

LISE WINER

INDIC LEXICON IN THE ENGLISH/CREOLE OF TRINIDAD

INTRODUCTION

This paper examines the contemporary component of the English/Creole of Trinidad that is derived from languages (almost entirely Bhojpuri) of India.¹ It begins with an explanation of the methodology of determining the 1,844-word corpus,² and a discussion of various pitfalls in determining derivations. The lexical items in the corpus are then described and categorized by sociocultural domains. The final section examines evidence for the degree to which particular words have been mainstreamed within the non-Indian population of Trinidad.

Between 1845 and 1917, almost 144,000 people came from India to Trinidad as indentured laborers.³ Although immigrants came from various parts of India, the majority were from the northern India province of Bihar, and mostly spoke Bhojpuri, a language closely related to, and often identified as, Hindi (Mohan & Zador 1986, Mohan 1990). The Indian immigrant population consisted of a large majority of Hindus and a minority of Muslims. Laborers who had finished their indentureship could return to India, sign up for another contract, or remain as “time-expired” immigrants with land. Well into the twentieth century, many of these immigrants and their descendant population resident in Trinidad remained relatively iso-

1. This paper was originally presented at the Biennial Conference of the Society for Caribbean Linguistics/Curaçao Creole Conference, August 2004. For their patience, hospitality, and devotion to sharing their language and culture, I am indebted to Ena Baksh, Yasmin Baksh, Julius Boos, Uma Dwivedi, Kumar Mahabir, Sita Mahabir, Ken and Rosalind Parmesad, Kamla Ramlakhan, and the Seemungal family of El Dorado Village (especially Lakshmi, Rampersad, Rajan, Vinue, Jeewan, Asha, and Vidya).

2. Not included in this count are several items that are only possibly of Indian origin.

3. For the purposes of this paper, description and analysis apply to Trinidad, but not Tobago, which has historically had few Indian immigrants or their descendants.

lated on rural agricultural estates.⁴ Access to English via formal schooling was quite delayed for most rural Trinidadians, and most of the early schools targeting the Indian population were run by Protestant missionaries (see Morton 1916, Ladoo 1974). It is fair to say that increased access to English education was a prime medium of the replacement not only of Bhojpuri, but Patois and Spanish as well; mass schooling led to the use of fewer languages in the community, and there was little government encouragement for the Hindu or Muslim schools that did give or might have given attention to Hindi and Urdu.⁵

For many in the Afro-Creole population of Trinidad, the Indian community remained separate and mysterious; but by 1995, when the first Indo-Trinidadian was elected prime minister, the community constituted half of the population and was front and center in discussions of national culture and unity. Some of these discussions have become quite acrimonious, over questions like the amount of Indian music to be played on local radio stations.⁶ The history and cultural practices of this segment of the population have received considerable scholarly attention.⁷

Little work has been done on ethnolects in Trinidad (Boodoosingh 1976, Singh 1988, Winer 1992a), although most Trinidadians would claim to be able

4. There was no prohibition on Indian immigrants speaking their native languages once arrived in Trinidad. However, as Pastner (1967) has shown, especially in rural areas, the language most likely to have been learned by a speaker of another language of India was not the most common Indian language, Bhojpuri, or even English/Creole, but French Creole, known locally as *Patois*. Patois was the lingua franca of Trinidad, particularly in rural areas, well into the twentieth century, as shown by the necessity for interpreters: "The Governor and the defendant ... came and spoke to the coolies; Mr. White was also there and spoke French [*sic*] to the Coolies" (*Trinidad Spectator*, May 28, 1848, p. 2).

5. Kirk Meighoo, Hindi and Innocent Creole Culture, *Trinidad and Tobago Express*, April 23, 2004.

6. Both requests for (more) Indian music on local stations and plans to establish "Indian" stations, are sometimes seen by non-Indians as "racialism" (Ravi Ji, To Caarray in the Gayelle, *Trinidad Guardian*, April 7, 2004).

7. For example, Niehoff & Niehoff 1960; Klass 1961 and 1991; Alladin 1970; Meosa 1971; Jha 1973, 1976a, 1976b; Ali 1975; Brereton 1979; Mohammed 1982; Ramnath 1982; La Guerre 1985; Mahabir 1985, 1991, 1992a; Clarke 1986; Dabydeen & Samaroo 1987; Birbalsingh 1988; De Verteuil 1989; Vertovec 1992; Khan 1994; Kanhai 1999; Seesaran 2002. Studies that focus on socioeconomic and political aspects of the Indo-Trinidadian community are not addressed here. There have been several studies, some comparative, on the Indian community of Guyana, which is similar in many ways to that of Trinidad (including Cross 1972, Dabydeen & Samaroo 1987). It would also be worthwhile to make direct comparisons of the Indian communities in Fiji and Mauritius, where there is apparently a greater rate of survival of Indian languages (Meighoo, *Trinidad and Tobago Express*, April 23, 2004).

to distinguish certain ethnic and/or social class types of “twang” or accent, identified by names such as “Indian,” and “convent [school].” Some potential ethnolects, such as “Creole” or “Afro-Creole,” seem instead to be more dependent on other factors, such as residence or religious affiliation.⁸ For example, the extensive Yoruba lexicon associated with the Orisha religion is mostly used by Afro-Creoles, but by no means all or even most Afro-Creole Trinidadians outside this system are familiar with more than a few of these terms (Warner-Lewis 1991, 1996).

METHODOLOGY OF CORPUS COLLECTION

The words in this Indo-Trinidadian lexical corpus have all been identified and collected within the framework of the ongoing preparation of the *Dictionary of the English/Creole of Trinidad and Tobago*. To be included in this work, an item had to fulfill a number of criteria, including that it not belong in form and/or usage to recognized standard North American or British English (see Winer 1993:48-51). Several languages have contributed to the primarily English-derived lexicon of Trinidadian English/Creole (TEC), including Patois (FC), French (Fr), Spanish (Sp), several African languages including Yoruba and Twi, and a handful of words from Chinese and Portuguese. In most cases, a particular word is used more frequently within the corresponding historically ethnolinguistic group. However, to be considered part of the English/Creole language of Trinidad (TEC), a word must have been heard or seen, and judged as being used, within an otherwise entirely TEC sentence. Thus, words of Indian origin had to be acceptably used in an otherwise TEC sentence, that is, one called a “mixed-up sentence,” not only a “(broken) Hindi” one. All the words cited here were tested with at least two unrelated members of the Indo-Trinidadian community, who had to agree that the item was used in this way. Words that were characterized as only being used by people who spoke Bhojpuri fluently were omitted from the list. To date 1,844 such words have been gathered from oral and written sources, both

8. Because “Indians” have been predominantly rural and “Creoles” urban, it is not always possible to determine whether differences in language use are based on ethnicity or residence alone. However, there is a tendency for many urban or formally educated Trinidadians to assume that the linguistic differences between “urban” and “rural” are much greater or more consistent than they in fact often are. This is part of a romanticized view in which “country” or “bush” areas constitute a kind of cultural museum or repository, to be dipped into at will. If this dichotomy ever was true, it certainly is not now. With the increased reach of media, schools, and transportation, the rural areas are not as isolated as in the past; conversely, urban areas may be the locus of considerable tradition.

historical and contemporary. Literary sources were especially useful for their rich contextualization and representation of oral speech.⁹

PATHWAYS OF LEXICAL DERIVATION

The determination of the relationship and status of Hindi and Bhojpuri is a complicated and underinformed one. Although a number of scholars have long stressed that the majority of immigrants to Trinidad spoke Bhojpuri,¹⁰ not Hindi, popularly the language has locally been known as Hindi, or rather “broken Hindi” or “bad Hindi.” The latter terms are partly due to the awareness that the standard Hindi heard in Indian movies, or found in Hindi textbooks, and so forth, is different from that spoken locally by older people.

More recently, there has developed in Trinidad an increasing reference to Bhojpuri rather than Hindi by scholars and popular writers, but it is standard Hindi, not Bhojpuri, that is taught in Trinidad Hindu schools. The teaching of standard Hindi as a heritage language in Trinidad is thus similar to the teaching of the standard French of France or Quebec to speakers of Acadian French in Louisiana: the language taught in school is not the language of the grandparents.¹¹ Although Bhojpuri is still a common variety for locally composed lyrics of both traditional and modern-style songs, particularly the genre known as *pichakaree*,¹² apart from knowledge of individual vocabulary items, songs and prayers, and modified native-like pronunciation (Mohan

9. For example, Lewis 1958, 1961, 1972; Khan 1961, 1988; Naipaul 1964, 1969a, 1969b; Selvon 1971, 1973, 1979, 1972, 1985; Ladoo 1972, 1974; Sawh 1982; Persaud 1990, 1993, and Maharaj, *Trinidad and Tobago Express*, October 14, 1990 and 1994.

10. For example, Jha 1973, Dukhedin-Lalla 1974, Bhatia 1982, Gambhir 1983, Mohan & Zador 1986, Mohan 1990.

11. Although Hindi classes are available, Meighoo (*Trinidad and Tobago Express*, April 23, 2004) notes that “even the hardcore ‘recalcitrant’ Indian activists, who energetically promote Indian culture and Indian persons in Trinidad and Tobago society, and are unapologetic – and moreover, proud – about their ‘Indianness,’ know almost no Hindi, and despite usually initial hot enthusiasm, abandon any effort to learn it ... One very prominent Indian advocate ... told me that he didn’t think he needed to know Hindi to understand Indian culture.” This has led Ravi Ji (Bhaash-puri or Hindi in Trinidad? *Trinidad Guardian*, April 21, 2004), a prominent Indo-Trinidadian leader, to proclaim that Bhojpuri was “not a taught but a caught language.” Furthermore, Meighoo claims local “parochialism” in regard to unfamiliar culture of the Indian subcontinent, from names to food. It was, however, certainly irritating to many viewers, including non-Indo-Trinidadians, that many of the actors in the 2002 film version of V.S. Naipaul’s *The Mystic Masseur* (1964) spoke with continental, not local, Indo accents.

12. See Peter Ray Blood, Pichakaree Time Again, *Trinidad Guardian*, March 28, 2002 and Indira Maharaj, Love and Sex in Pichakaree, *Trinidad and Tobago Express*, March 22, 2002.

& Zador 1986, Mohan 1990), it would be fair to say that even within the Indo-Trinidadian community, Bhojpuri has followed a typical path in which unsupported family transmission of an immigrant language does not extend to the third generation (Garcia 2003) (the same is true of local French, Patois, Spanish, Chinese, and Arabic).

Hindering the effort for full recognition of Bhojpuri as a language is the fact that despite recent designation as “official” by the government of India, there are as yet no available dictionaries or grammar books of Bhojpuri. Thus, non-Bhojpuri speakers must rely on speakers of Hindi and/or Bhojpuri, as well as dictionaries of standard Hindi (Forbes 1861, McGregor 1993). In many cases, it is only possible to assume that a word is Indian in origin, and ascertain that it is not Hindi, leading to an interim assumption that the word derives from Bhojpuri, subject to future investigation.

The Indian lexical component in TEC is overwhelmingly derived from Bhojpuri, Hindi, or both, but also includes Sanskrit and Urdu (Mohan & Zador 1986, Mahabir & Mahabir 1990, Mohan 1990). Sanskrit is particularly represented in words pertaining to Hindu religion; Urdu, which is basically Hindi with considerable influence from Arabic and Farsi (Persian), is mostly found in words pertaining to Islam. Modern Hindi is also a contemporary contributor or language “reinforcement,” through standard Hindi media such as Bollywood movies.

There are very few instances of words derived from Indian languages other than Bhojpuri, Urdu, Hindi, or Sanskrit in this corpus, although considerable numbers of immigrants came from areas where Bengali, Punjabi, and Tamil (known locally as “Madrassi”) were dominant. Two of the rare exceptions are from kite-flying/fighting: *mange* /manzh/ ‘coating applied to kite string,’ which comes from the Bengali and Punjabi *manja* ‘ground glass and rice-flour paste applied to kite string,’ and Punjabi *rasam*, a similar coating. Interestingly, TEC-speakers, including Indo-Trinidadians, unanimously identify the origin of the former word as FC *mange* < Fr *manger* ‘to eat.’ In the case of *karapul* ‘small shiny flavorful leaves of *Murraya koenigi*,’ the immediate source is probably Hindi/Bhojpuri, but it may also have entered the language via Anglo-Indian *corropali* although the ultimate source is probably Tamil *karuvepila* and/or Malayalam *koduka puli*. A different route has been followed by TEC *cowitch* (or *cow-itch*) ‘any of several plants, usually vines, bearing pods with highly irritant hairs, esp. *Mucuna* sp.’ The original etymon is H *kewinch* ‘*Mucuna prurita*, a vine with stinging hairs on the pods,’ that has come into English as *cowage*. It appears that in TEC this was reanalyzed as *cow* (from association with pastures) + *itch* (from the symptom), but it is not clear whether this came directly from Hindi or via English.

Bhojpuri was the “leveling” language or koiné in the early Indian population of Trinidad, and may have been learned, at least to some extent, by non-Bhojpuri speakers who found themselves in small minorities among

large numbers of Bhojpuri speakers on estates.¹³ This is apparently true even for the “Madrassis,” known for their *Kali-Mai puja* and *fire-pass* rituals;¹⁴ thus far, the terminology found in these rituals is hardly different from that used in other Hindu environments.¹⁵

In some cases, words that clearly come from India have also been integrated (if not assimilated) into standard English. For example, the word *sari* ‘a woman’s draped garment,’ is widely known and used throughout the Indian diaspora and indeed is well known to many non-Indian English speakers. However, few if any of the original immigrant women to Trinidad would have worn a sari, but rather the full skirts and long tops characteristic of northern India.

Not all users of Indian words were Indian; words such as *sari* were already familiar to Anglo-Indians (Lewis 1991). People who had served in the Anglo-Indian Raj spoke “Hindustani” (the official version of Hindi) or other Indian languages, and acted as immigration brokers, court interpreters, and advisors to planters and politicians on Indian indenture and immigration.¹⁶ Estate owners and overseers would likely understand, and even

13. Ravi Ji, *Trinidad Guardian*, April 21, 2004.

14. Keith E. McNeal, *Miracle Mother*, *Caribbean Beat* 54, March/April, 2002.

15. Similarly, there was a leveling of religious observance within Hinduism: “The localized traditions of minor deities and their associated rites were soon diminished in Trinidad in favour of a standardized, Sanatan Dharm style of Hinduism. A smaller pantheon of Sanskrit gods became dominant ... A Vaishnavite *bhakti* orientation became pervasive” (Vertovec 1992:111). Ravi Ji further proposes that there was “a conscious intervention of Hindi through the Indian High Commission in the wake of India’s Independence – when Trinidad was a British colony. For one thing, India was interested in establishing Hindi as an official language of India. The Indian High Commission in colonial T&T, may well have been influenced by the Arya Samaj which, at that time, saw Bhojpuri as a carrier of folk culture and traditions which was in conflict [with] their reformatory mission” (Ravi Ji, *Trinidad Guardian*, April 21, 2004).

16. One Major James Fagan, who had served in the Bengal Military Establishment, had a “roving commission to attend to Indian affairs in all parts of the island. He was partly a magistrate and partly a welfare officer” (Wood 1968:114). In regard to evidence taken in Calcutta of “returning coolies” it was reported in *The Trinidadian* of April 8, 1852, p. 2: “Major Fagan understood our language. If a line was drawn on the ground and milk thrown on one side and water on the other, he could tell which was which, and the other gentlemen could not tell so much in our matters.” This could affect court cases, some put aside when “there was no one who could understand the Coolie” (*The Trinidadian*, September 20, 1852). Lady Stanmore, in her diary entry for November 4, 1866 notes: “We have on board the Chief Justice of Trinidad, Wm Knox, an oldish man, certainly cultivated. He is a good Italian scholar, and has taught himself Hindee [*sic*] since coolie cases became numerous and important” (p. 45). Justice Knox also spoke fluent French and Spanish (no mention has been found of his learning any African language).

use, Indian words such as *sirdar* ‘overseer,’ *dhobi* ‘laundry-man,’ and *puja* ‘Hindu prayer service,’ in reference to Indian life and labor on the estate. Some TEC words, such as *lota* ‘brass pot’ and *locho* ‘loafer, libertine, idler’ from the Anglo-Indian form *loocho* < Hindi *luchchaa*, can also be found in identical or similar forms in that epitome of colonial language reference, *Hobson-Jobson* (Yule & Burnell 1985).

English, linguistically classified as Indo-European, owes some fundamental debts to Sanskrit. It would, however, be perverse to insist that more than a handful of words have come directly to standard English or TEC from Sanskrit. Words such as E *jungle* < Hindi and other northern Indian languages *jāngal* ‘wild forest’ were certainly well known in English long before Indian immigration to the Caribbean. Another type of wandering lexical history is demonstrated by TEC *pelau* ‘a spicy dish of browned meat, with rice, and sometimes peas.’ In the Trinidad context, the Hindi *pilau*, from Persian *pulao*, Sanskrit *pulaaka*, may have come through or been influenced by the Fr and FC *pélao*.

The Urdu element in Indo-TEC lexicon is, as noted above, associated with cultural aspects of the Muslim community, including religious observance, music, and food. The original source for most of these words is either Arabic or Farsi (Persian). Examples include *imam* < Arabic *imaam* ‘Muslim religious leader,’ *qasida* ‘style of classical Arabian poetry’ < Arabic *qasida*, and *sarabet* ‘a sweetened beverage’ from Persian *sharbat*.¹⁷

Misassigned Derivations

A number of words that have occasionally or consistently been locally considered to be of Indian derivation are in fact from other languages. The two dozen typical examples here are taken from Noor Kumar and Sita Mahabir Mahabir (1990). The relevance of two phonological principles can be derived from this list. First, all these items conform to Bhojpuri rules of phonotactics, sometimes involving changes such as the /f/ of *coffee* to an aspirated /p^h/. Second, there is an emphasis on the spellings “a” rather than “u” as in *mas* ‘must’ and “aa” as in *kaat* ‘cut,’ representing both a lengthening and a raising of the vowel, considered typical of traditional Indian-Trinidadian speech.¹⁸

17. To get to Fr *sorbet* and E *sherbet*, the word went through Western Europe and the referent became frozen.

18. This process is sometimes referred to as “Bhojpurisation” of English, e.g. *hospital* to *’aspataal*, *California* to *Kalpainyaa* (Ravi Ji, *Trinidad Guardian*, April 21, 2004). The pronunciation of /ar/ as /a:/, as in “star,” is of course characteristic of British and some American English varieties.

Table 1. TEC Words Misassigned as Indian-Derived

<i>TEC Word Considered “Hindi”</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Known or Probable Source</i>
<i>bookane</i>	‘cooked by smoke’	FC/Fr <i>boucan</i> < Carib <i>boukan</i> ‘stick framework, grill’
<i>chuk</i>	‘pierce, jab’	African, compare Fulani <i>jukka</i> ‘poke,’ Tsonga <i>jukula</i> ‘dig up’
<i>dodo</i>	‘sleep’	FC/Fr
<i>gaabilaa</i>	‘chicken hawk’	Sp <i>gavilan</i> , FC <i>gabilan</i>
<i>hallaa</i>	‘noise, uproar’	dial. E <i>holler</i> ‘yell, shout’
<i>jaanjee</i>	a fresh-water fish [eel]	FC <i>zangee</i> < Fr <i>anguille</i> ‘eel’
<i>jitnee</i>	‘vehicle’	E <i>jitney</i>
<i>kaapaa</i>	‘penny’	E <i>copper</i>
<i>kaaphee</i>	‘coffee’	E <i>coffee</i> (also Indianized forms from E and possibly Arabic)
<i>kaat</i>	‘cut, bite’	E <i>cut</i>
<i>kaataa</i>	‘headpad to cushion load’	African, prob. Twi <i>katá</i> ‘cover, protect’
<i>laaboo</i>	‘mud’	FC < Fr <i>la boue</i> ‘mud’
<i>malaad</i>	‘invalid; sick’	FC < Fr <i>malade</i> ‘sick, ill’
<i>mas</i>	‘must’	E <i>must</i>
<i>meele</i>	‘brought together’	FC, Fr <i>mêlée</i> ‘mixed; mixture’
<i>paap</i>	‘soft’	E <i>pap</i> ‘soft food’
<i>paapaa</i>	‘father’	Fr/E <i>papa</i>
<i>pemwaa</i>	‘breadfruit’	FC <i>pembwa</i> < Fr <i>pain de bois</i>
<i>pooiyaa</i>	‘cutlass’	FC < Fr <i>poignard</i> ‘short sword or dagger’
<i>reeba</i>	‘river’	E <i>river</i>

<i>TEC Word Considered</i> “Hindi”	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Known or Probable Source</i>
<i>saabon</i>	‘soap’	Fr <i>savon</i>
<i>saapaat</i>	‘footwear made of wood and rubber’	Sp <i>sapat</i> , <i>sapatero</i>
<i>swaipaa</i>	‘machete, brushing cutlass’	E <i>swiper</i>
<i>tamaakhoo</i>	‘tobacco’	< E <i>tobacco</i> , Sp <i>tabaco</i> < Amer

Indo-TEC Lexicon by Sociocultural Domain

This section describes the majority of Indo-TEC lexicon, totaling 1,844 words, categorizing items by their semantic-cultural domain. Major categories include religious practice, particularly Hindu weddings and Muslim Hosay (Niehoff & Niehoff 1960, Korom 2003); music (Myers 1998); dance and stickfighting (Alladin 1970); food preparation (Indar & Ramesar 1988, Mahabir 1992b); agriculture; kinship (Jha 1973); health (Mahabir 2000); and description of appearance and behavior. In the table, *n* indicates the number of words put into this category, and % indicates the percentage of the total Indo-lexical corpus that this constitutes.

Table 2. Examples of Indian-Derived Lexicon by Sociocultural Domains

Actions n = 148 (8%)

bhoray – eat by picking up food with your fingers or a piece of roti
 bichkaawe – grimace, distort or twist the face
 binay – select, especially pick and choose good grains

Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Fishing n = 83 (4.5%)

bacha, bachi – newly born male/female calf
 bhopa – rattoon, new shoots from an old plant
 bhusi – rice husk; grain seed covering
 biya – 1. seed, grain; 2. a bundle, usually of rice seedlings
 biyari – nursery for young plants
 bandhnaa – a grass band used to tie bundles, usually of fodder

Body (36) and Health (35) n = 72 (3.9%)

barowni – eyebrow
 bilni – sty, painful swelling on the eyelid
 chaura – peeling skin on baby’s body
 lulha – having only one able hand, the other crippled or twisted

Clothing and Jewelry n = 79 (4.3%)

baju – wide light bracelet worn between elbow and shoulder

bandal – tight metal bracelet worn on the forearm

bari – small hoop-shaped earrings

jora-jama/jama-jora – man's long jacket with long sleeves and a high neck

orhni – woman's scarf worn around the neck or over the head

Cooking (n = 52) and Food (n = 168), n = 218 (11.8%)

baelay – roll with a baelna

baelna – small thin wooden rolling pin

baigan choka – a dish made from roasted baigan (eggplant, aubergine), onions, and seasoning

barfi – fudge-like sweet made from milk and sugar

chulha – earthen fireplace

chunkay – throw seasoning into hot oil; throw hot oil with seasonings into dal

Descriptions, Evaluations n = 116 (6.3%)

abhimaan – false pride

aisa-taisa – commonplace; ordinary

bandar – badly behaved or stupid person

chachundar – a person who wanders about; a loose, undisciplined woman

chatak – of food, savory, tasty; of music, good, lively, having feeling

Environment n = 43 (2.3%)

bhowchar – light rain blowing inside the house

bihjli – lightning; thunderbolt

chowk – earthen bank on the side of a drain

gunda – clay, used in making pottery

maati – dirt, earth, soil

Fauna n = 49 (2.7%)

bhaisa – water buffalo

bhowraa – wasps or bees that make a loud humming noise

bhungaa – fruit fly

Flora n = 105 (5.7%)

balahar – *Artocarpus lacucha*, a tree fruit

banga – two species of spiny native palm trees

baigan – eggplant, aubergine

bhaaji – a number of plants with dark green leaves edible when cooked

bhankaraile – a vine yielding a small bitter fruit

bodi – a very long edible pod bean

Folk Beliefs and Practices n = 32 (1.7%)

bhut – evil spirit; demon

churail – ghost of a woman who died in childbirth

dih – traditional Hindu guardian spirit that protects a particular place

gadabera – time of sunset, considered an unlucky time to sleep, eat, sweep

Games n = 10 (0.5%)

guli danta – game played by flicking a thin stick across a circle

gudia – doll, dolly

kabadi – vigorous chasing game between two teams

Hinduism n = 228 (12.4%)

brahman – a high-caste Hindu, often a teacher or pandit

baraha/barahi – a celebration held twelve days after a birth

bedi – earthen altar

bhabhoot – ashes from incense

bhagwat – a week-long reading and exposition of the Bhagavata Purana

bhandara – ritual held 23-30 days after a death

bheik – ritual thread worn by devout men

brath – period of fasting because of a religious vow or holy time

Hindu Weddings n = 60 (3.3%)

bahoray – ritual of applying vermillion powder to the bride

barat/bariat – procession of the groom and his party to the house of the bride

bhatwan – farewell night during a Hindu wedding ceremony

bhawar ghoom – ritual of groom and bride walking around the sacred fire

bidai – clothes and jewelry given to the bride by the groom's brother

bida karaway – a ritual when the groom and bride are sent away

Household n = 96 (5.2%)

bartan – dishes, cups, and other cooking and eating items

chadar – bedcover, blanket

chimta/simta – fire tongs

dhenki – grinding mill consisting of two circular flat stones

Islam n = 58 (3.1%)

Bakra-Eid – holy day commemorating the sacrifice of Isaac

banaithi – fire-stick dance performed by men on Hosay night

gumaj – small crown placed on top of the Hosay tadjah

halal – done according to Muslim ritual, usually of slaughter of animals for meat

Kinship n = 102 (5.5%)

baba – father; term of respect for pandit or any older man

bahin – sister, especially younger sister

bahnai – older sister's husband

barka bahin – older sister

bhowji – older brother's wife

Miscellaneous n = 199 (10.8%)

baal – counting word usually of grain used for seed

bahana – mischief; trouble; excuse; pretense; lie

barakat – good fortune or prosperity, especially gained through hard work

bipat – trouble; difficulty; pain; worries

burhaa/burhiya – old, elderly man/woman

Music, Drama, Song, and Stick-fighting $n = 146$ (8%)

bayan – the left-hand, lower-tone drum in a tabla set

bansuri – horizontal bamboo flute

bhajan – type of Hindu hymn or holy song

biraha/birha – improvised Hindu religious song

Actions: This category includes a number of terms pertaining to actions in cooking and eating, as well as to actions typical of household and agricultural pursuits, and common actions such as giggling, stealing, pushing, cuddling, grumbling, and splashing. These include mostly verbs, but also some words that are used as nouns in phrases implying an action, *dular* ‘loving attention; cuddling; affectionate snuggling,’ or *lathi* ‘stick,’ as in “He gi the man plenty lathi” ‘He hit the man a lot with a stick.’ Some word sets retain morphological differences, such as *bhun-bhun* ‘a grumble, buzz, mutter’ and *bhunbhunai* ‘to grumble continuously’; in some cases such morphology is not consistently applied, or crosses word class boundaries. Note, for example, that *barbar* ‘chatter, (talk) nonsense’ is both noun and verb, whereas *barbaraawe* ‘make unnecessary noise’ is always a verb.¹⁹

Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Fishing: Almost all indentured immigrants were assigned to agricultural work on estates, mostly in sugarcane but also cocoa. Indians are still the segment of the population most involved in sugarcane and vegetable agriculture. The greatest single subdomain in this area pertains to rice cultivation and processing, which has always been carried out locally exclusively by Indo-Trinidadians (see Diptee 1992).²⁰

Body and Health: Words for body parts follow the general pattern, also found in the African-derived vocabulary, of keeping heritage language terms for more private terms, such as *jhaat*, *jahant* ‘pubic hair.’ Several words refer to deformities or disabilities. Although health terms are relatively few, most are used widely and frequently, including words for tingling or numb sensations, respiratory problems, fevers, and growths. A specifically Indian set of medical diagnoses center on diseases considered caused by evil intent or demons, and by the “strain” or “dislocation” of “veins,” which are treated with specific traditional remedies and treatments (see Winer 1992b, Mahabir 2000).

Clothing and Jewelery: Quite a few of the terms collected for jewelery and the clothing worn by the original immigrants are now archaic or obsolete

19. The /e/ ending on verbs has not yet been properly analyzed, but appears to derive from the Bhojpuri /e/ verb ending for completive aspect, almost certainly because of or reinforced by the typical Patois /e/ ending for verbs.

20. See also Lena Chandool, Indian Culture and Agriculture, *Indian Arrival Day Magazine*, May-June, 2003 and Anuradha Joshi, Indian Women Pioneered Rice Cultivation, *Indian Arrival Day Magazine*, May-June 2003.

in common usage, as are the items themselves (see Raghoo 1984, Ramesar 1999/2000). Some survive, however, mostly found in connection with dance and wedding costumes.

Descriptions and Evaluations: A few of the words in this category are neutral or positive in meaning or connotation: *chitkabar* 'spotted, speckled,' *chikan* 'clean, in good order,' *gyaani* 'learned, erudite man,' *songha* 'mellow, pleasant smoky flavor or aroma.' However, over three quarters of these words are negative, referring to physical descriptions (*roggi* 'sickly-looking,' *malich* 'filthy, dirty,' *jhabraa* 'of hair, dirty, tangled'), emotions (*abhimani* 'false pride,' *jabarjast* 'jealous'), behavior (*puhar* 'slack, clumsy') and character (*pakhandi* 'fussy over trivial things,' *langeri* 'irresponsible, unreliable,' *dhansirya* 'woman who wastes money'). In most cases, there are English words potentially available as synonyms; however, the precision of some items, as well as the emotional strength carried by these words either by heritage use or by switching for emphasis, has supported their survival.²¹

Environment: This rather broad category includes names for types of terrain, *daldal* 'marshy or swampy place,' weather, *bhowchar* 'light rain blowing inside the house,' natural phenomena, *garahan* 'eclipse,' and features of the land whether natural or human-made, *gullaa* 'hole dug in the ground.'

Fauna: These designations refer mainly to domestic animals, as well as animals frequently found around houses, such as wasps. Wild animals, from mosquitoes to owls, are referred to in largely generic fashion, or with several species grouped together. This stands in contrast to the extremely rich TEC vocabulary for fauna, a considerable amount of which comes from Amerindian languages (via Spanish) and from Patois (see Winer & Aguilar 1991, Winer & Boos 1991). By the time the Indian immigrants arrived, of course, the local fauna had already been named, and the names were accessible. However, the *bhaisa*, 'water buffalo,' was imported and used extensively by the Indian population.

Flora: Indian names for local flora are almost entirely practical, that is, for plants that are edible, used in rituals, or used for tying crabs, making roofs or other purposes. In some cases, Indian names were made for local plants that resembled Indian ones, for example *bhandhania* 'like, similar to + coriander'

21. A similar phenomenon occurs in the retention (recognition and/or use) of Yiddish items in the English of non-Yiddish speaking Jews with Yiddish as a family or community heritage language. For example, the highest praise is to call someone a *mensch* lit. 'man,' but with connotations of integrity and other positive characteristics. Conversely, negative epithets running the gamut from ill-fortuned to malicious – *shlemiel*, *shlemazel*, *shmendrik*, *shmuck* – are considered more precise and forceful than any English (near-)equivalents, and are kept in use by their unfortunately frequent applicability.

for *Eryngium foetidum*. Again, the immigrant population arrived to find hundreds of names for local flora well established in English and Patois.²²

Folk Beliefs and Practices: With the exception of *jharay* 'ritual removal of an evil spirit or blight,' and perhaps *jadoo* 'harmful magic,' this vocabulary is mostly known only within the Indo-Trinidadian community. Much of this is becoming archaic, but beliefs about lucky and unlucky times, and protection against harm are quite widespread.

Food and Cooking: Many of the words in this category pertain to cooking equipment such as *baelna* 'rolling pin,' *dal gotni* 'swizzle stick,' *tawa* 'griddle,' made locally in traditional shapes and styles, and processes that are specific to the preparation of Indian dishes, particularly of milk products and spices. The food items, from *roti* 'flat soft bread wrapped around a filling' to sweets and religious offerings, are typical of the cuisine of northern India, more of the lower class than the upper.²³

Games: Traditional games such as *kabadi* and *lohar* are played within the Indian community, though less commonly than in the past.²⁴ Two areas that warrant further investigation are kite-flying/fighting and marble games, both of which are extremely popular in northern India. While the Indian word *patang* 'kite, kite-flying' would be used only among some Indo-Trinidadians, the Indian-derived *mange* and *rasam*, for coatings used to help cut opponents' kite-strings, are so widespread amongst kite players that, as noted above, most consider the first term to be Patois (i.e. from *manger* 'to eat'). There is a possibility that some marble-game terminology, such as *lerki* 'a type of ring game,' is Indian in origin.

Hinduism: This category includes a large number of words relating to Hindu belief and practice, specifically to ritual procedures, objects and items, and observances for particular circumstances such as birth and death, as well as various types of prayer services (religious song types are included in the "Music" category below). Some of these are associated only with one specific holiday, such as the *pichkare* (syringe) used during *Phagwa*, some are commonly found at a wide variety of activities and items, such as *bhabhoot/vibhute* 'ashes from incense.' Although the caste system broke down fairly rapidly, and the full panoply of Hindu observance was not maintained, activities such as *pujas* and communal festival observances were important and fairly public components of social-cultural and linguistic maintenance. Hindu weddings, which traditionally are very complex and take considerable time, were

22. See Lackhan ca. 1983-86, Mahabir 1991, and Francis Morean, The Stately Banga Palm, The Ground Itch Bush, and Plumbing the Shado-beni Mystery, all in the *Trinidad and Tobago Review*, November 1990, April 1992 and June 1992, respectively.

23. See Pariag 1975; Raghoo 1984; Indar & Ramesar 1988; Mahabir 1992b.

24. Noor Kumar Mahabir, Disappearing Ancient Indian Games of the Caribbean, *Trinidad and Tobago Newsday*, August 15, 2003.

also crucial in this regard, although such rites were not recognized as legal by the colonial government until 1946 (Muslim marriages were recognized in 1936).²⁵

Hindu Weddings: Terms relating to Hindu weddings are of course a subset of the previous category, but were separated because of their relatively large number. This is because of the structure of a traditional wedding, which involves a number of small ceremonies over a period of years or months; even when compressed in time, there are still numerous ceremonies which involve various combinations of people from both the bride's and groom's families (see Sankar 1972).

Household: A few words in this category have common English equivalents and are (no doubt consequently) less commonly used. Most items here have a specific and traditional form and/or use: *gobar* 'mixture of cow-dung and mud used to plaster walls,' *dibbi* 'small wooden box used for holding *sindur*,' *soo(p)* 'long triangular fan,' *khatia* 'bed made of woven cord on a wooden frame.'

Islam: About half of these words are for everyday or general references to Muslim practice: *juma (namaz)* 'Friday prayer.' The rest pertain mostly to rituals related to Hosay (see Korom 2003) and *rites de passage* such as weddings and funerals.

Kinship: Indian kinship systems generally distinguish not only maternal and paternal lines of descent, but place considerable emphasis on age relationships, thus *aja/aji* 'paternal grandfather/grandmother' and *nana/nani* 'maternal grandfather/grandmother'; *bahin* 'younger sister' and *barka bahin* or *didi* 'elder sister.' Although many families do not use the full range of such kinship terms, several are used so widely that they are familiar to (though not necessarily understood by) non-Indians, and some have become extended or generalized in meaning, e.g., *mamu* 'mother's brother; any uncle.'

Music, Drama, Song, and Stick-fighting: A few traditional Indian dance-dramas are regularly performed in Trinidad today, especially the *Ram-Lila*. Both popular and classical music are thriving. This include both consumption

25. See Ali 1975; Khan 1994; Vertovec 1992; and Ashram B. Maharaj, Sookdaya and the Ram Goat, *Divali Supplement, Trinidad and Tobago Express*, October 14, 1990. Although there is no evidence that private use of African languages was prohibited, the heterogeneity of the enslaved Africans' languages encouraged their learning of English/Creole or Patois. Official suppression of African-derived religious observances certainly contributed to language death. As Warner-Lewis (1996) points out for Trinidad, most of the "residual" use of Yoruba, spoken by a number of later immigrant laborers well into the twentieth century, centers on names and ritual. Although it is premature to compare the African and Indian linguistic retentions due to differences in their histories and lack of adequate linguistic data, it is clear that religion played an important, perhaps paramount, role in the retention of heritage language terms for both groups.

of music (and language) from imported Bollywood movies, as well as local playing and production. Locally composed songs in a variety of styles, in Hindi, Bhojpuri, English/Creole, or a mixture, feature in numerous *satsangs* 'concerts' and competitions. The growth in popularity of *pichkaree* songs has been remarkable and very aggressive in mixing English and Bhojpuri.²⁶ The more public appearance of *chutney*, a fast and often suggestive style of music and dancing, based on traditional Indian women's dances, has drawn both criticism and applause from the wider Indian community.²⁷ Traditional music is an essential part of many Indian ceremonies, such as weddings, and the *tassa* drums of Muslim Hosay (known more widely as *Muharrum*) are renowned, though fewer in number than in the past. *Ghatka*, Indian stick-fighting, is now rare, but still associated with some festivals.²⁸

MAINSTREAMING OF INDIAN-DERIVED LEXICON

This section touches on the question of how and to what degree particular words have been mainstreamed within the non-Indian population of Trinidad. The corpus may be roughly divided into the following categories:

1. A few words, as mentioned above, have been integrated or assimilated, sometimes with extended meanings, into more general English, such as *brahmin*, *guru*, *mantra*.
2. Some words are used locally, and have become familiar to and often used by non-Indo-Trinidadians. Probably most common are food items such as *anchar* 'fruit preserve,' *baigan* 'eggplant, aubergine, melongen,' and *roti*.²⁹ These are most likely to be recognized and used as they commonly occur both orally and in print, especially on menus and in newspaper articles and recipes, and the consumption of Indian snack and "street" foods crosses ethnic boundaries. Some referents are noticeably present

26. Blood, *Trinidad Guardian*, March 28, 2002; Maharaj, *Trinidad and Tobago Express*, March 22, 2002; Ravi Ji, What is Boiling in the Abeer, *Trinidad Guardian*, March 22, 2002 and the Child's World through Pichakaree, *Trinidad Guardian*, February 22, 2003. An example from "Maharaj's Vivaah Sanakaar Wedding": "Me body it so hot like a chulha/Meh heart kankaying like a churria./Me an meh dulaha is seel and lorha./ Me an meh dulaha is roti and tawa"(My body is hot like an oven, My heart is rattling like bracelets, Me and my bridegroom are mortar and pestle, Me and my bridegroom are bread and griddle) (Maharaj 2002:11).

27. Rawwida Baksh-Soodeen, Power, Gender and Chutney, *Trinidad and Tobago Review*, February 7, 1991.

28. See Annamunthodo 1971; Balkissoon 1975; Myers 1998; Sankeralli 1998; Maharaj 2002; and Ramlakhan, The Story of the Dhantaal, *Express*, March 27 <www.trinicenter.com>.

29. For an extended discussion of the increasing familiarity of *roti*, see Winer (2004).

in the environment, such as *mandirs* 'Hindu temples' and are also commonly spoken and written about. Individual personality and history are important factors, as neighborliness, friendships, workplace relations, and kinship connections are doubtless primary factors that contribute to any person's familiarity with words.

3. By far the largest category of these words consists of those known primarily or exclusively within the Indo-Trinidadian community. This includes some words for referents found as commonly and visibly as those in the previous category but that have not found their way into more general usage. For example, *jhandi* 'flags indicating the performance of a *puja*' are a common sight almost everywhere – in front of ordinary houses, not just *mandirs*. Most non-Indo-Trinidadians would know that these indicate an Indian (Hindu) household, and that these are connected with religion, but very rarely are they familiar with the Bhojपुरi term.³⁰ This category also includes words such as *yagna* and *satsang*, which would frequently be seen in print (advertisements, notices, newspapers), or heard on radio announcements, but which would not be more familiar than, for example, "some kind of Indian thing." Very few of the terms outside of verbal abuse are private on purpose, but many would be used only in the domestic sphere.³¹

30. According to some linguists familiar with Guyana (including Jeannette Allsopp, personal communication, August 2004), the knowledge of such terms within the non-Indian population is much greater. Of great interest then would be to determine the extent to which the Indic lexicon in the English/Creoles of Trinidad and Guyana overlap, and the relative degrees of "mainstreaming."

31. In most cases, the lack of familiarity with parts of this lexicon on the part of non-Indians is understandable as a simple lack of participation in cultural practices, particularly religious ones. (For example, though non-Hindus are often guests at Hindu weddings, they would not normally participate in rituals, prayers, cooking, and similar activities.) However, there is also to some extent a factor of intracommunal exclusivity, in which certain culturally specific knowledge (including vocabulary) is "hidden" or not shared with outsiders. In some cases this is because the cultural component may be illegal, considered to be private, or considered liable to be misunderstood, looked down upon, or interfered with by outside authorities, such as *Kali Mai pujas* (see McNeal 2000 and *Caribbean Beat* 54, March/April 2002), or the belief in *rakshas* (a baby who is really a demon), and *jharaying*, a type of ritual healing. Two examples illustrate both the issue of "privacy" and that of both suspicion and appreciation of an outsider knowing about such areas. A white Trinidadian man now living in the United States reported that an Indo-Trinidadian he met there asked him for help obtaining materials he needed for a *puja* 'prayer meeting': bamboo poles for *jhandis* (prayer flags), dried mango wood, and *doob* (Bermuda) grass. A few days afterward, the friend reported that some question had arisen as to the suitability of his presence at the *puja*, but that he had actually been defended as being the only person there who could have arranged to get the proper mate-

4. A small but salient category is that of words suddenly made very well known by a well publicized incident, quote, or song. For example, the word *nimakaram* 'ungrateful, lit. to one who has fed you/given you salt; traitor, back-biter' was well known within the Indo-Trinidadian community: "The expression *nimakaram* is a terrible insult in Amity. It is usually translated as 'one who eats another man's food, then does him evil,' but 'ungrateful one' is a simpler and perhaps more pointed definition" (Klass 1961). Subsequent citations found during the 1970s-80s are all from Indo-Trinidadians, and all have explanations attached, such as "[He] is nothing but an unvarnished, 'neemakharam,' an ingrate of the highest order fighting desperately for his own survival."³² Following a well-publicized political fracas in 1992, however, this became a common term of reference, as in "She said she had turned it down out of loyalty to Panday and had been branded 'neemakharam' (ungrateful)."³³

Apart from actual surveys of recognition and/or use, one way to track familiarity is by the extent to which words are glossed in newspaper articles (excluding special sections or supplements for Indian holidays). Taking, for example, the word *mandir*, references from the 1980s all tend to have some kind of support or gloss, such as "mandir (Hindu temple)." By the early 1990s, references were also made without such glosses, as in "The wooden pole popped at its base ... and fell on a *mandir*, bringing down house lines, ripping apart a section of a covered area and steps of a nearby house."³⁴

rials. In another instance, he reported: "I was at the roti shop and quite a few Trinidadian Indians with whom I had a passing acquaintance were sitting eating and drinking in the booths. I noticed that they perked up when I asked for 'marcha' [Hindi for hot pepper] with my sada roti [plain bread], and in having a casual conversation with one group, I overheard a young lady complain about feeling somewhat unwell. I took the chance and commented that maybe she had sprained her 'nara' [abdomen, groin], and needed it 'rubbed' [massaged]. Someone in the group, seeing the humour, commented back, 'Nah, she need to get ah good jharay [ritual healing].' I replied, 'Den ah go hah to get a Chamar Pundit [low-caste priest] to jharay she.' There was a moment of shocked silence and some serious, hard stares (the word 'chamar' is *not* used or taken lightly by people of Hindu descent, and its combination with 'pundit' seemed shocking to the crowd), so I followed up with 'Doh watch me so hard, nah, an' doh think dat ah making joke, I *know* Nanan Dhany from Barrackpore, he is a *true* Chamar Pundit, is I was de one dat did get tota [parrot] feather, cobra skin an' peacock tail feather so he could a do de jharay correc'!' Gales of laughter followed as the people realized that I, a white Trinidadian, actually had knowledge of this and could tell it in the Trinidadian Indian patois!" (Julius Boos, personal communication, August 2004).

32. *Bomb*, August 22, 1986, p. 3.

33. *Express*, November 27, 1994, p. 5.

34. *Bomb*, January 1, 1993, p. 23.

By 1995, when the first Indo-Trinidadian prime minister was elected, mainstream newspaper articles were likely to include considerable Indian-derived lexicon, especially in reference to Hindu rituals, with no explanations:

Her mission ... was to collect pure water for charhaawayng at various mandirs ... She left Chaguanas at 7 am that morning on teerath aiming to have darshan at nine selected mandirs across the nation ... They offered pooja, havan, aartee, flowers, prasad and seedhaas at all mandirs ... "We arrived at Vishnu Mandir where all the moortis were dressed in clothes. The devotees gave us lots of fresh flowers for our teerath" ... Exchange Mandir was the last stop on the teerath. "We arrived there at sandhya time, 6 pm. It is a very beautiful, quaint dirt mandir."³⁵

DISCUSSION

Preliminary analysis indicates that a majority of the words in this corpus can be considered as "retentions" to name items, practices, beliefs, and beliefs that are found in the original language/culture, but not in the host language community. The overwhelming majority of words in the corpus pertain to the terminologies of religion, cuisine, and household; this pattern of domain dispersion is typical of residual bilingualism (Fishman 1989:235).

Some words are commonly used; some are not, though when they are used they are meaningful and precise. Some are uncommonly used but very important in a particular context. Furthermore, many of these words are known very unevenly throughout the Indo-Trinidadian population, by gender, age, and work experience. It should also be remembered that many Indo-Trinidadians would recognize and understand words in context that they would not be able to produce or define otherwise.

The final section examined ways in which some words have been mainstreamed within the non-Indian population of Trinidad, including those frequently mentioned and generally understood, and those made suddenly well known by a salient usage. An increasing use of Indian vocabulary in newspaper articles probably reflects the increasing awareness of the cultural and political importance of the Indo-Trinidadian community on a national level.

Future lines of research might well explore the Indian source language(s) of some lexical items in the corpus. Comparison of the entire corpus and domain dispersal could be made with similar contexts, such as Indian communities in Guyana and Fiji. An area of comparison that could be explored within TEC is that of the domains of the various contributing languages (Amerindian, European, African, and Asian), as well as closer work on patterns of usage and familiarity (such as surveys of frequency, social factors, contexts) both within and outside the Indo-Trinidadian community, and an examination of policies and strategies of partial language maintenance.

35. *Trinidad Guardian*, November 1995, p. 11.

REFERENCES

- ALI, NAZIDA, 1975. Indian Funerals and Allied Rituals in Trinidad. Unpubl. paper, University of the West Indies, St. Augustine, Trinidad.
- ALLADIN, M.P., 1970. *A Village in Trinidad*. Maraval, Trinidad: n.p.
- ANNAMUNTHODO, W. (ed.), 1971. *Trinidad and Tobago Phagwa (Holi) Festival: Phagwa (Holi) Celebrations and Chowtal Singing Competitions in Trinidad*. San Fernando, Trinidad: Unique Services.
- BALKISSOON, KAMLA, [1975]. Some Indian Social and Religious Customs in Trinidad. Unpubl. paper, University of the West Indies, St. Augustine, Trinidad.
- BHATIA, TEJ K., 1982. Trinidad Hindi: Three Generations of a Transplanted Variety. *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences* 11:135-50.
- BIRBALSINGH, FRANK (ed.), 1988. *Jahaji Bhai: An Anthology of Indo-Caribbean Literature*. Toronto: TSAR Press.
- BOODOOSINGH, JENNY-LYNEE, 1976. Aspects of East Indian Vocabulary in the Language of Trinidad. Unpubl. paper, University of the West Indies, St. Augustine, Trinidad.
- BRERETON, BRIDGET, 1979. *Race Relations in Colonial Trinidad 1870-1900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- CLARKE, COLIN G., 1986. *East Indians in a West Indian Town: San Fernando, Trinidad, 1930-70*. London: Allen and Unwin.
- CROSS, MALCOLM, 1972. *East Indians of Guyana and Trinidad*. London: Minority Rights Group.
- DABYDEEN, DAVID & BRINSLEY SAMAROO (eds.), 1987. *India in the Caribbean*. London: Hansib.
- DE VERTEUIL, ANTHONY, 1989. *Eight East Indian Immigrants: Gokool, Soodeen, Sookoo, Capildeo, Beccani, Ruknaddeen, Valiama, Bunsee*. Port of Spain: Paria.
- DIPTEE, JUDY, 1992. Women of the Cane. In Kumar Mahabir (ed.), *East Indian Women of Trinidad and Tobago: An Annotated Bibliography with Photographs and Ephemera*. San Juan, Trinidad: Chakra, pp. 243-47.
- DUKHEDIN-LALLA, PATRICIA, 1974. A Creole Trichotomy: The Case of Hindi in Trinidad Creole with Reference to Standardization. Unpubl. paper, University of the West Indies, St. Augustine, Trinidad.
- FISHMAN, JOSHUA, 1989. *Language and Ethnicity in Minority Sociolinguistic Perspective*. Clevedon, U.K.: Multilingual Matters.
- GAMBHIR, SURENDRA K., 1983. Diglossia in Dying Languages: A Case Study of Guyanese Bhojpuri and Standard Hindi. *Anthropological Linguistics* 25:28-38.

GARCIA, M.E., 2003. Recent Research on Language Maintenance. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 23:22-43.

INDAR, POLLY B. & DOROTHY B. RAMESAR (eds.), 1988. *Naparima Girls' High School, Diamond Jubilee 1912-1987, Recipe Book*. San Fernando, Trinidad: Naparima Girls' High School.

JHA, JAGDISH CHANDRA, 1973. Indian Heritage in Trinidad, West Indies. *Caribbean Quarterly* 19(2):28-50.

—, 1976a. The Hindu Sacraments (Rites de passage) in Trinidad and Tobago. *Caribbean Quarterly* 22:40-52.

—, 1976b. The Hindu Festival of Divali in the Caribbean. *Caribbean Quarterly* 22:53-61.

KANHAI, ROSANNE (ed.), 1999. *Matikor: The Politics of Identity for Indo-Caribbean Women*. St. Augustine, Trinidad: School of Continuing Studies, University of the West Indies.

KHAN, ALISHA, 1994. *Juthaa* in Trinidad: Food, Pollution, and Hierarchy in a Caribbean Diaspora Community. *American Ethnologist* 21:245-69.

KHAN, ISMITH, 1961. *The Jumbie Bird*. Toronto: George J. McCleod. [Orig. 1961.]

—, 1988. Uncle Rajo's Shoes. In Frank Birbalsingh (ed.), *Jahaji Bhai: An Anthology of Indo-Caribbean Literature*. Toronto: TSAR Press, pp. 57-71.

KLASS, MORTON, 1961. *East Indians in Trinidad: A Study of Cultural Persistence*. New York: Columbia University Press.

—, 1991. *Singing with Sai Baba: The Politics of Revitalization in Trinidad*. Boulder CO: Westview Press.

KOROM, FRANK J., 2003. *Hosay Trinidad: Muharram Performances in an Indo-Caribbean Diaspora*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

LACKHAN, RABINDRANATH, [1983-86]. *Plants of Religious Significance to the Hindu Population of Trinidad and Tobago*. California, Trinidad: California Hindu Temple.

LADOO, HAROLD SONNY, 1972. *No Pain Like This Body*. Toronto: Anansi Press.

—, 1974. *Yesterdays*. Toronto: Anansi Press.

LA GUERRE, JOHN (ed.), 1985. *Calcutta to Caroni: The East Indians of Trinidad*. St. Augustine, Trinidad: University of the West Indies, Extra Mural Studies Unit. [Orig. 1974.]

LEWIS [KIRTON], ENID, 1972. *Voices of Earth*. Gasparillo, Trinidad: Rilloprint.

LEWIS, IVOR, 1991. *Sahibs, Nabobs and Boxwallahs: A Dictionary of the Words of Anglo-India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- MAHABIR, NOOR KUMAR, 1985. *The Still Cry: Personal Accounts of East Indians in Trinidad and Tobago During Indentureship (1845-1917)*. Tacarigua, Trinidad: Calaloux Publications.
- , 1991. *Medicinal and Edible Plants Used by East Indians of Trinidad and Tobago*. El Dorado, Trinidad: Chakra.
- , 1992a. *East Indian Women of Trinidad and Tobago: An Annotated Bibliography with Photographs and Ephemera*. San Juan, Trinidad: Chakra.
- , 1992b. *Caribbean East Indian Recipes*. San Juan, Trinidad: Chakra.
- , 2000. Female Folk Healers in Trinidad. Unpubl. paper, Conference on Asian Migrations to the Americas, University of the West Indies, St. Augustine, Trinidad.
- & SITA MAHABIR, 1990. *A Dictionary of Common Trinidad Hindi*. 2nd ed. El Dorado, Trinidad: Chakra.
- , 1994. *Kahana Village: A Collection of Stories*. Couva, Trinidad: Indian Review Press.
- , 1994. Which One to Play. *Indian Arrival Day 1994: Towards 150 Years*. Freeport, Trinidad: Indian Arrival Day Association of Trinidad and Tobago, pp. 26-27.
- MAHARAJ, ASHRAM B., 1994. *Kahana Village: A Collection of Stories*. Couva, Trinidad: Indian Review Press.
- MCGREGOR, R.S., 1993. *The Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- MCNEAL, KEITH E., 2000. The Many Faces of Mother Kali: Caribbean Hinduism and the Moral Politics of Diaspora Ritual Performance in Trinidad. Unpubl. paper, Conference on Asian Migrations to the Americas, University of the West Indies, St. Augustine, Trinidad.
- MEOSA, ELIANE, 1971. The Family, East Indian Courtship and Marriage Customs in Trinidad. Unpubl. paper, University of the West Indies, St. Augustine, Trinidad.
- MOHAMMED, SHAMOON, 1982. *Mastana Bahar and Indian Culture in Trinidad and Tobago*. San Juan, Trinidad: Mastana Bahar Thesis Publication Committee.
- MOHAN, PEGGY, 1990. The Rise and Fall of Trinidad Bhojpuri. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 85:21-30.
- & PAUL ZADOR, 1986. Discontinuity in a Life Cycle: The Death of Trinidad Bhojpuri. *Language* 62:291-319.
- MORTON, SARAH E., 1916. *John Morton of Trinidad*. Toronto: Westminster.
- MYERS, HELEN, 1998 *Music of Hindu Trinidad: Songs from the India Diaspora*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- NAIPAUL, V.S., 1964. *The Mystic Masseur*. Harmondsworth, U.K.: Penguin. [Orig. 1957.]

- , 1969a. *The Suffrage of Elvira*. Harmondsworth, U.K.: Penguin. [Orig. 1958.]
- , 1969b. *A House for Mr. Biswas*. Harmondsworth, U.K.: Penguin. [Orig. 1961.]
- NIEHOFF, ARTHUR & JUANITA NIEHOFF, 1960. *East Indians in the West Indies*. Milwaukee WI: Milwaukee Public Museum.
- PARIAG, PETER, 1975. The Eating Habits of the Lower Class East Indian in Trinidad. Unpubl. paper, University of the West Indies, St. Augustine.
- PASTNER, CARROLL MCCLURE, 1967. *A Sociolinguistic Study of a Rural Trinidad Community*. New York: Research Institute for the Study of Man.
- PERSAUD, LAKSHMI, 1990. *Butterfly in the Wind*. Leeds, U.K.: Peepal Tree Press.
- , 1993. *Sastra*. Leeds, U.K.: Peepal Tree Press.
- RAGHOO, LAL, 1984. Retention and Adaptation of Dress, Ornament and Food of Indian Culture in Trinidad. Unpubl. paper, University of the West Indies, St. Augustine.
- RAMESAR, MARIANNE SOARES, 1999/2000. The Significance of Changing Dress Styles among Indo-Trinidadians (1845-1945). *Journal of Caribbean Studies* 14:117-30.
- RAMLAKHAN, RAJNIE, 1990. East Indian Street Theatre in Trinidad and Tobago. *Offerings* 6:18-40.
- RAMNATH, HARRY, 1982. *India Came West*. Marabella, Trinidad: Ramnath.
- SANKERALLI, BURTON, 1998. Indian Presence in Carnival. *TDR* 42(3):203-12.
- SAWH, RUTH, 1982. *Rotiless Ramgoolie*. Trinidad: Trinprint.
- SEESARAN, E.B. ROSABELLE, 2002. *From Caste to Class: The Social Mobility of the Indo-Trinidadian Community 1870-1917*. Trinidad: Rosaac.
- SELVON, SAMUEL, 1979. *Turn Again, Tiger*. London: Heinemann Educational Books [Orig. 1958.]
- , 1971. *A Brighter Sun*. London: Longman Caribbean [Orig. 1952.]
- , 1972. *Those Who Eat the Cascadura*. London: Davis-Poynter.
- , 1973. *Ways of Sunlight*. London: Longman Caribbean [Orig. 1957.]
- , 1985. *The Plains of Caroni*. Toronto: Williams-Wallace.
- SINGH, ISHTLA, 1988. A Linguistic Overview of the Speech of the Indo-Trinidadian. Unpubl. paper, University of the West Indies, St. Augustine, Trinidad.
- VERTOVEC, STEVEN, 1992. *Hindu Trinidad: Religion, Ethnicity and Socio-Economic Change*. London: Macmillan Education.
- WARNER-LEWIS, MAUREEN, 1991. *Guinea's Other Suns: The African Dynamic in Trinidad Culture*. Dover MA: Majority Press.

—, 1996. *Trinidad Yoruba: From Mother Tongue to Memory*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.

WINER, LISE, 1992a. Ethnic Lexis in an English Creole Dictionary. *Dictionaries* 13:65-74.

—, 1992b. Health and Medical Terminology in Trinidad and Tobago. *General Practitioners Association Trinidad and Tobago Medical Journal* 16:32-39.

—, 1993. *Varieties of English around the World, Vol. 6: Trinidad and Tobago*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

— & EDITH LILY AGUILAR, 1991. Spanish Influence in the Lexicon of Trinidadian English Creole. *New West Indian Guide* 65:153-91.

— & HANS E.A. BOOS, 1991. Agouti to Zandoli: Fauna Lexicon in the *Dictionary of Trinbagonian*. *Living World*, Special issue, pp. 25-28.

WOOD, DONALD, 1968. *Trinidad in Transition: The Years after Slavery*. London: Institute of Race Relations & Oxford University Press.

YULE, HENRY & A.C. BURNELL, 1985. *Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul. [Orig. 1886.]

LISE WINER
Faculty of Education
McGill University
3700 McTavish
Montreal, Quebec
Canada H3A 1Y2
<lise.winer@mcgill.ca>