Option B (10)				Option C (4)			Option D (2)
		Mixed, Douglas (1)		Afro, Indo (4)	Afro, Indo, Douglas (1)		Afro (1)	Indo (3)		Mixed, Afro, White, Chinese (1)	Chinese, Afro, Indigenous, "Creole French" (1)	Mixed (7)	Douglas, "My father has a Venezuelan parent" (1)	Afro (1)	Indo, Mixed (2)	Mixed (1)	Afro (2)
Eggplant	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	1	0	0
Melongene	0	0		1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Aubergine	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Baigan	0	1		3	1	1	0	3	0	0	1	4	1	1	1	1	1
Brinjal	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other ("All above")	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 3 presents data from questions 3-5 of the questionnaire, which inquire about the ethnicities of the respondents' families to determine if this too has any influence on their lexical choice, i.e. answer RQ2. Option A is "Paternal and maternal sides belong to the same ethnicity", B "The family is too mixed to differentiate", C "Ethnicities of maternal and paternal sides are not the same but both exert equal influence", and D "Ethnicities of maternal and paternal sides are not the same, but the family leans more towards one ethnicity despite more than one ethnic influence."

In the first place, table 3 illustrates that among the respondents who identify as Indo-Trinidadian, their families are least likely to be ethnically diverse, as in most cases, both maternal and paternal sides are Indo (39 respondents), and where they are not the same, the

respondents still favour the side that is Indo (three of four respondents). Due to their exclusion from wider Trinidadian society during indentureship, Indo-Trinidadians came as a distinct group, especially due to their tendency to practise endogamy where they would often marry those of the same ethnicity and religion (Schwartz 59-60). Thus, “endogamous marriages keep Indian culture strong as they perpetuate family structure, cooking styles, language, education, clothing, and religion” (Bunce 128). This may also account for the group’s steadfast retention of their ethnic variant *baigan*: there are no other ethnic groups within their families to influence their lexical choice away from *baigan*. The same can be said for the Afro-Trinidadians, who rarely diverge from their ethnicity within the family, as well as their associated variant *melongene* (20 respondents).

This hypothetical interethnic influence is shown to be a reality with Dougla-Trinidadians: three respondents who lean more towards Indo choose *baigan*, while the one who leans more towards Afro chooses *melongene*, despite all four having both Indo and Afro lineage. However, most Mixed-Trinidadians, even if there are other influences like “Chinese, Afro, Indigenous, Creole French”, “Mixed” and “Afro”, still choose *baigan*.

In tandem with the aforementioned fact that *baigan* is the preferred variant of the general population due to its being embedded in TrinEC, Mixed-Trinidadians may not be as susceptible to ethnic influence swaying their lexical choice as Douglas, because their identity is more of an indistinguishable amalgamation of many different ethnicities. Not to say that Douglas’ identity is binary, but that Mixed-Trinidadians may not even have Indo, Afro and/or Dougla heritage at all, whereas this mix defines the Dougla identity (Regis, “The Dougla in Trinidad” 12)

Furthermore, food is a quintessential aspect of the plural culture of Trinidad, often transcending ethnic boundaries. In fact, Winer asserts that, in particular, Indo-Trinidadian dishes are not considered ‘Creole’, but ‘local’(5), a part of the Trinidadian identity in general.

Therefore, these Indo-Trinidadian dishes whose names reflect their main flora ingredients might be lexically retained more easily by not only Indo-Trinidadians, but other ethnic groups as well. As such, the general popularity of *baigan* may also be due to the pervasiveness of Indian foods, including baigane and baigan choka throughout Trinidad (both being sold by several roti shops, street vendors, and restaurants), the consumption, and even production, of which is not restricted to any one ethnicity.

Table 4

Number of Indo-Trinidadian Respondents who Change Variants, in Relation to Their Network

<u>Generation</u>	<u>Original, Preferred Variant</u>	<u>Changed Variant</u>	<u>Friends Ethnicity</u>	<u>Friends Age</u>	<u>Context for Change</u>	<u>Reason for Change</u>
Generation Z (9)	Baigan (8)	Eggplant (4)	Afro, Mixed, Dougla (2)	Generation Z (2)	Specific dish/variety (2)	Use interchangeably (2)
			Afro, Mixed	Generation Z	With foreigners	Other ("In the case that they are more associated with that term")
			Afro, Indo, Dougla	Generation Z	With parents/family	Use interchangeably
		Melongene (4)	Mixed	Millennial	Other ("In the market")	Use interchangeably
			Afro, Mixed	Generation Z	With friends	Would be made fun of, scolded, or given confused looks
			Afro, Mixed, Dougla	Generation Z	Specific dish/variety	Use interchangeably
			Afro, Indo, Mixed, Dougla, Chinese	Generation Z	With parents/family	Use interchangeably
	Eggplant (1)	Baigan	Afro	Generation Z	With parents/family	Would be made fun of, scolded, or given confused looks
Millennial (8)	Baigan (7)	Eggplant (5)	Afro	Millennial	With colleagues	Use interchangeably
			Indo	Generation X	With friends	Use interchangeably
			Mixed (2)	Generation Z	With foreigners	Comfortable with those people
				Generation X	Specific dish/variety	Other ("Persons may not know the term baigan (foreign restaurants)")
			Afro, Indo, Mixed, Dougla, White, Chinese	Millennial	With parents/family	Comfortable with those people
		Melongene (2)	All of the above	Millennial	With foreigners	Need to impress those people
			Mixed	Millennial	(Response left blank)	Use interchangeably
	Other ("All above") (1)	Other ("All terms used")	Indo	Generation X	Other ("Use language familiar to the group I am with")	Use interchangeably
Generation X (6)	Baigan (6)	Brinjal	Afro, Indo	Generation X	With parents/family	Use interchangeably
		Eggplant (2)	All of the above	Millennial	With foreigners	Use interchangeably
			(Response left blank)	Generation X	With colleagues	Use interchangeably
		Melongene (3)	All of the above (2)	Generation X (2)	With foreigners (2)	Comfortable with those people (2)
			Mixed	Generation X	With foreigners	Use interchangeably
Boomer (2)	Baigan (2)	Melongene	Mixed	Boomer	When alone	Use interchangeably
			Afro, Mixed, Dougla, "Syrian-Trinidadian"	Generation X	Other ("When I can't remember the other name for it")	Use interchangeably

This table only features the respondents who did not use their preferred variant all the time, as indicated in questions 13-16 in the questionnaire. The respondents who do use their variants all the time are not presented.

Table 4 demonstrates that, even though *baigan* is the most popular variant in general, it is still substituted the most under different contexts (23 respondents), usually with *melongene* (11 of the 23 respondents), as the two are typically used interchangeably. This is consistent with the previous data, as these two are the most popular variants. The context under which the two are usually switched is with foreigners, including other West Indians (four respondents). Most likely, this change is to accommodate most foreigners who would not understand the term *baigan*, as, within the Caribbean, there are only strong Bhojpuri communities in Guyana (where the item is also referred to as *balanjay*) and Surinam, suggesting *melongene* is more recognisable, because of its eclectic background (whether the respondents are familiar with it or not): the word is influenced by French Creole phonology, adopted into FC, English, and TrinEC, but is of Spanish origin.

It is also noteworthy that these Indo respondents are mostly friends with Afro-Trinidadians, which may also subconsciously account for their use and/or knowledge of the *melongene* variant, while they learned *baigan* at home. In fact, one of these respondents uses *melongene* with their Afro, Mixed friends, because they would be made fun of, scolded or given confused looks for using *baigan*. This accommodation for the audience and social network is also explicit in freestyle responses, like “I use language familiar to the group I am with”, “I use it in the case that they are more associated with that term,” and “Persons may not know the term *baigan* (foreign restaurants)”, with the latter two switching to *eggplant*. Other respondents who changed to *eggplant* did so with colleagues. These two facts suggest that: 1) English acts a lingua franca among a range of non-English variants, and 2) because *eggplant* is a Standard English term, it is considered the only ‘professional’ variant,

indicating a prescriptivist, Eurocentric mentality among the respondents, and perhaps even their audience and network.

Table 5

Number of Afro-Trinidadian Respondents who Change Variants, in Relation to Their Network

<u>Generation</u>	<u>Original, Preferred Variant</u>	<u>Changed Variant</u>	<u>Friends Ethnicity</u>	<u>Friends Age</u>	<u>Context for Change</u>	<u>Reason for Change</u>
Generation Z (9)	Baigan (2)	Melongene	Indo, Mixed	Generation Z	With parents/family	Use interchangeably
			Indo, Mixed, Dougla	Generation Z	With parents/family	Use interchangeably
	Eggplant (1)	Baigan	Afro, Indo, Mixed, Dougla, Chinese	Generation Z	With colleagues	Use interchangeably
	Melongene (6)	Baigan (4)	Afro	Generation Z	With parents/family	Comfortable with those people (1)
			Afro, Indo, Mixed	Generation Z	With friends	Use interchangeably (1)
			Afro, Indo, Mixed, Dougla	Generation Z	Specific dish/variety	Use interchangeably (1)
			Afro, Indo, Dougla, Chinese	Generation Z	Specific dish/variety	Use interchangeably (1)
			Afro, Indo, Mixed	Generation Z	With foreigners	Would be made fun of, scolded, or given confused looks
			Indo, Dougla	Generation Z	With friends	Use interchangeably
		Eggplant (2)	Afro, Indo, Mixed	Generation Z	With foreigners	Would be made fun of, scolded, or given confused looks
		Baigan (3)	Afro, Indo, Mixed, Dougla (2)	Millennial (1)	With friends (1)	Use interchangeably (1)
			Indo, Dougla (1)	Millennial (1)	With friends (1)	Would be made fun of, scolded, or given confused looks (1)
			(Response left blank)	Millennial	Specific dish/variety	Use interchangeably
Generation X (6)	Melongene (4)	Aubergine	Indo	Generation X	With parents/family	Use interchangeably
		Baigan (3)	Indo	Generation X	Specific dish/variety	Use interchangeably
			Indo, Mixed	Generation X	Specific dish/variety	Use interchangeably
			Indo, Mixed, Dougla	Generation X	Specific dish/variety	Use interchangeably
	Baigan (1)	Melongene	Afro, Indo, Mixed, Dougla, White	Millennial	With parents/family	Other ("My father used baigan and my Mom says melongene. It depends on which family member I am talking to. My father is no longer alive")
	Eggplant (1)	Melongene	All of the above	Boomer	Specific dish/variety	Use interchangeably

As illustrated by table 5, inversely to the Indo respondents, the most used variant among Afro-Trinidadians, *melongene*, is mostly switched with *baigan* (ten respondents), usually to refer to a specific dish (six respondents). This dish is most likely baigane or baigan choka, and once again proves how food perpetuates a language's vitality: even though

these respondents are not Indo-Trinidadian, Indo-Trinidadian food is an extricable cultural aspect of Trinidad's plural society, and every citizen can partake, both in the food and the language, regardless of ethnicity.

Respondents also switch from *baigan* to *melongene* around their Afro family, which exemplifies network accommodation, because their family most likely uses the typical Afro variant *melongene* and would be confused by the use of *baigan*, or even offended since, as explained above, it is considered a threat to their ethnic identity. This may be subliminal, since most respondents say they use the two interchangeably, except for where it is conscious in, for example: "My father used baigan and my Mom says melongene. It depends on which family member I am talking to."

Lastly, it is noteworthy that a Generation X respondent switches from the typical Afro *melongene* to *aubergine*, a British English variant, with their parents and family. Most likely, their Greatest Generation family (born between 1901 and 1927) transferred it to them, as the Greatest Generation directly experienced British occupation of the island, during which they may have learned the term, due to which may suffer from a language inferiority complex of their Creole in favour of the coloniser's English, as was the case with other ethnic languages like Bhojpuri.

Table 6

Number of Dougla-Trinidadian Respondents who Change Variants, in Relation to Their Network

<u>Generation</u>	<u>Original, Preferred Variant</u>	<u>Changed Variant</u>	<u>Friends Ethnicity</u>	<u>Friends Age</u>	<u>Context for Change</u>	<u>Reason for Change</u>
Generation Z (1)	Baigan	Melongene	Afro, Indo, Mixed	Generation Z	With parents/family	Use interchangeably
Millennial (3)	Baigan (2)	Melongene	Afro, Indo	Millennial	With parents/family	Use interchangeably
		Eggplant	Afro, Indo, Mixed, Dougla	Millennial	Specific dish/variety	Use interchangeably
	Melongene (1)	Baigan	Afro, Indo	Millennial	With parents/family	Use interchangeably
Generation X (3)	Baigan (3)	Melongene	Afro	Generation X	Specific dish/variety	Use interchangeably
			Afro, Indo, Mixed, Chinese	Generation X	With friends	Use interchangeably
			All of the above	Generation X	Specific dish/variety	Use interchangeably

Like the Indo-Trinidadians, according to table 6, most Dougla-Trinidadians switch from *baigan* to *melongene* interchangeably (six of seven respondents, with the other one from *melongene* to *baigan*). This is an expression of, and accommodation for, their dual Indo and Afro identity.

Table 7

Number of Mixed-Trinidadian Respondents who Change Variants, in Relation to Their Network

Generation	Original, Preferred Variant	Changed Variant	Friends Ethnicity	Friends Age	Context for Change	Reason for Change
Generation Z (6)	Baigan (4)	Eggplant	Afro, Indo, Mixed, Dougla, White, Chinese	Generation Z	With foreigners	Use interchangeably
		Melongene (3)	Afro, Indo, Dougla	Generation Z	Other ("When I can't remember the first term")	Use interchangeably
				Generation Z	With friends	Use interchangeably
				Other ("All of the above")	With foreigners	Use interchangeably
	Eggplant (2)	Baigan	Afro	Generation Z	With friends	Need to impress those people
			Afro, Indo, Dougla	Generation Z	Specific dish/variety	Use interchangeably
Millennial (1)	Eggplant	Baigan	Afro, Indo, Mixed, White, Chinese	Millennial	Other ("My husband and his family")	Other ("My husband family is mixed more Indian influenced hence they use the term and I use it with them at times")
Generation X (2)	Baigan	Melongene	All of the above	Millennial	Other ("Randomly")	Use interchangeably
	Melongene	Baigan	Mixed	Generation X	Specific dish/variety	Use interchangeably
Boomer (1)	Melongene	Eggplant	Afro, Indo, Mixed, Dougla, White	Generation X	Specific dish/variety	Use interchangeably

Table 7 shows that most Mixed-Trinidadians also switch *baigan* for *melongene* interchangeably (four of ten respondents), with two doing so for accommodation purposes with foreigners and friends. Switches from *eggplant* to *baigan* also occur (which makes sense, since, as discovered above, *baigan* is the most commonly used variant in general and, hence, more likely to be understood) for network accommodation: one respondent explains, "My husband family is mixed more Indian influenced hence they use the term and I use it with them at times", while another selected the 'I need to impress those people' option as the reason for their switch. The latter is interesting: the respondent probably wishes to assert their broad ethnolinguistic knowledge, especially if their Afro friends consider the use of *eggplant*, a foreign, Standard English variant, "snob[bish]", which is quite common in non-Standard English communities (Casas 12), and would regrettably decrease their solidarity with the group.

4.2. Food Item #2 (Banana/Fig)

Table 8

Number of Respondents for Each Variant, according to Ethnicity, Age and Reason for Choice

Lexical Variant	Indo (43)					Afro (29)					
	Z (36)	Millennial (29)	X (31)		Boomer (4)	Z (36)	Millennial (29)	X (31)		Boomer (4)	
	Learned from parents and family (15)	Learned from parents and family (13)	Learned from parents and family (11)	Learned from media (1)	Learned from parents and family (3)	Learned from parents and family (10)	Learned from parents and family (11)	Learned from parents and family (6)	Other ("Know all other names") (1)	Learned from media (1)	
Banana	11 *1 comes from Bhojpuri-Patois-speaking family *4 come from Bhojpuri-speaking families	11 *1 comes from Bhojpuri-speaking family *1 comes from a family that speaks "all of the above [languages] and many more" *1 comes from Bhojpuri-speaking family *1 comes from Bhojpuri-Spanish-speaking family	7 *4 come from Bhojpuri-speaking families *1 comes from Bhojpuri-Patois-speaking family	1	1 *comes from Bhojpuri-speaking family	10 *1 comes from Patois-speaking family *1 comes from Spanish-Patois-speaking family	8 *1 comes from Patois-speaking family	4	1	1	
Fig	4	2	4 *3 comes from Bhojpuri-speaking family	0	2	0	3 *1 comes from Patois-speaking family	2	0	0	
Lexical Variant	Doula (11)					Mixed (17)					
	Z (36)	Millennial (29)	X (30)		Boomer (4)	Z (37)	Millennial (29)	X (31)		Boomer (4)	
	Learned from parents and family (1)	Learned from parents and family (4)	Learned from parents and family (6)			Learned from parents and family (9)	Learned from media (1)	Learned from parents and family (1)	Learned from parents and family (4)	Learned from media (1) Never heard of the other terms (1)	
Banana	1	1	4 *1 comes from Spanish-Patois-speaking family		0	6 *1 comes from Spanish-speaking family	1	1 *comes from Patois-speaking family	4 *1 comes from Spanish-speaking family *1 comes from Patois-Chinese-speaking family	1 *comes from Patois-speaking family	
Fig	0	3 *1 comes from Patois-speaking family	2 *1 comes from Bhojpuri-speaking family		0	3 *1 comes from Spanish-Patois family *1 comes Spanish-Bhojpuri-Patois-speaking family	0	0	0	0	

Table 8 above shows that most Indo-, Afro- and Mixed-Trinidadians prefer the *banana* variant to *fig*, with 31, 24 and 13 respondents respectively which answers RQ1 and most have learned it from their family which explains why it is the most used, answering RQ2. What may account for this general popularity of English's *banana* over Patois' *fig* is the moribundity of the Patois language, especially since most of the respondents who come from families who spoke Patois, still prefer *banana* (nine of 13 respondents). Thus, *fig* has not

been inoculated against obsolescence through adoption into TrinEC like *chadon beni* has. In fact, most people do not even realise *fig* is Patois.

That said, Doula-Trinidadians apparently have a mixed preference for both *fig* and *banana*, with six out of eleven preferring *banana*, and five out of eleven preferring *fig*, all having learned the term from their families. This seems to suggest that there are more Indo- and/or Afro-Trinidadians not studied here that use *fig*, in contrast to the ostensible norm for this group discovered above, and have transferred it to their family, i.e. the respondents of this study and others who mirror their preferences.

Table 9

Number of Respondents for Each Variant, according to Their Families' Ethnicities

Lexical Variant	Indo (43)					Afro (29)											
	Option A (39)	Option B (2)		Option C (0)	Option D (2)	Option A (20)	Option B (1)		Option C (5)			Option D (3)					
		Mixed (1)	Indo (1)		Indo (2)		Mixed (1)		Afro, Mixed (2)	Mixed (2)	Indigenous (1)	Afro (2)	Afro, Mixed, Chinese (1)				
Banana	28	1	1	0	1	15	1		2	2	1	2	1				
Fig	11	0	0	0	1	5	0		0	0	0	0	0				
Lexical Variant	Doula (11)					Mixed (17)											
	Option A (0)	Option B (1)		Option C (6)		Option D (4)		Option A (1)	Option B (10)			Option C (4)		Option D (2)			
		Mixed, Doula (1)		Afro, Indo (4)	Afro, Indo, Doula (1)	Doula (1)	Afro (1)	Indo (3)		Mixed, Afro, White, Chinese (1)	Chinese, Afro, Indigeno us, "Creole French" (1)	Mixed (7)	Doula, "My father has a Venezuelan parent" (1)	Afro (1)	Indo, Mixed (2)	Mixed (1)	Afro (2)
Banana	0	1		3	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	6	0	1	2	0	2
Fig	0	0		1	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0

Confirming table 8's findings, table 9 shows that, generally, the most popular variant (80 respondents) is *banana* regardless of the ethnicity of the respondents, along with that of their families, despite some families having multiple ethnicities.

Table 10

Number of Indo-Trinidadian Respondents who Change Variants, in Relation to Their Network

Generation	Original Preferred Variant	Changed Variant	Friends Ethnicity	Friends Age	Context for Change	Reason for Change
Generation Z (9)	Banana (6)	Fig	All of the above	Generation Z	With parents and family	Comfortable with those people
			Afro, Mixed, Dougla	Generation Z	With parents and family	Comfortable with those people
			Afro, Indo, Mixed, Dougla	Generation Z	With parents and family	Use interchangeably
			Afro, Indo, Dougla	Generation Z	With parents and family	Use interchangeably
			Afro, Indo, Mixed, Dougla, Chinese	Generation Z	With parents and family	Use interchangeably
			Afro, Mixed	Generation Z	Specific dish/variety	Use interchangeably
	Fig (3)	Banana	Afro, Dougla	Generation Z	With friends	Use interchangeably
			Afro (2)	Generation Z (2)	With parents and family (2)	Use interchangeably (2)
Millennial (4)	Banana (2)	Fig	Indo	Generation X	Other ("Anytime")	Use interchangeably
			Afro, Indo	Millennial	Other ("Use both frequently but would exclusively use it if the fruit is green")	Use interchangeably
	Fig (2)	Banana	Afro, Dougla, Chinese	Millennial	Other ("Around my children so they learn the correct term")	Use interchangeably
			Mixed	Generation X	With foreigners	Use interchangeably
Generation X (2)	Banana	Fig	Afro	Generation X	Specific dish/variety	Comfortable with those people
	Fig	Banana	All of the above	Generation X	With foreigners	Need to impress those people
Boomer (2)	Fig (2)	Banana	Afro	Other ("Generation between 1945 and 1985")	With foreigners	Use interchangeably
			Mixed	Boomer	Specific dish/variety	Use interchangeably

In response to RQ3, table 10 shows that most Indo-Trinidadians use *banana* and *fig* interchangeably (12 of 17 respondents), particularly with their families. However, three respondents switch from *banana* to *fig* for a specific variety, this variety most likely being unripe, as specified by another respondent: "Use both frequently but would exclusively use [fig] if the fruit is green." Conversely, *fig* changes to *banana* with foreigners for two respondents, with one having the need to impress these foreigners, demonstrating once again

that English has more international acceptance compared to Patois, and thereby, enjoys a high status (Kozlova 95). Further consolidating this notion is one respondent's use of *banana* "around [their] children so they learn the correct term": because Patois is not English, *fig* is considered "bad English" (Winford, "Language Attitudes" 58). Of course, this may also be due to the fact that, in English, *fig* is the name of another fruit, *Ficus carica*, and the respondent does not wish their children to confuse the two.

Table 11

Number of Afro-Trinidadian Respondents who Change Variants, in Relation to Their Network

<u>Generation</u>	<u>Original, Preferred Variant</u>	<u>Changed Variant</u>	<u>Friends Ethnicity</u>	<u>Friends Age</u>	<u>Context for Change</u>	<u>Reason for Change</u>
Generation Z (2)	Banana (2)	Fig	Afro, Indo, Mixed, Dougla	Generation Z	Specific dish/variety	Use interchangeably
			Afro, Indo, Dougla, Chinese	Generation Z	Specific dish/variety	Use interchangeably
Millennial (6)	Banana (4)	Fig	Afro, Indo, Mixed, Dougla	Generation X	Other ("Refer to local bananas")	Use interchangeably
			Afro (2)	Millennial	Other ("No specific time")	Use interchangeably
				Generation Z	With parents and family	Comfortable with those people
			All of the above	Millennial	Specific dish/variety	Use interchangeably
	Fig (2)	Banana	All of the above	Millennial	Other ("With my son")	Other ("To ensure my son know the correct term")
			Indo, Dougla	Millennial	With parents and family	Use interchangeably
X (4)	Banana (3)	Fig	Afro, Indo, Mixed, Dougla, White	Millennial	With parents and family	Use interchangeably
			All of the above	Boomer	Specific dish/variety	Use interchangeably
			Mixed	Generation X	All the time	Use interchangeably
	Fig	Banana	Indo	Generation X	With foreigners	Would be made fun of, scolded, or given confused looks

According to table 11, like with the Indo-Trinidadian respondents, Afro-Trinidadians respondents also use the two variants interchangeably, as well change to *fig* for a specific variety like "local bananas", possibly referring to silk fig or moko fig (Digat and Spencer 134; Winer, "Dictionary of English Creole" 344). Once again, the negative attitude towards

fig is exhibited with one respondent who uses *banana* “with [their] son” “to ensure [their] son knows the correct term.”

Table 12

Number of Dougla-Trinidadian Respondents who Change Variants, in Relation to Their Network

<u>Generation</u>	<u>Original, Preferred Variant</u>	<u>Changed Variant</u>	<u>Friends Ethnicity</u>	<u>Friends Age</u>	<u>Context for Change</u>	<u>Reason for Change</u>
Millennial (2)	Banana	Fig	Afro, Indo	Millennial	Specific dish/variety	Would be made fun of, scolded, or given confused looks
	Fig	Banana	Afro, Indo, Mixed Dougla	Millennial	Other (“No specific reason, just use either one”)	Use interchangeably
Generation X (2)	Banana	Fig	Afro	Generation X	With friends	Use interchangeably
	Fig	Banana	Afro, Mixed	Generation X	With parents and family	Use interchangeably

Since Douglas already have an already-equal preference for *banana* and *fig* (see table 8), table 12 evidently shows that this group rarely changes their preferred variant in the first place, with only four respondents. Like the previous ethnicities, the majority change variants interchangeably (three respondents), with the one outlier changing their variant from *banana* to *fig* for a specific variety to avoid being made fun of or given confused looks. This is because, as implied by the above data, referring to “green”, ‘moko’ and ‘silk’ figs as bananas is strange.

Table 13

Number of Mixed-Trinidadian Respondents who Change Variants, in Relation to Their Network

<u>Generation</u>	<u>Original, Preferred Variant</u>	<u>Changed Variant</u>	<u>Friends Ethnicity</u>	<u>Friends Age</u>	<u>Context for Change</u>	<u>Reason for Change</u>
Generation Z (6)	Banana (3)	Fig	Afro, Indo, Mixed, Dougla, White, Chinese	Generation Z	Specific dish/variety	Use interchangeably
			Dougla	Generation Z	Specific dish/variety	Use interchangeably
			Afro, Mixed	Generation Z	Specific dish/variety	Use interchangeably
	Fig (3)	Banana	Afro, Indo, Dougla	Generation Z	Specific dish/variety	Use interchangeably
			All of the above	Generation Z	With foreigners	Use interchangeably
			Afro, Indo, Mixed, Dougla, Indigenous	Other ("Millennial and Generation Z")	With foreigners	Use interchangeably
Millennial (1)	Banana	Fig	Afro, White, Indo, Mixed	Millennial	Other ("Only asking about its other varieties like silk, segea ")	Use interchangeably
Generation X (2)	Banana (2)	Fig	All of the above	Generation Z	Other ("With older relatives (aunts, cousins)")	Other ("That's what we grew up saying")
			Mixed	Generation X	Specific dish/variety	Use interchangeably

Lastly, the Mixed-Trinidadians tend to change variants for two main reasons: identifying a specific dish or variety or when conversing with foreigners. This trend imitates that of the Afro-Trinidadians, who also change their lexicon for these purposes (see table 13).

4.3. Food Item #3 (Chadon Beni/Bandhanhia/Culantro/Cilantro)

Table 14

Number of Respondents for Each Variant, according to Ethnicity, Age and Reason for Choice

Lexical Variant	Indo (43)					Afro (29)				
	Z (36)	Millennial (29)		X (31)	Boomer (4)	Z (36)	Millennial (29)	X (31)		Boomer (4)
	Learned from parents and family (15)	Learned from parents and family (12)	Other ("I use all terms") (1)	Learned from parents and family (12)	Learned from parents and family (3)	Learned from parents and family (10)	Learned from parents and family (11)	Learned from parents and family (5)	Other ("Know all other names") (1)	Learned from parents and family (0)
Chadon Beni	11 *1 comes from Bhojpuri-Patois-speaking family *2 come from Bhojpuri-speaking families	8 *2 come from Bhojpuri-speaking families	0	7 *5 come from Bhojpuri-speaking families	3 *1 comes from Bhojpuri-speaking family	10 *1 comes from Patois-speaking family *1 comes from Spanish-Patois-speaking family	11 *2 come from Patois-speaking families	5 *1 comes from Patois-speaking family	1 *Family only speaks English	0
Bandhanhia	4 *2 come from Bhojpuri-Patois-speaking families	4 *1 comes from Bhojpuri-Spanish-speaking family	0	5 *2 come from Bhojpuri-speaking families *1 comes from Bhojpuri-Patois-speaking family	0	0	0	2	0	0
Culantro	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cilantro	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other ("All terms used")		0	1 *Family speaks "all of the above [languages] and many more"	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lexical Variant	Dougl (11)					Mixed (17)				
	Z (36)	Millennial (29)	X (30)	Boomer (4)		Z (37)	Millennial (29)	X (31)		Boomer (4)
	Learned from parents and family (1)	Learned from parents and family (4)	Learned from parents and family (6)	Learned from parents and family (0)		Learned from parents and family (1)	Learned from parents and family (1)	Learned from parents and family (4)	Other ("I do use all the other names") (1)	Learned from parents and family (1)
Chadon Beni	1	4 *1 comes from Patois-speaking family	4 *1 comes from Spanish-Patois-speaking family	0	9 *1 comes from Bhojpuri-Patois-speaking family *1 comes from Spanish-Patois-speaking family *1 comes from Spanish-speaking family	1	1 *1 comes from Patois-speaking family	3 *1 comes from Spanish-Patois-speaking family *1 comes from Spanish-speaking family	1 *comes from Patois-Chinese speaking family	1 *comes from Patois-speaking family
Bandhanhia	0	0	2 *1 comes from Bhojpuri-speaking family	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Culantro	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cilantro	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other ("All terms used")	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

This third food item represents the opposite of the first. In response to RQ1, table 14 illustrates that the French Creole variant *chadon beni* dominates Bhojpuri's *bandhanhia*, in

every ethnic and age group (81 respondents in total), not just among Afro-Trinidadians, while neither of the English variants *cilantro* and *culantro*, adopted from Spanish, is used (though *cilantro* actually refers to a different flora item, it is often conflated with *culantro*). This is important, because, according to the previous data, Bhojpuri terms are used more frequently than Patois, so *bandhania* should be the most popular variant, but the fact that it is not, suggests that, like *baigan*, *chadon beni* has been embedded in TrinEC which answers RQ2. That is, *bandhania* appears to be of insular use and knowledge among Indo-Trinidadians, as evidenced by the variant being almost exclusively used by Indo respondents (13 of 18 respondents), seven of whom come from families who spoke Bhojpuri.

Furthermore, only 14 of these 81 respondents come from families who spoke Patois in their lifetimes, with the remainder speaking only Trinidadian English and TrinEC. Likewise, among these 14 families, four also spoke Spanish, and two of the 81 total come from families who only spoke Spanish. All this means that Patois, despite being a dying language, eclipses Bhojpuri, Spanish and Standard English, even though English is the numerically dominant. Alternatively, it may mean that the legacy of Patois is powerful, or that these terms are no longer only Patois, but are now English and English Creole terms as well. The fact that these groups forego their typical variants of *bandhania*, *culantro* and *cilantro* further consolidates the hypothesis of *chadon beni*'s entrenchment in TrinEC, and perhaps even implies negative attitudes towards English variants *cilantro* and *culantro*, like those towards *eggplant*.

In any case, this influence of respondents' heritage languages on their lexical choice is undeniable, as the one respondent who uses "all terms" does so because their family spoke "all of the above [languages] and many more."

Table 15

Number of Respondents for Every Variant, according to Their Families' Ethnicities

Lexical Variant	Indo (43)							Afro (29)									
	Option A (39)	Option B (2)		Option C (0)	Option D (2)			Option A (20)	Option B (1)			Option C (5)			Option D (3)		
		Mixed (1)	Indo (1)		Indo (2)				Mixed (1)			Afro, Mixed (2)	Mixed (2)	Indigenous (1)	Afro (2)	Afro, Mixed, Chinese (1)	
Chadon Beni	27	0	1	0	1			18	1			2	2	1	2	1	
Bandhania	11	1	0	0	1			2	0			0	0	0	0	0	
Culantro	0	0	0	0	0			0	0			0	0	0	0	0	
Cilantro	0	0	0	0	0			0	0			0	0	0	0	0	
Other (“All terms used”)	1	0	0	0	0			0	0			0	0	0	0	0	
Lexical Variant	Dougla (11)							Mixed (17)									
	Option A (0)	Option B (1)		Option C (6)			Option D (4)	Option A (1)	Option B (10)				Option C (4)			Option D (2)	
		Mixed, Dougla (1)		Afro, Indo (4)	Afro, Indo, Dougla (1)	Dougla (1)	Afro (1)	Indo (3)		Mixed, Afro, White, Chinese (1)	Chinese, Afro, Indigenous, “Creole French” (1)	Mixed (7)	Dougla, “My father has a Venezuelan parent” (1)	Afro (1)	Indo, Mixed (2)	Mixed (1)	Afro (2)
Chadon Beni	0	1		4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	6	1	1	2	1	2
Bandhania	0	0		0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Culantro	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cilantro	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other (“All terms used”)	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Consistent with the above findings, table 15 demonstrates that, despite Indo and other ethnic influences like Mixed, White, and Chinese, most respondents choose *chadon beni*. Similarly, the exclusivity of *bandhania* among Indos is made obvious by the two Indo-leaning Douglas choosing this variant since it is a Bhojpuri term which indexes Indo-Trinidadian identity (Regis, "The Trinidad Dougla" 60).

Table 16

Number of Indo-Trinidadian Respondents who Change Variants, in Relation to Their Network

Generation	Original Preferred Variant	Changed Variant	Friends Ethnicity	Friends Age	Context for Change	Reason for Change
Generation Z (10)	Chadon Beni (5)	Bandhanian	All of the above	Generation Z	Specific dish/variety	Use interchangeably
			Afro, Indo, Mixed, Dougla, White, Chinese	Millennial	With parents and family	Use interchangeably
			Afro, Dougla	Generation Z	With parents and family	Use interchangeably
			Afro, Mixed, Dougla	Generation Z	With parents and family	Use interchangeably
			Afro, Indo, Mixed, Dougla, Chinese	Generation Z	With parents and family	Use interchangeably
	Bandhanian (4)	Chadon Beni	Mixed (2)	Millennial	Use interchangeably	Use interchangeably
				Generation Z	Specific dish/variety	Use interchangeably
			Afro, Mixed (2)	Generation Z (2)	Other ("Everyone")	Use interchangeably
					With friends	Would be made fun of, scolded, or given confused looks
	Chadon beni (1)	Cilantro	Afro, Indo, Dougla	Generation Z	Specific dish/variety	Use interchangeably
Millennial (7)	Chadon Beni (2)	Bandhanian	Afro, Indo	Millennial	With parents and family	Use interchangeably
			Mixed	Generation Z	With foreigners	Would be made fun of, scolded, or given confused looks
	Bandhanian (4)	Chadon Beni	Afro	Millennial	With colleagues	Use interchangeably
			All of the above	Millennial	With foreigners	Would be made fun of, scolded, or given confused looks
			Afro, Dougla, Chinese	Millennial	With parents and family	Use interchangeably
			Mixed	Millennial	Specific dish/variety	Use interchangeably
	Other ("All terms used") (1)	Other ("All terms used")	Indo	Generation X	Other ("Anytime")	Use interchangeably
Generation X (4)	Chadon Beni (2)	Bandhanian	All of the above (2)	Generation X (2)	With foreigners	Comfortable with those people
					With family and parents	Comfortable with those people
	Bandhanian (2)	Chadon Beni	Afro, Indo	Generation X	Other ("In the market")	Other ("The market vendors are usually younger than me or of African descent and they don't know the term bandhanian")
			(Response left blank)	Generation X	Specific dish/variety	Use interchangeably
Boomer (2)	Chadon Beni (2)	Bandhanian	Afro, Mixed, Dougla, "Syrian-Trinidadian"	Other ("Generation X and Boomer")	Other ("When I don't remember the other name")	Use interchangeably
			Mixed	Boomer	With parents and family	Use interchangeably

For RQ3, As expected, table 16 shows that most Indo respondents who originally say *chadon beni* switch to the second-popular *bandhanian* (seven respondents) interchangeably with their family, because Bhojpuri may be familiar to them, and the use of any other variant

like *cilantro* would inspire confusion and solidarity-reducing negative perceptions as a snob. Another two of these respondents who switch “in the market” and with their Afro friends, because “the market vendors are usually younger than me or of African descent, and they don't know the term *bandhania*” and they would be made fun of or given confused looks, also proves the Indo-Trinidadian insularity in relation to *bandhania* and social network accommodation based on ethnicity where individuals engage in “brokering” by using their many linguistic sources, to maintain relationships (Wenger 109; Cheshire et al. 23). Parenthetically, *chadon beni* is the variant most often used to refer to a specific variety of the item (three respondents, compared to one each for *bandhania* and *cilantro*).

Table 17

Number of Afro-Trinidadian Respondents who Change Variants, in Relation to Their Network

<u>Generation</u>	<u>Original, Preferred Variant</u>	<u>Changed Variant</u>	<u>Friends Ethnicity</u>	<u>Friends Age</u>	<u>Context for Change</u>	<u>Reason for Change</u>
Generation Z (2)	Chadon Beni (2)	Bandhania	Afro, Indo, Mixed Dougla	Generation Z	With parents and family	Use interchangeably
			Afro, Indo, Dougla, Chinese	Generation Z	With parents and family	Comfortable with those people
Millennial (1)	Chadon Beni	Bandhania	Indo, Dougla	Millennial	With friends	Would be made fun of, scolded or given confused looks
Generation X (5)	Chadon beni (3)	Bandhania	Afro, Indo, Mixed, Dougla, White	Millennial	Other (“Use both terms”)	Use interchangeably
			Indo	Generation X	With colleagues	Use interchangeably
			Mixed	Generation X	Specific dish/variety	Use interchangeably
	Bandhania (2)	Chadon Beni	Indo, Mixed, Dougla	Generation X	Other (“Use other term randomly”)	Use interchangeably
			All of the above	Boomer	Specific dish/variety	Use interchangeably

Likewise, table 17 illustrates that all five of the Afro respondents who choose *chadon beni* switch to *bandhania* interchangeably, because those two are the most common terms in the general population. Like before, “brokering” is also conducted with Indo and Dougla friends to avoid the network (audience)’s teasing and confusion and create stronger ties with individuals of different ethnicities, as Indos and some Douglas are more likely to use *bandhania* (Wenger 109; Cheshire et al. 23).

Table 18

Number of Dougla-Trinidadian Respondents who Change Variants, in Relation to Their Network

<u>Generation</u>	<u>Original, Preferred Variant</u>	<u>Changed Variant</u>	<u>Friends Ethnicity</u>	<u>Friends Age</u>	<u>Context for Change</u>	<u>Reason for Change</u>
Generation Z (1)	Chadon Beni	Bandhania	Afro, Indo, Mixed	Generation Z	With parents and family	Use interchangeably
Millennial (2)	Chadon Beni (2)	Bandhania	Afro, Indo	Millennial	With parents and family	Use interchangeably
			Afro, Indo, Mixed, Dougla	Millennial	With parents and family	Comfortable with those people
Generation X (2)	Chadon Beni	Bandhania	Afro	Generation X	With parents and family	Comfortable with those people
	Bandhania	Chadon Beni	Afro, Mixed	Generation X	With friends	Would be made fun of, scolded, or given confused looks

According to table 18, four of the five Dougla-Trinidadian respondents who originally choose *chadon beni* switch to *bandhania* interchangeably with their family, which is to be expected as this linguistic habit reflects their intermediate ethnic identity between Indo-Trinidadian and Afro-Trinidadian, who prefer Bhojpuri and Patois terms respectively according to the above findings. Once again, the dominance of *chadon beni* among Afros and the influence of social networks is exemplified in the way one respondent switches from *baigan* to *chadon beni* with their Afro and Mixed friends to avoid teasing and confusion, thus engaging in “brokering” to accommodate to the dominant ethnicities of their friend group (Wenger 109; Cheshire et al. 23).

Table 19

Number of Mixed-Trinidadian Respondents who Change Variants, in Relation to Their Network

<u>Generation</u>	<u>Original, Preferred Variant</u>	<u>Changed Variant</u>	<u>Friends Ethnicity</u>	<u>Friends Age</u>	<u>Context for Change</u>	<u>Reason for Change</u>
Generation Z (5)	<u>Chadon Beni</u> (5)	Bandhania (3)	Afro, Indo, Mixed, Doula, White, Chinese	Generation Z	Specific dish/variety	Use interchangeably
			All of the above (2)	Generation Z	With parents and family	Use interchangeably
				Other ("All of the above")	With parents and family	Use interchangeably
		Cilantro	Afro, Indo, Mixed, Doula	Generation Z	Specific dish/variety	Use interchangeably
		Other ("All items used")	Afro, Indo, Mixed, Doula, Indigenous	Other ("Millennial and Generation Z")	Specific dish/variety	Use interchangeably
Generation X (2)	Chadon Beni	Other ("All of the above")	All of the above	Millennial	Other ("Randomly but cilantro is used specifically for foreigners")	Use interchangeably
	Bandhania	Chadon Beni	(Response left blank)	Generation X	Specific dish/variety	Use interchangeably

Finally, in addition to earlier patterns like *cilantro* for a specific variety and interchangeable use of *bandhania* and *chadon beni* with family to exhibit the multi-ethnic identity, table 19 introduces the switch from *chadon beni* to *cilantro* "specifically for foreigners." Evidently, in the extra-regional space, because Standard English is more dominant in terms of number of speakers and overt prestige than both Patois and Bhojpuri, respondents switch to the English variant *cilantro* to accommodate addressees that are foreigners in order to be accepted and understood better, even though they ignore this dominance within Trinidad, as they generally refer to the food by its non-English variants. Thus, *cilantro* is the internationally accepted English variant which is used for foreigners, similar to *eggplant* above (Kozlova 95).

4.4. Food Item #4 (Avocado/Zaboca/Avocado Pear)

Table 20

Number of Respondents for Each Variant, according to Ethnicity, Age and Reason for Choice

Lexical Variant	Indo (43)						Afro (29)					
	Z (36)		Millennial (29)		X (31)	Boomer (4)	Z (36)		Millennial (29)	X (31)		Boomer (4)
	Learned from media (3)	Learned from parents and family (12)	Other ("All terms used") (1)	Learned from parents and family (12)	Learned from parents and family (12)	Learned from parents and family (3)	Learned from media (4)	Learned from parents and family (6)	Learned from parents and family (11)	Learned from parents and family (7)	Other ("Know both names") (1)	
Avocado	3	4	0	2	3	0	4	4	8	1	0	0
Zaboca		8 *2 come from Bhojpuri-speaking family *1 comes from Bhojpuri-Patois-speaking family	0	10 *3 come from Bhojpuri-speaking family	8 *5 come from Bhojpuri-speaking family	3 *1 comes from Bhojpuri-speaking family		2 *1 comes from Patois-speaking family	3 *1 comes from Patois-speaking family	6 *1 comes from Patois-speaking family	1	0
Avocado Pear	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other ("All items")	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lexical Variant	Doula (11)				Mixed (17)							
	Z (36)		Millennial (29)		X (31)	Boomer (4)	Z (36)		Millennial (29)	X (31)		Boomer (4)
	Learned from parents and family (1)		Learned from parents and family (4)		Learned from parents and family (6)		Learned from parents and family (9)	Learned from media (1)	Learned from parents and family (1)	Learned from parents and family (4)	Learned from media (1)	Learned from media
Avocado	0		0		3	0	2	1	1	1	1	1
Zaboca	1		4		3	0	7 *1 comes from Spanish-speaking family *1 comes from Patois-Bhojpuri speaking family *1 comes from Patois-Spanish-speaking family	0	0	3 *1 comes from Patois-Spanish-speaking family	0	0
Avocado Pear	0		0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other ("All items")	0		0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 20 states that most Indo-, Doula- and Mixed-Trinidadians use *zaboca* (29, 8 and 11 respectively), which answers RQ1, and they usually learned it through their family,

which explains why they use it frequently in relation to RQ2. Contrastively, 17 out of 29 Afro-Trinidadians selected *avocado* as their preferred variant, where 13 learned it from their family and four learned the term through the media.

The fact that Indo-Trinidadians chose the Patois variant *zaboca* instead of a Bhojpuri one (as for *baigan*) or the generally popular English one (as for *banana*), implies that 1) any Bhojpuri variant for *Persea americana* (note the origin of the plant in the Americas) that may have existed has not survived, and 2) *zaboca* has now become a TrinEC term like *melongene* and *chadon beni*. In any case, what further consolidates these hypotheses, is that the Hindi word for this food item is *evokaado* (एवोकाडो), evidently resembling English's borrowed *avocado*, which these respondents also forewent.

Among the Mixed-Trinidadians who selected *zaboca*, there were two people who come from Patois- and Spanish-speaking families, one who comes from a Spanish background and one who has family members that spoke Patois and Bhojpuri. Thus, the Mixed ethnic group has a more linguistically diverse background compared to other ethnicities. There seems to be no correlation between the languages of one's ancestors and their influence on lexical choice for the Mixed group, but one's parents and family during one's childhood seem to be the common denominator for their preferred lexical variant. This is also applicable to a large extent to Afro-Trinidadians who predominantly chose *avocado* because of their families, but the media has an increasing role in conditioning their lexical choice, especially for Generation Z.

With regard to the different age groups, Generation Z is divided equally, with 18 people each using the lexical items *avocado* and *zaboca*. This shows that there is a lexical divide with regard to which term Generation Z prefers to use. According to Kozlova et al., "linguistic vitality of the term *avocado* is reinforced by the fact that it is a part of "Internationally Accepted English" but it exists alongside *zaboca* because it is an informal

lexical variant that is used “to appeal to local addressee” (95). From the 18 people who use *avocado*, eight indicated they were influenced by the media. As discovered above, this age group’s predilection for social media aligns with their propensity for preferring English (‘foreign’) terms over ‘local’ TrinEC ones, which originate from non-English languages like Patois. Social media globalises the youngest generation’s lexicon.

Moreover, most Millennials (17 of 29 respondents) and Generation X (20 of 30 respondents) use *zaboca* from their family, possibly indicating Patois’ status as a dying language of the past, with the youngest Generation Z spearheading the shift to the English variant *eggplant*.

Table 21

Number of Respondents for Each Variant, according to Their Families’ Ethnicities

Lexical Variant	Indo (43)							Afro (29)									
	Option A (39)	Option B (2)		Option C (0)	Option D (2)			Option A (20)	Option B (1)			Option C (5)			Option D (3)		
		Mixed (1)	Indo (1)		Indo (2)				Mixed (1)				Afro, Mixed (2)	Mixed (2)	Indigenous (1)	Afro (2)	Afro, Mixed, Chinese (1)
Avocado	12	0	0	0	0		13	1			1	0	1	1	1		
Zaboca	25	1	1	0	2		7	0			1	2	0	1	0		
Avocado Pear	1	0	0	0	0		0	0			0	0	0	0	0		
Other (“All items”)	1	0	0	0	0		0	0			0	0	0	0	0		
Lexical Variant	Dougla (11)							Mixed (17)									
	Option A (0)	Option B (1)		Option C (6)		Option D (4)			Option A (1)	Option B (10)			Option C (4)			Option D (2)	
		Mixed, Dougla (1)		Afro, Indo (4)	Afro, Indo, Dougla (1)		Afro (1)	Indo (3)		Mixed, Afro, White, Chinese (1)	Chinese, Afro, Indigenous, “Creole French” (1)	Mixed (7)	Dougla, “My father has a Venezuelan parent” (1)	Afro (1)	Indo, Mixed (2)	Mixed (1)	Afro (2)
Avocado	0	1		1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	3	0	1	1	0	0
Zaboca	0	0		3	0	1	1	3	1	0	0	4	1	0	1	1	2
Avocado Pear	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other (“All items”)	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 21 cements the above findings, as Indo-Trinidadian participants continue to choose *zaboca* regardless of their ethnicity and that of their families. The same can be said for their Afro-Trinidadian counterparts who persist with *avocado*, but among those whose families contain ethnicities other than Afro (nine respondents), the majority of five choose

zaboca, suggesting that these other ethnicities have influenced their lexical choice, since *zaboca* is the most popular variant in every ethnicity except these Afros.

Aligning with the above preferences for both Indo- and Afro-Trinidadians, Douglas who embrace their Indo ethnicity more, also conform to the lexical choice of *zaboca* while the one who identified with their Afro roots selected *avocado*, in spite of having Patois-speaking backgrounds. However, for those that had multiple ethnicities exerting equal influence within their Dougla identity, lexical variation, thus, was not as predictable since two individuals chose *avocado* while three selected *zaboca*.

Table 22

Number of Indo-Trinidadian Respondents who Change Variants, in Relation to Their Network

Generation	Original Preferred Variant	Changed Variant	Friends Ethnicity	Friends Age	Context for Change	Reason for Change
Generation Z (12)	Avocado (5)	Zaboca	Afro, Mixed (2)	Generation Z (2)	With friends (2)	Use interchangeably
						Would be made fun of, scolded, or given confused looks
			Afro, Indo, Mixed, Dougla, Chinese	Generation Z	With parents and family	Use interchangeably
			Afro, Indo, Dougla	Generation Z	With parents and family	Comfortable with those people
			Afro	Generation Z	With parents and family	Would be made fun of, scolded, or given confused looks
	Zaboca (7)	Avocado	Mixed (2)	Millennial	With foreigners	Would be made fun of, scolded, or given confused looks
				Generation Z	With foreigners	Other ("To ensure they know what it is")
			Afro, Indo, Mixed, Dougla, White, Chinese	Millennial	With foreigners	Would be made fun of, scolded, or given confused looks
			Afro, Mixed, Dougla	Generation Z	With foreigners	Need to impress those people
			All of the above	Generation Z	With foreigners	Would be made fun of, scolded, or given confused looks
			Afro, Indo, Mixed, Dougla	Generation Z	Specific dish/variety	Use interchangeably
			Afro, Dougla	Generation Z	With friends	Use interchangeably
Millennial (10)	Avocado (1)	Zaboca	Afro, Dougla, Chinese	Millennial	With parents and family	Use interchangeably
	Zaboca (8)	Avocado	Afro, Indo	Millennial	Other ("I use them interchangeably")	Use interchangeably
			Afro	Millennial	With parents and family	Use interchangeably
			Mixed (4)	Generation X	With foreigners	Use interchangeably
				Millennial (2)	Specific dish/variety (2)	Use interchangeably (2)
				Generation Z	Specific dish/variety	Use interchangeably
			Indo	Generation X	With parents and family	Comfortable with those people
			All of the above	Millennial	With foreigners	Comfortable with those people
	Other ("All terms used")(1)	Other ("All terms used")	Indo	Generation X	Other ("Anytime")	Use interchangeably
Generation X (8)	Avocado (3)	Zaboca	Indo	Generation X	With parents and family	Comfortable with those people
			(Response left blank)	Generation X	Specific dish/variety	Use interchangeably
			All of the above	Millennial	With friends	Use interchangeably
	Zaboca (4)	Avocado	Mixed	Generation X	With foreigners	Comfortable with those people
			Indo	Generation X	With foreigners	Would be made fun of, scolded, or given confused looks
			All of the above (2)	Generation X (2)	With foreigners	Would be made fun of, scolded, or given confused looks
					With parents and family	Comfortable with those people
	Avocado Pear (1)	Avocado	Afro, Dougla	Generation X	With parents and family	Use interchangeably
Boomer (3)	Zaboca (3)	Avocado	Afro, Mixed, Dougla, "Syrian-Trinidadian"	Other ("Generation X and Boomer")	Other ("When I can't remember the other name for it")	Use interchangeably
			Afro	Other ("Generation between 1945 and 1985")	With foreigners	Use interchangeably
			Mixed	Boomer	With parents and family	Use interchangeably

In relation to RQ3, table 22 adheres to the pattern of the previous food items, with most Indos interchanging between *zaboca* and *avocado*, around friends (one respondent),

family (four respondents) and foreigners (11 respondents). Similar to findings in Mühleisen's study, TTSE was not restricted to specific domains as before, allowing for greater use of TrinEC (67). This is further reinforced by the two participants who used the open answer option to indicate that they use them interchangeably or "when [they] can't remember the other name for it" as the context, showing the normalisation of the usage of both variants.

However, when the audience includes a foreigner, respondents use the term *avocado* because they would be made fun of, scolded or given confused looks, or they need to impress them, while one responded that they wanted to "ensure that they know what it is". Thus, *zaboca* is seen as the variant that is used in informal contexts while *avocado* is more internationally acceptable and is deemed as more "appropriate" to communicate to addressees outside and even within the Caribbean (Kozlova et al. 95). This can also apply to the other Patois variants above. It reflects similar language attitudes that were found in the studies conducted by Winford and Mühleisen where TTSE was still used in certain contexts since participants understood the limitations of TrinEC ("Teacher attitudes" 61; "Attitudes towards Language Varieties" 67).

Furthermore, *avocado* is also used when referring to a specific dish or variety (three respondents) and this is most likely due to the dish 'avocado toast' being popularised in recent times.

Table 23

Number of Afro-Trinidadian Respondents who Change Variants, in Relation to Their Network

<u>Generation</u>	<u>Original Preferred Variant</u>	<u>Changed Variant</u>	<u>Friends Ethnicity</u>	<u>Friends Age</u>	<u>Context for Change</u>	<u>Reason for Change</u>
Generation Z (6)	Avocado (4)	Zaboca	Indo	Generation Z	With parents and family	Other (“Well I associate it with my Trinidadian identity and so, I try use it at times to identify”)
			Afro, Indo, Mixed, Dougla	Generation Z	With parents and family	Use interchangeably
			Afro, Indo, Dougla, Chinese	Generation Z	With parents and family	Use interchangeably
			Indo, Mixed	Generation Z	With friends	Would be made fun of, scolded, or given confused looks
	Zaboca (2)	Avocado	Afro, Indo, Mixed, Dougla	Generation Z	With friends	Use interchangeably
			Indo, Dougla, Afro	Generation Z	With parents and family	Use interchangeably
Millennial (7)	Avocado (6)	Zaboca	(Response left blank)	Millennial	With parents and family	Use interchangeably
			Afro, Indo, Mixed Dougla (3)	Millennial (2)	With friends	Use interchangeably
					With parents and family	Use interchangeably
				Generation X	With parents and family	Use interchangeably
			Afro (2)	Millennial	With parents and family	Use interchangeably
				Generation Z	With parents and family	Comfortable with those people
	Zaboca (1)	Avocado	All of the above	Millennial	Specific dish/variety	Use interchangeably
Generation X (7)	Avocado (1)	Zaboca	All of the above	Boomer	Specific dish/variety	Use interchangeably
	Zaboca (6)	Avocado	Mixed (2)	Generation X (2)	With friends	Use interchangeably
					Specific dish/variety	Use interchangeably
			Afro, Indo, Mixed, White	Millennial	With foreigners	Other (“Foreigners are more familiar with avocado”)
			Indo, Mixed, Dougla	Generation X	With colleagues	Need to impress those people
			Indo	Generation X	With foreigners	Would be made fun of, scolded, or given confused looks
			Indo, Mixed	Generation X	Specific dish/variety	Use interchangeably

Table 23 displays the changing of Afro-Trinidadians preferred variant *avocado* to *zaboca* by 11 respondents in certain contexts: with parents and family, with friends and when referring to a specific dish or variety. The majority of those that selected parents and family as their context for changing their variant give the reason that they use both variants interchangeably or that they are comfortable with those people. One person provided the open response that they “associate it with my Trinidadian identity and so, I try to use it at times to identify”. This reflects the findings for Indo-Trinidadians in Table 21 and correlates with

Mühleisen where TrinEC and Trinidadian English were not as restricted to specific domains, and lexical variation of the two terms by Afro-Trinidadians indicate this (67).

However, two individuals stated that when they are with their friends, one used both terms interchangeably, but the other selected that they would be made fun of, scolded or given confused looks. Their friend group is composed of Indo- and Mixed-Trinidadians and previously, it has been stated that *zaboca* is the dominant variant among these ethnic groups. It is possible that this person engages in the act of “brokering” where their participation in friend groups that are comprised of individuals of a social network of a different ethnicity results in them conforming to the language of the peers, specifically to the lexicon, to maintain and build relationships (Wenger 109; Cheshire et al. 23).

Table 24

Number of Dougla-Trinidadian Respondents who Change Variants, in Relation to Their Network

<u>Generation</u>	<u>Original, Preferred Variant</u>	<u>Changed Variant</u>	<u>Friends Ethnicity</u>	<u>Friends Age</u>	<u>Context for Change</u>	<u>Reason for Change</u>
Millennial (2)	Zaboca (2)	Avocado	Afro, Indo	Millennial	With foreigners	Would be made fun of, scolded, or given confused looks
			Afro, Indo, Mixed, Dougla	Millennial	Specific dish/variety	Use Interchangeably
Generation X (3)	Avocado	Zaboca	Afro, Indo	Generation X	With parents and family	Comfortable with those people
	Zaboca (2)	Avocado	Afro	Generation X	With friends	Use interchangeably
			Afro, Mixed	Generation X	With foreigners	Would be made fun of, scolded, or given confused looks

Table 24 shows that *zaboca* is switched out for *avocado* by Dougla-Trinidadians (four respondents), interchangeably with family, friends and when referring to a specific dish, as well as with foreigners. Once again, for foreigners, participants used the term *avocado* because they would be made fun of, scolded, or given confused looks, proving that *avocado* is viewed as the internationally accepted variety (Kozlova et al. 95).

Table 25

Number of Mixed-Trinidadian Respondents who Change Variants, in Relation to Their Network

Generation	Original, Preferred Variant	Changed Variant	Friends Ethnicity	Friends Age	Context for Change	Reason for Change
Generation Z (9)	Avocado (1)	Zaboca	All of the above	All of the above	With parents and family	Use interchangeably
	Zaboca (8)	Avocado (8)	Afro, Indo, Dougla	Generation Z	Other ("When I can't remember the other name")	Use interchangeably
			Afro, Indo, Mixed, Dougla, Chinese, White	Generation Z	With foreigners	Use interchangeably
			All of the above (2)	Generation Z	With foreigners	Use interchangeably
				All of the above	With parents and family	Use interchangeably
			Afro, Indo, Mixed	Other ("Millennial and Generation Z")	With foreigners	Use interchangeably
			Dougla	Generation Z	With colleagues	Use interchangeably
			Afro	Generation Z	With parents and family	Would be made fun of, scolded or given confused looks
			Afro, Mixed	Generation Z	With foreigners	Use interchangeably
Millennial (1)	Avocado	Zaboca	Mixed, Afro, White, Chinese	Generation X	With parents and family	Use interchangeably
Generation X (4)	Avocado	Zaboca	All of the above	Millennial	Specific dish/variety	Use interchangeably
	Zaboca (3)	Avocado	All of the above	Generation Z	Other ("I use it interchangeably")	Use interchangeably
			Mixed	Generation X	Specific dish/variety	Use interchangeably
			(Response left blank)	Generation X	Specific dish/variety	Use interchangeably
Boomer (1)	Avocado	Zaboca	Afro, Indo, Mixed, Dougla, White	Generation X	When alone	Use interchangeably

Finally, according to table 25, for respondents who originally chose *zaboca*, some selected their second variant to be *avocado* (11 respondents) and they often used the latter in a range of contexts, such as with foreigners, with parents and family, with colleagues and when referring to a specific dish or variety.

For foreigners and colleagues, they selected the reason for their lexical variation was that they use both terms interchangeably because they were accustomed to it. This correlates with Mühleisen's study where the demarcations between where TrinEC and Trinidadian English are supposed to be used have become blurred slightly. However, with parents and family, one person selected that they use both terms interchangeably while another individual indicated that when they did not use the lexical variant *avocado*, it would lead to them being scolded, being made fun of or given confused looks, most likely because, it constituted as

“bad English” according to Winford and the family tried to teach their child the “correct term” (“Teacher Attitudes” 58).

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

This chapter summarises the previous chapters of the study, along with outlining the general conclusions, limitations and recommendations for future studies.

Evidently, the study aimed to discern a connection between age and ethnicity and lexical choice among Northern Trinidadians through an online questionnaire. As such, for *Solanum melongena* and *Eryngium foetidum*, it was found that Indo- and Afro-Trinidadians used *baigan* and *melongene*, respectively, and *bandhania* and *chadon beni*, respectively. This is because the former's Indian ancestors most likely spoke Bhojpuri, from which these terms originate, while some Afro-Trinidadians may reject Bhojpuri and other terms used by Indo-Trinidadians to protect their ethnic identity. Due to their less straightforward ethnic identities, both Dougla- and Mixed-Trinidadians tend to say *baigan* and *chadon beni*, because these so far appear to be generally the most popular variants in our study population, having been entrenched into TrinEC. These two are also the most popular variants for these food items, within each age group for the same reason.

Likewise, for *Musa sapientum*, *banana* is the most common variant in general, among all age and ethnic groups under study, demonstrating that, unlike *chadon beni*, the Patois-derived *fig* has not been ingrained so deeply into TrinEC of these generations. However, like *chadon beni*, the Patois term *zaboca* for *Persea americana* is also now a veritable TrinEC word, as it is the most popular for all ages and ethnicities under study over English's *avocado* and *avocado pear*.

In addition, the study found links between respondents changing their preferred variants under different contexts and their social networks. To illustrate, Indos who usually say Patois *melongene* and *chadon beni*, as well as Afros who say *baigan* and *bandhania*, against the apparent norms for their own ethnic group in this study, switch to the opposite terms with their families and friends who are of a different ethnicity, because these networks

are more likely to understand or simply prefer the term commonly associated with their ethnic background. Similarly, those respondents who, regardless of age and ethnicity, typically say *fig* and *zaboca* switch to *banana* and *avocado*, because the English terms are considered “proper” and/or they are more likely to be understood using English terms as the language has more speakers than Patois, especially in the international arena outside of the Caribbean (where French Creole is the second language, after Spanish). These environmentally-conditioned variations suggest that, for Trinidadians, English variants hold overt prestige, while the Bhojpur and Patois ones are the ones that are used to indicate solidarity and closeness with others (covert prestige), especially since those who originally prefer English variants switch to the non-English ones around friends and family to avoid being perceived as pretentious.

The most notable general trend detected among the age groups is that the globalising capacity of social media is increasing the popularity of English variants in Generation Z.

Furthermore, this study faced many limitations during the collection of data. Originally, the study intended to distribute the questionnaire to the members of a well-known service organisation club of St. Augustine. However, our questionnaire received no responses. Thus, we were forced to change our sample at the last minute to a sample of residents of Northern Trinidad. Nonetheless, the questionnaire was able to gather 100 responses despite the time frame being limited to one week, a number large enough to potentially allow the findings to be generalised. That being said, we did not obtain an equal number of respondents across all the ethnic and age groups, especially for the Boomer generation, of which there were only four respondents, as we did not intend to study this group. Therefore, the findings can be considered somewhat inconclusive, as they would not have been with a large, equal number of respondents. Finally, our methodological approach was quantitative, in order to analyse the trends within the data, but a qualitative study may

have better captured the wide, complex range of opportunities for lexical variation, in relation to age, ethnicity, context, networks, and language attitudes.

Hence, future projects can investigate the link between age and ethnicity, or even another variable like education, on lexical choice, by getting the same number of respondents across these strata, including the Boomer generation, to address this gap left by our study. Instead of a questionnaire, these projects can use interviews to glean the most data from their respondents as possible, since variation is quite a subjective field and thereby, necessitates such a qualitative method. Other studies can even examine the impact of social media on the lexicon choice of the youngest generations.

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APPENDIX

Questionnaire

Section One - Bio-sociological Data

- 1) Please note that *race* is biological, and thereby physical, with races being differentiated by skin colour, hair texture, eye shape, etc., while *ethnicity* pertains to cultural factors, like religion, food, music, and nationality.

The Central Statistical Office of Trinidad and Tobago provides a breakdown of the ethnic composition in Trinidad (16):

African descent - 32.76%

Caucasian - 0.59%

Chinese - 0.31%

(East) Indian - 37.01%

Indigenous - 0.11%

Mixed (African and East Indian/Dougla) - 7.83%

Mixed (other) - 15.69%

Not Stated: 6.39%

Other Ethnic Group - 0.17%

Portuguese - 0.07%

Syrian/Lebanese - 0.08%

With this information in mind, please answer this question:

With which of the following ethnicities do you identify?

- a) Afro-Trinidadian (you are a citizen of Trinidad and Tobago by birth whose majority ancestors came from West Africa before, during or after Emancipation, whether or not from another territory, bringing their religious

and cultural traditions. You are not a resident, or permanent resident of other countries).

- b) Indo-Trinidadian (you are a citizen of Trinidad and Tobago by birth whose majority ancestors came from India beginning in 1845, whether or not from another territory, bringing their religious and cultural traditions. You are not a resident, or permanent resident of other countries).
- c) Mixed (with ethnicities other than or in addition to Afro- and Indo-Trinidadian).
- d) Dougla-Trinidadian (you are a citizen of Trinidad and Tobago by birth who has one Afro-Trinidadian and one Indo-Trinidadian parent. You are not a resident, or permanent resident of other countries).
- e) White/Caucasian.
- f) Chinese.
- g) Indigenous.
- h) Any other not listed. Please specify: _____

2) The Central Statistics Office created a breakdown of the population according to age brackets:

10-14 years old - 90,527 persons

15-19 years old - 101,246 persons

20-24 years old - 117,570 persons

25-29 years old - 127, 118 persons

30-34 years old - 108,657 persons

35-39 years old - 95,236 persons

40-44 years old - 88,674 persons

45-49 years old - 98,915 persons

50-54 years old - 89,725 persons

55-59 years old - 75,349 persons

60-64 years old - 60,356 persons

65-69 years old - 45,939 persons

With this context in mind, please answer this question:

To which of the following age groups do you belong?

- a) Generation Z (born between 1997 and 2012).
- b) Millennial (born between 1981 and 1996).
- c) Generation X (born between 1965 and 1980).
- d) Any other not listed. Please specify: _____

3) Generally speaking, do your immediate family share your ethnicity?

- a) Paternal and maternal sides belong to the same ethnicity.
- b) The family is too mixed to differentiate.
- c) Ethnicities of maternal and paternal sides are not the same, but both exert equal influence.
- d) Ethnicities of maternal and paternal sides are not the same but the family leans more towards one ethnicity despite more than one ethnic influence.

4) If you answered, b) or c), please state the ethnicities of your family.

- a) Afro-Trinidadian (they are citizens of Trinidad and Tobago by birth whose majority ancestors came from West Africa before, during or after Emancipation, whether or not from another territory, bringing their religious and cultural traditions. They are not residents, or permanent residents of other countries).
- b) Indo-Trinidadian (they are citizens of Trinidad and Tobago by birth whose majority ancestors came from India beginning in 1845, whether or not from

another territory, bringing their religious and cultural traditions. They are not residents, or permanent residents of other countries).

- c) Mixed (with ethnicities other than or in addition to Afro- and Indo-Trinidadian).
- d) Dougla-Trinidadian (they are citizens of Trinidad and Tobago by birth who have one Afro-Trinidadian and one Indo-Trinidadian parent. They are not residents, or permanent residents of other countries).
- e) White/Caucasian.
- f) Chinese.
- g) Indigenous.
- h) Any other not listed. Please specify: _____

5) If you answered d), please state which ethnicity your family leans more towards.

- a) Afro-Trinidadian (they are citizens of Trinidad and Tobago by birth whose majority ancestors came from West Africa before, during or after Emancipation, whether or not from another territory, bringing their religious and cultural traditions. They are not residents, or permanent residents of other countries).
- b) Indo-Trinidadian (they are citizens of Trinidad and Tobago by birth whose majority ancestors came from India beginning in 1845, whether or not from another territory, bringing their religious and cultural traditions. They are not residents, or permanent residents of other countries).
- c) Mixed (with ethnicities other than or in addition to Afro- and Indo-Trinidadian).

- d) Dougla-Trinidadian (they are citizens of Trinidad and Tobago by birth who have one Afro-Trinidadian and one Indo-Trinidadian parent. They are not residents, or permanent residents of other countries).
 - e) White/Caucasian.
 - f) Chinese.
 - g) Indigenous.
 - h) Any other not listed. Please specify: _____
- 6) What percentage of your friends are of another ethnicity than your own?
- a) 1 = OVER 80% of a different ethnicity/different ethnicities.
 - b) 2 = UP TO 80% of a different ethnicity/different ethnicities.
 - c) 3 = up to 60% of a different ethnicity/different ethnicities.
 - d) 4 = up to 40% of a different ethnicity/different ethnicities.
 - e) 5 = up to 20% of a different ethnicity/different ethnicities.
 - f) 6 = all my friends share my ethnicity.
- 7) If you chose any other option than f) 6 = all friends are the same ethnicity as self, please select which of the following ethnicities make up your friend group:
- a) Afro-Trinidadian (they are Trinidadian citizens by birth whose ancestors came from West Africa during the slave trade, bringing their religious and cultural traditions. They are not residents, or permanent residents of other countries).
 - b) Indo-Trinidadian (they are citizens of Trinidad and Tobago by birth whose majority ancestors came from India beginning in 1845, whether or not from another territory, bringing their religious and cultural traditions. They are not residents, or permanent residents of other countries).
 - c) Mixed (with ethnicities other than or in addition to Afro- and Indo-Trinidadian).

- d) Dougla-Trinidadian (they are citizens of Trinidad and Tobago by birth who have one Afro-Trinidadian and one Indo-Trinidadian parent. They are not residents, or permanent residents of other countries).
 - e) White.
 - f) Chinese.
 - g) Indigenous.
 - h) All of the above.
 - i) Any other not listed. Please specify: _____
- 8) Generally speaking, are your friends, peers and colleagues of the same age as you?
- a) Yes.
 - b) No.
- 9) If no, to which of the following age groups do they generally belong?
- a) Generation Z (born between 1997 and 2012).
 - b) Millennial (born between 1981 and 1996).
 - c) Generation X (born between 1965 and 1980).
 - d) Any other not listed. Please specify: _____
- 10) Which of the following languages did your parent(s) or grandparent(s) speak?
- a) Patois (also known as French Creole).
 - b) French.
 - c) Hindustani.
 - d) Spanish.
 - e) None of the above. They only spoke English and/or English Creole.
 - f) Any other not listed. Please specify: _____

Section Two - Food Item #1



11) By which of the following terms do you REGULARLY refer to the object in the picture above?

- a) Eggplant.
- b) Melongene.
- c) Aubergine.
- d) Baigan.
- e) Brinjal.
- f) Any other not listed. Please specify: _____

12) Do you know why you refer to the item by the term indicated in question 11) above and not the others?

- a) I learned it from my parents and family growing up.
- b) I learned it from my friends.
- c) I learned it from my colleagues.
- d) I learned it from the media (books, movies, TV shows, social media, etc.).
- e) I have never heard of the other terms.
- f) Any other not listed. Please specify: _____

13) Do you refer to the item using this term all the time?

- a) Yes.
- b) No.

14) If no, which other term do you use?

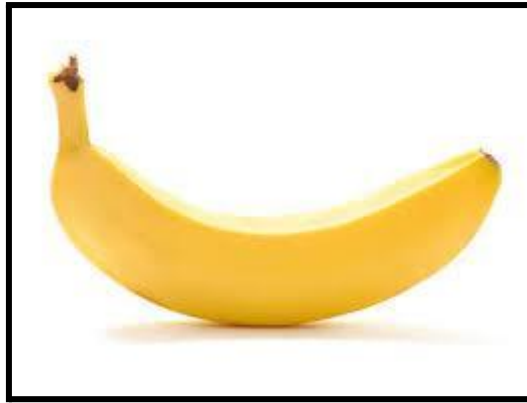
- a) Eggplant.
- b) Melongene.
- c) Aubergine.
- d) Baigan.
- e) Brinjal.
- f) Any other not listed. Please specify: _____

15) When do you use this other term?

- a) When I am around/speaking to my parents and family.
- b) When I am around/speaking to my friends.
- c) When I am around/speaking to my colleagues
- d) When I am around/speaking to foreigners, including other West Indians.
- e) When I am alone.
- f) When I am referring to a certain dish, or to a specific variety of this food item.
- g) Any other not listed. Please specify: _____

16) Give a reason for your answer in question 15) above.

- a) I am comfortable with those people.
- b) I need to impress those people.
- c) I would be made fun of, scolded, or given confused looks if I use the term I usually use.
- d) None of the above. I am just accustomed to using them interchangeably.
- e) Any other not listed. Please specify: _____



17) By which of the following terms do you REGULARLY refer to the object in the picture above?

- a) Fig.
- b) Banana.
- c) Any other not listed. Please specify: _____

18) Why do you refer to the item by the term indicated in question 17) above and not the others?

- a) I learned it from my parents and family growing up.
- b) I learned it from my friends.
- c) I learned it from my colleagues.
- d) I learned it from the media (books, movies, TV shows, social media, etc.).
- e) I have never heard of the other terms.
- f) Any other not listed. Please specify: _____

19) Do you refer to the item using this term all the time?

- a) Yes.
- b) No.

20) If no, which other term do you use?

- a) Banana.
- b) Fig.

c) Any other not listed. Please specify: _____

21) When do you use this other term?

- a) When I am around/speaking to my parents and family.
- b) When I am around/speaking to my friends.
- c) When I am around/speaking to my colleagues.
- d) When I am around/speaking to foreigners, including other West Indians.
- e) When I am alone.
- f) When I am referring to a certain dish, or to a specific variety of this food item.
- g) Any other not listed. Please specify: _____

22) Give a reason for your answer in question 21) above.

- a) I am comfortable with those people.
- b) I need to impress those people.
- c) I would be made fun of, scolded, or given confused looks if I use the term I usually use.
- d) None of the above. I am just accustomed to using them interchangeably.
- e) Any other not listed. Please specify: _____

Section Four - Food Item #3

23) By which of the following terms do you REGULARLY refer to the object in the picture above?

- a) Chardon Beni ("Shadow benny").
- b) Bandhania.
- c) Culantro.
- d) Cilantro.
- e) Any other not listed. Please specify: _____

24) Why do you refer to the item by the term indicated in question 23) above and not the others?

- a) I learned it from my parents and family growing up.
- b) I learned it from my friends.
- c) I learned it from my colleagues.
- d) I learned it from the media (books, movies, TV shows, social media, etc.).
- e) I have never heard of the other terms.
- f) Any other not listed. Please specify: _____

25) Do you refer to the item using this term all the time?

- a) Yes.
- b) No.

26) If no, which other term do you use?

- a) Chadon Beni (“Shadow Benny”).
- b) Bandhanian.
- c) Culantro.
- d) Cilantro.
- e) Any other not listed. Please specify: _____

27) When do you use this other term?

- a) When I am around/speaking to my parents and family.
- b) When I am around/speaking to my friends.
- c) When I am around/speaking to my colleagues.
- d) When I am around/speaking to foreigners, including other West Indians.
- e) When I am alone.
- f) When I am referring to a certain dish, or to a specific variety of the food item.
- g) Any other not listed. Please specify: _____

28) Give a reason for your answer in question 27) above.

- a) I am comfortable with those people.
- b) I need to impress those people.
- c) I would be made fun of, scolded, or given confused looks if I use the term I usually use.
- d) None of the above. I am just accustomed to using them interchangeably.
- e) Any other not listed. Please specify: _____

Section Five - Food Item #4

29) By which of the following terms do REGULARLY you refer to the object in the picture above?

- a) Avocado.
- b) Avocado Pear.
- c) Pear.
- d) Zaboca.
- e) Any other not listed. Please specify: _____

30) Why do you refer to the item by the term indicated in question 29) above and not the others?

- a) I learned it from my parents and family growing up.
- b) I learned it from my friends.
- c) I learned it from my colleagues.
- d) I learned it from the media (books, movies, TV shows, social media, etc.).
- e) I have never heard of the other terms.
- f) Any other not listed. Please specify: _____

31) Do you refer to the item using this term all the time?

- a) Yes.
- b) No.

32) If no, which other term do you use?

- a) Avocado.
- b) Avocado Pear.
- c) Pear.
- d) Zaboca.
- e) Any other not listed. Please specify: _____

33) When do you use this other term?

- a) When I am around/speaking to my parents and family.
- b) When I am around/speaking to my friends.
- c) When I am around/speaking to my colleagues.
- d) When I am around/speaking to foreigners, including other West Indians.
- e) When I am alone.
- f) When I am referring to a certain dish, or to a specific variety of this food item.
- g) Any other not listed. Please specify: _____

34) Give a reason for your answer in question 33) above.

- a) I am comfortable with those people.
- b) I need to impress those people.
- c) I would be made fun of, scolded, or given confused looks if I use the term I usually use.
- d) None of the above. I am just accustomed to using them interchangeably.
- e) Any other not listed. Please specify: _____

35) To bolster the reliability of our study, we kindly ask that you send this questionnaire to two (2) people OUTSIDE your family who also live in the North of Trinidad.

(what classifies as North according to our study are the regions/municipalities of

Diego Martin, Port of Spain, San Juan-Laventille, Tunapuna-Piarco, Sangre Grande.)

In addition, please make sure that these two people are not of the same generation as you. E.g. if you are part of Generation Y, please send the questionnaire to someone who is part of Generation X and Generation Z.

Please note: If you received this questionnaire from someone OTHER THAN one of the three investigators, you can ignore this question.

- a) Yes, I will.
- b) I can only send it to one other person.
- c) No, I don't know anyone else who lives in the North of Trinidad and is from a different generation than myself.