CULTURAL IDENTITY AND LANGUAGE:
THE NARRATIVES OF PEOPLE OF COLOR
WITH CREOLE DESCENT IN SOUTH LOUISIANA

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ABSTRACT

Because of their mixed descent and because of changes throughout history, people of color with Creole lineage have different ways of identifying themselves culturally. Building on Dubois and Melançon (2000), this study explores how historically Creole people identify themselves culturally and the factors influencing their claims of identity. It also examines the linguistic patterns of people in this group and whether differences in language use are linked to differences in claims of cultural identity.

In order to address these issues, interviews and narratives were recorded with twelve participants, six from Opelousas, Louisiana and six from Baton Rouge, Louisiana. The interviews were used to find how participants culturally identify themselves and why they identify in that manner. With an impressionistic transcription of the narratives, the researcher analyzed the linguistic patterns of participants with attention to several phonetic and structural characteristic of African American Vernacular English (AAVE), Cajun Vernacular English (CVE), and Creole Vernacular English (CrVE).

The majority of the participants in the study claimed multiple cultural identities, including African American, Creole, and American. Their choice of identities was influenced by factors like age, upbringing, and region. Additionally, the results indicated that there were some differences in participants’ linguistic patterns, but these differences connected more to the region in which a person lives than to the identity they claim.
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

AAVE  African American Vernacular English
CVE  Cajun Vernacular English
CrVE  Creole Vernacular English

Standard IPA symbols are used to represent linguistic features.

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1 This term refers to the English spoken by black and colored Creoles, not that spoken by white Creoles.
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Louisiana has a rich history due to the number of diverse peoples that have inhabited the state. Because it has been a territory of France, Spain, and the United States, a number of French, Spanish, and American immigrants settled in Louisiana. There were also a large number of other immigrants, particularly Italians, Africans, Haitians, and French Acadians, because of the port in New Orleans and the slave trade. Many Native American peoples, indigenous to the area, inhabited Louisiana as well. All of these different groups brought their cultural practices and languages to the state, and these various influences created a diverse group of people who call themselves Louisianans. This research will focus on one of these diverse groups, the Louisiana Creoles.

Historically, the term Creole has taken many different meanings and has been used to define various groups (Brasseaux, 2005; Dubois & Melançon, 2000). When the French colonized Louisiana from 1682 to the early 1760s, Creole was used to define all first-generation inhabitants of Louisiana, no matter their race (Brasseaux, 2005; Dubois & Melançon, 2000; Brasseaux, Fontenot, & Oubre, 1994). The French immigrants brought enslaved people into the colony as laborers for plantations. Although there were laws against unions between people of color and Whites at this time, such unions were considered a socially acceptable practice, known

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2 The information presented about the term Creole draws upon the explanation of the term by Dubois & Melançon (2000), but it expands on the historical context related to the term.

3 I use the term people of color to refer people who are not considered White. This term is not the same as free people of color, which refers to the historical colored Creole class in Louisiana.
as plaçage (Jolivétique, 2007; Dubois & Melançon, 2000; Ingersoll, 1991). These long-term, interracial unions usually consisted of a Black or Native American woman, either enslaved or free, and a white man (Jolivétique, 2007; Brasseaux, Fontenot, & Oubre, 1994). Because children inherited their societal status from their mother, enslaved woman in these unions bore enslaved children (Brasseaux, Fontenot, & Oubre, 1994). However, the white male in the union sometimes freed these children and their mothers from slavery (Jolivétique, 2007; Brasseaux, 2005; Klingler, 2003; Brasseaux, Fontenot, & Oubre, 1994). An example of this occurs in the story of the Creoles of Cane River whose patriarch, Claude Thomas Pierre Metoyer, released Marie Thérèze, an enslaved woman with whom he had a union, and their children from slavery (Mills, 1977). The white men in these plaçage unions often were also contractually obligated to provide for their mistresses and children, even after the union ended, by allowing them to retain domiciles, land and slaves, and by continued monetary support of the offspring (Brasseaux, 2005; Brasseaux, Fontenot, & Oubre, 1994). While these contracts did not have the force of law, they were generally maintained by dint of accepted social convention.

The ethnically mixed children who resulted from these unions were called Creoles of Color, and they constituted a growing population of free people of color, or what was called gens de couleur libres (Brasseaux, 2005; Klingler, 2003; Dubois & Melançon, 2000). Their presence also brought recognition of a distinction between this group, free Blacks, and black Creoles (Dubois & Melançon, 2000). Black Creoles were French-speaking, enslaved Blacks whose descendents were freed with the ending of the Civil War (Brasseaux, 2005). The distinction between these groups was due to the three-tier social system in Louisiana with Whites at the top and enslaved Blacks at the bottom (Brasseaux, 2005; Dubois & Melançon, 2000; Brasseaux, Fontenot, & Oubre, 1994). The middle tier consisted of Louisiana’s free people of color
population, who “[enjoyed] most of the legal rights but few of the social privileges of whites” (Brasseaux, 2005, p.13). Since this social system was race-based, free people of color that were part-white held a higher status in the middle tier (Brasseaux, 2005; Mills, 1977). However, even though many colored Creoles were part-white, they were not seen as equal to Whites (Brasseaux, Fontenot, & Oubre, 1994).

The Louisiana territory was ceded to Spain in 1763 as part of the Treaty of Paris. During this period, the original definition of Creole persisted. However, it gained a particularly French connotation, meaning that Creole people were those with some French ancestry (Dubois & Melançon, 2000). The Spanish, who were not in favor among the French, found allies in the Creoles of Color and sought to increase their population (Michael D. Picone, personal communication, January 2011). Thus, the Spanish government practiced the law of coartación, which allowed enslaved peoples to buy their freedom (Ingersoll, 1991). This added to the population of free people of color (Ingersoll, 1991) and further divided colored Creoles and black Creoles. The division among these groups was evident in the marriage practices of Creoles of Color, who married almost exclusively within the Creole of Color community, sometimes to other family members, in order to retain their social status and light phenotypes (Brasseaux, Fontenot, & Oubre, 1994).

Although some free people of color were poor, others gained wealth by becoming planters and skilled laborers, like their white Creole counterparts (Brasseaux, 2005; Klingler, 2003; Brasseaux, Fontenot, & Oubre, 1994; Schweninger, 1990). These prosperous members were mostly of biracial ancestry. Because it was seen as a potential threat to the white Creoles, this prosperity led to tension between the groups (Ingersoll, 1991; Schweninger, 1990). However, the members of this wealthy group of free people of color formed strong bonds among
themselves, through marriage and friendship, in order to protect their property (Brasseaux, Fontenot, & Oubre, 1994; Schweninger, 1990).

During the first century that Louisiana was part of United States territory, the political and social situation in the state underwent a series of changes that affected the definition of the term Creole. In 1800, France again took control of the Louisiana territory, and in 1803, the French sold it to the United States in the Louisiana Purchase. The American government took away many of the rights colored Creoles had enjoyed under Spanish and French rule, such as those given in the law of coartación (Ingersoll, 1991). New laws also made it more difficult for planters to free slaves (Brasseaux, 2005; Brasseaux, Fontenot, & Oubre, 1994) and for men in plaçage unions to provide donations for their mistresses and children (Brasseaux, Fontenot, & Oubre, 1994). Meanwhile, the tension between white Creoles and colored Creoles continued to grow (Dubois & Melançon, 2000; Brasseaux, Fontenot, & Oubre, 1994) because their wealth was seen as “threat to white superiority” (Brasseaux, Fontenot, & Oubre, 1994, p.80). Thus, the white Creoles began using the new systems and laws established by the American government in order to keep free people of color out of their institutions (Ingersoll, 1991).

With the steadily growing tension and the Civil War in 1861, the social system along with race relations changed. The Civil War brought the loss of fortunes for many white and colored Creoles (Klingler, 2003; Brasseaux, Fontenot, & Oubre, 1994). However, because of the racial tension, white Creoles saw colored Creoles as enemies and sought to separate themselves completely from colored Creoles (Dubois & Melançon, 2000). This desire for separation led to more laws dividing colored Creoles and white Creoles. Laws were established that required people to prove that they were of mostly white blood. Not being able to prove this forced some colored Creoles to define themselves as Black (Jolivette, 2007; Dubois & Melançon, 2000).
Louisiana’s state constitution, passed in 1898, also took away the political rights of the population of people of color (Dubois & Melançon, 2000; Brasseaux, Fontenot, & Oubre, 1994). In all of this, Creoles of Color lost their special status in society. The population of people of color, which now included the recently freed slaves, was viewed as a monolithic group, and, as a result, the social system became two-tiered with Whites at the top and people of color at the bottom (Klingler, 2003; Dubois & Melançon, 2000; Brasseaux, Fontenot, & Oubre, 1994). Thus, when used by white Creoles, the term Creole was used only to refer to white Creoles so that they could separate themselves from colored and black Creoles (Brasseaux, 2005; Dubois & Melançon, 2000).

At the same time that white Creoles sought to separate themselves from other Creoles, colored Creoles, in an effort to maintain their social status, tried to distinguish themselves from black Creoles and other colored populations in Louisiana (Brasseaux, 2005; Brasseaux, Fontenot, & Oubre, 1994). In order to do this, they “began referring to themselves as Creoles—much to the horror of white Creoles” (Brasseaux, 2005, p.111). Most colored Creoles also continued to marry within the community in order to protect their land and to maintain their distinctive physical features (Brasseaux, Fontenot, & Oubre, 1994).

As a result of the changes in the legal and social system, the identity of colored and black Creoles changed as well. Despite their efforts to distinguish themselves, at the beginning of the 20th century, education, physical features, socioeconomic status, and cultural practices no longer set colored Creoles apart from black Creoles and other Blacks (Brasseaux, Fontenot, & Oubre, 1994). Furthermore, both groups endured the same types of discrimination experienced by people of color all over the United States. Prohibited from attending the same schools as Whites, many colored and black Creoles went to schools provided by the Catholic Church (Dubois &
Because the church provided a safe-haven for both groups, this religious affiliation became an important part of the identity of black Creoles and continued to be an important part of the identity of colored Creoles (Dubois & Melançon, 2000), whose community practiced Catholicism long before the Civil War (Brasseaux, Fontenot, & Oubre, 1994).

Another change that affected the identity of black and colored Creoles was the shift from French to English. With Louisiana’s Reconstruction Constitution of 1864, only English was to be used in the classroom (Picone, 1997). However, it was not until the Louisiana State Constitution of 1921 that this restriction effectively banned the speaking of French in schools (Natsis, 1999; Picone, 1997). Although this had a more important role in the shift from French to English in the white Creole community than in the colored and black Creole community (Klingler, 2003), the use of Louisiana Creole became another way of stigmatizing both black and colored Creoles (Dubois & Melançon, 2000). Thus, many people did not teach the language to their children (Picone, 1997).

The Civil Rights Movement, which created a need for unity between black Creoles, colored Creoles, and African Americans, also influenced the identities of colored and black Creoles. As they united with African Americans and black Creoles in this movement, many Creoles of Color no longer wanted to be set apart from these groups (Spitzer, 2003). They began to take pride in their African heritage, and some even began identifying themselves as Black. However, tension between Creoles of Color and non-Creole Blacks has persisted even to the present because each group has members that do not accept the other group. Some Creoles of Color still find phenotype and status to be important, which may also lead to tension between these groups (Brasseaux, Fontenot, & Oubre, 1994).
Because of the association between being Creole and being of multiracial descent, including Black ancestry, the term has taken on yet another definition. It is now mainly used to define all people of color, mixed-race Louisianans with French heritage (Dubois & Melançon, 2000). However, some people of colored and black Creole lineage have disassociated themselves from their heritage, identifying as African American despite their ancestry. Others maintain their Creole identity and resist any associations with African American identity. Some are comfortable with a dual identity, seeing themselves as both African American and Creole, while others are reluctant to identify with either group. Because of the varying identities among people from the same ancestry, questions arise about what it means to be Creole, about who identifies as Creole, and about whether there are common linguistic practices that historically Creole people use despite the different identities claimed.

To answer these questions, this pilot study examined how people who are of Creole ancestry identify and explored whether their self-identification is expressed through their language use. The findings show that most participants claimed multiple cultural identities, including African American, American, and Creole. Some participants identified themselves using other labels as well. Furthermore, there were a number of different factors influencing participants’ claims of identity. The findings also indicate that participants’ language use was often connected more to the region in which they lived than to the identity they claimed. However, the results presented cannot be generalized due to the small sample size of participants.
Personal History

My own family history is the reason I have become interested in learning about Creole culture and identity. I am of mixed-race, Creole heritage on both my mother’s side and father’s side of the family. My paternal grandfather’s lineage has been traced to Donato Bello, an Italian man from Naples, and Marie Jeanne Talliaferro, a mulatto woman from New Orleans, who had a son named Martin Donato Bello sometime in the mid 1700s (Brasseaux, Fontenot, & Oubre, 1994). Martin Donato, who at some point dropped Bello from his name, lived in Opelousas, was a wealthy planter, and lived like many of his white counterparts (Brasseaux, 2005; Brasseaux, Fontenot, & Oubre, 1994). His family continued this lifestyle until the Civil War. It is likely that the family lost much of their wealth during this war.

Some of Martin Donato’s descendants, including my father’s family 4, still live in and around Opelousas, where our family has lived for over 200 years. In fact, it is possible that my immediate family still lives on some of the same property that Martin Donato owned. His home, which is on the National Register of Historic Places, can be seen from my grandmother’s yard. However, it was not until recently that my father’s generation even knew about this past because older family members did not talk about it. Rather, this discovery of the family history is a result of a growing interest in genealogy and of the accessibility of technology.

There has been less research on the other sides of my family and little documentation to support some of the claims of kinship. My paternal grandmother’s last name is Motte, an uncommon French family name in Louisiana. Her father was white with French ancestry, and her mother was mixed Black and Native American. My maternal grandmother, a Ware, is also mixed Black and Native American. She has some Spanish ancestry as well. My maternal

4 We are descendents of Martin Donato despite the extra t in our last name, which was added during my grandfather’s generation.
grandfather is a Thibodeaux, and his mother was a Chenier. These are both French names, the former being a common last name for people who are descendents of the French Acadians that settled in Louisiana. I have also been told that my maternal grandfather’s lineage can be traced to the Native American Choctaws now in Oklahoma.

As for myself, I do not identify culturally as Creole, though I am very proud of my Creole roots and am interested in that part of my heritage. Racially, I see myself as Black and Creole. I define my race as Black mostly because American society’s vocabulary for and attitudes about race give me no better choices but also because I have had some of the same experiences with discrimination as other Black Americans. I am cautious, however, when saying that I am African American because although I likely have ancestors from Africa, I have no ties to any place in Africa. I also define myself racially as Creole because my appearance brings questions regarding race and parentage. Thus, when these questions arise, I say that I am Black, and if there are further questions, I explain my mixed-race Creole lineage.

Giving my racial identity is simple because it is the identity that society has given me, but when naming my cultural and ethnic identity, it is difficult for me to give a concrete answer because how people view themselves changes in different contexts and in different stages of life. In fact, working on this project has prompted me to question my identity a number of times. I could identify as Black or Creole, and in many ways, I think these racial identities have influenced my cultural and ethnic identity. However, most people rarely fit into the simplistic racial and cultural stereotypes given in American society, and I have never felt that I fit into any stereotype of a Black or Creole person. At this stage in my life, I identify most, culturally and ethnically, with being an American from South Louisiana. After researching for this project, I identify more strongly with this because I have a better understanding of how growing up in
South Louisiana and in America has shaped who I am. Therefore, I prefer the terms American or South Louisianan because it describes my character as a culturally and ethnically mixed person with a life story that does not fit into the boundaries of white and black.
CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

Research on identity and on Louisiana’s historically Creole people can begin to explain why there are varying identities among this group and what it means to be part of this group. A study conducted by Dubois and Melançon (2000) sought to find what it means to be Creole and “what the social attributes of these people are” (p. 248). For this study, 240 African Americans, who were 20 years old and older and who were from Breaux Bridge and Opelousas, Louisiana, completed a questionnaire with forty-six questions, addressing issues surrounding Creole identity and Louisiana Creole French. Some of the questions were administered verbally, while others required written feedback to closed questions. The results reported in this study are those given for questions focusing on how participants identified themselves and how they conceived Creole identity. A large percentage of the participants (78%) considered Creole ancestry as being the primary requirement for being considered Creole. The second requirement was having grandparents or parents that speak Creole French, to which 75% participants agreed. Additionally, the 70% of participants from 20-39 and 68% of those from 40-59 identified as African American, but only 33% of those 60 and older claimed this identity. These older participants tended to see themselves as Creole, instead. Furthermore, Dubois and Melançon (2000) found that participants who self-reported fluency in Creole French, no matter their age, identified as being Creole.

Because many of the Creoles claimed themselves as African Americans, it is possible that people of color with Creole ancestry are moving to a shared identity with African Americans.
One reason for them to create a shared identity with African Americans stems from these groups’ shared purpose in fighting for the rights of colored peoples during the Civil Rights Movement. Joining together strengthened the force of this movement, so in this unification, Creoles may have began to identify with African Americans (Dubois & Melançon, 2000). Another reason for the shift in identity could be based in an idea expressed in Johnstone and Mattson Bean (1997) that change in linguistic expression may be due to people interacting more with people from outside of their communities. Thus, as historically Creole people interact with more non-Creoles, it may affect the way they express themselves linguistically.

Even though most participants viewed themselves as African American, others in the Dubois and Melançon (2000) study viewed themselves as Creoles and not African Americans. This view was found mainly in conjunction with two other characteristics. The first involves the link between the use of Creole French and a person’s identification as Creole. Those who are proficient in the language might be more likely to see themselves as Creole or both Creole and African American. This suggests that historically Creole people who speak little or no Creole French may be more likely to identify as African American or neither African American nor Creole. The second characteristic is that of age: the older population identified with Creoles more than with African Americans.

Another study that aids in understanding Creoles and Creole identity is Jolivétte (2007). For this study, he mailed one hundred surveys to members or affiliates of St. Augustine’s Historical Society and the Louisiana Creole Heritage Center. These surveys consisted of thirty-five open and closed questions about the participants’ socio-cultural status, about their identity, and about issues surrounding Creole identity. Sixty respondents, whose average age was fifty-two and who were from ten different states, completed the surveys. Many of the respondents
viewed Creoles as being ethnically mixed, including French, African American, Native American, and Spanish as part of Creole heritage. Further, the majority of respondents for this survey identified themselves ethnically as Creole (87%) and thought Creoles should be identified racially as Creole only (75%). These results, then, counter those found by Dubois and Melançon (2000). In addition to the survey, Jolivette (2007) interviewed thirty-five Creoles, one-on-one and in small groups, asking questions that gave more insight into Creoles and Creole identity.

The study on people of Welsh ancestry living in North America by Bishop, Coupland, and Garrett (2003) also gives insight as to why historically Creole people may identity with one group as opposed to the other. In this study, participants wrote about various topics, such as their Welsh identity and their relation to Wales. Bishop, Coupland, and Garrett then concentrated on three factors that connected people to Welsh social identities in these written accounts: knowledge, subjectivity, and practice. Although they note that knowledge is usually overlooked in studies of social identity, they found that knowledge about Welsh culture, particularly knowing the language, was an important part of identifying as Welsh for the respondents. When a respondent did not have what he or she perceived as adequate knowledge of the language, it was viewed as a “barrier” separating the person from the Welsh culture (p. 46). Perhaps people of Creole lineage who do not speak Louisiana Creole French also view this inadequate knowledge as a barrier separating them from their heritage. Thus, this finding may partially explain why people who did not speak the language tended not to identify as Creole in the study by Dubois and Melançon (2000), although it must also be taken into account that the variety of French most Creoles speak is stigmatized. Bishop, Coupland, and Garrett (2003) describe the next factor, subjectivity, as “subsuming felt affiliation, belonging, engagement and aspiration” (p. 44). In relation to this factor, the researchers found that having a Welsh first or last name allowed people
to identify themselves as Welsh. So perhaps, with regard to the proposed research, people with French names will tend to identify themselves as Creole because of the way in which their name links them to their heritage. In this study, the final factor, practice with regard to connectedness to a social network, finds its focus in relation to linguistic practice and its relation to identity, although other cultural practices were mentioned in the interviews. Tatum (1997), studying racial identity, also emphasizes the social, cultural, and historical complexities of a person’s identity.

In addition to reviewing research on identity, it is also important to review research on how identity is expressed linguistically. Johnstone and Mattson Bean have completed a number of studies on linguistic expression of identity in the speech of Texans, which they refer to in their 1997 article. In these studies, they found that the people in a community are linked through the way they speak (Johnstone & Mattson Bean, 1997). Thus, it is likely that the results of the present study will show that participants use the linguistic features of the community with whom they identify. Historically Creole people who identify with African Americans might tend to use African American Vernacular English (AAVE), while those that identify as Creole may use more of the pragmatic and linguistic features traceable to Louisiana Creole French or to Cajun French. Johnstone and Mattson Bean (1997) noted that people have multiple identities that they may choose to use in various social situations. Thus, the group claiming both African American as well as Creole identities may be found to choose one identity over the other, depending on the linguistic situation.

Relevant issues about the relationship between language and identity were also raised in the study by Davies (2007), who worked within the framework that identity is “projected through language, such that different dimensions of identity may be emphasized or de-emphasized by a
speaker in relation to a particular context” (p. 73). For this study, Davies analyzed the interviews of six self-identified, bidialectal Southern English speakers. These interviews focused on interviewees’ backgrounds and their ideas about their language use. She collected recordings of these interviewees speaking during their daily lives as well in order to more thoroughly examine the linguistic changes they make in different contexts. From her analysis of the interviews and recordings, Davies (2007) found that for some speakers, crafting their language is a highly conscious process of selecting features from their linguistic repertoire. Others, conversely, were more unaware of the changes they made in their speech. This means that it is possible that some speakers may consciously chose to incorporate features in their speech that connect them to a certain identity.

Studies which focused only on language also aided in understanding the linguistic choices made by people of color with Creole ancestry. Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (2006) provide information about various varieties of English, which was helpful in determining whether certain features were unique to AAVE, Creole Vernacular English (CrVE), or Cajun Vernacular English (CVE) or whether they occurred in other American dialects as well. The discussion of features characterizing AAVE and their use in J. Rickford and R. Rickford (2000) as well as J. Rickford (1999) aided not only in choosing the AAVE features examined in this study but also in analyzing the use of these features in participant speech. Additionally, Klingler’s (2003) research on the Louisiana Creole French spoken in Pointe Coupee, Louisiana provided clues about the connection between some features in participant speech and the French this group used in the past.

Another study focusing on language is that of Picone (2003), which shows that it is possible for people who claim only Creole or only African American identity to use the linguistic
practices of both groups because African Americans and Creoles of Louisiana have had close ties throughout their histories. In this study, Picone (2003) uses historical documents from the 18th and early 19th centuries along with literature from the late 19th century, ex-slave narratives from the early 20th century, and modern oral testimony. From these accounts, he identifies four linguistic markers from French that may have been transferred into English based, in part, on contact with enslaved people. Picone is careful to note that although literary and ethnographic renderings of dialect, when taken alone, are often suspect, their general accuracy is less open to question when properly triangulated and used with other corroborating sources. These markers are as follows: yes and no tags, the omission of prepositions from some phrasal verbs, right dislocated pronominal tags, and the monophthongal /e/. Picone (2003) concludes that the influence of French and Louisiana Creole French on AAVE could have led to commonalities in linguistic markers of AAVE and the Creole or Cajun French dialects found in Louisiana.

In Dubois and Horvath (2003c), a study of glide absence in what they term Creole African American Vernacular English, speech samples of 24 African American males of French ancestry from Opelousas and Parks, Louisiana were taken from the Louisiana Creole African American Vernacular English Corpus. The French and English bilingual speakers were divided into four different age groups: old, seniors, middle-aged, and young. Dubois and Horvath (2003c) examined the speech samples of these men to find if there were any differences among them in the absence of glides in a series of diphthongs and diphthongized vowels but found that there was not much variability between generational groups. Furthermore, Dubois and Horvath (2003c) believe that the absence should not be attributed to the influence of the French language.

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5 This term is not used in the study because not all participants who identify as Creole identify as African American as well. The study instead uses Creole Vernacular English (CrVE).
but rather to the English that was spoken at the time in which these historically French speakers began to acquire the new language.

Work on CVE is also important in this study. Creoles historically lived in close proximity with Cajuns; thus, it is possible that CVE influences the language of people of color with a Creole background. Dubois and Horvath (2003a) studied –s absence in present tense verbs following third person singular nouns, -ed absence in weak past tense verbs, is absence, are absence, and WAS leveling in the speech samples of 16 Cajun men. These men were bilingual in French and English, and the samples were recorded for the Cajun French/English Sociolinguistic Corpus. These men were divided into four groups, according to their language first learned, French or English, and their age, old or young. Then, each group was further divided into those with more and those with less education. Dubois and Horvath (2003a) found that the Old/French and Old/English used the features at about the same rate, while the Young/English group used them the least. They also found out that the less educated men tended to use more of these forms.

Dubois and Horvath (2002) explored the use of CVE by three writers and a storyteller. In this article, they outline several phonological features of CVE, which they found in their analysis of the speech samples of 120 Cajuns, recorded for the Cajun French/English Sociolinguistic Corpus. They also briefly discuss two main patterns of variation they have found when comparing different generations of speakers. The first is a linear pattern in which use of a feature decreases among younger generations. The second is a v-shaped pattern in which use of a feature decreases among the middle generation but increases among the younger generation, with the younger generation using the feature at the same rate or at a higher rate than the oldest generation.
In their 2000 article, Dubois and Horvath “review previously reported results on Cajun English (Dubois & Horvath, 1998a, 1998b) in order to examine the role of age and gender [in the speech of Cajuns] more thoroughly” (p. 287). Dividing women and men into groups based on age (old, middle and young), they analyzed the occurrence of unaspirated [p, t, k], heavy nasalization of vowels, unglided [ɑːt], and substitution of [d, t] for [ð, θ]. Unaspirated [p, t, k] follows the linear pattern with the young using it less than the old. Nasalization and unglided [ɑːt] follow the v-shaped pattern for men, with old and young men using these features at a similar rate, and the linear pattern for women, with a decrease in the use of the feature among the young and middle aged group. They also found that the use of [d, t] substitution depends on the person’s social network. Young women with an open network do not use the variant, but young men with open and closed networks as well as young women with closed networks use the variant.
CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Participants

The participants in this study were Louisianans with Creole ancestry, who do not identify themselves as White. Because my family is of Creole lineage, many of the participants were relatives and family friends. This presented an advantage because it allowed me to use my insider knowledge in the interviews and in eliciting the narratives. My interview with Theresa, for example, would not have been successful if I had not known her well. However, knowing the participants also presented a disadvantage since some people seem to have agreed to participate in the study only because they know my family or me. When interviewed, they seemed uncomfortable, and this discomfort led to a largely unsuccessful interview. The two people who, in my opinion, appeared to express these feelings through their demeanor or comments, like “you got the wrong person,” were taken out of the study.

I was able to locate 18 potential interviewees. Two were eliminated because of their obvious discomfort. Four others were eliminated because there was more than one successful interview in an age, regional, and gender category (discussed below). When this occurred, I chose the more successful interview.

I used the methodology outlined in Dubois and Melançon (2000) in order to examine potential generational differences. Participants were placed in the three age groups: 20-39, 40-59, and 60 and older. These groupings allowed me to examine participant claims to identity across generations as well as potential linguistic change in a community. Sankoff (2006)
describes the apparent time construct as viewing language synchronically with the assumption that an individual’s language is stable while the language of the community is unstable (p. 111). For example, if a 50 year-old speaker uses the monophthongal [a:] at a high frequency while a 20 year-old speaker from the same community uses this feature at a lower frequency, this would show a potential change in progress in real time, i.e., that when the 50-year old was 20, everyone spoke as she did, but now the younger generation is speaking differently. Sankoff (2006) also lists a number of studies in which changes in apparent time signified the changes that would be found in real time studies. However, while Bailey (2002) recognizes that apparent time has indicated language change in some cases, he warns that “the apparent-time data are only a surrogate [author’s italics] for real-time evidence, and apparent-time data cannot uncritically be assumed to represent diachronic linguistic developments” (p. 314). Therefore, all the apparent time changes in linguistic expression across generations found in this study must later be supported by findings in real-time research. In other words, the speakers in my youngest cohort will need to be recorded again after 20 and again after 40 years.

Linguistic expression of identity may also differ between historically Creole people from rural and urban communities. Therefore, six participants are from Opelousas. Opelousas is not considered rural, but it does contrast with the metropolitan Baton Rouge area around which the other six participants live.6 I also chose participants from Opelousas and around Baton Rouge because I grew up in these areas; thus, I know more people of Creole lineage there, and I better understand these people’s attitudes and experiences. Additionally, one male and one female from

6 The following three participants have lived in other areas of Louisiana for an extended period of time: Anita, who is from Opelousas but now lives in a more urban area; Anthony, who has lived in Baton Rouge for about five years but is originally from Lake Charles; and Carneal, who is from Opelousas but now lives in Baton Rouge. This is important to note because it may affect their claims of identity and their linguistic patterns.
each region were placed in each age group. Table 3.1 below lists the participants along with their age, gender, and regional groups. Using these different categories when choosing participants helped to ensure that that the results of the research are reliable. However, the results cannot be generalized because this study has such a small sample size. This is discussed in more detail in chapter 6 in the section on limitations.

Table 3.1

Participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Baton Rouge</th>
<th>Opelousas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-39</td>
<td>Courtney</td>
<td>Marcus(^\ast)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-59</td>
<td>Shalii</td>
<td>Anthony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 and older</td>
<td>Betty</td>
<td>Winston</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. \(^\ast\) Marks people given pseudonyms to conceal their identity.

Procedures

Interviews and narratives were gathered under IRB # 03-TS-016-R6 for Dr. Catherine E. Davies, approved for September 2, 2009 to September 2, 2010 and October 29, 2010 to October 28, 2011 (see Appendix A). The purpose of this IRB was for Dr. Catherine E. Davies and her students, including myself, to gather data on southern language, culture, practices, and identity as part of an archive of Southern Speech. Of course, this explanation of IRB information, outlined in Appendix A, was in addition to the information the participants received in the informed consent form, which they signed after we discussed it together. Additionally, the informed consent waiver gave participants the option to remain anonymous. The three participants (Anita, Marcus, and Rita) who chose to do this were given pseudonyms to conceal their identities. I also tried to conceal information about the people participants mentioned, particularly those who are
not deceased. In order to do this, I omitted many of these people’s names, replacing them with the person’s first initial and ellipsis enclosed in parenthesis. If someone referred to a person named Joyce, for example, the name would be written “(J...)” in the transcription. I also omitted some place names participants mentioned if I thought this information might be revealing. I replaced them with “(place)”.

After explaining the IRB information, I recorded my interviews and narratives with the participants. For Winston and Anthony, this took place at their offices, and for Anita, this took place at a coffee shop. All the other participants were recorded at their homes or at my parents’ homes. Every recording was done with only an RCA VR5220-A Digital Recorder. No external microphone was used.

Each participant was interviewed individually with the exception of four people. These interviewees were Theresa and her son, Carneal; Shalii and her aunt, Betty D; and Rita and her sister. Although Theresa and Carneal participated in each other’s interviews, one interview focused on Theresa while the other focused on Carneal. This was particularly helpful in interviewing Theresa because Carneal was able to explain questions when she found them difficult to understand. As for Shalii, I interviewed her alone, but she also participated in Betty D’s interview. Although Betty D’s interview was not included in the study because there were two successful interviews in the age, gender, and regional category to which she belonged, I transcribed the parts of the interview in which Shalii discussed her own ideas and believes. In Rita’s interview, her sister helped her articulate one of her ideas. I choose not to remove her sister’s comment from the interview, even though she did not sign an informed consent waiver, because there is no information in the interview that would reveal her identity.
The interview questions can be found in Table 3.2 below. In constructing these questions, I began by using the two questions from the Dubois and Melançon (2000) survey:

(i) In order to be considered a true Creole, which of the following attributes does a person need to have: Creole ancestors, parents and grandparents who speak Creole French, speak some form of French, speak Creole French, learn Creole French as a first language, live in a Creole town, live in Louisiana, belong to a specific race, have a specific religion?

(ii) How do you identify yourself? (p. 250)

I decided that the interview questions should be open-ended so that participants’ responses were not limited. Therefore, I revised the wording in the former of the two questions from Dubois and Melançon (2000), making the first an open-ended question (see question III.1) and focusing the second on cultural identity (see question I.3). I also created the other questions because using those from Dubois and Melançon (2000) alone would not allow me to fully address my research questions. Once I organized the questions, I tested them in a mock interview with a person who met the criteria for participation in the study. This allowed me to identity some problems in organization and clarity. I revised the wording of the second question from the Dubois and Melançon (2000) because I wanted participants to focus on their cultural rather than their racial identity in answering the questions. Then, I added the other questions in section one in order to help me more fully understand the complexities of participants’ cultural identities. Before beginning the interviews, the last step in creating the final version of the questions was placing all those about Creoles and Creole ancestry in the last section so that they would not influence participants to claim this identity.

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7 Because the interview was structured differently from those of the other informants, this person was not considered for participation in the study.
Table 3.2

*Interview Questions*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. Identity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. What does identity mean to you? (This should lead into a discussion about identity and about how there can be multiple identities.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. What would you define as cultural identity?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. How do you identity yourself culturally? Keep in mind for this question that your identity can be a combination of different identities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. If you could design the census to fit you well, what categories would you make to express this cultural identity?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. For People with Multiple Cultural Identities: Are there times when you want to focus on your particular identity, when you want to be one instead of the other?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. For People with One Cultural Identity: Are there times when you focus particularly on this identity, when you want to express it?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>II. Characteristics of Identity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. How do you express that identity through your everyday practices?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. How do you express that identity in the way you speak and act?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. How do you think that identity is expressed in your personal beliefs and attitudes?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>III. Creole Ancestry and Identity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. How would you define a Creole person? Are there any attributes or practices necessary for being Creole?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. What do you know about your ancestry, and why do you trace it back to Creole lineage? (Some definition might be required here about defining Creoles as people of mixed heritage.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Why do you not identity with some of the other identities (Creole, African American, American) that other people of Creole lineage identify with?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Even if you do not identity yourself as Creole, are there any efforts you are making to connect with that heritage?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the first section of the interview, questions 1 and 2 were meant to help interviewees think about the meaning of cultural identity. This was important because identity can be expressed in a number of ways. For instance, people could identity themselves in terms of their career, personality, socioeconomic class, or familial relationships. However, these types of identity markers would not be useful for this study because it focuses on cultural identity. These two questions also led to a discussion about the possibility of multiple identities. Some people identify themselves as belonging to multiple groups, so this discussion allowed participants to
recognize that they had the option to do this. Additionally, as I interviewed participants, I found that some seemed to equate cultural identity with racial identity. This was problematic because in American society, a person’s race is largely determined by his or her phenotype and by how he or she is perceived by others (Smeldley, 1998). Consequently, race has little, if any, bearing on a person’s culture (Jolivette, 2007; Smeldley, 1998). In order to help participants separate these two facets of their identity, I gave them a scenario with question I.2 in which a Korean girl was adopted at a young age by Irish parents. Although this girl’s racial identity would be characterized as Korean, her cultural identity would be Irish because of her upbringing with her adoptive parents. However, I only gave this scenario in the interviews of the last participants I recorded: Rita, Betty, Marcus, Anthony, Anita, and Winston.

Questions 3-6 of the first section were meant to find with which group the person identifies and at what times they focus on that identity. Participants’ answers to these questions were important in analyzing the linguistic patterns in their speech because with this information I examined if there were differences in linguistic patterns that could be related to identity and if there are some common linguistic practices among historically Creole people. These questions also provided information about who usually claims a particular identity and about historical factors that may influence participants’ claims.

The second section asked participants about the characteristics that are part of their cultural identity. In most cases, when the participant identified with multiple groups, I asked him or her these questions multiple times, focusing on different parts of their identity. For example, I would say, “how is your African American identity expressed in the way you speak and act,” then I would ask, “how is your Creole identity expressed in the way you speak and act”. These questions helped me to find practices that might influence claims of identity.
In the last section, participants were asked about their Creole ancestry and about Creole identity. Question 1 helped me understand more about how a Creole person is defined. The second question about Creole ancestry was designed to confirm that the person is of Creole lineage. With the third question, I gained more insight into what separated participants from the identities they did not claim. The final question focuses on the ways in which these people connect with their heritage, if at all.

Once participants had been interviewed, I recorded them telling narratives to see if their language use included characteristics associated with the identity they claimed. Rita’s sister and brother played a small role in her narrative, and I choose to include them because there was no revealing information about them. Theresa and Carneal participated in each other’s narratives, adding information while still allowing the focus to be set on one person. Courtney and Timothy told their narratives jointly, each adding to the stories they told and each having a significant role in the conversation. This joint telling was a particularly beneficial technique because these participants knew a lot about each other’s life. Therefore, they were able to express ideas that they may not have if they were only talking with me, and they were able to draw narratives from each other that they may not have told individually. However, this joint telling was not always possible because not all of the participants had relationships through kinship and friendship ties. In these cases, I tried simply to converse with participants and relate to them and their experiences, by talking about my own, so that they would be more comfortable in telling a narrative.

A narrative about experiences with family and friends was ideal because, with this, I could gain a better understanding of the role these peoples’ identities play in their everyday language. However, participants’ narratives did not always focus on these types of situations.
Some told stories about encountering racism, others told stories about good things that happened to them at work, and some even told stories about their pets. No matter the focus, participants told stories about events that were interesting or significant in their lives, giving me more insight into their experiences and values.

After the data was collected, I transcribed the interviews (see Appendix B) and narratives (see Appendix C). Each interview was transcribed in its entirety with attention to content, not linguistic features. Thus, these transcriptions are closer to standardized written English than the participants’ actual speech. I also chose not to transcribe most of the backchannels with one exception. After they took an extended turn in talk, a few participants used “mmhm” in a manner different from the usual use of this backchannel. Instead, they seemed to use it in order to confirm the truth of their statement. This was an interesting use of the backchannel, which I will talk about further in chapter 5, so I transcribed it in these cases.

The narratives were transcribed in a different manner from the interviews. Instead of transcribing them in their entirety, I only transcribed about seven to nine minutes, or about three stories, from each participant’s recording, but the transcription was in greater detail, especially in terms of phonetic characteristics. The transcription of Courtney and Timothy’s joint narrative was double this time with about sixteen minutes. Carneal’s narrative recording was not seven minutes, so I transcribed two narratives he told in his interview along with the narrative recording. Additionally, I did not have a narrative recording for Anthony, because of technical difficulties, or for Theresa, because she told narratives throughout her interview. Therefore, I simply transcribed parts of these participants’ interviews in the place of their narratives. In any case, I transcribed enough data to draw some conclusions about the participant’s language patterns. Unlike with the interviews, I was attentive to the linguistic features participants used in
the narratives. Because of this, I chose to transcribe all backchannels, and I transcribed parts of the narratives phonetically, using the phonetic symbols for American English in Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (2006, p. xiv-xv). My choice of which parts of the narrative to transcribe phonetically and of how to transcribe these parts was impressionistic because, without the aid of computer software, I phonetically transcribed only the words whose sounds deviated from my idea of standardized spoken English.

I then analyzed both the interviews and the narratives. With the interviews, I examined how participants identify themselves culturally and why they identify themselves in this way. Because the questions were open-ended, I could not address everything that each participant discussed. Thus, I found shared ideas, which I will present in chapter 4, discussed by three or more participants when answering questions about their identities. In order to gain more insight about participants’ ideas about their Creole lineage, I also considered their definitions of a Creole person and the ways in which they connect with their Creole heritage.

With the narratives, I analyzed participants’ language usage to discover if they used features from African American Vernacular English (AAVE) or those traceable to Louisiana Creole or Cajun French. I selected, using several important studies and resources, key phonological and structural features associated with the English spoken by African Americans, Creoles, and Cajuns, and I regarded these features as potentially symbolic of these groups for the purpose of projecting identity through language. Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (2006), J. Rickford and R. Rickford (2000), and J. Rickford (1999) identified a large number of AAVE features. Thus, I chose several phonetic features that some participants used, and I only chose structural features that J. Rickford (1999) listed as pre-verbal markers of mood, tense, and aspect. I took the features of Creole Vernacular English (CrVE) from Picone (2003) and Dubois and
Horvath (2003b, 2003c). Although Creoles typically use the same label to refer their ethnicity and the French they speak, sometimes they actually speak Cajun French and not Louisiana Creole French (Klingler, 2003). Therefore, I chose to also include the features of Cajun Vernacular English (CVE) outlined in Dubois and Horvath (2003b, 2002, 2000). Some of the selected features are identified in the English of more than one of these groups.

In order to examine the linguistic characteristics of their speech, I did an impressionist count\(^8\) of these features in participants’ narratives. I also counted other peculiar features that occurred in more than two people’s narratives. Table 3.3 below lists the features counted in this study and whether these features come from AAVE, CrVE, or CVE. After counting these features in the narratives, I compared participants’ use of features in order to find if there is a connection between these features and participants’ region, age, gender, and identity. Unlike with the age, gender, and regional groups, the different identity groups did not have the same number of participants. Thus, for each particular identity group, I divided the number of participants who used the feature by the number of participants in the group. This gave me a percentage that I could use to compare the use of features across these groups. Participants with multiple cultural identities were counted in each identity group they claimed. The results of this calculation are presented in Table 4.3 in the next chapter.

\(^8\) I have labeled this an impressionist count because it is not intended to be a quantitative count of all features in the sample and because this count was not done with the aid of computer software.
### Counted Linguistic Features

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Feature</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>AAVE</strong></td>
<td>Phonetic</td>
<td>- Reduction of final consonant clusters, especially t/d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Vocalization of [r]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Realization of <em>ing</em> as <em>ang</em> and <em>ink</em> as <em>ank</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Structural</td>
<td>- Stressed <em>BEEN</em> to show action is happening up to point of speech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Habitual <em>be</em> to mark habitual actions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CVE</strong></td>
<td>Phonetic</td>
<td>- Unaspirated [p, t, k]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Trilled [r]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Deletion of [h] in stressed syllables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Lowering [e] to [æ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Heavy nasalization of vowels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CrVE</strong></td>
<td>Structural</td>
<td>- <em>Yes</em> and <em>No</em> tags</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Omission of prepositions from phrasal verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Right dislocated pronominal tags</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AAVE and CVE</strong></td>
<td>Structural</td>
<td>- Copula Deletion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- done + verb to emphasize completed nature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AAVE, CVE and CrVE</strong></td>
<td>Phonetic</td>
<td>- Substitution of [d, t] for [ð, θ]. AAVE and Southern English also substitutes [v,f] for [ð, θ].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Unglided [ar] to [a:]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CVE and CrVE</strong></td>
<td>Phonetic</td>
<td>- Unglided tense vowels [e] to [e:] and [o] to [ɔ:]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Participant Narratives</strong></td>
<td>Phonetic</td>
<td>- Substitution of [ɔ] for the vowels [ɑ] and [ʌ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Unglided [ɔɾ] to [ɔ:]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Participant Interviews</strong></td>
<td>Structural</td>
<td>- <em>mmhm</em> to confirm the truth of statements</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

The Cultural Identity of Participants

Participants’ answers to question I.3, how they identify themselves culturally, and I.4, which categories they would make on the census to express this cultural identity, are shown in Table 4.1 below. For the former question, eleven of the twelve participants claimed two identities. Courtney, who only claimed one identity, labeled herself as American, which for her encompasses the many different cultural influences from her background.

Although most of the participants claimed multiple identities for I.3, the combination of identities claimed seemed to be linked to the participants’ age and region. Four of six participants from Baton Rouge identify as American, and all of these four are in the 20-39 and 40-59 age groups. However, in Opelousas, Theresa, in the oldest age group, is the only participant who identifies as American. Additionally, of the five total participants claiming American identity, only one also claimed African American or Black identity. In Opelousas, five of six participants labeled themselves as African American or Black\(^9\), and Theresa is the only participant from this area who does not identify herself in this way. Conversely, only three

Table 4.1

\(^9\) There are two reasons participants gave for labeling themselves as Black rather than African American. The first is that they are unsure of whether their Black ancestors came from Africa. If their ancestors did not come from Africa, then they could not be African-American. The second is that they have no direct ties to the African continent. Thus, they are not African American because they are not from Africa. Despite of this, African Americans and Blacks are treated as part of the same cultural group in this study because they are typically thought of as synonymous in American society.
Participant Answers to Question I.3 and I.4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Baton Rouge</th>
<th>Opelousas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20-39</td>
<td>Courtney American</td>
<td>Marcus African American American</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>African American</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-59</td>
<td>Shalii American Woman of Color (Creole)*</td>
<td>Anthony Creole American*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Creole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60+</td>
<td>Betty African American Creole*</td>
<td>Winston African American Creole*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>African American</td>
<td>African American Creole</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nota. * Indica que las identidades se listan en orden de importancia para el participante.10

10 La mayoría de los participantes que declaran múltiples identidades no indicaron ningún orden de importancia, así que sus identidades se listan en orden alfabético.

of six participants in Baton Rouge claimed African American or Black identity, and two of those three were in the oldest age group. Participants from both communities label themselves as Creole with four of six participants in Baton Rouge and three of six participants in Opelousas labeling themselves as such. However, in Baton Rouge, neither of the participants in the youngest age group identifies as Creole, while both participants in this age group from Opelousas identify as Creole. In the oldest age group, this is reversed: both participants in Baton Rouge identify as Creole, but neither participant in Opelousas identifies as Creole. Of the seven total participants who identify themselves as Creole, five also identify as African American or Black. Both Shalii and Anthony, the two who did not claim this combination of identities,
strongly rejected any association with African American or Black identity. They were also from the same age and regional groups, and they both claimed American identity along with Creole.

In addition to claiming American and African American or Black, Carneal, Theresa, and Peter from Opelousas use labels not mentioned by other participants to express their cultural identities. By claiming multiethnic identity, Carneal shows the influence of his multicultural and multiracial background. In the interviews, several participants talked about Mulattas\(^\text{11}\) in reference to people who are light-skinned or who are biracial with one white and one black parent. Theresa, however, is the only one who identifies as a Mulatta. Peter also makes an interesting claim to identity by labeling himself as Cajun. The term *Cajun* is typically used when identifying Whites with French Acadian ancestors (Dubois & Horvath, 2003b). Thus, for Peter to identify as both African American and Cajun is peculiar, and this peculiarity will be discussed further in the next chapter.

While region and age did affect how participants identified culturally, whether the participant was male or female seemed to have less of an influence except in the case of claiming African American or Black identity. Whereas five of the six males claimed this identity, only three of the six females did the same.

Table 4.1 above also shows that while most participants used multiple identities in answering question I.3, many limited their cultural identity to one category when asked to represent it on the census, even though question I.4 allowed them to choose multiple categories. Of the eleven participants who chose two identities for question I.3, only four, Anita, Carneal, Rita, and Winston, use both identities to label themselves for question I.4. Carneal identifies himself as Multiethnic and Black. Anita, Rita, and Winston identify themselves as African American and Creole. With the other four participants who identified as African American or

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\(^{11}\) All the participants used the feminine, Mulatta, instead of the masculine, Mulatto, to refer to this group of people.
Black with another identity for I.3, in answering I.4, Betty and Marcus chose only African American, Timothy chose only Creole, and Peter chose only Cajun. Of the five participants who identified as American for question I.3, only Theresa used this identity to represent herself on the census. For question I.4, Anthony and Marcus chose the other identity they listed for I.3, and Courtney and Shalii both chose other, a category given on the census. Additionally, the identity participants chose for the census was not linked to their age, region, or gender.

Shared Ideas about Cultural Practices

In discussing the identities they claimed in question I.3, participants expressed a number of shared ideas about practices connected to their identities and about their reasons for choosing those identities. Some of these ideas were associated with a particular identity, but many connected to multiple identities. Only in one case was a shared idea clearly linked to a particular age group. In all other cases, there was no obvious relationship between the ideas shared and the participant’s age, gender, or regional groups. It is also important to note that even though participants most likely talked more freely with me because I am a part of this community, they probably did not discuss all the characteristics and ideas they associate with their cultural identities. Identity and culture are complex and sometimes sensitive issues that are difficult to explain and untangle, even when people are talking about themselves. Furthermore, there simply was not enough time for participants to discuss everything. Thus, the information presented here is limited to what participants happened to talk about during the interviews, and it can only begin to touch upon the complexities entwined in ideas about cultural identity.
Markers of Identity

There were several shared practices that participants associated with their cultural identities. Of the seven participants who identified as Creole in question I.3, all but Anthony named Creole cooking as a practice they associate with this identity. With regard to cooking, participants talked about the types of food they cook and how meals are prepared as well as the importance of food as part of family gatherings. Shalii and Timothy also discuss the importance in Creole culture of having celebrations in which the community can come together. These two participants connect certain types of music to their Creole identity as well. For Timothy, this is listening to Zydeco music, and for Shalii, this is dancing and enjoying Creole music, whose influences from different cultures form a unique sound. Listening to music, cooking, and celebrating were practices associated with other identities too. Peter connects these three practices to his Cajun identity, and Betty lists music and cooking as distinctive of her African American as well as her Creole identity.

When discussing the features of their various cultural identities, other ideas shared among participants involved their language. Marcus and Timothy view their use of improper English as markers of their identities. In the interview, Timothy describes his improper English as being “country mixed with French,” while Marcus says he uses English that is “not grammatically correct” around his family. Rita says that her accent is a marker of both of her identities, but she does not give examples of this. When asked how he expresses his identity in the way he speaks, Peter says through his “broken English.” He says that he speaks “real bad” and that people sometimes laugh because of how he says things. Throughout the interview, he was aware that some of his structures, like “I’m is,” and pronunciations, like theory and proper, differed from those that he considers standard English, and he occasionally tried to correct himself but could
not. For Betty and Anita, part of their Creole identities is using French words, like *thraka* and *be*, which are likely a variants of *traka*, meaning *problem*, and *bebe*, meaning *baby*, respectively, from Louisiana Creole French (Valdman, Klingler, Marshall, & Rottet, 1998). They think of Creole French sayings and using *yea* at the end of sentences, i.e., yes tags, as being part of their Creole identities as well. Betty also notes that she associates certain “slangs” with her African American identity, but she does not give any examples. Additionally, Winston, when discussing his African American identity, and Carneal, when discussing his Multiethnic and Black identities, connect their language patterns to these identities. To illustrate this, both participants told stories in which their identity, though not apparent from their appearance, was obvious to others through their language use.

**Attitude and Behavior**

Also connected to different cultural identities are shared ideas that stem from participants’ experiences as people with multicultural backgrounds. Anthony, Anita, Carneal, Marcus, Shalii, Theresa, Timothy, and Winston all talked about having to explain their identity because other people question them about it or because problems arise when other people do not realize how they identify. Since they know what it is like to be different, another idea shared among participants despite their claims of cultural identity is trying to be open to and tolerant toward different peoples and cultures. Anita, Courtney, and Rita do this by trying not to judge people based on race or appearance. Carneal and Shalii try to learn about other cultures and their people so that they can become more understanding. It seems that Timothy also considers himself to be tolerant because he recognizes that even though there will always be things he does not like about a certain group of people or a certain culture, he has to keep an open mind. Being
able to adapt to various people is a characteristic attributed to different cultural identities. Courtney is able to identify with both Whites and Blacks, while Betty is able to identify with both Creoles and African Americans. Carneal and Anthony adapt with language, changing their speech to fit their audience.

Shared ideas also arose about issues of discrimination and prejudice. As a practice of African American identity, Marcus, Winston, and Betty work against discrimination and prejudice based on race. This is particularly salient for Betty and Winston, who came up during the Civil Rights period and who seek political policies that will ensure equality for all Americans. While this idea about having to fight against discrimination gives the sense that it is still an issue, Shalii, Carneal, and Theresa seem to hold the belief that for younger generations, discrimination is not often an issue because young people are not as concerned with color. This was particularly interesting to me as a young adult because while I can see from my interviews, especially the one with Theresa, that problems of prejudice and discrimination based on color are less severe, I also know from my experiences that these issues are far from being resolved. Furthermore, it is evident that there are still problems with this type of discrimination in Courtney and Timothy’s narrative when they talk about segregated high school proms in Timothy’s hometown and in Marcus’s notion that he must focus on his African American identity when discriminatory remarks are made.

Choosing Identity

In discussing why they chose different cultural identities, participants also had some ideas in common. One shared idea among participants was that the upbringing and experiences of Creoles are different from those of people in other cultural groups. Shalii attributes this
difference to her belief that most Creoles grow up recognizing and learning about their mixed heritage whereas people from other cultures may not. While Shalii contrasts Creoles with other groups in general, Timothy and Winston contrast them with African Americans or Blacks in particular. Although he says that the differences between these groups have not been as pronounced in recent years, Winston mentions three main differences between them in the past: religion with Creoles being Catholic and African Americans being Protestant, language with Creoles speaking French and African Americans speaking English, and education with Creoles going to Catholic schools and African Americans not always having this same opportunity. Timothy also seems to see a difference between the two groups, but the exact difference he is referring to is unclear. However, he does give the sense that this difference creates some problems between African Americans and Creoles.

Several participants also discussed the problems in choosing identity that are caused by American society’s limited classifications for people of color. One problem occurs when African American identity is imposed by others. Winston, Peter, and Shalii all address this in their interviews, and Winston is the only one who fully accepts this designation. Additionally, other identifiers that people of color choose are not always accepted in society. For instance, Anita and Anthony both give the sense that saying they are just American is not enough for other people, and Shalii points out that many people cannot identify as Creole because this category is not recognized in America. Another shared idea, expressed by Courtney, Rita, and Betty, was that claiming one cultural identity exclusively would mean rejecting other parts of themselves.
Other Shared Ideas

Additionally, two ideas about topics unrelated to cultural practices and to choosing cultural identity were common among participants. First, there was a sense of Creole culture dying out along with Louisiana Creole French because the culture is being subsumed by either African American culture or American culture. This is ironic because Betty, Timothy, and Winston, who discussed this in their interviews, all identify as Creole. Second, five participants, Anita, Courtney, Marcus, Timothy, and Carneal, view their regional identities as Southerners or as South Louisianans as part of their cultural identity. In this case, age may play a role since all the participants in the 20-39 age group identified in this way.

Linguistic Features in Participant Narratives

The impressionistic count of features in each participant’s narrative is given in Table 4.2 below. When studying participants’ use of these features by gender, age, identity, and regional groups, gender seems to have the least amount of influence on these categories, and region seems to have the most. It was sometimes difficult to draw conclusions about the frequency of a particular feature among different groups because the rate of usage among participants was staggered. For instance, in the case of the unglided [ə₁], while it is clear that the males in the 20-39 age group use this feature more than the females, I could not draw this type of conclusion in the other two age groups because the frequency varies so much among participants. Therefore, I only comment on frequency when there is a clear difference related to region, gender, age, or identity. Since there were only a small number of participants, however, findings about how these categories relate to language use cannot be generalized. Additionally, because in this study there were no questions meant to elicit specific structural or phonological constructions, it is
Table 4.2

*Impressionistic Count of Features in Participant Narratives*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Baton Rouge</th>
<th>Opelousas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Courtney</td>
<td>Marcus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduction of final consonant clusters</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocalization of [r]</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Realization of ing as ang and ink as ank</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stressed BEEN</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habitual be</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unaspirated [p, t, k]</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trilled [r]</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deletion of [h] in stressed syllables</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lowering [ɛ] to [æ]</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heavy nasalization of vowels</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes and No tags</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omission of prepositions from phrasal verbs</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Right dislocated pronominal tags</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copula Deletion</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>done + verb</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substitution of [d/v, t/f] for [ð, θ]</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unglided [at]</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unglided [e] and [o]</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substitution of [a] for the vowels [ɑ] and [ʌ]</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unglided [ax]</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mmhm to confirm the truth</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

40
possible that participants did not produce one of the counted features even though they use it in their language. This problem is likely more apparent when considering participants’ use of structural features because there are more limitations on the situations in which they can be used. Conversely, this problem was not as prominent with the phonological features because people generally produce a wide range of sounds when talking for any extended period of time.

When considering features whose source is African American Vernacular English (AAVE) exclusively, some were common among participants and others were not; however, each occurred in the speech of at least two participants. The most common feature from AAVE was reduction of final consonant clusters, which was used by all the participants and did not vary in frequency due to age, region, gender, or identity. Another common feature was vocalization of [r], which was used by all participants except Marcus. However, in the 40-59 group and the 60+ group, this occurred at a much higher frequency in Opelousas than in Baton Rouge. Also, when only considering those participants who claim American identity, Theresa, who is 60+, used this feature at a much higher rate than younger participants, Anthony, Courtney, Marcus, and Shalii, who claim this same identity.

The features from AAVE only that were not as common were realization of ing as ang and ink as ank, stressed BEEN, and habitual be. Realization of ing as ang and ink as ank occurred in the speech of three participants from Opelousas and in the speech of only one from Baton Rouge, making it more common in the former community. Though, the participant from Baton Rouge, Betty, used it at a high rate. This feature is also likely linked to gender, since it is used by more females than males, and age, since three of the four participants who used it are in the 60+ group and one is in the 40-59 group. Additionally, of the participants claiming American identity, Theresa is the only one to use this feature. Stressed BEEN and habitual be occur the
least of the AAVE only features with the former being used by three participants from Opelousas and the latter being used by two from Opelousas. Thus, it is possible that the occurrence of these features is related to region and, in the case of habitual be, which is used only by females, to gender as well; however, with such low rates of usage by participants, it is difficult to be certain of this link. Also, Theresa used habitual be only to depict the speech of the Cajuns in her story, so her use of this feature may link to her perception of Cajuns and not to her identity. Table 4.3 below, which gives the number and percentage of participants in the African American, American, and Creole identity groups that use a particular feature, shows that stressed BEEN did not occur at all in the speech of those identifying as American but did occur in the speech of those claiming Creole and African American or Black identity. Therefore, a connection may be made between claims of identity and use of this feature.

Some features whose source was Cajun Vernacular English (CVE) exclusively were common among certain groups of participants, while other features, namely unaspirated [p, t, k], trilled [r], and lowering [ɛ] to [æ], did not occur at all. Deletion of [h] in stressed syllables was more characteristic of the speech of participants from Opelousas since of the five participants who used it, four were from this region. Furthermore, the only people from Opelousas who did not use this feature are Anita and Carneal, who have lived outside the area for an extended period of time. Heavy nasalization of vowels was also more common in the speech of those from Opelousas because this feature occurred in the speech of all the participants from this region whereas it occurred in the speech of only three participants from Baton Rouge. However, Shalii, who grew up speaking Louisiana Creole French, used heavy nasalization of vowels at a higher rate than everyone in Opelousas except Rita. Moreover, Rita and Shalii used this feature at a much higher rate than their male counterparts in the 40-59 group. When considering identity in
relation to heavy nasalization of vowels, this feature occurred most among those identifying as African American or Black and least among those identifying as Americans, although this has no bearing on rate of usage since Shalii is in the former group.

Table 4.3

Occurrences of Features Among Different Identity Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>African American (8 participants)</th>
<th>American (5 participants)</th>
<th>Creole (7 participants)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduction of final consonant clusters</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocalization of [r]</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Realization of ing as ang and ink as ank</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stressed BEEN</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habitual be</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unaspirated [p, t, k]</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trilled [r]</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deletion of [h] in stressed syllables</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lowering [e] to [æ]</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heavy nasalization of vowels</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes and No tags</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omission of prepositions from phrasal verbs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Right dislocated pronominal tags</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substitution of [d/v, t/f] for [ð, θ]</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copula Deletion</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>done + verb</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unglided [aɪ]</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unglided [a] and [ö]</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substitution of [o] for the vowels [ɔ] and [ʌ]</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unglided [ɔɪ]</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mhmm to confirm the truth</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
If they occurred at all, features exclusively from Creole Vernacular English (CrVE) were rare. None of the participants used right dislocated pronominal tags, and omission of prepositions from phrasal verbs was almost non-existent with only one use by Carneal in line 170 of his narrative. *Yes* and *no* tags were not common among participants from Baton Rouge or Opelousas, and they were not used by any participants in the 40-59 group. The three speakers who used this feature identify as African American and two identify as Creole as well, but because it occurs so rarely, it may not actually be related to these identities. Further, since Timothy used it only to depict the speech others in his community, it may not actually be characteristic of his speech.

As with features from AAVE exclusively and some features from CVE exclusively, features whose sources are both AAVE and CVE were also found among participants. Copula Deletion occurred in the speech of three participants from Baton Rouge and four from Opelousas, but it is used at a higher rate in the latter community. This feature is also more common among participants in the 40-59 and 60+ groups, in which it was used by three of four participants in each group, than the 20-39 group, in which it was only used by one participant. For this particular feature, it is also interesting to note that of the 55 *is* and *are* deletions by participants, only ten were *is* deletions while forty-five were *are* deletions. Furthermore, every participant who used copula deletion omitted *are* more than *is*, which is typical of both AAVE and CVE. Another interesting note about this feature is that unlike the other participants, Peter deleted *was* and *were* as well as *is* and *are*. This type of copula deletion was not mentioned in Dubois and Horvath (2003a) when they discussed *is* and *are* absence in Cajun Vernacular English, and according to J. Rickford and R. Rickford (2000, p. 114-115), this type of copula deletion is ungrammatical in the rules of AAVE. The other feature of both AAVE and CVE, done
+ verb, was more rare because it was used by only three participants in Opelousas. It may be related to age as well as region since only participants in the 40-59 and 60+ groups used this feature.

The features from AAVE, CVE, and CrVE, unglided [aɪ] and substitution of [d/v, t/f] for [ð, θ], as well as the features from CVE and CrVE, unglided tense vowels [e] and [o], were present in the speech of all the participants. Other than in the case of Anita who, like her counterpart in Baton Rouge, only used it once, substitution of [d/v, t/f] for [ð, θ] was much more common in the speech of those from Opelousas. This feature was also much higher among males than females in the 20-39 group. Additionally, most participants only used [d] as a substitute for [ð]. The only participants who differed from this were Marcus, who used the AAVE and Southern English [f] for [θ] substitute along with [d] for [ð], and Peter, who used [t] for [θ] and [d] for [ð]. Because Peter does not have the teeth to make the [ð, θ] sound, it is not possible to tell whether his use of [d] for [ð] or [t] for [θ] is a marker of his Cajun identity.

Unglided [aɪ] was also used by all participants. The frequency of this feature in the 20-39 group was higher for males than for females. Among participants claiming Creole identity, it was more frequent in the speech of 20-39 year-olds. With unglided tense vowels [e] and [o], the 60+ group had the highest overall frequency of this feature, although Winston’s usage is particularly low.

This relation between age and rate of use is also reflected in the American identity group, whose oldest member, Theresa, used it with the highest frequency of all participants, while the youngest members used it with the lowest frequency of all participants. Additionally, even though unglided tense vowels [e] and [o] occurred in the speech of all the participants, unglided [e] was more common among participants in Opelousas than those in Baton Rouge, occurring 240 times in the speech of those from the former community and 55 times in the speech of those from the
latter community.

Although the features found in the narratives and interviews were not common among all participants, there were some interesting findings. Substitution of [ɔ] for the vowels [ɑ] and [ʌ] was used by four participants in Opelousas and one in Baton Rouge, making this feature more common in the former community. In fact, the only participants who do not use this feature in Opelousas are those who have lived outside the area for an extended period. Anthony, the only participant in Baton Rouge who substituted [ɔ] for the vowels [ɑ] and [ʌ], may have acquired this feature from growing up in Lake Charles and spending much of his life there, which could explain the difference in the use of this feature between him and others from Baton Rouge. With the unglided [ɔɪ], there were no differences based on age, region, or gender. However, Betty, Rita, and Timothy, the only participants to use this feature, all claimed African American or Black as well as Creole identity. In the interviews, *mmhm* to confirm the truth of statements occurred in the speech of Betty, Rita, and Carneal, who all are in the 40-59 and 60+ and who all claim African American or Black identity.

When compared to other members in their age or regional groups, several participants showed some peculiarities in their use of certain features. For instance, Timothy is a little different from other members of the 20-39 group. *Yes* and *no* tags and substitution of [ɔ] for the vowels [ɑ] and [ʌ] occurred in his speech whereas they do not occur in the speech of other members of this group. Substitution of [d, t] for [ð, ə] also occurred at a much higher frequency in his speech than it does in that of other participants in his age group. Betty’s use of various features is continually out of place as well. Vocalization of [r] and unglided tense vowels [e] and [o] occurred at a much higher frequency in her speech than in the speech of other participants in Baton Rouge. In fact, with the latter feature, her rate of usage was closer to her St. Landry
counterparts. She was the only one in Baton Rouge to use yes and no tags and realization of ing as ang and ink as ank, and the frequency at which she used these features was also closer to that of participants in Opelousas. Winston, on the other hand, often used features at a lower frequency than other participants in Baton Rouge and other participants in his age group.

**Defining a Creole Person**

The most common characteristic participants mention in defining a Creole person is that Creoles have a mixed lineage. Only three participants, Betty, Rita, and Theresa did not define Creoles in this way. Participants describe the precise mixture differently, but most include at least two of the following: African, Black, French, Italian, Native American, and Spanish. Of these, African or Black is most commonly mentioned. Only Anthony does not include this in the mixture, saying Creoles are purely French and Spanish. Although Peter acknowledges the French heritage of Creoles like many participants, his description is different from others because he says their French heritage is specifically Cajun, describing Creoles as being Cajun and Black. While Theresa does not say Creoles are mixed, she does refer to them as “colored”. This term sometimes had the connotation of being of mixed race because, according to Jolivérette (2007), before the twentieth century, the term colored labeled people with Native American mothers and French fathers. However, in the 1950s and 1960s, colored appeared to be a label separate from Black and White “but was ultimately interpreted to mean black” (Jolivérette, 2007, p. 82). Therefore, whether she uses colored to indicate that Creoles are of mixed lineage is uncertain.

In defining a Creole person, other characteristics are also commonly discussed by participants. Six participants, Carneal, Courtney, Marcus, Rita, Timothy, and Winston, identify
Creole cooking as an essential practice of a Creole person. The importance of this practice is also evident through the number of participants who name Creole cooking as a characteristic of their Creole identity. Practicing Catholicism and speaking French are commonly used to define Creoles as well. Betty, Carneal, Marcus, Shalii, and Timothy mention the former as a characteristic, and Anita, Anthony, Betty, and Timothy mention the latter. However, most participants seem to believe that although these practices were important in the past, they are not necessary for inclusion in the group today.

Another trait participants use to define Creoles is having a lighter phenotype. Courtney says Creoles are lighter skinned and have “good” hair texture, and for Betty, having lighter skin is one of the only factors in defining a Creole person that has not changed over the years. Although not many defined a Creole person by their physical attributes, there is a sense among participants that Creoles are preoccupied with skin color. This is apparent in Theresa’s story about the older Creoles in Frilot Cove who did not want their daughters to marry anyone with darker skin and in Betty being told when she was growing up that she could associate with African Americans but should not think about marrying one. The sense of Creoles being preoccupied with skin color is further evident when Betty talks about the brown paper bag test being applied at Creole dances. Upon entering the dance, a person’s skin color was compared to a brown paper bag, and anyone darker than the bag was not admitted (Brasseaux, Fontenot, & Oubre, 1994). For Shalii, the focus Creoles gave to phenotype is illustrated through not only the number of color terms, labeling people based on the percentage of their white and black blood\textsuperscript{12}, but also through Creoles dividing themselves into smaller groups based on these categorizations. Timothy talks about this issue as well, saying that he has heard of different areas around South

\textsuperscript{12} Octoroon and Quadroon are examples of these color terms. According to Mills (1977), the former labeled a person who was $\frac{1}{4}$ Black and $\frac{3}{4}$ White while the latter labeled a person who was $\frac{1}{8}$ Black and $\frac{7}{8}$ White.
Louisiana where the Blacks did not want to expose that they were Black. Additionally, Courtney defined Creoles as being tied to the slave days and the old southern lifestyle. She does not state what she means by this, but it is possible that she means Creoles are tied to the social systems that cause discrimination based on skin color. While Theresa and Timothy do not believe the problems they discussed still exist among Creoles today, Shalii and Betty think that this fixation on phenotype is still an issue today. Shalii, however, thinks it is not as prevalent as in the past.

There are also less common characteristics by which some participants define a Creole person. In naming practices that are important to Creoles, Anita and Rita talked about having celebrations, while Anita and Marcus talked about listening and dancing to Zydeco music. Although many participants did not mention this when defining a Creole person, the salience of these practices in Creole culture is supported by participants marking each of these as characteristic of their Creole identities. Language use is another way in which participants defined a Creole person. Neither participant gives examples, but Rita says that Creole people have an accent while Betty says they use Creole sayings. The importance of this characteristic is also shown through participants marking it as part of their Creole identities.

A few characteristics for defining a Creole person are only used by one participant. First, Betty says that Creoles are honest and have a good work ethic. The latter of these was also mentioned by Rita when naming the characteristics of her Creole and African American identity and by Carneal when talking about the values he learned growing up. Perhaps, if studying more people in South Louisiana, work ethic might be a more prominent feature not only for Creoles but for South Louisianans in general since it is seen as a characteristic of different cultural identities. For Rita, Creoles can be defined through the way they dress, which is in modest and inexpensive clothing. Shalii does talk about her dress as an expression of her Creole identity, but
she describes this manner of dress differently from Rita, saying that Creoles like to wear bright, vibrant colors. She also says that this is not the case with the younger generation. Where a person is from factors into Anita’s definition of a Creole person, but other participants do not mention this idea during any part of the study.

**Connecting with Creole Heritage**

Although participants seem proud of their Creole heritage with its unique food, music, traditions, and history, their efforts to connect with that heritage varies in kind and degree. Both Shalii and Winston connect with their Creole heritage by not only learning more about it but by also sharing their knowledge with others. Winston gives presentations on Creoles, their history, and their culture, and Shalii wrote her dissertation on Creoles and tries to teach younger people in her family about their Creole heritage. Betty enjoys reading and learning about Creoles as well; however, she does not make this a priority. Betty also says that she has not tried to pass on this heritage to her children. Learning French is the way in which Anita, who learned standard French in grade school and college, and Timothy, who is now learning to speak either Cajun French or Louisiana Creole French, connect to their heritage. Though, for Anita, her pride in the place where she grew up may have more strongly influenced her decision to learn French. Timothy also has done a little research into his family history. In the past, Anthony has connected with his heritage by attending Creole festivals, and Rita expresses the desire to pass on the Creole heritage to future generations of her family and to learn French. Carneal, Courtney, Marcus, and Theresa make few efforts to connect with the Creole heritage. Peter’s answer is unclear, so it is not included.
CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

Age and Regional Differences in Claims of Identity

Claims of African American identity by participants from Opelousas follow the findings of Dubois and Melançon (2000). In the current study, 20 to 59-year-old participants from Opelousas claim African American or Black identity, just as the majority of the participants in the 20-39 and 40-59 age groups from Opelousas and Breaux Bridge identified themselves as African American in the Dubois and Melançon (2000) study. They also found that those in the 60 and up age group were much less likely to identify as African American. Thus, claims of identity by the older participants from Opelousas, Theresa and Peter, also mirror their findings because both reject African American identity to some extent. Theresa does not identify as African American, and even though Peter identifies as African American, he says he is not really Black (I8, 211-219, 36m). However, when comparing the claims of African American identity by participants from Baton Rouge to those participants in this study from Opelousas and to the findings by Dubois and Melançon (2000), questions arise.

The first question concerns why participants in Baton Rouge, with the exception of those in the oldest group, tend to claim American identity with another identity, while most participants from Opelousas claim African American identity with another identity. Opelousas being more rural and Baton Rouge being more urban may foster this difference. According to the Louisiana State Census Data Center, the population in West Baton Rouge Parish, which includes Baton Rouge, has increased by 10.1% from 2000 to 2010, while the population in St. Landry Parish,
which includes Opelousas, has decreased by 4.9% (n.d. a). Further, Baton Rouge’s population in 2010 included a larger number of people who are neither Black nor White when compared to Opelousas (Louisiana State Census Data Center, n.d. b). Therefore, it is likely that Baton Rouge has a higher influx of culturally diverse people, and, in comparison to urban Baton Rouge, Opelousas is a smaller and less diverse communities.

These factors may influence participants’ claims to identity. In Baton Rouge, many outsiders moving into the bustling urban area may have questions about why a “Black” person looks White, Hispanic, or biracial. Moreover, it may not be enough for participants from this area to label themselves as Creoles to show this multicultural heritage because outsiders may not know about Creoles. These participants, then, may encounter more situations in which they must define their identity. In her interview, Anita talked about the questions she encountered after moving to a big city outside of Opelousas, saying:

I guess for me/ umm/ back home/ [my identity is] not an issue/ but/ you know/ as I move further away from there/ and go different places/ who I am is more of a question for other people/ like people see me/ and they want to/ you know/ people automatically want to categorize you/ and put you into a certain place/ they want to know/ you know/ are you mixed/ are you this/ are you that/ I get Latino a lot/ umm/ so/ you know/ the further away I go/ I feel like I have to explain myself a little bit more/ than if I were/ had this meeting with you in Opelousas/ and was still living in Opelousas/ it wouldn’t be a question of who I am/ umm/ it would kind of be understood (I17, 42, 12m)

Because people knew her, her family, and their identity, it seems that she was not questioned before moving outside of her hometown of Opelousas. However, when she moved to the urban area in which she currently lives, people began to ask about her identity, even in situations in
which it is inappropriate, like her work place and McDonald’s. Anthony also discussed his encounters with this same kind of questioning after moving to Baton Rouge from Lake Charles.

since I/ moved here/ a little bit over six years ago/ umm/ everybody/ my last name is not a/ common last name/ so everybody/ wants to know/ what are you/ so I’ve/ caught myself more/ in six years explaining/ my culture/ or my race/ than I have/ living back at home/ where I’m from originally/ cause everybody knew who we were/ so it’s like/ you didn’t get asked as much/ but since I’ve moved here/ to the Baton Rouge area/ it’s just unbelievable how many people/ want to know/ because of my/ I guess my hair texture/ my/ skin/ my/ personality/ you know/ I guess/ it all makes them/ interesting/ you know/ that I’m not/ I’m different (I16, 38, 7m)

Because of these questions, he says he must focus on his Creole identity more in Baton Rouge. Perhaps, then, participants in the middle and youngest age groups from Baton Rouge feel they must clearly define themselves in relation to other people’s ideas about their identity so that they can show how they want to be perceived. Additionally, because participants in Baton Rouge likely encounter more people who are not informed about Creoles, they might choose the more ambiguous American label to show their multicultural heritage.

In Opelousas, on the other hand, participants are less likely to encounter tensions from the outside that make it necessary to define their identity in terms other than African American or Black. Furthermore, because Opelousas is a smaller and less diverse community, it may be necessary for participants to claim African American identity over other identities. According to the Louisiana State Census Data Center, people whose race is Black or African American make up about 75% of the population in Opelousas, making this group the majority (n.d. b). Although race is not equivalent to cultural identity as defined in this study, in a community, such as
Opelousas, in which many people are acquainted with one another, any problems caused by not assimilating to the majority group may be detrimental. Thus, there could be repercussions for trying to separate, whether racially or culturally, from the dominant African American or Black identity, especially given the long history of tension between African Americans and Creoles (discussed in Brasseaux 2005; Brasseaux, Fontenot, Oubre, 1994).

Another question that arises when looking at the differences in claims of identity is why people in the youngest and middle age groups in Baton Rouge claim American identity whereas those in the oldest group claim African American identity. One answer comes when considering the historical context in which Betty and Winston grew up. Both of these participants were adolescents during the Civil Rights movement, a period in which many Creoles joined with African Americans in overcoming the struggle to be recognized as equal (Dubois & Melançon, 2000). During this time, young Creoles “not only proudly identified themselves as black but also consciously sought out the African American aspect of their heritage” (Brasseaux, Fontenot, & Oubre, 1994, p. 124).

It is clear from their interviews that both Betty and Winston recognize the effect of this historical event on their identities. When asked why she does not view herself as only American, Betty replies:

now if I were just to say American/ and this is coming from history/ for me/ when I went to school/ it was obvious that when we came in/ that/ we came from a Creole culture/ so/ automatically/ we were disliked because/ they felt we were denying/ that African in us/ and I guess that’s what made me embrace it/ […] it was like/ I don’t wanna deny/ being African American/ […] we’ve been through struggles/ and I don’t want to be/ to me/ that’s belittling it/ you know/ you know for me/ people died/ no/ I’m an American/ but
I’m African American/ because a lot of people died/ […] and I guess/ that’s why I identify more African American/ you know/ cause we were in this/ I feel/ together/ and I’m not gonna deny that/ so I really do see myself more as a/ African American first/ for me/ and then American (I14, 170-172, 48.30m)

This illustrates the tremendous influence that the experiences leading up to and during the Civil Rights Movement have had on her identity. Further, her notion that we were in this together shows the unity she felt with African Americans during that time; a unity she continues to feel.

In answering the question of how his African American identity is expressed in his personal beliefs and attitudes, Winston also discussed how the events leading up to the Civil Rights Movement influenced him.

I got very strong personal beliefs and attitudes/ I came up through very difficult times/ racially wise/ through the/ the fifties/ where segregation was very/ uh/ wooh/ not only dominant/ was insisted/ […] so/ you know/ I think that’s a/ I don’t know what the right words to say this/ pretty/ umm/ it/ pretty hardcore opinions from what I’ve seen/ hardcore meaning/ very (…)/ it doesn’t take me very long to decide whether this is a race issue or not (I19, 72, 22m)

When asked whether growing up during the Civil Rights Movement most influenced his beliefs, he continues on to say:

I think the opinions were formed before that [the Civil Rights era]/ the opinions were formed when/ in the fifties/ and early sixties where/ there were things that you were denied/ things that you could do but you weren’t allowed to do/ things that you knew that you should be able to do/ or that you wanted to do/ but/ for whatever the reason/ well not
whatever the reason/ the reason was race/ that prevented you from being able to do it/ or have as great of an opportunity/ to be able to do it (I19, 74, 23.30m)

Thus, coming up through this historical period compelled Betty and Winston to embrace their African American identities.

When considering the identities of Winston and Betty and when considering that many of the other participants from Opelousas claimed African American and Creole identity, the labels Peter and Theresa use to describe their identities are somewhat surprising. Theresa, who is the only participant from Opelousas to claim American identity, strongly objects to the racially based prejudice she has encountered throughout her life. This objection is apparent in her notion that “people is people” (I4; 71, 73, 89, 108, 120, 165, 244), which seems to mean that people should be treated with kindness, respect, and fairness despite their race. Therefore, she perhaps claims American in rejection of the negative racial associations inherent in other terms. She may also choose to identify as American rather than African American because unlike Betty and Winston, Theresa was in her forties during the time of the Civil Rights Movement. Her identity, therefore, was likely not as strongly influenced by this event. Another reason Theresa is able to comfortably indentify herself as American may be related to the idea that identity development is a life-long process (Tatum, 1997). Because she is older than all the other participants, she has had more time to explore her identity and to choose how she wants to define herself.

However, she still uses one of society’s labels, Mulatta, in identifying herself. Theresa identifies herself culturally saying, “a mulatta/ and then you can be American,” when asked question 1.3 (I4, 85, 17m). She continues, talking about her Mulatta identity in relation to how she was labeled in the past. After being asked if she sees herself as only American today, Theresa replied, “yeah/ you say you’re American/ but you see we didn’t say that/ a while back/” (I4, 91,
22m). This shows that she believes there is a difference in how people viewed themselves in the past versus the present. Then, when asked if she still sees herself as a Mulatta, she replies, saying “yeah/ that’s what they called the bright people/ they said the mulattas” (I4, 95, 23.30m). Her use of the past tense with called and said indicated that this term was used to identify her in the past, and her use of they shows that Mulatta was the term others used to identify her. Thus, because she uses the term Mulatta to label herself, it is clear that even now Theresa identifies herself based on how she is perceived by others.

Peter’s claim to both African American and Cajun identity is also peculiar. When considering that Cajuns are typically thought of as White (Dubois & Horvath, 2003b), claiming this identity along with African American identity is strange since White and Black identity are thought of as being completely separate in American society. It is also strange that he does not claim Creole because he says that Creoles are mixed African American and Cajun. According to this definition, he is Creole since he labels himself as both, yet he still identifies as Cajun instead. Additionally, his claim to African American identity is a contradiction because he does not see himself as being Black.

There may be a number of reasons that he identifies as both Cajun and African American despite these peculiarities. First, he may feel comfortable identifying as both because he thinks that Cajuns are not really White (I8, 170-171, 30.30m). Second, like Theresa, he has completed much of his life’s journey; therefore, he may feel comfortable with these seemingly conflicting identities because he has had more time to explore and define himself. Another reason he may identify as Cajun in particular is because he has a typical Cajun last name. Bishop, Coupland, and Garrett (2003) found that having Welsh last names allowed participants to connect with their Welsh identity. Thus, Peter’s Cajun last name may foster a sense of his belonging to this group.
Conversely, he may identify as African American in particular because, like Betty and Winston, he grew up during the Civil Rights Movement. During this period, the discrimination he experienced because he was labeled as “Black” by society may have given him the incentive to identify as African American in order to unify with others in the struggle for Civil Rights. However, unlike Winston and Betty, he does not embrace this identity. He may also label himself as African American because, as in the case of Theresa claiming Mulatta identity, this is how others perceive him. Even though he claims to be African American when asked how he identifies himself culturally, in question III.3, he says, “when I was coming up/ a lot of places/ you couldn’t go in/ cause you was Black/ and really/ I’m not Black/ but that’s the way you cate—/ that’s the way you was/ you know/ Black/ category/ you know” (18, 211, 36m). This shows that Peter does not classify himself as Black; however, being prohibited from going into white-only establishments made it clear to him that other people categorize him as such. Therefore, whether he claims African American or Black identity is irrelevant because this is how he is perceived by others regardless of how he feels about himself. He may, then, simply acquiesce to this identity.

Using both an identity that is given by society and one that is chosen does not seem to be a practice unique to Peter and Theresa. It might be more evident with Peter and Theresa because they claim such different labels from what is expected; however, Betty seems to do this as well in choosing both Creole and African American. Her answer to question III.1 shows that, growing up, there was a distinction between them—African Americans—and us—Creoles.

one thing I did not identify with/ and/ I had a lot of problems with coming up is/ where you only associated with Creoles/ you know/ as far as marriage/ you know/ or/ we were told if we went to school/ you could laugh and talk/ at school/ and I’m talking with
African Americans now/ you could laugh and talk/ but/ you don’t even consider marrying
somebody/ you know/ and then they had the/ the dances/ now I wasn’t privy to this/ but I
have heard where they would have the/ Creole dances/ and/ if you were darker than a
brown paper bag/ you couldn’t come through/ or with the hair/ you know/ all of that non-
sense (114, 120, 38m)

Therefore, Betty was given her Creole identity, and she was taught to see African Americans as
separate from herself. For her, however, being Creole is like a birth-rite. She says “I don’t know
if it would be anything I would choose/ see what I’m saying/ by it being a birth-rite/ I am proud
of it/ and umm/ I guess I do embrace it/ but/ it’s not my number one priority” (114, 184, 52m).
Despite her pride in and acceptance of her Creole identity, she sees herself as “African American
first” (114, 172, 50.30m), and this identity, which she chose for herself, takes priority. In
Winston’s case, his African American identity also seems to be in the forefront. However,
Winston sees Creoles as merely being a subgroup of African Americans, so whether he has
chosen African American over Creole identity and which identity was chosen and which was
given is irrelevant. Nonetheless, Betty, Peter, and Theresa may show a potential trend for older
people from multiracial backgrounds to not only claim the social label given to them during their
childhoods but to also prioritize a separate identity they have chosen.

Another potential trend of having region of origin as part of cultural identity is found
with the youngest group. Timothy explains his identity when answering question I.4, saying
“I’m Black/ I’m Creole/ south Louisiana” (110, 28, 18.30m). Answering question I.3 about how
they identify themselves culturally, Marcus says he views himself as a “southern American” (115,
14, 5m), and Courtney identifies as a “southern female” then contrasts herself with northern
Louisianans (I2, 12, 4m). Because she makes this contrast, she likely views herself in terms of

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being from south Louisiana in particular. Anita’s answer to I.3 shows that her hometown is central to her cultural identity.

Yeah, culturally I see myself as being, you know, a Creole from South Louisiana, from Acadiana. I do see myself as being Black but I think what pulls more is where I’m from than just being, you know, from Alabama or being from California or being from New Orleans even. I think there’s a uniqueness to me being who I am from Opelousas you know, it’s more to it than just that, being where I’m from makes me more of who I am.

All the participants in the youngest group identifying culturally with their regions of origin may show that they are more aware of themselves in a larger context than older and middle-aged participants, with the exception of Carneal who also identifies himself in terms of his region of origin. One reason for this could be that three of these participants went to colleges in Louisiana with large, diverse student bodies, and the other participant went to a trade school in another state. Thus, all have come into contact with people outside their home communities, people from other states and other parts of the world with different cultural traditions and beliefs. This may cause them to better understand how living in the south, and specifically in south Louisiana, has made them who they are and how it has made them different when compared to people in other parts of the United States and the world. However, some members from both the 40-59 and 60+ age group also are highly educated and have had contact with people from outside their communities. Thus, there must be additional factors influencing this trend.

Returning to the study by Dubois and Melançon (2000), more questions are raised with the participants’ claims to Creole identity in particular. Dubois and Melançon (2000) found that of the 232 participants in their study, 137 identified as African American, 52 identified as
American, and 43 identified as Creole. This study again mirrors their findings in that African American identity was claimed most often. However, it does not follow their findings about American and Creole identity because more participants in this study claimed Creole identity than American identity. The reason for this difference in findings may be that in the current study, there was the option of choosing multiple identities, and most participants claimed Creole identity in conjunction with either African American or American identity. Dubois and Melançon (2000) did not seem to specify whether their participants could choose multiple identities. Not having the option available or not specifying that the option was available could have caused their participants to claim only one identity when they in fact think of themselves in terms of multiple identities. Thus, more participants might have claimed African American and Creole identity in Dubois and Melançon (2000) if the surveys specified that they had the choice of multiple identities.

When comparing the results of this study to the findings of Jolivette (2007), who also studied people of Creole heritage and their identity, there is another difference in claims of Creole identity. He found that of the 60 participants in his study, 87% identified themselves ethnically as Creole. Only a little over half of the participants in the current study claim Creole identity; therefore, these findings did not match those of Jolivette (2007). The question concerning ethnic identity in the survey for Jolivette (2007) gives the option of choosing more than one identity along with an extensive list of ethnic identities to choose (p. 108), so the difference in findings must have another cause. Jolivette (2007) surveyed participants from different cities in ten different states, including Louisiana, that are in different regions of the country. Because they came from various places, his participants may have different ideas and beliefs about Creole ethnic and cultural identity from my participants. Further, if people from
two cities in the same state make different choices about identity, as they did in this study, then it would be expected that people from different states would also differ in their choice of identity.

Beyond considering only the number of participants who identify as Creole, the question of why claims of Creole identity are different when comparing participants of the same age groups in each region could also be asked. In Baton Rouge, both participants in the oldest group claim Creole identity with another identity, while those in the youngest group do not claim Creole at all. However, in Opelousas, the participants in the youngest group claim Creole with another identity while those in the oldest group do not. Only one person of the four participants in the middle group does not claim Creole identity. These differences in claims of Creole identity across age groups in each region may be explained through the work of Dubois and Melançon (2000). In their study, they found that “the more fluent one is [in Louisiana Creole French …] the more one identifies as Creole” (p. 253). They also found that those with a Creole background tended to identify themselves as Creole more than those with no Creole ancestry. In the current study, all of the participants are aware of their Creole ancestry, as identified in interview question III.2, but only one of the participants is fluent in Louisiana Creole French. However, when considering how much exposure each participant had to French growing up and desire each has to connect to his or her Creole ancestry, a pattern emerges.

Comparing participants from the youngest group in each region shows that these factors may influence choices of identity. The youngest from Baton Rouge, Courtney, who does not identify as Creole, and Marcus, who identifies as Creole racially but does not seem to identify as such culturally (I15, 187-188, 22.30m), were not exposed to much of any variety of French growing up. Conversely, the youngest from Opelousas, Timothy and Anita, who both identify as Creole, grew up around older family members who spoke French, and they likely encountered
some French in the larger community of Opelousas. Anita also learned standard French in school. These four participants also differ in how much they connect to their Creole heritage. From their answers to question III.4, it seems that Courtney and Marcus do not make an effort to connect to this heritage. Timothy, however, wants to connect to his Creole heritage by learning French and by finding out more about his family history. Based on her answer to III.4, Anita does not seem to have this same desire to connect to this culture, but when talking about the Creoles in New Orleans in her narrative, she mentions that she took classes about the topic because she was interested (N17, 258-301, 46m). Additionally, growing up so close to Lafayette, the Cajun and Creole cultural center nicknamed “the heart of Acadiana”, Timothy and Anita may have learned more about Creole culture and been surrounded by more people who identify with their Creole heritage. Thus, the youngest participants who identified as Creole knew more about their Creole heritage, connected more with this heritage, and had more exposure to the French language.

In the middle group, it is more difficult to determine whether these factors relate to claims of Creole identity. Of the four participants, Carneal is the only one who does not identify as Creole; though, he still acknowledges his multiracial, multicultural heritage by claiming multiethnic identity. Growing up, Carneal likely heard some French being spoke in the larger community in Opelousas, and he studied standard French for three years in school. However, the difference between him and other participants in this group is that he was not exposed to the language at home like Shalii, who grew up speaking Louisiana Creole French, and like Rita and Anthony, who grew up with one or both of their parents speaking French. Even the participants claiming Creole in the youngest group had family who spoke French. Thus, it may be that the exposure to French must come partially from family members in order for it to influence identity.
Looking at these participants’ answers to question III.4 shows that for the middle group, desire to connect with Creole heritage may not always be important in claiming Creole identity. Not only do Rita and Shalii try to connect to their Creole heritage, but they also would like to pass on this heritage to younger generation. Conversely, neither Carneal nor Anthony seems to spend a lot of time learning about their ancestry or exploring their Creole roots. This might be expected for Carneal since he doesn’t claim Creole. However, it is surprising for Anthony because he identifies so completely with being Creole, even saying he is “100% Creole” (I16, 20, 3.30m), yet he does “not do anything out of the ordinary” to connect with this identity (I16, 181, 27.30m). Perhaps, it is the fact that he has such a strong sense of this identity that he is able to identify as being Creole without necessary connecting to this heritage; all he has to do to be Creole is be himself.

Age together with region also seems to influence claims of Creole identity for those in the middle group because participants take the same identity as those closest to their age from other groups. Of the participants from Opelousas, Rita is closer in age to Anita in the youngest group, and both identify as Creole. Carneal, on the other hand, is closer in age to Peter in the oldest group, who like Carneal does not identify as Creole. Similarly, Shalii and Anthony are both closer in age to Betty and Winston, who claim Creole, than to Courtney and Marcus in the youngest group, who do not claim Creole. This parallel in claims of identity may occur because, with their proximity in age and with being from the same region, they were influenced by the same historical and cultural events, which according to Tatum (1997), mold a person’s identity.

When only comparing Betty, Winston, and Theresa in the oldest age group, there is a possibility that identifying as Creole is linked to exposure to French and to being connected to Creole culture. Betty and Winston, who both grew up with a parent speaking French and who
make efforts to learn about Creole culture, identify as Creole, but Theresa, who was likely only exposed to French in the larger community and who does not connect with Creole culture, does not identify as Creole. However, when considering Peter, whether these factors affect claims of identity in this age group becomes uncertain. Peter grew up in a household in which French was spoken, and he even says that when people spoke French, “I know exactly what they was talking about/ but I never could talk French” (I8, 191, 34m). Even though he does not speak French, he may actually understand it. Nonetheless, Peter does not identify as Creole despite his exposure to French, but it is possible this factor is linked to his Cajun identity instead. Because his answer to III.4 was unclear, a comparison between him and the other participants cannot be made with regard to connecting to Creole heritage. Other possible reasons those in the oldest group do and do not identify as Creole were previously discussed in this section.

**Influence of Identity, Region, and Age on Language**

**Language as a Marker of Identity**

When considering if language links to identity for participants, one point to examine is if the participants use features from the identity they claim. Johnstone and Mattson Bean (1997) said that “speakers’ choices, made from among the sociolinguistic resources available to them, may be ways of speaking associated with large groups” (p. 222). Therefore, linguistic features can connect people to the social groups or categories to which they belong. However, Johnstone and Mattson Bean (1997) and Davies (2007) recognize that while these types of social groups and categories may influence how a person will talk, they do not determine it. Reviewing Table 4.2 and 4.3 in the previous chapter shows that while participants did draw from some linguistic features associated with their cultural identity, the cultural group with which participants identify
certainly did not determine their use of linguistic features.

**Black and African American identity and AAVE features.** Most of the participants who claim African American identity use half or a little over half of the nine African American Vernacular English (AAVE) features examined in this study. This makes it seem that African American cultural identity may greatly affect these participants’ use of linguistic features. Looking more closely at their use of features, however, shows that this influence may not be as strong as it appears. The most common features used in this group were reduction of final consonant clusters, substitution of [d/v, t/f] for [ð, θ], and unglided [ar]. While the first of these features is attributed to AAVE exclusively, the other two features are attributed to AAVE, Cajun Vernacular English (CVE), and Creole Vernacular English (CrVE). Thus, since they are linked with multiple identities, participants may connect these features to other identities they claim. Further, these features occurred in the speech of all participants regardless of their identity; therefore, participant use of them may be linked to identity, but it could also be linked to region. Vocalization of [r] is another feature occurring in the speech of most participants in this group. However, this feature was also common in many participants’ speech. In fact, the only participant who did not use this feature was Marcus, who identifies as African American. Consequently, these features may be linked more to being from this region of Louisiana than to identity since they are in the speech of all the participants.

A little over half the participants also used copula deletion in their narratives. According to J. Rickford (1999), “copula absences set AAVE apart from all other American dialects” (p. 61). Because copula deletion distinguishes AAVE, it could be assumed that participants’ use of this feature links to their African American and Black identities. However, the frequency of this factor across age groups makes the participants’ use of this feature different from that of AAVE
speakers. J. Rickford (1999) found that teenagers omitted is and are more than adults when comparing teen and adult AAVE speakers from various studies (p. 267). This study finds the reverse: older and middle aged participants tend to delete the copula more than those in the youngest group. Further, Marcus, the only person to use this feature in the youngest group, deleted it only once whereas participants in the other groups tended to delete it at higher frequencies. This difference between AAVE speakers and participants suggests that copula deletion among participants could be connected to other factors as well as identity.

The other four AAVE features that occurred in the study, stressed BEEN, habitual be, realization of ing as ang and ink as ank, and done + verb, were used by less than half of the participants identifying as African American or Black. With the one exception of Betty’s realization of ing as ang and ink as ank, the people who use these features are from Opelousas, so identity likely plays a less important role in the use of these features than region. Therefore, although participants in this group did use some AAVE features, they tended to use mostly those features used by all participants in the study.

**Creole identity and CrVE features.** In this group, the majority of the participants used only three of the six CrVE features, substitution of [d/v, t/f] for [ð, θ], unglided [ar], and unglided [e] and [o]. The latter of these is a feature of both CVE and CrVE, while the other two are, as mentioned above, features of all the ethnolects examined in this study. Thus, these features may signal a link to other identities for participants. Because they occurred in the speech of all participants’ in this study, these features are also probably linked less to identity than to being from this part of the state. Of the other three CrVE features, yes and no tags, omission of the prepositions, and right dislocated tags, only yes and no tags occurred, and they only occurred in the speech of two participants, Timothy and Betty, who used them once and twice, respectively.
With this, it is clear that those who claim Creole do not tend to use CrVE features beyond those used commonly by all participants and associated with multiple identities.

**American identity and AAVE, CVE, and CrVE features.** Reduction of final consonant clusters, substitution of [d/ν, t/θ] for [ð, θ], unglided [aɹ], unglided [e] and [o], and vocalization of [r], the features that occur in the speech of all or most participants in the study, are those most commonly used by participants who claimed American identity. Other features common among other participants, namely Copula deletion, an AAVE and CVE feature, and heavy nasalization of vowels, a CVE feature, also occurred in the speech of three of these five participants. Another feature that occurred far less in this group was [h] deletion, which was used once by Courtney and Theresa. Theresa also pronounced ing as ang and ink as ank and used habitual be and done + verb. Moreover, she tended to use the features at a higher rate than the other participants in this group. This difference between Theresa and the other participants is likely due to the age gap between them and to the fact that she comes from a different region than all the other participants who identify as American.

That the majority of the features used by those claiming American identity are those features that most of the participants in the study use may show that these participants are linked to a more ambiguous American identity than to any particular cultural identity. However, this idea becomes problematic when considering that all but one participant who identifies as American also claims another identity because these participants are, in fact, connecting themselves to particular identities even if this is not shown in their speech. It also is problematic when considering that Theresa, the only 60+ participant and the only participant from Opelousas in this group, is also the only one who tends to use features that are not used by everyone. The difference between her and the other participants again suggest that use of features actually be
linked to region and age more than to identity.

**Cajun identity and CVE features.** Although Peter is the only one that chose this identity, this section is included because CVE features, which may link him to his Cajun identity, were examined in the study. Of the five CVE features associated only with CVE, three did not occur in Peter’s speech (unaspirated [p, t, k], trilled [r], and lowering [ɛ] to [æ]). He does use heavy nasalization of vowels and [h] deletion, which could signal his Cajun identity. The latter occurs in his speech more frequently than in that of the other four participants who used it. Therefore, this feature does appear to be a linguistic marker for his Cajun identity. With the former, however, the occurrence of it in his speech may be related to region as well since every participant from Opelousas uses heavy nasalization of vowels. Peter also draws from features which are not exclusive to CVE, such as substitution of [d/v, t/f] for [ð, θ], unglided [ar], unglided [e] and [o], copula deletion, and *done + verb*. His use of these features may link to his Cajun identity but can also link to his African American identity or simply to his region. Further, age may factor into his use of many of these features as well because he tends to use them at about the same rate as others in the oldest group.

Although unrelated to Cajun identity, the use of heavy nasalization of vowels, a CVE feature, among participants identifying as American, African American, and Creole is noteworthy. This feature was among those very common in participant speech regardless of the identity they claimed. This is interesting because the participants use [Æ], [ö], [ã], [æ], and [ê], which are all nasal vowels in Louisiana Creole French (Klingler, 2003). Therefore, this feature could be a remnant of French, connecting these participants to their Creole roots whether they identity as Creole or not. However, as with other features that commonly occurred among all
participants, it could simply be a part of the regional dialect of South Louisiana rather than a part of identity.

**Crafting of speech.** Another point to examine is if any of the speakers are aware of how certain features link to their identity or are even deploying these features consciously as part of the presentation of their identity. According to Davies (2007), “speakers can become conscious of the language ideologies within which they operate, and can modify their speech in relation to context for purposes of the projection of identity” (p. 72). She also noted that at times this is a highly conscious process, and at other times it is not. Johnstone and Mattson Bean (1997) comment on this as well, saying that while people do draw on linguistic stereotypes in presenting themselves, “this process is not necessarily conscious” (p. 239). In this study, most of the participants are aware that how they talk is related to identity and region; however, they seem unaware of how particular features may connect to their identity, and they often do not appear to deploy these features consciously.

From their answers to question II.2 about how they express their identity in the way they speak, it is clear that participants are conscious of how closely their speech approximates a perceived standard English and that this judgment is frequently made based on how their language is viewed by others. This awareness is demonstrated when Peter, Timothy, and Marcus talk about their broken, improper, and ungrammatical English. It is also demonstrated in Winston’s story about moving to Ann Arbor, Michigan and having others recognize his identity from the way he talks. He recalled this saying, “I had a number of friends up there that were White/ weren’t a lot of Black people there/ and they were saying/ ‘you know/ we heard that you were Black/ but the minute you opened your mouth/ we knew you were’” (119, 66, 20.30m). Carneal said that people recognize his identity from the way he talks as well, giving examples
with his stories about jogging (I5, 72, 17m) and about communicating with parents and children at the school where he teaches (I5, 60, 14m; I5, 91-104, 25.30m). In addition, this awareness of language is shown when Rita, Courtney, and Anita discuss accent. Rita views having an accent as part of her Creole and African American identity (I13, 80-89, 19m). Courtney and Anita, on the other hand, attribute this quality to factors other than identity. Anita talks about not having an accent more in relation to growing up in Opelousas (I17, 75-79, 18m; I17, 108-111, 21m), but she does show that other people connect this to her Black identity as well, saying, “when I get the questions about/ you know/ what are you/ who are you/ people will say/ you don’t talk/ you know/ I don’t sound like I’m from Opelousas/ I don’t sound/ you know/ like I’m Black” (I17, 109, 21m). Courtney attributes her lack of an accent more to her Catholic school upbringing (I2, 54-58, 10m).

Although aware of some general characteristics of their speech in relation to a perceived standard English and in relation to other’s perception, participants often do not name specific features, which could mark their identity. There are some features, however, for which participants seem to be completely aware of their link to identity and, perhaps, sometimes even consciously selecting these features in crafting their speech. For instance, Betty mentions using French words, like be, meaning baby, (I14, 74, 24m); expressions, like some good; and constructions, like yes tags (N14, 179-325, 1.01.05m). While discussing these features, she says, “you never think of it/ because this is how we [Creoles] talk” (N14, 233-234, 1.00.02m). Thus, she not only marks this as a feature Creoles use but also recognizes that she and other Creoles do not often use these features consciously. Anita also has “little sayings” in French she relates to her Creole identity that she uses with friends who are from other areas of Louisiana where some French is still spoken (I17, 80, 18.30m). It is possible that she does select these phrases
consciously to some degree because of her audience. In discussing linguistic features related to his Black identity, Carneal names metaphor, a rhetorical feature (15, 98, 31m) and gives examples of how he uses this in the classroom. For instance, he says, “I can walk to uh/ a class of kids and say/ ‘I need to get somebody to talk to ya’ll/ cause this grey head’s not gonna speak’/ and they know/ I’m too old/ they not gonna listen to me” (15, 98, 30.30m). Even though he does not specify any other features, he seems to consciously select certain features, particularly when interacting with parents and students at his job.

when I’m speaking to different people/ as I walk down the hall/ even in school/ and uh/ it’s that/ I’m making an adjustment/ many times/ in how I speak/ to different people’s children/ on the first day of school/ they’ll be new children/ they’ll be other teachers of other ethnic groups/ with their children/ how I approach them when I first meet them/ speaking the king’s English/ and moving on/ now once they come into/ the realm of my classroom/ and the child/ and people have reached their comfort zone/ well you in Mr. Donatto’s house/ *laughs*/ and then/ all of Opelousas comes out (15, 94, 27m)

This is interesting because the features that he deliberately seems to draw upon are not those related to identity or to region; rather, they are those features he perceives as being standard English. Only when everyone feels comfortable with him can he relax and become less conscious of his language.

These features that participants are aware of and use consciously are not only those that they relate to identity but also those that they relate to region. When talking about changing his speech for the audience, Anthony gives an example of this saying, “well/ I/ get people in from Lafayette/ or Opelousas area/ and/ I will start talking like them/ and they say/ “[wɛə] you from”/ [...] I do it/ not even know/ knowingly (N16, 193-207, 11.30m). Thus, he recognizes that he
associates this specific feature with people from the Opelousas and Lafayette area. He believes he uses these types of identity and region marking features unconsciously, yet his idea of “just adjusting to/ who I’m talking to” (N16, 214-215, 12m) makes it seem that this is somewhat conscious because he has to make an effort to adjust. Unlike Anthony, Timothy does not point to specific features in his speech, but he does seem to intentionally draw upon particular features in imitating the speech of those in Opelousas. Talking about people who have moved back to Opelousas after graduating from LSU, he imitates their speech, saying “an’ ma’/ jus’ by talkin’ to ‘em chèr/ you wouldn’t think [dæt de:] had an education, no” (N2&10, 733-735, 39.30m). In this example, he uses the Louisiana Creole French term, chèr; the CrVE feature, no tags; multiple AAVE features, deleting the single word final constant in man (see J. Rickford, 1999, p. 4) and reduction of consonant cluster; and a feature from all the vernaculars studied here, substitution of [d/v, t/f] for [ð, θ]. From these examples, it is clear that participants select specific features not only because they relate to identity but also because they relate to region.

Language, Region, Age, and Gender

That other factors may be more influential than identity in participants’ use of features is indicated multiple times when considering the results in Table 4.2. Though, as with identity, these factors did not determine participants’ use of features. One of these influential factors is region. Compared to their counterparts in Opelousas, participants from Baton Rouge tend to use fewer features overall, and they often use the features less frequently. Additionally, the majority of the features that occur in the speech of participants from Baton Rouge are those used by all or most participants in the study. People from Opelousas, on the other hand, tend to use more features. They also use features common in the speech of many participants as well as those
features that were less common, although the latter do not always occur at a higher rate among participants from Opelousas. This could be due in part to the fact that Blacks compose 55% of the population in Baton Rouge and 75% of the population in Opelousas (Louisiana State Census Data Center, n.d. b). Dubois and Horvath (2003c) contend that “Persistence happens because a speaker is not confronted in his everyday life by someone who does not speak the same dialect, who misunderstands him, or who socially evaluates the way he speaks. In other words, no accommodation to another is needed and there is no social motivation for change” (p. 281). Therefore, as Dubois and Horvath’s (2003c) findings suggest for absence of glides among Creole African Americans in Opelousas and Parks, perhaps more uncommon features are used by participants from Opelousas because they, unlike participants from Baton Rouge, do not come into contact with as many people who are different from themselves and who may judge their speech.

Other influential factors in participants’ use of features were age and gender. Older participants tend to use features more frequently than younger participants; this is evident especially when comparing participants from Opelousas. Furthermore, examining the influence of age on use and frequency of features between these groups is important because it can reveal change in apparent time, which could be reflective of change in real time. To a much lesser extent than age and region, gender also seemed to play a role in the occurrence of features in participants’ speech. The following is a closer examination of the features, from the most commonly used to the least commonly used, with regard to region, age, and gender.

**Features used by all participants.** Looking at Table 4.2, the first of the listed features that occurred in all the participants’ speech was reduction of final consonant clusters. In this study, this feature was marked as characteristic of AAVE only; however, Wolfram and Schilling-
Estes (2006) actually describe it as being characteristic of most varieties of American English because consonant clusters are unnatural for speakers. Since this feature is common across different varieties of English, it is fitting that it would also be a common feature here. According to J. Rickford (1999), even though consonant cluster reduction tends to follow the same rules in AAVE as it does in other varieties of English, it is used more frequently in AAVE. Thus, the only difference that could be anticipated between the participants’ use of this feature and that of other Americans is the frequency, but there is no way to evaluate this because the participants all come from similar backgrounds. Additionally, there are no large variations in this feature with regard to region or age. The only exception is Peter, whose high frequency may simply represent individual and not group variation. As for gender, Courtney uses this feature far more than Marcus whereas Peter uses it far more than Theresa. Nevertheless, it is difficult to say whether or not this is significant because there is no corresponding difference in other groups.

The next feature in the speech of all participants was substitution of \[d/v, t/f\] for \[ð, θ\]. Participants tended to substitute \[d\] for \[ð\], often in words like the, they, and then, which is to be expected because many Southern dialects substitute \[d\] for \[ð\] (Wolfram & Shilling-Estes, 2006). The only participants who varied in their use of this feature were Peter and Marcus. In addition to substituting \[d\] for \[ð\] like the other participants, Peter substituted \[t\] for \[θ\] in words like thousand, think, and thumb (N8; 56, 68, 69), and Marcus substituted \[f\] for \[θ\] only at the end of with (N19; 95, 233, 287, 300). Even though participants typically used this feature in the same manner, it tended to occur in the speech of those from Opelousas at a higher frequency than in that of those from Baton Rouge. This could be due to the fact Baton Rouge’s population is more diverse than that of Opelousas. Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (2006) point out that “dese, dem, and dose are widely recognized as ‘bad grammar’” (p. 186). Perhaps participants from Baton
Rouge come into contact with more people who evaluate this feature negatively than those in Opelousas do, and therefore, the tendency in Baton Rouge is toward using [ð, θ] instead of toward substituting.

Gender may also play a role in the occurrence of this feature. Dubois and Horvath (2000) found that overall, Cajun men and women in older generations and Cajun men in younger generations tend to substitute [d, t] at similar frequencies. However, young Cajun women from open networks, who interact with people outside their community, are much less likely to substitute [d, t] for [ð, θ]. This study reflects their findings because men and women in the older and middle generations tended to use the feature at about the same rate, but in the younger generation, men use it much more than women. Courtney and Anita, who went to large universities and who interact with people from different backgrounds in their work, both use it only once. Marcus and Timothy use it at a much higher rate: 69 and 130 times, respectively. Furthermore, the males in the youngest generation use the feature at the same or at a higher rate than those in the oldest group in their region. Another potential gender difference may be perceived in that this feature occurs much more often in Rita’s speech than it does in Carneal’s. However, this may be related more to the fact that Carneal has lived outside of Opelousas for an extended period than it is to gender.

Unglided [ɔɪ], like the previous feature, is also characteristic of many Southern varieties (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, 2006). Therefore, it is no surprise that it has appeared here. The participants all use this feature at varying rates within groups, making it difficult to determine any connections this could have with age, gender, and region. Moreover, no count was taken of how many times participants had the potential to use this feature against the number of times in which they did use this feature, so for participants like Courtney, Winston, and Rita, who had low
frequency of this characteristic but who also did not have narratives oriented towards stories about themselves, the depiction of their use of this feature may not be accurate.

The last of the features found in all the participants’ speech was unglided [e] and [o]. Participants from Opelousas used unglided [e] much more commonly than those from Baton Rouge, whereas unglided [o] was used at about the same rate in both communities. This, again, is likely due to the community being less diverse than that of Baton Rouge. With the exception of Winston, whose job requires him to use more “standard” features, the older generation tends to use unglided [e] more than succeeding generations. Unglided [e] follows the same pattern as unglided [o] for participants in Baton Rouge, but in Opelousas, the younger generation tend to use unglided [o] at the same or at a higher rate than those in older generations. Unglided [o] occurs in Anita’s speech 26 times, Timothy’s speech 23 times, Rita’s speech 15 times, Carneal’s speech 8 times, Theresa’s speech 7 times, and Peter’s 22 times. Thus, there is a potential change in apparent time in the rate of unglided [e] and [o]. Additionally, the findings for unglided [e] mirror those of Dubois and Horvath (2003c) who found that the occurrence of this feature decreased in the speech of younger Creole African American male participants. For unglided [o], participants in Baton Rouge mirror their findings while those in Opelousas do not. The results of Dubois and Horvath (2003c) showed a decrease in the use of unglided [o] among young college-educated male participants but an increase in the use of the feature among young high school-educated male participants. All the younger participants in this study have been educated beyond high school, but youngest participants from Opelousas increase their use of this feature like the young high school-educated participants in Dubois and Horvath (2003c).

Features used by the majority of participants. The most common of these features is vocalization of [r], which occurred in the speech of eleven participants. Wolfram and Schilling-
Estes (2006) note that this feature was traditionally characteristic of Southern speech, but that its prestige has decreased with each generation. This same trend toward a decrease in use of the vocalization of [r] among younger generations is apparent in this study. Participants in each age group from Baton Rouge use this feature at low frequencies. In Opelousas, although the oldest and middle generations use the feature at a much higher rate than their Baton Rouge counterparts, its use diminishes in the youngest group, who uses it at the same rate as their Baton Rouge counterparts, showing a potential apparent time change in Opelousas.

Used by nine of the twelve participants, heavy nasalization of vowels is another common feature. Even though fewer participants from Baton Rouge used this feature, its overall rate of occurrence was low in both regions. In the 40-59 age group, there seems to be a gender difference in the frequency of this feature with women using it more than men. Closer examination, however, shows that gender is not significant. As suggested previously, it is possible that heavy nasalization of vowels is a remnant of French because nasal vowels are part of Louisiana Creole French (Klingler, 2003). Thus, because Shalii grew up speaking Louisiana Creole French, a higher frequency of this feature should be anticipated in her speech. Rita’s seemingly high rate of usage is due to the fact that she uses the word [kaændi] (candy) seven of the twelve times that heavy nasalization of vowels occurs in her speech. Therefore, her actual rate of use of this feature is the same as other participants in Opelousas.

Copula deletion was also a feature that occurred in the speech of a number of participants but more often in the speech of those from Opelousas than of those from Baton Rouge. However, as with vocalization of [r], while the middle and oldest group in Opelousas delete the copula at a higher frequency than their Baton Rouge counterparts, the youngest participants from Opelousas delete it at the same rate as the youngest participants from Baton Rouge. Therefore,
the frequency of copula deletion decreases with younger participants from Opelousas, revealing a potential change in apparent time. This change is particularly interesting because it does not follow the pattern outlined by J. Rickford (1999), who found that teenagers delete the copula more than adults when comparing teenagers and adults from different studies. Although the youngest participants in this study are not teenagers, they were in their late and early teens when J. Rickford (1999) conducted his research.

**Features used by some participants.** Deletion of [h] in stressed syllables was used by a little less than half of the participants. It seems to have a clear link to region because four of the five participants who use it are from Opelousas; in fact, the only participants from Opelousas who do not use this feature are Anita and Carneal, who have lived outside the community for an extended period. With the exception of Peter, whose high rate of [h] deletion may be connected to his Cajun identity, many of the participants used this feature at a low frequency. This may occur because the variant is decreasing with the loss of French. Dubois and Horvath (2000) state that in CVE, “some sounds attributable to interference from French gradually decrease over the generations. This is the pattern found […] for (h) deletion in stressed positions” (p. 292). If due to the loss of French, the decline in use of this feature would occur more quickly among Creoles and their descendents than among the Cajuns studied by Dubois and Horvath (2000) because the shift from French to English is happening more quickly in the Black and Colored Creole community than in the White, francophone community (Klingler, 2003). Additionally, this feature may occur more in the speech of participants from Opelousas than those of Baton Rouge because these people from Opelousas are more likely to have contact with French speakers.

The other features in this category are realization of *ing* as *ang* and *ink* as *ank*, stressed *BEEN*, *yes* and *no* tags, *done + verb*, and habitual *be*. The first of these features could be
connected to region since Betty is the only participant from Baton Rouge who realizes \textit{ing} as \textit{ang} and \textit{ink} as \textit{ank}. It could also be connected to gender and age since it is mostly used by women and by participants in the oldest group. \textit{Stressed BEEN, done + verb,} and habitual \textit{be} occur only in the speech of those from Opelousas and, thus, could be related to region. \textit{Done + verb} and habitual \textit{be} may also be related to age since only those in the middle and oldest age group use it. Because they were used so infrequently and by participants from different categories, \textit{yes} and \textit{no} tags do not seem to connect to region, age, or gender. Thus, research would need to be done with a larger sample of participants before drawing conclusions about the use of any of these features among the group of people studied here.

\textbf{Features used rarely or not used by participants.} The features which fit into this category are the CVE only features, unaspirated \textit{[p,t,k]}, trilled \textit{[r]}, and lowering \textit{[ɛ]} to \textit{[æ]}, and the CrVE only features, omission of prepositions from phrasal verbs and right dislocated pronominal tags. For unaspirated \textit{[p,t,k]}, Dubois and Horvath (2000) found the same decrease in use among younger generation as they found with \textit{[h]} deletion. Like the unaspirated \textit{[p,t,k]} and deletion of \textit{[h]} in stressed syllables, each of these features can be attributed to French (Picone, 2003; Dubois & Horvath, 2002). Perhaps, therefore, all of these features are being lost with the loss of French. Moreover, that these French derived features are not used among these participants shows the shift from English to French happening in the historically Colored and Black Creole community.

\textbf{Peculiar features in participant speech.} For the three features, \textit{[ɔ]}, \textit{[ɔɪ]}, and \textit{mmhm}, found in participants’ speech, questions of how participants use these features and of whether they are related to identity, region, or age arise. The first of these features, \textit{[ɔ]}, is a vowel in Louisiana Creole French that “occurs primarily in closed syllables or syllables potentially closed by \textit{[r]}, according to Klingler (2003, p. 149). Participants use this feature in the same manner;
the only difference is that it occurs in syllables potentially closed by the English [r] instead of the French [ɾ]. Additionally, all the participants used [ɔ] as a kind of substitution for the vowels [ɑ] and [ʌ]. Of the twenty-five instances of this feature, there was only one in which it did not follow this pattern: in Timothy’s narrative, [ɔ] occurs in the open syllable for officer, [ɔfɪsər] (N2&10, 173, 12.45m), but it still acts as a substitution for the vowel [ɑ]. Because this feature occurs in the same environment in participant speech as it does in Louisiana Creole French and because three of the five participants who use this feature claim Creole identity, it appears to connect to Creole identity. However, it could also be linked to region and age because it is used mostly by those in Opelousas and by those participants 40 and older.

According to Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (2006), the next of these features, unglided [ɔɪ], is a characteristic of some varieties of Southern English. Perhaps, then, it is simply a feature of the English in South Louisiana. It could also be connected to identity because the only three participants who use it claim African American and Creole identity together. However, there are too few examples to determine why only these participants use this feature.

Participants’ use of mmhm, the last of these features, was particularly interesting because this feature already has a purpose in English: it is usually a backchannel, used simply to agree with a person or to show that you are listening. However, Betty, Rita, and Carneal used mmhm after taking an extended turn in talk during the interview, such as in the following:

Betty: mmm/ I guess for me/ it’s kinda hazy/ you know/ but then again/ I think/ with the ideology/ I band/ with African Americans/ because/ I’m gonna pretty much/ think like most African Americans/ you know/ I’m/ you know/ we were striving to/ make it better for us/ so that way/ you know/ so I guess it still comes back to/ politically/ with my vote/ that’s how I see myself/ mmhm (I14, 116, 35.30m)
Rita: umm/ let me see/ what have I learned about the Creole/ what did they teach me/ it traces back to that pepper/ because they used to use a lot of seasonings back then/ just like we use it now/ you know/ uh/ if it wasn’t spicy/ if it wasn’t pepper enough/ it wasn’t good/ everything/ and you know/ they didn’t like bland food/ they liked food highly seasoned/ mmhm (113, 132, 25m)

Carneal: but as time went on/ their daughters/ as in your generation Teranda/ they didn’t look at color code/ even though it was within what we consider the Black race/ they didn’t look at it/ the degrees of darkness didn’t matter to the younger women/ that’s the women in the sixties/ and the seventies/ and the eighties and nineties/ they didn’t look at that as much/ mmhm (14, 70, 15m)

Because mmhm can be used to agree with a person, it seems as if the participants are using it in agreement with themselves, perhaps, in order to confirm the truth of their statements for the listener. It does appear as if the occurrence of this feature could be related to age and identity since the only participants who use it are those in the middle and oldest groups and those claiming African American identity. Of course, because there are so few examples, this feature would have to be examined further to determine who uses it and to establish its exact function.
CHAPTER 6
CONCLUSION

This study sought to answer a number of questions about how people of color with Creole ancestry identity themselves, how Creoles are defined today, and how much historically Creole people connect to their heritage. It also sought to find which types of linguistic features historically Creole people use and whether this depends on the identity they claim. The findings of this study reveal that participants, who were from Creole backgrounds, claim a number of different cultural identities, and some participants used labels other than African American, American, and Creole in identifying themselves culturally. These results did not fully mirror those of Dubois and Melançon (2000). However, this is likely due to the fact that this study gave participants the option of choosing multiple identities, while the Dubois and Melançon (2000) study did not seem to specify this option.

Additionally, this study also found that among this group, people usually claim multiple identities when asked to identify themselves culturally, but when asked to identify themselves for the census, they tend to claim only one of their identities. Choice of identity depended on factors like their age and their upbringing as well as the region in which they live and the historical context in which they grew up. How others perceived their identity also influenced participants’ choice of identity. With Creole identity in particular, choice of identity is also based on participants' exposure to the French language as well as the connection they make to their heritage. Furthermore, participants associate a number of different practices and characteristics with their identities, such as cooking, language, and attitude.
When looking at how participants define Creoles and their thoughts about the Creole culture, a number of shared ideas arose. For instance, many participants defined Creoles as mixed-race people. They also characterized Creoles in terms of their cultural practices such as cooking unique foods, practicing Catholicism, and speaking French, although the latter two seemed to be more important in the past than they are today. There was also a sense among participants that the Creole culture is dying out, steadily being subsumed by African American or American culture. Additionally, how much participants connected to their heritage varied, even among those who identified as Creole. Some participants try to learn more about their heritage and want to pass it onto younger generations, while others make little or no efforts to connect.

With regard to the linguistic features examined, this study found that identity was only one of many factors influencing participants’ use of features. Other factors that influenced the occurrence of features in their speech were region, age, and gender. Region seemed to be the most influential of all the factors. The study also showed some potential apparent time changes, mainly in Opelousas, between older and younger generations. Considering whether participants choose features in presenting themselves, it showed that there is some conscious selection of features by participants, but their language use was largely unconscious. Also, participants seemed to be aware of their speech in relation to the perceived standard of English, but they mostly seemed unaware of how their speech links to identity and other factors.

This study is unusual in the body of research on people of color with Creole descent in South Louisiana because it examines linguistic features in relation to the various cultural identities claimed by members in this group. Further, it drew on insiders’ perspectives through interviews with members of this group’s social network. Through the use of interviews rather than survey data, this study was able to explore the potential multiplicity of identity for people of
color with Creole lineage. Finally, it triangulated interview and narrative data with an impressionistic attempt to draw on the sociolinguistic research identifying linguistic features associated with different relevant groups.

**Limitations**

There were a number of limitations in this study. The first of the limitations concerned the sample of participants. The sample size was very small, so although this study may reveal points for further research, the results obtained here cannot be generalized to all people of color from Creole backgrounds. Furthermore, even though there were three groups, there was a large age gap between participants in the youngest group and participants in the middle and older groups. It is possible that this gap could skew results. Another problem is that the only people in the study are those with Creole heritage. While people are considered Creoles because of their Creole lineage, people without Creole lineage may also be considered Creoles because they grew up around this culture. Therefore, future studies must draw from a larger group of participants with a wider age range, and they must include both types of Creole people.

The interview questions also created some problems and limitations. With questions III.2 and III.3, the wording of the questions may influence the results in a way that is not impartial. Another problem with the questions involves the separation of racial identity and cultural identity. In American society, it seems that cultural identity is sometimes seen as synonymous with racial identity (Smedley, 1998), and even though question I.3 asks about cultural identity, I felt that participants did not always separate this from their racial identity. Question I.4 further complicates this because people usually see the census as asking about the race rather than the culture from which a person comes. In order to help participants separate racial from cultural
identity, in question I.2, I told participants about a child whose biological parents are Korean but whose adoptive parents are Irish Americans. In this case, the child’s ethnicity would be Korean, but their cultural identity is likely to be Irish American. However, I only did this with Rita, Betty, Marcus, Anita, Anthony, and Winston. To solve this problem in future studies, I would ask for participants’ ethnic identities because it seems to encompass both cultural and racial identity.

Other limitations arose from the manner in which I interviewed participants. First, I am not unbiased when it comes to issues about Creoles and people of color, and I think that I allowed this to become evident at times. This was quite clear in my interview with Peter, in which I continually referred to him as Creole instead of Cajun because I did not perceive him as fitting the racial component of Cajun identity. I also may have discussed too many of my own opinions and ideas when conducting the interviews, which could have skewed the results.

Limitations were also encountered when interpreting the data. One problem was, again, my own bias. I was raised in both Baton Rouge and Opelousas simultaneously, spending weekdays in Baton Rouge and weekends in Opelousas. When I went to schools in the Baton Rouge area, my Opelousas accent was made fun of so I learned to sound more like others in Baton Rouge. This has created somewhat of a bias for me, in which Baton Rouge English is more “standard” than Opelousas English. Though I tried not to let this affect my interpretation, it could have been a factor. Another problem was that participants did not always produce many instances of the features studied, so it was difficult to draw any conclusions about participants' language use.
Further Research

A number of different aspects could be explored in further research on this topic. How other factors, such as class and education, affect participants’ speech and choice of identities is one topic that could be researched further. Another topic that could be explored is the relationship between race, culture, and identity among this group of people. This would be particularly interesting because in the past, racially charged tension in addition to other factors made Creoles view themselves as separate from African Americans, the group that many of their ancestors identify with today.

Further research could also be completed on the use of linguistic features among people of color with Creole lineage. In my study, I did not count the number of occurrences of a feature in relation to the number of times it could have occurred. For future studies, a more sophisticated model could be used, i.e., calculating ratios of when a feature was used compared to all possible places in the discourse where it could have been used. A computer program could also be used to interpret the data. Additionally, some closed-ended questions would allow a closer examination of participants’ knowledge about the use of various features. These changes in methodology would give a more accurate depiction of participants’ use of language. The linguistic features could also be analyzed in greater detail with regard to how participants use the features and with special attention to their imitation of other speech styles as a form of performance speech. Finally, the results for frequency and use of various features by people of color with Creole backgrounds could be compared to findings for other White and Black communities in the South.

In the future, I would like to continue studying this group because through this work, I have learned a lot about my heritage and a lot about myself. Working with people of my same
background who embrace their identity, whether Creole, African American, or Other, and reading books about the cultural identity of Creoles has made me more proud of not only my Creole heritage but of my African American heritage as well. To me, Creoles are not just people born in Louisiana; if they were, certain groups would not be so hesitant to ascribe to the word. To me, Creoles are instead people of color from Louisiana whose racially mixed backgrounds make them unique. They are proud of their heritage, proud of their work, and proud of their food. Most of all, they are happy to celebrate life. This is the lineage that I have inherited, and despite the ways I deviate from this culture, I am proud to be a part of it and proud to carry it on to future generations.
REFERENCES


This study is a contribution to research on language, and it will be focusing particularly on how language is influenced by cultural identity. To complete the study, I will record an interview with you and a narrative told by you. You have the option to review the recordings and making a choice concerning what may be used for research and teaching. For the study, you may choose to be anonymous or to have your identity revealed.

Risk
The transcription of the recording will try to represent your spoken language accurately. This transcription will not always look like typical written English because it will try to capture the uniqueness of your dialect. So, keep in mind that respectable spoken language does not conform to many of the convention of formal standard written language. This study may also bring up sensitive issues because we may discuss ideology and culture that is closely linked to your individual identity, but remember, you may choose to be anonymous. Additionally, you have complete control over any potentially sensitive information because you may make choices concerning what may be used.

Benefits
You have the opportunity to display your pride in your Southern language variety. Another benefit is that you have an opportunity to contribute to research findings and materials development, which may benefit other students and Southern English speakers. As part of this study, you will also be contributing to helping others discover more about how their culture affects their identity. Finally, you can leave the study at any time.13

The first statement in Table A.1 explained the study and its two parts, the interview and the narrative. This statement also made participants aware that they would be recorded during both parts and that they could choose to be anonymous. The second two statements explained the risk and benefits of participating in the study, as outlined by the IRB. It also reminded participants that they have control over the information given in the study.

13 All information from C.E. Davies, personal communication, 2009.
October 29, 2010

Catherine E. Davies, Ph.D.
Department of English
College of Arts & Sciences
Box 870244

Re: IRB # 03-TS-016-R6 “Creating a Research Archive of Spoken Language and a Website on Language in Alabama”

Dear Dr. Davies:

The University of Alabama Institutional Review Board has granted approval for your renewal application.

Your renewal application has been given expedited approval according to 45 CFR part 46. Approval has been given under expedited review category 7 as outlined below:

(7) Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior (including, but not limited to, research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices, and social behavior) or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies.

Your application will expire on October 28, 2011. If your research will continue beyond this date, complete the relevant portions of Continuing Review and Closure Form. If you wish to modify the application, complete the Modification of an Approved Protocol Form. When the study closes, complete the appropriate portions of FORM: Continuing Review and Closure.

Please use reproductions of the IRB approved informed consent form to obtain consent from your participants.

Should you need to submit any further correspondence regarding this proposal, please include the above application number.

Good luck with your research.

Sincerely,

Stuart Ussan, Ph.D.
Chair, Non-Medical Institutional Review Board
The University of Alabama
UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD FOR THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN SUBJECTS
REQUEST FOR APPROVAL OF RESEARCH INVOLVING HUMAN SUBJECTS

I. Identifying Information

Principal Investigator: Catharine E. Davies
Second Investigator: 
Third Investigator: 
Department: English
College: 
University: Arts & Sciences
Address: The University of Alabama
Telephone: 348-1833
FAX: 348-1835
E-mail: adavies@is.ua.edu

Title of Research Project: Creating a research archive of spoken language
and a website on "Language in Alabama"

Date Submitted: 8/1/10
Funding Source: 

Type of Proposal [ ] New [ ] Revision [ X ] Renewal
Please attach a renewal application
[ ] Completed [ ] Exempt
Please attach a continuing review of studies form
Please enter the original IRB # at the top of the page

UA faculty or staff member signature: Catharine E. Davies

II. NOTIFICATION OF IRB ACTION (to be completed by IRB):
Type of Review: Full board

IRB Action:
[ ] Rejected
[ ] Tabled Pending Revisions
[ ] Approved Pending Revisions
[ X ] Approved-this proposal complies with University and federal regulations for the protection of human subjects.

Approval is effective until the following date:
Items approved:
[ ] Research protocol (dated )
[ ] Informed consent (dated )
[ ] Recruitment materials (dated )
[ ] Other (dated )

Approval signature: Date 10-29-10

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Appendix B:

(1) UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA
Informed Consent for a Research Study
Project: Creating an Archive of Spoken Language, and a Website on "Language in Alabama"

You are being asked to take part in a research study. This study is called: Creating an Archive of Spoken Language, and a Website on "Language in Alabama." The study is being done by Dr. Catherine E. Davies, who is a professor of linguistics in the English Department at the University of Alabama. You will be recorded either by Dr. Davies or by a student, ________________________, who is being supervised by Dr. Davies.

What is this study about?

This study is being done to gather data about spoken English, and in particular about Southern American English as it is spoken in Alabama.

Why is this study important--What good will the results do?

This knowledge is important because we need to establish the facts about how people actually speak, and then document changes across generations. New technology allows us to create digital recordings that can be analyzed in the present, and that can be preserved for future researchers. Southern American English is a significant variety of English that deserves ongoing study.

Why have I been asked to take part in this study?

You have been asked to take part in this study because you speak English.

How many people besides me will be in this study?

During the academic year 2010-20011, there will be about 30 people in this study.

What will I be asked to do in this study?

If you decide to be in this study, you will be asked to speak in as natural a way as possible while being recorded. You may feel awkward or uncomfortable at first because you are aware of the taperecorder. We find that most people become engaged in conversation and gradually forget about the taperecorder.
How much time will I spend being in this study?

Being in this study will take from 5 minutes to several hours, depending upon how much you would like to talk, and how much recording time is available.

Will I be paid for being in this study?

You will not be paid for being in this study, but you will be provided with a copy of any recording that is made, if you wish

Will being in this study cost me anything?

There will be no cost to you except for your time.

Can the researcher take me out of this study?

Yes, but it would be highly unlikely.

What are the benefits (good things) that may happen to me if I am in this study?

Although benefits cannot be promised in research, if you wish you will be provided with a copy of the recording. You may want to keep this as part of your family history. You will also have the satisfaction of knowing that you have contributed to information about spoken English and in particular about Southern American English. If you choose to allow your recordings to be used for pedagogical purposes, you will have the satisfaction of knowing that students may be hearing your voice as part of a classroom lesson. If you choose to allow your recordings to be used for the “Language in Alabama” website, you will have the satisfaction of knowing that your voice is part of a permanent digital resource that is available to all Alabamians with access to a computer, and indeed to all speakers of English.

What are the benefits to scientists or society?

Linguists and dialectologists are interested in understanding language structure and language change. Southern American English is a distinctive regional variety that has been stereotyped in many ways but not adequately understood on its own terms. This research archive of spoken Southern American English will provide essential data for analysis.

What are the risks (dangers or harm) to me if I am in this study?

The only risk during data collection would be a possible initial discomfort while you are getting used to being recorded, before you forget about the recorder. If, after you have finished recording, you realize that you have said some things that you do not want to
be included, you may ask for any part of the recording to be excluded from this release, and you have the right to decide to discontinue participation at any time. Will you allow audiotapes of your voice and/or videotapes of you to be used for research and teaching purposes in dialectology and sociolinguistics? These tapes will be held permanently. YES_______ NO________

If you are willing to allow your recording to be used, you have the following choices:

Would you like a personal copy of the tape(s)? YES_______ NO_______

Do you mind having your identity revealed? YES_______ NO________

If you answered YES (that is, that you are not willing to have your identity revealed), then your tape will not be played in the class presentation of the project. Only the audio portion of your tape will be available to researchers as part of the archive, but with a code that disguises your identity and audio masking of identifying information on the tape such as names.

If you answered NO (that is, that you are willing to have your identity revealed), then your tape will be played in the class presentation of the project. Your tape will be available to researchers as part of the archive with basic demographic information about you.

Would you like to have your recording included on a website about “Language in Alabama,” composed of student projects supervised by Dr. Davies? YES_______ NO________

Are you willing to be contacted in the future for possible follow-up taping? YES____ NO________

Optional: Contact information _______________________________

________________________________________________________________________

How will my confidentiality (privacy) be protected? What will happen to the information the study keeps on me?

If you answered YES above, meaning that you do not want your identity to be revealed, then your tape will not be played in the class presentation of the project. Only the audio portion of your tape will be available to researchers as part of the archive, but with a code that disguises your identity and audio masking of identifying information on the tape such as names. Dr. Davies will keep control of the archive, and make it available both for outside researchers and for UA student and faculty research as appropriate, and it is expected that it will be housed in the library of the University of Alabama in future.

The University of Alabama Institutional Review Board (IRB) is the committee that protects the rights of people in research studies. The IRB may review study records from time to time to be sure that people in research studies are being treated fairly and that the study is being carried out as planned.
What are the alternatives to being in this study? Do I have other choices?
The alternative/other choice is not to participate.

What are my rights as a participant?
Taking part in this study is voluntary—it is your free choice. You may choose not to take part at all. If you start the study, you can stop at any time. Leaving the study will not result in any penalty or loss of any benefits you would otherwise receive.

Who do I call if I have questions or problems?
If you have questions about the study right now, please ask them. If you have questions about the study later on, please call the investigator, Dr. Catherine E. Davies, at (205) 348-5065. If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant you may contact Ms. Tanta Myles, The University of Alabama Research Compliance Officer, at (205)-348-8481.

I have read this consent form. The study has been explained to me. I understand what I will be asked to do. I freely agree to take part in it. I will receive a copy of this consent form to keep.

Signature of Research Participant _______________________________ Date ______________

Investigator _______________________________ Date ______________

UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA IRB
CONSENT FORM APPROVED: 10-29-10
EXPIRATION DATE: 10-28-11
APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTIONS

12: Courtney, age 29

1. Teranda: (2.55) okay/ so/ asks question I.1
2. Courtney: (3.00) identity would be any factor of my personality th—at/ I hate to say identifies me/ but that/ it’s part of who I am/ that makes me different or unique to anybody else
3. Teranda: yeah/ so like in my case/ I’m female/
4. Courtney: right
5. Teranda: and I’m also a student
6. Courtney: right/ and you have brown eyes
7. Teranda: yeah/ yeah
8. Courtney: any of that
9. Teranda: yeah/ and so/ asks question I.2
10. Courtney: that would be different/ parts/ (3.30) of me th—at/ are unique too/ such as being in the south/ being southern/ or/ or being/ umm/ being/ black/ or/ anything that would be different than/ I hate to say any other cultures/ but like/ our foods down here/ our spices that we use/ our language
11. Teranda: okay/ and umm/ asks question I.3
12. Courtney: (4.00) I mean/ I think of myself as being a/ a southern female/ I don’t necessarily use the term black white/ I’ll say I’m mixed with a mixture of everything/ umm/ I’m/ my personality is gonna be unique to anybody in northern Louisiana/ just because of/ the way that we were raised/ we were raised differently/ then you and I are different than the rest of our family members/ because we’re not from Opelousas/ we weren’t around there/ but they still influence us
13. Teranda: yeah/ okay/ (4.30) asks question I.4
14. Courtney: *laughs*/ I wouldn’t want to...
15. Teranda: *laughs*
16. Courtney: I wouldn’t/ I wouldn’t want to/ that’s the one thing I like about being me/ is that I’m unique to everybody/ I can’t say that I’m just black/ I can’t say that I’m mixed/ I can’t say that I’m northern/ I’m very very different and I like that/ we have an education/ we went to college/ we went to a private high school [we being referred to here is the Teranda and the Courtney]/ all of that stuff contributes to who/ you and I both are
17. Teranda: uh huh/ (5.00) but if you could
18. Courtney: *laughs*/okay
19. Teranda: what categories would you make to express your particular cultural identity?
20. Courtney: umm/ categories such as/ like past race/ and/ education
21. Teranda: I don’t really want to say race/ because/ I mean/ that’s what it says is on there/ but really it’s about/ I think it’s kind of more about a culture/ so
Courtney: so such as/ like education and activities/ and
Teranda: oh no no no no
Courtney: no
Teranda: (5.30) like/ okay/ so you wouldn’t identify yourself as being black or being white
Courtney: right
Teranda: but is there some kind of category that you would put/ or that you could choose
Courtney: I like other
Teranda: other
Courtney: other/ I always/ I always check other
Teranda: okay/ alright
Courtney: because it doesn’t/ it doesn’t classify you as/ any particular/ thing
Teranda: okay/ umm/ alright/ (6.00) asks question I.6
Courtney: I like to say no/ but I think depending on who I’m surrounded by/ and what situation I’m in/ I probably do it without realizing it/ if I’m like when I’m in college/ depending on the friends that I am around/ I will identify with them more/ if it’s a majority white people/ then I identify with that more (6.30)/ if I/ if I’m with the majority of my black friends/ then I/ my personality probably changes/ a little bit/ I don’t mean to/ but
Teranda: no/no/no/ no/ I understand/ yeah/ so/ okay/ back to this identity thing/ I’m just trying to get it nailed down/ so you say mixed
Courtney: mmhm
Teranda: okay/ and this comes kind of later/ but how/ what does/ how does Creole fit into that/ like/ would you
Courtney: (7.00) Creole/ because we have a lot of French influence in our family/ we’ve got a lot/ Creole/ the definition I’ve always learned of it was/ it’s a mixture of black and French/ which we have that/ but then we also have other things that are in there too/ so you can’t really say that we are just Creole/ we’ve got Italian mixed with us/ we’ve got Indian mixed with us/ we’ve got all of that/ umm/ but then there’s also the Creole heritage too/ which is/ part of just being in the south/ and the foods/ and all of that too
Teranda: (7.30) okay/ so do you not really/ even though you have this lineage/ do you see yourself as being/ would you say that you were Creole if somebody asked
Courtney: I would say that I have Creole lineage/ yeah/ I would say that I’m a/ you can’t/ I won’t say that I’m just Creole/ just like I would never say I’m just black/ like
Teranda: yeah/ so is it/ is it just kind of like/ you just kind of of/ loop yourself under this category American instead of
Courtney: basically/ basically/ if somebody ever asked me what I am/ I say I’m a/ I’m a mutt
Teranda: (8.00) okay/ *laughs*
Courtney: *laughs* that is exactly what I say/ because it’s mixed with everything/ I mean/ we don’t know/ like we/ I mean/ we have strong strong Creole influence/ but/ we’re not just that/ I’m not just black/ I’m not just white/ I’m not just French Creole whatever/ you know
Teranda: mmhm/ yeah/ okay/ so/ alright/ so you just kind of see yourself as being American/ asks question II.1 (8.30)
Courtney: I don’t know/ I just
Teranda: or how/ or maybe how do you not adhere/ necessarily/ to the others/ you keep saying that/ you know/ you’re not seeing yourself as only one thing
48. Courtney: right
49. Teranda: so how does that kind of play into
50. Courtney: right/ it makes me that/ and I don’t know if that really has anything to do with
my heritage/ or just the way that I was raised/ it makes me/ open/ to pretty much anybody/
and anything/ any kind of culture/ (9.00) I’m willing to try/ and I’m/ I’m accepting of it all/
I’m not necessarily the person to/ to judge another race/ or to even think critically of
anybody else/ because I don’t really know how I am/ you know
51. Teranda: yeah
52. Courtney: so/ I/ I think I’m a very open person/ so I don’t really/ I/ I adapt to whoever I’m
around
53. Teranda: okay/ alright/ and what about/ umm/ (9.30) asks question II.2
54. Courtney: mmm/ th—at I think has more to do with/ the way that we were/ the schools that
I went to/ the people that I was surrounded by/ I mean/ I think if I grew up in Opelousas
where/ most of them have Cajun accents/ most of them are from Creole/ heritage/ all that
stuff/ they speak differently than we do/ it’s just the area/ however/ going to a private
predominately white school/ (10.00) I grew up with that impact/ and I speak the way that
they do/ I don’t have the accent that anybody else has/ or that Opelousas people have/ or
anywhere else/ so it’s/ it’s different/ I don’t think that I have a Creole/ or a Cajun accent/ or
anything like that
55. Teranda: do you think it’s just kind of a Baton Rouge accent/ or
56. Courtney: maybe/ but if we/ if we would have went to a different school/ it would have
been different too/ and that/ I don’t know if that has to do with like the/ the slang of the
time/ or whatever (10.30)/ it may be just a Baton Rouge accent/ it may be influenced by
the Catholic schools that we went to
57. Teranda: do you see your accent as being very southern/ or
58. Courtney: *noise indicating no*/ no/ no not all/ as a matter of fact/ I don’t think that I have
an accent/ and I’ve never been/ I’ve never been told that I have one either/ except for
occasionally there will be a few words that I may say/ that people’ll be like oh/ and okay
59. Teranda: okay/ and umm/ asks question II.3 (11.00)/ I know you already kind of hit on this/ but
60. Courtney: it just makes me open to anybody/ I mean/ I’ve been dating a/ Italian white guy
for the past year or so/ and like that doesn’t bother me/ I’m not/ race/ or color/ or heritage/
one of that bothers me at all/ I don’t/ I don’t think about it
61. Teranda: okay/ alright/ umm/ okay/ and we already talked about this/ (11.30) asks question
III.1
62. Courtney: I don’t/ I think the only thing that’s really necessary is that they’re/they’re a
mix/ they’re/ they’ve got white influence/ or Caucasian influence/ upon them/ they’ve got
black in them/ they’ve got/ they’re tied to slave days/ tied to the old southern/ lifestyle/ or
whatever/ umm/ most of/ (12.00) most Creoles are a little bit lighter complected/ with
umm/ better texture of hair/ have the strong food influence/ and all of that/ umm/ but I
don’t think that they’re/ you can’t really classify them as being true Creole either/ I think
they’re all mixed with other stuff just like we are/ I don’t think you’ll ever meet somebody
who/ has one family member that’s strictly French/ and then the other one/ who is strictly
black/ because that black is mixed with stuff/ that French American is mixed/ but I think
that they definitely have to have a strong French influence (12.30)
63. Teranda: okay/ okay/ and umm/ I was going to
Courtney: like I kind of think that Creole was/ a term that was/ started being used to
categorize race for those people who didn’t fit in that white category or that pure black
category/ I think they just made their own/ their own little/ culture/ their own little race
Teranda: mmhm/ okay/ and you said that/ that you think that Creole people are kind of/
tied to old south/ (13.00) tied to the slave days/ stuff like that
Courtney: right
Teranda: so/ do you think/ is that kind of a part of why you don’t see yourself as being
Creole
Courtney: uh/ it/ partially/ but not so much because our family was tied to slave days also/
I mean/ so that’s part/ that’s impacted us/ the reason/ I can’t say I don’t see myself Creole/
I just think that/ it’s even/ it’s much more than that
Teranda: okay/ I mean/ like/ no/ but just like today/ you’re not necessarily having that idea
of being (13.30)/ in the old south
Courtney: right/ right/ right
Teranda: okay/ what do you know about your ancestry and why do you trace it back to
Creole lineage
Courtney: I don’t know very much/ except for that/ it was a pretty/ I mean/ I know that the
Donatto’s were a pretty prominent family/ for a while/ I know that we had family members
that owned slaves/ I know that we were/ part of our family was owned by slaves (14.00)/
it’s a mix/ uh/ I/ I don’t know much/ and far as the Motte’s and my mom’s side/ I don’t
know anything about them/ I know that our/ on the/ the Motte’s/ like I know our
grandfather was white/ uh/ but they’re very very very French/ very influenced a lot by
French/ but that’s about it/ so
Teranda: okay/ and umm/ alright/ so this kind of goes back to your particular identity
(14.30)/ but/ and you probably answered some of this through the other questions/ asks
question III.3/ might identity now with being Creole/ or they might say that they are
African American/ or some of them might say/ yeah/ or African American/ but you’re not
seeing yourself as
Courtney: oh no/ I think that I’m that/ (15.00) but I’m not just that/ so I’m not going to say
that I’m African American/ because if I’m gonna say that/ then I’m gonna also say that
well I’m Italian American/ I’m French American/ I just think it’s/ it’s a silly term
Teranda: okay/ so it’s just because you have
Courtney: it’s more than that
Teranda: yeah/ it’s kind of excluding these other parts of who you are
Courtney: right/ right
Teranda: okay/ and umm/ asks question III.4
Courtney: (15.30) umm/ like I said/ it’s not that I don’t identify with that/ it’s just that I
identify with that plus so much more
Teranda: but I mean/ you wouldn’t say I’m/ you wouldn’t say I’m Creole
Courtney: right/ right/ but it makes me proud to be different than other/ like if you go to the
northern part of the country/ and stuff/ your not going to find anybody that looks like me/
or that is similar to me or to you/ or to a lot of our other family members/ with the bright
complexion/ all that stuff makes us who we are/ (16.00) and I like that part/ I like it all/ but
it’s just/ there’s so much more/ than just that/ and then the cultures of/ are a part of being in
the south/ the foods/ traditions that we’ve learned/ the things that we eat/ the music/ all of
that/ the stuff that you won’t get from anywhere else/ but we grew up with that/ and know it
83. Teranda: so/ sorry/ so you said that you know a little bit about the history/ so are you looking into family histories to kind of connect/ or
84. Courtney: no/ no/ it’s just stuff that/ (16.30) I guess you just learn from being here/ learn from being a southerner/ from being in Louisiana/ I’ve never looked/ I’m not going to say that I didn’t care/ I just never really thought about it (16.44)

I4: Theresa called Tatsie, age 90, with Carneal

1. Teranda: (4:50) explains questions in first sections/ asks question I.1
2. Theresa: like recognizing people/ (5.00) and/ people that you meeting
3. Teranda: okay/ well/ for this study/ I’m kind of looking at identity being/ umm/ different parts of yourself/ so/ for me/ my identity could/ I could say/ I’m female/ I’m a student/ umm/ I’m from Opelousas/ that could be part of my identity/ all those things make up/ parts of my identity/ so parts of your identity (5.30) could be/ that your female/ and things that you did during your lifetime/ like/ what was you job whenever you were/ where’d you work at
4. Theresa: I worked at the Swallow’s dinner club/ and a uh/ at a (T...)/ I worked there
5. Teranda: okay/ were you a waitress/ or
6. Theresa: no/ no/ I was/ I worked/ at (T...)
7. Teranda: mmhm
8. Theresa: no/ were we just/ just/ like put the clothes on shelves (6.00)/ and uh/ mark them/ the size and everything/ I did things like that
9. Teranda: okay/ so that job could be part of your identity/ or umm/ let’s see what else/ umm/ uh/ I’m not sure/ older people could be part of your identity now/ and/ so that’s kind of what I’m looking at/ right now/ so those are all parts of your identity/ (6:30) so/ that being said/ asks question I.2
10. Theresa: (…)
11. Carneal: like when (K...) was asking you about/ about whether or not/ you considered yourself black or African American/ culture/ where that comes from/ and the people you grew up around in LeBeau/ she’s asking about that type of stuff
12. Theresa: yeah/ the Creole people
13. Carneal: yes/ and what you did/ and how you all lived (7.00)/ those are things that identify you
14. Theresa: and how we/ how we lived
15. Teranda: yeah/ mmhm/ those all make up part of your culture
16. Theresa: yeah/ uh-huh
17. Teranda: okay/ so that’s kind of a definition/ right there/ and umm/ asks question I.3 and repeats it
18. Theresa: oh/ my name/ and everything/ or what
19. Teranda: oh no/ just/ umm/ like what do you see as being/ part of your culture/ (7.30) or/ maybe a better question is/ asks question I.4/ so they have categories like/ you can choose/
if your African American/ you can choose if you’re Caucasian/ or/ other/ so/ what would you/ what category would you make (8.00)

20. Theresa: well/ my grandmother and grandfather was a/ but sooner the others came in/ like they did not wanna be black/ or something like that/ and they’d have to call them down for that/ but you/ you wouldn’t imagine how/ bad/ when they start calling you a mulatta/ and all of that/ and/ some people would get bent out of hell/ I would just go on

21. Teranda: (8.30) oh for/ for calling/ for calling somebody mulatto

22. Theresa: yes

23. Teranda: why was that bad at the time

24. Theresa: yeah/ that was/ well you see that was/ the most thing/ that was the most important thing to them/ at the/ at the

25. Teranda: oh

26. Theresa: yeah/ mmhm

27. Teranda: okay/ so/ was it a bad thing to be mulatto

28. Theresa: well/ it’s just they don’t/ it’s just like/ you know how people had/ call you a nigger/ I didn’t know if you knew about that/ a mulatta is light-skinned people (9.00)/ and/ you take it on from there

29. Teranda: okay

30. Theresa: uh-huh

31. Teranda: so/ that was a bad thing

32. Theresa: huh

33. Teranda: was that a bad thing

34. Theresa: no/ no/ *noise indicating no*/ it was just/ (B...) and them said you were black/ or what color you was/ they said/ they’d look at/ she’d look at me sometimes/ “she’s a mulatta”

35. Teranda: oh/ okay

36. Theresa: uh-huh/ yeah

37. Teranda: so it just meant that you were mixed/ right

38. Theresa: yeah

39. Teranda: and that they were calling

40. Theresa: no/ they wasn’t calling to pick or nothing/ (9.30) it’s just that/ you don’t understand what I’m telling you/ no

41. Teranda: that you what

42. Theresa: you’d have to understand it better/ you’d have to talk with them/ just to see how things is/ it’s better now/ it’s better now/ cause

43. Teranda: so you were

44. Theresa: my time/ I came up at my time/ when you could not/ go nowhere/ where the whites was/ cause even in the Catholic church/ (10.00) the religion I believe in so much/ you had/ you had to sit down/ right where they put you at/ or something like that/ and you see/ it’s just like the/ they didn’t want the darker skin people to touch them/ but/ you couldn’t do no better/ cause we were/ we were real poor people/ uh-huh/ now my/ my/ I have relatives/ I’m a Cazenave

45. Teranda: a what

46. Theresa: a Cazenave/ that’s my last name/ (10.30) I (...)/ and/ you see/ they got/ nigger/ black/ and all of that/ but that’s/ that was in them days/ long time ago/ but it’s not like that now
47. Teranda: you mean/ how people define
48. Theresa: yeah/ uh-huh/ and how they/ concerned of how they marry/ and all of that/ well/
you take that place they call Frilot Cove/ you might not/ know nothing about that/ (11.00)
what you got
49. Carneal: I do/ yeah/ I grew up knowing/ culture in Frilot Cove
50. Theresa: do you know/ that/ my mother-in-law had a sister/ she was brown/ and/ the (...)/
but they were brown/ whichever/ they/ now the (...)/ what they saw about people/ they is
coon-ass/ that’s some people that’s (11.30)/ know how to talk Creole and everything/ that’s
what that is/ but uh/ I got along with them/ because/ to see what they marry now by color/
the black then took over with them/ they even/ what they call/ what they talk about/ the
mulattas/ well black then took over them people in Frilot Cove/ they/ they used to be up
there about this and that (12.00)/ when them girls grew up/ they got with them/ them Cajuns/
and honey/ all hell broke loose/ they daddy’s were angry at everybody/ so/ cause I
remember my husband/ (...)/ he say/ “we gonna/ we gonna go see”/ uh/ “your people out
there/ and (C...) Frilot is/ asking about you” (12.30)/ he say/ “you have to go and talk with
him”/ so I said alright/ so I went/ *laughs*/ I went/ I took a/ I took a shower/ and I/ I kind
of powdered up my face/ they said “oww/ you do that all the time”/ I say “yes”/ well/ they
say/ “you could pass out/ out there”/ and all these young people/ honey/ (13.00) they
marrying them black men/ they my color/ but they marrying them black mens/ and that’s
what the people didn’t want
51. Carneal: *laughs*
52. Theresa: they didn’t wanna mix up nothing/ so I meet/ I got myself ready/ I/ I told my
husband/ (J...)/ you remember (J...)/ he said/ I said/ “do you think I’m bright enough to go
out there”
53. Theresa, Carneal, and Teranda: *laughs*
54. Theresa: he said/ “you gonna stop it”/ I say/ “no”/ I say/ (13.30) “I wanna be sure they
don’t shut the door on me”
55. Theresa, Carneal, and Teranda: *laugh*
56. Teranda: around/ sorry
57. Theresa: uh-huh/ that’s/ that’s the kind of people/ and you see/ people/ at/ they (...) so
mixed/ wanting to be what they wasn’t/ and/ they wanted to be light skinned/ like I am/
well that’s what they call the mulatta/ and/ honey/ them/ them girls grew up out there/
(14.00) and/ they started looking at them black men/ that changed/ oh/ it changed/ they
ain’t had no choice/ them girls started having black babies when they get married/ and/
(...) I laughed me/ laughed hard/ *laughs*/ I was laughing
58. Teranda: around what time period was this
59. Theresa: huh
60. Teranda: around what time was this/ like/ like the nineteen forties
61. Theresa: yeah/ uh-huh/ but it/ tell me Teranda/ (14.30) these people/ just had a/ a/ a hatred
against they/ what they/ they/ their skin might be light/ but they negroes/ and that’s how it
was
62. Carneal: but what your saying mother is that they didn’t/ really want their daughters/
associating with darker skinned
63. Theresa: yeah
64. Carneal: negroes/ or black people
65. Theresa: uh-huh
Carneal: they didn’t even want their daughter
Theresa: they didn’t want that
Carneal: but then as time
Theresa: but them daughters/ they got it going baby/ they got them black men
Carneal: (15.00) but as time went on/ their daughters/ as in your generation Teranda/ they
didn’t look at color code/ even though it was within what we consider the black race/ they
didn’t look at it/ the degrees of darkness didn’t matter to the younger women/ that’s the
women in the sixties/ and the seventies/ and the eighties and nineties/ they didn’t look at
that as much/ mmhm/ I think she’s (...)
Theresa: I couldn’t stand some of them do that/ you know/ people is people
Teranda: yeah/ yeah/ I’ve been reading about it/ and I know (15.30)/ yeah/ *laughs*
Theresa: but people is people/ that’s what I always say
Teranda: mmhm/ so/ I guess growing up during that time period
Theresa: yeah/ you see/ it’s not like that now/ cause them/ them girls grew up liking these
black guys/ that’s was a/ that’s where all of it/ that’s where they kind of cool off/ and where
I come from/ (16.00) post office did/ baby
Teranda: what is it
Theresa: the post office/ and/ them people there/ they was Cajuns/ and/ I would/ I would
laugh/ when they talk about that/ and/ (J...) said/ “Tatsie/ you wanna go out there again”/ I
say/ “*noise indicating no*/ I ain’t wearing enough”
Teranda: *laughs*
Theresa: I say “and you”/ I say/ “you had your (...) back there/ (...) better keep your cap on
(16.30)
Theresa, Carneal, and Teranda: *laugh*
Theresa: but that’s how they was/ not only that/ the way I look at that/ that’s how they
mother and daddy raised them/ uh-huh/ but they changed/ they did change
Teranda: so/ going back to you specifically/ I guess growing up in that time period/ asks
question I.3/ (17.00) did you see yourself as being Creole/ or
Theresa: no
Teranda: or African American
Theresa: a mulatta/ and then you can be American/ you know/ and that/ but/ you had/ you
had to be certain/ it was so horrible/ at times/ cause I remember one day we/ we was going
to the store/ and uh/ my sister in law/ little girl/ had/ one of them Cajuns/ stuck they head
out (17.30)/ and said/ “don’t be laughing around us”/ and this is just this little/ we was
talking and laughing/ but they didn’t like it/ you couldn’t go close to them/ it’s just/ that
was the old time people/ that ain’t like the people of today/ they much better/ and all of that
(18.00)/ l/ I listened good/ Frilot Cove people/ like I’m telling you/ they wanna be/ what/
they/ they mulattas/ and/ that kept on a going/ kept on a going/ so uh/ they ask/ uh/ “how
can you (...)”/ I say/ “I go to (...) every week”/ (...) I say/ “my mother’s deceased/ (18.30)
but my daddy always was when we were’’/ but you couldn’t/ you couldn’t/ with some of
them/ cause they goes right back to black/ if they would be up looking around now/ and
see what black kids can do/ they got smart people/ black in the college/ and I got/ I got a
grandson/ he’s a doctor/ Carneal can tell you/ and/ don’t make no difference/ (19.00) he get
along with all of that/ but when they did where they don’t want to get along/ that’s where
they go/ but they/ they changed/ they had to change/ but that’s how it is
Teranda: so now/ do you still see yourself as/ just being mulatto/ or
Theresa: yeah/ if you/ this is what it is baby/ if you are/ your skin are light/ and you still from the negro race/ (19.30) well/ that’s what they looking at/ and they would/ you know/ people was miserable/ because they/ wanted to do everything/ and everything/ one of them asked me/ “are you white”? I say/ “anything you take/ I am/ whatever you think I am”/ “what/ what you call yourself”? I say/ “I don’t call myself nothing”/ I say/ “I’m a human being/ and I try to get along with everybody” (20.00)/ over/ it/ they/ they got it bad/ but them/ like I say/ them boys and girls/ changed/ everything/ they changed them/ but it’s not like that no more/ they got to mix with them now/ cause those people ain’t gonna play with that/ but it/ you know/ they qu——/ so quick to call you a nigger/ (20.30) oh yeah/ they’ll do that/ but that/ that all done failed/ they mixed now/ it’s what they/ one lady said/ “that’s something/ how they changed”/ I say/ “them children raised them”

Carneal: *laughs*

Theresa: showed them how to be/ you know/ better than they was/ (...) I (...)/ someone/ the same color with your (black) pants/ they a human being/ they good people/ but that (...) (21.00) it/ (...)/ cause his uncle/ (M...)/ his wife/ and this old lady/ his mom/ so/ they would/ called her big ma/ so/ she say/ “(M...)/ where you going”? and uncle (M...)/ didn’t care/ she say/ (21.30) he said/ “I’m going get married big ma”/ “to who (M...)?”/ she say/ “(G...)?”/ “oh no”/ big ma say/ “you can’t do that/ that hair is nappy/ she kinky/ and she black”/ you know (G...)/ wasn’t black/ she was/ she was brown/ but that’s how they (...)/ oh that’s how they (...)/ and I think it’s a bad way/ (22.00) I believe people is people

Teranda: so now/ do you see yourself/ but just you/ today/ if somebody were to ask you that same question/ “what are you”? would you say/ “I’m American”?/ or would you say

Theresa: yeah/ you say you’re American/ but you see/ we didn’t say that/ a while back/ they say you was/ you was a nigger/ or you/ “ya’ll think ya’ll is/ ya’ll think ya’ll white/ eh”? they’d ask me that all the time/ I say/ (22.30) “I don’t think I’m white”/ “what color/ well/ you just like us”? I say/ “well/ that’s how I am”/ you know/ if/ if you stop and think/ it’s a disgusting thing/ but what I always said Teranda/ them old black people would make them good biscuits/ and they hands was black/ they made good biscuits/ but they wouldn’t want/ (23.00) if you would have seen them/ I talk with everybody/ I got along with them/ no matter what color you is/ it’s not like that though no more/ it’s a good thing that they changed

Teranda: mmhm/ but not other people/ not/ how do other people see you/ just how do you see you today

Theresa: what

Teranda: do you see yourself as still/ being mulatta/ (23.30) or do you see yourself as

Theresa: yeah/ that’s what they called the bright people/ they said the mulattas

Teranda: no/ not other people/ how do you see yourself/ if somebody asked you specifically/ uh/ “Tasty/ what do you see/ yourself as being”

Theresa: you see/ they got a habit/ they ask me something/ but like/ I say/ “I’m a lady”?/ they say/ “I don’t mean that”?/ (24.00) about this and that/ and this and that/ I say/ “you can say what you want about people/ that’s your opportunity/ to say what you want to say”/ but I don’t bother you with them/ I didn’t/ I didn’t go that way

Theresa: I think I’m not/ can you

Carneal: you/ she’s asking/ a question/ similar to the question that (K...) asked you/ (24.30) when he asked you/ “mama Tatsie/ are you or are you not black”?/ he was asking you/ not
what people thought/ years ago or now/ he was asking what you thought/ how you wanna say/ what you are/ not about what people thought/ or who married who

100. Theresa: well I’m American/ and/ like I say/ if you would see/ some of them old people did long time ago

101. Carneal: (25.00) but we not talking about the old people from a long time ago/ those things influenced/ how you feel now

102. Theresa: now

103. Carneal: yeah/ we talking about now/ we not talking about so much then/ those actions of a long time ago/ influenced how you feel now/ but she’s more concerned about how you feel now/ as when (K...) asked you/ what you were/ as far as ethnicity was concerned/ so she’s asking you that question/ how do you feel now/ (25.30) somebody asked you/ and you could put it on the census/ she was saying/ how would you identify yourself now

104. Theresa: I would identify as American

105. Teranda: American

106. Theresa: uh-huh/ and/ and uh/ that’s about it/ yeah/ that’s/ that’s about it/ cause you see I

107. Teranda: what

108. Theresa: I’m/ (26.00) my life (...) I don’t go/ I don’t go the way them/ cause the way I live/ people is people/ no matter what color you is/ or how it is/ and that’s how I live/ yeah

109. Teranda: okay/ umm/ so/ well you say that people/ you were saying that people would sometimes call you/ ask you if you were certain things/ (26.30) (question I.5) is there any time that you want to focus on the being more white/ or the being more black/ even though your not necessarily identifying yourself as that

110. Theresa: but/ I can tell you one thing/ I don’t make no difference/ and it’s so much more better now/ then the/ black has got positions/ and the whites don’t/ used to not like it/ but then they got to like it/ Carneal/ I don’t know if he ever had any trouble with them

111. Carneal: (27.00) no/ but she’s asking you/ I’m focusing now/ on what she’s asking you/ you still giving other people’s perception of you/ how other people see you/ she’s more concerned on/ how you look at yourself/ am I interpreting you correctly Teranda

112. Teranda: mmhm

113. Carneal: she wants to know more about how you feel about yourself/ not those other people

114. Theresa: uh-huh/ well

115. Carneal: not any other people of any other race/ how you feel about you

116. Theresa: I feel

117. Carneal: because/ I’m sorry go ahead

118. Theresa: (27.30) I feel just that I’m/ I’m a decent lady/ you might of (...) and you see/ some people got that in them so bad/ but I/ I love anybody/ (...) good/ they can be black/ they can be white/ and/ that’s it

119. Teranda: so/ well/ okay/ you were saying earlier that/ you walked into a store/ I guess/ somewhere someday/ and somebody asked you/ if you were white (28.00)/ and you said/ “I’m whatever you think”/ do you focus/ do you focus more on being/ the whiteness/ or the/ being black/ or being mulatto/ at different times/ so like/ if somebody’s light skinned/ maybe there’s some kind of opportunity/ for them/ if somebody/ if they go into a place (28.30)/ umm/ if they go into a store/ the guy at the counter’s white/ they look more white/ so maybe they focus on that particular/ attribute of themselves with that person/ but the same mulatto person will go/ into a different store/ where/ there’s somebody black behind

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the counter/ so they focus more on/ that/ on their blackness/ (29.00) with that person/ so with these two different people/ on being white/ and one being black/ their focusing on different things/ depending on what they/ think is going to be more/ umm/ advantageous/ so do you ever find that you focus on/ I guess/ being white/ or being black more in certain situations

10. Theresa: well/ not/ not really/ I’m just what I am/ that’s what I say all the time/ you know/ (29.30) you can’t/ cause I/ I despise people/ one day/ they used to have a little store/ (J...)/ and/ I was working at (...)/ and this lady that/ she a coon/ a white one/ she said/ uh/ I said/ “what’s the matter/ you sick”/ she say/ “no”/ (30.00) “you saw those/ those three men”/ she say “yeah”/ I say d—/ I say/ “they very nice looking/ and well-dressed”/ she say/ I say/ “would you get me a cup of coffee”/ say “bring me a cup of coffee”/ so/ she said/ “well you just/ you’s just like your colors”/ people is people/ no matter what color/ no matter what creed/ people is people/ and that’s how I/ (30.30) I say I’m always be that way/ because/ after that/ when they brought me the cup of coffee/ she say/ “Mrs. Donatto/ I seen it”/ I say/ “yeah”/ so this/ a coon-ass/ he comes in/ and he say/ “oh/ the black boys is gone”/ “oh no”/ I say/ I say/ “they might”/ I was talking about myself/ I say “they can be close to you/ but you didn’t know what I am”/ he ain’t said nothing no more

11. Theresa: you can’t/ you can’t

12. Theresa: but that/ people are just people with me

13. Theresa: I’m kind of in between
Teranda: accepting/ other people
Theresa: yeah
Teranda: but is that how
Theresa: that’s how it goes/ huh
Carneal: no/ this for you/ this is for you/ *laughs*/ (33.30) but you doing fine/ your fine/ go ahead/ uh-huh/ I’m sorry Teranda
Theresa: what/ what you say
Carneal: no/ you doing fine
Teranda: *laughs*
Carneal: we’re not talking about me right now/ we’ll talk about me in a little while
Theresa: *laughs*
Teranda: is that how you express your identity/ umm/ in your personal beliefs and attitudes though/ is that you just kind of/ are tolerant towards other people
Theresa: yeah/ I’m nice with all of them/ but I couldn’t let them/ them people tell me about them mens (34.00)/ all the black boys left/ and I say/ “they had one sitting close to you/ and you didn’t know it/ that was me”/ and/ they might not like it/ but that was the truth/ I don’t care how black you is/ if you don’t act crazy/ and just/ just go on like I see some people do/ you gonna make it alright
Teranda: okay/ and/ (34.30) asks question II.2/ do you think it comes out
Theresa: yeah
Teranda: or/ okay/ I can see that it comes out in the way you act/ but what about in the way you speak/ do you think you still
Theresa: uh-huh/ you can/ sometime you can tell/ and sometime/ you know/ you can’t
Teranda: mmhm/ I mean you personally though
Theresa: yeah
Teranda: do you think you express your identity/ in the way you speak
Theresa: uh-huh (35.00)
Teranda: no/ or
Theresa: *laughs*/ no/ I don’t/ it make me no difference/ what I’m trying to say/ cause/ I figure anybody is a human being/ and it/ they say/ I don’t know about him
Carneal and Teranda: *laugh*
Teranda: this question isn’t about attitudes though/ just/ if somebody were to ask you about your/ the way you talk/ your dialect/ (35.30) do you think that/ the identity that you have/ as an being/ neither white or black/ you just say that your American/ do you think that/ the way you speak/ your dialect/ umm/ do you think that that identity comes out in the dialect/ or do you think that you still have the dialect from the region/ that you have
Theresa: yeah/ I think/ I know a few (...) (36.00)/ so I/ but I don’t see no difference in that/ I guess it’s the way I’m raised/ see/ I guess/ people is people/ you know/ now/ I’ll stay like that
Teranda: okay/ umm/ asks first part of question III.1
Theresa: huh
Teranda: repeats first part of question III.1/ like/ a lot of people today/ or/ (36.30) people in my generation/ don’t necessarily know/ exactly what a Creole is/ so/ if they came to you/ and asked you what a Creole is/ what would you tell them/ or what a Creole person is
Theresa: yeah/ well/ I would just tell them/ “it’s nothing”/ I say/ “you can do about the Frilot Cove”/ where they was with the color out there/ and/ that ain’t nothing but trouble to me/ yeah

Teranda: okay/ so/ (37.00) asks second part of question III.1/ like the way their face looks/ or the way their skin looks

Theresa: yeah/ well some people is judged by/ the way that they look/ and the color of they hair/ and all of this and that/ but I/ I really think everybody’s (...)/ and they/ like they say/ they plain/ they say plain people/ that’s people that’s just ordinary/ (37.30) but

Carneal: I think she’s asking you mother/ the people that are Creole/ their background/ whether it’s a racial mix/ or several races/ she’s asking you/ how would you describe those people/ how they considered Creoles

Theresa: well I/ I would/ people I would/ (38.00) think about/ they colored baby/ but/ I don’t/ I don’t talk with many people/ but the people I talk with/ and they just country like me/ but/ if there’s anything about that/ it’s people getting/ people getting along/ the color ain’t nothing/ that’s just skin deep/ and that’s how I see it/ I’m right

Carneal: I think she’s asking you mother/ the people that are Creole/ their background/ whether it’s a racial mix/ or several races/ she’s asking you/ how would you describe those people/ how they considered Creoles

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Carneal: no/ it’s not a matter of right and wrong

Theresa and Carneal: *laugh*

Carneal: it’s a matter of what you believe/ (38.30) how you perceive things to be/ mmhm

Teranda: but not necessarily about/ I’m not asking about/ your attitude toward it/ or your/ the ideas that you have/ about race/ but just/ what is a Creole person/ like/ throughout history there have been/ lots of different definitions/ so how would you describe a Creole person/ (39.00) or how would you define it/ if you had to

Theresa: well/ I’d have to/ I’d have to think/ because/ you can’t just go into something like that/ you know/ but I would just think/ you say just keep thinking further back/ and that’s/ there uh/ Creole people/ well they couldn’t/ they was miserable/ to the blacks/ and they (...) (39.30)

Carneal: but you still not telling her what they look like/ the (B...)s are supposed to be Creoles/ what do those people look like/ that’s what she’s asking

Theresa: they light-skinned/ they light skinned/ that’s all I can say/ they Cajuns

Teranda: so do they have/ normally have French heritage/ or/ would you say that their/ of other heritages as well/ like Native American/ or/ is it just French/ (40.00) or

Theresa: the only thing I knew about it was/ was mulatta/ that’s what they’d call us/ you mulatta/ I was listening to a lady talking the other day/ “oh/ she’s a mulatta”/ that’s (...)/ they don’t say/ “she’s Creole”/ or/ or nothing like that/ “that’s a mulatta”

Carneal: so are you saying that/ maybe in that area/ (40.30) later/ like in the fifties and sixties/ they were saying/ people were Creoles/ but before that/ into the forties/ they were just saying everyone was mulattas/ all the light-skinned black folk/ the light-skinned people of color/ free people of color/ they were saying/ all of them/ they were just all mulattas/ and then as time evolved/ you are saying that more of these people were considered Creole

Theresa: yeah

Carneal: okay/ I see what/ I can see what you’re trying to explain

Teranda: so/ it didn’t have/ (41.00) really have anything to do with your heritage/ people didn’t care if you were mixed with French/ or mixed with Spanish/ or mixed with/ Native American/ they just cared if you were mixed

Theresa: yeah/ uh-huh
188. Teranda: okay/ alright/ so you don’t really see/ do you see/ any kind of definitive thing as/ being Creole now/ as far as heritage goes
189. Theresa: no/ I wouldn’t say that
190. Teranda: okay/ and you/ do you see Creole people now as just being/ the mulatto people then (41.30)
191. Theresa: yeah/ that’s how that is/ to me that’s how it is
192. Carneal: that’s what she’s asking you/ to you
193. Teranda: yeah/ no/ that’s really interesting/ cause it’s/ I mean the definition’s obviously changed
194. Theresa: oh yeah
195. Teranda: and the/ the thoughts behind it/ have changed/ so/ asks question III.2/ like/ umm/ and I have/ how do you trace it back to Creole lineage/ but you were saying that (42.00)/ you know/ people didn’t/ you don’t really see Creole as necessarily being/ something/ but/ what’s your heritage/ what’s your lineage/ so/ like your father/ your mother/ grandparents
196. Theresa: well/ now I’ma/ I’ma tell you that/ you would think my daddy/ was a white man/ if you’d a seen him/ and/ then you go on further/ you see/ (42.30) more and more/ same color/ but you see/ like I tell them/ color don’t worry me/ and I am what I am/ so
197. Teranda: okay/ do you know if your parents were French/ or if they were Spanish/ or
198. Theresa: well they got something/ oh/ that’s a gumbo now/ (...)
199. Carneal: *laughs*
200. Teranda: yeah/ no/ no/ that’s fine
201. Theresa: no/ no/ that’s okay/ now what you/ what you say
202. Teranda: I’m just wondering about/ your lineage/ okay/ so now people look at family trees/ (43.00) and look at the Donatto family/ and the Donattos come from Italy
203. Theresa: they was Italian/ I think that’s what grandpa Claude said/ they were Italians/ uh-huh
204. Carneal: now she’s asking you about you though
205. Theresa: about me
206. Teranda: mmhm
207. Carneal: the Cazenaves/ mmhm/ go ahead
208. Theresa: what you think about me
209. Carneal: not what we think about you/ I’m sorry Teranda/ go ahead
210. Teranda: no/ just umm/ where your/ your family comes from/ (43.30) where they were from/ they/ I mean/ of course they were from/ LeBeau
211. Theresa: LeBeau
212. Teranda: and your from LeBeau
213. Theresa: yeah
214. Teranda: but/ were your parents from LeBeau
215. Theresa: no/ they got something/ some of the Italians/ and all of that/ it’s kind of like a gumbo I call it/ they got Spanish/ they got whites/ they got uh/ what grandfather/ they said the other day what they is
216. Carneal: my grandfather/ on papa’s side of the family
217. Theresa: (44.00) yeah
218. Carneal: and Theresa’s side
219. Theresa: uh-huh/ it’s messed up/ I thought
220. Carneal: *laughs*
221. Teranda: that’s okay/ I just/ I wanna/ so your saying that you have Spanish/ but I wanna
know what else is in there/ I mean/ you say white/ what is/ what was white/ do you know if
it was
222. Theresa: that’s the/ that’s the way they say it/ that’s by the/ they going be color/ and you
see/ that ain’t saying what they is (44.30)/ but I got Spanish/ Cajun/ Negro/ all that/ in my
family
223. Teranda: okay/ alright/ and so/ your parents/ were they/ were they both from LeBeau
224. Theresa: yeah/ they were/ my mama was a Enette
225. Teranda: a what
226. Theresa: Enette
227. Teranda: that’s a native tribe right
228. Theresa: yeah
229. Teranda: and are they in Mississippi/ do you know
230. Theresa: (45.00) no/ *noise indicating no*/ I’ve heard of that before
231. Carneal: they were from Oklahoma/ your mom’s people were from Oklahoma too
232. Theresa: you know what/ Honduras/ you ever heard that/ well/ I had people out there/ and/
in Oklahoma/ I have an old uncle/ he my daddy’s brother/ I’ll tell you about him later/
what he do
233. Carneal: (…)
234. Theresa: but/ that’s (45.30) it’s like a mixture/ and it’s just/ it’s just one thing and another/
you know/ they always/ had someone was different than the other/ now/ a lot of old people/
you can’t tell what they is
235. Teranda: what is it
236. Theresa: you can’t tell what they is
237. Teranda: which people
238. Theresa: oh/ the old people/ you can’t tell/ you see/ they call me/ a mulatta/ now that’s a
name/ (46.00) I don’t know how that came out/ but they didn’t tell people/ you black/ it’s
“oh/ she’s a mulatta”
239. Carneal: and she’s (…)/ about papa’s people/ what were they/ Spaniards/ from Italy/ from/
from
240. Theresa: some of them
241. Carneal: some were black
242. Theresa: see/ her brother/ his brother (J…)/ his wife was uh
243. Carneal: that’s an uncle
244. Theresa: Puerto Rican/ I think/ and if (46.30)/ it’s different (…)/ and first thing you know/
some of them come back/ and they had married/ Spaniards/ and all of that/ it’s/ so it’s/ I
like it/ I call that a mixture/ you know/ and some of them/ they just (…)/ since they start
letting people do/ and everything/ but/ I don’t see/ I never look to see what color people is/
I guess I should/ (47.00) and (…)/ I won’t do that/ I believe that people is people/ I don’t
care what color it is/ and none of that bothers me/ because it’s/ the world is bad enough
without all of that/ I just don’t/ but uh/ we got all kind in my family/ they got the coon-
asses/ they got the Cajuns/ they got/ (47.30) Spaniards/ they got all of that/ now them/
them old people/ they might get there and talk about/ them young people ain’t doing the
right thing/ and all of that/ and/ you know what/ a man and a lady living together/ they
called that plase
245. Teranda: what is it
246. Theresa: *plase*
247. Teranda: *plase*
248. Carneal: when they just lived together/ no marriage
249. Teranda: is that a French word/ *plase*
250. Carneal: *plase*
251. Theresa: *plase*
252. Carneal: I think that’s French
253. Teranda: okay/ (48.00) *plase*/ I’ll have to look that one up
254. Theresa: you better put it on the (...) 
255. Teranda: *laughs*
256. Theresa: well that’s about the size of it
257. Teranda: umm okay/ you were saying that people/ wanted to call you mulatto/ was it your family/ who did that/ or/ other people
258. Theresa: *noise indicating no*/ it’s/ it’s/ no/ (...) people was doing that/ (48.30) it’s the negro people started/ the mulatta/ and you see/ that crazy place out there in Frilot Cove/ you see/ they had them children believing they were white/ they wasn’t white/ except them children still believe that
259. Teranda: where is this
260. Theresa: it’s in Frilot Cove
261. Teranda: is that/ further south
262. Carneal: about nineteen miles west of Opelousas
263. Teranda: okay/ Opelousas
264. Theresa: but it’s then changed/ them black boys and girls change them (49.00)/ because/ lord have mercy/ they used to be there/ but/ I have all kinds/ French
265. Teranda: but you were saying that umm/ people/ that people wouldn’t say you were black/ they’d say you/ you were mulatto/ but that wasn’t your parents/ that wasn’t your family/ it was/ other people outside your family
266. Theresa: uh-huh/ (49.30) but/ these/ well the people/ (...)/ you see/ when they visit/ they’ll find something else new/ and they would go on from there/ and they just/ one thing after another
267. Teranda: what is it
268. Theresa: they was just one thing after another/ and it/ they got a learn though/ like I told you/ them girls/ young white girls/ and white boys/ (50.00) they start being together with the black people/ that’s all changed/ they (...) 
269. Teranda: so/ well I think you’ve kind of answered this question/ but/ you were saying/ the question is reads question III.3/ so those would be/ Creole/ and so you don’t/ is it true that you don’t identify with that because (50.30)/ it’s not really/ well/ it’s not really something that was around when you were younger/ like the term
270. Theresa: no/ it’s/ it’s changed/ this how it was when I was coming up/ a white woman/ and I call white people coon-ass/ you see this/ these coon-asses/ honey/ a black/ (51.00) a black guy would look at that/ lord/ that’s how they raised/ and that’s how people don’t understand they own self/ that’s the way I put it/ you see/ cause they got all/ they got all/ different nationality/ black/ mulatta/ uh/ you brown skin/ if you see somebody brown skinned/ they’ll see somebody brown skinned/ and it’s just color/ color/ color/ (51.30) so them/ them young people/ got them old people out of that/ and they/ they told right now/ *noise indicating no*
271. Teranda: a coon-ass is what we would call Creole now/ is that what they were calling coon-asses
272. Theresa: yeah/ well they said that/ if you see somebody/ and if things sound different/ they Creole/ they Creole/ you understand what I’m saying Neal
273. Carneal: mmhm
274. Theresa: they Creole/ (52.00) and that’s light skinned/ and everything like that/ they kind of mixed/ you know/ but that/ and/ that’s the way they say/ like they see a bright skinned person/ they say she Creole/ it’s a mixture
275. Teranda: now/ or then
276. Theresa: no/ well they’ll say that now too/ but it’s not as bad
277. Carneal: what she’s asking you mother/ before/ they was just calling them mulattas/ and they started calling them Creoles later
278. Theresa: no/ Creole was first (52.30)
279. Carneal: you just said mulattas/ they used to call you a mulatta/ they didn’t say Creole/ which one was first/ which/ what they started saying/ were they saying they were Creoles/ or were they saying they were mulattas
280. Theresa: yeah/ well them people there/ they thought they was white
281. Carneal: who’s that/ who’s that your talking about
282. Theresa: in Frilot Cove
283. Carneal: you talking about the Creoles/ or you talking about/ did they call themselves Creoles/ or did they call themselves white
284. Theresa: yeah/ white/ they think they were white
285. Teranda: but they were mixed
286. Theresa: they mixed/ and mixed yeah/ cause you could see now (53.00)
287. Teranda: what’s a coon-ass
288. Theresa: coon-ass/ that’s the name people give them
289. Teranda: to people who were/ Creole/ but they call themselves white
290. Theresa: yeah/ they got some that they white/ some of them/ cause boy/ you/ Mr. (J...) one day/ he kept on/ “Dr. (C...) is calling for you”/ I’m/ I say/ “I’m go”/ *laughs*/ I got ready/ and/ (53.00) I powdered my face good/ I say/ and (J...) say/ “you think I’m pass”/ he say/ “Tasty/ if you don’t quite”/ he say/ I say/ “you think I’m white enough to go”/ he say/ “get in the car”/ *laughs*
291. Teranda: so/ okay/ Creole came first/ or mulatto
292. Theresa: Creole/ Creole people is first/ they was (...)
293. Teranda: but they wouldn’t call you Creole
294. Theresa: (...)
295. Teranda: (54.00) would they call you Creole
296. Theresa: *noise indicating no*/ some people asked if I’m Creole/ but most of the people I know/ they didn’t
297. Teranda: they just said mulatto
298. Theresa: uh-huh/ they said mulatta
299. Teranda: what was the difference between/ was there a difference between Creole/ and mulatto
300. Theresa: well/ not that much difference/ cause the only thing that/ that I ever know is/ that’s what I tell them/ is that color/ people is so stuck with that (54.30)/ I don’t care how black you is/ what color/ you people/ and I’ma die like that
301. Carneal: but she’s asking more or less/ uh/ what color influences/ as far as whether
somebody was a Creole or a mulatta/ was there some difference in color there
302. Theresa: yeah
303. Carneal: there’s some difference in color there/ and what was the difference in color there
304. Theresa: well I don’t know/ but I know that was/ they would say the mulatta and all of that
305. Carneal: the reason I’m asking you to look at it like that/ (55.00) is because I know some
(G...)s in New Orleans
306. Theresa: some what
307. Carneal: (G...)/ they name is (G...)
308. Theresa: (G...)
309. Carneal: they Creole/ they French and Spanish/ (...)/ they French/ Spanish/ and black too/
but it/ and the (G...)s was telling me/ that that’s what Creole people really were/ the (G...)s
are dark people/ with straight/ straight/ straight hair/ but they tell me that their the true
Creoles/ some of the true Creoles/ and a lot of people say/ (55.30) “well Mr. Donatto/ or
you Creole”/ and then I give my opinion on what I think
310. Theresa: when they ask me that/ I just tell them “yeah”
311. Carneal: *laughs*/ I know what you do/ *laughs*/ she/ she does that/ she will say/
whatever you want me to be/ she always did
312. Theresa: I don’t understand people with color/ that’s the craziest thing I ever heard of/
everybody’s a child of God/ and/ you/ going on with this and that/ (...)/ uh/ (56.00) it’s a/
people a long long time ago/ they must know something about that/ but now if you would
see/ my great/ great/ grandmother/ well I don’t know what to say she is/ I don’t have none
of my old pictures here I could show you/ but that/ (...)/ (56.30) it’s alright
313. Teranda: would I be surprised/ would people be surprised
314. Theresa: yeah/ you’d be surprised
315. Teranda: why is that/ why
316. Theresa: no
317. Teranda: no/ why would I be surprised
318. Theresa: you’d be surprised/ like/ just like you say/ I’m (...)/ and if I would tell you that’s
my aunt/ I had black aunts/ you wouldn’t want to believe it/ and that’s how they set in
they ways/ that’s how I see them
319. Teranda: (57.00) so you didn’t/ so Creole/ okay/ I’m still kind of/ don’t understand the
difference/ or what they were/ I guess with the Creole and mulatto/ you were saying that
Creole came first
320. Theresa: that was (...)/ I think it’s about the name/ they got Frilot Cove/ and that’s what I
think/ I don’t know about you/ I’m talking to you
321. Carneal: she’s asking you now
322. Theresa: yeah/ I know she’s asking me/ (57.30) what you saying
323. Carneal: you lived a long time before me
324. Theresa: huh/ what
325. Teranda: just/ the Creoles/ you said they came before/ but then there was also this term
mulatto/ that they would call/ you/ but you wouldn’t say that you were Creole
326. Theresa: no
327. Teranda: was it just
328. Theresa: I don’t know where (...)/ that at/ I just go about what other people say/ you know
329. Teranda: was it just people who were/ (58.00) who were mixed/ who wanted to be white/
calling themselves Creole/ or was it other people in the community calling themselves
Creole
330. Theresa: no/ just what you said/ they were (...) 
331. Teranda: they were calling them Creole  
332. Theresa: you see/ some people/ if you’re light light skinned/ they’ll say/ “that’s a coon-
ass”/ that’s how they’ll talk about people  
333. Teranda: and these coon-asses/ what/ (58.30) other people would call them Creole  
334. Theresa: uh-huh  
335. Teranda: but/ somebody in the family/ say this Fri—/ Frilot Cove family/ they would call
themselves Creole/ the Frilot Coves would say/ “I’m Creole”/ but other people would say
they were coon-asses  
336. Theresa: yeah  
337. Teranda: is that how that  
338. Theresa: the coon-asses next to the Cajuns/ I say/ because  
339. Teranda: *laughs*  
340. Carneal: no/ she’s asking you what they called the people in Frilot Cove/ the people in
Frilot Cove calling themselves/ Creole  
341. Theresa: uh-huh/ (59.00) well that’s what they was  
342. Carneal: what was other people calling them  
343. Theresa: I don’t know/ but that’s the thing there  
344. Teranda: but they would/ but other people would call you mulatto  
345. Theresa: yeah  
346. Teranda: okay/ but you wouldn’t say that you were Creole  
347. Theresa: oh no/ (...) at all  
348. Teranda: okay/ would anybody in your family say that you were Creole  
349. Theresa: well/ they got some much in my family/ you don’t know what they gonna say  
350. Teranda: well what about your parents/ would they have said/ “we’re Creole”  
351. Theresa: *noise indicating no*/ (59.30)/ my parents wasn’t like that  
352. Teranda: would they have said/ “we’re black”/ or/ would they just have said/ the same
thing as you/ where  
353. Theresa: you see/ the thing is that with the people/ the black/ people/ like/ black as your
pants/ you/ then/ they think that if they see someone light skinned/ they think that/ those
people/ too much of them/ I then heard them saying that/ (1.00.00) “they don’t wanna talk
with us/ they this and that”/ but/ it comes down/ it’s (...) who their children married/ and
you see/ they got little black babies/ and they got little/ what they call a mulatta/ that’s/
well mulatta is just light skinned people/ and that’s like them people in Frilot Cove/ that’s
just  
354. Teranda: but would your parents have said that/ would your parents have said/ (1.00.30)
“we’re black”  
355. Theresa: yeah/ they say/ they/ well they say/ the mulatta/ but uh/ that’s the same thing as
you saying/ you white/ or something like that/ cause it’s/ it’s so hard now/ to see/ cause
they got all kind of people/ around Opelousas and/ everywhere else/ they got different kind
of people/ in color and everything else  
356. Teranda: I think it’s just hard for me to understand/ cause I wasn’t/ (1.01.00) growing up
during that time
357. Carneal: well (P...) and (P...) did they consider themselves black people/ or mulattas/ what did they consider themselves
358. Theresa: she/ uh/ my step-mom
359. Carneal: well/ even (J...)/ your mother
360. Theresa: they would just say colored people/ that’s what it was/ and then they/ some of them uh/ some of them would say/ the negroes/ and some would say/ (1.01.30) “mulatta”/ and they had/ they put all of that together see
361. Teranda: so
362. Theresa: now look/ uh
363. Teranda: oh/ go ahead/ no
364. Theresa: my daddy’s brother/ had two sons/ and/ they had (B...) I met (B...) once/ they/ (B...) went to see them/ (1.02.00) that was his first cousins/ that was my daddy’s youngest sister (J...), and they told (B...) “you better get away from this door/ nigger”/ he said/ “aww/ are you one of aunt (J...)'s son”/ he said that/ he said/ “nigger/ I ain’t no kin to you”/ “aww”/ he say/ “you sure is/ (1.02.30) you might think you ain’t no kin to me”/ when they told them two boys that/ (...) had to go to the doctor
365. Teranda: *laughs*
366. Carneal: *laughs*
367. Teranda: so/ when you were growing up/ did that they reserve/ did people only say that someone was black/ if they were really dark skinned
368. Theresa: yeah/ but they/ you had to respect/ no matter what color/ that’s the way we was raised
369. Teranda: but just/ not your family/ but just in general/ (1.03.00) like other people/ the people you saw around you/ did they only say that somebody was black/ if they were really dark skinned
370. Theresa: even if they were light skinned
371. Teranda: even if they were light skinned
372. Theresa: yeah/ but/ that
373. Teranda: cause you said your parents would say that you were colored
374. Theresa: that’s how they say in the old time/ their colored people/ they would say
375. Teranda: okay/ okay but for really dark people/ would they say they were black
376. Theresa: black niggers/ that’s what they’d say
377. Teranda: (1.03.30) okay/ alright/ I think I kind of/ kind of understand it a little/ but uh/ yeah/ okay
378. Theresa: *laughs*
379. Teranda: that’s the end/ of it/ well/ oh/ I have this one more question/ umm/ you don’t identify yourself as Creole
380. Theresa: *noise indicating no*
381. Teranda: asks question III.4/ like some people would trace back/ (1.04.00) family trees
382. Theresa: no/ they didn’t/ some of them (...) and digging/ I say digging/ some of them is/ is/ yeah/ they trying to find out who they is
383. Teranda: but you don’t/ your not bothered with/ what your
384. Theresa: oh no/ (...) some of them want to know/ (...) I tell them about that/ I say/ “well what you/ why don’t you say I’m a nigger”/ she said/ “now Tatsie/ you ain’t no nigger”/ I say/ “well/ ya’ll messing around with the stuff”/ I say/ “I’m a nigger too” (1.04.30)/ but they/ they/ they got some bad stuff/ cause the uh/ that’s like I told you/ with them two/
them two Cazenave boys/ they/ they know/ that/ that/ (...) had a brother/ they daddy’s brother/ his sister/ my daddy’s sister/ (1.05.00) well/ (B...)/ (B...)/ “I told”/ say/ “I told (B...)
not to open his mouth”/ “oh”/ I say/ “well what’s the matter with (B...)/ say/ “(B...)
is dark”/ I say/ “I found (B... got a pretty color”/ I say/ “he’s brown”/ so/ my daddy’s/ two
nephew’s/ they was going to school/ going to college in New Orleans/ and/ (1.05.30) they
went knocked on that boy’s door/ (B...)/ when they seen (B...)/ “what do you want nigger”/
*laughs*/ oww/ “ain’t you aunt (J...’s people/ “nigger get out of here/ what do you want”/
they both had to go to the doctor/ was sick over that mess
385. Teranda: *laughs*/ do you/ do you speak Cajun or Creole French
386. Theresa: oh/ a little bit/ not a little bit/ like comment ça va
387. Carneal: (1.06.00) *laughs*
388. Teranda: no/ well not/ not French/ but just Cajun or Creole/ those French/ do you speak
that/ or did you speak it growing up
389. Theresa: that’s/ that’s what I’m speaking it now/ that’s how it’s always been for me
390. Teranda: so just like/ enough to kind of greet people
391. Theresa: oh yeah/ uh-huh/ it/ it what you see/ the black ones/ where I came from
392. Carneal: they didn’t speak/ they didn’t speak much Creole (1.06.30)
393. Theresa: who
394. Carneal: in your area
395. Theresa: *noise indicating no*/ *noise indicating no*
396. Teranda: okay/ okay so you didn’t/ you never/ learned it/ or had a/ knew enough to have a
conversation with someone/ in that language
397. Theresa: no/ I didn’t/ *noise indicating no*/ I would soon not know/ when they start that/
I’m/ I just be looking/ and they/ (...)/ so/ it’s just/ just/ it’s hostile/ (1.07.30) it’s hostile
people that do that/ but that’s what/ I told/ *laughs/ I told someone to tell (B... “hello”/
and tell (B... that/ “don’t forget you’s a nigger”/ *laughs*.
398. Carneal: see her/ her dad’s sister/ and those people in New Orleans/ working at Tulane/ and
they would have been unacceptable if they’d a said they were people of color/ so they
passed for white/ so (B... went to college up there/ (1.07.30) and he went busted them/ let
them know he was part of the family
399. Theresa: (B... didn’t change when the sun come up/ when the sun go down/ he was
something else
400. Carneal: and this was a long time ago/ this was like in the forties
401. Theresa: that’s/ that’s a/ long time ago/ you couldn’t look at (...)
402. Carneal: but that was/ that was his first cousins/ so my grandfather and his family were
saying they were colored here/ yet he had a sister living in New Orleans that was/ passing
for/ for being white (1.08.00)/ and her children/ they were in the Tulane system/ you
couldn’t go to job/ you can go to Tulane and get a job now/ but back then/ that would have
been
403. Theresa: and (B... went stuck/ I say “(B.../ that was enough to get”)/ he stuck his head in
they/ in they (...)/ “what color ya’ll is today”/ and boy/ that burned them people up
(1.08.24)
I5: Carneal, age 58, with Theresa

1. Teranda: asks question I.1
2. Carneal: identity to me would be more or less/ the cultures that has influenced my life/ probably from early childhood/ how I perceive/ myself/ in my neighborhood/ and/ I guess in the institutions I belong to/ the school that attended/ the church that I attended/ most of those things influence me (0.30)/ and/ made me the person that I am today
3. Teranda: okay/ so you kind of see/ you do see in this/ idea of identity/ that you can have multiple identities
4. Carneal: yes/ (...) like a global context/ it would be a umm/ in church/ I’m/ influenced by certain things/ in school/ in the community/ different identities in different communities/ or different facets of that particular identity/ if I’m making myself clear
5. Teranda okay/ (1.00) asks question I.2
6. Carneal: cultural identity for me/ would be that/ how/ I interact within those/ named cultures/ the church culture/ that I come from/ let’s use that for an example/ growing up Catholic/ Catholicism governed/ uh/ and an example of how that governed/ I was one of the few to leave the Catholic school system and go into the public school system (1.30)/ when I was growing up/ and that was like the fourth grade level/ as a nine year old/ when I went into the public school system/ I assumed everyone in that system were non-Catholics/ because I identified only with Catholicism/ at that time/ so/ that influenced/ the Catholic culture just influenced/ everything I believed/ and everything that I brought there/ and then that wall came crumbling down/ because I realized people had (2.00)/ believes in a Christian God/ but the culture of their believe system/ how they attended services/ what they did/ there was no such thing as confession/ it was just completely different/ so I had to adapt/ what I believed/ into that/ new culture/ so/ I learned at a very early age/ to become a little bit flexible with how I identified myself/ or how I handled myself/ as far as conversation was concerned (2.30)/ or/ just/ basic habits/ were concerned
7. Teranda: okay/ so here/ we’re really looking at/ what/ what cultures influence you/ and make you who you are
8. Carneal: I think that the culture/ that I learned/ as far as in my mother’s background/ umm/ identifying with them as agrarian people/ I identify them with what I always call free people of color (3.00)/ and being a little more lettered in/ what society has set up as far as race/ and race classification/ I found that being a person of/ I guess you could say a multiethic background/ knowing that I had Italians in my background/ knowing that I had Spanish people in my background/ African Americans/ like Mazil Montiel/ who you was trying to reach back at
9. Theresa: yeah
10. Carneal: who’s was a direct descendent of Africans in my family/ (3.30) knowing that all these influences made me what I was/ allowed me to/ I guess you could say identify with/ lots of different things/ because you conscious of it/ you conscious that you have Spanish people in your background/ you conscious that/ the Creoles/ or people who classified themselves as Creoles/ and mulattos/ you were conscious of those things/ and it influenced you in a way/ as far as/ you grasp certain attributes (4.00)/ whether it was the work ethic/ whether it was the religious influence/ and you kind of create a culture of your own
11. Teranda: okay/ and/ I’m not sure what agrarian/ what is that
12. Carneal: agrarian/ agrarian is people who/ farm for a living/ people who make their living from the earth/ yeah

13. Teranda: okay/ umm/ asks question I.3

14. Carneal: culturally now/ I guess you could say from a cultural standpoint it’s (4.30)/ like/ the influences of the environment I grew in is south/ I guess you could say south central Louisiana/ it’s/ to use my mom’s phrase/ it’s a gumbo/ I grew up listening to Cajun music on KLSO/ in Opelousas/ I grew up/ listening to people play Zydeco (5.00)/ one being Cajun culture/ one being more or less the Creole culture/ and/ you get a balance of those things/ so they’re all in your formative years/ so it’s kind of like a gumbo/ I would figure/ if you had to ask me it would be more or less the Creole Cajun culture in the background/ and I identify with that because those are the things that/ define the way I speak/ define the way I react to things/ and understanding my/ African American background/ trying to understand the Spanish influence/ Italian influence/ within that/ culture of the area/ the foods that define us/ the parties/ those things/ I don’t know if I’m answering your question clearly/ but

15. Teranda: umm/ asks question I.4

16. Carneal: (6.00) okay/ okay/ you want a set of categories/ or just the one that I would create for myself/ *laughs*

17. Teranda: just the one you would create for yourself

18. Carneal: okay/ let’s see/ so I can term it more or less properly/ I would say/ multiethnic black

19. Teranda: black/ okay/ but you wouldn’t say African American

20. Carneal: I wouldn’t necessarily say African American

21. Teranda: okay/ and you wouldn’t necessarily say Creole (6.30)

22. Carneal: no/ I wouldn’t necessarily say Creole

23. Teranda: it’s funny that you say that/ cause a lot of people/ have been saying/ just black/ and I didn’t think about it when I was interviewing them/ and I was/ I was thinking about it after in my interview yesterday/ but why/ just black/ and not African American/ why would you just say/ black/ why wouldn’t you say African American/ like

24. Carneal: because if I would say African American/ maybe I’m being like Amelia Bedelia/ (7.00) that’s an African that’s come to America/ *laughs*

25. Teranda: okay/ yeah/ okay

26. Carneal: (...)/ you a language person/ you know exactly what I’m talking about

27. Teranda: yeah/ yeah

28. Carneal: but if I say/ multiethnic black/ that means that/ maybe the major basis is black/ and there’s a lot of other multitudes of components going in there/ like/ if you say/ I eat/ uh/ bread/ cake is bread/ it’s a type of bread/ right/ we just call it cake cause it’s sweet and got vanilla extract in it (7.30)/ I would still say black/ but with a lot of other influences/ so I would beg to differ when you just say African American/ cause I/ like I said/ African comes to America/ he’s an African America/ Italians come to America/ they Italian Americans/ Spanish/ Spanish Americans/ *laughs*

29. Teranda: so when you say/ when you think about African America/ do you think about it as being/ as a person who’s from this specific African culture

30. Carneal: (8.00) I myself

31. Teranda: they’re directly from there

32. Carneal: yeah/ yeah
33. Teranda: and when you think about being black/ do you think about it more as just being skin/ like your multiethnic black/ does that have more to do with just because

34. Carneal: right/ the guy who comes here from Cameroon/ knows he’s African/ and he’s from Cameroon/ the guy who comes here/ and (8.30)/ during the middle passage/ and was in the bottom of a slave ship/ who doesn’t know all of his ancestors/ who some of his family was in North Carolina/ they intermarried with certain Native American groups/ he has certain white folks in his lineage/ he knows that his ancestors are from Africa/ but he can’t really pin-point/ put his finger on who these ancestors are/ there are many many many black folks in America/ that fit that category/ so they can’t pinpoint a certain thing in Africa (9.00)/ or whether it was Africa originally to start with in the first place/ so when you say black American/ they know there’re black folks in their background/ maybe/ and maybe the majority of them from African/ I am I making myself clear

35. Teranda: yeah/ so/ so you would add black just because/ you have this in your background

36. Carneal: yes/ but I have no knowledge of it/ of the exact proportions

37. Teranda: so why would you specify (9.30)/ okay/ so you’ve already said multiethnic/ but why would you specify black along with that

38. Carneal: now/ back to what my mom said/ maybe that’s because/ we were so race conscious/ even when I was growing up/ it was dying off then/ but everything was race conscious/ you had

39. Teranda: you grew up
40. Carneal: we grew up as black
41. Teranda: civil rights/ period
42. Carneal: yeah/ in that period/ we grew up as black/ in/ not saying that I couldn’t/ I was safe within my culture/ (10.00) I could care less who’s interviewing me/ what it’s about/ if it’s a job/ I’m hoping that the person I’m interviewing with is looking to hire a person/ you may happen to get a multiethnic black American/ you may get whoever/ but/ looking at it globally/ how I like to look at things is that/ if we look at things as how we perceived/ we’re not looking at how we perceive ourselves (10.30)/ I don’t know if I answered your question

43. Teranda: yeah/ I kind of think it/ yeah
44. Carneal: no/ keep going/ cause I want you to be satisfied
45. Teranda: no/ no/ no/ I’m just/ okay/ so/ I do/ kind of/ I understand why you would say black/ cause you’re growing up around/ or you think it’s cause you’re growing up around/ or you grew up around this kind of race conscious/ group of people
46. Carneal: yes/ you see/ that really influenced it (11.00) and maybe that still is/ could be a still big influence on me now/ cause in your formative years/ when those things form you/ you had to have an allegiance to a race/ and we gonna go where we accepted/ generally speaking/ so maybe that part of it means/ I understand what you’re asking me/ maybe that’s why I lump black as the biggest thing still/ because that’s were I know that/ not necessarily some has appointed me to belong (11.30)/ but that I was always comfortable in that skin

47. Teranda: okay/ is being black something/ that when you were young/ was that just what other people labeled you/ and you accepted it/ later/ do you understand what I’m
48. Carneal: I accepted it/ then/ because I was labeled as such/ I recreated multiethnic black/ because that’s how I perceive myself now
49. Teranda: (...)

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Carneal: right

Teranda: (12.00) but whenever you were a kid/ and you weren’t necessarily thinking about/ oh I’m black or I’m this or I’m that/ people would just say/ “you’re black”

Carneal: or either it was a mulatta/ as my mom said/ one of those mulatta boys/ those Donattos/ those mulatta people/ I used to hear that may times/ or/ then I would hear/ certain relatives of mine were Creoles/ as mother referred to the people from Frilot Cove/ who referred to is as Creole/ but I did not identify myself as those things/ and maybe because (12.30)/ of the belongingness that I needed to have

Teranda: was with the black community

Carneal: with black people/ cause I was going to school kids who identified/ themselves all as colored at that time/ and during the time of the high school years/ from colored to being black/ it could be part of that

Teranda: and you were all being discriminated against the same way/ despite how dark your skin was

Carneal: sure/ yeah/ yeah/ and our influences/ those were the major influences in that/ the way that influenced my decision at the time (13.00)/ how we felt at the time

Teranda: okay/ but it wasn’t necessarily something you picked at first

Carneal: no/ no/ that’s correct

Teranda: umm/ (13.30) asks question I.5

Carneal: sure/ in the/ the work world/ when I’m in teacher’s meetings/ then I’m the mutli ethnic person/ the majority of the children I work with happen to be/ very poor black children/ so then it’s all black (14.00)/ because I can relate to many many many problems/ that they’re going through/ and/ that side of me pretty much as to be in the fore-front/ cause in today’s society/ when I walk in the room and don’t say anything/ sometimes they don’t know that I’m black/ or mutliethnic black/ once I start talking to the parents/ then they start realizing (14.30)/ hey there’s something to this guy/ but it’s short in the conversation that I let them know I’m a black teacher/ and I’m from (T...) high school/ and/ and/ just the tone/ or just the culture/ the way I speak to them is quite different/ from the methods I may return to school with/ so I’m kind of like a chameleon/ I’m changing

Teranda: is that/ is that a conscious decision/ to focus on that identity/ or to make that identity known

Carneal: (15.00) it’s been happening so long/ it’s like driving a standard shift/ it’s automatic/ when you get in a standard/ you automatically know it’s a standard

Teranda: at first/ did you have to/ was it a conscious thing/ whenever you first started teaching/ or/ did it do think it just came natural

Carneal: it’s been happening to us all our lives/ every time you went to the grocery store/ how you handle yourself in the grocery store/ with this person as opposed to the other person/ it’s/ it’s happened all along/ we’ve all been at

Teranda: (15.30) so/ how would you/ what’s different between the actions/ whenever your/ I guess/ unconsciously/ right

Carneal: mmhm

Teranda: your unconsciously doing this/ whenever your unconsciously focusing on/ being black/ or your unconsciously focusing on this/ mutliethnic identity/ what/ what comes out/ that would make it/ maybe/ what do you think would allow another person to see that you’re focusing on one/ and not the other

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Carneal: okay/ (16.00) one of the things is/ if I move into an environment/ and let’s use the teaching environment for an example/ and I’m dealing with very poor intercity children/ that happen to be black/ first thing/ as soon as I allow them to see/ that I can identify with them through my life experiences/ they have ease/ or calm/ about themselves/ so it’s not so much as that/ I’m uncomfortable/ it’s like/ your opinions/ your opinions may sway a little bit/ you have this basic opinion/ but you a little flexible

Teranda: do you do that/ okay/ sorry

Carneal: go ahead

Teranda: do you do that through language/ or do you just say/ “I’m black”/ or do you

Carneal: through language/ they’ll know/ and/ we were focusing on language a little bit earlier/ and/ it’s how I speak to people when I’m jogging (17.00)/ when I’m jogging/ if it’s someone that’s African American/ I’m quick to say/ “hey man/ what’s going on”/ they know exactly who they talking to/ but if I speak to someone that’s Caucasian American/ I’m just as comfortable saying/ “hi/ how are you today”/ cause I greet just as many people/ (...) and it’s just/ it’s an automatic thing/ and sometimes/ I’ll ask them/ not too often/ (17.30) “hey/ what’s going on”/ but it’s usually after I know they’re comfortable in my skin/ and I’m comfortable in their skin/ *laughs*

Teranda: *laughs*

Carneal: so you/ so it’s/ it’s so subtle/ and it’s the same subtly/ I think/ that we used/ when/ there was a cut and dry/ racial divide/ in the south/ we learned to be a little bit flexible/ in how we handle ourselves in conversation/ which is the tone/ (18.00) the words I choose/ not necessarily always slang/ but it’s the word packages/ and you being a word person/ you know how that is/ cause you can say/ “ain’t nothing happening”/ black folks say it all the time/ Caucasian Americans say/ “I’m having a dull day/ today has been dull”/ and they both/ acceptable/ uh/ (...) song/ “ain’t no business but my own”/ *laughs*/ (18.30) and we accept that in music/ we accept/ you notice we accept cultural slangs/ throughout music/ and it’s “oww/ that’s a wonderful song”/ and I walk in/ and I say/ “we ain’t up to nothing today”/ *laughs*/ I can say that in a classroom context/ if/ given that my children know/ that we just using slangs/ right/ but we in that African American class/ they’ll laugh it off/ very good English students/ they’ll just laugh it off

Teranda: what about/ (19.00) if you’re in/ the board meeting with other teachers/ then/ well/ maybe that’s not a good example because they are (...)

Carneal: you can use that/ you could/ *laughs*/ I think where your going

Teranda: umm/ I guess if you’re just talking/ if your students were white/ do you have/ is it just that the/ I’m not really sure (...)

Carneal: in some environments/ I have/ I teach autistic children/ some environments I have

Teranda: okay/ so/ if your students are mainly white/ then what would you say

Carneal: (19.30) most cases/ most cases/ today/ when you read today’s students/ as opposed to students/ you can use that/ because children go to school together now/ they understand culture/ there’s a whole new culture/ there’s a cross-culture/ children understand each other much better than we perceive them to understand each other/ I grew up in a separatist culture in my formative years/ but/ in my late formative years/ in adolescent years/ (20.00) integration/ I started learning culture/ but now today’s children/ it’s ingrained/ so I can say/ “ain’t nothing happening in this class today”/ now when their parents are present/ I might say/ “we don’t have a real plan for today/ *laughs*/ and I’m saying the same thing
Teranda: but would you say that to the black student’s parents

Carneal: what’s that/ same thing/ yeah but now/ what we’ve found out is that (20.30)/ and that’s a practice change/ depend on socio-economic background/ black parents that are/ not in control of the language/ can’t speak too far over them/ just like teaching children/ you gotta go down and meet them where they at/ so to set a tone/ many times I’ll let/ how I choose to communicate/ or what style of language I choose to set a tone/ (21.00) and you always want that tone to be relatively smooth/ so sometimes/ it’s/ I have middle class black kids/ and I’ve taught/ all in fourth grade/ uh/ I may set a tone/ and when there’s a comfort level/ then we can go back to our grass roots culture/ but I’ve set a very professional tone

Teranda: with the parents

Carneal: with the parents

Teranda: okay/ so if they’re/ of the lower class/ then how you say/ (21.30) umm/ we don’t have much of a lesson plan today

Carneal: okay/ when they/ at that level/ I’ll let their language dictate to me/ what level I should speak to them on/ cause you don’t/ you want to let them know that your professional/ you want to let them know that you’re astute/ but you also want to let them know/ that you’re not this high and mighty guy that can’t be reached/ by spitting out vocabulary about curriculum and curriculum advances/ and team teaching/ that they don’t understand/ (22.00) they understand haves and have nots/ I’m teach your child to become a have/ you gonna have an education/ you gonna have insurance/ if you don’t have an education/ you not gonna have insurance/ and let them know some very basic things/ of how I can communicate with them/ and then the next time/ when I see them/ and they soften up their tone/ they receptive to me/ then I might say/ “what’s up today Ms. (G…)/ tell me what’s bothering you”/ (22.30) not I would like to know what’s bothering you today/ “tell me what’s bothering you”/ so she can be comfortable/ cause that’s the essence of being able to reach people/ if you can kind of communicate with them/ and get them to buy into/ being just comfortable/ talking/ sure/ I don’t know if I’m answering your questions/ but

Teranda: yeah/ asks question II.1

Carneal: (23.00) I’m glad you asked that/ uh/ can I make an analogy/ or give you an example of things that happen

Teranda: yeah

Carneal: uh/ about two weeks ago/ uh/ my friend girl/ uh/ (P…) and I/ and (P…) is/ she calls herself/ she classifies herself African American/ and she’s dark skin/ we were walking through/ and some folks were at a cash register/ and the lady says/ (23.30) “you Creole”/ and it resonated through the room/ say “I’m black/ multicultural/ multiethnic/ black”/ *laughs*/ and she says/ “well you look Creole”/ I say/ “well how do Creole people look”/ and this what she stated saying/ I say/ “I get so many interpretations”/ and then one of them (G…) story/ and the (G…) family/ who/ I assume they’re Creoles too/ and so she said/ (24.00) “oh so you’re comfortable in your skin”/ I say/ “I’m comfortable in my skin however you classify me”/ so I said/ “pretty much/ I would say mutliethnic/ black/ multicultural”/ she says/ uh/ “well tell me/ what race groups are in your background”/ I say/ “get you a lunch and a chair”/ *laughs*/ “cause it’s lots of them”/ their were Spanish/ you know/ people from the (…) Honduras/ which I didn’t know whether they were Spanish or French”/ I said/ “Italians/ black folks”/ I say/ (24.30) “descendents of slaves/ and slave owners”/ I say/ “I have both in my family”/ and she just says/ “wow”/ by that
time/ my groceries was paid/ and I could go/ so/ what I do is uh/ just in tone/ how I speak
to people/ and it changes so subtly/ and uh/ just so/ it’s/ I’m not uncomfortable/ making
those changes/ and I’m not uncomfortable in most environments/ and I think people of/
free people of color/ (25.00) if I can lump the whole group/ free people of color has
always/ kind of like/ drawn the borderline of between/ uh/ betwixt and between/ as far as/
race is concerned/ culture is concerned/ uh/ acceptance is concerned/ and/ you get so
comfortable/ you can go either way/ because you’re used to different cultures/ so
91. Teranda: okay/ so/ (25.30) how/ this kind of/ you’ve maybe already answered this/ but/
asks question II.2

92. Carneal: okay/ let me get some clarification/ you said how to express the identity/ my
identity/ you mean/ when I want someone to know who I am

93. Teranda: I mean just that/ no/ no/ not you saying/ “I am this”/ but just/ in your everyday
life/ how do you/ and maybe you don’t think that you do (26.00)/ but how do you express
that you’re/ how do you think this/ this identity of being multiethnic and black/ how do
you think that comes out/ in your speech/ and your actions

94. Carneal: okay/ uh/ I think I understand now/ I think/ speech patterns/ and I don’t know a
thing about linguistics/ but people who do/ probably would at least entertain what I’m
thinking/ I think/ speech patterns/ those subtle changes/ in my speech patterns (26.30)/
when I’m speaking to different people/ as I walk down the hall/ even in school/ and uh/ it’s
that/ I’m making an adjustment/ many times/ in how I speak/ to different people’s children/
one the first day of school/ they’ll be new children/ they’ll be other teachers of other ethnic
groups/ with their children/ how I approach them when I first meet them/ speaking the
king’s English/ (27.00) and moving on/ now once they come into/ the realm of my
classroom/ and the child/ and people have reached their comfort zone/ well you in Mr.
Donatto’s house/ *laughs*/ and then/ all of Opelousas comes out/ *laughs*/ and I think/
using subtle changes in language/ just the way I coin together my sentence packages

95. Teranda: do you think it also comes out in the way you act (27.30)

96. Carneal: mannerisms/ yes/ mannerisms many times/ some of those mannerisms are/ it’s not
necessarily a certain swagger/ certain facial expressions for certain things/ like a lot of
times/ people say/ “oh/ you like to read people’s faces”/ no/ I don’t read people’s faces/
people teach themselves to say things that they don’t really mean/ but I said/ now/ when
you sit down there/ and you talk to people/ if you get up close to people/ and you
comfortable with people (28.00)/ then/ they start reading just your body language/ (...)/ not
necessarily/ I don’t have to touch a person to say/ “how’ve you been Teranda”/ I don’t have
to be touchy/ but you can touch people with just your expressions/ and I’m not gonna be
hell bent on the eye contact/ people can sense that you want to be around them/ that you’re
comfortable with them/ in just the mannerisms I’ll let them know that/ make sure they got
a good chair/ make sure they comfortable/ (28.30) make sure they more comfortable than
you are/ if possible/ and let them know what your extending your welcoming/ cause people
can only give you one thing/ and that’s their time/ they can’t take that back/ and let them
know that that’s important/ and/ I find that/ those are the things (...)/ you just express
yourself that way/ it’s like when I go to your grandmother/ shouldn’t say this (...)/ when I
go to your grandmother’s house/ the first thing I do is pack my stuff to take a bath/ because
I’ma go over there/ and when I go over there/ I’m comfortable there/ so when I go in
(29.00)/ and drop my stuff/ I might take a bath/ and/ open up (...)/ the towels I use might be
towels that she’s using for dust rags/ I don’t pay attention to that/ because I’m comfortable
in that house/ so/ and they know that I’m comfortable there/ they can just/ not anything/ I don’t change any of what’s going on/ I’m just a part of it there/ so when the people come into my class/ and I’m comfortable in my skin/ regardless of who/ I don’t have to change what’s going on/ (29.30)/ and I think it’s from taking different ethnic groups all my life/ different parts of my background/ different parts of my ethnicity/ and just blending those things/ and keeping/ kind of even keel/ then they can read that/ and they know that I’m/ I’m African American/ without me even saying a word/ unless someone hasn’t been very exposed to different people down south/ they won’t catch on/ but anyone else/ after being around me ten or fifteen minutes/ they’ll know/ (30.00) whether I’m being observed professionally in a meeting or/ as far as/ language is concerned/ usage is concerned/ they know

97. Teranda: okay/ and umm/ you’re saying that it’s/ that you express your identity/ so you’re multiethnic/ and black/ through the way that you/ through your mannerisms/ so what/ mannerisms/ I’m not sure

98. Carneal: oh/ I can go/ I can walk to uh/ a class of kids and say/ (30.30) “I need to get somebody to talk to ya’ll/ cause this grey head’s not gonna speak”/ and they know/ I’m too old/ they not gonna listen to me/ that’s exactly what I’m saying/ and I bring in a younger guy/ and the kids know/ there are certain ways/ I don’t know if it’s metaphorically/ (31.00) African American people speak with a lot of metaphor/ a lot of times/ I noticed that/ and we do that a lot of times/ I don’t know where that/ where it comes from/ I don’t know much about language/ but I notice we do that/ and they catch on/ and kids that are not African American/ has caught onto how we handle ourselves/ because/ unlike my generation/ they’ve gone to school with African Americans/ kids who’s Spanish/ when they talk to kids who are Greek/ (31.30) if they going to school together in North Africa/ that’s not too far apart/ sooner or later/ they learn how to relate/ they eat the same foods/ somewhere along the line/ and/ the kids catch on/ and they know/ they understand/ they understand/ children today/ and people to—— young people today/ they understand more about crossing the bridges as far as/ ethnic barriers are concerned/ because they’ve been allowed to/ communicate/ so it’s kind of like/ they can feel the flow (32.00)

99. Teranda: so you have metaphor/ what other/ kinds of mannerisms might you

100. Carneal: just expressions/ sometimes facial expressions

101. Teranda: what kind of facial expression

102. Carneal: you know/ black folks I’ll tell you/ well/ you know/ they got expressions of approval/ or/ disapproval/ but not only those/ just the expressions of wonderment (32.30)/ when you walk-in/ and say/ “not in my house”/ they know that/ they can read it/ they understand that/ and you can walk in a classroom too/ and say/ “how you steal that on wall street”/ and kids know what you mean/ or I can say/ “in my neighborhood/ they’ll steal my lawnmower/ in the principle’s neighborhood/ (33.00) they stealing her money on the stock market/ while she’s at school”/ and kids understand they understand those things/ now I needn’t say much more/ and I’m not saying I’m generalizing the whole population/ but kids learn to read you/ they learn to read you/ and they know where you’re coming from

103. Teranda: so it’s not facial expressions/ it’s just/ like/ the expressions in the way that you talk

104. Carneal: right/ most of the time

105. Teranda: I have a question/ (33.30) before I move onto the next question/ umm/ whenever we were talking just now/ you said/ African Americans/ I can play it back to you if you
Carneal: I use that because it’s convenient for people/ it requires less explanation most times

Teranda: okay/ but even though you use that/ you don’t think that

Carneal: yeah/ (34.00) I don’t think along those terms

Teranda: okay/ is it just that

Carneal: just like we used/ I used colored when I was a kid/ and I didn’t think in those terms at all/ *laughs*

Teranda: is it/ just cause it’s politically correct now to say

Carneal: it’s politically correct

Teranda: African American

Carneal: to say African American/ that’s the block you’re given/ like you say/ about the census/ you given that block/ I gotta fit in this block

Teranda: yeah/ and since you’re/ you’re talking to people all the time/ like people’s parents/ and people that you don’t necessarily know how they’ll perceive you/ is that why you/ rather use (...)

Carneal: (34.30) you don’t (...)/ yes/ right/ you throw a winkle at them/ then you’ve gotta start that explanation/ like I told that lady at the counter/ “sit down and get your lunch/ and I’ll explain to you/ how many ethnic groups I have in my background”/ you’ll open that whole can of worms there

Teranda: asks question II.3

Carneal: what I do is/ umm/ (35.00) I have situations/ that usually call for the idea/ that I may perceive things/ differently/ since we so conscious/ yet we saying we not conscious/ in work environments/ we so conscious of people/ and not stepping on people’s toes ethnically/ then sometimes I have to tell some of my superiors/ suppose you come from a whole different system/ suppose you come from a free black system in the United States/ and everybody say/ (35.30) they don’t know anything about free blacks/ they don’t know anything about/ people from Cane River/ they don’t know that/ coming from a system of free blacks/ we look at things quite differently/ because there was a lack of acceptance in many parts/ by a whole group of people considering themselves Caucasians/ or white/ and then/ there’s a lot of/ disparity/ and differences in/ the group that I was lumped in/ (36.00) who were considered colored people/ so when you look at that/ and you remove yourself from that equation/ maybe you somewhere right in the middle/ that maybe a whole way of thinking/ a whole different culture/ a whole different group of people

Teranda: so/ I’m not really sure/ mhm/ is it that you express this identity in your personal beliefs and attitudes because you’re more open to other things (36.30)/ or because you can see things from other perspectives

Carneal: I think that I can see things perspectives/ and/ a lot of times people don’t allow themselves to see things through those perspectives/ and uh/ it’s kind of like being a chameleon/ I said that before it’s kind of

Teranda: do you

Carneal: go ahead

Teranda: do you think you’re more tolerant/ towards other people because of this

Carneal: I think I’m a lot more tolerant/ and I think a lot of people give/ this is just my thought/ (37.00) false senses of tolerance/ because they don’t have a lot of experience at
all/ I think/ I have a lot of experience with/ different cultures/ I can go in cultures/ I can be
comfortable/ in all of that skin/ because I’ve seen a lot of it evolve/ and I’ve opened myself
up to that evolution/ so I can get around people/ and I’m very much quite comfortable/
cause I don’t spend much time trying to make people comfortable with me/ I just keep an
even tone/ and stay observant/ just observe people/ (37.30) and observe the changes/ and I
find that/ in that/ I can hold on/ I don’t want my accent to change/ I don’t need my accent
to change/ cause my accent is just/ part of the environment that I grew up in/ that particular
culture which I associate myself with/ but you expand on that by moving around/ living
with other people in the world/ sharing ideas/ (38.00) then you can become more
comfortable/ so sometimes/ you have to express/ the (…)/ (…) you too pushy on the job/
you pushing people/ that’s all I know/ that’s how I grew up/ you worked hard to gain
acceptance/ your grandfather was the type of person/ I’m talking about Teranda’s
grandfather/ Walden was the type of person/ as long as you were working with your head
down/ he was happy/ if you came to meet them (38.30)/ and they were working on
something/ you brought a shovel/ you didn’t just come to talk
125. Teranda: *laughs*
126. Carneal: you do that later/ and you start wanting to get that approval/ so you come
aggressively/ I wanna do something/ and then they gonna like me/ I wanna be big enough
to/ to pick up a calf and bring it back to the barn/ then I’m fourteen/ I’m a man then/ I
wanna be big enough to milk the cows/ I wanna be big enough to do something/ to show
my worthiness/ so when I get at school and push people to work a little harder (39.00)/
push students to work a little harder/ it’s what won me success/ I didn’t say what (…) I
learn some concepts/ do something/ make some improvements/ come here with a goal/ we’re
gonna do something today/ and uh/ then they say/ “well/ I don’t understand that”/ I say/
“you won’t understand that/ because you have a certain cultural concept you’re coming
from/ some other people have”/ I say/ “this is the one that I came from”/ not being sassy/
not being disrespectful/ (39.30) and I find that a lot of times/ multiethnic/ black folk/ get in
environments/ and/ they’re not perceived/ as/ what people would like them to be/ *laughs*/
in other words/ you have a formulated opinion in America/ what African Americans should
be like/ and then you got a formulated opinion of Caucasian/ and it’s not really that
anymore/ (40.00) all of that’s changing/ I’m just more of an example of what’s to come/
some of these other kids that we dealing with now/ young people dealing with now/ be
they white/ black/ Asian/ you get someone from/ from Pakistan/ who’s been in here six
generations/ you can’t tell that they’re from Pakistan by the way that they act/ you get
somebody from Pakistan/ the first generation/ you know it/ so/ we evolved/ I’m just a little
bit ahead in that evolution (40.30)/ so I create my own mix/ so to speak/ people accept it or
they don’t
127. Teranda: so/ okay/ so you’re saying that your more tolerant/ and/ I’m not saying that that’s
not true/ but/ I’ve talked to other people who grew up around the same time that you did/
and who grew up/ maybe even a little after/ you did/ (41.00) and their/ they seem to be
very prejudice to me/ so why don’t you think that you fall into that
128. Carneal: one of the things I alluded to earlier/ not only do you have to move around a lot/ a
lot of people think/ if I go to Jamaica/ I would be happy/ people who say that (41.30)/
don’t read about Jamaica/ you don’t want to be in Jamaica/ at all/ the problem is/ we
delude ourselves with the idea/ they so happy with so little/ that’s because no matter what
you do in Jamaica/ the economy is light-years away from improvement/ so you want to be in Jamaica because/ you can always go back/ to America (42.00)

129. Teranda: *laughs*

130. Carneal: and live the good life/ and have the air conditioner/ and fly back to Jamaica/ but if I left you in Jamaica for four years/ you’d be crying to come back to the United States/ ninety-nine percent of those people fit that category/ ninety-nine percent of the people say/ “I visited China”/ “where’d you go”/ “Shanghai”/ “no/ you didn’t go to China/ you went to Shanghai”/ go out where two billion peasants live/ (42.30) and ain’t seen the light of day/ the customs that gotta be changed/ bridges that gotta be crossed/ they only scratch the surface/ and then we say we exposed/ we don’t read enough about enough people/ we don’t give enough people enough chance/ so I think that I would be a little bit different/ because/ number one/ I’ve been fortunate enough to get out of the country a few times/ been fortunate enough to live/ other places/ a little while/ and then you start seeing that/ sometimes/ (43.00) as Americans/ whether we African Americans/ Asian Americans/ after five or six generations here/ we have tunnel vision/ we see things only one way/ then we get into foreign countries/ people are a little more flexible/ people are a little bit more open/ they’re proud of their countries/ no matter how poor they are/ those people have the same rights we have/ so you kind of tone I down/ and start saying about we/ more or less we/ you gotta first be able to do that within yourself

131. Teranda: yeah/ I’m just/ I was just wondering/ (43.30) because/ I mean/ one of the people that I’m talking about/ that I’m thinking of/ I actually see as being very educated/ person has a master’s degree/ I think multiple bachelor’s degrees/ they’ve been out of the country/ but when I talk to this person/ I still see these (...) 

132. Carneal: close minded/ yeah/ yeah/ what happens/ it’s like windows in a house/ the only way you get fresh air/ you gotta lift the windows/ kind of like your ears/ you can hear a lot of things/ (44.00) but are you listening/ and you know more about that than I do/ but are you listening/ and see/ a lot of people’ll do that/ a lot of people will get a lot of education about things/ but won’t apply it/ *laughs*/ but they haven’t moved from set one yet/ in theory/ I’m a good classroom teacher/ in practice/ I just lay out everything I know/ and I get lucky/ and they catch on 

133. Teranda: do you think if you/ didn’t have the education/ (44.30)and if you weren’t/ going out more to other places/ do you think that maybe you wouldn’t be as tolerant as you are 

134. Carneal: I probably wouldn’t/ but I do one thing/ when I see change/ I practice/ if I’m in Rome/ they say do as the Romans/ that’s a cliché a lot of people use/ a lot of people go to Rome/ and they say they did as the Romans/ uh/ if I flew to Jamaica/ why in the hell would I want to go to Negril 

135. Teranda: to where 

136. Carneal: (45.00) Negril/ that’s one of the beach fronts/ no/ you get to Jamaica/ you need to get a taxi cab driver/ who’s probably middle class/ that drove you from the airport/ and get him to tell you where he hang out at/ cause he’s middle class/ and he’s gonna let you know how people in Jamaica live/ cause if I wanted to visit/ go to Thailand/ all I go to do is just fly to Disney world in Atlanta/ and stay an entire village/ (45.30) hotel Thailand/ *laughs*/ not Bangkok at all/ see/ you have to do that/ most people can’t cross that bridge/ because we stuck in what we are/ we stuck so deeply in what we are/ or something that we don’t like about ourselves/ whether it’s as Americans/ or whether it’s as/ however we classify ourselves/ culture/ Creole/ you gotta get a little bit beyond what you are in yourself/ and
start exposing what’s out there/ because/ we have a lot of people have a lot to contribute/ so/ let them in a little bit/ even the people that are very very much on the struggling end/ Jamaicans have a lot to offer us/ a calm resolve/ that’s because it’s difficult in their country/ and they accept the idea that/ things are gonna be difficult/ so/ when something difficult happens/ they don’t panic/ whereas us/ (46.30) we work (...) to buy everything to make us comfortable/ so when I get up there and can’t get the light bulb in/ I’m angry/ everything else works/ so you angry about why this light bulb won’t work/ we have so little that we look at/ that’s really pertinent/ we look at all the little things/ and other people missing all the big things/ you get beyond that/ so this other person you talk to/ all the bachelors in the world ain’t gonna help/ all the masters in the world ain’t gonna help/ you could supply them all around the world/ it’s got to be intrinsic/ (47.00) it’s something within/ got to make them a little more/ I don’t know if tolerant’s a good word/ I like to say flexible/ cause I don’t know/ I’ll look up the definition of tolerant/ cause sometimes when you say you tolerating people/ you putting up with something/ so I guess flexibility and adjustment is better/ try to adjust to people/ and you can go in and make them comfortable/ I don’t know

137. Teranda: (47.30) asks question III.1

138. Carneal: we/ we argue about this/ cause like I say/ I’ve been fortunate enough to meet some people who consider themselves Creole/ I been fortunate enough to meet some people who consider me Creole/ and I don’t know/ I’ve gotten dictionaries with/ various things about Spanish background/ French/ French and Spanish/ and uh/ like I said/ (48.00) the (G...)s in New Orleans/ were a few people that I’ve met that/ who are into Creole heritage and/ I don’t know/ they’re supposed to look like me/ or look like someone different/ or they’re/ different types of Creoles/ its like/ if people say I’m Caucasian/ you could be Italian/ you could be German/ you could be Swiss/ you here in America/ when people say they Creole/ then you gotta start getting the book out and start looking to see/ *laughs*/ what is the ingredients/ (48.30) and since Creoles is supposed to be big in cooking all of these different types of/ meals and gumbos/ uh/ probably I would define Creole folks/ that’s why I wouldn’t consider myself as/ say Creole/ many of them are French and Spanish/ that I meet/ and most of the ones that I meet/ that I consider real Creoles are in New Orleans/ and they French and Spanish/ and they have this look about themselves/ now/ there’s such a mixture now/ (49.00) cause the (G...)s/ they say they have black folks in their background also/ and listening and talking to them/ and/ their culture/ their food is the same basic food as Cajun folks have/ cause all of our foods in this area/ have been influenced by/ Africans/ Italians/ Native Americans/ Spanish people/ everybody had a foothold in Louisiana/ (49.30) at any one time/ had an influence in that/ and I think a lot of the people that adapt all these flavors/ you can get on one side of town and say/ well this is a Cajun gumbo/ and the other side of town/ it’s a Creole gumbo/ there might not be any ingredients that’s different/ so many of the things that they say/ do/ culture/ habits/ religion/ all of that/ many of them share these same/ (...)/ I didn’t know that they had Creoles that were Catholics/ I didn’t know that they had Creoles that were not Catholics/ (50.00) I didn’t know that/ cause (G...) / he was telling me/ he say/ “man/ Creoles are a Catholic people”/ well many people in Louisiana are Catholic people/ we have a large Catholic population/ so I can’t really generalize and say/ “well Creoles are Catholic/ are Creoles are this”/ so I don’t know enough about what’s true Creoles/ cause I never classified myself as a true Creole/ so I don’t know/ (...)/ coming from a system of free
blacks/ I always did know that much about myself in history/ so/ (50.30) it’s kind of
difficult for me to answer that
139. Teranda: asks question III.2
140. Carneal: well/ I know their Creoles/ and my mom might differ/ cause she had a family
reunion/ and there are groups of Creoles on my mom’s side/ who classify themselves as
Creole/ (51.00) whether I’m in agreement or disagreement/ I’m still in that family
141. Teranda: well/ here I’m just talking about/ what I say by/ what I mean by Creole lineage is
just/ people that are mixed heritage/ of mixed heritage/ so why do you see your/ why do
you trace your lineage back as being of mixed heritage
142. Carneal: oh/ because I have/ genetic (...)/ genetic proof/ and pretty much/ I guess you could
say/ legal proof/ of the mixture of Italian/ Spanish folks (51.30)/ African folks/ I have
pretty much/ the family tree to support that
143. Teranda: and (Theresa) already went through some of it/ but/ why don’t you go through
your version of just/ different people on different sides/ or what you know/ specifically
144. Carneal: okay/ uh/ I know that/ on my mother’s side/ many people she talked about/ my
grandfather/ Oscar Cazenave/ and his family/ and uh (52.00)/ his wife/ was Theresa Enette/
right/ and uh
145. Theresa: his brother’s wife
146. Carneal: right/ they/ they were/ people who/ in my opinion/ chose to classify themselves/
as being colored/ (52.30) because the history shows that/ on my mom’s side of the family /
they had/ a history of/ mixed folks with Spanish/ and African folks/ but on my mother’s/
dad’s side of the family/ I don’t see any history of any African folks/ only Spanish people/
and white people/ that’s on my mom’s side/ on the Cazenave side/ (53.00) my mother’s
side/ and my dad’s side of the family/ majority of those folks were/ from years back/ were
Italian/ and people of color/ African Americans/ black people/ that groups/ so/ you have a
large mixture/ on both sides/ and the majority of them being/ I guess you could really say
the majority of the people in the lineage would probably be/ Italians/ (53.30) and Spanish
147. Theresa: but the Italians
148. Carneal: on Claude’s side of the family
149. Theresa: yeah
150. Carneal: that’s what I’m saying/ on grandpaw’s side/ on his side of the family/ the Spanish
people/ and more white people/ and/ on paw paw’s side/ the Cazenave side
151. Theresa: well see (...)/ that was one/ but he was old then/ I think he died or something/ they
don’t talk about him no more/ but he (...) Spaniard
152. Carneal: but see/ (54.00) now/ their grandfather/ Mazil Montiel was the direct descent of
slaves
153. Theresa: yeah/ that’s on my mama’s side
154. Carneal: got a picture of him over here/ that’s on your mama’s side/ that’s what I’m saying/
on your mama’s side their were more African Americans
155. Theresa: yeah
156. Carneal: yeah/ now/ what/ I look at it/ it’s more difficult for me/ because I don’t/ spend
much time looking at lineage/ uh/ like I say/ (M...) does/ but I can tell/ I get asked more
questions (54.30)/ more people walk up to me at school with books/ Mr. Donatto/ your
family’s name is in this book/ Mr. Donatto you family/ because of the free blacks in that
area/ and I know you’ve read about that stuff/ with the Lemelles/ the Martels/ Donattos/
they were all land owners/ and/ several of them/ including the Donattos/ had share croppers

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and slave owners/ and on the opposite side of my family/ my mom’s side/ they was share
cropper people/ (55.00) so/ those influences/ I look at those/ and uh/ many of them is
groups of people that consider themselves Creole/ but I wasn’t in a close kit culture/ and
mother alluded to that many times/ like Frilot Cove/ those people were pretty much closed
shop/ we are this/ defined ourselves as Creoles and/ they keep it closed shop/ they didn’t
want any people of color/ (55.30) much darker than they were/ involved in them/ or their
children’s lives/ their children changed that/ I just never was one that grew up associated
with that culture/ so to speak/ I don’t know if I’m answering you

157. Teranda: okay/ so/ people were more just open about what/ you were/ not necessarily/ your
family wasn’t/ trying to define you/ or something/ or tell you that you are something

158. Carneal: right/ I don’t remember that being the case/ where my family tried to define us in
that way

159. Teranda: (56.00) or as these other families were looking specifically/ at color

160. Carneal: we saw that/ yeah/ we saw a lot of that/ and I think my mother was saying/ she
tried to teach us not to be that way/ and then certain things happened within a family/ while
I was younger/ but like/ your dad is a darker person/ in your family/ in his family/ well I
had a brother that was killed in ’59 in a car wreck/ he was/ *laughs*/ (56.30) he was the
darkest person in our family/ matter of fact/ his nickname was “black”/ now when you
looked at my brother/ he was darker/ but if you look at Papa George’s brother/ one of our
distance cousins who was a Donatto/ his daddy looked just like/ my brother

161. Theresa: (...)  

162. Carneal: (...)/ it’d a been like a fourth cousin/ but they looked exactly alike/ the same
characteristics/ same characteristics

163. Theresa: (57.00) (...) Donatto/ that was daddy’s first cousin/ yeah/ uh-huh

164. Carneal: yeah/ sure/ so you see/ you know how genetics is/ if you have darker people in
your family/ or lighter people in your family/ green eyes in your family/ they coming back/
green eyes are coming back

165. Theresa: (...)/ that’s the way you is/ they wanna question you/ find out who you really is

166. Teranda: okay/ (57.30) so/ I think I already understand some parts of how you think/ or
why you wouldn’t/ identify with some of these/ umm

167. Carneal: right/ labels about whether I’m Creole/ or

168. Teranda: yeah/ yeah/ umm/ you wouldn’t say that your African American/ because your
not/ your seeing it as your not straight from Africa

169. Carneal: yeah/ uh-huh/ taking it literally

170. Teranda: (58.00) yeah/ but/ and/ you don’t see yourself as being Creole/ I don’t/ why/ why
don’t you identify yourself as Creole

171. Carneal: be/ I guess I use the (G...) rule/ because/ that was/ maybe it’s because that was the
first people I talked to/ who/ looked at Creole from a/ I guess you could say a scientific/
literary standpoint/ a dictionary quote/ (58.30) and/ I didn’t see myself as/ one of those
people/ maybe I’m letting the culture I grew up in define me more than/ ethnicity

172. Teranda: was there just/ not really this/ there wasn’t really this term Creole/ around/ whenever you were young/ is that

173. Carneal: people/ people use it more now than they did then/ don’t you think mother

174. Theresa: oh/ yeah

175. Carneal: people use that term/ Creole/ but it/ look at that/ I really

176. Theresa: (...)
Carneal: yeah/ (59.00) and you know what else/ I look at sometimes Teranda/ and I may be
wrong/ but/ we leech/ or latch onto/ labels of identity/ and I think people should believe in
themselves/ but I think a lot of time is spent on labeling yourself/ that specifically/ that
would be (59.30)/ something that I just choose not to/ bother with/ that’s not a great
interest to me to find/ to try to/ find a specific label for myself/ the clock is ticking/ only
have so many years/ it’s kind of like/ I look at our nation sometimes/ and/ we got a parade
for this/ a parade for that/ a holiday for this/ a holiday for that/ and we talk more and more
about being together/ and yet we always trying to find a little niche that we belong
(1.00.00)/ so/ we have a/ like they have the Irish parade in some city/ or they have/ the
Latin parade in some city/ we have the Creole parade in some city/ or/ its kind of like/ I
have enough to keep up with/ *laughs*/ without trying to identify with/ I just/ I wasn’t
exposed to it/ I didn’t look at it that way/ that’s why I answered the lady so readily about
what I was/ a multiethnic black American/ (1.00.30) when she say/ “oh/ you Creole”/ she
associated how I look/ and how I spoke/ I guess/ with that certain culture of people who
consider themselves Creole/ I just wasn’t one of the people that consider myself as such

Teranda: so when you were growing up/ who did identify/ as Creole/ who/ around you
would say/ “I’m Creole”

Carneal: most people in Frilot Cove used to identify themselves as being Creole/ as she
talked about/ and I have relatives in that set/ that’s what she say/ many relatives in that set

Teranda: (1.01.00) so/ still/ the only people really identifying as Creole/ were people who
were/ of mixed heritage/ who wanted to be white/ or were

Carneal: not necessarily wanted to be white/ but/ I told you/ they uh/ considered
themselves pretty much as a class of they own/ and in many cases/ not all cases/ it’s always
tragic to say all/ many places they disassociated themselves with the Cr—/ they associated
themselves mainly with themselves/ and/ (1.01.30) they differentiated/ in degrees of
darkness/ as far as African Americans/ and what you call African Americans or black folks
then/ and they separated themselves pretty much as such

Teranda: so it was kind of like the lighter/ for them/ it would be the lighter/ the better

Carneal: yes/ you got it/ the lighter the better would work

Teranda: okay/ alright/ asks question III.4/ (1.02.00) like/ you said you don’t really look
into family history/ but do you do it a little/ or do you just hear things

Carneal: I said I would probably do/ start going to family reunions on the Montiel side/ as I
have more time/ but I haven’t/ I’ve only been to one/ but/ in my mom’s/ family reunions/
they write articles on it/ and I could share one of those articles with you too while we
talking about/ I have one at home/ I’ll get it to you/ okay

Teranda: okay

Carneal: (1.02.30) let you read it/ that’s prevalent so/ I’ll give you my cell phone number
so you can have that/ uh/ the two thousand reunion/ mother/ two thousand two reunion/ for
the Cazenaves in LeBeau/ I’ll give you a write up on that/ and they speak to issues of/
Creoles in my mom’s family/ people considering themselves Creole/ but/ I personally/
would like to meet some of these people/ but/ as far as really identifying myself as Creole/
(1.03.00) I just never had an aspiration to

Teranda: okay/ but/ you don’t go out of your way to look up you family history

Carneal: no

Teranda: or/ like/ learn/ French to relate to this or anything

Carneal: no/ I really don’t
192. Teranda: okay/ and do you feel/ do you feel pride because of this mixed heritage
193. Carneal: I’ll tell you what I feel proud of/ (1.03.30) when people walk up to me/ and ask me/ “in books/ I found this out Mr. Donatto”/ I’m proud of the idea/ and I say/ “oh yes/ that’s my family”/ but when you go beyond that/ and they say/ “well you don’t know these things”/ I tell them about (cousin)/ I say “you need to talk to one of my cousins”/ say/ “that’s who you would need to”/ and they say/ “well/ no/ but you don’t know”/ I say “no”/ I say/ “I can read this/ and let you know/ who owned property/ who didn’t”/ (1.04.00) I say/ “but as far as the lineage and the history/ (...)”/ say/ “oh yeah”/ I say/ “Martin Donatto/ he came from Italy/ I say/ “I know these things/ yeah”/ I say/ “the Lemelles/ the Donattos/ those people owned a lot of property”/ I say/ “owned slaves”/ I say/ “I know that”/ I say/ “I know these things/ but I don’t spend much time with it”/ and different people/ different teachers I meet/ different (...)  
194. Teranda: who were the  
195. Carneal: the Lemelles  
196. Teranda: they’re/ which side/ are they on  
197. Carneal: that’s on daddy and thems side/ huh/ them Lemelles  
198. Theresa: my father-in-laws side  
199. Carneal: (1.04.30) the Donatto side/ mmhm  
200. Teranda: the Donatto side/ okay/ alright/ I don’t  
201. Carneal: (...) in Opelousas/ in/ back in/ free black history/ history of free blacks/ I’ve got to get that book  
202. Teranda: okay/ but their on the Donatto side/ okay/ I’ll look them up  
203. Theresa: and you know those people from there/ the Oklahoma people/ they didn’t know nothing about some of these people/ I don’t know why they keep it hid  
204. Carneal: *laughs*  
205. Theresa: they hide the stuff/ (1.05.00) (...) but they/ some of them didn’t want to say what they is  
206. Carneal: oh yeah/ lots of them/ lots of them/ I don’t know if they don’t want to be tied to the idea that they are in fact related to uh  
207. Teranda: wait/ who is this  
208. Carneal: on my mom’s side of the family/ there’s some of them may not want to be related to the idea that their are blacks in their family/ in their family tree  
209. Theresa: you see/ they want to hide that/ I call it hide that/ I don’t know if I’m saying that right/ but/ it’s just like you (...) (1.05.30) and then you’ll see some of them/ they’ll look/ and you/ and they look back/ (...) they were talking about you  
210. Carneal: it’s kind of like if you have a brother that’s a brick layer/ and everyone else/ is teaching at University of Chicago/ the guy that’s a brick layer/ you know/ he’s/ *laughs*/* he might be the brightest person in the group/ they just went to the University of Chicago/ he chose the trade/ maybe he likes to build things (1.06.00)/ it used to be honorable when you built your own house/ it used to be honorable to work/ and maybe he chose that/ maybe he felt that somewhere in him/ this is what I need to do/ this is what defines me/ and the ones at University of Chicago say/ we went to University of Chicago/ why/ he’s not a failure/ he’s what he chose to be/ and kind of like that with families and stuff like that/ or looking into lineage/ some people/ or there’s another person’s name out there I could throw at you/ if you had time/ (1.06.30) (P...)  
211. Theresa: what about her
212. Carneal: next to (M...) she knows more about family history and Opelousas probably than most people/ but that’s what she does though/ like/ she researches that/ that’s what (P...) does/ she does it for people all the time/ because she knows much more about my family/ this is a person I went to school with/ and she knows more about/ and factual/ she can find/ same stuff you do/ she can google that stuff/ you know/ cause she’s interested in it/ she asked me/ uh/ in January/ (1.07.00) “why you not interested in it”?/ I said/ uh/ “you interested in birds”?/ she said “no”/ I say/ “they not for everybody”?/ say/ “I’m interested in birds/ different people have different interest”?/ if I find some information/ I’ll shot it to (M...)/ if a book/ I’ll call (M...) and tell him/ will I read the book/ hell no/ *laughs*/ I’m not that interested/ but when they come with the books/ I’ll see the name of the book/ and I’ll say/ “write that down/ I’ll pass this on to my cousin”/ and maybe/ maybe I’m missing something (1.07.30)/ maybe I’m not

213. Teranda: so are you just kind of apathetic towards it/ would you/ could you say that/ or/ is that

214. Carneal: *laughs*

215. Teranda: I’m just wondering cause I talked to another person/ and they/ it just/ I mean/ they just really seemed disconnected

216. Carneal: no/ I’m not disconnected/ go ahead

217. Teranda: from/ from the term/ and from that whole/ they just kind of seemed apathetic about knowing/ or/ you know/ wanting

218. Carneal: yeah right/ (1.08.00) I’m not disconnected/ I’m not really apathetic/ I don’t give it a lot of time/ cause I keep the little book every now and then/ I picked up one the other day (J...) gave me/ and uh/ I keep the books and stuff like that/ with the mentions/ and/ keep the idea in mind that (M...) will find anything out that you pretty much want to know/ and/ *laughs*/ it’s kind of like having another book in the library for me/ I don’t put a lot of store in it/ now/ I don’t think it’s got to do with uh/ (1.08.30) sense of self/ cause I like to know/ but you can only know so much/ so far back/ and life is so busy now/ and you gonna find that out/ not now/ but about twenty-five years from now/ you don’t spend a lot of time focuses on it/ cause you notice how candid I say/ “when I retire/ I’m making (...)” cause I’ll have time”/ cause I saw one/ it’s gonna be the same what it was in two thousand six/ except it’s gonna be from younger people/ that I don’t know/ and some older people that are gone/ so/ I don’t spend a lot of time/ so/ (1.09.00) apathetic might be a good term to use/ but I’m not/ I don’t close my ears/ or my eyes to what’s going on/ I just don’t focus (1.09.10)

I6: Shalii, age 54

1. Teranda: (3.12) asks question I.1
2. Shalii: uh I think of what/ my background/ consists of/ and who I see myself as
3. Teranda: (3.30) okay/ yeah/ yeah/ so for me/ some of the things I see as being part of my identity are that/ you know/ I’m female/ I’m/ I’m a student/ I’m also/ beginning teacher/ those all kind of form parts of my identity/ and um/ asks question I.2
4. Shalii: umm/ probably/ umm/ racial (4:00)/ background/ umm/ upbringing/ umm/ what it
   was based on/ umm/ what particular culture/ if I/ was raised based on/ my environment/ or/
   if I was raised based on/ the umm/ culture or race of the person or people who raised me
5. Teranda: okay/ okay/ and umm (4:30)/ asks question I.3
6. Shalii: that’s a hard one
7. Teranda: *laughs*
8. Shalii: umm/ I hadn’t really thought of it/ umm/ I don’t usually put myself in a box/ so to
   speak/ so/ I look at myself as a/ woman of color/ umm (5:00)/ with/ umm/ very well
   developed educational background/ umm/ stemming from/ a family that/ umm/ is basically
   the same/ umm/ culturally/ I feel that/ umm/ I’m just well rounded because I/ my culture/
   to me/ is consisted of/ very different other cultures together/ so/ umm/ I just feel like
   (5:30)/ I’m just/ kinda like a gumbo
9. Teranda: okay/ a lot of people have been/ saying that word/ whenever they describe/
   themselves/ umm/ so/ asks question I.4
10. Shalii: now when you say categories (6:00)/ uh/ uh/ I don’t know specifically what your
    speaking of
11. Teranda: well right now they have like/ umm/ you check in African American/ and under
    that’s also black and now they added/ negro/ to that/ category/ on the census/ and then you
    can also check off/ Caucasian/ Asian/ Alaskan/ something
12. Shalii; I’ve always had a problem with that/ umm/ and (6:30)/ from high school/ on
    through college/ I always just checked other
13. Teranda: other
14. Shalii: mmhm
15. Teranda: okay/ okay
16. Shalii: because I don’t think that/ umm/ the census/ actually cover/ the people here/ with
    my culture/ umm/ Louisianaums/ umm/ Creoles/ I think/ you know/ we should/ we should be
    on there/ that little/ umm/ I don’t know what you would call it/ but/ umm/ the census thing
    (7:00)/ as/ they should have Creole/ they should have/ umm/ combination Creole or/ or
    whatever else we might be/ because we/ we don’t fit into a box/ so to speak/ uh/ uh/ we
    don’t fit into all of that/ because not all of us come from an African/ umm/ background/ we
    may be/ people of color/ but not necessarily/ directed/ you know/ from Africa/ we could be
    from India/ like my/ my father/ or from (7:30)/ another/ uh/ country of color/ say Italy/ or
    Spain/ these are people of color/ they’re not Caucasian/ so/ how does that make us/ fit/ into
    one of those categories/ that they have us to check
17. Teranda: okay/ so/ you said that you see yourself as a person of color/ and that you don’t
    like putting yourself into a box/ which I understand/ but if there was/ do you see yourself
    as being Creole/ is that kind of how you identify (8:00)/ this mix that you are/ or
18. Shalii: umm/ pretty much/ yes/ Creole’s probably the best word I’ve been able to come up
    with/ because/ none of the others really/ fit/ I can say well I’m half Indian/ where/ where
    does that fit/ you know/ a lot of us or half of something/ or quarter/ or whatever/ so it really
    doesn’t fit/ whereas Creole (8:30)/ is a mixture of/ several/ different/ backgrounds/ umm/
    you know/ so/ Creole’s probably the best name I can come up with/ because of the French/
    because of my French heritage as well/ and the Indian/ American Indian/ uh/ heritage/
    which is part of the Creole heritage/ so/ I have more/ of what/ is uh/ considered/ by
    definition/ a Creole/ I have more of that in me/ than anything else (9:00)
19. Teranda: okay/ and/ but/ do you/ hmm/ some people/ whenever I ask this question/ they see this mixture/ but they don’t necessarily want to say/ I’m Creole/ so they’ll say that I’m American/ do you feel more comfortable with just saying that your American/ or more comfortable with/ saying that your Creole

20. Shalii: American

21. Teranda: American (9:30)

22. Shalii: mmhm

23. Teranda: okay/ okay/ and uh/ I’m just trying to get it/ nailed down/ so some of these question might seem kind of like they are overlapping/ or you’ve already answered them/ but/ umm/ so/ you put other/ if their was a box that just said American/ is that

24. Shalii: that’s what I would choose

25. Teranda: if there was a box saying Creole (10:00)/ and then one saying American/ would you just/ check both/ or just say American

26. Shalii: both

27. Teranda: okay/ alright/ and umm/ why not African American

28. Shalii: because/ umm/ I have done my research/ and we/ haven’t found anyone/ from our family/ that came/ from Africa/ *laughs*

29. Teranda: okay/ so you’re just/ okay

30. Shalii: you know/ I don’t know how far back you need to go/ but we back pretty far (10:30)/ *laughs*/ and/ we didn’t find/ African/ umm/ and I’m sure there probably is some/ cause I think everyone/ whether you are considered umm/ black/ white/ or whatever/ there’s some African blood in I think everybody/ but/ when you’re researching/ uh/ to find out/ what your grandparents/ where they came from/ your great grandparents/ and all that/ we didn’t come up with this/ African

31. Teranda: *laughs at cat*/ sorry

32. Shalii: you know (11:00)/ directed/ type/ you know

33. Teranda: he’s really friendly (talking about Shalii’s cat)/ umm/ so also/ you were saying in that/ you said/ people of color/ why wouldn’t you define your/ why not just say black/ or do you

34. Shalii: because black does not define who I am/ because black has been/ associated only with people of African/ American heritage (11:30)/ so therefore I don’t feel like I have to say that/ that’s not my heritage/ that’s not/ all of who I am

35. Teranda: okay/ and/ coming up/ I’ve been talking to some other people that/ grew up around the same time you did/ and umm/ they talk about/ uh/ its seems like whenever your coming up/ at least (12:00)/ coming from around Opelousas and stuff/ people were either/ saying that they were like/ white/ colored/ or black/ and/ how did that/ affect you/ I guess whenever you were young/ was it the same where you were growing up

36. Shalii: yeah/ it was the same

37. Teranda: did you/ where did you grow up exactly

38. Shalii: around this area

39. Teranda: okay/ in Baton Rouge/ okay/ alright/ and did other people say/ that you were just (12:30)/ would they say that you were/ a person of color/ or did they say that you were black whenever you were coming up/ or

40. Shalii: umm/ I got a little of/ both/ umm/ she’s Creole or/ you know/ she’s Indian/ or/ she’s/ *laughs*/ she’s black/ she’s/ you know/ so/ like I’m/ it all came up

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Teranda: yeah/ I’m just wondering how/ cause it seems with them/ a lot of it has to do with like/ how other people were perceiving them also/ so people would label them as black/ and they just kind of accepted it/ and (13:00) continue to see themselves that way/ but your different

Shalii: yeah I didn’t/ I didn’t allow them to put me in a box/ because if I wasn’t sure/ exactly what to call myself/ why should I allow someone else/ to label me/ so they had less information about me than I had about myself/ so I wouldn’t take what they said/ I was/ as opposed to what I thought/ I was

Teranda: okay/ and umm (13:30) any times whenever you/ so you kind of see yourself as being American and Creole/ asks question I.5 for focusing on Creole identity

Shalii: mostly/ I think when I’m traveling/ umm I find that I need to define myself a little bit better/ umm/ because other people tend to put you in a box (14:00)/ and expect for you to know certain things/ or to act a particular way/ and/ umm/ I don’t follow that norm/ so/ when I don’t/ and when they see me/ and begin to talk to me/ they want to know why/ so I explain to them/ this is the way I grew up/ I didn’t grow up/ thinking that I was/ umm/ I had derived from/ someone from Africa/ or/ (14.30) a black or/ I say/ I just didn’t think about color/ color was not a big issue in my family/ because it was so diverse/ umm/ so many/ I mean from Sicilian/ on down/ *laughs* we had everybody/ so it wasn’t a focus for us/ it/ it you know/ we just/ we were who we were/ and we know other people whose family’s were like that/ just totally mixed up/ so/ when I travel/ and other people see me/ and they want to try to figure out/ now what is she/ you know (15:00)/ is she/ you know/ Indian/ is she/ Creole/ is she/ you know/ what is she/ is she black/ and a lot of times they will come up/ you know/ what are you/ I say/ “I’m a woman of color”/ so/ and that’s as far as I go with it/ because/ you know/ I could explain like I’m explaining to you/ but I don’t find it’s necessary to do that with strangers/ you know

Teranda: so you don’t/ so if you’re well let me give you this scenario/ (15.30) if somebody/ of a lighter skin tone/ let’s say very very light/ they’re of this Creole lineage/ and/ they go into a store/ and there’s a white person behind the counter/ maybe they play up on that more/ on their lighter skin tone/ things that are associated with that kind of culture/ but if there’s a black person there/ they might/ play up on the fact that they do have that heritage also/ and because its/ what’s more advantageous I guess/ do you ever find yourself doing that

Shalii: no

Teranada: no/ okay (16:00)

Shalii: I/ I really don’t/ *laughs*/ don’t confuse myself like that/ I’m pretty much the same all the time/ it doesn’t affect me/ where I am/ uh/ or who the other person may be/ or what race/ it doesn’t affect me at all

Teranda: okay/ okay/ umm/ asks question II.1/ so this kind of Creole identity with mixed heritage (16:30)/ and I guess the fact that you’re American

Shalii: umm/ probably/ umm/ in conversation/ umm/ because we have different views on things/ umm/ Creoles/ umm/ we have learned the stories of our forefather’s/ you know/ the way that they had to come up/ uh (17:00)/ having to choose to pass/ for white/ and/ those of them that were brown/ they/ they had to choose to/ you know/ pass for Indian/ and or whatever else they needed to do to survive/ umm/ but/ the most thing I focus on/ is our/ uh/ ability to cook/ uh/ differently than anyone I’ve ever/ encountered/ and I’ve traveled/ to many countries/ and/ and/ all over/ the United States/ and/ there’s nobody that can compare
to out cooking (17:30) its just different the things that we learned here about cooking you you can’t get out of a a textbook you have to live it

51. Teranda: a lot of people have been telling me that they think that that’s a really big part of Creole culture and why do you think that is so important

52. Shalii: umm/ because its just/ its just so/ different/ we/ we took bits and pieces from all (18:00) the cultures that we were mixed with/ and we came up with this/ this totally different way of cooking/ and eating/ uh/ its just/ I really cant explain it/ it’s just totally different

53. Teranda: ok/ but do you think that there other reason’s behind that/ like as far as family traditions go/ or

54. Shalii: oh yes/ yes/ yes/ umm/ the tradition/ and the way that we cook (18:30) it’s/ it’s umm/ it’s taught so very early/ it’s all around you/ umm/ when you’re growing up in Louisiana/ you/ if you don’t know about gumbo and étouffée something is/ really really wrong with you

55. Teranda: *laughs*

56. Shalii: uh/ you know/ because a lot of people can’t/ umm/ tell the difference between a soup/ and gumbo/ gumbo is not soup/ it’s in a category all by itself (19:00)/ and so it’s things like that/ you know/ étouffée is not rice and gravy/ it’s totally different/ and it tastes different/ so/ it’s just/ we’re just/ we’re just in a box/ uh/ when it comes to that/ umm/ there is one time I say we are in a box/ cause/ our cooking/ our culture is totally different/ although there are Creoles in different countries as well/ umm/ and some of them are very much like we are (19:30)/ umm/ Creoles in Puerto Rico/ and/ and/ the Caymans/ uh/ I’ve met/ some out there/ and/ we pretty much think alike/ and we’re really proud of the way we cook/ and/ oh/ and the way we dress/ uh/ we’re very colorful people/ umm/ especially the generations/ my time/ and before/ love color/ I find today the kids are/ more in drab colors (20:00)/ uh/ but we were/ in our bright colors/ we enjoyed putting our/ our/ Indian turquoise/ and/ reds/ and/ uh/ blues together/ and greens/ and/ its was just/ it’s different/ in the way we dressed/ and/ umm/ our dancing/ we/ we’re a very/ uh/ joyful people/ as a whole/ I think/ we enjoy music/ and umm/ we have taken/ our music is different (20:30)/ we’ve taken bits and pieces/ of all types of music/ and/ it became our own/ and if you listen to our music/ you’re going to hear Latin/ you’re going to hear African/ you’re gonna hear/ probably a little/ uh/ Italian/ in there/ uh/ even German/ and/ you know/ umm/ Irish/ music/ but/ you hear a little bit of it/ if you know music/ you could pick up and say/ “oh/ that sounds a little Irish/ or a little Italian” (21:00)/ but we had all together/ but guess what it/ its our music/ and we brought it all together/ now/ I would love to understand myself/ and find out how it all came together/ and why it’s so different/ but it is/ our music is totally different/ just like our food

57. Teranda: ok/ and do you think that/ that has something to do/ I was saying family/ with the family culture is it about getting family together/ during these things

58. Shalii: yes (21:30)/ yes/ umm/ our culture/ umm/ started out/ with/ story telling/ just like the Indians/ umm/ and each story was passed on/ to the next generation/ and we/ and that’s how we lived/ we/ you know/ the recipes/ went from one generation to the next/ and it still does/ umm/ we/ we still/ look back to see how our great grandmother did a particular dish (22:00)/ or our grandmother/ you know/ or how grand dad/ uh/ fixed a dish when we all gathered/ during the holidays/ because the men in our culture/ are very good cooks/ as a whole/ we/ we have excellent cooks in our culture/ so/ and that’s different too/ because in
some cultures/ the men don’t cook at all/ so/ but I think we have a little bit of all of it/ and its all good

59. Teranda: you were saying that (22:30)/ umm/ some of this/ cultural identity that you have is expressed in your views/ because they seem to be/ kind of/ umm/ maybe not/ they seem to be something agreed upon/ by most Creoles/ so/ what are/ some of these views/ that you’re talking about

60. Shalii: oh/ let’s see/ I’m not real clear on/ what you’re asking me (23:00)

61. Teranda: okay/ you said that/ umm/ some of the cultural identity is expressed in the views that you have/ and that/ these are views that/ a lot of Creoles kind of/ have/ other Creoles have

62. Shalii: okay/ you’re telling me that you/ you have come across this with other Creoles

63. Teranda: no

64. Shalii: or/ okay/ okay

65. Teranda: if/ oh/ sorry/ umm/ so/ you said that/ there (23:30)/ your Creole identity/ is expressed through/ certain views that you have/ right/ and I’m wondering what are these certain views/ that you are talking about/ or at least some of them

66. Shalii: umm/ about/ how we/ we are being raised/ umm/ well what’s important as a/ as a child growing up/ who do we look up to/ um/ how do we see ourselves/ did we see ourselves as/ as the same as our neighbor (24:00)/ who may have been of a different culture/ or better than those people/ we/ tend not to/ umm/ at the time/ we didn’t look at other people as/ the same as we were/ we knew that we/ came from very/ mixed background/ we knew that there/ you know/ there were/ different bits and pieces/ of/ all cultures combined inside of us (24:30)/ but/ we/ we tried to keep that/ because we noticed that/ in other cultures/ like the Caucasian/ they would just say/ “oh I’m white”/ but/ they would never address the fact that/ even through they’re white/ they/ had other things in them/ you know/ what is white/ I mean/ is it based on your complexion/ or is it based on where your/ your ancestors came from/ whether they came from Europe/ from/ from umm/ Nova Scotia (25:00)/ where did they come from/ what/ what makes you/ different/ being Caucasian/ and these people being black/ why do you call yourself that

67. (Pause in interview from 25.14—25.28)

68. Shalii: so/ (25.30) I really think that/ umm/ my culture/ we tend to think about/ all the parts of us/ whereas other people are/ pretty much okay just saying/ “I’m white”/ or/ “I’m black”/ and they never think about all the other components/ that make them who they are

69. Teranda: okay/ are there/ is there any other/ view that you think is particularly strong/ with you and other Creole people (26.00)/ you said about upbringing/ what do you mean

70. Shalii: umm/ I’m we’re just/ the way that we’re raised/ umm/ we are/ we’re taught/ umm/ about our ancestors/ umm/ we know/ who was mixed with what/ you know/ we/ we talk about that/ often/ umm/ and I didn’t find that/ in/ with other people who weren’t/ who didn’t consider themselves Creole/ did that/ so I knew that was a difference (26.30)/ and/ the other thing/ umm/ coming together/ umm/ having these big/ hoedowns/ you know/ umm/ with different families/ coming together/ and/ umm/ if you had the same last name/ you know/ we/ we figured you must be related to us/ and/ and/ most times we/ we shared either a grandmother or a great grandmother/ or something/ we were so closely related/ and/ and I think we/ we really/ concentrated on that (27:00)/ because/ overall/ with all the French names/ we/ we’re double cousins/ and/ triple cousins/ and/ you know/ it/ it/ it’s just
unusual/ so/ it/ allows us to have a lot to talk about/ because/ you know you/ pretty much find out sometimes/ the person you may be engaged to could be your cousin

71. Teranda: *laughs*
72. Shalii: so/ you know/ *laughs*/ and that has happened to me/ I was engaged to my cousin (27:30)/ and uh/ you know/ his family had gotten away from discussing/ umm/ who your/ your relative were/ and where they came from/ and see if that had happened/ I would have known/ that he was/ a second cousin/ and I should not be marrying him/ so/ you know/ those are the things/ that uh/ we find that/ is still going on/ in most of/ it’s/ the older Creoles that are still here (28:00)/ they still try to let you know/ that you’re related to/ this person/ that person/ the family names/ and all that

73. Teranda: do you think that’s because/ my/ just asking this because my mom/ of course lives/ in Opelousas/ very small town/ related to most people/ there/ umm/ do you think that’s because/ Creole people tend to kind of live/ in communities together/ or
74. Shalii: yes/ we’re community type people/ yeah
75. Teranda: okay/ (28.30) so there’s a bunch of different families in the community
76. Shalii: right
77. Teranda: and they tend to be/ related to one another/ in different ways
78. Shalii: yeah
79. Teranda: okay/ umm/ asks question II.2 for Creole identity
80. Shalii: unfortunately I don’t/ uh/ because I’ve lost so much of/ umm/ the Creole accent/ I don’t speak/ I haven’t for a long time/ (29.00) umm/ but my/ I think my actions are still/ pretty much Creole
81. Teranda: okay/ and why/ is that
82. Shalii: my great grandmother raised me/ I/ I just/ I can’t get away from it/ it’s just something that was instilled in me/ she was very French/ uh/ very Creole/ and umm/ there just wasn’t any/ getting around it/ it was just there/ and I really appreciate it/ that’s one of the better parts of me (29:30)
83. Teranda: yeah/ could you name some of those/ could you kind of pinpoint just maybe some of those actions/ that you kind of feel/ are related to/ you being Creole/ or/ I know its kind of hard
84. Shalii: it is/ that is hard/ umm/ I guess/ back to/ studying who I am related to/ *laughs*/ that’s still/ I still do that/ because/ uh/ it still comes up some times/ you know/ (30:00) you find people / that/ uh/ you are related to/ because/ umm/ they left Louisiana/ and they/ went off to another state/ or whatever/ and come back and/ you know/ they’re a little different/ but you can tell/ uh/ because Creole people have a certain look/ I think/ umm/ just like Asians/ you know/ umm/ you can tell an Asian/ based on certain/ features/ I believe we have certain features/ about us (30:30)/ that umm/ distinctly ours/ and it may/ we may/ be closely related to other cultures/ you know/ in some of our traits/ but/ we/ we/ we’re different/ we’re different
85. Teranda: was there anything that/ your grandmother or people in your community do/ or did/ like actions you think you kind of continue to do today/ maybe
86. Shalii: uh/ the thing that I still do today (31:00)/ is cook that gumbo/ and/ gather everyone around/ and we talk about old times/ umm/ try to/ school the young ones/ because they’ve gotten away from that/ umm/ share recipes/ umm/ and we dance/ we put a little Zydeco on/ and/ try to teach them/ how to step
87. Teranda: *laughs*
88. Shalii: that has been very difficult/ but/ uh/ yes / we/ we still do that (31:30)
89. Teranda: okay/ and / you already gotten into some of this/ with one of the other questions that I asked/ but if you can think of anything now/ umm/ asks question II.3 for Creole identity
90. Shalii: umm/ only by/ the way I/ probably/ share/ with other Creoles my experiences/ and/ and they share with me/ and a lot of them miss the old ways/ that we get to talk about (32:00)/ the things that we grew up doing/ umm/ that are no longer/ you know/ umm/ and especially the language/ umm/ as a child/ you grow up speaking/ the Creole language/ if/ you have/ someone in the family that still speaks the language/ and that is something that has/ uh/ really hurt us/ and/ you know/ over the years/ because we’ve gotten so far away from it
91. Teranda: okay/ but you used to speak/ or you still do speak (32:30)
92. Shalii: I/ don’t speak it/ as often/ umm/ its really bad now/ *laughs*/ I have to almost ask myself/ what did I say/ I/ I/ it’s really/ it’s/ it’s bad/ because I’ve gotten away from it/ and I don’t hear it/ anymore
93. Teranda: but you/ did you grow up speaking Cajun French/ or the Louisiana Creole French
94. Shalii: the Louisiana Creole
95. Teranda: okay/ and you/ do you know for sure if it was that/ cause some people/ what I’ve been told is that some of the people/ of Creole descent (33:00)/ especially I think who grew up around Opelousas and stuff/ they actually speak Cajun French/ but they call it Creole French/ so/ I’m just asking/ do you know
96. Shalii: I think mine was Creole French/ because the Creole French was a combination/ of the Indian/ Spanish/ and French language/ so/ it was considered Creole/ whereas the Cajun had umm/ umm/ background in German/ French/ umm/ African/ and I think/ maybe Spanish (33:30)/ but I think the Creole had more Spanish than the Cajun/ so I knew the difference
97. Teranda: okay/ okay/ okay/ umm/ if you have/ if you have to go check on her/ its okay/ I don’t/ I have some more questions/ I just don’t want to
98. Shalii: go ahead
99. Teranda: okay/ umm/ asks question III.1
100. Shalii: I define a Creole/ by/ their (34:00)/ blood/ trait/ makeup/ umm/ and/ not so much the appearance/ because/ umm/ because of the mixture/ and its been over mixed/ you don’t have the same traits that you had/ umm/ sixty/ fifty/ sixty years ago/ they’ve changed a lot/ umm/ but/ basically just asking them/ and most Creole people know/ uh/ if their grandparents were (34:30)/ part Indian/ or/ part umm/ Italian/ or part Spanish/ what were they/ and you can pretty much figure it out from there
101. Teranda: okay/ and umm/ just/ do you think that being Catholic/ is part of this/ or
102. Shalii: yes/ we/ Catholic was/ a way of life/ uh/ for us/ we were introduced/ to/ the religion/ umm/ I mean years ago/ from my research (35:00)/ and Catholicism was/ the one that/ came out/ the forefront/ especially for Louisiana/ uh/ only southern Louisiana that is/ because northern Louisiana instead/ became/ more Baptist/ and Methodist/ so/ the people who actually were around the river/ and down in this area/ Opelousas/ Baton Rouge / and/ you know/ going farther/ umm/ St. Martinsville where/ some of my people are from (35:30)/ umm/ that is all they knew/ uh/ so/ you/ and/ we all were (...) small communities/ so/ one community/ taught another community/ because/ we all/ knew each other/ all the families/ pretty much/ knew each other/ ummm
103. Teranda: is that part of your Creole identity now/ being Catholic/ or/ no
104. Shalii: not particularly/ no
105. Teranda: okay/ okay/ so its just kind of a historical thing/ but not something that (36:00)/ is necessary now
106. Shalii: no it’s not necessary/ I think its just that/ that was the first/ religion that was truly/ introduced to us/ and it was carried on
107. Teranda: okay/ umm/ asks question III.2
108. Shalii: uh/ what I know is/ that umm (36:30)/ from my great grandmother/ umm/ she was from St. Martinsville/ and umm/ her family was a mixture of French/ Indian/ and Spanish blood/ and/ umm/ by definition/ that makes you Creole/ and umm/ one the other side of her family/ umm/ their/ the same components/ but a little/ German blood as well/ umm (37:00)/ the Italian/ blood/ was also/ uh/ a big part of it/ and uh/ my mother’s father is Sicilian/ so/ and his/ his mother was considered Creole/ even though she was from/ umm/ another country/ she’s from South America/ but her people were called Creoles as well/ because they spoke Spanish/ but they were Indian/ so its because of (37:30)/ the combination/ of the different/ umm/ languages/ and cultures/ that come together/ to make one
109. Teranda: okay/ you said they were Indian/ Indian as in Native American/ or/ Indian as in from India
110. Shalii: umm/ all Indians are basically/ except for the ones in Asia/ are native/ because/ they’re native too/ their environment/ that’s why they’re called Native Americans (38:00)/ so/ they are native Indians because/ all your/ your/ South Americans/ umm/ people in the My—/ in the Mayan country/ umm/ Panama/ all those areas/ those people are Indian
111. Teranda: okay/ I’m just trying to get it straight/ because/ I know earlier you said that your dad was/ had family/ from India
112. Shalii: yeah/ and that/ that’s east Indian/ that’s/ that’s the difference
113. Teranda: okay/ okay/ and/ umm/ (38.30) I had a question/ I forgot/ uh/ we already kind of talked about this/ but/ just reiterate on it/ asks question III.3 for African American
114. Shalii: because/ umm/ I haven’t traced anyone back to Africa
115. Teranda: okay/ okay/ and/ I know that we’ve talked before (39:00)/ any even talking today/ you seem to kind of have this/ idea about the youth culture not really/ knowing about their heritage/ or wanting to know/ do you think that they kind of latch onto this identity of being African American/ or
116. Shalii: some of them can/ umm/ I’ve spoken to some that/ are so confused/ they really don’t know/ where they fit in (39:30)
117. Teranda: do you think its because they don’t/ take the initiative to ask about/ their culture/ or do you think people aren’t telling them about it/ or
118. Shalii: uh/ it’s a little of both/ and then on top of that/ society/ has divided the world into black and white/ and/ the world isn’t black and white/ umm/ the world is very much/ black white yellow/ red and brown/ and/ being Creole/ we have all of those components (40:00)/ together
119. Teranda: okay/ and umm/ are you/ you’re/ you’re making/ efforts obviously/ to kind of make sure that you’re connecting with the heritage/ cause your looking up/ your family tree/ and your trying to find out more about that/ even/ even now/ even though you seem to know/ a lot
120. Shalii: I know/ yeah/ pretty much
121. Teranda: a lot more than/ a lot of people know/ but umm/ asks question III.4 (40.30)/ are there any efforts that your making to/ kind of let other people know about

122. Shalii: well/ the younger people in/ in the family/ I/ I’ve spoken to them about it/ umm/ people that I come into contact with/ umm/ that are Creole/ that/ may not understand why they call themselves Creole/ I’ve explained it to them/ umm/ the way that I learned/ how to define it/ and umm (41:00)/ I’ve given them/ the information to look it up/ first/ and its defined by Webster/ uh/ the components what makes you Creole/ umm/ and/ I think a lot of them understand a little bit better/ that they are/ uh/ different pieces/ of different parts/ that made a whole/ so/ umm/ that’s the only way that I can do it/ just passing it on (41:30)

123. Teranda: okay/ and umm/ what about connecting with more of it/ other than the family tree/ do you do anything else that you feel/ kind of connects you

124. Shalii: no/ other than talking to some of the older people/ who are still/ you know/ here/ and/ only a few of them still speak the language/ and not very much of it/ umm/ I wasn’t allowed to speak it in school/ so/ I (42:00)/ I lost it

125. Teranda: and umm/ this isn’t on my sheet so I’m just going to close this/ umm/ a lot of people/ I was saying earlier/ who grew up/ during/ around the time of the Civil Rights period/ that would have been happening when you were

126. Shalii: I was quite young/ umm/ probably/ first second grade

127. Teranda: but even after people still kind of held these ideas/ how do you/ do you think that that (42:30)/ that kind of/ what people were saying/ about/ race/ has kind of/ affected you/ in any way/ umm/ with how you identify yourself/ I don’t know if that’s a good way to put it

128. Shalii: umm/ during the civil rights/ umm/ act/ and watching it/ I watched it on television/ and/ what I remember/ growing up/ during that time/ umm (43:00)/ the world was being divided/ then/ whether/ you were/ either black/ or you were white/ even though/ in the black/ you had people/ of different backgrounds/ some of them/ I don’t know if you would even call them black/ they were/ umm/ so mixed/ ‘til they just didn’t fit anywhere/ whereas the rest of us who did have those three to four different components together/ that uh/ defined us as Creole/ we knew that/ but if a child/ was (43:30)/ had one parent that was considered black/ and a parent that was considered white/ and then white parent wasn’t really all white/ and then black parent wasn’t really/ what we would consider black/ it was confusing/ but/ if you were a particular shade/ or you had a particular feature/ that would totally take you out of being white/ they put you in/ the black category/ so we all pretty much gravitated towards that/ because/ there/ it seemed like (44:00)/ it was/ not way out/ you were going to be classified/ like that/ and if you didn’t speak/ the language/ then/ you were considered/ black

129. Teranda: so/ people/ did people/ kind of label you as black then

130. Shalii: umm/ some did/ some didn’t/ it just was/ it depended on the person/ where I was

131. Teranda: and/ when do you think you made/ you made the decision to kind of (44:30)/ reject that/ I guess/ just being called black/ and/ coming to this/ idea/ that/ you know/ you weren’t going to let anybody/ put you into any boxes

132. Shalii: I was about thirteen/ I remember/ mmhm

133. Teranda: okay/ and why/ I’m just curious cause a lot of other people that I talk to/ seem to/ people gave them that label/ and they/ just kind of accepted it/ after awhile/ so why/ why particularly/ did you side (45:00)/ decide to/ to just/ reject it
134. Shalii: because/ I have a mind of my own/ and I knew who I was/ and I didn’t/ feel that it was necessary to listen to other people who didn’t know me/ who could tell me who I was
135. Teranda: okay/ and umm/ you/ you also said/ you probably/ answered this in another question/ umm/ just bare with me/ *laughs*/ you said that there/ there was three to four components (45:30)/ for being Creole/ and what are those components/
136. Shalii: okay/ it would be African
137. Teranda: African
138. Shalii: Spanish
139. Teranda: Spanish
140. Shalii: French/ and/ Italian
141. Teranda: Italian
142. Shalii: and then/ there is/ another/ uh/ component/ that is/ African/ African is always the base (46:00)/ umm/ for/ that’s why I expressed that/ even Caucasians are mixed with/ a little/ cause it all started from the African/ so/ but the African/ and then there is/ German/ French/ and Italian/ I mean Irish/ I’m sorry
143. Teranda: Irish/ okay/ so/ so does it have to/ it just has to be/ wait/ there’s African/ Spanish/ and Italian/ and those are the people of color (46:30)/ that you’re counting
144. Shalii: mmhm
145. Teranda: okay/ and then the other groups are/ would be/ the
146. Shalii: it’s a combination of people of color/ and people who are not/ not/ of color
147. Teranda: okay/ okay/ and then the French and the/ German/ and
148. Shalii: right/ and those are the people we consider to be/ more Cajun/ rather than Creole
149. Teranda: yeah/ okay/ and umm/ wait what do you mean/ the people who are French
150. Shalii: that had the French component/ and the German and Irish component (47:00)/ as well/ because most of their family came in through Nova Scotia/ whereas/ the rest of us/ they came from across the way/ the other way/ from South America/ from Panama/ from India/ from all those places of color/ and that’s how we derived from those areas/ and/ became/ a little bit different than the combination for Cajun/ cause uh/ the Cajun’s tend to have more German and Irish blood (47:30)/ whereas we tend to have/ more of Italian/ Spanish/ and French blood (47.36)

Shalii’s interview responses continued in joint interview with Interviewee 12, Betty D, age 84.

Response to I.4
151. Shalii: (2.41) yeah/ we would use a box that/ merely said American/ umm/ to keep from having to be broken into more pieces by saying/ uh/ black American/ Creole American/ or whatever/ uh/ because/ umm/ when your in the culture that we’re in/ we’re all mixed/ with something/ (3.00) we’re not particularly mixed with umm/ umm/ African blood/ so therefore/ we don’t want to be called Africans/ we’d rather just be Americans/ and I think that would cut down on a lot of the confusion/ as to/ you know/ who people are/ umm/ it’s obvious you’re American if you’re living in America/ and we haven’t lived outside of this country/ and consider another country our country/ so/ (3.30) I don’t know why it’s an issue in the first place/ we’re American
152. Teranda: and you were saying that its the language more than
Shalii: yeah/ it’s the language more than anything else because/ uh/ English is our first language/ but if we were to speak another language/ then we’d be put in another box/ you know/ the question would be/ you know/ do you consider yourself Creole/ or do you consider yourself Italian/ or Indian/ what do you consider yourself/ (4.00) and we have a mixture here/ we not just/ like with/ Betty/ it’s not/ just/ German/ she has French/ she had German/ she has Irish/ you know/ a lot of different/ umm/ mixture there/ and my mixture is pretty close/ and you have to add some *laughs*/ you know/ so it’s just/ it’s very very confusing when your talking to other people/ why can’t we just be Americans/ you know (4.30)/ why do we have to be/ cut and put in boxes because of the shades of our skin/ whereas you can go to other countries and people range from different shades as well/ but there all considered the same thing/ you know/ I have heard/ when I was in Puerto Rico/ I heard someone say the black Puerto Ricans/ and I was like/ what exactly is a black Puerto Rican/ they all Puerto Rican/ *laughs*/ you know/ but that was a/ that was a Canadian/ (5.00) speaking/ therefore trying to separate those people in their own

Betty D: country

Shalii: in their own little country/ and it really caused a big problem/ *laughs*/ and it was said on television/ and I heard it/ I was visiting/ I was like/ what/ you know/ so I think that’s how things get started/ umm/ you know/ what’s a black Mexican/ he’s not black/ per se/ he’s Mexican/ he’s of dark skin/ but uh/ his mom is dark/ and his dad’s light/ (5.30) so/ you know/ there all Mexican

Betty D: so that’s where we come from

Shalii: and that’s how we are/ we have mixture of our parents/ you know/ some of us have both fair complexion parents/ and we have mixed complexion/ you know/ it just depends/ and that’s why we have a diversity/ of/ of different/ looks/ and characteristics/ cause of the way we’re all mixed over here/ (6.00) so we all just Americans

Teranda: mmhm/ and you were also saying that you wouldn’t/ that you would identify yourself as American first/ right/ and then Creole

Shalii: American first/ and then a woman of color second

Teranda: okay/ and where/ where would the Creole come in

Shalii: a woman of color

Teranda: okay/ okay/ so you just kind of count that under

Shalii: mmhm

Betty D: because uh/ when we were/ when we were kids/ if you didn’t have (6.30)/ a certain type of hair/ and color/ then you couldn’t be Creole/ they’d push you aside/ they’d say (...) 

Shalii: and that wasn’t true/ that wasn’t necessarily true/ but it’s just a way that/ I think it’s another way that society has caused us to separate ourselves/ and it was unnecessary/ it caused division

Betty D: it was worse when we were kids/ you know/ when we were young/ (7.00) people/ uh/ it was much worse than it is now

Shalii: oh yeah/ and I think now they don’t even care (7.06)

Response to II.1 for American identity

Shalii: (10.35) I mean/ I think I’m pretty/ pretty typical American/ but I tend to get involved in/ the things of America
169. Betty D: you are (...)
170. Shalii: I’m involved in the politics
171. Betty D: right/ and that’s good
172. Shalii: I’m involved in/ pretty much all the other cultures as well/ because it’s/ it’s not only interesting to me/ it’s very important/ that I understand (11.00)/ who I’m living in American with/ and I feel that/ even though they are from other cultures/ they are Americans just as I am/ so umm/ I find if very necessary to find out more about them/ and they learn more about me/ and we find out that we’re so much alike/ that we really shouldn’t be separated by race/ because some of them are not sure as to what race they would fall into
173. Teranda: *laughs*
174. Shalii: because a lot of them are mixed (11.30)/ so/ it’s pretty funny that uh/ it’s always coming up/ but it’s never been solved/ it’s a mystery/ *laughs*
175. Teranda: *laughs*
176. Betty D: and I don’t think it’s ever going to be
177. Shalii: no/ I don’t think so/ it’s/ it’s a shame/ but uh/ even in politics/ umm/ it becomes a problem/ because/ you know/ then/ if you’re/ if you consider yourself a person of color or black/ then they wanna know if you’re a democrat/ *laughs*/ it’s like/ how do they associate that with/ and/ same thing with republican/ you must be white/ no/ not necessarily (12.08)

Response to II.2 for American identity
178. Betty D: (16.12) I find that in/ Baton Rouge/ they don’t use that broken language like we did/ as much as we did
179. Shalii: right/ they didn’t umm/ in Baton Rouge
180. Betty D: yeah/ because
181. Shalii: they didn’t speak broken French
182. Teranda: like in schools/ (16.30) or just
183. Shalii: well actually/ in schools/ and not in public
184. Betty D: well/ where did you learn it/ when you talking in school
185. Teranda: really/ why
186. Shalii: that was just the thing/ they didn’t want use speaking it/ and I remember my mother spoke of that/ she/ you know/ she was told she couldn’t speak broken language/ in school/ and umm/ I was just clowning around in school/ with some cousins/ and we were speaking a little that we had learned from my great grandmother/ and we were told that it would not be allowed/ and if they heard it again/ (17.00) we would be expelled/ so/ (...)
187. Betty D: and see/ that’s what they did to the uh/ Hispanic children too
188. Shalii: yes/ exactly/ so I just didn’t/ I don’t understand/ but uh/ there/ like I said/ there were other languages being spoken/ umm/ that/ weren’t shut down like we were/ umm/ but/ Creole was not allowed/ umm/ Latin was not allowed (17.30)/ so/ but it was okay for the Asians to speak Chinese
189. Teranda: Latin
190. Shalii: I don’t know/ to me that was a little odd/ like here we/ we’re born and raised here/ and this is our language/ and we can’t speak it/ but/ I can sit next to/ you know
191. Betty D: an Asian
Response to II.3 for American identity

199. Shalii: (19.00) umm/ I guess just in the way that we live/ we basically live like all other Americans/ we do the same thing/ other American people/ do/ uh/ I don’t find that we do anything any different/ umm/ as far as the way we live/ we follow the laws/ just like any other American/ we/ when we speak to each other/ it’s always in English/ (19.30) umm/ we participate when/ when we can/ in different things that umm/ is offered/ that are offered to us/ umm/ political things/ like I get involved in/ umm/ I get involved in debates/ and things like that/ and that’s very American/ *laughs*/ you know/ umm/ but other than that/ I just don’t find that we’re/ we’re any different (19.58)

Response to III.1

200. Teranda: (26.44) so is there anything else that would define a Creole person/ or
201. Betty D: only their ways that they would treat/ uh/ another person/ uh/ not caring/ (27.00) not loving/ they would/ ignore you/ or/ just don’t speak at all/ so that way/ you know/ that was the way they were
202. Teranda: Creole people would/ kind of push other people away/ depending on their skin color
203. Betty D: not necessary
204. Shalii: yeah
205. Betty D: yeah/ very much so/ that’s/ a part of what I’ve been telling you/ they/ they couldn’t come to the dance/ so
206. Shalii: well I/ I found that/ (27.30) that was more uh/ prevalent/ in your areas/ umm
207. Betty D: like in Chenal/ yeah/ across the river
208. Shalii: across the river/ uh/ over here/ we didn’t
209. Betty D: not necessarily Port Allen/ but further/ like Erwinville/ in that area/ Lakeland/ Chenal/ uh/ people/ didn’t mix/ you’re too black/ you can’t be with us/ we over here/ you over there
210. Teranda: do you think that has something to do with it being more of a rule/ (28.00) umm/ so they’re not being exposed to a lot of other people
211. Betty D: I think/ I would hope so/ I would hope so/ when I grew up/ I/ I was more/ you know/ I wanted to embrace people more/ didn’t matter to me
Shalii: I think it’s just umm/ a form of ignorance/ umm/ but I’ve found over here/ although my great grandmother was from/ umm/ Carencro/ and St. Martinsville area/ umm/ they had the same mentality/ but not to that extent/ umm/ they considered a Creole/ any person who had the same mixture that they had/ which would be/ you know/ Creole is consisted of three to four different parts/ you/ you’re mixed with French/ Spanish/ Indian/ umm/ German/ Irish/ and it’s the component of those mixtures/ that makes you Creole/ and I don’t believe everyone knew exactly/ what a Creole was/ so therefore/ they started dividing themselves up by shades/ of color/ and that’s how we got the mulattas/ the Netoroons/ the umm/ Cameroons and/ all those different names/ cause I did my dissertation on that/ we have several different names/ for different shades/ of Creole people/ and umm/ here/ in Baton Rouge/ and in New Orleans/ it was well know/ cause they had balls for these different groups of people/ and it all started actually in New Orleans/ so the mulattas wasn’t really the biggest group of people/ they had a whole bunch of other ones that ranged from/ you know/ very dark/ umm/ my complexion had a whole different ball by themselves/ *laughs*/ it was totally different/ and cause/ if you were my complexion/ with my texture of hair/ and my facial features/ you were in one category/ but if you were/ my complexion/ or lighter/ with/ umm/ heavier hair/ or whatever/ you were put in another category/ so/ it was a division upon division/ you know/ it was/ umm/ the Caucasians had already separated us/ and then we separated ourselves some more/ based on/ we learned that/ you know/ they started it/ and we continued it/ and we did it among ourselves/ we divided ourselves up by/ umm/ hair texture/ and complexion/ color/ and all that stuff/ and still/ it’s still prevalent today/ but not as much/ umm/ because/ umm/ you have to probably seek it out/ but it’s still there/ and it’s still the mentality of some people/ my great grandmother/ it was her mentality/ but living here in Baton Rouge/ it couldn’t last/ it wasn’t lasting/ because other people here were not like that/ but when she would go back to Carencro/ St. Martinsville/ or even to New Roads/ she encountered that/ and so she was comfortable with it/ but she knew she couldn’t bring that here/ because/ we didn’t think that way here.

Teranda: yeah/ that’s what one of my umm/ one of the other people I interviewed was telling me about/ uh/ she was referring to Frilot Cove/ and she was saying that they were very very/ uh/ the blacks there were very prejudice against darker people/ *laughs*/ so

Shalii: yeah/ it’s just/ it’s really/ it’s nonstop/ and it’s never going to end until the end/ is actually here/ *laughs*/ and then it won’t matter anymore

Response to III.2

Shalii: (35.17) cause most of us have the French names/ and uh/ with myself/ I have a lot of Indian and Italian/ also/ so/ (35.30) and it’s because of the influx of Europeans over here/ coming here/ to umm/ Louisiana/ as they did in New York/ Florida/ and California/ these were melting pots/ so umm/ we all/ have that mixture/ of the Europeans/ but we American (35.51)

Shalii meant to refer to the Octoroons and Quadroons not the Netoroons and Cameroons. She corrected this mistake in a later contact the interviewer had with her.
Response to III.3 for Creole

216. Betty D: (37.28) well/ because (37.30)/ when/ okay/ you can/ if you/ and I know this is ugly to say/ but if you dies today or tomorrow/ you can be a black American/ but if you go and say/ you are a Creole/ we don’t have Creoles in this country/ there’s no Creole/ what is a Creole/ they won’t/ identify you like that/ you either black/ or your a negro (38.00)/ or you’re a colored person/ now colored is not/ that’s worse then saying umm/ a Creole/ saying colored/ to me

217. Shalii: that’s why I say of color

218. Betty D: of color/ yeah

219. Shalii: I’ve always said a person of color

220. Betty D: of color/ sure

221. Shalii: and I am a person of color/ and/ so are other people

222. Betty D: a lot of people

223. Shalii: other Americans/ whether they are of color/ of Creole/ of color of Hispanic (38.30)

224. Betty D: that’s right

225. Shalii: of color of Italian/ they all of color

226. Betty D: of color/ that’s right

227. Shalii: all those countries/ South America/ from South America/ Italy/ Spain/ these are people of color/ because/ and the reason why I use that/ that umm/ title/ is because/ in everyone of those cultures/ the color ranges from very dark to very light/ therefore/ you are a person of color/ now/ when you go to Australia/ the Australians/ (39.00) are all white/ but the aborigines are people of color/ because they range from very dark to very light/ and they were the very first people in Australia/ and they really should be the Australians/ not the white people

228. Teranda: okay/ so it’s kind of/ you don’t identify with it/ because you can’t/ because people

229. Shalii: you know/ what is it/ we don’t have a category

230. Betty D: yeah/ they don’t

231. Shalii: we don’t have a category

232. Betty D: yeah/ we really don’t/ because/ I knew of someone/ (39.30)/ uh/ they were in California/ and his wife died/ and he/ he said/ “she’s Creole”/ and he/ the doctor told him/ I mean the undertaker told him/ “there’s no such thing as Creole”/ there’s no such name”/ they wouldn’t put it

233. Shalii: but we can be Creole in Haiti/ we can go to Haiti and be Creole all day/ we can go to Trinidad/ and be Creole

234. Betty D: and be Creole

235. Shalii: all day/ (40.00) but in our own place where

236. Betty D: (...)

237. Shalii: we originated/ we can’t be Creole/ that’s/ that’s awful

238. Betty D: *laughs* (40.07)

I8: Peter, age 64

1. Teranda: explains questions in first sections/ (4.00) asks question I.1

2. Peter: I don’t know/ that’s/ my/ identity/ cause that’s my/ that’s me/ Peter Thibodeaux
3. Teranda: yeah/ okay/ yeah/ and there are/ a person can have multiple identities/ so an identity is basically what makes you/ Peter/ so what makes me who I am/ there are different things/ so I’m female/ that’s part of my identity/ (4.30) I’m
4. Peter: uh/ uh/ uh/ I’m a male/ Peter Thibodeaux/ born in 1946/ I’m forty-six—/ uh/ sixty-four years old/ (...)/ one of the two/ *laughs*
5. Teranda: so/ so/ yeah/ like that/ so for me/ I’m female/ like I was saying/ I’m a student/ umm/ I’m teaching/ so that could be part of my identity
6. Peter: yeah/ that’s true
7. Teranda: and then/ my age group/ (5.00) and stuff like that/ like you were saying/ that makes part of your identity/ asks question I.2
8. Peter: I don’t even know what that you talking about
9. Teranda: okay/ well/ here’s/ mmm/ cultural identity is just like/ uh/ so/ okay people from Asia/ we say that they’re Asian/ right/ that’s part of their cultural identity/ the foods they eat/ (5.30) the things they do
10. Peter: uh/ uh/ black American/ or/ uh/ what else/ uh/ Cajun/ part Cajun/ part Indian/ (...) that’s my culture/ that’s/ yeah
11. Teranda: yeah/ okay/ that’s part of cultural identity/ so/ actually now/ you were just getting into this question/ asks question I.3/ so
12. Peter: (6.00) culturally/ I identity myself culturally as a/ uh/ I ain’t gonna go back in the history/ cause it’s too deep/ you know/ uh/ I say a uh/ Chenier/ mixed Thibodeaux
13. Teranda: okay/ and what are those/ what are those two made up of culturally
14. Peter: culturally/ my grandfather/ my grandfather/ my mama’s daddy/ (6.30) he come from uh/ Haiti/ and they/ they bunch of strong people/ Haiti/ and my grandmother on my daddy’s side/ is part Cajun/ and my grandmother/ part Indian/ I don’t know what side/ what they was on but/ they was part Indian too/ my grandfather was/ Cajun/ and Indian/ but what kinda Indian my grandmother was/ I have no idea/ we used to call her the black foot/ but really/ (7.00) I have no idea/ now yesterday/ I heard a bunch of stuff out there yesterday/ well/ I really don’t know/ so
15. Teranda: okay/ well/ let’s do it this way/ if you could/ you know how you get the US census/ and you can check off what you are/ so they have like/ Caucasian/ white/ and then they have like uh/ African American/ black/ uh/ Native American/ Alaskan/ stuff like that/ (7.30) asks question I.4
16. Peter: uh/ I have no idea/ check off/ I’d check it off/ Cajun/ mmm/ I don’t know/ I have no idea/ what would you say
17. Teranda: okay/ if somebody/ if somebody asks you/ if somebody asked/ (8.00) “what are you”
18. Peter: I’m black
19. Teranda: okay/ why not African American
20. Peter: well African American/ part African American/ part/ part American/ in other words/ if this/ if this is (...) around in here/ you know
21. Teranda: okay/ but you don’t see yourself as being/ as being white/ or as being
22. Peter: no
23. Teranda: okay/ what about Creole/ do you see yourself as being Creole
24. Peter: yeah/ I can see myself as Creole/ yeah/ I can see myself
25. Teranda: (8.30) so/ would you tell other people that you’re Creole/ if they ask you
26. Peter: oh yeah/ (...)
27. Teranda: okay/ so you see yourself as being Creole/ and black
28. Peter: black/ right
29. Teranda: okay/ and umm/ asks question I.5 (9.00)
30. Peter: no
31. Teranda: no
32. Peter: I ain’t bad feeling about that/ other words/ I’m black/ Creole/ that’s/ I mean/ that’s the way I’m is
33. Teranda: okay/ umm/ asks question II.1 for Creole
34. Peter: (9.30) well/ I’m pretty (...)/ I be—/ I work with a bunch of little white boys/ and it’s hard to keep it back/ I’m black/ well/ I’m black/ but they say I’m more whiter than them/ so I’m a negro/ that’s what I’m is/ negro/ that’s it
35. Teranda: well/ how about this might be easier
36. (pause)
37. Teranda: umm/ (10.00) what are some/ what are some practices that your parents had/ that you see yourself as/ that you find yourself doing/ what are some things that they did/ that you always kind of find yourself doing now
38. Peter: [omitted 10.14—10.25]15/ having fun/ and one thing about it/ (10.30) my parents always did/ my mama/ she always did like to can stuff/ you know/ and bottle/ can okrie/ tomatoes/ and all this other stuff/ I love (...) she do that/ and she always did that/ since I was a little biddy baby/ we did that/ was just wonderful/ but
39. Teranda: is that something
40. Peter: they going away/ they going away slowly/ you know/ just/ I mean/ it’s not like we was when I was coming up/ cause I came back/ and when I was in/ (11.00) excuse me/ when I was back in the fifties/ we used to/ mama used to can everything/ everything was canned out of the garden/ canned in a jar/ and put on the stove/ and put it in a pressure cooker/ and cook/ can everything/ cook with on a wooden stove/ you understand/ there was no gas stove/ or/ or/ or something/ now this was on a wooden stove/ we did all this/ all this/ and we had it all outside/ you know/ in a b—/ (11.30) out there in a shed/ everything was out there/ that jars and everything/ when we needed something/ we go out there and get it/ and then our house was about this high/ we (...) it/ put it on the (...) and everything/ and stack the jars up/ and stuff just/ I mean/ the raised/ I mean/ we raised all ourselves like that/ I mean/ that’s the way we were raised
41. Teranda: okay/ so/ are there any other/ you said you have fun/ how is it that you have fun
42. Peter: oh/ (12.00) cutting up with the children/ have fun with the kids/ have fun with my grand kids/ have fun with my great grand bebe/ not my bebe/ my grand babies/ have fun with them/ I love to have fun with my brothers/ and sisters/ I got a sister cook for me everyday
43. Teranda: *laughs*
44. Peter: love to go there
45. Teranda: so what do you do/ what do you do whenever you get together with your sisters and brothers/ how would/ what do you do/ what types of things do you all do together
46. Peter: (12:30) oh/ we have fun/ cook/ drank/ have fun
47. Teranda: okay/ what types of things do you cook
48. Peter: oh/ we cook uh/ we fry chicken/ fry fish/ oh/ love to fry fish/ and/ cook okrie/ my/ my sister loves to cook okrie/ and fried chicken/ love the fried chicken/ and/ go fishing/

15 I have chosen to omit this for personal reasons.
with uh/ my brother/ we love to go fishing/ and we catch fish/ and come back home/ (13.00) and cook our fish and fry it/ that’s how it is/ you know/ that’s the way we is

49. Teranda: okay/ do you always/ is food a big part of/ family gatherings
50. Peter: yeah/ like (...)/ uh/ other words/ not nothing like what happened yesterday (referring to a big family gathering)/ no/ when we together/ we by ourselves/ so that’s how we do it/ just cook it/ cook/ you know/ and then/ everybody in the neighborhood come/ in the neighborhood/ now/ family get together/ that mean/ (13.30) everybody come/ you know/ you don’t even have to be kin/ everybody come/ that’s how we is in our family/ you know/ everybody shows up

51. Teranda: and are these get-togethers/ do they/ do a lot of them have music/ or
52. Peter: music/ they have music
53. Teranda: okay/ what kind of
54. Peter: music/ crack jokes/ play cards/ we always did that
55. Teranda: what kinds of music/ do you play
56. Peter: Zy-de-co/ boy/ uh/ Zydeco/ what Zydeco mean is uh/ (14.00) snap bean
57. Teranda: what is it
58. Peter: snap bean
59. Teranda: snap bean
60. Peter: yeah/ you know/ snap bean/ you know/ lil biddy snap/ that’s Zydeco
61. Teranda: oh/ okay
62. Peter: you didn’t know that
63. Teranda: no
64. Peter: yeah/ snap bean/ that’s Zydeco/ that’s (...) what it’s named after/ Zydeco/ that’s like hearing the name (...)/ that French/ Zydeco/ snap bean/ snap bean/ Zydeco/ that’s what the name of it
65. Teranda: oh/ okay/ so it’s/ that’s a French word
66. Peter: yeah/ (14.30) it’s a French word/ Zydeco/ yeah
67. Teranda: okay/ do you speak/ French
68. Peter: no
69. Teranda: did you ever speak
70. Peter: my mom and daddy (...) it/ but I never did learn how to speak it
71. Teranda: okay/ okay/ but they spoke/ they spoke Cajun French/ or
72. Peter: Cajun French
73. Teranda: okay/ and umm/ the next question is/ so you said that you’re black and Creole/ or African American and Creole/ so/ (15.00) asks question II.2
74. Peter: broken English
75. Teranda: broken English/ okay
76. Peter: really
77. Teranda: okay/ what about your sisters/ do you know some Creole/ or Cajun French words that you use around your family
78. Peter: no
79. Teranda: do your sisters and brothers know any
80. Peter: uh/ they probably do/ but
81. Teranda: but you don’t
82. Peter: no
83. Teranda: okay/ so that doesn’t come up/ but how else would you describe your speech/ the way you speak
84. Peter: I just uh/ (15.30) my speech/ very bad
85. Peter and Teranda: *laugh*
86. Teranda: why is it
87. Peter: no/ very bad/ really
88. Teranda: why is it/ why do you think it’s really bad
89. Peter: well/ cause I never was/ was taught/ the right English/ that I could say/ cause/ me/ I speak real bad/ and/ they all laugh at me cause/ I might say things/ you know/ they say/ “Peter/ that ain’t the way you supposed to say it”/ well I say/ “that’s what I’m saying”/ and you know/ do it like that (16.00)/ that’s the way I/ I know what I’m saying/ yea/ but/ they don’t know what I’m saying/ but I know what I’m saying/ I know what it means/ you know/ (...) they know what it means too/ they just pick at me like that/ you know
90. Teranda: *laughs*
91. Peter: really/ they does/ you know/ I’m just breaking it/ other words/ it’s so messed up/ but really/ that’s (...) you know/ I’m sixty-four years old/ I ain’t got to worry about that no more
92. Peter and Teranda: *laugh*
93. Teranda: so what is/ (16.30) then what is good English to you/ what would be
94. Peter: good English/ like you speaking/ that’s very/ [proper]/ which I can’t say [proper]/ [proper]/ whatever
95. Teranda: *laughs*
96. Peter: (...) to you/ cause I can’t pronounce it/ you know/ cause my/ my (...) is wrong/ you know/ I can’t pronounce it like it’s supposed to be pronounced/ but/ that’s the way [proper] English supposed to be spoken/ you know
97. Teranda: okay/ do you think that/ (17.00) that you’re pronunciation of things is/ because of the people you heard growing up/ or
98. Peter: uh/ that’s something/ probably so/ when I/ came through life/ other words/ I/ I listened to things that/ that/ I’m hearing things/ and catching what they saying/ and that’s how I carried on in life/ and then/ back then/ people didn’t speak/ speak/ [proper] English/ you know/ they/ other words/ (17.30) either French/ or/ or/ or English/ you know/ or other/ and then bouncing around/ you know/ and then that’s how I caught it/ you know
99. Teranda: did they speak the broken English that you said that you speak earlier
100. Peter: probably did/ but I had/ you know/ I never did notice/ and then they had/ broken English/ and then they had that/ that French/ in there/ you know/ so it’s kind of/ you know how something get/ you put/ you two together/ and they bouncing around/ and you catch one of them/ you don’t catch one/ might say yea/ (18.00) might say no/ you know/ *makes noises*
101. Teranda: *laughs*
102. Peter: that’s the way it was/ you know/ it just/ threwed up in there/ and that’s how you catch it/ you know/ that’s how I was all my life
103. Teranda: okay/ umm/ so what about the way that you act/ are there certain things that you think/ help to define you culturally/ are there certain things that you do/ where you see this Cajun/ sorry/ this Creole/ and umm/ African American culture/ kind of coming through
104. Peter: well/ (18.30) I tried to teach/ I try to teach my grand kids/ my great grand kids/ how to speak/ and the/ I/ other words/ I can’t say other words (...) I try to teach my chil—/ my
grand kids how to speak/ they up there/ wanna talk/ (...) I say/ I tell my/ and me/ I know to throw the right/ speech to them/ and when they/ I say/ “that’s how you supposed to say it/ (19.00) don’t say what paw paw say/ no/ say I/ listen to what I’m telling you/ say it like out there”/ and then/ that’s the way it is

105. Teranda: okay/ are there any things that/ your parents used to do when you were younger/ in the way that they act/ that you find yourself doing now

106. Peter: no/ hold up/ *laughs*/ (...) laugh at this one/ umm/ I/ I don’t spank behinds/ like my mama and daddy did (19.30)/ but uh/ we did a whole lot of stuff/ (...)/ we had a/ I was a kid/ (...)/ and my mama and daddy spanked me every (...)/ I mean/ if you did something wrong/ you got a wiping/ kids these days/ they don’t do that/ you know/ they just/ “aww baby/ don’t do that no more/ that”/ and/ when I was came up/ we got a wiping/ a bad wiping (...) 

107. Teranda: *laughs*/ was/ (20.00) is there anything else that they used to do/ that you find yourself doing now

108. Peter: mmm/ trying to raise the garden/ I love the/ I love to farm/ and/ love to farm/ love to raise a garden/ I ain’t got nothing/ no equipment to raise a big garden/ but I love to farm/ and stuff like that/ you know/ but/ I just raise a garden/ and/ have the kids out their in the yard/ my mama and daddy never did like us/ we always did raise big garden/ (20.30) but/ they never was out there with us/ you know/ we did it ourself/ so/ my mama/ she loves it/ my daddy/ I ain’t gonna say what he is/ I gonna put that in the category/ okay

109. Teranda: *laughs*/ okay

110. Peter: my mama/ she was a lovely person

111. Teranda: *laughs*

112. Peter: my daddy was a lovely person too/ but I mean/ I ain’t gonna put that in there/ my mama/ she was a wonderful person

113. Teranda: so was this garden important to your family’s livelihood/ did you need it to eat/ (21.00) and stuff like that/ was it important to/ was it important/ an important source of food/ the garden

114. Peter: oh/ we always had food/ always did/ always had plenty food/ plenty food/ vegetables/ I mean/ always/ right now/ you talking about or/ then

115. Teranda: then/ then

116. Peter: then/ we always had plenty food/ can/ canned vegetables/ all the time/ and/ and/ canned/ uh/ vegetables/ uh/ uh/ uh (21.30)/ fruits/ and everything/ I mean/ canned/ we even canned watermelon rim in a jar

117. Teranda: *laughs*

118. Peter: well/ really/ my mama canned watermelon rims/ and that was a/ a great thing in the wintertime 

119. Teranda: and you/ you said that people/ aren’t doing that anymore

120. Peter: no/ they’re not

121. Teranda: why do you think that is

122. Peter: cause/ kids these days don’t/ do things like that no more/ they/ getting out of it/ you know/ (22.00) other words/ once our generation go out/ that’s it/ they ain’t gonna do that no more/ that’s it/ once this generation get out/ that’s it/ ain’t gonna/ ain’t gonna do it no more/ they shutting it down/ kids ain’t gonna do that

123. Teranda: is there any reason why you think they won’t do that
124. Peter: why/ cause they got they/ got they mind on something else/ got the mind on/ what life is/ they got they mind on something else/ I mean/ uh/ (22.30) think about/ life/ life is a thing like this here/ you help yourself/ you’ve got to help yourself/ God ain’t gonna give you nothing/ God give you a life to live/ and you’ve got to go in there and help yourself/ your president ain’t gonna help you/ you got to go out there and help yourself/ (...)/ and they always wanna cry/ and say/ “well/ it’s the president doing this”/ *noise indicating no*/ don’t (...)/ don’t blame/ you can’t blame nobody/ for your life/ blame yourself/ (23.00) cause you not out there doing it/ like what you supposed to be doing/ right

125. Teranda: mmhm

126. Peter: that’s the way I’m is/ I mean/ that’s my [tries to say theory]/ uh/ t/ I can’t pronounce it anyhow/ my [tries to say theory] about the whole thing/ blame yourself/ cause you can help your own self/ don’t blame somebody else/ cause/ uh/ cause/ uh/ had a (...)/ “hey/ that ain’t my fault”/ “ain’t hurt me”/ hurt/ (...) (23.30) don’t do that/ change gonna happen in life/ change gonna really happen/ they gonna have something/ don’t blame this one or that/ that ain’t cause it gonna happen/ I don’t care what you do/ I don’t care what you do in life/ something gonna happen real bad

127. Teranda: is that something that you took from your parents/ that I/ that/ you said it was a theory/ that theory about life/ is that/ is that something that you kind of took from your parents

128. Peter: yeah/ took from par—/ yeah/ it is/ something gonna happen/ I took that from/ I say/ “mama”

129. Teranda: (24.00) did you learn that from them

130. Peter: yeah/ I say/ “mama”/ mama tell me all the time/ say/ “boy/ something gonna happen”/ I say/ “really/ it sure do”/ it really did/ I lost a sister/ I lost a brother/ I lost a lil cousin in the curb right there/ a little car run over him/ I mean/ things gonna happen in life that/ you not expected/ but it’s gonna happen/ you can not blame nobody for this/ cause it’s gonna happen

131. Teranda: so why do you think that that’s not being passed down to/ (24.30) the younger generation in your family

132. Peter: (...) the younger generation/ cause/ I can’t explain it cause I/ I never been in that situation before/ I don’t sag/ that’s mostly the whole trouble/ is sagging your pants/ wanna show your ass/ wanna show your ass/ you go out there and pull your pants down

133. Teranda: *laughs*

134. Peter: you ain’t gonna walk around with them all down/ all day

135. Teranda: *laughs*

136. Peter: gad damn/ you know/ but/ no/ that didn’t/ that wouldn’t passed down through my generation/ (25.00) but it came through that/ you know/ like the/ baggy pants/ at the bottom/ uh/ afro/ this big/ it came through there/ it came (...) and once they came back/ it went back outta/ they didn’t go to the baggy pants/ they went to the saggy pants/ and how that came out/ I have no idea

137. Teranda: but I mean why/ you were saying that/ you learned from your parents/ that things are always gonna happen/ and you just have to/ you know/ (25.30) be able to deal with it yourself

138. Peter: that’s right/ you gotta

139. Teranda: so/ why/ why do you think that that attitude isn’t being/ passed down to/ younger generations in you family
Peter: you know why/ cause they don’t wanna listen/ they/ they don’t listen/ other words/ you pass the knowledge to them/ “okay/ yeah”/ *makes noise*/ outta on ear into the other one/ it/ that’s how I say/ in one ear/ out the other/ but that ain’t what it is/ they try to/ (26.00) let me see if I can put it in a way/ that somebody can understand/ and really do/ uh

Teranda: just say it/ and I’ll/ see if I understand

Peter: kids/ you tell kids to do something/ and they would go outside and do a different thing/ well that ain’t what I told you to do/ now/ listen what I’m saying/ but if my mama told us to go and do something/ (26.30) what I did/ I caught a behind wiping/ I caught a wiping/ that’s the whole thing/ that’s where it changed at/ right there/ you know/ you corre —/ you correct them/ “I told you not to do that”/ then/ it’s don’t answer/ you know/ it’s don’t/ it don’t/ that’s the way things/ that’s the way it is/ in other words/ that’s how I think (…) is/ that’s the way I think it is/ you know

Teranda: okay/ (27.00) well/ asks question I.3 for African American and Creole

Peter: my personal life

Teranda: mmhm/ and what you believe/ and what you think about things

Peter: uh/ I can’t think about it/ I mean/ that’s/ that’s life/ I mean/ (27.30) that’s my babies life/ and/ that’s the kids life/ other words/ I ain’t got nothing to kick about it/ cause/ only thing/ I don’t feel bad about it/ other words/ let’s put it like this

Teranda: about what

Peter: about my/ my/ my/ uh/ African American/ or Cajun/ side/ other words/ I don’t have nothing to/ nothing to/ nothing to kick about/ that’s my life/ you know

Teranda: and what do you mean/ “nothing to kick about”/ nothing to worry about

Peter: nothing to worry about/ (28.00) why worry

Teranda: okay/ well/ what I mean is that/ are their any things/ other/ are there any other ideas that your parents had/ that you think you still hold today

(Peter makes a comment unrelated to the interview and Teranda repeats the question)

Peter: no/ the only thing I regret/ really/ (28.30) the only thing I regret/ my daddy/ I dranks too/ I don’t know/ the only thing I regret/ my daddy/ and mama split up/ before I/ my daddy and mama died/ they wasn’t together/ so/ the only thing I regret/ that’s the only thing/ they wasn’t together/ you know that/ they just split up in life/ and after they had all fourteen living children/ you know/ and grandchildren/ and then they gonna split up/ you know/ that’s

Teranda: (29.00) why is that something that you regret

Peter: why what

Teranda: repeats question

Peter: I regret/ I have no idea

Teranda: okay/ okay/ explains section III/ asks question III.1 (29.30)

Peter: no/ it’s

Teranda: so/ what is a Creole person to you

Peter: I guess/ either black/ or mulatta

Teranda: okay/ what’s mulatto

Peter: mulatta

Teranda: mmhm

Peter: uh/ between/ I can’t say white/ between/ Cajun and black/ that’s mulatta/ I’m not gonna say white (30.00)/ cause it ain’t/ between black and white

Teranda: okay/ or between black and Cajun
167. Peter: yeah/ black and Cajun/ that’s what I’m saying
168. Teranda: what’s Cajun
169. Peter: Cajun is a uh/ Cajuns is/ people came from uh/ what it is/ uh/ foreign countries/ came down here/ make Cajuns/ cause this not a (30.30)/ uh/ United States never was a uh/ a country that lived black and white/ this was a Indians/ yeah
170. Teranda: yeah/ well why wouldn’t you define Cajuns as being white
171. Peter: cause they/ they not white/ they not really white/ they not white
172. Teranda: okay/ so it’s between somebody/ you/ you would define a Creole person as being (31.00)/ as being a black or mulatto
173. Peter: or spanio / or whatever
174. Teranda: okay/ so it doesn’t necessarily have to be somebody of mixed
175. Peter: no/ don’t necessary/ no/ they all crossbreed/ (...)/ they crossbreed/ *laughs*
176. Teranda: all of them
177. Peter: all of them crossbreed/ *laughs*
178. Teranda: *laughs*/ okay/ so there/ (31.30) asks question III.2/ just/ like tell me some about your ancestry/ like what were the people on your mom’s side/ and on your dad’s side
179. Peter: well/ I have no idea where the Cheniers came from/ I have no idea where the Thibodeauxs came from/ but we was here/ and where we came from/ very/ (...)/ across the country/ (32.00) the Thibodeauxs/ got a place called Thibodeaux, Louisiana/ now/ we could’ve came there/ and they got a lot of people live there/ I work for the Thibodeauxs in Louisiana/ Thibodeaux brothers/ I worked over there/ and the Cheniers/ I really don’t know where they came from/ I know they rode the wagon train
180. Teranda: but/ like are they/ where/ you were saying earlier that/ some of the people were Haitians/ and
181. Peter: Haitians/ and Haiti/ from Haiti/ (32.30) or Haiti/ and somewhere else
182. Teranda: so/ what about your mother/ was she/ what was she
183. Peter: she was a Chenier/ but her daddy/ daddy came/ I think they people came from Haiti/ other words/ they opened a wagon train/ from uh/ uh/ what I wanna call this place/ uh/ they drove a wagon train across the country/ went there and came back in a wagon train (33.00)/ they didn’t come there and come back here in a bus/ cause it’s a wagon train/ you know what I’m saying/ yeah/ they went cross country in a wagon/ yeah
184. Teranda: and uh/ who else/ like you said/ Native/ you said Indians or Native Americans
185. Peter: yeah/ (...) Indian/ my/ my/ I think it was black foot/ I think it was/ my grandmother/ my grandmother/ she was a little bit short, black, dark person/ she was about this high/ and my grandfather/ he was a Thibodeaux/ and he was/ pure Cajun
186. Teranda: okay/ (33.30) and are those/ are they French ancestry/ or
187. Peter: pure French/ they didn’t talk English at all/ boy
188. Teranda: they what
189. Peter: they didn’t talk English/ that’s how come I didn’t learn shit
190. Teranda: *laughs*/ okay
191. Peter: my grandfather/ he wouldn’t talk English at all/ he was pure French/ (...)/ he was pure French/ and I know/ I been knowing him since I was about this big/ he was my/ I mean he/ and I never could learn it/ but I sit down there with him all day/ and talk with him/ (34.00) and I know exactly what they was talking about/ but I never could talk French/ but I knew what they was saying/ you know
159
192. Teranda: uh-huh/ so what/ are there any other/ were there any other umm/ groups that you know about/ like/ do you have Spanish/ or
193. Peter: no/ not really/ no
194. Teranda: no/ okay/ umm/ asks question III.3 for American
195. Peter: (34.30) I’m/ why
196. Teranda: repeats question
197. Peter: well/ I don’t know how to put this/ I’m is American/ yeah
198. Teranda: yeah/ but why wouldn’t you say that you’re just American
199. Peter: I’m just American/ cause/ cause the way they doing things these days/ (35.00) is not right
200. Teranda: okay/ whenever you were growing up/ did people label you/ black
201. Peter: always did label me black
202. Teranda: huh
203. Peter: always did label you black
204. Teranda: so they’d say you were black
205. Peter: right/ anything you/ anything you signed it’s black/ you wasn’t white/ you was black
206. Teranda: so is it/ do you think that that has/ do you think that that’s affected how you see yourself as being (35.30)/ black or African American
207. Peter: (...)/ yeah
208. Teranda: okay/ so would people ask you whenever you were younger/ whether you were black or you were white
209. Peter: I was black
210. Teranda: okay/ and did they want/ why would they say that/ was it to kind of separate
211. Peter: no/ cause/ no/ cause it was/ they was prejudice/ (...)/ that’s the way I see it/ it could’ve been a different thing/ could’ve been a different way/ but they was/ (36.00) you couldn’t/ a lot of places/ when I was coming up/ a lot of places/ you couldn’t go in/ cause you was black/ and really/ I’m not black/ but that’s the way you cate—/ that’s the way you was/ you know/ black/ category/ you know
212. Teranda: so did you/ do you think you claim black now just because/ everybody when you were growing up just said you were black
213. Peter: yeah/ I mean/ might as well/ *laughs*
214. Teranda: okay/ okay/ and/ what/ (36.30) what are some of the experiences that you had/ with that prejudice/ I guess/ what
215. Peter: uh/ let’s see/ I had a few/ I had a few experiences/ I had plenty/ plenty/ in other words/ when I was coming up/ a lot of places you couldn’t go in/ cause you was black/ really I wasn’t black/ but you couldn’t go in/ in other words/ a lot of the things/ you couldn’t do/ cause you was/ you was black/ you couldn’t go in and/ other words/ you couldn’t go in/ where I work at/ (37.00) where I work at/ I been there 43 years/ and when I first started there/ they had a certain water faucet you had to drink out of/ you couldn’t drink out of this water faucet/ cause that was for the white/ this one here was for the black
216. Teranda: okay/ you keep saying that you were/ you were black/ but really/ that people would say that you were black/ but really you’re not black
217. Peter: no/ no
218. Teranda: so what are you
219. Peter: I’m Caucasian/ uh I’m/ no/ I’m really colored
220. Teranda: (37.30) okay
221. Peter: (…)

222. Teranda: okay

223. Peter: colored

224. Teranda: okay/ why colored instead of black/ I’m just

225. Peter: colored/ other words/ let me put it this way/ colored/ it’s the beauty of the word/ colored/ colored could mean anything/ red on your shirt/ blue on mine/ blue on the fan/ uh colored/ you know/ colored could mean a lot things/ you know/ like (…) all colored/ that’s the way we was/ (38.00) we the color of life/ you know

226. Teranda: cause you are all so mixed

227. Peter: all mixed/ (…) mixed/ but now/ people begin to see this/ but when I was coming up/ they didn’t see that/ they didn’t see that/ colored

228. Teranda: so you would call yourself colored because you are mixed/ whereas black would be just for/ people that are African American/ or

229. Peter: no/ just African American/ I see myself just African American

230. Teranda: no/ no/ no/ (38.30) I’m saying/ you’re saying that really you’re colored/ or you would have called yourself colored

231. Peter: uh/ Cajun American/ or what you want to do/ Cajun American/ I’m not gonna put myself in a position (…) other words/ my ID say black/ I’m black/ uh/ no/ not black/ how they have that on there/ uh/ how you say/ uh/ uh (39.00) African American/ that’s how you put it/ cause it ain’t gonna never change/ things ain’t gonna never change/ other words/ I don’t care how bright you get/ if you got it in your blood/ that’s it/ (…) that’s how I put myself/ African American

232. Teranda: okay/ but what I’m asking though is just/ not necessarily/ how you see it/ but how other people see it in general (39.30)/ is it that black/ is being/ only of one/ cultural group/ whereas being colored/ has to do with being mixed

233. Peter: mmm/ not really/ unless/ they mixed/ I have no idea how they got mixed/ but they mixed/ I don’t know/ I can’t

234. Teranda: but would you/ would you have called yourself/ you said/ you said/ I’m not/ (40.00) that I really wasn’t black/ but then you said/ what I was colored/ would you say you were colored because you were mixed

235. Peter: mmm/ no/ I wouldn’t say I was colored/ I was mixed/ I just was mixed/ I was colored before I got mixed/ I have no pronounce this/ how to answer that question

236. Teranda: okay

237. Peter: *laughs*/ I have no idea how to answer that question (40.30)

238. Teranda: asks question III.4/ so do you try to like/ trace back your family roots/ or do you try to learn Cajun French from your sisters and brothers/ or

239. Peter: I do/ all of them/ we have plenty (…) I know plenty about my (…) history

240. Teranda: about your

241. Peter: (…) history/ how you say that/ (…)

242. Teranda: about your heritage

243. Peter: yeah/ heritage

244. Teranda: (41.00) so you try to learn about your heritage

245. Peter: aww yeah/ I really/ but where I’m go at/ back in Chinatown and get something/ no/ not really/ no/ no/ we always got something going on out there/ something/ so that’s how we is all the time
246. Teranda: mmhm/ but I mean do you/ do you/ try to/ do you seek out learning things about your heritage/ so do you try to ask questions/ about where your from/ and stuff
247. Peter: yeah/ I always does/ I always does/ and I always like/ (41.30) people that does things to me
248. Teranda: and did you ever try to learn Cajun French/ or learn
249. Peter: every now and then/ I kind of “parle francios”/ (...) I’m telling you/ I ain’t gonna talk no French

110: Timothy, age 27

1. Teranda: explains questions in first sections (2.30)/ asks question I.1
2. Timothy: identity/ is/ I guess/ the person that you are/ uh/ I mean/ in the United States/ everybody’s labeled/ you know/ you have/ your generation X/ you have everything from ethnicity to the different regions/ but uh/ (3.00) identity uh/ I guess on an individual basis is/ no to people are the same/ they might be similar/ might have certain ways/ that/ you know/ are close to each other/ represent each other/ but/ everybody’s their own individual/ and I mean/ its/ certain characteristics about the person that identifies them/ and I mean/ it’s from the way they speak to the way they look (3.30)/ to/ you know/ how they carry themselves in a group/ because/ like when a certain/ when people are amongst a crowd/ they act a certain way/ and when they are by themselves/ they maybe act another way
3. Teranda: okay/ yeah/ explains different parts of her identity (4.00)/ so/ what would be some certain parts of your identity
4. Timothy: well/ my identity/ umm/ first of all/ my name/ I’m Timothy Duckless/ you know/ uh/ it’s been and issue growing up/ of the person that I am/ but/ (4.30) the best way I can say it is that/ I’m me/ uh/ I’m one/ I love the country life/ uh/ south Louisiana/ it’s home to me/ it’s/ it identifies me/ as a person/ it’s the area that I’m from/ so/ a lot of the cultural history and things like that/ I have in me/ uh/ I guess/ you know/ I identify myself/ I’m a male/ (5.00) uh/ 27 years old/ and the funniest thing about/ like what you’re saying/ what identifies me/ the biggest thing is that/ I find age difference/ uh/ and should I say it like this/ I’m/ I get along better with people that are older than me/ than/ you know/ people my own age/ so that’s kinda something that/ identifies me/ I mean everything from (5.30)/ I love team roping as a hobby/ I prefer/ roping with/ an older generation than/ kids my own age/ or/ I say kids/ but we’re adults now/ uh/ to/ like when/ if I start a new job/ I prefer learning under an older person/ than somebody/ you know/ close to my age/ and the older people are wiser (6.00)/ they have more experiences/ you know/ so/ I’m kinda going off on a tangent there/ but umm/ that’s part of/ what I identify as me/ I’ve been/ called an old man in a young man’s body for the longest time/ so/ but uh/ things like that/ like I say/ love the country life/ I’m a team roper/ well/ I love roping in general/ calve roping (6.30)/ head (...)/ it’s something that identifies me/ uh/ to be on a tractor/ where there’s cutting hay/ plowing/ you name it/ love the country life/ uh/ just/ you know/ uh/ love to celebrate life basically/ and also/ the way I speak/ it identifies me/ so (7.00)
5. Teranda: okay/ we’ll get more into that in a bit/ but/ asks question I.2
6. Timothy: cultural identity/ that’s going more along the lines of identifying a group/ umm/ and the funniest thing about it is/ is that/ (7.30) cultural identity is becoming/ it’s harder
now to identify a group/ because/ I mean/ you have different cultures that are coming together/ so you’re losing a lot of/ what used to be known as a culture/ I mean/ take for instance/ like/ with us/ uh/ you know/ the older generations of the family/ (8.00) spoke Cajun French/ you know/ uh/ and/ it’s/ if you ask me to speak French right now/ I could tell you a few things/ but I’m not fluent in it/ and it’s kinda something that I regret now/ you know/ being able to speak French/ uh/ because I can speak more Spanish than I can French
7. Teranda: you’re talking about Cajun French/ yeah
8. Timothy: Cajun French/ uh it’s/ you know/ (8.30) and if/ in this area/ if you ever notice/ if you’ve paid attention enough/ uh/ even with the Cajun French/ uh/ the dialect different/ it differs a lot/ because if you go down to the Lafayette area/ the French that was spoken there/ as compared to the French that’s spoken like around Ville Platte/ or something like that/ it’s/ there’s a variation in between it/ uh/ but/ basically/ (9.00) cultural identity is becoming/ it was something that identify/ basically a/ a group/ but like/ kinda like/ uh/ take for instance/ an example of what I mean by we’re losing cultural identity/ it’s/ if you go down to Cancun Mexico/ uh/ I mean/ there’s nothing really of the Hispanic culture in that area (9.30)/ if you ask me/ it’s/ very much Americanized down there now/ and uh/ basically with all the cultures coming together/ uh/ cultural identity is becoming harder to find/ but it’s something that represents a group of people/ their actions/ uh/ different celebrations/ things like that/ and that’s just a general term of it/ so
9. Teranda: do you think that/ (10.00) that’s the same thing that’s happening with Creole culture/ it that it’s just becoming Americanized/ or
10. Timothy: Americanized/ uh/ yeah/ you could say that/ because a lot of what the culture is/ are was/ is/ you losing a lot of
11. Teranda: well/ well/ why would you say that we’re losing a lot of it
12. Timothy: uh/ well over time/ you know/ nothing stays the same/ (10.30) and/ you have to think/ with the Creole culture/ there’s a smaller group of people/ and basically/ if that group of people stayed together/ and basically stayed within themselves/ eventually that would be the downfall of that group of people too/ but/ also by/ you know/ branching out/ or/ you know/ (11.00) expanding/ you know/ mixing with the different cultures in the area/ you/ when they come/ when the different cultures come together/ it’s a lot of change/ uh/ I mean/ certain things are lost in that process/ but
13. Teranda: so/ are we losing it to any particular things/ or
14. Timothy: not necessarily/ at least in Louisiana (11.30)/ not necessarily to anything in particular/ you know/ this is the United States of America/ and yeah/ umm/ but the one thing is/ is that a lot of culture and heritage is/ I guess it’s/ and it has to do with times and the different generations/ I guess certain things are not as important to/ the newer generation as it was to the older generation/ take for instance (12.00)/ I had a great aunt/ my great aunt (B…) would tell me all the time/ “Tim/ you need to learn your French/ learn your heritage”/ and I would always tell her/ I’d end up somewhere where/ they speak Spanish/ before I go to any place where they spoke French/ and uh/ the simple fact of knowing how to speak the French/ or Cajun French/ or Creole/ you know/ (12.30) was important/ to her/ and however/ to me at the time/ it wasn’t/ and now I’m regretting that I didn’t listen to her/ so
15. Teranda: okay/ so you think that it’s just kind of a change of the times
16. Timothy: a lot of it is/ umm/ cause/ over time/ different generations/ I mean/ the different
influences that you have/ (13.00) you got/ you have to think/ back in the older days/ you
know/ not every home had a television/ you know/ things that were done for entertainment/
like down here/ you know/ take for instance the Cajun French music/ the/ and the Zydeco/
I mean/ it started off from people sitting on the front porch with home-made instruments/
you know/ and that was entertainment for them (13.30)/ cause it/ you didn’t have/ you
couldn’t have a band/ you know/ in Seattle, Washington/ and they would be able to hear
them down here/ you had the transistor radios/ and you listened to a few things/ but then/
radios were a privilege back then too/ so it wasn’t something that was done all the time/ so/
basically/ the more exposure people got/ I guess helped influence the loss of cultures
(14.00)/ to the different cultures/ I/ you understand what I’m getting at

17. Teranda: yeah/ yeah/ or maybe it’s more of this American kind of culture

18. Timothy: correct

19. Teranda: okay/ umm/ asks question I.3

20. Timothy: culturally/ I guess you could say/ I’m figuring Creole/ uh (14.30)/ you know/ we/
still love to listen to Zydeco music around here/ uh/ a lot of the/ you know/ festivals/ that
are celebrated in this area/ is surrounded by Cajun French music/ Zydeco music/ you have
more of those bands still playing/ you know/ you have varieties/ or other genres of music/
but (15.00)/ that what/ the Creole culture is a part of me/ so

21. Teranda: okay/ asks question I.4/ would you just make a box that said Creole/ and check it/
or would you check in other things/ or

22. Timothy: mmm/ (15.30) that’s/ I guess uh/ that’s kind of hard for me to say/ I guess the
easy way out would be/ you know/ for a culture/ put the box down there with Creole next
to it/ and check that/ cause as far as uh/ checking off other things to/ you know/ identify me
with the culture/ it’s a lot of stuff/ *laughs*/ (16.00) it’s a lot of things that are associated
with it/ and you know/ uh/ it’s/ it’s crazy cause when you talk about things/ of this nature/
uh/ and you know/ the funniest thing is that you still have a lot of uh/ people trying to/
identify/ you know/ race/ in particular/ (16.30) and they can’t think outside of that as far as
a label/ you know/ uh/ take for instance/ you know/ you go from nationality to ethnicity/
you know/ the different cultures and things/ and it’s all/ I don’t know/ basically/ what I was
getting at earlier/ you know/ even with the racist/ I mean/ (17.00) there’s at this time no
pure race/ so

23. Teranda: yeah/ yeah/ well/ we’re not talking about race here/ but/ so you don’t see yourself
as being African American or black

24. Timothy: I’m black/ uh/ I mean/ that was/ what/ you know/ I was told/ that’s on my birth
certificate/ the whole thing of uh/ saying that I’m African American/ (17.30) I’m American/
and that’s how I feel about it

25. Teranda: is that your just American

26. Timothy: I’m American

27. Teranda: so you don’t really necessarily identify with being/ just being Creole/ or just
being African American/ or black

28. Timothy: right/ cause uh/ you know/ as far as the ethnicity/ I’m black/ okay/ uh/ the culture
(18.00)/ would be the Creole culture/ our family is very diversified/ if you go into the
family history/ you know/ you would see all the different/ you know/ nationalities/ uh/
influence/ uh/ over time/ I mean/ we have everything from French/ Italian/ black/ and the/
the biggest thing is/ is that identifying us/ (18.30) and I know we’re talking about culture/
but/ like with the whole race issue/ okay/ I’m black/ to say that I’m African American/ we
can’t go back and say/ or identify/ what part of us/ if any/ came from Africa/ so/ but uh/
I’m black/ I’m Creole/ south Louisiana

29. Teranda: okay/ so if somebody were to ask you what you were (19.00)/ what/ would you
tell them? I’m Creole/ I’m black/ or would you just say/ I’m American

30. Timothy: I would tell them I’m black/ because/ in society today/ race is still a/ a critical
issue to a lot of people/ so where/ what I response to that/ you know/ and the funniest thing
is that/ we get a lot of question/ cause typically/ in this area (19.30)/ you have a lot of light-
skinned blacks/ that look white/ and people are confused by it/ and that’s when the
questions arise/ you know/ “well/ what are you?”/ is how it come out/ that’s the question
that they ask/ so/ they ask me/ and I tell them/ “I’m black”

31. Teranda: but you see that more as just being race/ you don’t see that as having anything to
do with how you express your culture/ or how you are culturally

32. Timothy: right/ cause if you go/ (20.00) take for instance/ the way I was brought up/ the
way I was raised/ as compared to another black person is probably different/ I mean/ uh/
it’s/ and our culture/ cause/ and I’ve noticed this throughout the state/ and other states/ take
for instance like/ one thing that I’ve said is that/ our culture/ okay/ blacks/ Creoles/ (20.30)
we’re more privileged than a lot of others/ uh/ in this area/ now/ is it because of/ you
know/ of the skin color/ typically being lighter skinned blacks/ what they would call/ you
know/ having good hair/ and things like that/ uh/ I’m not sure/ uh/ (21.00) but/ I don’t
know/ we/ if you go from/ you know/ you could go to the Creoles/ or shall we say/ Creoles
color/ there are books about them/ and stuff like that/ but/ typically the way they were
raised/ as compared to a typical black person/ was different/ more opportunity/ more
privileges/ I’m/ that’s something that I’ve kind of noticed (21.30)/ picked up on my own
account/ so/ does culture make a difference/ I would say/ probably so

33. Teranda: so have/ have you been/ this goes into another one of my questions that we’ll talk
about later/ but/ have you kind of gone back/ and tried to look into the family history/ and
tried to look at/ you know/ what/ into book about Creoles in Louisiana and things like that

34. Timothy: I’ve gone back/ uh/ I’ve done a few searches (22.00)/ uh/ and tried to research a
little by internet/ uh/ as far as books and things like that/ hadn’t really gotten into it/ you
know/ as a top priority/and things/ it’s something that I would want to find out/ want to
know more about/ because it/ you know/ the history/ is the/ what helped create me/ so/ yes/I’d like to learn and know the facts (22.30)/ but uh/ hadn’t really done it/ cause/ I/ had
other things/ you know/ come up/ take like now/ you know/ with me farming/ you know/ I
don’t have time basically/ so/ cause/ but

35. Teranda: okay/ alright/ so/ you do kind of have these multiple identities/ (23.00) but it
seems like your seeing Creole as being something that you identify with culturally/ it’s
what you were surrounded by/ the things that you grew up with/ whereas black is just kind
of/ what you see as a race/ and what you identify with racially/ so/ asks question I.5

36. Timothy: mmm/ not really/ because/ (23.30) those are/ the/ again/ those are the things that/
that make me/ me/ now I will say this/ that uh/ they’ve had areas around/ the Opelousas
area here/ and other areas of South Louisiana/ where that was the case/ umm/ take for
instance/ I know and have heard stories (24.00)/ areas like/ Frilot Cove/ the Leonville area/
uh/ Grand Mary/ down in New Iberia Parish/ that was an issue that they had/ there’s/ kinda
like/ you know/ take for instance/ where a lot of the people now/ the majority of them were
black/ but they didn’t/ basically they didn’t want to admit to being black/ (24.30) or what
they were classified as/ as race/ or/ you know/ that was something that they didn’t/ didn’t want exposed/ I guess/ I don’t really know/ but I’ve heard stories about it/ as far as that being an issue today/ not really

37. Teranda: okay/ okay/ and umm/ earlier/ you said that just your name is a problem/ why/ why is that (25.00)

38. Timothy: wait/ a problem

39. Teranda: yeah/ you said just/ my name is Timothy (last name)/ and that’s part of my identity

40. Timothy: okay/ and it is/ I mean/ uh/ my/ my name/ again/ I identify as me/ uh/ if you look at the last name (25.30)/ uh/ Duckless/ okay/ there’s a handful of us in this world/ umm/ and the funniest thing is that/ that name wasn’t always Duckless/ it was a variation of a French spelling of the last name/ umm/ if I’m remembering correctly/ it was explained to me that that last name started off as Luculus (26.00)/ or something like that/ it was L-U-C-U-L-U-S/ then it became Duckless/ with a d/ D-U-C-U-L-U-S and over time became Duckless/ now part of the variation in the spelling of the last name/ came from/ (26.30) I would say probably/ you know/ being a little on the uneducated side/ not being able to spell/ and over times/ it/ you know/ they spelled it the best way possible/ that/ you know/ that’s where the variation came in at/ uh/ but/ again/ that’s part of the history that, that/ makes me/ (27.00) you know/ so

41. Teranda: okay/ I just was curious/ because I didn’t know if it maybe was related to that/ but you know Donatto’s the same way/ there’s not as big of a variation/ but there’s that extra t in there

42. Timothy: I was about to say/ there is the variation/ the Donatto’s and uh/ like if you go to New Jersey/ it’s all spelled with one t/ so

43. Teranda: yeah/ yeah/ and then/ uh/ when I was up in Nova Scotia/ they went to Grand Pre/ (27.30) which is where the Acadians came out of Canada/ and uh/ they have a lot of stuff with people’s last names that were popular/ which of course Thibodeaux/ Boudreaux/ names like that/ and all of those have no x at the end/ whereas all of us down here have

44. Timothy and Teranda: x

45. Teranda: okay/ so let’s see/ you were saying that culturally you find yourself/ you think of yourself as Creole/ (28.00) asks question II.1

46. Timothy: mmm/ expressing myself through everyday practices/ I mean/ if you go/ if we would get into my truck right now/ uh/ I’d have a CD in the CD player with Zydeco music/ uh/ that’s part of it/ umm/ I mean/ (28.30) take for instance/ I don’t find that I really have a/ a heavy/ Creole or Cajun accent/ to say that I’m from South Louisiana/ as compared to others around this area/ now/ if I go out of the state/ people notice

47. Teranda: *laughs*

48. Timothy: their/ you know/ but uh/ typically/ and so I guess I can say/ the way I speak/ it is influenced by/ (29.00) you know/ the/ my environment/ because even/ take for instance/ just uh/ while I was attending LSU/ if I would stay at LSU for a period of time/ and then come back home/ and uh/ go back to LSU/ and/ if I would speak with people/ they would tell/ I’d been back home/ so/ I guess that/ that’s kind of uh

49. Teranda: (29.30) so you have to do some code switching/ in there

50. Timothy: *laughs*/ yeah

51. Teranda: okay/ and is there anything else/ any other ways that you think you express it through your everyday practices
52. Timothy: food/ the way we prepare food/ the way we eat food/ the way we enjoy a meal/ I mean/ Louisiana has some of the/ best food around/ cause I’ve been a lot of places
53. Teranda: *laughs*
54. Timothy: and I’m sorry/ you know/ it
55. Teranda: nothing like gumbo/ right
56. Timothy: I tell you/ umm/ just/ every meal that we/ we can/ I mean/ we’re gonna do our best to make that a good meal/ now it might not be healthy/ but uh/ you’ll definitely enjoy it
57. Teranda: *laughs*/ so what about enjoying food/ how is that/ what specifically about enjoying food that you think is kinda part of that/ culture
58. Timothy: well the thing is/ is in/ especially South Louisiana/ because even/ if you go to a Florida parishes of Louisiana/ and you go to north Louisiana/ it’s not the same/ you will see a difference/ but when you come to south Louisiana/ you know/ I guess you could say/ Alexandria/ or on south/ but probably/ you know/ not until you hit an area like Turkey Creek (31.00)/ uh/ to Baton Rouge/ to Thibodeaux/ you know/ uh/ going from the Creoles and the Cajuns/ uh/ I’m uh/ kinda put them together/ because it’s a culture/ those two cultures are/ and I/ there’s a lot of similarities/ and/ you know/ uh/ (31.30) the thing about it is/ uh/ this region/ the people love to celebrate life/ I mean/ it’s nothing to see somebody working hard/ in the field/ doing something around there house/ to/ I don’t know/ just/ put that work aside because they have company come over/ and we’re gonna boil crawfish/ we’re gonna cook a jambalaya/ we’re gonna do something/ (32.00) and/ you know/ just have/ make an evening of it/ and sit down there/ talk/ tell stories/ laugh/ you know/ and just overall have a good time
59. Teranda: so is that kind of/ how you invite people into your home here
60. Timothy: a lot of times/ you know/ I don’t know/ uh/ it’s not always that it’s done/ that way/ but a lot of time/ take for instance/ if you have family or friends that have/ been away for a while (32.30)/ and all of a sudden/ one day/ they’re in town/ and they show up/ well guess what/ we’re gonna do what we can/ you know/ it’s nothing for/ the parents to send the kid to the store/ and say/ “look I need you to go pick up this/ we’re gonna cook an étouffée tonight”/ you know/ that’s part of that south Louisiana culture/ that we have/ I mean/ you’ve got to think/ we’ve got festivities for everything/ everything from the Crawfish festival/ to the Zydeco festival (33.00)/ to the Frog festival/ you know/ the shrimp festival/ it’s just/ you know/ that’s part of/ how/ we’re identified/ part of how I can say/ you know/ we love to celebrate life/ so
61. Teranda: so what goes into a celebration/ here/ what are some things that are important (33.30)
62. Timothy: number one/ to have a good time
63. Teranda: *laughs*/okay
64. Timothy: okay/ that’s the main thing/ you’ll hear it said/ you know/ when it says/ lassiez les bons temps rouler/ uh/ you know/ shoot/ people wanna have a good time/ and that’s the main ingredient to anything that you gonna do/ enjoy yourself/ you know/ try to/ enjoy the time that you spend with others/ (34.00) uh/ enjoy the food/ you know/ tell some stories/ hear some Boudreaux and Thibodeaux jokes/ and
65. Teranda: *laughs*
66. Timothy: it’s a combination of things/ so
67. Teranda: and music also/ is in that/ do you think
Timothy: music/ oh most definitely/ uh/ you know/ again/ I'll go back to/ this is a society where/ a lot of music/ it’s/ (34.30) you know/ like I said/ you have the Cajun French/ the Zydeco music/ but you know/ I grew up listening to different genres/ and if you go to the festivals/ you still have your Cajun French/ your Zydeco/ but/ it’s nothing to have a/ a country music performer show up at these festivals/ and I mean/ that’s/ that’s all/ that’s kinda/ what we were talking about earlier/ the/ the mixing of cultures/ because (35.00)/ you know/ I grew up listening to everything/ and music is important/ I will listen to everything from/ part of our culture/ the Zydeco/ to/ you know/ country music/ country and western/ R&B/ you name it/ you know/ the only thing I never really got into was techno music

Timothy: I never did/ so

Teranda: *laughs*

Timothy: the way I speak and act/ well the/ the way I speak/ it’s/ for the most part/ down here/ everybody is pretty welcoming/ I mean/ you know/ it’s (36.00)/ that’s part of the culture/ you know/ take for instance/ you know/ I don’t meet a stranger/ you know/ I can talk to just about anybody/ now if they don’t want to respond/ or/ talk back/ or/ you know/ speak to me at all/ that’s their problem/ hey/ I at least tried/ you know/ uh/ you know/ the way I speak (36.30)/ cause I’m gonna tell you/ if you/ you look at it/ the textbook English/ proper English/ oh yeah/ especially moving back home/ I find myself/ speaking/ in phrases/ that I/ I think/ you know/ boy/ if I was in English class/ I would get reamed for speaking like this/ but/ it’s/ (37.00) you know/ it/ it’s part of us/ umm

Teranda: so how would you describe your dialect though/ if somebody asked/ that’s a strange accent where are you from/ where’d you get that from/ what is that/ what would you say

Timothy: I mean/ the best thing I could tell you is that it’s country mixed with/ French

Timothy and Teranda: *laughs*

Timothy: I don’t know

Teranda: okay/ do you/ what about the way you act (37.30)/ is there anything in the way you act/ other than this kind of politeness

Timothy: the way I act/ and this comes from/ you know/ I’ve talked with my parents about it/ how I identify myself with/ with people/ take for instance/ umm/ number one/ I was taught to carry myself with pride (38.00)/ dignity/ you know/ be a respectable young man/ when you’re out and about/ umm/ and/ take for instance/ within St. Landry Parish/ okay/ they started consolidating the schools/ so/ you’d take like three elementary schools/ and combine them/ instead of having three high schools/ these three schools would/ all form one high school/ (38.30) uh/ the elementary school I was at/ just before I went to high school/ is a majority black school/ but uh/ take/ I didn’t/ not gonna say didn’t get along with them/ but I wasn’t able to identify myself to them because/ I was different/ in a lot of ways/ you know/ uh (39.00)/ my upbringing/ uh/ you know/ and I’m say/ as far as acting and stuff/ uh/ but yet you had another school that/ I did not attend/ that was more of the Creole culture/ and/ I have friends right now from area/ that I see/ you know/ when I’m going out to check a field (39.30)/ or something like that/ and when we got to high school/ a lot of them I didn’t know/ but I developed/ I had more friends from that school that I didn’t attend then the one I did/ you know/ when we were in high school/ so/ uh

Teranda: so what is it exactly/ about your upbringing that made it different/ and about the way you act/ that makes it different from/ or made it different than
Timothy: well/ (40.00) like when you’re asking about the politeness/ uh/ my parents didn’t believe in us going out there and making a fool out of ourselves/ take for instance/ being loud and crazy/ just for nothing/ to try to/ prove that you’re the big dog in town is not/ a way we were brought up/ uh/ just like I was saying earlier about meeting a stranger (40.30)/ you know/ never meeting a stranger/ I should say/ I believe in being nice to people/ I mean/ uh/ you know/ however/ if the time came to/ like I say/ you know/ you have to know to choose your battles wisely/ you have to know what to stand up for/ and when to stand up for it/ umm/ so/ (41.00) part of the/ or part of identifying myself with others/ and things/ it comes on actions/ their upbringing/ umm/ because/ like I’m saying/ you know/ you’ve got to think/ some/ want to have problems/ just because they want to have problems/ have nothing else going for themselves/ so/ I guess basically/ (41.30) idle hands are the devil’s workshop/ you know/ if you’re/ you’re a product of your upbringing/ in a lot of ways/ you live what you learn/ and/ I mean/ if/ a lot of times/ you know/ if you come from nothing/ I hate to say it/ majority of the times/ you end up becoming nothing/ I mean/ if your parents/ sat on the front porch everyday/ collecting a disability check (42.00)/ drinking alcohol/ you know/ all the time/ nine times out of ten/ you’re gonna/ do the same thing/ or try to/ at least/ and uh/ that/ that’s just a/ uh/ scenario that I’m giving of how to

Teranda: but/ how didn’t you maybe fit in/ what was

Timothy: well that whole thing of uh (42.30)/ like we were talking about/ carrying yourself with pride and dignity/ you’ve got to think/ like/ I don’t know/ I was always teased about/ speaking/ proper/ and uh/ I mean/ you know/ amongst/ the blacks/ you know/ if you speak proper/ and (43.00)/ this is just in general/ and if you’re black/ and you do that/ you wanna be white/ well/ I’m sorry/ but/ what about that/ you know/ doing that/ what makes you/ you’re not doing anything but being yourself/ how you speak is how you speak/ and/ I know this is going back on race/ but/ umm (43.30)/ it’s/ I don’t know/ it’s/ it’s kinda complicated/ because I’m trying to/ to put the best way to

Teranda: you don’t have to talk about it/ or

Timothy: well/ the thing about it is/ is that it’s/ I know what I want to say/ but trying to get it out is not happening right now/ but basically the clash came along the lines of/ you know/ like/ okay/ (44.00) going back to culture/ you know/ we come from/ parents and family that/ you know/ always strive to have something better in life/ you know/ be the best that you can be/ no matter what/ well/ when other people don’t have that same drive and motivation/ it causes clashes/ I mean/ because/ jealousy develops there/ you know/ (44.30) you’re ridiculed because you’re trying to be the best that you can be/ you know/ it’s nothing about forgetting/ who you are/ are where you come from/ you know/ when you try to put your best foot forward/ but other people see that/ aww/ he or she is trying to be better than us/ and/ that’s where the clashes come in at/ it’s not/ I’m clashing with these people because I don’t agree with their/ ideas/ or anything like that/ but most of the time/ (45.00) the clash/ or the confrontation comes from them

Teranda: okay/ asks question II.3

Timothy: okay/ (45.30) say it one more time

Teranda: repeats question II.3

Timothy: you know/ umm/ well/ cause in our, our culture/ I’m tell you (46.00)/ religion is important/ uh/ you know/ we were taught/ and I’m tell you for the most part/ I can’t speak for everyone/ with the same cultural background/ but for the/ the most part of/ you know/
majority of us are Catholic/ I would say/ it’s uh/ so if you ask us/ do we believe in God/ yes we do/ uh/ now/ religion/ your spiritual life/ is important/ we don’t necessarily judge/ you know/ you have some people/ if you’re not Baptist/ if you’re not Catholic/ uh/ if you’re not this that or the other when it comes down to religion/ you know/ you’re just/ wrong/ well/ if you believe in God/ our upbringing is/ is that/ even though you have the different religions/ you worshiping/ for the most part/ the same God/ so it’s not a uh/ it’s not a problem/ but it is important/ so/ that there/ and I keep getting side tracked/ repeat the question one more time

Timothy: so/ with religion/ it does influence us/ uh/ you know/ uh/ you’ll have your people that run to church every Sunday/ that/ are holier than thou/ but are hypocrites

Teranda: repeats question II.3

Timothy: you know/ uh/ but/ for the most part/ that/ that’s a part/ I hate to say it/ that’s a part of the culture too/ cause/ they are/ but/ you even have your variations of people within the culture/ cause/ take for instance/ like with/ in my case/ umm/ you know/ if you can help somebody/ help them/ umm/ yes I believe that there’s a God/ I’m tell you I’m not the best Catholic around/ but/ that/ that also helped/ you know/ put the foundation of who I am/ you know/ uh/ I believe in helping people/ everyday its a struggle for me/ to have my faith better/ and I’m/ like I said/ I’m not the best/ but/ when it comes down to putting your best foot forward/ if I’m doing well/ I do believe in helping others/ trying to/ if I can help them get their live together/ whether it’s/ they need clothes on their back/ a sip of water/ do it/ help that person out/ you know/ so/ yeah/ uh

Teranda: is there anything other than the religion that’s/ kind of really allows you to express

Timothy: uh/ at one point/ I was/ a quiet individual/ you know/ I didn’t say a whole lot unless I knew you/ but now/ you know/ I’m/ more outspoken/ uh/ confident/ in a lot of various/ and the biggest thing is is that/ like when I was in college/ they had a few people from southwest/ southwest Louisiana/ that went to LSU/ and they had a lot of people/ you know/ from other states/ surrounding areas/ take for instance/ like a lot of my friends were from around the Kentwood area of Louisiana/ so you better believe there was difference in culture there/ umm/ you know/ we/ there’s a lot of things that we/ had to learn from each other/ uh

Teranda: what/ what were some of those/ what were some of the ways that you were different/ specifically

Timothy: uh/ and some of it was/ you know/ like I was saying/ that welcoming attitude that we have/ they were more closed off/ if they didn’t know somebody/ they wasn’t gonna roll out the red carpet for them/ it was just/ you know/ it was a different attitude towards people/ a different attitude towards/ what I’m say/ life in general/ but uh

Teranda: but/ how did you/ how did you see that

Timothy: it wasn’t bad/ because/ it was what they knew/ it was the way they were raised/ and things like/ but the funniest thing is/ is that/ a lot of them/ didn’t know any better until we got together/ and then

Teranda: so are we talking about races here

Timothy: no/ not necessarily race/ uh/ because/ when/ when I was at LSU/ majority of my friends were white

Teranda: is it maybe stereotypes then
102. Timothy: there were stereotypes/ uh/ that you had to deal with/ (52.30) and things like that/ but like/ my closest friends at LSU were/ majority of them were white/ I mean/ there was other/ one other guy that was black/ and a girl that was black/ that was close to me/ other than that/ you know/ but the funniest thing is/ is that/ when I first met them/ I/ I put in my mind/ oh/ this is the way these people are/ I’ve got hell on my hands/ but when we got together (53.00)/ started talking/ we learned a little bit about each other and/ adapted/ you know/ we saw that these stereotypes about each other were not true/ and uh/ you know/ basically/ we learned/ we adapted/ we uh/ you know/ that cultural diversification played a role/ we were accepting of each other/ you know/ (53.30) it/ we/ so/ it/ it made

103. Teranda: do you find that you are more tolerant towards other people/ because of your/ the kind of mixed background that you’re coming from

104. Timothy: I would probably say/ yeah/ that would probably be/ why I’m more tolerant of/ you know/ cause/ now I’ma go off onto this/ (54.00) you know/ uh/ take for instance/ you know/ prejudice/ uh/ if anybody says that they’re not/ they’re lying/ cause everybody has something they don’t like about/ if you ask me/ there’s things that/ and this is going to race/ but/ things that black people do I don’t like/ but there’s also things that white people do that I don’t like/ uh/ there’s things in certain cultures/ I don’t understand/ even today (54.30)/ even though I’ve/ been around more/ and things like that/ certain things that cultures do that/ I don’t necessarily agree with/ and don’t like/ so/ yeah/ you know/ that/ that’s a rule/ but it/ it’s with all of us/ and you’ve gotta go into this world with and open mind/ and be able to/ you know/ learn/ adapt/ and make/ make the best of every situation (55.00)/ *laughs*

105. Teranda: okay/ asks question III.1

106. Timothy: I would/ probably say/ yes/ I mean/ in the textbooks/ they’ll/ the history books’ll tell you/ (55.30) what a Creole person was/ and I’m trying to remember the exact definition of it/ but I’ma tell you/ my

107. Teranda: what’s your definition

108. Timothy: I’ma tell you/ take for instance/ you know/ uh/ Creole people/ if you go down to this area/ there’s a lot of French/ uh/ a lot a/ you know/ (56.00) black/ Native American/ you know/ uh

109. Teranda: these are the/ their ancestors

110. Timothy: right/ just/ uh/ a total mixture/ you know/ like/ if you could go back to melting/ talking about a melting pot/ everybody coming together and/ I mean/ a Creole is a/ and I don’t remember exactly how the textbook stated it/ but I do remember that/ I didn’t agree with it/ (56.30) uh/ they spoke/ you know/ Creole/ French/ you know/ uh/ it’s like/ you/ you hear about/ Haitians speaking Creole/ and/ I know they have their own dialect/ and things like that/ but when I think of Creole/ I think of Cajun French/ it’s/ it varies in the region/ you know/ umm/ (57.00) cause I can remember days of going on my front porch/ or/ I say my front porch/ or my/ my grandmother’s porch/ and/ she would/ if her sisters were over/ and her brothers/ and I mean/ they spoke French/ they’d sit down there/ and have complete conversations/ in French/ uh/ so/ it’s a very diversified culture (57.30)/ umm/ if you ask me/ Creoles/ you know/ I wouldn’t necessarily say that they’re just mulatta/ but/ the French/ the Native American/ the black/ it/ Spanish/ Italian/ you know/ you have that in them too/ because this area had several/ I mean/ it took a lot of people to/ to make what you have today/ (58.00) and/ the/ the people that populate the south
Louisiana/ so/ and/ what does it require/ I mean there’s no rite of passage for the boys/ to say that/ oh yeah/ their Creole/ or anything like that/ but uh

111. Teranda: so what is/ what is mulatto
112. Timothy: mulatta/ you know/ it’s/ a black and white baby (58.30)/ basically a biracial/ relationship and their off-spring
113. Teranda: okay/ are there any other attributes/ other than having this kind of mixed heritage/ or
114. Timothy: mmm/ yes/ to think of any directly right now/ mmm
115. Teranda: just think what you think/ not necessarily what somebody else would say (59.00)
116. Timothy: that’s what I’m trying to think of/ and I can’t/ you know/ umm (59.30)/ one thing I can say/ is that/ this culture/ it’s/ believe it or not/ even though it’s kinda dying off/ uh/ there’s more people interested in it now/ cause/ it’s/ I don’t know what it is about it/ if it’s that/ that love to celebrate life/ but more/ (1.00.00) I’m finding now/ more people are trying to learn of it/ even those without any Creole heritage/ and trying to keep it alive now/ uh/ that’s one of the biggest things I can say/ any other attributions/ uh/ to you/ I mean/ there
117. Teranda: what about the speaking French/ or the being Catholic/ (1.00.30) are those/ two things that someone would have to have
118. Timothy: not necessarily/ umm/ the one thing about it is/ there’s probably several meals that you’d have to prepare/ or types of meals/ to
119. Teranda: *laughs*/ what’s/ it all comes back to food/ right
120. Timothy: exactly/ food/ but uh/ I can tell you this (1.01.00)/ the one things about them/ with the older people/ take for instance/ you know/ you have/ going back to religion/ okay/ majority of Creoles are practicing/ you know/ Catholicism/ their Catholics/ and you have a lot of new churches today/ coming up/ non-denominational/ but/ one of the things about us/ is that I notice with the older people (1.01.30)/ and this is in this area/ so/ they were born Catholic/ they gonna die Catholic/ their not gonna
121. Teranda: *laughs*
122. Timothy: don’t get me wrong
123. Teranda: and they want their kids to be that way too/ *laughs*
124. Timothy: the thing about it is/ is that/ I’ve never had one say any other religion is wrong/ you know/ or/ but/ they/ that was what/ what they were born and baptized in/ and that’s how their gonna die/ so
125. Teranda: okay (1.02.00)/ so/ ask question III.2
126. Timothy: well/ I do know/ that/ take for instance/ with us/ I’m/ you know/ mmm (1.02.30)/ we have/ the French background
127. Teranda: what about your family’s/ in particular/ like what/ what’s your mom’s parents/ and you dad’s parents/ on both sides
128. Timothy: okay/ they/ if you asking about race/ they’re all black
129. Teranda: or just about lineage
130. Timothy: uh
131. Teranda: like were they Spanish/ French
132. Timothy: that’s what/ there’s a combination on both sides (1.03.00)/ uh/ you know/ you take for instance/ on mama’s side of the family/ there’s French/ there’s Italian/ there’s even Hispanic/ you know/ and umm/ you have Native American in them too/ black/ my dad’s
side of the family/ it’s French/ it’s black/ it’s Native American/ so I mean/ it’s/ (1.03.30)
you know/ that’s all of what/ what makes me

133. Teranda: do you find that you’re/ I know that we’re kinda double related/ on both sides/ do
you find that a lot of Creole families are like that/ just

134. Timothy: yes/ cause uh/ I kinda hit around that earlier/ about the downfall of a society/ you
know/ the areas that didn’t/ if/ you know (1.04.00)/ they didn’t branch out/ uh/ more/ you/
you’d find that/ and it’s not like our situation/ take for instance/ uh/ you know/ you and I/
we’re first cousins/ on your dad’s side/ on my mama’s side/ then on my dad’s side and your
mama’s side/ you know/ we’re distant cousins/ so/ uh/ and you do find that (1.04.30)/ in
the Creole culture/ there’s a lot of that/ and/ that’s/ I don’t know/ uh

135. Teranda: do you think it’s because we live/ we tend to live in communities/ kind of
together/ or because people know more about their relatives

136. Timothy: I will say this/ uh/ the one thing about it is/ is that/ you have people in the
community/ or/ (1.05.00) within the area that/ every so often/ you have somebody that/
moves out/ you know/ and goes elsewhere/ you do find/ for the most part/ a lot of people
go and/ might go off for a little while/ then come back to/ the area that they grew up in/ and
that/ that’s/ that’s a lot of this area/ I don’t know (1.05.30)/ uh/ cause I have one friend/ she
wanted to get away from this area so badly/ it wasn’t funny/ when we went to LSU/ she
hated/ everything about the small town/ uh/ her daddy was a rice farmer/ and/ the one thing
that she said/ she wasn’t gonna live in a small town/ she wasn’t gonna marry a farmer/ and
uh/ there were a couple of other things (1.06.00)/ well guess what/ only time would tell/
she’s/ she married a rice farmer/ and/ she’s living in (city), Louisiana/ you know/
population might be 5,000 people/ so

137. Teranda: *laughing*

138. Timothy: go figure/ you know/ but/ you have a lot of that/ uh/ a lot of people just/ you have
that because/ they’ll go out maybe for a little while/ but then eventually/ they

139. Teranda: so you think a lot of people kind of stay in (1.06.30)/ these kinda communities/ of
Creoles/ or/ do you think that it’s because/ just because people know more/ or try to know
more about their lineage/ cause/ maybe if we were a different family/ I wouldn’t know that/
you know

140. Timothy: well/ and/ I don’t know what it is/ uh/ cause even/ when uh/ people move away
from this area/ that’s like/ (1.07.00) there’s this one little neighborhood in Houston, Texas/
or it’s outside of Houston/ if you go/ to that place/ every last person that built up in that
neighborhood/ their roots/ their origins/ are from right here in St. Laundry Parish/ you
know/ so/ I don’t know/ and/ I mean/ take for instance/ this area/ if you look at a lot of the
families/ a lot of the Creole (1.07.30)/ they’ll move from this area/ if they do move/ go to
Texas/ somewhere around Houston/ or something like that/ or if not/ they’re in California/
now when they go to California/ there’s a stretch/ a lot of them’ll go from San Diego up to
the Sacramento area/ San Francisco/ things like that/ but uh/ the weirdest thing is/ is that/
in traveling a lot/ you won’t believe how many people/ (1.08.00) have ties to Louisiana/ I
mean/ it’s/ all roads led back to here/ I guess

141. Teranda: *laughs*

142. Timothy: cause uh/ the one example of that/ and I guess/ like what we’re talking about/
like with the lineage/ and/ how people are related/ umm/ I flew to Phoenix, Arizona/ one
summer/ get off the plane/ and I’m riding the shuttle to the hotel/ well/ umm (1.08.30)/ I’m
talking with two old ladies that/ on the shuttle/ and/ they’re like/ “you from the South/ we
love the way you say yes, ma’am and no ma’am/ well/ where are you from?”/ I said/ “well/ I’m out here for umm/ our national dairy science student affiliation meeting/ umm/ we’ll be out here for a week”/ and I had a presentation to make/ and things like that/ I said/ “I’m from Opelousas, Louisiana (1.09.00)/ but I’m representing Louisiana State University”/ and uh/ the guy that was driving the shuttle/ looks back for a second/ he said/ “you’re from Louisiana”/ said/ “man, my mama’s from Louisiana”/ he was like/ uh/ “she’s from some small town/ you probably never heard of it”/ I said/ “well/ where is she from”/ he said/ “Bunkie, Louisiana”

143. Teranda: *laughs*

144. Timothy: and I looked at him/ I said/ “Bunkie’s only forty-five miles up the road from me” (1.09.30)/ I said/ “I definitely know where Bunkie is”/ we get to the hotel/ and uh/ we/ we’re waiting to check in/ things like that/ uh/ we go to the gift shop/ and uh/ at this point it’s me and several others from LSU/ the lady looks at us/ cause we had already put our name badges on/ cause we had our first meeting to go to (1.10.00)/ uh/ that afternoon/ well/ uh/ lady said/ “Louisiana State University/ Baton Rouge”/ and uh/ she looked at our advisor/ for the dairy science club/ and she said/ uh/ “you know/ I love my tigers”/ and so we all get to talking/ she said/ “yeah/ I’m originally from Baton Rouge”/ she said/ “I came out here on vacation three years ago and never went back home”/ so (1.10.30)/ no matter how/ like I say/ it’s a big world/ but a small world too/ so/ I guess that would /kinda contributes to/ everybody’s relation and things

145. Teranda: *laughs*/ my next question is/ asks question III.3 for African American/ (1.11.00) is it just because of those difference that you talked about earlier

146. Timothy: I mean/ I’m not from Africa/ and if you go in the history/ you can’t track down/ any origins/ any/ you know/ any kind of relation/ to say that/ we are from Africa/ I mean/ (1.11.30) you have/ if you going by/ you know/ the skin color of people/ Africa’s not the only place where they had dark people originally/ so how can you necessarily say/ that everybody’s African American

147. Teranda: why don’t you just identify with being black then

148. Timothy: I identify with

149. Teranda: I mean culturally/ not racially

150. Timothy: (1.12.00) like/ like I said/ (...) earlier/ you have no pure form of race/ okay/ if you ask me my ethnicity/ I’m black/ and that’s it/ if you ask me/ you know/ nationality/ American/ I mean/ you know/ uh/ everybody that’s a citizen of the United States is an American to me (1.12.30)/ I mean/ so/ uh/ why is it that/ you know/ why can’t we all be American/ why do we have to be labeled as African American/ Caucasian/ or/ you know/ like

151. Teranda: but do you not identify with black because of some of those differences that you saw/ whenever you were younger/ is that maybe part of it/ or

152. Timothy: well/ I mean/ (1.13.00) identifying as with black/ like I said/ you know/ it’s not anything about being/ not being able to identify/ as with black/ I am who I am/ I mean/ as far as race goes/ I’m black/ uh

153. Teranda: but that’s not how you identify culturally (1.13.30)

154. Timothy: culturally/ you know/ Creole/ you know/ it’s/ but umm/ I mean/ just/ the way/ like I’m a say/ if you/ the blacks/ the Creoles of color/ however you want to refer to them/ their upbringing/ uh/ typically what they’re exposed to/ (1.14.00) learned about/ the way they were brought up/ would be very different than/ if you go to somebody in north
Louisiana/ about the/ the only area that’s really close to us/ as far as that goes/ if you go
around the Natchitoches area

155. Teranda: Cane River
156. Timothy: Cane River/ and things like that/ you’ll have/ basically the same/ you know
157. Teranda: okay/ so/ you’re saying that you/ (1.14.30) you wish that everybody would see
themselves as just Americans/ so do you identify culturally as just being American
158. Timothy: like/ culturally/ I would say/ you know/ for the most part/ culturally/ yeah/ uh/
because you’d have to think (1.15.00)/ okay/ and I guess that’s kinda that whole thing of/
like the Creole culture/ kinda/ fading out/ because/ I mean/ take for instance/ just like I
brought up Cancun earlier/ you know/ you go down there/ and it’s like/ an extension of the
United States/ I mean/ if you go to/ to San Diego/ or go to/ you know/ Venice beach/ I
mean (1.15.30)/ it’s/ not exactly Cancun/ but/ you know/ you can see some of the same
things at Cancun as you can in that area/ there/ uh/ but uh/ another thing I can think about/
is like/ when I went to Canada/ uh/ from Montreal/ to Quebec/ we flew into Montreal/
(1.16.30) and uh/ within Montreal/ within Quebec/ the city limits/ I mean/ they spoke both
French and English/ now when you go outside of that/ it was pure French/ I mean/ you
know/ that’s all they spoke/ but/ uh/ American as a culture/ we’re rubbing off/ uh
159. Teranda: but just/ do you see yourself as being/ American (1.16.30)/ would you just as
likely tell somebody that you’re American/ as you would that you’re Creole
160. Timothy: I mean/ I’ve been asked/ this/ uh/ before/ been in an area/ you know/ what’s
you’re nationality/ you know/ because people question me/ they’ll take a look at me and
wonder what I am/ well uh/ (1.17.00) you know/ when they ask/ I’m gonna tell them/ I’m
American/ and if they follow with/ well/ you know/ okay/ but no/ what are you/ I’m black/
and that/ that’s my typical answer
161. Teranda: they’re talking about races
162. Timothy: yeah
163. Teranda: okay/ but/ I guess what I’m getting at/ is just as easy for you to tell somebody that
you’re American/ as is/ culturally/ (1.17.30) as it is Creole/ because some people also/
well/ the question was/ why do you not identify with just being American/ because/ like
somebody that I talked to/ who is/ you know/ about our same age/ just sees themselves
culturally as being American/ they don’t really identify with this Creole culture/ they don’t
identify with being Creole/ but they don’t identify with being American American or black
either/ so they just say that their American/ (1.18.00) do you see yourself as also being just
American
164. Timothy: I would say/ and you see/ it depends on how you look at it/ I mean/ if you’re
asking me/ you know/ what country I’m from/ referring to as what nation/ yeah/ I’m
American
165. Teranda: but culturally/ no (1.18.30)/ or
166. Timothy: yeah/ culturally/ because/ I mean/ you know/ uh/ the United States/ we have/ you
know/ we have our own ways of doing things/ of/ you know/ living life/ and things like
that/ I mean/ I’ve traveled abroad before/ (1.19.00) and the funniest thing is/ is that/ that/ I
mean/ I’ve been to countries where/ they/ they look at us/ and they’re like/ well/ they look
at the United States culture/ and what they figure is/ you know/ arrogant people
167. Teranda: *laughs*
168. Timothy: cause/ you know/ don’t care about anybody else but themselves/ and things like
that/ so

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Teranda: is it just as easy for you to identify yourself as being American as it is for you to identify yourself as being Creole?

Timothy: yeah/ I mean/ believe it or not/ like

Teranda: you don’t really identify with one more than the other

Timothy: I mean/ it depends on the/ the situation/ what I’m confronted with/ because most of the time/ when uh/ when that subject is brought up/ it’s (1.20.00)/ you know/ dealing with race/ or/ your nationality/ I mean/ as far as me saying that I’m Creole/ or anything like that/ I hate to say it/ some people don’t know about the Creole culture/ you know/ so/ it’s a lot more to say/ you know/ well/ my family history/ if you were to trace it back/ it’s French/ black/ (1.20.30) Italian/ you know/ and so on/ Native American/ you know/ take for in—/ dealing/ or talking about that/ it’s easier for them to get a grasp on that/ than to say/ well I’m Creole/ you know

Teranda: but just for you personally/ just whenever you’re thinking about yourself/ is it/ do you see/ yourself as being equally American and Creole/ (1.21.00) is it/ easy for you to identify with both

Timothy: yeah/ I mean

Teranda: okay/ asks question III.4/ like we talked about earlier/ you trying to trace back your family history/ or trying to/ you know/ learn some Cajun French/ are you trying to learn some

Timothy: uh/ (1.21.30) like/ for the most part/ as far as learning to speak/ the French/ the Cajun French/ uh/ Mr. (J...)/ from the (---) area/ from (place), Louisiana/ he’s/ a horse trainer/ he/ I hired him to train my horse/ as I talked about earlier/ I like/ uh/ team roping/ and things like that/ (1.22.00) calve roping/ and Mr. (J...)/ his first language was French/ Cajun French/ he didn’t know English/ or couldn’t speak it until he was about 6 or 7 years old/ you know/ uh/ he came up during the days where/ uh/ they punished them for speaking French/ so they had to/ to learn/ (1.22.30) his wife was held back a grade because she spoke French/ that was her first language/ but uh/ whenever I’m with Mr. (J...)/ like I say/ we would go through/ and I’ve asked him/ I was like/ “well Mr. (J...)/” cause he’s my team roping coach/ you know/ and also I asked him/ when we’re together to/ teach me how to speak/ the French (1.23.00)/ you know/ the French from this area/ and/ so that’s about the/ the only thing that I really have

Teranda: okay/ what about your/ your tracing back your family history/ you said that you want to do that/ you have the desire to do that/ right

Timothy: right

Teranda: even though you don’t necessarily/ haven’t necessarily done that yet/ you do have the desire to do that/ okay/ (1.23.30) and my last question is/ do you think that growing up/ I know that growing up around Baton Rouge/ I wasn’t necessarily surrounded/ around/ I wasn’t surrounded around like/ my mom’s father’s family/ who/ you know/ really holds this Cajun culture/or this Creole culture/ I wasn’t surrounded as much by/ you know/ my dad’s family either/ who kind of holds these/ kinda holds these/ (1.24.00) still holds these same cultural values/ do you think that growing up in this community/ with/ surrounded by those people/ just kind of/ influences the way you look at yourself/ as Creole/ do you think that if you grew up in a different community/ where maybe you weren’t around by those same people that you would have seen that as much

Timothy: I do think that/ I mean/ if I grew up/ in/ you know/ one of the (1.24.30)/ or suburbs of Baton Rouge/ you know/ I wasn’t/ wouldn’t have been exposed to that/ unless/
you know/ I traveled to this area on a regular basis/ you know/ uh/ I would adapt and/ live/ the life/ of that area/ so I do believe your environment affects you a lot/ (1.25.00) cause/ take for instance/ if I was born in the United States/ in this area/ and uh/ next thing you know/ I’m living in/ you know/ Mexico City/ Mexico/ well guess what/ I’m end up speaking Spanish/ alright/ and I’m gonna live there way of life (1.25.30)/ and probably/ not probably/ I/ I probably prepare food like them/ you know/ some things from this area might follow from the family/ but/ for the most part/ I’m gonna adapt to their way of living

181. Teranda: so you think that growing up in this area/ probably had an influence on you seeing yourself as a Creole (1.26.00)/ and not necessarily with these other identities/ like/ being African American/ or black/ or being just American

182. Timothy: you see/ the/ yes/ I mean/ like what I’m saying/ you know/ uh/ what we were talking about/ the whole thing about being just American/ umm/ (1.26.30) take for instance/ and it’s across the board/ I mean/ if you’re a citizen of America/ you’re American/ I mean/ no matter whether you classified as white/ black/ or the other/ you know/ umm/ the whole thing of/ African American/ like I said/ (1.27.00) Americans are Americans/ okay/ as far as race/ I mean/ you are what you are in that area/ you know/ we had laws that influence that years back/ about/ you know/ ethnicity/ your race/ uh/ so/ I mean/ if you ask me/ it/ it’s not an important issue to me/ (1.27.30) I mean/ it’s a label/ but/ I mean/ I’m tell you this/ when I grew up/ I didn’t know about race until I was in the fifth grade/ cause my parents didn’t teach/ you know/ well this person is white/ you know/ this one is black/ or the other/ people were people/ that was one of the things about growing up that (1.28.00)/ you know/ now once I learned it/ I think the biggest thing is/ is that/ once you learn it/ in your mind/ you start/ you put things into/ to action/ you separate yourself from a group/ and it happens on all/ it’s like when I was in uh/ psychology/ adolescent psychology/ (1.28.30) if you look over time where they say/ oh yeah/ kids naturally segregate during the course of their lives/ you know/ adolescents/ you see/ kids that played with each other when they were in kindergarten/ in the ninth and tenth grade/ it’ll be a group of whites/ a group of blacks/ this that and the other/ I don’t think that would be the case if race wasn’t taught to them/ you know/ (1.29.00) when you start looking at all the theories that come out/ and I don’t remember/ you know/ they talking about Freudian/ and all the rest of the people that you know/ have all these theories/ they state/ this is the way it is/ this is how it happens/ yes it does/ you know/ but if we didn’t have race/ and it mattered/ your socioeconomic status/ it’d be the same thing/ you’d see/ you know/ rich kids and poor kids group off with each other (1.29.30)/ for the simple fact/ they know the difference between/ being rich or being poor/ so uh/ you know/ that’s/ I guess/ you know/ so on/ race/ like I said it’s a label/ uh/ the one thing is/ now going to like the Creole culture and stuff like that/ you have people that (1.30.00)/ are from this area/ Creoles/ you know/ they hear Zydeco music and beat going on/ they’re ready to dance/ and uh/ and you have some people that are like the music/ but for the most part/ people that have never been exposed to this before/ and don’t know anything about it/ if they’re all of a sudden immersed into it/ they hate it

183. Teranda: *laughs*

184. Timothy: that’s just the way it is *laughs*/ you know/ but until they learn (1.30.30)/ or are/ over time exposed to what it’s all about/ they slowly come around/ now not everybody likes the music/ but I’ll tell you this/ for the most part/ people love the food/ going back to that

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1. **Teranda: (3.30) explains questions in the first section/ asks question I.1**
2. **Rita: umm/ as in/ how I identify myself/ or/ you know/ what/ what you mean**
3. **Teranda: yeah/ like how do you/ how would you define the word identity**
4. **Rita: umm/ as for the type of person I am/ or/ identify myself/ or what**
5. **Teranda: mhm/ yeah, yeah, yeah**
6. **Rita: I’m an easy-going person/ friendly/ (4.00) umm/ I like to/ get along with everybody/ I’m not hard / you know/ I’m really not hard to get along with/ you know/ I’m a people’s person/ hopefully I’m a people’s person/ *laughs*”
7. **Teranda: so here you’re kind of giving characteristics of yourself that are your identity/ right**
8. **Rita: yeah/ right**
9. **Teranda: so/ okay/ so/ and you kind of see that/ you know/ within that/ maybe you can have multiple kind of identities/ so you’re/ maybe you could also say that your identity is (4.30)/ not just your personality/ but is also/ you know the (...) your career**
10. **Rita: right/ yeah**
11. **Teranda: the baking and cooking**
12. **Rita: (says about the same time) baking and cooking**
13. **Teranda: and stuff/ that you do/ so like/ kind of like a cook would be part of that**
14. **Rita: part of my identity/ yeah**
15. **Teranda: uh huh/ and then like/ you’re an aunt/ so that’s obviously part of your identity**
16. **Rita: yeah/ yeah/ umm/ yeah aunt/ umm/ hard work/ umm/ that would describe me to/ as a hard working person/ uh/ (5.00) what else I could say about myself/ I really don’t judge myself/ you know/ I really don’t look at myself as certain things/ you know/ but what other people think of me/ you know/ but that doesn’t bother me/ you know**
17. **Teranda: well/ it’s not really what other people think/ just/ you know/ what you are/ kind of within yourself/ so for me/ like I would be/ I’m a female/ but I’m also a student/ and/ I’m also teaching/so I could be a teacher/ (5.30) umm/ what else/ I’m also a daughter**
18. **Rita: well/ well/ like my sister said/ she say/ well/ right now/ you could say the grandma/ auntie/ nanny/ uh/ what else she calls me/ the twenty-four hour sitter/ something like that/ you know**
19. **Teranda: okay so/ see/ those are all kind of/ could be parts of your identity/ and there are other things that make you you/ so maybe the cooking that you do/ and then also/ you know/ (6.00) the fact that your personality/ so you’re easy-going/ your a hard worker/ your a people person/ those kind of things/ so all that kind of makes up your identity/ right**
20. **Rita: okay/ yes**
21. **Teranda: and so/ also/ you can kind of have multiple identities/ so/ whereas you are/ you know/ a cook/ you’re more than a cook/ you know/ you’re also the/ an aunt/ and your also/ kind of a people person/ so you like to go out and do things/ right**
22. **Rita: right/ mmhm (6.30)**
23. **Teranda: so/ what’s that**
24. **Rita: umm/ no I was about to say/ with/ like with (J...)/ uh/ he really looks at me as a/ not just aunt and nanan/ you know/ he also looking at me sometime as uh/ his/ you know/ his helper in the house/ and/ you know/ whatever he needs to have done/ you know/ I’m there for him**
25. Teranda: so you can kind of see that there’s/ even within that one role/ there’s multiple identities/ so even within that one role of being his aunt/ you have multiple identities within that (7.00)/ cause your not just his aunt/ your also kind of his helper sometimes/ and stuff like that/ so I just want to make it clear that/ you know/ you don’t have to be just one thing/ you can be multiple things/ okay/ asks question 1.2

26. Rita: give me an example/ what you talking about/ uh

27. Teranda: okay/ cultural identity/ alright so/ okay/ this is a hard one for a lot of people/ (7.30) but I’m trying to stress that it’s not just race/ okay/ cultural identity/ it’s about more of your/ how you grew up/ the practices that you have from your family/ and stuff that you’ve kind of gained from your family and stuff like that/ so it’s kind of like I explained to one person/ umm/ a girl that umm/ a friend of mine knows/ is uh/ she’s Korean/ her par/ her biological parents are Korean (8.00)/ but her adoptive parents are Irish/ so/ to her/ she’s Irish/ her cultural identity is Irish/ because that’s the practices that she’s grow up with/ you know/ that’s the things that she’s been around/ so (8.20)

28. (pause in interview)

29. Teranda: (8.45) so her/ umm/ so she’s/ this girl is Irish/ to/ you know/ her culture is Irish kind of this Irish culture that she’s grown up in/ right/ it’s not the Korean race/ (9.00) which she is Korean racially/ but culturally/ she has Irish parents/ she’s grown up around/ with Irish practices/ so she is Irish/ okay/ so you can kind of see that

30. Rita: okay/ well/ kind of like/ in my situation/ okay/ I’m the oldest one/ I grew/ the way I was raised and everything was/ being the oldest/ you have a lot of responsibilities/ umm/ like to help clean up around the house/ when I was like/ maybe eleven, twelve years-old (9.30)/ mama had me helping cook in the house and everything/ uh/ I helped them out with the family business/ then uh/ the way she was raised/ of course her and dad/ they both was raised in the field/ picking cotton/ digging potatoes/ umm/ picking moss/ uh/ what else they say they had to do to/ uh/ I mean/ did whatever they had to do to make ends meet/ umm/ she was uh/ her parents were like/ what/ share croppers and everything/ (10.00) umm/ what else she was/ I was taught by her/ some of the things that she was taught/ she/ she made sure that/ I learned some of the same stuff that she was taught and everything/ umm/ about being in a/ well/ she came from a large family/ of course/ my family is not a large family/ uh/ but we still had to learn some of the things that she learned/ you know/ like making beds every morning/ washing your clothes/ sometimes you had to rub it on a scrub board (10.30)/ umm/ dad planted stuff in the garden/ he raised his farm animals/ like/ pigs/ chickens/ cows/ whatever he had to do/ just to make ends meet/ to make a living/ you know/ we had to do it/ I’m doing the same thing/ trying to make my ends meet/ mmm

31. Teranda: so/ yeah/ so that’s kind of/ those are practices maybe from/ kind of/ the things that you’ve learned from your parents/ umm/ but what/ (11.00) so if/ if I were to ask/ I just referred to this Korean girl/ if I were to ask her/ what culture she was/ or/ what her cultural identity was/ she would say Irish/ cause she grew up with those practices/ so/ asks question 1.3/ so what kind of culture do those practices come from/ how do you (11.30)

32. Rita: Creole culture/ like you said/ it’s not all about race/ it’s about the Creole culture/ and/ and the way that we cook/ and/ you know/ the way of living/ the Creole living/ Creole culture

33. Teranda: okay/ (12.00) so you would identify yourself culturally as being Creole

34. Rita: yeah
Teranda: now what about being black/ or African American/ would you identify yourself as those things/ or

Rita: African American/ mhmm

Teranda: okay/ do you think culturally you would identify yourself as being African American then

Rita: uh/ yeah/ mhmm

Teranda: okay/ so that’s kind of multiple identities/ so you kind of see yourself as being/ Creole/ but also

Rita and Teranda: African American (12.30)

Rita: right

Teranda: alright/ so/ that’s kind of the multiple thing that was talking about/ yeah/ so/ umm/ asks question I.4

Rita: umm/ say that again

Teranda: (13.00) repeats question I.4

Rita: would my cooking be considered as a uh

Teranda: umm/ no

Rita: no

Teranda: just uh/ really just/ that come from part of one of those cultures/ right/ (13.30) so uh/ like what on the census might you put/ to kind of fit/ those/ different cultures

Rita: mmm

Teranda: cause right now/ you can only check one/ right

Rita: mmmhm

Teranda: so/ how would you change that to fit your cultural identity

Rita: let’s go back to that one/ let me think about this (14.00)/ how can I/ okay/ you say to pick out one/ (talks with sister)/ (14.30) African American with Creole heritage/ yeah/ it’d be/ you’re an African American/ but your doing everything that a Creole heritage/ that they were doing

Teranda: mmmhm/ okay/ so you would kind of just make maybe another blank for Creole to check off

Rita: right/ mmmhm/ right

Teranda: (15.00) asks question I.5

Rita: *noise indicating no*/ I’m happy the way I am

Teranda: okay/ so there aren’t any times where you’re kind of like/ well I’d rather focus on this/ maybe in the group that you’re in/ you kind of focus on the African American identity/ in exclusion to the Creole identity

Rita: *noise indicating no*

Teranda: no

Rita: *noise indicating no*/ I’m happy just the way I am

Teranda: okay/ the characteristics of identity/ (15.30) asks question II.1

Rita: mmm/ just the cooking/ I mean/ you can tell a lot about the Creole cooking/ you know/ they everyday cooking/ you know/ mmmhm

Teranda: so maybe just in what you cook

Rita: what you cook/ and how you prepare it/ yeah/ and I don’t really use recipes/ you know/ (16.00) a lot of things is just strictly throw it in/ you know/ and that’s how a lot of Creole people do it/ they really don’t use recipes/ they just throw it all together

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66. Teranda: okay/ and what about those practices that you were talking about earlier with your
mom and dad/ do you think that/ that that kind of expresses this kind of multiple identity
that you have/ the/ what you learned when you were little from your parents
67. Rita: yeah/ because that’s the way they were/ that’s the way they used to cook/ and do
things/ mama wouldn’t use recipes/ daddy wouldn’t use recipes/ they would just cook/ just
throw it in/ you know
68. Teranda: but what about the/ (16.30) you were saying that you were kind of the oldest/ so/
you had to/ you know/ go to work with your dad and stuff/ and with your mom and dad/
and work at the family business/ do you think that that’s kind of also part of the culture/
that you
69. Rita: yeah/ yeah/ cause they teach you that umm/ in order to make a living/ you have to get
out there and work/ so it’s like/ nobody sitting at home/ everybody have to get out there
and work/ and do whatever it takes/ mmhm
70. Teranda: okay/ alright/ and is that part of the Creole identity/ (17.00) or kind of African
American
71. Rita: that would be both
72. Teranda: why is that
73. Rita: because uh/ uh/ from the African identity/ African American identity/ I was uh/ taught
the same thing about them/ uh/ like/ grandparents used to talk about that/ about when they
came over in the United States and everything/ and/ how they were hard workers/ and/ uh/
they had to/ you know/ work in the fields/ and/ get things done and everything (17.30)/
then also from the Creole side too/ it’s give and take on both sides/ you know/ do whatever
it takes/ mmhm
74. Teranda: okay/ okay/ and umm/ asks question II.2
75. Rita: mmm/ *laughs*
76. Teranda: I know/ that one’s kind of loaded for a lot people/ *laughs*/ just maybe focus on
the way you speak first/ (18.00) so how do you express your cultural identity through the
way you speak
77. Rita: the way I speak/ umm/ I know I could use a/ how can I say this/ I’ve heard myself on
recorders before/ and I’m like/ “I don’t like the way I sound”/ you know/ and it’s like/ uh
78. Teranda: *laughs*/ I think/ I think everybody feels that way/ because even when I listened
to myself/ I’m just like/ “eh/ it sounds so weird”/ I don’t sound like that in my head
79. Rita: (...)/ you know/ even on uh/ I leave telephone/ uh/ messages on different phones/
(18.30) that’s why I hate to leave messages on phones/ I don’t like the way my voice
sounds/ so uh/ umm/ what/ okay what was the question again/ *laughs*
80. Teranda: oh/ repeats II.2 about speaking
81. Rita: uh/ lot of time I just/ I speak/ but sometimes I just use hand motions for a lot of
things/ you know/ you know/ umm/ how can I express this/ umm (19.00)/ like in/ like in/
in reference to what though
82. Teranda: in reference to your Creole
83. Rita: my Creole
84. Teranda: or African American/ how do you think that that/ maybe comes out in your speak/
do you think that it has any affect on your speak
85. Rita: I don’t like the way it comes out/ sometimes/ uh/ like everybody say/ if I maybe
would have learned to speak/ maybe French or something/ maybe I could explain certain
things better/ I don’t know/ you know/ that’s just the way I sound/ mmhm
Teranda: (19.30) okay/ okay/ but do you think/ that you’re/ that being Creole or African American has any influence on the way you sound

Rita: probably being/ yeah/ that accent that we have/ yeah/ mmhm

Teranda: okay/ so you think it’s mostly just kind of your accent

Rita: probably just the accent

Teranda: okay/ okay/ alright/ umm/ asks question II.2 about actions

Rita: in the way that I act/ (20.00) umm/ I might/ I don’t guess I act no different/ you know

Teranda: mmhm/ what about/ do you think it comes out with the hard-working/ or/ do you think that maybe that’s part of that kind of identity being expressed in your actions

Rita: yeah/ mmhm

Teranda: since that/ that seems to be/ I just ask (20.30)/ I just ask cause that seems to be something that you’re focusing on/ so

Rita: the work

Teranda: yeah

Rita: yeah/ okay

Teranda: okay so/ asks question II.3

Rita: in my personal beliefs and attitudes/ mmm/ (21.00) like in reference/ my attitudes towards/ different things

Teranda: yeah/ towards anything/ just like/ kind of just your beliefs about things/ umm/ and attitudes towards/ it could be anything

Rita: you know/ I don’t even pay attention to a lot of stuff like that/ you know/ as for worrying about attitudes about this/ and attitude about that/ I’m not that way/ I don’t even sit down and think/ you understand what I’m saying (21.30)

Teranda: mmhm

Rita: yeah/ I just go/ you know/ I just do

Teranda: okay/ alright

Teranda: explains section III (22.00)/ asks question III.1/ so how about you deal with the first part of the question first/ how would you define a Creole person

Rita: umm/ the way they talk/ the way they act/ their cooking/ definitely the cooking/ you know/ you can tell that’s Creole cooking/ umm/ sometimes the way they dress/ you know/ sometimes you can tell (22.30)

Teranda: okay/ what about the way they dress

Rita: well/ you can tell/ the way they dress/ according to/ okay/ just like/ okay/ we dress common/ just regular everyday clothes all the time/ you know/ some uh/ cost efficiency wise/ you know/ a lot of people/ I don’t know if you realize that/ but Creole people/ they don’t/ they don’t spend a lot of lot of money/ you ever notice that

Teranda: yeah/ yeah

Rita: cost efficiency/ (23.00) they watch sales/ you know/ according to/ and they budget/ a lot of people/ they don’t/ I don’t know if you realize that neither/ mmhm

Teranda: okay/ and what about the way they/ you said the way they speak and the way they act/ so what about the way they speak and act

Rita: that accent

Teranda: the accent/

Rita: the accent/ uh-huh

Teranda: okay/ what about the way they act
Rita: about the way they act/ umm/ the way they like to/ sometimes a lot of Creoles like to
party/ have a good times/ you know
Rita and Teranda: *laughs*
Rita: okay/ so/ (23.30) umm/ have a good time/ umm/ at different functions/ festivals/ you
know/ they like/ people love all that stuff like that/ can’t wait for the next festival to come
around/ you know/ mmhm/ yeah
Teranda: okay/ alright/ asks second part of question III.1
Rita: any/ say that again
Teranda: attributes
Rita: attributes/ what
Teranda: like any kind of/ maybe characteristics/ (24.00) are even just the way people look/
or/ and then practices/ are there any practices necessary for being Creole
Rita: no/ it's not any practices/ uh/ sometimes/ well/ no/ it’s not really any attributes or
practices/ you know/ uh/ a lot of them used a lot of pepper/ for they seasoning
Teranda and Rita: *laughing*
Rita: that’s how you can tell that for sure/ that pepper
Teranda: funny that you say that cause I like pepper more than I like salt
Teranda and Rita *laughing*
Rita: (24.30) lot of pepper
Teranda: I will definitely pick up pepper and put on something/ before I pick up some salt/
okay/ asks question III.2
Rita: umm/ let me see/ what have I learned about the Creole/ what did they teach me/
(25.00) it traces back to that pepper/ because they used to use a lot of seasonings back then/
just like we use it now/ you know/ uh/ if it wasn’t spicy/ if it wasn’t pepper enough/ it
wasn’t good/ everything/ and you know/ they didn’t like bland food/ they liked food highly
seasoned/ mmhm
Teranda: but what about your own ancestry/ like your/ mother/ and your father/ like what
are their lineages/ were they/ you know/ were they French/ were they Italian/ I think you
last name is Italian/ right
Rita: yeah/ (25.30) last name is Italian/ umm/ dad also was/ he taught/ not taught/ he spoke
French/ his uh/ his ancestors were Italian/ uh/ mothers ancestors were/ were white/ her
grandmother/ and uh/ yeah/ her grandmother and great grand parents/ they were white/ but
uh/ umm
Teranda: do you know if they were French/ or
Rita: they were French
Teranda: they were French
Rita: uh/ she never did speak French/ my mom never did speak French/ never did learn it/
(26.00) but her parents spoke French/ that’s all they would talk was French/ and umm/ my
grand parents on my dad’s side/ they talk French to them/ that’s how they were able to
learn French/ I mean/ yeah/ they would talk French to my parents/ so he had to learn
French through them/ he didn’t learn French in school/ he learned it at home and
everything/ mmhm
Teranda: so is there anything else in there/ like was/ do you have Native American/ or/
that’s something that’s pretty common I think (26.30)/ but do you know of any Native
American Ancestry/ or Spanish/ or anything like that
Rita: umm/ no/ all I know/ I was taught that we had umm/ what they had said/ the Italians/ it was like three brothers/ three Italian brothers came down from Italy/ and that’s where they end up buying all this property in the United States/ and uh/ then they/ you know how back in the days where/ (27.00) each one of them bought so much of land and everything/ and I’m pretty sure you heard about the (---) Island and all that/ well that’s where that came from/ from those brothers/ and umm/ what else was I told/ about those Italian brothers/ and/ and French/ that’s on his/ on my grand/ on my dad’s side/ and then umm/ on mama’s side/ they never would talk too too much about their ancestry/ but/ you know/ I did learn that part/ about uh/ grandmother’s uh (27.30)/ mom and daddy were like/ real white/ but uh as for them doing a lot lota talking/ I don’t know that/ that much about uh/ her side/ I did learn about my dad’s side/ about them being Italian/ (---)/ it is an Italian name

Teranda: okay/ so why/ do you speak French

Rita: *noise indicating no*

Teranda: why didn’t they teach you French/ or

Rita: uh/ when they would hold conversations/ they didn’t want the child to know what they was talking about (28.00)/ yeah/ so they would talk French between them/ but/ the/ most of the kids all were talking English/ but uh/ they didn’t want the kids to know what they were talking about

Teranda: okay/ did they get in trouble for speaking French/ do you know

Rita: uh/ some/ yeah

Teranda: okay/ and your mom didn’t

Rita: mama never did speak it

Teranda: okay/ do you know why she didn’t learn/ or

Rita: she didn’t/ I don’t think she really wanted to learn it/ you know/ I mean/ cause uh/ I/ well (28.30)/ she had/ okay/ there were like twelve in the family/ and come to think of it/ none of them really spoke/ uh/ French/ on uh/ in her/ her siblings/ none of them spoke it/ but her mom and her dad spoke it/ but none of the kids spoke it

Teranda: okay/ that might have had something to do with them getting in trouble/ maybe/ yeah/ cause I know that people got/ in trouble/ in fact/ I was talking to one person who did an interview/ and uh/ (29.00) she was telling me that/ she was telling me that she got in trouble for speaking French at school

Rita: okay/ cause mom them/ like I said/ they were twelve siblings/ and/ her mom and her dad spoke it/ but they never did learn it/ none of them spoke it/ so I don’t know if they just didn’t want to learn it/ or/ you know/ I don’t know what was the case was/ but she never did speak it/ she say she couldn’t/ she didn’t understand it/ and she didn’t speak it (29.30)

Teranda and Rita: *laughs*

Rita: but her parents spoke it between the two/ you know/ mmhm

Teranda: okay/ so umm/ asks question III.3 for American

Rita: (30.00) just say/ just American/ no/ I’m black American/ I’m an African American

Teranda: okay/ but why would

(Rita’s sister: because that’s denying your culture/ because if you just say I’m American/ but I’m also a Creole African American/ if you just come out and say American/ yes you are an American/ but I also have the Creole heritage)

Teranda: okay/ (30.30) so just because it’s kind of denying that part of your culture/ or
160. Rita: yeah/ mmhm/ uh/ like she just said/ it’s not just saying you’re just an American/ but you’re that Creole African American/ you know/ mmhm
161. Teranda: okay/ so/ (31.00) ask question III.4/ like maybe learning the language/ maybe learning more about your family/ maybe teaching practices to/ your nephew/ things like that
162. Rita: uh/ I would like to know more about it/ and umm/ and teach/ teach (J...) about uh/ his family/ you know/ his heritage/ and his family (31.30)/ and you know/ his roots and everything/ and/ I would like to learn to speak some of it/ it’s like/ you know/ you hear/ I used to hear my dad say a few things in French/ and then he’ll/ you know/ he’ll repeat it/ and let us know what he was meaning/ but as for me talking it all the time*noise indicating no*/ I would never talk it/ you know/ but/ we’ll pick up stuff that we wasn’t supposed to pick up quick/ you know like/ you know/ some those/ some of the bad words/ but after that/ no/ we never did learn it/ you know (32.00)

114: Betty, age 62

1. Teranda: explains question in section I (3.15)/ (3.30) asks question I.1
2. Betty: identity/ I guess/ to me means/ who I am/ and who/ and what I consider that makes me me/ you know/ be it/ uh/ cultural/ you know/ you know/ it’s just me/ that’s how I see identity/ mmhm
3. Teranda: okay/ alright/ yeah/ and of course (4.00)/ people can have/ kind of multiple identities/ so/ like in your case/ you are a/ a teacher’s aid/ so that could be part of it/ and then/ you’re also female/ so that’s part of it/ and then/ you know/ your age group could be part of your identity/ so all these things could be/ kind of separate identities/ so/ I guess another example is for me/ so I’m a student/ at the University of Alabama/ but I’m also an instructor (4.30)/ so I teach students/ so those are two kind of/ separate identities/ that I have/ but/ they’re all/ within myself/ uh/ so just keep that in mind
4. Betty: okay
5. Teranda: whenever we’re going through these questions/ asks question I.II
6. Betty: cultural identity/ I think is/ something that/ you come up with/ that/ that’s maybe a little different (5.00)/ you know/ from other groups/ umm/ I feel fortunate in that/ I really have two identities/ I’m African American/ but/ which is/ a culture/ but then I also have another one/ which is Creole/ which is umm/ really a cultural aspect of my life/ you know
7. Teranda: okay/ okay/ so I think (5.30)/ umm/ here/ it’s just important to/ explain/ which I know we already talked about/ but umm/ that with cultural identity/ I’m not necessarily talking about race/ umm/ it’s more of kind of ethnicity/ and kind of the practices that you grew up with/ and stuff like that/ and the example that I’ve been giving to people is that/ umm/ a person whose biologically Korean/ but who/ you know/ lives in America/ grew up with an Irish mom and dad (6.00)/ culturally is going to be Irish/ even though her race/ or his race is Korean/ umm/ so that’s my example/ so umm/ let’s see/ asks question I.III/ I think you just answered
8. Betty: yeah/ African American
9. Teranda: and do you also identify as Creole also
10. Betty: no/ because for me/ Creole is a uh/ a culture/ (6.30) it’s the way I was brought up/ I was brought up Creole/ and to me that is cultural/ it’s not a race

11. Teranda: no/ it’s/ the question is how do you identify yourself culturally

12. Betty: oh/ culturally/ well/ I still identify myself really culturally as African American

13. Teranda: okay

14. Betty: mmhm

15. Teranda: so you don’t see yourself as being identified/ as identifying culturally with being Creole/ or

16. Betty: well/ I guess/ well/ (7.00) I guess it’s/ two folds/ I guess I do/ I see it/ it depend on/ the people I’m with/ that/ that makes a difference

17. Teranda: okay/ well/ for the question/ it says your identity can be a combination of different identities

18. Betty: and I think mine is/ because it depends on/ who I’m with (7.30)/ if someone looks at me/ and they’ll say/ “well/ you’re not all black/ are you”/ and/ because for some people it is confusing/ and

19. Teranda: you mean the race

20. Betty: yeah/ but then that’s where you explain the/ the cultural part of it/ because I came up with the Creole background/ which is/ your Catholic/ most/ your Catholic/ the foods you eat/ like you say (8.00)/ the different practices we/ we do/ and just the way we do things/ you know/ and at home/ when I was home/ you know/ you kind of take for granted/ well maybe everybody/ you know/ do these things/ because in elementary school/ all my friends/ we all/ we ate pretty much the same food/ and everything/ and then/ when I went to public school/ it was a difference/ because/ as far as the food went/ (8.30) you know/ uh/ although red beans and rice/ we all had that/ but like/ say/ crawfish/ and this was before crawfish was really/ you know/ crawfish boils/ and all of that was really popular/ then that’s where it became a cultural thing/ is where/ they’ll call you “Frenchmen”/ well Frenchmen/ eat crawfish/ you know/ we don’t eat crawfish/ you know/ and that’s/ that’s kind of really where/ I became aware of the cultural/ difference/ (9.00) now everybody eats it/ everybody eat crawfish étouffée/ but at that time/ you know/ and most times/ I came up with uh/ and I guess I’m talking food/ in/ in the cultural sense/ umm/ I came up with rice dressing/ I never knew cornbread dressing until I went/ to public school/ but that’s because/ you know/ we knew jambalaya/ they didn’t/ have that/ so the food differences/ you know/ to me/ (9.30) which/ wasn’t that outstanding/ or that different/ but I didn’t realize that until I went to public school/ and/ the African American culture/ and it was different/ you know/ it was chitlins/ and/ you know/ although I’ve eaten it/ but it wasn’t like a/ staple/ in our diet/ like maybe crawfish and jambalaya/ and/ étouffée and stuff like that/ and crawfish bisque/ you know/ stuff that I grew up with/ the food/ (10.00) and for me that’s part of being cultural/ you know/ and the beliefs/ and/ how you meet people/ and how you uh/ relate to them/ you know

21. Teranda: okay

22. Betty: mmhm

23. Teranda: so you’re saying that the food was/ how you saw/ that you were different from African Americans

24. Betty: right/ that was the first thing I think/ well/ and then too/ now that you mention the word Americans/ at home/ umm/ if you weren’t/ (10.30) if you weren’t of the Creole culture/ you were considered Americans/ I don’t know if you understand what I’m saying/
in the Creole culture/ if you weren’t Creole/ then/ if you were an outsider/ you were considered Americans/ which was confusing to me/ because I thought we were all Americans

25. Teranda: *laughs*
26. Betty: you know/ but then/ you know/ you come to realize that/ when they say Americans/ they meant somebody who was non-Creole (11.00)/ so/ and and/ I’ve done/ uh/ studies on the Creole heritage/ and that’s kind of how they looked at it/ if/ you know/ you didn’t have that/ I guess somewhat European thought/ you know/ you were considered Americans/ I don’t know/ that’s just something they used to always say/ and I always thought/ found that was confusing/ *laughs*/ you know/ and then (11.30)/ but like/ I guess when I went to school/ it was the food that really kind of/ let me know that/ we were kind of different in what we eat/ you know/ although we ate red beans and rice/ but it was just in addition to/ something you would normally find/ maybe more so/ in a Creole household/ as opposed to African American/ you know/ before/ and this/ I’m talking/ sixty years back/ you know (12.00)

27. Teranda: okay/ so/ umm/ do you also see yourself as being American culturally then/ or do you see yourself as separate
28. Betty: I don’t see myself as separate/ although we were brought up/ I was brought up/ to/ see myself separate/ but I never did
29. Teranda: do you think that’s kind of included in your/ in that African American
30. Betty: now what you mean by included (12.30)
31. Teranda: I mean/ just being American/ do you think that’s included in that African American/ cultural identity/ or
32. Betty: I don’t know/ because African Americans to me/ culturally/ we/ we’re stand out/ we have some things that indicative of us/ that we know/ and I can remember/ I was in a uh/ a group/ of/ (13.00) it was umm/ like undoing racism/ it was that type of thing/ and/ and we had to think of something that/ say African Americans would identify with/ it doesn’t matter what part of the world you come from/ I mean/ of the United States/ and in that room/ we had umm/ African Americans from different states/ and it’s one thing that/ (13.30) most African Americans know/ and I don’t care from what part of America they came from/ was our hand games/ you know/ like/ “Mary Mac Mac Mac/ she’s dressed in black”/ most/ black kids knew that coming up/ that was games we played/ whereas/ and all I had to do was just sing/ one or two lines of it/ and then/ and it was amazing/ all the African Americans in the room/ (14.00) even though we did not come up together/ we all knew those songs/ whereas white American/ they didn’t/ and that/ that was amazing to them/ that although/ we didn’t know one another until/ you know/ we were in this group/ so/ I guess/ everybody have their own little cultural/ things/ you know/ and/ and I just feel fortunate in that/ I’ve kinda had the world of two/ (14.30) but I identify mostly with/ with the one/ which is African American/ but I appreciate/ you know/ the culture I came from/ but I don’t think I really instilled that in my kids
33. Teranda: you mean the Creole
34. Betty: yeah/ I/ yeah/ because they don’t/ really/ you know/ my kids/ if you were to ask them Creole/ they would think of it more in terms of cooking/ (15.00) you know/ then anything/ you know/ because I didn’t/ put all that other into it
35. Teranda: mmhm/ okay/ so/ asks question I.4
Betty: well/ I identify/ completely with African American (15.30)/ you know/ I/ I don’t know of any/ thing I would change/ you know/ to/ make the box fit me

Teranda: okay/ okay

Betty: mmhm

Teranda: but you/ but you still kind of identify with this Creole

Betty: yeah/ in a sense I do/ mmhm

Teranda: okay/ okay/ and what sense

Betty: I guess in that/ I don’t discount it/ I don’t make it my all/ but I don’t discount/ (16.00) because it is what made me/ me/ you know/ and it/ it was part of my upbringing/ part of my heritage/ so/ but it that though/ I didn’t make it/ a part of kids life/ because for me/ it really wasn’t them/ you know/ because the Creole culture/ it just entails so much/ I guess/ you know/ ‘til it/ it’s kind of hard to/ separate it

Teranda: okay

Betty: (16.30) mmhm

Teranda: okay/ umm/ so/ asks question I.5

Betty: mmm/ that’s a good question/ if there’s ever a time/ I wanna be

Teranda: well I guess maybe if ask it like this/ (17.00) repeats question for focusing on Creole identity

Betty: well/ I guess/ if you coming from/ like a cultural identity/ like we doing now/ I guess I would/ kinda focus more on (17.30)/ the Creole aspect of my life/ rather than the African American/ because for me/ the Creole would make me/ I feel/ different/ you know/ in the/ in the way maybe I see some things/ you know/ I don’t know if all of this is making sense to you/ *laughs*

Teranda: I mean/ are there times whenever your kind of with people/ and you want to focus on this Creole/ (18.00) identity/ instead of the African American identity/ so you kind of say/ I’m Creole/ and the African American identity kind of gets/ back-seated for a little while

Betty: well/ I think so/ and I/ as an example/ if I go to Opelousas/ it’s this family/ they’re good friends of mine/ if I’m with them/ I identify more Creole/ because they are/ (18.30) in that/ uh/ it takes me back/ for instance/ if they’re holding a conversation/ and in the Creole culture/ they combine the languages/ you know/ it’ll be/ English/ but then they’ll throw in little sayings/ you know/ and/ and they’ll say it in the Creole language/ you know/ they’ll speak Creole/ but you kinda know the meaning/ (19.00) and just/ some of the little umm/ just some of the little sayings I hear/ and that makes me feel good inside/ when I hear that/ because it takes me back/ I guess to my childhood/ and in/ in the language/ so I guess in that way/ it’s when I hear the language/ I wanna identify Creole

Teranda: okay/ okay

Betty: mmhm/ you understand what I’m saying/ mmhm

Teranda: mmhm/ so when your with other people/ (19.30) who kind of speak Creole French/ and/ are/ also kind of identify with being Creole/ you also/ that’s whenever the Creole identity comes out

Betty: exactly/ exactly/ that’s it exactly/ I think/ whatever my environment is/ is/ I guess what I project

Teranda: okay/ so/ are you from around Baton Rouge

Betty: mmhm/ I’m from/ mmhm

Teranda: you’re from Baton Rouge
58. Betty: I’m from Baton Rouge/ and umm/ my family/ (20.00) my/ my father was born in Baton Rouge/ but my grandparents/ and my mother/ were from Pointe Coupee Parish/ mmhm

59. Teranda: okay/ alright/ umm/ asks question I.5 for focus on African American identity

60. Betty: yeah/ I do/ and I guess that’s/ (12.30) when/ mmh/ I don’t know how to explain it/ if/ like if I was in the undo racism workshop/ then I’m gonna identify more/ African American/ like I say/ it depends/ on/ my environment/ and where I am/ and (...)/ how I would relate

61. Teranda: so kind of/ umm/ does it depend mostly/ by environment/ do you mean like (21.00)/ the people/ and how they identify themselves

62. Betty: right/ right/ uh-huh

63. Teranda: so if you’re with African Americans/ who identify as such

64. Betty: I’m comfortable with doing that/ and if I’m with Creoles who identify/ I’m comfortable with that also

65. Teranda: okay/ explains section II (21.30)/ asks questions II.1 for Creole identity

66. Betty: I think in my cooking

67. Teranda: okay

68. Betty: mmhm/ my cooking is definitely Creole/ you know/ so for me/ that’s how I would identify with my Creole culture/ is the cooking (22.00)/ and umm/ because most/ most of cooking is/ Creole/ you know/ then I have some that’s not/ but the majority of it is

69. Teranda: and/ why is that so important

70. Betty: I guess it’s a comfort area for me/ and/ and another thing/ it’s what I like/ you know/ it’s what I came up with/ and it’s/ it’s what I like/ and/ my husband didn’t really know/ (22.30) Creole cooking/ and his family/ you know/ so/ he prefers the way I cook/ so/ you know/ and like it/ my kids/ pretty much like it too/ and/ now/ that’s one aspect that maybe my kids were/ like/ like I told you/ if they think Creole/ they think food/ I think/ now that might be/ I’m being presumptuous/ to think that’s what they think/ but that’s what I’m saying/ *laughs*/ (23.00) they think of/ you know

71. Teranda: okay/ so/ asks question I.2 for Creole identity

72. Betty: well/ in our culture/ in the Creole culture/ they say we talk with our hands/ which I do a lot/ so I do/ express it with that/ and/ and this I’m only basing on what I’ve heard other people say/ and uh/ uh/ Creoles are kinda touchy feely people (22.30)/ if they talking/ they touch/ you know/ they gonna touch

73. Teranda: *laughs*

74. Betty: and us a lot of endearment/ like chèr/ and be/ you know/ now that comes though with me too/ you know/ now that I’m talking to you/ I guess/ it does come out more than I/ really realize myself/ because uh/ a lot of the little endearments like be/ I don’t use chèr so much/ but be/ (24.00) I use be a lot/ and/ I guess that’s/ in language/ I guess/ it does come out/ I never realized that/ ‘til you brought that up/ *laughs*/ I didn’t realize that

75. Teranda: so/ maybe you just use little terms sometimes/ that come from the

76. Betty: right/ yeah/ and umm/ yeah/ even at school/ now that I’m talk—/ I’ll notice it/ because sometimes the kids’ll say/ “Miss Betty/ (24.30) you always call me be’”/ *laughs*/ you know/ and I didn’t realize because/ when you come up/ and for me/ that’s the Creole culture/ so that comes through/ uh/ not so much the little sayings/ like I say/ when I go to Opelousas/ cause I love it/ you know/ they’ll/ they just have a lot of little sayings/ that you hear coming up/ now that part/ that aspect of the culture/ (25.00) I didn’t bring with me/ in
the little sayings/ but I guess some of the endearment/ the touchy feely-ness/ yeah/ I have that a lot/ I use that a lot/ my culture  
77. Teranda: okay/ and uh/ do you speak Cajun French/ or Creole French  
78. Betty: no/ uh/ maybe a couple of phrases/ but no/ not/ it wasn’t a second language for me/ although it was the second language in my house/ (25.30) it was not for me/ uh/ my father/ couldn’t speak it/ but my mother could/ because/ her family used it more so/ but my mother was from a rural area/ she was from Erwinville/ and almost everybody there (…)/ because it was amazing to me/ people my age could speak it/ and I couldn’t/ but it was because it was spoken more frequently/ in their homes/ than it was at mine/ my grandparents didn’t/ (26.00) they came up with the idea that/ they didn’t want us confused/ and then/ like my father and his sisters/ they were picked on/ because they spoke Creole/ so/ therefore/ well my dad/ he really didn’t know it/ and his brother/ but their sisters/ kinda knew the Creole language/ yeah/ so umm/ you know/ (26.30) I guess that’s it/ you know  
79. Teranda: okay  
80. Betty: mmhm  
81. Teranda: asks question II.3 for Creole identity  
82. Betty: well/ now this to me is where it’s a fine line/ because/ I don’t know if my beliefs are so much/ Creole as/ African American/ or either/ (27.00) just as human/ you know/ because it’s the same/ work ethic/ I think everybody have the same/ pretty much the same work ethics/ work hard/ emphasize on education/ you know/ so that/ I don’t know/ I know we came up with that/ but I don’t know so much/ if it was just/ Creole/ you know/ I hope I’m not confusing you  
83. Teranda: no  
84. Betty: cause as I go/ I’m confused/ you know/ so if/ if you need clarification/ it would help me easier to/ you know/ (27.30) answer your question  
85. Teranda: okay/ no/ I think that/ umm/ I think that maybe that’s a problem that we/ that society has just in general/ we’re trying to separate people into groups  
86. Betty: yeah/ you really can’t  
87. Teranda: because we’re all/ I feel that we’re all just American  
88. Betty: right  
89. Teranda: especially/ you know/ now that we’ve/ we’ve grown up/ most/ most things are desegregated  
90. Betty: right/ right  
91. Teranda: and umm/ (28.00) just/ so like we’re all watching the same television shows  
92. Betty: exactly  
93. Teranda: and we’re all getting kind of the same/ American culture  
94. Betty: right/ right  
95. Teranda: so/ I feel like/ I understand how/ you know/ these things might all be kind of be/ just part of that/ instead of  
96. Betty: yeah/ it’s hazy/ right  
97. Teranda: yeah/ instead of like maybe/ separated out to single things  
98. Betty: mmhm/ mmhm  
99. Teranda: so do you think that maybe/ it just kind of goes to that American culture in general/ or  
100. Betty: I think in general/ (28.30) I think we’ve kind of infused/ because/ umm/ and I don’t know/ cause I’m really not/ although I/ I have some relatives/ who really/ which what they
call/ Creole culture/ but/ I’m like you/ it’s so infused/ how would you know/ you know/ so I don’t know

101. Teranda: (29.00) asks question II.1 for American American identity

102. Betty: mmm/ you know when you live it/ you don’t really know/ if you doing anything different/ and I’m like you/ I just see/ American/ you know/ I mean/ other than/ the color of your skin (29.30)/ you know/ to separate it/ to me/ the cultural difference I guess/ well/ I guess maybe the music/ I would guess music/ the language/ you know/ umm/ we have/ as African Americans/ we/ again language is unique/ you know with the slangs/ and some things we say/ umm/ maybe/ (30.00) people from other cultures wouldn’t know/ what we were talking about/ so I guess/ it’s like the Creole/ it’s the language/ the food/ so/ I guess in both/ I guess in my home/ I guess/ I just meshed the two/ so it’s hard for me to separate/ except for the cooking part/ because for me/ that is a difference/ umm/ I don’t know/ Teranda/ *laughs*

103. Teranda: (30.30) so what’s different in the cooking

104. Betty: okay/ it’s/ well/ for me/ in the Creole culture/ everything starts with a rue/ and I pretty much/ most things have a rue for me/ uh/ the red gravy/ you know that/ they associate that with the Creole culture/ and that’s/ that’s what I (...)/ you know/ the red gravy/ as/ maybe African American cooking/ you don’t have that red gravy/ you don’t necessarily have the rue/ (31.00) uh/ the/ what we call the trinity in cooking/ you know/ the/ seasonings we use/ so uh/ and some things/ I guess I cook American/ to quote my grandmother/ *laughs*/ and some things/ you know/ I don’t/ so/ but like I say/ I feel that I’ve bridged/ that culture/ I’ve infused both in my everyday life/ I feel/ mmhm/ (31.30) unless someone comes in/ and say something different/ you know

105. Teranda: mmhm/ so you don’t/ do you see any/ any of your kind of practices as being separate/ maybe not necessarily from Creole/ but from what other people do in general/ or not necessarily just from Creole/ but from other people in general

106. Betty: mmhm/ the things that I do

107. Teranda: well/ yeah/ (32.00) as far as your African American identity/ is there anything/ other then kind of the language/ and the

108. Betty: well I don’t know/ I guess/ umm/ the way I think/ you know/ like in voting/ you know/ see what I’m saying/ then African American is coming out/ you know/ I/ you know/ I’m gonna pretty much/ (32.30) I guess I came up under uh/ in a sense/ oppression/ not like/ during slavery/ but still oppression/ you know/ coming up/ where I can remember/ uh/ the/ for colored only lines in windows/ and you know/ I can remember/ all of that/ so all of that/ yeah/ that’s my African American heritage there/ and I/ I am/ gonna/ (33.00) vote for changes/ I guess in umm/ in the justice system/ and/ you know/ politically

109. Teranda: political/okay

110. Betty: yeah/ that’s it/ that’s the word/ politically I

111. Teranda: and so you’re still kind of active in trying to/ create a change for

112. Betty: make a change/ exactly/ exactly

113. Teranda: asks question II.2 for African American identity

114. Betty: mmm (33.30)/ I don’t know/ *laughs*/ you know/ because I’m mostly/ my association is predominately African American/ because I’m at an African American school/ so in that we/ you know/ project umm/ self-confidence/ self-esteem in being who you are/ what you are/ you can be anything/ (34.00) and having Barack Obama as president has helped/ you know/ cause that has/ you know/ that let’s the kids know that you can be
anything you want/ it doesn’t matter the color/ or where you come from/ and/ I guess/ I’m trying to/ I guess we’re really working toward/ like you say/ one America/ you know/ with no distinction/ pretty much/ I know that’s gonna be hard/ we’ll never reach that/ but/ we could at least make African American kids feel good about themselves (34.30) and/ you know/ it doesn’t matter the color of your skin/ you know/ and just/ you know/ be yourself/ and strive for the best/ so I guess in that respect/ you know/ I see myself more African American when it comes to politics/ I guess that’s where/ I really/ assert myself as African American/ in politics

115. Teranda: (35.00) okay/ asks question II.3 for African American identity/ do you think there’s anything here/ or that again/ it’s just kind of a/ kind of hazy

116. Betty: mmm/ I guess for me/ it’s kinda hazy/ you know/ but then again/ I think/ (35.30) with the ideology/ I band/ with African Americans/ because/ I’m gonna pretty much/ think like most African Americans/ you know/ I’m/ you know/ we were striving to/ make it better for us/ so that way/ you know/ so I guess it still comes back to/ politically/ with my vote/ that’s how I see myself/ mmhm (36.00)

117. Teranda: okay/ umm/ explains section III/ asks first part of question III.1

118. Betty: coming up/ a Creole person was/ a person/ umm (36.30)/ who had/ I guess you came from/ pretty much/ uh/ bilingual families/ you know/ Creole’s spoken in the home/ you were almost always Catholic/ I mean/ I can remember my church/ it was/ when my husband first went/ he/ you know/ it was hard to tell he was in a black church/ you know/ he always make a joke/ (37.00) he was the darkest one in there/ which wasn’t true/ but

119. Teranda: *laughs*

120. Betty: predominately/ it/ you know/ it was Creole/ that has changed though/ you know/ and I’m at the same church/ so it just goes to show/ how it has changed/ uh/ so it’s/ what I told you/ I said language/ Catholic/ always Catholic/ and umm/ work ethic/ (37.30) to be honest/ to do work/ you know/ good work/ that’s how we were brought up/ and uh/ one thing I did not identify with/ and/ I had a lot of problems with coming up is/ where you only associated with Creoles/ you know/ as far as marriage/ you know/ or/ we were told if we went to school/ (38.00) you could laugh and talk/ at school/ and I’m talking with African Americans now/ you could laugh and talk/ but/ you don’t even consider marrying somebody/ you know/ and then they had the/ the dances/ now I wasn’t privy to this/ but I have heard where they would have the/ Creole dances/ and/ if you were darker than a brown paper bag/ you couldn’t come through/ or with the hair/ you know/ (38.30) all of that non-sense/ so that aspect of the Creole culture/ I never did

121. Teranda: so that was still happening when you were young

122. Betty: yeah/ and/ to be honest/ right now/ they just don’t have the dances/ but/ uh/ some of them will not marry/ anybody dark skinned/ their hair has to be flowing/ you know/ that aspect of the Creole culture/ (39.00) I never did/ agree with/ and I never could get with that/ you know/ so/ you know/ so I guess that’s it for the Creole culture

123. Teranda: okay/ asks second part of question III.1

124. Betty: well/ it’s so different now/ umm/ I guess the attributes/ (39.30) I guess you would say things that Creoles would look for uh/ is that what you mean/ what would make them Creole

125. Teranda: mmhm

126. Betty: well/ I think it’s pretty much still skin color/ I think that is about the only thing that has really held on/ it seems to me/ you know/ over the years/ for me that has not changed/
uh/ language kinda changed/ you still/ (40.00) I find some young kids/ but especially if they from that Opelousas area/ Lafayette area/ they’re more with/ like I was saying/ the little sayings we have/ see my kids wouldn’t know/ the sayings/ because Baton Rouge is different/ so they not gonna hear it/ and umm/ but to me/ the only thing that’s still pretty much seem the same is that skin color/ you know/ (40.30) it’s/ that’s where they bring the racial up

127. Teranda: as being lighter skinned
128. Betty: yeah/ mmm
129. Teranda: so what about being Catholic/ is that part of it now/ do you think
130. Betty: well/ I see so many now marrying non-Catholics/ so/ you know/ because/ my husband is not Catholic/ I don’t/ well/ you know/ to be honest/ I would want my kids to marry/ somebody Catholic/ but it’s not/ (41.00) number 1 on my list/ and I think/ I don’t think that’s/ well/ maybe it is/ I think that’s because I’m Catholic/ and just/ you know/ I just love the Catholic religion/ so/ but I wouldn’t/ you know/ my kids and I/ we wouldn’t just/ not speak or anything if/they would decide not to get married in the Catholic church/ I think that/ that has kind of changed/ from the Creole culture/ in my opinion

131. Teranda: is it/ less people are Catholic now/ or
132. Betty: yeah/ (41.30) because I’m finding more and more/ uh/ are not/ and they came up in the Creole culture/ because I have uh/ my first cousin/ his daughter got married/ she got married in a Methodist church/ which was surprising to me/ because/ both her mother and her father/ when I say Creole/ they identify Creole/ I don’t know how much African American they identify/ (42.00) so I was really surprised/ when I saw that/ so I think that/ maybe kinda changing/ maybe

133. Teranda: okay
134. Betty: mmm
135. Teranda: okay/ umm/ asks question III.2
136. Betty: well/ in my case/ most of my family/ they/ they are/ you know/ Cre—/ and the ones who are not (42.30)/ Creole/ they kinda push them back/ you know/ the emphasize was more/ on the Creole name/ you know/ my maiden name was Bajoie/ so it’s the/ the French names/ and uh/ umm/ coming up/ you know/ even you’re first name/ a lot of them would use the/ French version of/ you know/ for example/ umm/ (43.00) Angel would be Angelle/ and they would come up/ call/ you know/ saying the name is Angelle/ or rather than Genie or Jeanie/ it’ll be Jean/ that has changed/ to me/ you know/ umm/ I don’t know/ what was the question again

137. Teranda: *laughs*/ repeats question III.2
138. Betty: oh/ yeah/ so/ (43.30) it would be/ the language/ mostly
139. Teranda: okay/ (...)/ so like umm/ but like what were your mother/ or your father/ and (...) 
140. Betty: oh/ they were all Creole/ (...)/ but American American
141. Teranda: but were they/ were they French/ or/ Spanish/ or/ do you know
142. Betty: French/ mmmhm/ yeah/ in my case/ yeah/ they/ and I mean as far back as/ you know/ I can go/ (44.00) you know/ and this is what they’ve always told us/ you know/ because umm/ going all the way back/ I think/ they all spoke/ Creole/ you know/ in fact/ my grandfather’s/ grandmother/ they said couldn’t speak English/ which was/ amazing to me/ how could you live in American and/ you know/ but I guess if you just stayed in the Creole culture/ (44.30) it was/ it was quite easy
143. Teranda: well/ when she was coming up/ they probably/ didn’t/ they probably hadn’t been as umm
144. Betty: acclimated/ huh/ into the American culture
145. Teranda: yeah
146. Betty: which could be
147. Teranda: cause that came/ that didn’t happen until 1803/ I wanna say/ when they got full/ and even after that/ people/ retained that French
148. Betty: right/ oh yeah/ and some of them still try/ but I don’t know/ how prevalent it is now/ (45.00) as it was when I was coming up
149. Teranda: oh/ it’s/ it’s/ people think it’s dying
150. Betty: I think so to/ I thin—/ I kinda/ I think it’s that infusion again/ I think we’re becoming more/ Americanized/ not even/ African American/ just Americanized/ you know
151. Teranda: mmhm/ so/ but when I say/ trace back your ancestry/ do you know/ like if your mother was French/ or if her parents were French/ and where they came from/ (45.30) and stuff like that
152. Betty: oh/ let’s see/ well/ my mother’s/ oh and I just had that history/ my mother’s grandfather/ his name was uh/ DuLuc Ricard/ St. Luc DuLuc Ricard/ but I don’t/ you know/ I don’t know
153. Teranda: how long/ do you know about how long your family’s been in Louisiana (46.00)
154. Betty: oh I would think a long time/ because both my/ both of my grandparents/ on my father’s side/ they were like in their late eighties and nineties/ when they died/ and their families lived/ old/ you know/ like nineties and/ you know/ a hundreds/ and so/ so/ umm/ I’ve always heard it was French/ mmhm/ but as to/ (46.30) where it came in/ I don’t know
155. Teranda: okay
156. Betty: mmhm/ and the same thing with my mother on her side
157. Teranda: but they had been here for a long time
158. Betty: oh yeah/ mmhm
159. Teranda: okay/ so since/ at least since the early 1800s probably
160. Betty: yeah/ I would say
161. Teranda: okay/ okay
162. Betty: I would say/ because my grandmother and grandfather moved/ to Baton Rouge/ in 1900/ so before that/ they were all in Pointe Coupe Parish
163. Teranda: (47.00) and that was in the late 1800s
164. Betty: yeah/ yeah/ I would say
165. Teranda: okay/ in like/ the very latter part of it
166. Betty: right/ right/ mmhm
167. Teranda: okay/ okay/ asks question III.3 for American identity (47.30)
168. Betty: well/ for me/ and identify more African American/ is that/ what they mean
169. Teranda: yeah/ I’m just saying that/ so you identify as being Creole/ and as being African American/ and then/ but some people/ of this lineage/ just kind of see themselves as being/ American/ not necessarily African American or Creole/ so why do you identify with/ why don’t you identify with being just American (48.00)
170. Betty: because/ to me/ now if I were just to say American/ and this is coming from history/ for me/ when I went to school/ it was obvious that when we came in/ that/ we came from a Creole culture/ (48.30) so/ automatically/ we were disliked because/ they felt we were
denying/ that African in us/ and I guess that’s what made me embrace it/ so much/ you understand what I’m say

171. Teranda: uh-huh
172. Betty: so/ it was like/ I don’t wanna deny/ being African American/ you know/ I don’t want to deny that/ so/ I guess/ I really identify with that (49.00)/ and I still have that/ you know/ that/ you know/ we’ve been through struggles/ and I don’t want to be/ to me/ that’s belittling it/ you know/ you know for me/ people died/ no/ I’m an American/ but I’m African American/ because a lot of people died/ and maybe/ I would feel different/ if umm/ you know/ it was so hard to vote/ my grandfather voted/ (49.30) and that was/ now/ that was/ something really different/ because a lot of African Americans did not vote/ and I/ I’ve always remembered my grandfather voted in the fifties and in the sixties/ because they set up all types of uh/ roadblocks to keep you from voting/ and uh/ one big thing is that you had to take a test/ well he took the test/ and he passed/ he could speak and write French/ (50.00) he was really an educated/ black man/ and so/ and I guess that’s where I get the politics/ my political aspirations from him/ because/ he made it a point to/ to vote/ and to/ you know/ and I guess/ that’s why I identify more African American/ you know/ cause we were in this/ I feel/ together/ and I’m not gonna deny that/ (50.30) so I really do see myself more as a/ African American first/ for me/ and then American

173. Teranda: okay/ and Creole/ goes kind of
174. Betty: Creole kinda
175. Teranda: *laughs*
176. Betty: on the tale end of it/ you know/ you know/ it’s almost/ for me/ incidental
177. Teranda: oh okay
178. Betty: *laughs*
179. Teranda: just because you/ that was kind of what you were growing up with
180. Betty: right
181. Teranda: with your parents/ not something you had chosen
182. Betty: right/ yeah/ I guess for me/ it’s by birth/ (51.00) it’s like a birth-rite/ if/ if that would be the term/ yeah/ for me it’s more of a birth-rite
183. Teranda: asks question III.4/ for instance/ learning the language/ or finding out more about your family history
184. Betty: I do/ yeah/ uh/ not/ not maybe learning the language/ (51.30) cause it’s kinda dying out/ and it’s a dialect/ and not a written language/ so once that/ you know/ goes/ that’s gone/ but I do/ and I am/ interested/ in uh/ the Creole culture/ because I have/ you know/ I have books I’ve read/ on it/ and I do find it interesting/ you know/ and/ and if I’m truthful to myself/ I am proud of it/ you know/ (52.00) when I read/ you know/ about it/ I am proud that I have that/ you know/ but like I said/ I don’t know/ I don’t know if it would be anything I would choose/ see what I’m saying/ by it being a birth-rite/ I am proud of it/ and umm/ I guess I do embrace it/ but/ it’s not my number one priority/ maybe that’s it/ it’s not a priority for me (52.30)/ I’m proud of it/ but it’s not a priority/ and umm/ I do like the idea/ that I/ it makes me a little different/ everybody likes to be unique/ and for me/ it/ it does make me feel unique/ in that I do have/ this little difference that maybe not everybody/ other than Louisiana/ you know/ because/ Louisiana is different/ (53.00) you know/ so/ if I was to go out/ I guess that’s where I would really/ kinda be proud/ of my Creole heritage/ because/ that way/ because/ if I go say to DC/ African Americans/ we all
over/ but you not gonna have anybody/ that many people in DC/ that’s gonna have a Creole background/ you understand what I’m say
185. Teranda: mmhm
186. Betty: so/ it’s uniqueness/ I like/ and I am proud of it/ (53.30) but umm/ like I said/ but if I was to prioritize/ uh-uh

I15: Marcus, age 23

1. Teranda: explains section I (2.30)/ asks question I.1
2. Marcus: identity means to me/ is uh/ what I refer to myself as/ meaning/ ethnic group is what I would say
3. Teranda: well/ so/ yeah/ (3.00) and there can be kind of multiple identities/ that someone has/ so/ when I think of identity/ I kind of think of all the things that/ make me who I am/ I’m a female/ and I’m a student/ and I’m also a instructor/ and/ I don’t know/ I uh/ am in linguistics/ so that’s kind of part of my identity/ so all these things are different/ (3.30) but at the same time/ their all kind of/ make me who I am/ so/ asks question I.2
4. Marcus: I guess that’d have a lot to do with where you grew up/ you know/ what were you surrounded by/ again it would go back to your ethnic group/ I think/ it really defines people in the South especially
5. Teranda: okay/ yeah/ I think that with cultural identity/ (4.00) it’s really about ethnicity/ and not so much about race
6. Marcus: well
7. Teranda: it is about race in some cases/ but/ for these purposes/ I’m talking mainly about ethnicity/ which is kind of like/ cultural practices/ you know/ where you grew up/ and stuff like that/ and not/ not necessarily race/ so/ the example that I’ve been giving to people is kind of like/ uh/ (4.30) gives example of girl with Korean biological parents and Irish adoptive parents
8. Marcus: you become what your surroundings are
9. Teranda: yeah/ so/ these things are different
10. Marcus: goes back to that saying/ you learn best/ what you are first
11. Teranda: yeah/ okay/ that’s a funny saying/ I’ve heard that before/ but/ maybe never paid attention
12. Marcus: *laughs*
13. Teranda: okay/ alright so/ (5.00) asks question I.3
14. Marcus: I would definitely say I’m American/ or/ a southern American/ African American/ I mean/ that’s how I would define it
15. Teranda: okay/ so you would say/ but American first
16. Marcus: mmhm
17. Teranda: and then kind of African American
18. Marcus: yeah
19. Teranda: okay/ so/ (5.30) asks question I.4
20. Marcus: say the question again
21. Teranda: repeats/ I mean even/ would you just leave it the same/ or would you change it/ or
22. Marcus: (6.00) I think they definitely need changes made/ it’s not in full detail/ it’s more of a general type of thing/ I think chang—/ revisions would definitely need to be made to/ set more categories of people
23. Teranda: well/ I mean but what/ what revisions/ if any/ would you make to fit your/ category of person
24. Marcus: mmm (6.30)/ probably like uh/ add/ different uh/ cultural backgrounds/ add that to it
25. Teranda: like what
26. Marcus: *laughs*
27. Teranda: I mean like what/ what would you say on the census specifically/ like/ to fit you/ if anything (7.00)
28. Marcus: said me/ probably nothing/ to be honest with you/ *laughs*
29. Teranda: okay/ so would you just kind of check the box that says African American/ or would you rather that the boxes just not even be there
30. Marcus: no/ the boxes wouldn’t bother me/ so I would simply/ check that
31. Teranda: African American
32. Marcus: mmm
33. Teranda: so you don’t check other/ or anything like that
34. Marcus: no/ I’ve never checked other
35. Teranda: okay/ yeah/ that’s fine/ so before/ are there times when you want to focus/ (7.30) so let me get this straight/ you see yourself as African American/ but also you have this kind of/ just general American identity
36. Marcus: yeah/ why not
37. Teranda: yes or no
38. Marcus: yes/ *laughs*
39. Teranda: okay/ okay/ so/ you do/ you don’t have to/ cause I guess maybe/ I don’t know/ maybe for some people being African American is kind of/ enough/ you know/ what I mean/ I’m just asking how/ what
40. Marcus: (8.00) I don’t think a race should/ identify a person/ I really don’t/ so I believe that’s what America should be about
41. Teranda: okay/ and not identifying people based on race
42. Marcus: right/ to me race does not matter
43. Teranda: so you identify/ so whenever I asked you what your cultural identity was/ it is/ your cultural identity is
44. Marcus: I would say African American for that
45. Teranda: African American/ (8.30) okay/ and not just American
46. Marcus: for that/ no
47. Teranda: okay/ so cultural identity/ African American
48. Marcus: right
49. Teranda: and just African American
50. Marcus: yes
51. Teranda: so/ uh/ asks question I.6 (9.00)
52. Marcus: yes/ in cases where/ like racist comments are made/ or something like that/ especially with/ me being so light complected/ some people don’t know/ and when you tell them that/ they’re totally surprised/ so
53. Teranda: okay/ so we’re not talking about race here/ remember/ we’re just talking about cultural/ kind of ethnic/ so still African American/ right

54. Marcus: right

55. Teranda: (9.30) I’m just checking/ because whenever we started/ you said American/ African American/ okay/ asks question II.1 for African American identity

56. Marcus: I really don’t think I do

57. Teranda: okay/ so there’s just/ (10.00) so you think it’s just kind of how you

58. Marcus: yeah

59. Teranda: it doesn’t go to/ the particular cultural identity

60. Marcus: no/ not at all/ I really don’t think so

61. Teranda: okay/ asks question II.2 for African American identity

62. Marcus: I guess that could go both ways/ around a/ certain group of people/ I may/ act differently/ (10.30) I don’t think I do it every time/ but I may/ like if I’m around my family/ I may be one way/ but at work/ I’m

63. Teranda: okay/ well how do you/ how do you think that that’s/ how do you think you act differently around your family

64. Marcus: probably talk differently/ like/ maybe not grammatically correct/ *laughs*/ and more slang type talking (11.00)

65. Teranda: is that all/ or

66. Marcus: I would probably say yeah

67. Teranda: okay/ and umm/ so you think that identity kind of comes out more when you’re around kind of

68. Marcus: yeah/ when you’re around what you’re used to/ that’s what you revert back to

69. Teranda: okay/ asks question I.3 (11.30)

70. Marcus: I believe that only comes to life/ if there’s/ a race thing involved/ and I know that’s what we’re not talking about/ so/ that’s the only way I think/ I don’t/ I think that’s the only way I would show that/ if it became a race thing

71. Teranda: so if somebody’s kind of bringing up issues of race

72. Marcus: right

73. Teranda: or kind of discriminating against you

74. Marcus: I think that’s where/ (12.00) my cultural beliefs would show the most

75. Teranda: and what/ what kind of cultural beliefs then

76. Marcus: just being of that descent

77. Teranda: okay/ so not like necessarily trying to/ I mean/ what specifically/ about

78. Marcus: *laughing*/ I don’t know

79. Teranda: I mean is it kind of like/ uh/ the way that you/ (12.30) the way that you kind of interact with people in those situations/ or kind of what you tell them/ or is it kind of a political thing/ or

80. Marcus: maybe of words and actions/ I believe that’s/ that what I would lean more toward

81. Teranda: whenever your/ whenever you come against somebody who

82. Marcus: right

83. Teranda: okay/ umm/ (13.00) explains section III/ asks first part of question III.1

84. Marcus: uh/ a person made up of/ multiple backgrounds/ of different cultures that merged/ and/ in my opinion/ became a new race/ just/ that’s my opinion of it/ (13.30) they can’t/ totally be classified/ even though I’m saying African American/ that may not be the true classification for it/ because it’s so many other things that were involved
85. Teranda: mmhm/ is there anything else that you would/ use to define this kind of
86. Marcus: uh/ maybe food/ dancing/ stuff like that
87. Teranda: food and dancing
88. Marcus: yeah
89. Marcus and Teranda: *laughing*
90. Teranda: we like to party
91. Marcus and Teranda: *laughing*
92. Teranda: what kind of food (14.00)
93. Marcus: umm/ a mixture of food/ I believe Creole food is/ I don’t know/ it could be listed as Cajun style/ or/ I don’t know/ it could be/ someone
94. Teranda: I mean/ what kind of specific dishes do you put with it
95. Marcus: wow/ that’s not the question to ask the person that doesn’t cook
96. Marcus and Teranda: *laughing*
97. Teranda: never mind/ okay/ and dancing/ I mean/ is there any specific dance
98. Marcus: (14.30) I guess Zydeco would actually be one/ I would think that would be classified as a Creole type dance
99. Teranda: yeah/ so/ what is it about these things that make them specifically Creole
100. Marcus: uh/ that’s a good question/ *laughs*/ not sure on that/ I guess it would just be a dance that was/ done by the particular group of people/ (15.00) associated that way with it
101. Teranda: and the food also
102. Marcus: the food as well/ it’s a mixture of things that combine to make something unique
103. Teranda: so is there anything else
104. Marcus: uh/ well/ I could say religion/ but that could probably vary so much it wouldn’t be
105. Teranda: what religion
106. Marcus: I would probably say Catholic/ I believe there’s a lot more Creole people/ that are Catholic/ than any other religion/ that’s just people I know (15.30)/ so
107. Teranda: yeah/ actually that’s/ starting to kind of edge off some/ but I think that/ that some people really feel that way/ is that
108. Marcus: yeah
109. Teranda: you know/ being Creole is kind of about being Catholic
110. Marcus: yeah/ I just/ that’s what I think
111. Teranda: okay/ asks second part of question III.1
112. Marcus: I don’t think so/ I really don’t
113. Teranda: and you/ (16.00) do you see it as more of a race than a culture/ or kind of both/ or
114. Marcus: I mean/ it’s a combination of the two/ because/ uh/ I guess/ most people refer to a person as African American/ as being a more dark complected person/ or something like that/ it gets associated more with color than anything/ so that’s why I would say it’s a race/ but on the other hand/ a cultural thing because/ (16.30) the way we do stuff/ the way we interact with people/ the type of foods we eat/ the type of dances that happen/ things like that/ I think that goes both ways
115. Teranda: okay/ asks question III.2/ so here it’s just kind of/ my mom is blah blah blah/ you know
116. Marcus: right/ *laughs*/ my father/ we can trace it back to/ (17.00) uh/ very heavily French/ and very heavily African American/ on mom’s side/ it would probably be/ a lot more African American/ and/ maybe a little bit of Spanish on her side/ so
117. Teranda: okay/ do you know like/ specific ancestors that were from
Marcus: uh/ no/ we get to a point/ and/ it’s like/ nothing/ so
Teranda: oh what/ what point do you get to
Marcus: uh/ I would say/ probably/ (17.30) maybe ten or twelve generations back/ it’s
Teranda: that’s a lot/ *laughs*
Marcus: not really/ not really
Teranda: I think that’s kind of a lot/ yeah
Marcus: no/ I don’t think so
Teranda: I don’t know/ we trac—/ I think we traced ours back about/ I want to say about nine generations/ and that was like/ the first person in Louisiana
Marcus: *laughs*
Teranda: on my dad’s side/ umm/ so/ I think that’s a lot
Marcus: (18.00) as far as we could see/ the family’s always been here
Teranda: yeah
Marcus: that’s just
Teranda: so/ do you know about how long they’ve been here/ or what/ what was kind of the
Marcus: I don’t know that/ this is just from hearing my aunts talk about it/ and stuff like that/ I’ve never actually done it/ it’s just hearing other stuff that’s been said
Teranda: but/ do you know if they’ve been here kind of before the 1800s/ or
Marcus: not sure on that/ I’m really not
Teranda: I mean/ if you can trace it back that many generations/ (18.30) they probably have been here for a very long time
Marcus: yeah
Teranda: umm/ and where were they/ where was your family kind of located/ around Baton Rouge area all the time/ or
Marcus: around/ uh/ no/ a lot of the family came out of the/ maybe the Scotlandville area/ are what now would be Scotlandville/ not sure if that was/ near the
Teranda: where is that
Marcus: that’d be south of here
Teranda: south/ okay/ more south
Marcus: mmhm
Teranda: okay/ well/ that’s interesting
Marcus and Teranda: (19.00) *laugh*
Teranda: and this is on your mom’s side/ they traced it back
Marcus: no/ it’s on my dad’s side/ on my mom’s side/ I’m not very sure on that
Teranda: okay/ nobody’s really looked into it
Marcus: no
Teranda: okay/ asks question III.3 for Creole
Marcus: why don’t I
Teranda: mmhm
Marcus: (19.30) I really don’t think/ people/ maybe people don’t/ I’ve never/ came up on somebody/ and/ that’s how they portrayed it
Teranda: that they were Creole
Marcus: right/ never heard that/ maybe if the conversation came up about race/ then it’s brought up/ because/ I (…)
Teranda: but culturally/ they
156. Marcus: culturally/ I
157. Teranda: they don’t say Creole
158. Marcus: no/ I’ve never heard it referred like that/ unless you brought up the/ the race aspect of it/ then they gonna explain it as (20.00)/ Creole/ I guess cause it’s so/ more people identify that with/ with race/ not sure why/ but I think that’s the way it’s done/ when they’re trying to explain it better/ then people go/ oh/ okay/ cause they identify Creole being a mixture of things/ so their taking that as/ okay/ you’re mixed/ and that’s it/ *laughing*
159. Teranda: yeah/ asks question III.3 for American (20.30)
160. Marcus: why don’t I
161. Teranda: mmm
162. Marcus: I guess it’s gonna conflict with something I said earlier/ that I/ don’t really identify myself as African American/ but really just American/ but the underlining thing is (21.00)/ when the question’s asked/ then I say that/ but other than that
163. Teranda: then you say what
164. Marcus: just I’m American
165. Teranda: when what question’s asked
166. Marcus: no/ just in general/ but if it’s directed toward me/ then I would say African American/ so I’m not gonna go out/ you know/ and/ portray a stereotype/ based on/ African American
167. Teranda: what do you mean
168. Marcus: maybe the way that/ people act/ or the way they talk (21.30)
169. Teranda: so you mean like an African American stereotype
170. Marcus: right/ right
171. Teranda: so it’s kind of/ so is it for you like I was saying/ is it that/ being American is first/ and then African American is kind of secondary to that
172. Marcus: I would say/ it’s almost like a 50/50/ it just depends on the situation/ maybe not the situation/ but/ it depends
173. Teranda: so you do identify as being just American
174. Marcus: yes/ yes
175. Teranda: okay/ well/ (22.00) you’ll have to go back and answer some questions about that now
176. Marcus: *laughs*
177. Teranda: asks question III.4
178. Marcus: no/ not/ I do/ I mean
179. Teranda: mmm
180. Marcus: I do/ I mean/ I do identify myself that way
181. Teranda: as what
182. Marcus: as Creole
183. Teranda: you identify yourself as Creole too
184. Marcus: *laughing*/ why not/ I just said that/
185. Teranda: is it just
186. Marcus: (22.30) I’m making this difficult
187. Teranda: but do you just identify with being Creole racially/ or is it also cultural
188. Marcus: no/ racially I would say that/ I would use it as a racial thing/ more than a cultural thing
Teranda: but for culture it's African American/ or just American
Marcus: yes
Teranda: okay/ alright/ umm/ that’s fine/ but/ repeats question III.4
Marcus: (23.00) I can’t think of any/ to be honest
Teranda: okay/ alright/ let’s go back to the questions that we had before/ so I mean do you/ but/ you see yourself as Creole racially/ but not culturally/ not ethnically/ or/ or there kind of any/ well I’ll just ask all these question for it/ so/ asks question II.1 for Creole identity/ even though it is just a racial thing for you
Marcus: no/ I don’t think so/ I really don’t think so
Teranda: (23.30) well/ asks question II.1 for American identity
Marcus: yeah/ I mean/ cause I/ if I’m gonna show the African American side/ I am showing the American side/ so/ I would say yes to that
Teranda: so are those kind of/ interwoven/ in each other for you
Marcus: yes/ yes/ not a separate thing/ so
Teranda: okay/ but are there any/ (24.00) are there/ is there anything that’s kind of specifically American
Marcus: I don’t think so
Teranda: okay/ umm/ asks question II.2 for Creole identity
Marcus: no/ only if/ if the racial thing came up/ that would be the only way
Teranda: and what about the American part
Marcus: (24.30) no
Teranda: no/ asks question II.3 for Creole identity/ or/ is it again no/ it’s just kind of something that comes up
Marcus: yeah/ again/ something that comes up
Teranda: with race
Marcus: yeah
Teranda: asks question II.3 for American identity
Marcus: no
Teranda: okay/ do you/ is there/ are there/ see now we have to go back again/ (25.00) asks question I.5 for American identity
Marcus: no
Teranda: no
Marcus: no
Teranda: okay/ asks question I.5 for African American identity as opposed to American identity
Marcus: no/ only if a situation arises/ again/ going back to a racial thing/ (25.30) that’s the only reason
Teranda: okay/ and what about/ / asks question I.5 for racially Creole identity as opposed to American identity or African American identity
Marcus: uh/ only/ again/ with race/ or trying to explain someone/ to someone/ what you are/ you know
Teranda: so do you/ (26.00) so do you also see yourself racially as being African American then
Marcus: yeah
Teranda: so/ how do you separate those two
Marcus: separate
223. Teranda: Creole/ and being African American/ like if I were to say/ uh/ this is completely ridiculous/ cause I would never ask you this/ but if I were to ask you/ you know/ what race you were/ then what would you say
224. Marcus: I would probably said African American
225. Teranda: well when/ when would you say Creole
226. Marcus: only is somebody would look at me/ and say/ (26.30) you don’t look African American/ and then I would explain it
227. Teranda: oh
228. Marcus: as/ Creole
229. Teranda: okay/ so/ I’m Creole/ which kind of has this/ mix of African American and other things

I16: Anthony, age 51

1. Teranda: (2.10) explains questions in first sections/ asks question I.1
2. Anthony: umm/ it means a lot/ it means/ umm/ the/ I guess/ personality/(2.30) the language/ which we’re talking about now/ the umm/ I mean everything/ how you carry yourself/ I just think identity is pretty broad
3. Teranda: yeah/ yeah/ it is pretty broad/ because in identity/ you said/ we can think about our personality/ or we can think about what we do/ so you’re/ a car salesman/ right
4. Anthony: sales representative
5. Teranda: sales representative/ sorry
6. Anthony: in automotive
7. Teranda: sorry
8. Anthony: mmhm/ *laughs*/ that’s okay
9. Teranda: what else/ umm/ (3.00) and you have a family/ so you’re a father
10. Anthony: yes
11. Teranda: and a husband
12. Anthony: right
13. Teranda: right/ so all those things kind of represent/ part of your identity
14. Anthony: exactly
15. Teranda: umm/ so as you can see/ you can also have kind of multiple identities/ so all these things kinda make you who they are/ but they’re kind of separate things/ right
16. Anthony: exactly
17. Teranda: asks question I.2
18. Anthony: uh/ cultural identity/ (3.30) it’s definitely/ it’s your/ ancestors/ umm/ you know/ where they came from/ who their are/ and/ you know/ that’s your cultural identity
19. Teranda: okay/ okay
20. Anthony: and in my case/ umm/ I’m a/ I say a 100 percent Creole/ because/ I’m French and Spanish descent/ and a lot of people/ umm/ interpret that totally different/ they call people/ light skin of color/ or either/ some people call us dark skin of color (4.00)/ anyway/ they think it’s a mulatta/ and mulatta/ it’s really/ a mixture of white and black/ and/ Creoles
are really/ they’re/ full-blooded/ or/ French and Spanish descent/ their ancestry/ so I think that’s/ what I call cultural
21. Teranda: okay/ okay/ wow/ you got right into my next question/ *laughs*
22. Anthony: oh/ I’m so sorry/ so sorry
23. Teranda: no, no, no/ umm/ I just want to say something that I’ve been saying to everybody to keep in mind/ (4.30) is that/ we’re not just talking about race here/ it’s about/ you know/ actual culture/ cause/ you know/ as Americans I think it’s easy for us to kind of/ put race into our cultural identity/ whereas/ we’re not just thinking skin color/ so/ the/ gives example of girl with Korean biological parents and Irish adoptive parents (5.00)/ so
24. Anthony: I agree with that
25. Teranda: okay/ that’s just the example that I’ve been giving/ just to kind of keep everybody in mind that we are talking about culture/ umm/ so/ how do you identify yourself culturally/ which you said Creole/ umm/ keep in/ you can have a combination of identities/ so do you just/ kind of view yourself culturally as Creole/ or are there other things in that
26. Anthony: umm/ (5.30) like I said earlier/ I’m/ umm/ my last name actually is more Spanish than it is/ uh/ you know/ French/ but both of my parents are French-speaking people/ and uh/ so we do have strong French/ you know/ cultural/ as well
27. Teranda: so you/ so you wouldn’t identify yourself as being African American at all
28. Anthony: uh/ no I don’t
29. Teranda: okay/ okay/ umm/ asks question I.4
30. Anthony: (6.00) Creole
31. Teranda: just the Creole category/ okay/ *laughs*
32. Anthony: *laughs*/ I wish we had/ you know/ our own race/ because it’s a lot of Creoles here/ in the United States/ and/ and if you get online/ you can see that/ it’s very/ it’s pretty big/ pretty broad
33. Teranda: so do you think of it as being kind of a race as well as a culture
34. Anthony: yes/ I do
35. Teranda: okay/ umm/ (6.30) asks question I.6
36. Anthony: of course/ uh/ probably daily
37. Teranda: daily/ okay/ can you tell me just about/ some of the situations where you/ really want to focus on that Creole identity/ and showing people that/ you’re Creole
38. Anthony: well/ first of all/ since I/ moved here/ a little bit over six years ago/ umm/ everybody/ my last name is not a (7.00)/ common last name/ so everybody/ wants to know/ what are you/ so I’ve/ caught myself more/ in six years explaining/ my culture/ or my race/ than I have/ living back at home/ where I’m from originally/ cause everybody knew who we were/ so it’s like/ you didn’t get asked as much/ but since I’ve moved here/ to the Baton Rouge area/ it’s just unbelievable how many people/ want to know (7.30)/ because of my/ I guess my hair texture/ my/ skin/ my/ personality/ you know/ I guess/ it all makes them/ interesting/ you know/ that I’m not/ I’m different
39. Teranda: okay/ so just kind of/ you want to focus on it whenever people are/ kind of asking you/ so what are you/ what’s your heritage/ stuff like that
40. Anthony: (8.00) well not really/ cause it’s not really important to me/ I mean it/ it’s more important to/ they wouldn’t ask/ I guess/ if it wasn’t important to them
41. Teranda: oh
42. Anthony: it doesn’t matter to me/ I’m just a person/ and I don’t/ look at myself as/ you know/ a race/ or/ a culture/ I just/ I try to/ rub off on people/ such as/ umm/ being nice/
speaking to people when you walk upon them/ uh/ just/ all the little things I was raised with/ I mean/ just/ (8.30) I just like to rub off on people/ that/ I’m who I am/ I mean/ just/ a/ person/ that/ you know/ care about individual/ I really do care about people
43. Teranda: okay/ so it’s not necessarily that you’re focusing on it/ but it’s that other people are focusing on it/ okay
44. Anthony: that’s correct
45. Teranda: and asking you about it
46. Anthony: and asking me about it/ so it’s more of that/ not/ me/ it’s just/ I wish I could/ you know/ like/ give them a/ pamphlet/ and say/ “well here/ read up about”/ (9.00) you know/ “Creoles”/ or/ because they all/ curious/ they want to know
47. Teranda: so/ where are you from
48. Anthony: Lake Charles, LA
49. Teranda: Lake Charles/ okay/ okay/ and you just moved here six years
50. Anthony: six years and three months ago
51. Teranda: okay/ okay/ I just need to kind of include that
52. Anthony: that’s good/ that’s great
53. Teranda: so/ explains section II/ (9.30) asks question II.1
54. Anthony: umm/ I just be myself/ I/ don’t try to be someone else/ I/ I’m really a person that cannot fake/ you understand/ you know/ like/ do something that really/ that’s not/ me/ I’m/ gonna express myself/ when necessary/ I keep my/ mouth closed when/ it’s necessary/ and/ sometimes you mess up/ but most of the times/ (10.00) I just like to rub off on people/ as being/ you know/ like I am/ genuine/ caring/ you know/ concerned/ and/ loving
55. Teranda: okay/ so is there anything that you think/ umm/ is there any everyday practices/ though/ that you kind of attach to that Creole identity/ like
56. Anthony: no
57. Teranda: no/ not really
58. Anthony: I just be myself/ everyday/ that’s
59. Teranda: okay/ asks question II.2
60. Anthony: (10.30) wow/ help me with that
61. Teranda: *laughs*/* umm/ let’s see/ uh/ for instance/ do you think that you speak a certain way because of your cultural background/ like/ umm/ for instance/ uh/ people who are Cajun French kind of have that/ that particular accent/ where they/ kind of follow more of the French/ umm/ (11.00) speech patterns/ where they drop the ths and it’s just a t or a d and stuff like that
62. Anthony: well/ now I understand the question a lot better/ and it’s amazing/ that/ I’m glad that we’re touching on this/ I actually can/ fluctuate/ I can change/ depending on who I’m talking to/ I will change my/ uh/ language/ I will/ like if I’m
63. Teranda: okay/ could I
64. Anthony: go ahead
65. Teranda: could I get an example of that
66. Anthony: well/ (11.30) get people in from Lafayette/ or Opelousas area/ and/ I will start talking like them/ and they say/ where you from/ or whatever/ and it’s just/ it’s interesting/ I mean that/ I do it/ not even know/ knowingly/ it’s just
67. Teranda: okay/ okay/ so/ you don’t make a conscious choice to do it
68. Anthony: oh no
69. Teranda: you just do it
Anthony: it’s just a/ it’s natural/ and/ it’s just adjusting to/ (12.00) who I’m talking to/ I guess that’s why I can/ speak to anyone one/ on any level/ no matter/ if you’re/ the president/ or the/ whoever/ I can get on anyone’s level

Teranda: okay/ I’d actually like to get an example of that maybe in the narrative/ so/ we’ll talk about that once we get there though

Anthony: okay

Teranda: asks question II.2 for actions/ umm/ here/ just kind of/ are there/ well I just said practices/ but/ are there any kind of cultural practices (12.30)/ or like/ kind of actions/ that your parents did/ that kind of find that you carry on/ that are really kind of linked up with this Creole culture

Anthony: of course/ I think I mentioned it/ earlier/ umm/ passing upon/ an individual/ it’s so easy to say/ “good morning”/ or/ “hello/ how are you today”/ and/ that/ my mom kind of instilled in me as a kid/ because I remember umm/ passing through/ the neighbor’s yard/ to go to the store/ (13.00) it was short-cut instead of going around/ and she watched me through the kitchen window/ and she said/ she called me back/ I thought she had forgot to tell me what’s/ on the list/ so/ as a kid/ that stayed with me/ she made me walk back/ speak to those older people/ because I passed upon them like their wasn’t even/ there/ and so now/ some people/ laugh at me/ because they said/ he speaks every time he passes/ and it’s like/ (13.30) something that was instilled in me/ being/ nice/ polite/ and/ just treat people like you want to be treated

Teranda: okay/ asks question II.3/ umm/ if you need an example here/ for instance/ I know that a lot of/ of/ that kind of being Creole has been linked up with being Catholic before/ so that might be something (14.00)/ or/ type things like that

Anthony: that/ yeah/ that’s no question about/ umm/ most/ Creoles/ I would say/ are/ Catholics/ and/ such as me being one of ten kids/ of course number five/ and/ those days are gone/ you know/ people raising that many kids/ but/ it was the/ best thing ever could happen to me/ because it’s/ it taught me/ I learned from my older siblings/ I/ of course I’m the middle/ of siblings/ and then the younger ones/ (14.30) of course I learned from them/ but it was just the most/ especially now/ since we’re older/ it’s just when we get together/ like for these holidays that’s coming up/ it’s just the most/ umm/ enjoying time to be with your/ siblings/ and that’s why I/ credit the/ older/ my parents/ as being/ not selfish/ to keep/ having kids/ and/ and/ I miss that with/ my own/ I only have two/ (15.00) two kids of my own/ which is 22 years old/ she made Saturday/ and my son’s 17

Teranda: okay/ their/ she’s around my age then/ *laughs*

Anthony: yeah/ okay/ *laughs*/ yes

Teranda: but is there anything/ umm/ like personal beliefs that you have/ or attitudes that you have/ that you think really come from that kind of/ Creole culture/ or Creole identity

Anthony: it’s no question/ umm/ everything I do/ everyday/ I mean it’s/ which is/ (15.30) being/ genuine/ and being yourself/ and/ just/ just being/ kind/ and polite/ and speaking/ acknowledging older people/ as well/ I just think that’s imperative/ to say in time/ people ignore the older people/ and/ my enjoyment/ from that/ is the speaking to them/ and/ I can actually/ it’s speaking to these older people/ and watch their (16.00)/ smile/ or their/ just/ they just so happy that somebody took time to say/ “hello”/ and that’s the things/ that I do/ daily

Teranda: so do you think that that/ that kind of that umm/ focus on/ keeping up with earlier generations/ is kind of something that is really/ very Creole/or
Anthony: yes/ because as a kid/ I just remember/ my dad took us around/ we’d visit nothing but the older people (16.30)/ so it’s like instilled in me/ and I’m getting older now/ but/ it’s just/ as I get older/ I realize/ why he did it/ it was imperative/ that you acknowledge/ and/ treat/ and you hug/ kiss/ you know/ I still do that/ uh/ to older/ younger/ it’s just I/ try to touch everyone/ it’s my gold in life

Teranda: okay/ umm/ so are there any other things/ (17.00) as far as personal beliefs and attitudes

Anthony: umm/ not at this time/ I mean/ I’m just not/ you know/ like/ totally open/ so I can/ you know/ I mean/ where I can think of every little/ detail

Teranda: oh/ okay/ no/ I was just asking/ (...)

Anthony: and I can add/ later I can add/ but not at this time

Teranda: okay/ yeah/ I think that question/ those questions kind of surprise people/ because they jam pack a lot/ so/ explains section III/ (17.30) umm/ asks first part of question III.1

Anthony: umm/ I know I said this earlier/ Creoles/ actually it’s French/ and Spanish descent/ which is French speaking/ and also Spanish descent/ originally/ we came from Madrid/ Madrid, Spain to Opelousas/ this goes back into the eighteen hundreds

Teranda: your family

Anthony: (18.00) my/ my family/ actually it’s the exact dates/ umm/ (...)/ B-A-S/ it was spelt a little different/ B-I-E-G-A-S/ in 1801/ came from Madrid, Spain/ and/ uh/ moved to Opelousas in 1823/ and then

Teranda: your family actually moved to Opelousas

Anthony: yes

Teranda: in 18

Anthony: in 1823

Teranda: my dad’s family was there by then too

Anthony: yes/ most/ a lot of Creoles are in the Opelousas (18.30)/ and you’d be surprised/ the majority is in Natchitoches/ everybody thinks New Orleans was the Creole capital/ but

Teranda: Natchitoches

Anthony: Natchitoches, Louisiana/ yes

Teranda: yes/ I lived in Natchitoches

Anthony: oh wow/ you can relate then

Teranda: yeah/ I didn’t meet a lot of Creoles/ umm

Anthony: they’re probably hidden

Teranda: during the school/ yeah/ well/ Natchitoches/ there’s that Cane River area

Anthony: Cane River area/ yeah/ exactly

Teranda: so/ I’m not sure how many of them actually send their kids to the school up there/ (19.00) but umm/ yeah/ I started reading more about Natchitoches/ and I was just so surprised/ cause I did not know

Anthony: that’s a fact

Teranda: how many people were there/ yeah

Anthony: that’s a fact

Teranda: umm/ so/ so you’re just saying French and Spanish descent/ and that’s the only thing/ and they normally speak French as opposed to Spanish

Anthony: right/ because they moved away so long ago/ I mean/ if you go back into/ in our genes are very very strong/ very very strong

Teranda: what do you mean
112. Anthony: such as/ umm/ like if you go back and look at/ the photos from my/ great great
great great grandfather/ I have a many greats/ umm/ you know/ from the skin color to the
hair/ to the/ face structure and stuff/ it’s very/ strong/ and still carrying on/ that/ that/ that
look
113. Teranda: okay/ so you kind of look a lot like those people did back then/ so/ (20.00) okay/
umm/ do you speak Creole French at all
114. Anthony: uh/ just French/ I just know very few words/ umm/ our parents actually/ umm/
they spoke it/ when they didn’t want us to know what they were talking about/ but
whenever they extend the conversation/ we would figure it out/ cause they would use/
some English/ you know/ with it/ so we were/ like/ it was a challenge for us to figure out
what they were talking about/ I just wish they would have/ umm/ actually/ let us/ you
know/ (20.30) learn it/ I wish/ I miss that
115. (pause in tape)
116. Teranda: so you were telling me about your parents speaking Creole French
117. Anthony: right
118. Teranda: so you only know a few words
119. Anthony: right/ very, very few
120. Teranda: but can you understand people/ speaking
121. Anthony: very little/ very little/ mmhm
122. Teranda: okay/ asks second part of question III.1
123. Anthony: no
124. Teranda: no
125. Anthony: no
126. Teranda: okay/ umm/ except for the French and the Spanish/ (21.00) is that the only two
real things that you need
127. Anthony: yes
128. Teranda: okay/ asks question III.2/ umm/ here I’m just asking for maybe/ a little bit about
your family tree/ or family history
129. Anthony: umm/ that’s what we always called ourselves/ I mean/ we’ve never considered
ourselves/ uh/ you know/ any other race/ because we’re/ that’s what we are/ mmhm
130. Teranda: okay/ and why not mulatto (21.30)
131. Anthony: umm/ our terms for mulatta/ was uh/ a mixture of black and white/ like umm/
Obama/ for example/ I think his dad was black/ from Africa/ and his mom was white/ from
another state/ I don’t recall/ but that/ would be a mulatta
132. Teranda: so actually like a biracial child/ with one black parent/ and one white parent
133. Anthony: right/ that was my definition of a mulatta
134. Teranda: okay/ but that’s not what Creole is
135. Anthony: (22.00) no
136. Teranda: no/ okay/ and can you just tell me a little bit about your ancestry/ just you were
telling me that you have family from/ your mom’s family came from Spain
137. Anthony: my dad’s family
138. Teranda: okay/ from Spain/ in the 1800s
139. Anthony: right
140. Teranda: okay/ and what about your mom’s family
141. Anthony: umm/ their from the/ uh/ St. Martinville area/ she was born and raised in Lake
Charles/ of course/ umm/ but/ as a kid/ she always visit New Iberia (22.30)/ St.
Martinville/ and all of her/ actually her family owned a plantation there/ and so it’s/ very interesting/ and they/ he was a blacksmith here in Lake Charles/ when he moved

142. Teranda: her/ her father
143. Anthony: her/ her cousins/ I don’t know the exact relationship/ but her family were a blacksmith in the Lake Charles area/ so/ they did all of that type of stuff
144. Teranda: okay/ (23.00) and they owned a plantation in St. Martinville
145. Anthony: St. Martinville/ mmhm
146. Teranda: do you know what it was called/ or/ do you know anything
147. Anthony: no/ I never/ no one did research
148. Teranda: were they/ has any research been done/ like were they French or Spanish/ do you know/ or
149. Anthony: uh/ they were French/ the Spanish side of me comes from my father’s side
150. Teranda: okay/ was that side ever kind of mixed with French/ that you know of/ was it ever mixed with French that you know of
151. Anthony: yes/ mmhm/ and that’s why they call it (23.30)/ you know/ it’s usually that the mixture/ it’s uh/ you know/ French and Spanish descent/ or/ some of them/ I guess/ stayed French/ or whatever/ but
152. Teranda: and there/ there are a lot of Creoles in Lake Charles/ where you come from
153. Anthony: yes
154. Teranda: and they kind of/ claim themselves/ identify as Creole
155. Anthony: some do/ and some don’t/ yeah/ everybody has their own reasons/ and/ some of my siblings as well/ some of them/ you know/ strictly/ umm/ you know
156. Teranda: (24.00) so it’s kind of like the Opelousas/ Lafayette area/ where there’s/ a lot of Creoles/ but some kind of claim one identity/ whereas so—
157. Anthony: and some does not/ yes
158. Teranda: okay/ umm/ asks question III.3 for African American and American
159. Anthony: repeat that one more time/ please
160. Teranda: (24.30) repeats III.3
161. Anthony: well/ first of all/ umm/ Africa/ I mean/ it’s/ I have no/ African/ in me/ that I know of/ and so/ I just think that’s a horrible/ you know/ term for anyone/ I mean/ even if you/ came there or not/ I just think you need to be a/ (25.00) a black/ or/ but African American/ I just/ think that’s a horrible/ umm/ pronunciation of that
162. Teranda: okay/ and why is that/ just
163. Anthony: because/ it’s/ you know/ most of these people does not come from
164. Anthony and Teranda: Africa
165. Anthony: and they’re labeled an African American/ I mean/ I just think it’s very/ it’s horrible
166. Teranda: so why don’t you see yourself maybe then as being just black/ or/ just
167. Anthony: because I’m not just black (25.30)
168. Teranda: you’re not
169. Anthony: I mean/ it’s just that simple/ I mean/ look at me/ I mean/ do I/ do I look/ umm/ I mean/ the law of Louisiana/ it’s 1/32 nd/ if you have 1/32 nd of black in you/ you’re considered a black
170. Teranda: and you’re talking about the blood
171. Anthony: yes/ and that would make all of Louisiana/ black/ I mean/ it’s just/ it’s so much mixture in races/ and the term/ and the definition is (26.00)/ it’s not right
Teranda: I’m just asking/ because as I said a lot of Creoles/ actually identify with these terms/ and not/ being Creole/ so/ and what about American/ why wouldn’t you just say that you’re American

Anthony: oh/ I would love to/ because that’s what it should be for everyone/ I mean/ you go to different countries/ and they have a/ like French people there/ and their/ some looks black/ (20.30) but they’re French/ I mean/ you know/ I just think it’s horrible/ you know/ the definition in the United States of

Teranda: so you kind of/ are you saying that you/ you said you would love to/ but why can’t you

Anthony: oh/ I do/ on most of my paper work/ I consider myself

Anthony and Teranda: as an American

Anthony: yes/ when I have a chance to put other/ I do write/ Creole

Teranda: okay/ so is it kind of American first/ and then Creole/ (27.00) or do you tell/ do you see kind of that

Anthony: Creole first

Anthony and Teranda: Creole first/ okay/ asks question III.4

Anthony: I did/ umm/ years ago/ when the first yeah for the Creole/ uh/ festival/ that was held in Natchitoches/ and umm/ I kind of was involved a little bit there/ we still get a little mailing/ but I do not do anything out of the ordinary to umm (27.30)/ help/ to/

Teranda: do you maybe look

Anthony: promote it

Teranda: well not promote it/ but just do you look at your/ as far as yourself/ do you kind of maybe look into your family history more/ do you look into maybe learning/ trying to learn Creole French/ or/ those types of things

Anthony: no

I17: Anita, age 33

1. Teranda: asks question I.1 (3.45)
2. Anita: I don’t know/ who you are/ who you identify with/ what speaks to you about/ you know/ who you are as a person/ it’s where your from/ it’s your beliefs/ you know
3. Teranda: (4.00) okay/ gives explanation of identity/ it’s who you are (4.30)/ explains idea of multiple identities/ asks Anita to explain herself in these terms
4. Anita: (5.00) umm/ well/ like you/ I’m a daughter/ you know/ I’m a friend/ I’m a sister/ a counselor/ umm/ I’m an ear/ a lot of times/ I’m an advisor/ I’m a female/ you know/ I’m a girl/ you know
5. Teranda: okay/ asks question I.2
6. Anita: my cultural identity or just
7. Teranda: just in general
8. Anita: in general/ I think it’s what your roots are/ you know/ (5.30) where you’re really from/ and what you really feel deeply about and connected to/ I tell a lot of people/ when they ask me where I’m from/ I tell them I’m from Opelousas/ no matter how long I’ve been/ in (place)/ that’s my marker/ that’s where I’m from/ I’m from Opelousas/ I’m proud
to say I’m from Opelousas/ umm/ I get excited when I meet people from Opelousas/ that people know where that is
9. Teranda: *laughs*
10. Anita: sometimes they just go/ “where?”/ so it’s where your roots really are/ you know (6.00)/ no matter where I go/ that’s where I’m from/ when I went to Australia/ and people ask/ “where ya’ll from?”/ the first thing we’d say was/ United States/ “okay where?”/ Louisiana/ and I tried to make that connection so they would at least be familiar with what part of the state I was from/ you know/ most folks just knew New Orleans/ but they could kind of connect that way
11. Teranda: mmhm/ okay/ (6.30) explains that we are talking about culture not race in cultural identity and gives example of girl with Korean biological parents and Irish adoptive parents/ (7.00) asks question I.3, reminding about multiple identities
12. Anita: umm/ culturally/ I see myself as being/ umm/ you know/ a Creole from South Louisiana/ from Acadiana/ I do see myself as being black/ but/ I think what pulls more is where I’m from/ than just being/ you know/ from Alabama/ or being from California/ or being from New Orleans even/ I think there’s a uniqueness to me being who I am/ (7.30) from Opelousas/ you know/ it’s more to it than just that/ being where I’m from/ makes me more/ of who I am
13. Teranda: okay/ so do you see yourself as being both/ Creole and black/ though
14. Anita: mmhm/ I do/ because I think there’s a difference/ between the two
15. Teranda: okay/ what’s that difference
16. Anita: I think part of the difference is being from Opelousas/ being from the part of the state where I’m from/ and being raised with the culture the I was raised in (8.00)/ with my family/ with/ you know/ Zydeco music surrounding me/ and just/ you know/ it’s a lot about my family/ and where you’re from/ I think that’s what makes me Creole/ as opposed to just/ umm/ you know/ saying that I’m black
17. Teranda: mmhm/ so is it Creole first then/ whenever you think about your identity/ or are they kind of on the same level
18. Anita: umm/ I don’t know/ I’ve never thought about it that way/ cause most people/ umm (8.30)/ you almost/ depending on where you are/ have to go into an explanation of what you mean if you say/ I’m Creole/ like I feel like there’s different/ definitions of that/ to different people
19. Teranda: yes/ *laughs*
20. Anita: and so/ depending on what I feel like getting into that day/ you know/ I may go that way/ I may not/ you know/ (...) I would say that I’m black/ then when I talk to people a lot of them would say/ “oh you’re Creole”/ because I don’t fit the visual/ that they think of when you say/ you’re black/ they go/ kinda give me a/ “you sure”/ *laughs* (9.00)/ I’m like “very much so”/ so then I may have to get into/ more of a background/ about where I’m from/ umm/ you know/ about my family history/ that kind of thing
21. Teranda: okay/ so/ it’s kind of/ you kind of say that you’re black first/ and then/ whenever people have questions/ that’s whenever you go into explaining the Creole
22. Anita: yeah
23. Teranda: but they both kind of equally influence your identity
24. Anita: I think so/ I think so
25. Teranda: okay/ (9.30) asks question I.4
26. Anita: I don’t know if you could design the census that way/ because it would be the biggest document ever
27. Anita and Teranda: *laughs*
28. Anita: umm/ I mean/ I have no problem/ when I’m filling out the sheet/ just marking off/ you know/ based on the categories before me/ who I am/ you know/ umm/ I work at a high school (10.00)/ and you deal more with/ you know/ first generation/ biracial students coming through/ who are struggling with their identity/ and for their sake/ I think you would want to give them/ you know/ more options to think about who they are/ and their culture/ then I wonder/ again/ it’s where you’re from too/ that makes a difference in how you identify yourself
29. Teranda: okay/ so you wouldn’t want to add any categories/ or
30. Anita: I don’t know if I would/ simply for simplicities sake (10.30)/ just because I think that you would have so much/ to have to put out there/ to offer anybody/ and in south Louisiana depending on the purpose for which/ you design the census for/ then you maybe could/ but in doing that you don’t want to leave anybody out/ so I think that you would run into
31. Teranda: okay/ well let’s just say/ just for your specific person/ and with/ you know/ regardless of the simplicity/ (11.00) or thinking of anybody else/ would you add any categories just for you/ or
32. Anita: I would/ I would/ yeah
33. Teranda: okay/ and what categories would those be
34. Anita: uh/ well/ I think you would add/ like/ the category of being Creole/ I think/ but then/ you run into people with different
35. Anita and Teranda: definitions of that
36. Anita: so that’s were I think that could be problematic
37. Teranda: okay/ but for you/ just another category with Creole/ okay
38. Anita: mmhm/ I would/ umm/ check it off and keep going
39. Teranda: *laughs*/ okay/ and then would you also check off the (11.30)/ African American/ black
40. Anita: mmhm/ I would
41. Teranda: okay/ alright/ so/ ask question I.5 for Creole
42. Anita: umm/ I guess for me/ umm/ back home/ it’s not an issue/ but/ you know/ as I move further away from there/ and go different places/ (12.00) who I am is more of a question for other people/ like people see me/ and they want to/ you know/ people automatically want to categorize you/ and put you into a certain place/ they want to know/ you know/ are you mixed/ are you this/ are you that/ I get Latino a lot/ umm/ so/ you know/ the further away I go/ I feel like I have to explain myself a little bit more/ than if I were/ had this meeting with you in Opelousas/ and was still living in Opelousas/ it wouldn’t be a question of who I am/ umm/ (12.30) it would kind of be understood/ but you know/ I find the further away I go/ and working with young people a lot/ they always have questions/ and they’re very blunt about things/ they just ask you straight-up/ in the middle of the classroom
43. Anita and Teranda: *laughs*
44. Anita: you know/ “what are you?”/ and so/ in those cases/ it’s not always an appropriate time and place to discuss with them/ you know/ who I am/ or what I am/ but I would like to/ you know/ if I could have a conversation with them
45. Teranda: okay/ so/ (13.00) is it that/ you’re not focusing on it/ but other people are
46. Anita: other people who are focusing more on it/ I find more people/ people focus more on trying to identify/ and/ kind of categorize you
47. Teranda: okay/ asks question I.5 for African America
48. Anita: no/ because I think/ they’re kind of interchangeable a lot/ because that’s who/ I just think they’re interchangeable/ it’s one and the same/ but again (13.30)/ being where I’m from makes it/ you know
49. Teranda: obvious to people
50. Anita: obvious to people
51. Teranda: yeah/ okay/ no/ I’ve gotten that
52. Anita: you understand that/ *laughs*
53. Teranda: yes/ I do/ being in Alabama is/ very strange right now/ because people/ I don’t think people are used to that/ and so/ and especially I get/ I have a lot of friends from up north/ because they’re in the program with me/ and so/ you know/ they’ve never
54. Anita: yeah
55. Teranda: and nobody asks/ but/ you know/ (14.00) people are kind of
56. Anita: you can just tell
57. Teranda: yeah
58. Anita: yeah/ oh/ I’ve had people point blank/ you know/ kids/ I mean/ they’re kids/ you know/ I’ve had people in the drive through at McDonald’s/ like/ someone working in McDonald’s/ not even who took my order/ but from the kitchen/ lean out and just ask me/ “what are you?”/ are you serious/ I just need a happy meal
59. Anita and Teranda: *laughs*
60. Anita: I’ve had a parent/ in a scheduling session/ umm/ for a incoming ninth grader/ they were from (another state)/ (14.30) and she was just so curious/ “oh my god/ I mean/ are you really black?”/ and then I had to explain/ “yes/ I’m from”/ and I’ll say/ I’m from the Lafayette area/ Opelousas/ and she goes/ “but I mean/ are you really?”/ then she wants to know if one of my parents was/ you know/ white/ and it just/ it kind of went on/ and my co-workers/ who I love dearly/ thought it was the funniest thing ever/ you know/ they were giggling/ but trying to intervene/ and just say “yes ma’am”/ you know/ (15.00) “she is/ we’ve known her for many year now/ we’ve meet her family/ let’s schedule your child”
61. Anita and Teranda: *laughs*
62. Anita: but/ especially people who aren’t from here/ and young kids
63. Teranda: you mean people who aren’t from
64. Anita: from Louisiana/ or south Louisiana/ and the younger students/ who I find/ just because that’s who I’m around a lot/ the younger population/ they really want to/ identify/ and get really/ like/ specific/ “well/ is your mom black?”/ “yes”/ “is your dad black?”/ (15.30) “yes”/ “no you”/ both of my parents/ they look like me/ our background/ you know/ their background is similar/ and they just/ you know they want to get down to how and why/ they’re funny
65. Teranda: *laughs/ explains that the next section is about characteristics of identity and says that questions will be asked for each identity/ (16.00) asks II.1 for Creole identity
66. Anita: through my everyday practices/ umm/ I don’t know/ I have to think about that/ I mean I find in things like/ food/ you know/ with/ foods are important to me/ that kind of thing/ (16.30) I connect that to/ growing up in Opelousas/ what you grew up eating/ what your grand-parents cooked for you/ what your mom cooked for you/ but I don’t know if I
would connect/ connect it/ anything to my everyday practices/ it’s just kinda/ food’s the first thing that comes to mind/ (...)  
67. Teranda: okay/ and what about food  
68. Anita: what/ you know/ the things that/ umm/ that are/ like/ significant markers/ like right now/ especially with Christmas time/ (17.00) it’s sweet potatoes/ (...) / big on sweet potatoes/ I mean/ I bought sweet potatoes for my co-workers at work/ they were just excited cause they were Opelousas sweet potatoes/ and/ you know/ I know that’s something I link to being home/ from home/ but I don’t know if I link it directly to/ umm/ you know/ my Creole culture/ or anything like that  
69. Teranda: okay  
70. Anita: can I think of any everyday practices/ not off the top of my head/ I can’t think of any  
71. Teranda: okay/ (17.30) asks question II.1 for African American identity  
72. Anita: uh/ again/ I can’t think of any  
73. Teranda: okay  
74. Anita: uh/ I can’t think of any  
75. Teranda: okay/ asks question II.2 for Creole identity  
76. Anita: uh/ that’s a funny question/ because a lot of people/ when they find out where I’m from/ the first thing they say is/ “well/ you don’t have an accent” (18.00)  
77. Teranda: *laughs*  
78. Anita: and I (... say)/ thank you  
79. Teranda: *laughs*  
80. Anita: because I think I do/ but they don’t think I do/ umm/ there are little things/ that I say/ and at work/ you know/ I have friends from areas of Louisiana that/ you know/ have there own unique qualities/ like New Orleans/ and the west bank/ I have a friend from the (...)/ Port Sulfur area/ I have a friend from Ville Platte/ that I work with/ and we all have our little sayings sometimes/ that we connect to being back home/ you know (18.30)/ words that aren’t really words/ but you know the general meaning of them  
81. Teranda: like/ what  
82. Anita: uh/ what’s the one/ we were giggling about something just being a big mess/ and I think my friend from Ville Platte called it a thraka (variant of traka)/ and I knew exactly what she meant/ you know  
83. Teranda: a thraka (variant of traka)  
84. Anita: uh-huh  
85. Teranda: I’ve never heard that before  
86. Anita: and I knew that’s what she meant/ because I’d heard my mom use that word before  
87. Teranda: okay/ do your parents speak/ uh/ Creole French at all  
88. Anita: no/ (19.00) my grandparents did  
89. Teranda: your grandparents did/ okay/ a thraka (variant of traka) in all my years in Opelousas/ I’ve never heard that word  
90. Anita: yeah/ and then/ it’s/ I mean/ I can’t think of any right now/ but there are just little things sometimes/ that you connect back to/ and I connect it back more to my grandparents/ I think/ than anybody else  
91. Teranda: yeah/ I think/ the word that I always think of is chèr  
92. Anita: chèr/ yeah  
93. Teranda: cause nobody/ *laughs*
94. Anita: I used to get/ (...)/ (19.30) but my cousins who live here in (place) would come to Opelousas for the weekend/ and when they would go back/ or they’d take a week/ when they’d come back to (place)/ they would go back putting yea at the end of all their sentences/ and their dad was like/ okay/ they cannot come stay with you anymore/ cause they coming back talking country

95. Teranda: *laughs*
96. Anita: and I never noticed it/ you know
97. Teranda: uh-huh/ actually/ I was talking to one of my friends from umm/ Montana/ and I said/ uh/ “you guys say fou fou”/ like somebody’s
98. Teranda and Anita: crazy (20.00)
99. Anita: uh-huh

100. Teranda: he said “yeah”/ and I said/ “what does it mean?”/ and he had like a totally different/ idea of what that meant/ and I was like/ okay/ so maybe it is connected to this/ kind of/ French thing that we have

101. Anita: oh yeah/ you know/ we/ there are lots of little ones/ I can’t think about any/ thraka (variant of traka) is the one that comes to mind/ but umm/ just connect back to
102. Teranda: thraka (variant of traka)
103. Anita: but yeah/ chèr/ no so much/ but I do know that I used to put yea at the end of things when I was little (20.30)/ and I remember my uncle saying that/ when his kids would come back to (place)/ they would come back talking
104. Teranda: what do you mean yea at the end
105. Anita: umm/ just/ like/ we’re going over there/ yea/ to do whatever
106. Teranda: oh/ okay
107. Anita: like/ putting yea at the end of a/ sentence/ not really where it belong/ but adding it there
108. Teranda: *laughs*/ okay/ asks question II.2 for black identity
109. Anita: you know/ it’s funny/ cause I don’t think I do (21.00)/ and I say that because/ when I get the questions about/ you know/ what are you/ who are you/ people will say/ you don’t talk/ you know/ I don’t sound like I’m from Opelousas/ I don’t sound/ you know/ like I’m black/ and I umm/ so I don’t know if I express it through language even
1010. Teranda: okay/ do you think that umm/ you/ you switch/ uh/ kind of your speech/ whenever you go home/ and maybe talk to your parents (21.30)/ who
1011. Anita: maybe a little bit/ I know/ you know/ again/ at work sometimes I’ll get teased/ (...) they’ll hear me say something kind of funny/ you know/ I’ll get called out/ they’ll say/ you kind of lapsed into Opelousas for a second/ but I mean/ we do the same thing/ I’ll tell my friend (says friend’s name)/ you sounded just like you were back in Lutcher for a minute/ so I think it may happen/ but I don’t know if I do
1012. Teranda: okay/ umm/ asks question II.3 for Creole identity (22.00)
1013. Anita: oh/ mmm/ I don’t know/ I’m trying to think/ I guess/ in/ in how I’ve always been/ I say always/ but how I get approached sometimes/ about who I am/ I’m/ less likely to do that to someone else/ because/ I understand that different people have different backgrounds/ (22.30) and that people/ you know/ are very diverse in who they are/ and where they come from/ so I’m/ less likely to/ focus on that when I meet somebody automatically/ you know/ (...) just kind of see them for who they are/ and who they are presenting to me/ then wanting to get into their background/ umm/ because sometimes it is a/ it’s a bother for me/ that people/ feel that they need to know/ all of that information
about me/ upon first meeting me/ you know/ and being so directly blunt about it/ (23.00)
and so I’m less likely to /get like that with a person/ and I feel like/ I’ll get to know you
more/ uh/ the more I get to know you/ the more I’ll get to know who you are/ than being
automatically focused on pulling that out right away

114. Teranda: so it’s kind of just/ being more tolerant
115. Anita: yeah
116. Teranda: okay/ asks question II.3 for African American identity
117. Anita: umm/ I think/ yeah/ I think so/ the same way though/ because they’re so
interconnected that/ (23.30) I’m more likely to pull back than to sit there and wanna/
which/ you know/ I guess/ in some ways makes me different/ because I think a lot of
people are more likely to

118. Teranda: to ask
119. Anita: to ask/ and I don’t/ you know
120. Teranda: okay/ explains section to and then asks first question in III.1
121. Anita: I think/ umm/ (24.00) in ancestry/ I think that/ you know/ your background is going
to consist of/ you know/ African American/ umm/ Native American/ cultures/ uh/ you
know/ Caucasian or white/ and just very diverse/ you know/ I’m quick to tell people when
they say/ “well/ somebody was white”/ I’m like/ “well yeah/ obviously somebody was”/ but
it’s so multigenerational/ it goes so far back/ that you really can’t/ you know/ pin-point/
and start separating at that point/ (24.30) so it’s just very diverse

122. Teranda: okay/ and even without ancestry/ is there anything that you/ would say defines a
Creole person
123. Anita: in my personal definition/ I look at ancestry/ umm/ first and foremost/ I think of
where you’re from/ umm/ I think about/ you know/ culture things as far as/ you know/ how
you/ your family bonds (25.00)/ and when you celebrate holidays/ like/ you know/ Mardi
Gras for us is going out to Leonville /and doing the Mardi Gras run there/ which is totally
different from Mardi Gras in Mamou/ you know/ run on horses and what not

124. Teranda: are you talking about/ umm/ with the chickens and stuff
125. Anita: yeah/ but it was/ you know/ what you see on the news/ like the big Mamou run/ is
totally different from what I grew up with

126. Teranda: I’m not sure/ I’ve never been to Mamou
127. Anita: it’s guys on horseback/ with the/ umm/ (25.30) the kind of clownish costumes/ with
the cones/ and the masks/ and it was more of this fun/ family stuff what we did/ you know/
Zydeco music/ and (...)”
128. Teranda: because I’ve been to Eunice/ and they do/ like/ the hay rides/ and they do the
chicken for the gumbo/ and people dress up/ but it’s not the

129. Anita: yeah/ it’s not quite like that
130. Teranda: okay/ so that’s what you’re talking about/ with the other place
131. Anita: yeah/ but I think of/ you know/ even the Zydeco music/ you know/ the French
language/ I took French throughout elementary school/ high school/ and college/ you know
(26.00)/ because I thought that was important to me/ to at least/ build on it/ and I get
excited when find/ I can hear someone speaking French/ and I can pick out the words/ you
know/ my husband’s grandmother is from (says town)/ and she speaks/ French/ you know/
kind of the/ the old/ I say old

132. Teranda: Creole French/ or
133. Anita: I think so/ from just hearing her/ that’s what it sounds like/ and I say that because we have a French teacher from Canada at our school/ and so I can kind of pull out the difference a little bit (26.30)/ and so that’s fun/ to hear her talk/ and to kind of/ pick out those little words/ from her

134. Teranda: *asks second question in III.1

135. Anita: umm/ not to me/ cause I can’t even identify any in my everyday practices/ I think it’s just a/ a belief in who you are and where you’re from/ you know/ I just think that that’s/ what it is/ I think your ancestry is a big part of it (27.00)/ being from that area/ is also a big part of it/ umm/ I can’t pin-point any particular customs/ but just/ you know/ it’s being who you are/ from that place/ that makes you

136. Teranda: okay/ *asks question III.2

137. Anita: umm/ one of the things I can always hear my dad talking about was/ umm/ (27.30) not being free people of color/ but being people of free Color/ which was a little bit different/ because it meant that you were kind of/ you know/ not allowed to be who you wanted to be/ but it was a different interpretation/ instead of being free people of color/ it was being people of free Color/ because you/ you weren’t black/ but you weren’t white/ you were Creole/ so that was kind of your own little

138. Teranda: I’ve never heard this/ what does that mean (28.00)

139. Anita: I’m trying to/ and/ in my mind/ I’m trying to remember what it was connected to/ and it must have been/ related to/ you know/ his greats/ or something like that/ but post slavery/ like in the early nineteen hundreds/ I think/ it was just/ it was more of/ Creole/ like they weren’t black/ they weren’t white/ they were kind of/ a different category of their own

140. Teranda: so trying to hold on to that

141. Anita: I think so/ that

142. Teranda: (28.30) yeah/ because after the civil war/ they were really trying to separate/ into just black and white/ so was he kind of saying like/ trying to hold on to this idea that you’re not either

143. Anita: I think it was trying to hold on/ and I think that the people were viewed that way too/ like they were just kind of a different/ people/ you know/ and I don’t think that/ umm/ yeah I don’t know if it was trying to hold on/ part of me thinks it probably was/ you know/ but it was just that/ in/ (29.00) I guess/ being in the area (...)/ that you kind of had that right

144. Teranda: and this was in the St. Landry parish area

145. Anita: I think so/ but I mean/ I’m not the/ I mean/ don’t quote me on that/ I’m not the expert/ but that’s something I remember him saying/ you know/ it may have been when I was writing my own paper/ for something like/ umm/ the folklore class or something I think I took in school

146. Teranda: okay/ alright/ so what about your ancestry though/ do you know/ like your parents (29.30)/ parents/ what were they/ or where they come from/ were they French or Spanish/ or African

147. Anita: umm/ I know/ on my grandmother’s side/ that there was definitely a/ stronger Native American presence/ on her side/ umm/ I mean/ just looking at her/ you could/ *laughs*/ you could see that/ but I don’t know the actual direct/ who was what/ in my background

148. Teranda: do you kind of know what you’re/ (30.00) what you’ve been mixed with/ along the way

149. Anita: umm/ I would say black/ white/ mmm/ like Native American/ primarily
150. Teranda: do you know if it was French or Spanish/ or
151. Anita: I would think French and Spanish/ just because of/ I mean/ when you look at the last
names/ in my family/ you know/ (B...)/ (F...)/ (A...)/ umm/ grandmother was a (S...)/ by
marriage/ she was a (G...)/ when she was born/ you know/ there’s (D...)/ in there too/ so it’s
all (30.30)/ you know/ we’ve got some French/ probably some Spanish/ and some
152. Teranda: Italian
153. Anita: Italian/ so it’s all in there
154. Teranda: I’m a Donatto
155. Anita: yeah
156. Teranda: we’re Italian/ kind of/ *laughs*
157. Anita: kind of/ you can/ you know/ definitely Italian/ definitely French/ you know/ just/
cause you know that/ that has to be there/ (...) not here
158. Teranda: well/ it’s funny/ because I’ve been reading up on it/ and it’s actually/ some people
say that it’s Italian/ and some people/ it’s Spanish/ and some people/ the father was Italian/
and the mother was/ (31.00) the father was Spanish/ and the mother was Italian/ and so it’s
just
159. Anita: well
160. Teranda: (...) confusing
161. Anita: you know/ I think my last name/ cause it’s always mispronounced/ yet I’m still
trying to hold onto it
162. Anita and Teranda: *laughs*
163. Anita: and um/ you know/ people go/ “well/ is it French?/ or is it”/ you know/ “is it
Spanish?”/ and I say/ “it’s from Louisiana”/ like you can’t/ it’s a product of here/ you
know/ if you break it down/ it could be French/ it could be Spanish/ and how you
pronounce it/ it just depends
164. Teranda: mmhm (31.30)/ okay/ asks question III.3 for American
165. Anita: I think/ because I was/ raised to be both/ to recognize that I was/ you know/ black
and Creole/ and/ you know/ for me/ it’s/ it’s always funny too/ because/ I mean/ I know
what I look like/ (32.00) and I know what my mom and dad look like/ I know what my
brother looks like/ and I know what my cousins look like/ and/ you know/ I’m just/ I’m the
fairest in the family/ pretty much/ especially on my mom’s side/ but/ you know/ growing
up I always knew I was black/ like there was no question about it/ I wasn’t/ you know/
raised to think I was anything but that/ even though/ by society’s standards/ I didn’t look it/
I knew that’s who I was/ you know/ I think that/ it was never a question of that/ (32.30) my
parents didn’t say I was anything other/ umm/ that was just who I was
166. Teranda: so do you think that if you just said that you were American/ that you would kind
of be denying/ both of those things/ or
167. Anita: I think if I just said I was American/ the answer wouldn’t be good enough for any/
one anyway/ so it’s not even
168. Teranda: so if you could/ would you identify yourself as being/ just American/ or
169. Anita: I think/ before I would say I was American/ I would connect myself to being from
Louisiana/ (33.00) you know
170. Teranda: just the Louisiana in general/ not necessarily being black
171. Anita: mmhm/ yeah
172. Teranda: or being Creole/ but just being from Louisiana/ okay

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Anita: and cause/ I say that because/ when I tell people I’m black/ they just kind of/ they give me the look of disbelief/ like are you/ no you’re not/ kind of thing/ and then I’ll say/ umm/ depending on where I’m from [am] “I’m from Louisiana”/ “oh”/ then people kind of step back and say/ “oh/ I got it/ you’re Creole”/ I’m like/ “yeah/ that’s it/ that’s exactly what it is”

Teranda: *laughs*

Anita: (33.30) because I get mistaken for being Hispanic a lot/ especially when I travel/ umm/ Miami/ my friends and I would go down there a lot/ to visit another friend who lives there/ and people would come up to me speaking Spanish/ and

Teranda: that happened to me in Washington DC

Anita: took French all my life

Teranda: *laughs*

Anita: you know/ and I don’t speak a lick of Spanish/ but/ and so/ I’d have to/ you know/ and that’s a point where I would have to say/ “no/ I’m American”/ and their like/ “well/ are you Cuban”/ “no/ I’m from Louisiana”/ “oh”/ and then/ (34.00) you know/ I can kind of start breaking down the connection/ “I’m black”/ “oh/ no/ you’re not”/ “yes I am/ it’s Creole”/ “oh/ okay”/ and then they kind of

Teranda: yeah/ people take me for Hispanic too/ and I’m like/ nope/ I don’t speak Spanish at all

Anita: I can read the menu at superior grill pretty well/ though

Teranda: *laughs*

Anita: that’s the limit to my Spanish

Teranda: asks question III. 4/ (34.30) so you did say that you took French from/ from

Anita: probably like 3rd through 6th grade/ and then/ umm/ 10th and 11th grade/ and then I took/ 5 semesters in college/ I was maybe two classes short of a minor/ but/ *laughs*/ I’d had enough/ it wasn’t fun anymore/ so I didn’t do it

Teranda: alright/ so/ is there anything else that you’re

Anita: umm/ I mean/ (35.00) what was the question/ if there’s any

Teranda: repeats question III.4

Anita: you know/ it’s funny/ umm/ when I was planning/ like the musical selections for my wedding reception/ I said/ “we have to have some Zydeco music”/ and (P...) was like/ “are you serious”/ and I was like/ “yes”/ *laughs*/ “I’m dead serious”/ so umm/ I think/ like in things like that/ and my just appreciation for things/ you know/ still willing to go back home (35.30)/ not denying/ you know/ that that’s who I am/ that I’m from po-donc Opelousas

Anita and Teranda: *laugh*

Anita: I think in those kinds of things/ I don’t know if there’s/ any particular thing that I could put/ my finger on that I could say (35.47)

119: Winston, age 62

1. Teranda: (2.00) explains questions in first sections/ asks question I.1
2. Winston: identity/ once we/ apart from identifying information as to who you are/ means/ truly/ who you are/ where you came from/ what you do/ who or what you belong to
3. Teranda: good/ I think that’s a pretty accurate description/ so/ if I were to identify myself/ I might say that I’m a student/ and/ I’m also a teacher/ and/ I’m a daughter (3.30)/ and a female/ so all those things kind of work together/ but for instance/ being a teacher/ and a students/ are kind of two separate/ roles/ so/ I can have multiple identities/ as you said/ so/ asks question I.2

4. Winston: cultural identity is/ politically/ I’m classified as African American/ by race/ or black/ culturally/ I/ identify myself not only as African American/ (3.00) but a member of the subgroup/ that’s been referred to as Creoles of color/ which is sort of unique to southeastern/ or southwestern American/ southeastern America/ I guess/ Louisiana/ Alabama/ golf coast

5. Teranda: okay/ so/ just remember that we’re not necessarily talking about race in cultural identity/ umm/ so for instance/ uh/ (3.30) gives example of girl with Korean biological parents and Irish adoptive parents/ so/ okay/ so you kind of went on into my next question/ asks question I.3

6. Winston: culturally/ as umm/ a descendent of all Louisiana Creole families/ Creole families being/ basically/ people who were basically/ (4.00) African American/ European mixture/ who were/ freed or emancipated prior to the Civil War/ and you descend from those

7. Teranda: so you see yourself culturally as Creole

8. Winston: yes

9. Teranda: and do you also see yourself as being African American

10. Winston: oh/ absolutely

11. Teranda: okay/ okay

12. Winston: simply Creole being a subgroup of African American/ sort of like/ Irish is a subgroup of European/ and Italian is a subgroup of European/ and gypsies are a subgroup of European (4.30)/ you know/ they still European/ they still Caucasian/ but they also belong to a cultural subgroup

13. Teranda: okay/ great/ asks question I.4

14. Winston: uh/ well that’s sort of interesting/ because they’ve tried that/ they’ve tried to use multiracial/ multicultural/ this that or the other/ but the/ the/ I would use the word Creole/ (5.00) because that was the word that was used to/ define my group of people/ probably from the early 1800s

15. Teranda: okay/ so would you make a box for Creole/ and still check the box for African American also/ or

16. Winston: absolutely

17. Teranda: okay/ umm/ asks question I.5

18. Winston: I don’t understand that

19. Teranda: okay/ umm/ or there times when you want to focus on/ umm/ (5.30) your kind of Creole identity/ instead of/ your kind of African American identity/ maybe situations that you’re in

20. Winston: umm/ that’s very difficult to say because/ you know/ you can’t separate the two/ other than when you begin to talk about the experiences of the two groups/ I think some of the experiences/ of the Creole/ (6.00) clans/ may be somewhat different than the experiences of the African American clan/ who are not a member of that subgroup/ their experiences both pre Civil War/ and post Civil War

21. Teranda: and/ what types of experiences are you talking about
22. Winston: experiences in culture/ for instance/ umm/ uh/ most Creoles are Catholic/ uh/ most Creoles derive themselves from people who spoke French/ in fact/ uh/ my parents/ (6.30) my father couldn’t speak English until he moved to Baton Rouge/ uh/ generally they lived in communities among themselves/ uh/ visited other like communities/ established schools and churches that basically served their own clans

23. Teranda: so just the Creole

24. Winston: yeah

25. Teranda: okay/ and is that all/ of

26. Winston: no/ there/ there are lots of differences/ mainly cultural differences/ and cultural differences meaning/ uh/ (7.00) their experiences/ and how they relate to the past/ and uh/ not so much the future anymore/ I/ I think the/ Creoles almost vanished/ uh/ as a culture/ because there’s no longer/ there’s very few spaces where they live together/ there’s very few communities where they uh/ can commune together/ they have pretty much blended into either/ the total African American society/ or the total European or white society

27. Teranda: okay/ (7.30) and so what do you mean/ how they relate to the past/ how would a Creole relate differently to the past then an African American/ or a European

28. Winston: well/ there/ are distinctions/ umm/ and I’m trying to/ answer this question/ there are distinctions about their experiences/ umm/ many of them were/ although almost all of them at some point in time were slaves/ or had ancestors that were slaves/ (8.00) during most of the antebellum period/ they were free/ and occupied sort of a different position in the structural society of the south/ and following the Civil War/ the/ the distinctions sort of continued on/ until they were blurred during the/ the years/ leaving the/ many times the opportunities for them/ were a little bit greater/ not far greater/ but a little bit greater/ or more opportune/ than it was for the folks who/ (8.30) were not free/ or were not in that community

29. Teranda: okay/ I guess maybe you’ve already answered this/ but I’ll just see if you give anything different/ asks question I.5 for focusing on African American identity

30. Winston: well/ sure they are/ uh/ you/ you gotta remember/ well/ the way that I look at it is that/ you belong to a group of African Americans/ (9.00) and/ whether you’re Creole or not Creole/ you’re African American by definition/ because you have uh/ ancestry that’s African/ uh/ usually that’s never denied/ and usually it’s also a benefit/ it’s a pretty good cultural uh/ uh/ past too/ however/ you know/ many times if you’re identifying with a larger group/ you generally identify yourself as/ African American/ so as not to distinguish yourself/ (9.30) or to/ make yourself appear as not belonging to that group/ not wanting to belong to that group/ or denying that group/ because you’re very much a part of that group

31. Teranda: is there a problem with/ maybe/ if you were to say that you were Creole/ and kind of deny

32. Winston: depending on when and where you do it/ there’s a perception difference/ uh/ there’s sometimes some/ animo—/ I don’t want to say animosity/ but there is sometimes some/ (10.00) resentment/ or distrust/ between non-Creole African Americans/ and African Americans/ when they’re together in one group/ such as the Creoles begin to say/ “I’m Creole”/ it generally sends up a flag/ that the other group thinks that you’re trying to separate/ or distinguish yourself from em/ which is/ which I guess in some cases/ is the case/ but in most cases/ it’s not the case/ I mean/ as I said earlier/ it’s no different from/ an Irishman saying/ “I’m Irish/ not English”/ or “I’m Irish/ and not Italian”/ (10.30) or “I’m Italian/ and not Hungarian”/ you know/ same thing/ you know/ that doesn’t mean that
they’re not European/ that doesn’t mean that they’re not/ uh/ white/ or Caucasian/ it’s simply a subgroup of a larger group

33. Teranda: okay/ and so there’s problems whenever you try to/ deny that

34. Winston: no/ there’s not problems/ but it can cause questions/ mainly because/ in/ in America/ America usually sees black and white/ (11.00) and the black people see black and white/ as well as the white people see black and white/ so/ when there’s someone who says/ comes along and says/ “hey/ look/ I’m not totally black/ but I’m not totally white”/ flags go up/ you know/ mainly because of/ umm/ misinformation or ignorance/ I don’t mean ignorance in terms of being dumb/ but not being informed

35. Teranda: (11.30) explains section II/ asks question II.1 for Creole identity

36. Winston: generally don’t/ generally do not/ uh/ it’s sort of a umm/ uh/ it’s sort of a side thing/ when you start examining/ who you are/ or talking to people about who you are/ when you talk to/ (12.00) you know/ it will sometimes come up/ but there’s really not a/ a daily distinction/ or an attempt to distinguish/ or/ uh/ anything like that/ it’s sort of a side thing

37. Teranda: okay/ so/ you were talking about the cultural practices earlier/ that Creoles might have/ that are different from African American/ do those sorts of things come out

38. Winston: uh/ not as much in recent years/ as it did in past years/ (12.30) umm/ in many of the areas/ a couple of the big differences are generally/ communities/ uh/ religious practices/ umm/ the language/ uh/ as I said/ most Creoles/ generally derive from a predominant French speaking language/ although that language is pretty much/ uh/ dead throughout the/ the area now/ but/ there’s a language difference (13.00)/ and/ very often/ there is an education difference/ mainly because Catholic schools/ uh/ historically educated most/ so there was a big indoctrination of/ that sort of thing/ that religious kind of thing/ as opposed to the/ predominant African American family/ which was protestant/ mainly umm/ a Baptist/ or some aspect of Baptist

39. Teranda: okay/ (13.30) asks question II.2 for Creole identity

40. Winston: I don’t think it’s any different/ in the way that I speak and act/ I don’t see anything that would/ distinguish it

41. Teranda: do you also speak uh/ Creole French/ or

42. Winston: I don’t/ I am a first generation in my family that does not/ uh/ my father was a umm/ a Creole/ a French speaker/ my mother only a little/ and they never bothered to teach it to us/ (14.00) because they always said that/ we needed to learn how to speak English/ and be American/ most of my older aunts and uncles have/ very heavy/ French Creole type accents/ and that was considered to be/ not good/ so I never learned how to speak it

43. Teranda: okay/ asks question II.3 for Creole identity

44. Winston: (14.30) oh/ I think it/ you know/ upbringing actually/ is reflected throughout your life/ the/ the value system/ the education system/ the habits/ the food/ the uh/ friendships/ the relatives/ you tend to/ migrate towards people that are more similar to you/ I guess/ because you are around your relatives/ who are very similar to you/ as I was growing up/ I was in a community that was still somewhat (15.00)/ uh/ Creole/ although it was not the predominant culture where I grew up/ but it was still there/ and prevalent/ and/ you know/ you were in constant contact with it/ it influenced almost everything you do

45. Teranda: okay/ so what/ you named some specific things/ with the religion/ and the/ well with how your raised/ but what/ what went into that

46. Winston: when you say/ “what went into that”
47. Teranda: I mean/ (15.30) what about the religion/ and the education/ and the/ food/ and those types of things/ what specifically
48. Winston: well/ generally/ you ate Creole food/ which was/ I guess the closest thing you can say to it now is Cajun/ but Creole and Cajun are not the same thing/ they are very very different/ umm/ most Creoles trace their historic paths back directly to ancestors arriving from Europe/ (16.00) Cajuns derive theirs from/ ancestors who were actually from France/ through Canada/ and Nova Scotia/ and back/ the two cultures are very different/ even the languages/ although they sound the same/ are very different/ uh/ the Creole language is much more closely aligned to the French language/ whereas the Cajun language/ I guess has/ is French/ but took a lot of twists and turns on the way from Nova Scotia here
49. Teranda: so/ what types of food were there
50. Winston: uh/ (16.30) there were/ casseroles/ and highly seasoned sauces/ and/ uh/ soups and other things which/ umm/ are closely aligned to what people would think as/ as French cooking
51. Teranda: okay/ so you
52. Winston: go head
53. Teranda: so you wouldn’t go straight to gumbo/ or
54. Winston: yeah gumbo/ but/ well gumbo’s very African actually/ *laughs*/ I think gumbo is what/ (17.00) the African word for okra
55. Teranda: oh/ I’m not sure
56. Winston: yeah/ I think it’s the African word for okra/ but uh/ you know/ the African/ the African influences in that food is gonna be great/ I mean they were/ African and uh/ European/ and I’m sure both of those cultures creep in on that food
57. Teranda: and with religion/ are you talking about growing up Catholic/ and
58. Winston: yeah/ growing up Catholic/ general/ typical Catholic indoctrination/ (17.30) umm/ I would think of the/ things in/ the culture/ that influenced it more/ than probably just language and likeness/ is probably religion/ and uh/ religion has always been a big part of it/ and/ not only that/ the religion thing/ pretty much/ uh/ defined what they did/ for instance/ (18.00) uh/ very early on/ there was little Catholic schools/ that were mainly attended by Creoles/ back in the older days/ when there were no schools/ the priest and the people in the neighborhood taught each other/ uh/ which was a little bit different than what was going on in the African American community/ simply because/ not because they/ they didn’t want to or didn’t have to/ but they just didn’t have the opportunity to/ because of the differences in background at that time
59. Teranda: okay/ (18.30) asks question II.1 for African American identity
60. Winston: I don’t necessarily express it/ I mean/ to be African American in the south/ or probably in America is something that is/ not expressed/ but something that is/ imposed upon you/ you know/ you are identified as African American/ you’re treated as African American/ you are/ (19.00) generally/ whether your Creole or African American/ you would probably/ uh/ required to live in an African American neighborhood/ required to attend African American events/ uh/ you are excluded from most European kind of things/ so/ it’s not a matter of/ expressing you African American identity/ it’s a matter of having the African American identity imposed on you
61. Teranda: okay/ okay/ and did you see a lot of that growing up/ I guess
62. Winston: sure
63. Teranda: and you were coming up during the
64. Winston: (19.30) I was born in 1948/ so/ I grew up in the forties and fifties/ and/ finished high school in the mid-sixties

65. Teranda: asks question II.2 for African American identity

66. Winston: language patterns/ umm/ *laughs*/ it was sort of interesting/ my skin color/ I can sometimes be mistaken for not being African American/ and uh/ I went to African American schools (20.00)/ whether you call them Creole or public/ it didn’t matter/ it’s African American/ school/ so the language patterns I picked up/ and the words I used were basically/ the language patterns of the typical African American/ and uh/ I remember after graduating from college/ I moved to/ Ann Arbor, Michigan/ where I went to school and worked/ and when I was in Ann Arbor/ I was working with some folks up there/ it was mainly a/ German community/ believe it or not/ German and Russian/ (20.30) and uh/ I had a number of friends up there that were white/ weren’t a lot of black people there/ and they were saying/ “you know/ we heard that you were black/ but the minute you opened your mouth/ we knew you were”

67. Winston and Teranda: *laugh*

68. Winston: so/ you know/ it was apparently fairly obvious to them/ that the language patterns/ the accent/ the/ the mannerisms were African American/ very noticeable

69. Teranda: do you think that/ those kind of language patterns have umm/ that you still use those/ (21.00) or do you think that

70. Winston: uh/ probably to some extent/ I think that they’ve changed simply because of/ exposure/ uh/ simply because/ I don’t think I’ve lived in a totally African American community probably since the mid-sixties/ and/ also with the advent of television/ *laughs*/ you tend to imitate speech from television/ you tend to imitate speech from the people that you’re around/ and of course/ I’ve got to believe that/ you know/ after going to school/ (21.30) and learning the queen’s or king’s English/ I guess whoever’s English you want to call it/ you begin to uh/ develop patterns that is/ more/ socially and intellectually acceptable/ which means that you lose some of your cultural patterns

71. Teranda: okay/ asks question II.3 for African American identity

72. Winston: oh/ I got very strong personal beliefs and attitudes/ (22.00) I came up through very difficult times/ racially wise/ through the/ the fifties/ where segregation was very/ uh/ wooh/ not only dominant/ was insisted/ and uh/ very hardcore/ through the sixties/ I participated in the Civil Rights Movement/ and through the seventies/ I guess I was a benefit/ uh/ the beneficiary of some of that movement/ by being able to/ after leaving college/ (22.30) going to/ graduate school/ and accepting a job in an industry which/ probably ten years earlier/ would not have accepted me in it/ so/ you know/ I think that’s a/ I don’t know what the right words to say this/ pretty/ umm/ it/ pretty hardcore opinions from what I’ve seen/ hardcore meaning/ very (...)/ it doesn’t take me very long to decide whether this is a race issue or not (23.00)

73. Teranda: so/ you think that/ your/ kind of/ growing/ going/ coming up through the Civil Rights Movement/ and having to deal with all that/ that’s/ kind of what’s most influenced your/ your/ your kind of believes that might link up to this African American identity

74. Winston: yeah/ but not so much the/ the Civil Rights era is/ I think the opinions were formed before that (23.30)/ the opinions were formed when/ in the fifties/ and early sixties where/ there were things that you were denied/ things that you could do but you weren’t allowed to do/ things that you knew that you should be able to do/ or that you wanted to do/ but/ for whatever the reason/ well not whatever the reason/ the reason was race/ that
prevented you from being able to do it/ or have as great of an opportunity/ to be able to do it/ you know/ like/ for instance/ (24.00) in affirmative action/ uh/ we used to do/ we used to be just the opposite/ and go to school that I came from where/ uh/ I guess/ some affirmative action things that usually try and say/ you know/ uh/ these test aren’t fair/ we used to/ in the fifties and sixties say/ I wanna take the test against the white people/ cause I know that I can do better/ we had a more positive attitude/ that we could do better/ or as well/ as opposed to/ we needed a break (24.30)/ I don’t know if that makes sense to you

75. Teranda: no/ I think so/ so you’re saying that/ that right now/ most people/ whenever they look at test like the ACT/ or the SATs/ are these kind of/ umm/ high-stakes/ standardized test/ their now saying/ you know/ it’s kind of racially biased towards whites/ and so we should kind of/ get a break/ because of that

76. Winston: well/ I do believe that that is the case/ because many of the test are very cu— (25.00)/ many of the questions/ don’t have answers that you learn in school/ but answers that you/ come up with from various cultural experiences/ I think those are/ are very horrible kind of test/ but mainly/ what I’m saying/ I like the idea/ and those kind of test have been developed really since the sixties/ uh/ I kind of like the/ the idea that if I’m gonna compete with you to be a/ (25.30) an accountant/ let’s take an accounting test/ and see if I know as much accounting as you/ not cultural/ let’s see/ let’s take a uh/ a history test/ and let’s see if I understand/ you know/ I can recite those dates and things as well as you can/ you know/ that’s uh/ I remember once/ and I participated in those culturally biased test examinations once/ and I remember looking at a question/ where it says/ the question was/ (26.00) a sky scraper is/ a tall building/ a cloud/ a mountain/ and aww/ there was something else/ and uh/ many of the/ and I’m trying to think of how the groups were/ I think it was like/ groups that lived out in the desert/ such as the Indians or what have you/ said it was a cloud/ the groups that lived in/ uh/ the/ (26.30) mountain ranges/ like West Virginia and Kentucky/ said a sky scraper was a mountain/ the groups that were basically Anglo/ that lived in/ various cities/ said a sky scraper was a/ building/ a tall building/ the actual answer that was accepted on the test/ was a sky scraper is a tall building/ but a sky scraper is also a tall mountain/ and a sky scraper is also a cloud/ so that was really a cultural answer/ about where you were from/ that’s pretty elementary kind of a thing (27.00)/ but/ questions like that/ creep into high-stakes test/ as opposed to/ questions of knowledge/ they changed them to aptitude test/ as opposed to knowledge test

77. Teranda: so you’re just talking about test where/ they’re purely based/ they’re purely testing you on knowledge

78. Winston: on knowledge

79. Teranda: and not on cultural things

80. Winston: knowledge and function ability/ (27.30) math test/ (...)/ those are pretty straight-forward/ but not necessarily straight-forward/ because math test often have games/ and/ some of the games are designed/ around games that some European cultures played as they were growing up/ even numbers games/ which gives them an advantage/ even though/ the answer is calculable (28.00)/ it/ you know/ you didn’t have to/ test that particular knowledge/ by playing that particular number game/ like some number progression games/ and in English/ uh/ for instance/ figuring out the games where you do the word ending/ or you make a language/ and you come up with the/ words at the end/ I have some/ and I’m not even gonna say what group is/ that we’re good friends with/ and they play these games all the time/ in their lil groups/ and I says/ (28.30) “wait a minute/ I’ve seen this before”/
and he says/ “oh/ well these are ancient”/ and I’m not gonna say what/ “ancient such and such games/ and we always grew up playing these”/ and they were very good at those games/ they could do it very fast/ I eventually caught on/ but it takes me a time to/ analyze how to/ do this/ as opposed to/ it becoming a natural thing/ you’ve probably seen that before

81. Teranda: what is it
82. Winston: word games
83. Teranda: where you make up the word
84. Winston: well/ where they would make up/ (29.00) sort of almost like pig Latin/ where you make up words/ and you can come up with words by changing meanings/ switching the positions of words/ and that sort of thing/ and uh/ there’s a group of folks/ who were/ what have you/ who play those games/ historically play those games/ know that
85. Teranda: no/ explains section III/ asks first part of question III.1 (29.30)
86. Winston: the actual word means/ native to the land/ meaning/ it’s a new world term/ meaning that the people no longer identified/ in the new world/ with a country from the old world/ so/ in New Orleans/ used to have this Creole culture/ it referred to whites/ it was basically/ uh/ folks from Spain/ and France/ and England/ who had merged in New Orleans/ and their off-spring were neither/ (30.00) no longer solely English/ no longer solely Creole/ uh/ French or Spanish/ so they called them Creoles/ and eventually as/ this/ mix of race/ as opposed to mixed nationality/ thing came up/ the term/ Creoles of color became/ begin to refer to/ persons born in the new world/ who were/ multiracial/ and that multiracial could have been/ African/ and some form of European/ or African/ and some form of (...)/ and that sort of thing (30.30)/ African-Indian/ European-Indian/ you know
87. Teranda: so/ you’re just saying its kind of a mix
88. Winston: it’s a/ it’s a racial mixture/ but the group/ the cultural group itself is identified by/ basically/ umm/ the racial mix/ and the ethnic or cultural mix/ you could be multiracial and not Creole/ yeah/ that/ you could be a free person of color/ prior to the Civil War/ but you weren’t Creole/ (31.00) it’s an ethnic thing/ if you didn’t fit in the religion/ you didn’t fit in the clan/ you didn’t fit in the/ uh/ cultural acceptance/ you had language differences/ you had food/ you weren’t/ (...)/ you were simply/ multiracial
89. Teranda: okay/ so in order to kind of fit into this/ you had to be French or Spanish/ with African
90. Winston: French or Spanish/ or French/ Spanish/ my/ my wife has actually some/ she is also from Natchitoches/ actually/ (31.30) she has uh/ some Chinese in her family/ and Indian in her family/ but basically/ what’s multicultural/ it still fit the multiracial at least/ they became a part of a multiracial/ ethnic group/ who shared all of these/ common things
91. Teranda: so it’s/ but the base for the multiracial group is/ French/ Spanish
92. Winston: (32.00) basically/ French/ Spanish/ and African
93. Teranda: okay/ and not necessarily Native American
94. Winston: not necessarily Native American/ but there was quite a bit of/ umm/ uh/ Native American/ well I say quite a bit/ it was not uncommon/ but not common/ you know/ it was not likely (...) a part of the thing
95. Teranda: okay/ asks second part of question III.1
96. Winston: no
97. Teranda: no
98. Winston: no

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Teranda: not even the Catholic

Winston: well/ yeah/ not even the Catholic/ you can be/ (32.30) I know lots of Creoles now/ not prac—/ no longer/ practicing Catholics/ or whoever/ you know/ changed their religions/ or that sort of thing/ but the group is not as identifiable anymore/ and you know/ they don’t even identify themselves/ a lot/ anymore/ they’re/ at one time they had spaces that they resided in/ they had classes that they did/ they had/ cultural events that they attended/ and over the years (33.00)/ the spaces have disappeared/ spaces meaning/ areas/ that they lived in/ have disappeared/ uh/ many of the practices have disappeared/ I mean/ just like/ all of the other groups/ like/ you know/ Little Italy is no longer Little Italy/ in various cities/ all kinds of folk are there/ so the spaces are gone

Teranda: okay/ so now you think that/ it’s been kind of taken over by other/ groups/ that Creoles aren’t necessarily identifying as Creole anymore (33.30)/ they’re identifying as other things

Winston: correct/ uh/ I don’t know identifying as other things/ their just/ not as frequently identified as Creole

Teranda: so they

Winston: for instance/ you know/ we're saying Creole and African American/ Creole is simply a subculture of African American/ I think the way the distinction has come/ is that/ they/ currently/ they more so identify themselves as African American/ (34.00) rarely/ identify themselves as Creole

Teranda: even though they know that they are Creole

Winston: even though they know that they are/ and of course/ like I said/ times have changed the/ those groups are pretty much dispersed/ you know/ they’ve gone all over the place

Teranda: the Creole group

Winston: Creole groups/ right/ and not only that/ other groups have come into that group/ you know/ Creoles no longer continue to marry just Creoles/ and/ you know/ uh/ both European and African American culture have both (34.30)/ non-Creole African American culture/ have both come into it

Teranda: umm/ asks question III.2

Winston: well/ you’re talking to one person who actually knows a lot about his ancestry

Teranda: okay/ great

Winston: umm/ I know/ where/ both sides of my family come from/ I know that the original DeCuir’s/ that I trace myself to/ left uh/ (35.00) Lake (...) in 1699/ came to Natchez Mississippi/ and settled in Pointe Coupe/ and I can trace my ancestor all the way back to them/ and that’s on the European side/ and I know that in the/ around 1730/ the European Decuir/ there were two brothers/ actually went to Mobile/ and/ acquired companions who were/ African American and black/ they called them free women of color/ (35.30) brought them back to/ Pointe Coupe/ and from them I came/ we also know that the/ the first women of color that/ joined up with a Decuir back in the early 1700s/ in Pointe Coupe/ was a lady named Maryanne/ uh from Mobile/ who traced her African ancestry to what is now Senegal/ so/ we can go back pretty far/ and we’ve got a pretty accurate tree/ all the way down/ (36.00) and on that same side of the family/ (...)/ other side of the family/ we know that the/ white ancestry came from (...) France/ about 1728/ bought some slaves in Iberville Parish/ a group of 30/ took one named Rose as a companion/ who was a/ an adolescent girl/ they lived together until their deaths/ one died in 1819/ (36.30) and one
in 1828, both sides of the family became very wealthy; they all traced all of their children were very successful; all their children were mixed race or considered Creole and we can trace all this from that point back; we do know that the lady in Iberville belonged to the N-O-K-O tribe and was captured in what is called was called Yorubaland and sent to Jamaica and we've got ship manifest on her we're trying to go back to Jamaica now; to go further back into Yorubaland where that's around Nigeria there; uh; to see if we can find anything more about her but that goes back to about the 1720s so we can trace back very far and I guess we were sort of lucky and probably unusual in that aspect to be able to go back that far

13. Teranda: so (37.30) the woman that you just talked about is on your mother's side
14. Winston: no that would be on my father's on my African American father the African American line that from Iberville who were half European half African and the African American line in Pointe Coupe who were half European half African actually those two sides the children from those two groups married each other and you know came from that side now my mother on my mother's side they were from Avoyelles Parish and we do know that they were they had three different races they were Indian European and African American

15. Teranda: and you mean Native American
16. Winston: Native American yeah they were the Native Americans uh that inhabited in and around the Avoyelles Parish area and you know we've got pictures of all our but we aren't able to trace them as well they were not as well to do people they were pretty much share croppers and pretty poor folk so the records on going back beyond my great grandfather and grandmother or we haven't really been able to do I know my great grandmother was a Indian out of their tribe my great grandfather was half white half African American and their names were (...) on his side my great grandmother was a Indian out of their tribe my great grandfather was half white half African American and their names were (...) on his side but we haven't been able to go very far back from that

17. Teranda: okay and what tribe was your great grandmother from
18. Winston: I thought it was Choctaw uh but there's some question about whether or not it could have been Tonkawas but I'm pretty sure it was Choctaw
19. Teranda: okay maybe you should look into Oklahoma cause my family actually has uh traced back their roots to the Choctaws in Oklahoma so that might be a good place
20. Winston: that could be we haven't I haven't tried to do any Indian tracing uh but I might have to try that just haven't done it
21. Teranda: okay so asks question III.3
22. Winston: well I do
23. Teranda: oh you do so that's
24. Winston: I do I do say that I'm American but the I don't know I think what we were what I am saying is that basically I we actually think that we are the real Americans because our white ancestry were indentured servants our black ancestry were slaves we got some Indian so in we've got some old plantation owners so we think that we got everything that American had to offer if there's anybody that's true Americans it's us
25. Teranda: and do you think that the time spent here that Creole families have spent here goes into that (40.30) cause lots of Creole families their not they haven't just arrived here you know like centuries
Winston: no/ they’ve been here for years/ centuries/ generations/ we are/ as I said/ we know that the first DeCuirs left Jamaica on 1699/ they didn’t get here until 1700/ on the ship they were on/ uh/ and I know on the other side/ like the other group/ was 1720/ 1728 I believe (41.00)/ so/ we’ve been here a long/ long/ time/ longer than most American—/ most people who identify themselves as American (…)

Teranda: okay/ so do you think/ what I’m saying is do you think that that kind of/ being here/ for a long time/ also goes into thinking that/ we’re kind of the true/ or real Americans/ maybe more than

Winston: well/ I don’t know about true/ real Americans/ because the/ I like to say for one of the things is/ (41.30) we reflect the American experience/ probably more than any other single group

Teranda: and/ why is that

Winston: uh/ because we’ve got/ everything that was here/ uh/ you know/ wealthy European planters/ slaves/ the worst that you could be/ umm/ indentured servants/ some of them who/ some of the Europeans who came here/ that’s in the family/ were indentured seven years/ uh/ you know/ so/ and Indian/ Indian Americans/ Native Americans/ I guess is the (42.00)/ politically correct word to say/ umm/ so/ we’ve seem to believe/ or seem to think/ say that/ hey/ we reflect the total American/ (…)/ we couldn’t identify with any other country/ let me put it that way/ uh/ sort of like the word Creole/ if you came to me and you says/ “are you African American”/ (…) don’t look exactly African/ “are you European”/ no not exactly European/ “are you Indian/ uh/ Native American”/ no not exactly/ but I have some of all of that (42.30)/ if you went to any Creole/ he would probably have a difficult time identifying/ uh/ nationally/ what immigrant group he would say he was/ you know/ as opposed to/ I guess/ if you’re in New Jersey with the Italians/ course/ they haven’t been here that long/ they came in what/ twenties and thirties/ so they still go/ fairly strong cultural/ fairly strong nationalistic group

Teranda: okay/ so you would say that you’re African American (43.00)/ sorry/ American/ yes

Winston: yes/ would I identify myself as American/ if you give me a form/ and you tell me to check off/ one of those designations/ the check off would be/ black or African American

Teranda: okay/ but if you’re just talking to people

Winston: if we were just talking to people/ it would be black/ African American/ Creole/ a lot of people are embarrassed about being Creole/ because for some/ it carries negative connotations/ I mean/ (43.30) you know/ there is some/ resentment/ by/ African Americans/ who are non-Creole/ and uh/ I’m not sure that I understand the resentment/ but there is some resentment/ uh/ and of course with European/ or Caucasian Americans/ who identify as being multiracial/ everything is black or white/ you draw your own connotations from black or white

Teranda: okay/ so/ the resentment comes from

Winston: (44.00) I think the resentment comes from the/ the separation of the groups/ forever/ I mean/ and the separation of the groups were natural/ I mean/ if you were free/ and/ he’s a slave/ you’re not gonna live in the slave quarters/ you gonna live/ over here/ differently/ and/ I think the resentment comes from the separation of the two groups/ from early on

Teranda: so it comes from the/ kind of historical issues

Winston: oh yeah
139. Teranda: (44.30) that we’re not necessarily linked to today/ but that are still kind of affecting our thoughts
140. Winston: sure
141. Teranda: okay/ and uh/ so/ do you see kind of your American identity/ as being first/ or/ do you see that African American identity as just being part of an American identity/ or
142. Winston: no/ I see African American as being first/ uh/ I would say that/ and/ and part of the/ I remember in the sixties/ when we were going around talking/ I was saying/ race influenced everything in my life/ (45.00) it influenced/ who my parents were/ and who my parents were meeting/ it influenced/ who my father was likely to have a child with/ or who my mother was likely to have a child from/ it influenced/ where I was born/ I wasn’t born in the white part of the hospital/ I was born in the colored part of the hospital/ and until lately/ I thought it would go so far as to influence/ where I was buried/ meaning/ the cemetery/ so/ I would first identity with race (45.30)/ then identify with Nationality/ because that’s the way American has/ placed it on me
143. Teranda: okay/ so/ you’re kind of forced to see yourself as
144. Winston: yes
145. Teranda: and so you can’t see/ so that American identity/ kind of takes a/ a backseat/ because of how Americans think about race
146. Winston: yes/ well/ I would say backseat/ America first identifies me as African American/ and then American/ and/ (46.00) that’s pretty much how I identify myself
147. Teranda: okay/ so/ as you said earlier/ it’s because it’s kind of imposed
148. Winston: it’s how it’s imposed on me/ not how I choose it to be
149. Teranda: okay/ umm/ so if you could choose/ would you kind of/ only see yourself as being Creole/ or/ only see yourself as being American
150. Winston: well/ if we could say everybody’s American/ and things went from their/ (46.30) that would obviously be the very best thing
151. Teranda: *laughs*
152. Winston: I mean/ obviously/ unfortunately/ that’s not how the world works/ and uh/ unfortunately/ the/ the Creole designation is/ is/ almost a figment of people’s imagination/ and historical study/ so I would basically say that/ you know/ I identify myself as American/ African American/ and/ rarely as Creole/ only in/ there are some societies now/ which I belong to one/ (47.00) called the Louisiana Creole Heritage/ uh/ Society/ which/ simply encourages the study of the culture/ and the preservation of those things/ which the culture contributed/ which as uh/ sort of/ uh/ over the past few years/ encouraged studies by historians/ anthropologist/ linguist/ to do those/ to study those cultures/ which have been much neglected
153. Teranda: okay/ (47.30) asks question III.4
154. Winston: sure/ uh/ I attend fairs/ festivals/ I make speeches/ about the uh/ about the culture itself/ basically historic/ historical type things/ so people understand what they are/ not necessarily/ advocating for anything/ cause like I said/ I really think if/ it almost doesn’t exist now/ (48.00) and I would take it that/ by the time the next generation/ being another twenty-five years/ it will simply be something that is/ maybe occasionally mentioned in a history book
155. Teranda: so you think that/ that this kind of/ Creole culture/ and Creole
156. Winston: it has no way to exist/ to have a culture exist/ you’ve got to have/ first/ a space for the culture/ secondly a group of people that identify with it (48.30)/ and maintain
systems and cultures/ and that sort of stuff/ there is no longer a space/ there is not longer a language/ the customs are pretty much gone/ and the government refuses to recognize it as a group/ so/ I mean/ it’s pretty much/ you know/ relegated to various studies

157. Teranda: okay/ so the identity’s kind of dying out
158. Winston: yeah/ the identities dying out (49.00)/ I think you’ll find people my age and older who are familiar with it/ who still/ use that term/ I don’t think you’ll find people/ thirty years and younger/ you know/ even knowing what it’s all about
159. Teranda: it seems though/ that it’s that way in Natchitoches/ and around the Cane River area
160. Winston: Natchitoches is the last/ one of the last areas that the space still exist/ and that’s where the/ (49.30) where they’ve got the Cane River National Park there/ and Louisiana Creole Heritage Center’s at Northwestern/ and one of the reasons that it’s located there/ is/ there is a/ space/ and group/ that still has enough significant identity/ so as to/ make the existence of the culture actually appear to/ have existed/ if not currently exist (50.00)/ yeah/ for instance/ I’m from/ I grew up in Baton Rouge/ my family’s from Pointe Coupe/ there was an area on the Chenal/ was very Creole at one time/ that’s the area/ south of False River/ at the Oxbow/ going all the way to the Mississippi River/ which was almost all Creole/ they had their little school called St. Anthony/ they had their little church called St. Francis/ they had/ their own houses/ and this/ that/ and the other/ but if you go there now/ (50.30) there’s a few of them still littered around there/ but they’re pretty much gone/ you know/ and the school/ schools are gone/ the language is gone/ there are a few old people/ that speak a little French/ but you hardly hear it anymore/ uh/ and uh/ the culture has been taken over by the predominate black and white culture

161. Teranda: okay/ *laughs*/ it’s disheartening
162. Winston: it’s true
163. Teranda: (51.00) yeah/ I know/ *laughs*
164. Winston: it’s true/ but that’s not to be unexpected/ but umm/ we’ll take the Irish/ the Irish lived in the neighborhoods/ and pretty much the same thing has happened/ the same thing happened with the Italians/ the/ to some extent with the Chinese/ although the Chinese culture/ probably is a little bit stronger/ because their such an identity with a country/ that they can still (…) Creoles/ don’t have a country they can identify with/ (51.30) you know/ uh/ but/ that’s pretty much to be expected of what would happen/ I mean/ I would bet you that/ thirty years from now/ if you go to New Jersey/ which/ in those heavy Italian communities in New Jersey and New York/ they probably won’t be/ heavy Italian (51.47)
NARRATIVE TRANSCRIPTIONS

N2 & N10: Courtney and Timothy

Timothy
1. uh (0.06)
2. it was kin’a a spur a [da] moment
3. to
4. decide to go an’ meet [cvcre:bade:]
5. [a:] knew it was [da] las’ home game an’
6. before [a:] start workin’
7. [a:] wanted to
8. go an’ enjoy [ma:sɛlf] (0.15)
9. one las’ [ta:m]
10. because workin’ for [da] railroad
11. [nɑ a:]’m not gonna have a life
12. so
Courtney
13. that an’ there’s no more home games anyway
Timothy
14. exactly
15. so uh
16. no
17. [a:] went
18. an’ met [da] normal tailgate crew
19. to
20. be disappointed (0.30)
21. an’ findin’ out [dæt] LSU’s gonna charge for parkin’ next year
22. forty dollars a game
Courtney
23. twenty [dollæs] if [ya] in the outlinin’ lots
Timothy
24. yeah

Courtney
25. an’ [dɪn]
Timothy
26. an’ you bring a trailer
27. fifty bucks

Courtney
28. fifty bucks
Timothy
29. plus the twenty or forty
30. *laughs*

Courtney
31. that’s
32. that’s ridiculous
Timothy
33. yeah

Courtney
34. [a:]’m sorry (0.45)
35. but uh
36. we met up [wɪd da] crew
37. umm
38. we cooked
39. of course
40. we [bɔ:ld] crabs
41. uh
42. that [de:]
43. it was pretty good
44. [a:] didn’t enjoy any of ‘em
45. but

Courtney
46. *laughs*
Timothy
47. [a:] helped cook ‘em
48. so (1.00)
49. like [a:] said
50. when we were shootin’ [da] breeze
51. havin’ a good [ta:m]
52. an’ stuff like [daet]
53. Oppy gets [dɪs] dog-on
Courtney
54. Oppy
Timothy
55. well
56. the guys name
57. firs’ name
58. is really (J...)
59. but we call ’im Oppy
60. red hair
61. you [no:]
Courtney
62. mmmhm (1.15)
Timothy
63. looks like Ron Howard
Courtney and Teranda
64. *laughs*
Timothy
65. so
66. anyways
67. uh
68. he brings out this margarita mix
called stinky gringo
69. an’ [a:] can tell [yʌ] this
70. [a:] wouldn’t drink it again
Courtney and Teranda
71. *laugh*
Timothy
72. [a:] only had one cup of it (1.30)
73. an’ that was enough for me
74. it was not very good
75. but uh
76. turned out to be a good weekend
77. cause we
78. I
79. [a:] was tryin’ to get
80. some people to come join us
81. [a:] had extra tickets for [da] game
82. an’
83. nobody wanted to come out (1.45)
84. so [a:] went to the game by [maːsəlf]
Courtney
85. [a:] was gonna say
86. you actually got to go to the game
Timothy
87. yeah
Courtney
88. [a:] wish [a:] woulda known
89. cause you could’ve tailgated with
   (F...) an’ all them again
90. they were out there
Timothy
91. so
92. an’ [a:] had tickets to give away
93. cause uh
Courtney
94. how’d you get tickets
95. or extra tickets (2.00)
Timothy
96. Mr. (C...)
97. (R...)’s daddy
98. [ma:] friend’s daddy
99. had a bunch of ‘em
100. so
101. [a:] was like
102. well
103. if you need somebody to take ‘em off
    your han’
104. [a:] will
105. he didn’t even charge me for ‘em
106. he gave ‘em to me
107. so
Courtney
108. nice
Courtney and Teranda
109. *laugh* (2.15)
Timothy
110. [a:] was like
111. [daet]’ll work
112. you [no:]
113. an’ that’s how [a:]’ve been goin’ to
    [da] games [de] las’
114. few years
Courtney
115. [ə:] should say
116. *laughs*

Timothy
117. cause
118. [ə:] don’t look for tickets
119. usually Mr. (C...) takes care of [ma:] ticket needs
120. *laughs*

Courtney
121. that’s nice
122. saves you a
123. few hundred bucks every game
(2.30)
124. *laughs*

Timothy
125. yeah
126. so uh
127. went to the game
128. it was a fight [do]
129. [ə:] don’t [no:]
130. they were playin’ cat an’ mouse for
131. a while [wɜrd] Ole Miss
132. but uh
133. [ə:] was glad [dæt] we pulled it off
134. cause
135. at leas’ we got a good record right
[ʃæt] (2.45)
136. but
137. the only thing [ə:]’m scared about is
this comin’ weekend

Courtney
138. Arkansas’s gonna be

Timothy
139. pretty intense
140. [ə:] think Arkansas might
141. put a poundin’ on ‘em

Courtney
142. like Auburn did
143. [ə:] think so
144. *laughs*

Timothy
145. yeah

Courtney
146. unlike Alabama (3.00)
Teranda: *laughs*

Courtney
147. sorry
148. [ə:] had to throw that in there
149. *laughs*

Timothy
150. oh yeah
151. an’ that was
Teranda: I’ll make sure to let everybody
hear that one

Timothy
152. that was a good game too
153. boy
154. bama comes down to
155. LSU
156. to get spanked
157. sorry (3.15)
158. we had to throw [dæt] one in [dɛə]

Courtney
159. [ə:] was waitin’ for it
Teranda: well I can still get you guys
national champ t-shirts

Courtney
160. that’s okay
161. we can

Teranda: they’re still valid
Timothy
162. [ə: ɔrɛdi] got one back from 2007

Courtney
163. an’ 2003

Timothy
164. an’ 2003 (3.30)

Teranda: *laughs*

Timothy
165. that’s right
166. only thing is
167. they’re not in bama colors
168. they’re purple an’ gol’

Teranda: mmm

Courtney and Timothy
169. *laugh* (3.38)
 Courtney
  170. how can we forget (J...) (12.42)
  171. the security guard
  172. [a:] mean
  173. the police [ɔftsə] (12.45)
  174. that was not the police officer
  175. who is now on facebook
  176. an’ has requested both of us
  177. be facebook friends
  178. *laughs*
 Timothy
  179. [a:]’ve heard
 Courtney
  180. yeah
 Timothy
  181. [dɪz] one guy
  182. that lived
  183. in [də] apartment
  184. by us
  185. or neighbors with us
  186. [a:] mean (13.00)
  187. this dude here would
  188. dress up to [də] T
  189. an’
  190. [a:] always found
  191. he was questionable
  192. from [də] firs’ day [a:] met ‘im
  193. [a:] mean
  194. don’t get me [rōn]
  195. you’ll get some [ʌndəkʌvə]
  196. narcotics agents
  197. all tattooed up
  198. an’ things like [dæt] (13.15)
  199. but
  200. [də] way he [tɔkd] about
  201. bein’ in law enforcement
  202. an’
  203. workin’ narcotics
  204. an’ stuff like [dæt]
  205. [a:] was like
  206. [dəs] guy is
  207. full a crap
  208. you [no:]
 Courtney
  209. right
 Timothy
  210. cause there is no way
 Courtney
  211. an’ he would (...)
  212. (A...) an’ I still lived [tæɡθə] then
       (13.30)
  213. but Tim would come an’ stay with us
       all the [ta:m]
  214. he was there
  215. an’ he would jus’
  216. randomly knock on our door
  217. an’
  218. or like come out on the back patios
  219. an’ talk to us all
  220. which was
  221. kin’a weird
  222. [tkspɛˈsʌl] with (A...)
  223. [tkspɛˈsʌl] with her
  224. but he had
  225. what was it
  226. an Impala (13.45)
  227. or somethin’ like that car
 Timothy
  228. he had
  229. that white Impala
  230. with
 Courtney
  231. all the cop lights
  232. an’ stuff like that on there
  233. but he had no like
  234. emblems on his car at all
  235. it was jus’ a plain
  236. white car
  237. an’ he’d put these lights on there
  238. an’ then he had a girlfriend (14.00)
 Timothy
  239. yeah
 Courtney
  240. who he never saw
  241. at all
Teranda: *laughs*
Courtney
242. so
243. this went on for
244. a while
245. like
246. couple
247. few months
248. this went on
249. an’ the guy would creep us out
250. cause he would jus’ show up
251. at the house
252. all the [ta:m]
253. an’ jus’ like
254. it was weird
255. so then
256. one day
257. we’re lookin’ at the news (14.15)
258. an’ we see that
259. he has been arrested for
  impersonating
260. *laughs*
261. a police officer

Teranda: *laughs*
Courtney
262. an’ drug possession
Timothy
263. yeah
Courtney
264. so he would go
265. an’ preten’ to be a narcotics agent
266. steal drugs from these
267. drug heads or whatever
268. from dope heads
Timothy
269. turn around
Courtney
270. an’ turn around
271. an’ sell it (14.30)
Teranda: *laughs*
Timothy
272. an’ [da] thing
273. [dæt] sent [da]

274. [da]
275. [da]
Courtney
276. warnin’ light
Timothy
277. yeah
278. [da] red flag
279. was [dæt]
280. he always wondered
281. how well [a:] could shoot
Courtney
282. mmhm
Timothy
283. he always questioned me on [ma:]
284. [ma:] shooting ability (14.45)
285. [a:] would tell ’em
286. [a:] could shoot
287. you [no:]
288. no big deal
289. “well
290. “what kin’a trainin’ you had”
291. “enough”
Courtney
292. *laughs*
293. right
Timothy
294. an’ uh
295. [anæðə] thing
296. [a:] worked in law enforcement
297. you
298. we keep a round in [da] chamber
   (15.00)
299. so
300. like
301. [wɪd da] blocks
302. [dæt] we carried
303. you [no:]
304. you had fifteen rounds in [da]
   magazine
305. an’ a round
306. already chambered
307. cause there’s no
308. le’ me tell [ʌ]
309. [a:] was in the shoot out one night (15.15)  
310. there’s no [ta:m]  
311. for you to jus’ say  
312. [a:]’m unholster [ma:] gun  
313. right back on [da] slide  
314. an’ put one in [da] chamber  
315. no  
316. it happens so fast  
317. it was like  
Courtney  
318. you gotta be prepared  
Timothy  
319. exactly  
320. an’ [a:] noticed this guy never (15.30)  
321. carried a round in [da] chamber  
322. which was a good thing  
Courtney  
323. *laughs*  
Timothy  
324. knowin’ what [a: no:] now  
Courtney  
325. yeah  
Timothy  
326. but [a:]  
327. [a:] always wondered about [daet]  
328. [a:] was like  
329. if you had all [d1s] law enforcement  
330. training  
331. how come [daet] gun is never  
332. loaded  
Courtney  
333. right (15.45)  
Timothy  
334. he’d [wolk] around  
335. an’ he had one a [da] biggest radios [a:]’d ever seen  
Teranda: *laughs*  
Timothy  
336. [d1s] thing was like somethin’ back from  
Courtney  
337. ol’ school  
338. seventies  
Timothy  
339. from Vietnam  
340. you [no:]  
341. he’s callin’ in  
342. [a:] don’t [no:]  
343. come to find out  
344. he stole that radio from the bus transit line (16.00)  
Courtney, Timothy, and Teranda  
345. *laugh*  
Courtney  
346. it was  
347. we’re all sittin’ there one day  
348. oh  
349. (A...) was the one who saw it first  
350. then [a:] think we all got there  
351. an’ watched him on TV  
352. that he had been arrested for it  
353. an’ wudn’t his girlfriend involved in it too  
Timothy  
354. yeah  
Courtney  
355. well (16.15)  
356. so now there out  
357. an’ this has been since  
358. what  
359. two thousand three  
360. two thousand four maybe  
361. an’ he’s on facebook  
362. an’ he sent (A...) an’ [a:] both these facebook request  
363. an’ she calls me  
364. she’s like  
365. “you remember (J...) somebody somebody”  
366. an’ [a:] was like  
367. “no”  
368. cause it didn’t have a picture of ‘im  
369. [a:] was like
“no
“ [a:] don’t remember”
an’ she goes
“[a:] think that’s our ol’ neighbor” (16.30)
*laughs*
an’ so she denied the request
an’ then [a:] saw one on mine
an’ [a:] denied it too
an’ then he sent us both
uh
messages
like
“ya’ll don’t remember me
“[a:] used to patrol”
uh
“(apartment)
“[a:] was the (apartment) security guard”
is what he said
Teranda: *laughs* (16.45)
Courtney
we were like
Timothy
we also [no:] you got arrested
you [no:]
Courtney
right
you spent a few years in jail for
havin’ all kin’s a
uh
drugs on you
Teranda: *laughs*
Timothy
but
d[a] crazy things
[a:] mean
d[a]
[dæ]’s one a [dos] (17.00)
life’s lessons
like [a:] said
it was gut feelin’
[a:] was like
this
somethin’s not right about [dɪs] guy
Courtney
everybody kin’a knew [sʌmɪn] wudn’t right
but nobody could really figure out what it was
everybody had different reasons
he was jus’ creepie
he was jus’
he’d ask Tim all that crazy stuff (17.15)
then he’d jus’ show up at our apartment all the [ta:m]
(D...) was jus’ like
“he’s jus’ creepy”
you see him walkin’ through the
the
the complex at night
but what (D...) found out was
there were some people up front
that did like
X
an’ uh
had weed
an’ all that stuff all the [ta:m]
so he would go
an’ get stuff from them (17.30)
*laughs*
so
Timothy
he uh
he took off one [de:]
out of the parkin’ lot
at (apartment)
lights an’ sirens goin’
Courtney
mmhm
Timothy
where was he goin’
(…)
Courtney
no
439. no
Teranda: *laughs*
Timothy
440. cause [a:]
441. as soon as he got onto (street)
442. [da] sirens stopped
Courtney
443. yeah
Timothy
444. cause we lived to [da] back of
445. of
446. you [no:] 447. (apartment)
448. [da] complex
449. so
450. [a:] mean
451. [a:] got a feelin' by [de ta:m] he hit
[da] roadway (18.00)
452. not to draw attention [dɪn]
453. he
454. he killed [da] lights an' sirens
455. so
Courtney
456. right
Timothy
457. but uh
458. [a:] don't [no:] 459. [dæ]
460. [dæ]’s jus’ [kre:zɛ]
461. an’ then [a:] think
462. how he was arrested
463. if
464. [a:]’m not [mɪsta:kɪn] (18.15)
465. [a:] heard [dæt] he ended up
466. impersonatin’ a cop
467. to an off duty cop
Courtney
468. yeah
469. he was at a bar
Timothy
470. yeah
Courtney
471. he was at
Timothy
472. a bar downtown
473. that's when like
474. (street) had just started openin' all
those clubs
475. an' stuff like that
476. an'
477. he was dressed
478. how he was supposed to be (18.30)
479. an' there was an off-duty cop that
was there
480. that's
481. how it started
482. now [a:] don't [no:] how they found
all the drugs
483. an' stuff like that on
484. in his possession
485. but
486. they found a whole lota like
487. cocaine
488. an' marijuana
489. an' all that stuff
Timothy
490. an' [dɪs] was [da] thing
491. he was already a convicted felon
(18.45)
Courtney
492. yeah
Timothy
493. an’ [dɪn] he
494. got busted with a firearm too
495. [dæ]
496. [dæ]’s like
497. dumb
Courtney
498. yeah
Timothy
499. you [no:] 500. [a:]’m sorry
Courtney
501. but
Timothy
502. *laughs*
Courtney
503. he’s out with a facebook account
   now
Timothy
504. (...)  
Courtney
505. guess they allow facebook in jail
506. [a:] don’t [no:]  
507. *laughs* (18.57)

.........

Courtney
508. [a:] like the big classes (28.32)
509. that meant [a:] didn’t have to go
Timothy
510. exactly
511. you [no:]
Teranda: *laughs*
Timothy
512. or if you went
513. you could sneak off into [da] back
514. an’ get some shut eye
Courtney
515. yep
Teranda: *laughs*
Courtney
516. it’s true
Timothy
517. have [əðə] people write notes for
   you
518. you jus’ catch up [le:da]
Courtney
519. [ma:] senior year (28.45)
520. [ma:] last semester
521. [a:] had
522. all of our classes were on Monday
   Wednesday Friday
523. you me—
524. you meet (I...) before
525. you [no:] (I...)
526. okay
527. (I...) an’ [a:] had the same classes
528. Monday Wednesday Friday
529. seven thirty
530. eight thirty
531. an’ nine thirty
532. now eight thirty was tennis
533. so we would go to that one
534. cause it was tennis (29.00)
535. we’d skip our seven thirty class
536. excep’ for on
537. Wednesdays
538. we would go
539. but we would sleep through there
540. go play tennis
541. so
542. that way we’d get our workout in for
   [da] day
543. an’ then we’d go to our
544. nine thirty class
545. one of us
546. we’d take turns as to who stayed up
547. an’ we took notes
548. we’d jus’ flip-flop back an’ forth
   (29.15)
549. *laughs*
550. then we would leave
551. an’ Mondays an’ Wed—
552. Mondays
553. we’d usually nap
554. Wednesdays
555. might go to the parade ground
556. do somethin’
557. Thursday
558. we were in New Orleans
559. an’ we were in New Orleans
560. well no
561. Thursday we would usually go out in
   Baton Rouge
562. Friday (29.30)
563. when we got out of class
564. we’d go to New Orleans
565. an’ stay in New Orleans until
566. eight thirty Monday mornin’
567. *laughs*
568. an’ that was our routine our las’ [sʌmcsta]
569. we didn’t do a thing
570. except for go to tennis
571. we
572. never missed tennis class
Timothy
573. well you see
574. [a:] mean
575. one thing was (29.45)
576. [a:] drove [maːself] crazy [maː] freshman year at LSU
577. cause
578. [a:] went to class
579. [a:] went to work
580. [a:] went back to [de] dorm an’ studied
Courtney
581. *laughs*
Timothy
582. an’ that was [maː] life [dæt] whole year
583. fall an’ spring semester
584. well
585. sophomore year (30.00)
586. after
587. almost losin’ [maː] mind at [de] end a [da]
588. [de] spring semester
589. [dɛr] were finals an’ things
590. jus’ bein’ lugged down
591. [maː] sophmore year
592. started stayin’ a li’l bit more
593. goin’ to [de] games
594. an’ things like [dæt] (30.15)
595. by [maː] junior year
596. [aː]’d just become wil’
Courtney
597. *laughs*
Timothy
598. the transformation had taken place
Teranda: *laughs*
Timothy
599. an’ when [aː] found out [aː] could make good grades

600. an’ still have fun
Courtney
601. it was over
Timothy
602. it was over with
603. [aː] was done
Courtney
604. it was over (30.30)

Timothy
605. [da] big issue back home (36.56)
606. of course
607. teen pregnancy was one thing
Courtney
608. mmhm
Timothy
609. but (37.00)
610. in [maː] situation
611. it’s kinda hard to be politically correct
612. cause like
613. [da] area [dæt aː] came from
614. you [noː]
615. we
616. we still had segregated proms
Courtney
617. right
Teranda: oh yeah
Timothy
618. at my high school
Courtney
619. yeah
Teranda: okay (37.15)/ yeah
Timothy
620. an’ uh
621. [dæ] funny thing about [dæt]
622. was [dæt]
623. after high school
624. it was amazin’ to see how many
625. li’l caramel colored babies were bein’ born
626. you did all a [dæt] to keep your
Courtney
627. yeah
Timothy
628. children from
629. minglin' (37.30)
630. an'
631. soon as [de:] got out
632. from under that roof
633. boy

Courtney
634. yep

Teranda: I wasn't sure if they still do that in Louisiana

Timothy
635. [a:] mean
Teranda: I mean/ well in Opelousas
636. they're not supposed to
Teranda: yeah/ I know that there not supposed to

Timothy
637. but (...) 638. it

Courtney
639. [a:] was about to say
640. [a:] think it was uh

Teranda: *laughs*

Timothy
641. see
642. what happens (37.45)
643. some of [da] parents get [tægθə]
644. an'
645. host a
646. private prom

Courtney
647. right

Timothy
648. yeah

Courtney, Timothy, Teranda
649. so technically
650. it doesn't happen
651. technically

Timothy
652. yeah

Courtney
653. the school host the prom
654. which
655. the majority
656. of whatever race is at that school
657. goes to that one
658. cause it's a school hosted prom
659. an' then the (38.00)
660. families that don't
661. want
662. their children to be a part of that prom
663. get [tægθə]
664. an' rent out
665. a room
666. or whatever
667. an' do it
668. cause they used to do that out at Donaldsonville area too
669. [a:] don't [no:] if they still do or not
670. but they have their own separate party

Timothy
672. yeah

Courtney
673. prom (38.15)
674. whatever
675. for their children
676. so they don't have to be involved with the schools

Timothy
679. you [no:]
680. cause like
681. one guy in particular
682. [a:] mean
683. he was a father
684. had daughters at school (38.30)
685. [a:] think [dzs] guy could've been like the grand wizard of [da] KKK

Courtney, Timothy, Teranda
687. *laugh*
Timothy
688. it was [dæt] bad
689. but uh
690. sure enough
691. two of his daughters
692. [de:] had
693. you [no:]
694. interracial babies (38.45)
695. [a:] wonder how
696. family gatherin's go
697. for [dɪm]
Courtney
698. they probably don't
699. well
700. you [no:] what
701. no
702. that man probably loves those
    babies
703. to
704. pieces
705. (...)
Timothy
706. some come around
Courtney
707. right (39.00)
Timothy
708. but
709. [a:]m serious
710. [dæt] was
711. [dæ]s one a [da] things that's
    [kre:zɛ]
712. now [a:] tell you
713. goin' back
714. home
715. an'
716. we're
717. we're speakin' about
718. you [no:]
719. the stories
720. uh (39.15)
721. talkin' about language
722. an' things like [dæt]
723. it's amazing
724. [dæt]
725. with all of [da] stuff [dæt] we've done
726. an' things
727. [a:] went back home an'
728. started
729. noticin' people that
730. graduated from LSU (39.30)
731. that's part of [da] alumni association
732. an' things like [dæt]
733. an' ma'
734. jus' by talkin' to 'em chèr
735. you wouldn't think [dæt de:] had an
    education, no
Courtney
736. right
Timothy
737. *laughs*
738. cause [a:]m like
739. wait a minute (39.45)
740. you mean to tell me you graduated
    from LSU
741. guess movin' back home did us a
    big injustice
742. cause [a:] feel that way too
Courtney
743. *laughs*
Timothy
744. that's like Dr. (J...)
745. president of (D...) association over
    [dɛr]
746. an' lord
747. [da] firs' thing when he meet
    somebody (40.00)
748. he's gonna tell you a Boudreaux an'
    Thibodeaux joke
Teranda: do you think that you/ kind of take
    that/ that umm/ I guess/ accent with certain
    people/ or
Timothy
749. well you see
750. it
it’s not to [se:] that you can’t be educated an’ have [da] accent
(40.15)
because
[a:] mean
it’s a
a part of you
an’
when you go back [hōm]*
like for us
to go back
around [da] Opelousas area
you’re immersed into it (40.30)
you can’t have [da] accent
because
[a:] mean
it’s a
a part of you
an’
when you go back [hōm]*
like for us
to go back
around [da] Opelousas area
you’re immersed into it (40.30)
you can’t help but
so
it comin’ out
[a:] was about to [se:]
it’s gonna come out of you
well/ yeah/ yeah/ no
jus’ like New Orleans people
you ever notice New Or—
people who were born in New Orleans
they come here
they’re in college with us here
whatever
the second they go back to New Orleans
or they’re surrounded
by a handful of people from New Orleans (40.45)
that accent pops right back
so you/ so you think you have the accent/ whenever you go home sometimes
[a:] tend
aww
810.  to try to
811.  get a hold of 'im before he got on [de] helicopter
812.  you [no:]
813.  it
814.  [dcr] flight pattern was right over [da] condo we were stayin’ at
815.  so
816.  [a:] wanted to [no:] when [de:] were leavin’
817.  an’ stuff like [dæt] (41.45)
818.  an’ anyways
819.  [a:] missed ‘im
820.  so
821.  lef’ a message for ‘im
822.  [a:] tried to call him on his cell phone
823.  well
824.  he didn’t keep [da] thing on at [dætə:m]
825.  [a:] never did understand
826.  have a cell phone
827.  an’ you don’t keep it on
Courtney
828.  right
Timothy
829.  so [a:] lef’ a message for ‘im at home
830.  an’ uh (42.00)
831.  [ma:] cell phone didn’t get a signal inside [da] condo
832.  so [a:] said
833.  this is the condo’s number
834.  give me a call back
835.  so [ma:] dad calls
836.  an’ uh
837.  [ma:] friend (M...) from
838.  all [da] way up from (place) (42.15)
Courtney
839.  *laughs*
Timothy
840.  Louisiana
841.  he answers [da] phone
842.  (M...) says
843.  “hello”
844.  an’ he pulls [da] phone away from his ear
845.  an’ looks at it
846.  an’ he looks around
847.  he’s like
848.  [dcr]’s some Cajun on [da] phone
849.  an’ [a:]’m laughin’ because [a:]’m like (42.30)
850.  who meet somebody
851.  from Louisiana at [da] beach
852.  you [no:]
Courtney
853.  right
Teranda: *laughs*
Timothy
854.  an’ [a:] thought about it for a li’l while
855.  [a:] was like
856.  “oh yeah
857.  “[dæ:]’s [ma:]’s dad”
Courtney and Timothy
858.  *laugh*
Timothy
859.  “[a:]’ll take that”
Courtney
860.  take that
Courtney and Timothy
861.  *laugh*
Courtney
862.  le’ me take that
863.  *laughs*
Teranda: do you think that/ you get any kind of accent (42.45)/ whenever you go
Courtney
864.  [a:] don’t think so
865.  jus’
866.  [a:] mean
867.  [a:]
868.  never grew up out there
869.  [a:] was in Baton Rouge the whole [ta:m]
870.  [a:]
871.  [a:] don’t [no:]
872.  no one’s ever tol’ me that [a:] have
but
bet
if
were
to
go
north
up
north
then
they
would
pick
it
up
they
would
say
so
around
here
probably
not
Teranda: mmmhm
Courtney
cause
never
lived
out
there
Teranda: yeah
Courtney
unless
jus’
got
it
from
dad
(43.10)

N4: Theresa

Theresa
1. well black [dɪm] took over [dɪm]
   people in Frilot Coves (11.55)
2. [dɛ]
3. [dɛ] used to be up [dɛθ] ‘bout [dɪs]
an’ [dæt] (12.00)
4. when [dɪm gʌəls] grew up
5. [dɛ:] got [wɪd dɪm]
6. [dɪm]
7. [dɪm] Cajuns
8. an’ [hʌne:] all hell broke loose
9. [dɛ:] daddy’s was angry at [ɛvcbodi]
   (12.15)
10. so
11. cause [a:] remember [ma:] husband
12. (...) he [se:]
13. “we Ø gonna
14. “we Ø gonna go see”
15. uh
16. “[yə] people out [dɛθ]
17. “an’ (C...) is
18. “[ækstn] about you” (12.30)
19. he [se:]
20. “you have to go an’ [tɔk] with ‘im”
21. so
22. [a:] said alright
23. so [a:] went
24. *laughs*
25. [a:] went
26. [a:] took a
27. [a:] took a shower
28. an’ [a:] kin’a [paʊdəd] up [ma:] face
   (12.45)
29. [dɛ:] say “oww
30. “you do [dæt] all [dɛ ta:m]”
31. [a:] say “yes”
32. “well”
33. [dɛ:] “you could pass out
34. “out [dɛθ]”
35. an’ all [dis] young people
36. honey
37. Ø marryin’ [dɪm] black men
   (13.00)
38. Ø [ma:] color
39. but [dɛ:] Ø marryin’ [dɪm] black
   mens
40. an’ [dæ]’s what [də] people didn’t
   want
41. “[yə] people out [dɛθ]
42. Ø don’t wanna mix up nothin’
   (13.15)
43. so [a:] meet
44. [a:] got [ma:self] ready
45. [dɛ:] didn’t want to mix up nothin’
46. [a:] (13.15)
49. [a:] tol' [ma:] husband
50. (J...)
51. you remember (J...)
Teranda: mmhm
Theresa
52. he said
53. [a:] said
54. "do you think [a:]'m bright enough to
go out [dɛə]"
Theresa, Carneal, and Teranda
55. *laughs*
Theresa
56. he said
57. "Ø you gonna stop it"
58. [a: se:]
59. "no"
60. [a: se:]
61. "[a:] wanna be sure [de:] don't shut
[de] do' on me" (13.30)
Theresa, Carneal, and Teranda
62. *laugh* (13.34)
............
Theresa
63. it was so horrible (17.12)
64. at [ta:ms] (17.15)
65. cause [a: rɪmɪmbə] one [de:] we
66. we was goin' to [de] store
67. an' uh
68. [ma:] sister in law
69. li'l girl
70. had
71. [de:] got one a [dɪm] Cajuns
72. stuck [de:] head out (17.30)
73. an' said
74. "don't be laughin' around us"
75. an' [dɪts] is jus' [dɪts] li'l
76. we was talkin' an' laughin'
77. but [de:] didn't like it
78. you couldn't go close to 'em
Teranda: hmm (17.45)
Theresa
79. it's jus'
80. [dæt] was [de] ol' [ta:m] people
Teranda: yeah
Theresa
81. [dæt] ain't like [da] people of [təde:]
Carneal: mmhm
Teranda: yeah
Theresa
82. [de:]
83. [de:] Ø much [bcDe]
84. an' all a [dæt] (18.00)
.............
Teranda: (19.15) so now/ do you still see
yourself as/ just being mulatto/ or
Theresa
85. yeah
86. if you
87. [dɪts] is what it is [be:be]
88. if you are
89. [yə] skin are light
Teranda: mmhm
Theresa
90. an' you Ø still from [de] negro race
91. well (19.30)
92. [dæ]'s what [de:] Ø lookin’ at
Teranda: okay
Theresa
93. an' [de:] would
94. you [no:] 
95. people was miserable
Teranda: mmhm
Theresa
96. because [de:]
97. wanted to do [ɛvɛθe:ŋ]
98. an' [ɛvɛθe:ŋ]
99. one of 'em [æksd] me
100. "are you white" (19.45)
101. [a: se:]
102. [tɪniθe:ŋ] you take
103. ["a:] am
104. [wʌtɛvə] you think [a:] am"
105. "what
106. "what you call [yosɛlf]"
107. [a: se:]
108. ["a:] don't call [ma:sɛlf] nothin'"
“[a:]’m a human bein’

“an’ [a:] try to get along [wɪd ɛvɛbɔdɪ]” (20.00)

Teranda: mmhm

Theresa

112. over
113. it
114. [de:] got it bad
116. but [dɪm]
117. like [a: se:]
118. [dɪm] boys an’ girls
119. changed
120. [ɛvɛθe:] changed ‘em

Teranda: mmhm

Theresa

122. but it’s not like [dæt] no mo’
123. [de:] got to mix [wɪd] ’em [nã]
124. because [dos] people ain’t gonna play wɪd dæt]

Teranda: yeah

Theresa

125. but it
126. you [no:]
127. [de:] Ø qu—
128. so quick to call you a [nɪɡə]
129. oh yeah (20.30)
130. [de:]’ll do [dæt]
131. but [dæ]
132. [dæt] all done failed
133. [de:] Ø mixed [nã]
134. it’s what [de:]
135. one lady said
136. “[dæ]’s [sʌmɪn]
137. “how [de:] changed”
138. [a: se:]
139. “[dɪm] children raised ‘em”

Carneal: “laughs*”

Theresa

140. showed ‘em how to be
141. you [no:] (20.45)

142. [bɛdɪn de:] was

Teranda: mmhm

Theresa

143. (...) 
144. [a:] (...) 
145. someone 
146. [da] same color with your (black) pants 
147. [de:] Ø a human bein’ 
148. [de:] Ø good people 

Teranda: mmhm

Theresa

149. but [dæt] (...) 
150. it (21.00) 
151. (...) 
152. cause his uncle 
153. (M...) 
154. his wife 
155. an’ [dts] ol’ lady 
156. his mom (21.15) 
157. so 
158. [de:] would 
159. [de:] called [hə]* big ma 
160. so 
161. she [se:] 
162. “(M...)
163. “[wɛə] Ø you goin’”
164. an’ uncle (M...) didn’t care
165. she [se:]
166. he said (21.30)
167. “[a:]’m goin’ get married big ma”
168. “to who (M...)”
169. she [se:]
170. “(G...)”
171. “oh no”
172. big ma [se:]
173. “you can’t do [dæt]
174. “[dæt hæə] is nappy
175. “she Ø [ke:nks]
176. “an’ she Ø black” (21.45)
177. you [no:] (G...) wasn’t black
Theresa
178. she was
179. she was brown
180. but [dæ]’s how [de:] (...) 
181. oh [dæ]’s how [de:] (...) 
Teranda: mmmhm
Theresa
182. an’ [a:] think it’s a bad way
183. [a:] believe people is people (22.00)

.............
Theresa
184. one [de:] (29.35)
185. [de:] used to have a li’l sto’
186. (J...) 
Teranda: mmmhm
Theresa
187. an’
188. [a:] was [wækɪn] at (...) (29.45)
189. an’ [dɪts] lady [dæt]
190. she Ø a coon
191. a white one
192. she said
193. uh
194. [a:] said
195. “what’s [da mæDea]
196. “Ø you sick”
197. she [se:]
198. “no”
199. “you saw [dos] (30.00)
200. “[dos] three men”
201. she [se:] “yeah”
202. [a:] say “d—
203. [a:] say
204. “[de:] Ø very nice lookin’
205. “an’ well-dressed”
Teranda: mmmhm
Theresa
206. she [se:]
207. [a:] said
208. “would you get me a cup a coffee”
209. [se:] “bring me a cup a coffee”
(30.15)
210. so
211. she said
212. ‘well you Ø jus’
213. “you’s jus’ like [ya] colors”
214. people is people
215. no [mæDea] what color
216. no [mæDea] what creed
217. people is people
218. an’ [dæ]’s how [a:] 
219. [a:] say [a:]’ma always be [dæt] way 
(30.30)
Teranda: okay
Theresa
220. because
221. after [dæt]
222. when [de:] brought me [da] cup a 
coffee
223. she say
224. “Mrs. Donatto
225. “[a:] seen it”
226. [a:] say
227. “yeah”
228. so [dɪts]
229. a coon-ass
230. he comes in
231. an’ he [se:]
232. “oh
233. “[de] black boys is [gõn]” (30.45)
234. “oh no”
235. [a: se:]
236. [a: se:]
237. “[de:] might”
238. [a:] was talkin’ ‘bout [ma:slf]
239. [a: se:]
240. “[de:] can be close to you
241. “but you didn’t [no:] what I am”
Teranda: mmmhm
Theresa
242. he ain’t said [nʌdɪn] no mo’
Carneal and Teranda: (31.00)*laugh*
Theresa
243. he didn’t say [nʌdɪn] (31.04)

.............
Theresa: yeah

Teranda: mmhm

Theresa: some a [dɪm] want to [no:] (1.04.16)
244. (...)

245. [a:] tell [dɪm] ‘bout [dæt]

246. “well what you

247. “why don’t you say [a:]’m a [nɪgə]”

248. she said

249. “[nə] Tatsie

250. “you ain’t no [nɪgə]”

251. “[a:] se:

252. “tell

253. ‘bout

254. “dat

255. “ya’ll Ø messin’ around [wɪd da] stuff”

256. [a:] se:

257. “[a:]’m a [nɪgə] too” (1.04.30)

258. but [de:]

259. [de:]

260. [dɛ] got some bad stuff

261. cause [dɛ] uh

262. [dæ]’s like [a:] tol’ you

263. [wɪd dɪm] two

264. two Cazenave boys

265. [dɪm] two

266. [dɛ] no:

267. [dæt]

268. [dæt] (1.04.45)

269. (...) had a [brʌθə]

270. [dɛ:] daddy’s [brʌθə]

271. his [sɪstə]

272. [ma:] daddy’s [sɪstə]

273. well (1.05.00)

274. (B...)

275. (B...)

276. “[a:] tol’”

277. [sɛ:] “[ a:] tol’ (B...) not to open his mouth”

278. “oh”

279. [a:] say

280. “well what’s [də mædə wɪd] (B...)”

281. [sɛ:]

282. “(B...) is [dɔk]”

283. [a:] say

284. “[a:] found (B...) got a pretty [kʌlə]”

(1.05.15)

285. [a: se:]

286. “he’s brown”

287. so

288. [ma:] daddy’s

289. two nephew’s

290. [dɛ:] was goin’ to school in

291. goin’ to college in New Orleans

292. “what do you want [nɪgə]”

293. *laughs*

294. “oww

295. “ain’t you [cɛnt]* (J...’s people”

296. “[nɪgə] get outa [hɪə]

297. “what do you want” (1.05.45)

298. “don’t forget you’s a [nɪgə]”

299. *laughs*

(Conversation goes to a different subject before Theresa comes back to story.)

Theresa: (1.05.50)

299. “(B...) was sick over [dæt] mess

300. “(B...)’s people”

301. “[nɪgə] get outa [hɪə]

302. [dɛ:] both had to go to [dæ] doctor

303. was sick over [dæt] mess

304. “(B...) is [dɔk]”

305. “(B...)’s people”

306. “[a:] tol’ someone to tell (B...) “hello”

307. an’ tell (B...) [dæt]

308. “don’t forget you’s a [nɪgə]”

309. “(B...) was enough to get” (1.08.15)

(Theresa comes back to story after Carneal gives a brief explanation.)

Theresa

310. (B...)

311. “(B...)

312. “[dæt] was enough to get” (1.08.11)

313. he stuck his head in [de:]
N5: Carneal

Carneal
1. cause (2.02)
2. [de]
3. one a the narratives
4. you Ø talkin’ ‘bout narratives
5. a speech pathologist
6. who’s
7. has a doctorate in special education
tol’ me
8. she [se:]
9. [a: se:]
10. “well do you think [a:]’ll ever improve”
11. she [se:]
12. “you Ø a superior reader” (2.15)
13. she says
14. “but as far as your culture
15. you can’t be fixed”

Carneal and Teranda:
16. *laugh*

Carneal
17. it was funny
18. [a:] said
19. “well Dr. (P...)
20. “you think [a:]’ll [ɛvə] improve”
21. she said
22. “you can’t be fixed”

Carneal, Theresa, Teranda
23. *laugh*
24. “leave it alone”
25. because she’s speakin’ from a
26. from a cultural standpoint (2.30)

Teranda:
27. through language (16.51)
28. they’ll [no:]
29. an’
30. we were focusin’ on language a little
31. bit earlier
32. it’s how [a:] speak to people when
33. [a:]’m joggin’ (17.00)
34. if it’s someone [dæt]’s African
35. American
36. “hey man
37. “what’s goin’ on”
38. they [no:] exactly who they Ø talkin’
to (17.15)
39. but if [a:] speak to someone that’s
Caucasian American
40. [a:]’m jus’ as [kʌmfəbl] sayin’
41. “hi
42. “how are you [dade:]”
43. cause [a:] greet just as many people
(...)
44. an’ it’s jus’

(Response to I.5, focusing on black identity)
45. it's an automatic thing
46. an’ [sʌmta:m]
47. [a:]’ll [æks dɪm]
48. not too often
49. “hey (17.30)
50. “what’s goin’ on”
51. but it’s usually after [a: no: dɛr kʌmfədəbl] in [ma:] skin
52. an’ [a:]’m [kʌmfədəbl] in [dɛr] skin
53. *laughs*
Teranda: *laughs*/ okay/ okay
Carneal
54. so you
55. so it’s
56. it’s
57. it’s so subtle
Teranda: mmmhm
Carneal
58. an’ it’s the same subtlys
59. [a:] think (17.45)
60. that were used
61. when
62. [dɛr] was a cut an’ dry
63. racial divide
64. in the south
Teranda: mmmhm
Carneal
65. we learned to be a li’l bit flexible
66. in how we handled ourselves in
conversation
67. which is [da] tone
68. [da] words [a:] choose (18.00)
69. not necessarily always slang
70. but it’s the word packages
71. an’ you bein’ a word person
72. you [no:] how that is
Teranda: yeah
Carneal
73. cause you can [se:]
74. “ain’t nothin’ happenin’”
75. black folks say it all the [ta:m]
76. Caucasian Americans [se:] (18.15)
77. “[a:]’m havin’ a dull day
78. “today’s been dull”
Teranda: mmmhm
Carneal
79. an’ they Ø both
80. acceptable
Teranda: yeah
Carneal
81. uh
82. (...) song
83. “ain’t no business but [ma:] own”
84. *laughs*
85. an’ we accept [dæt] in music (18.30)
86. we accept
87. you notice we accept cultural slangs
88. throughout music
89. an’ it’s “oww
90. that’s a wonderful song”
91. an’ [a:] walk in
92. an’ [a: se:] 
93. “we ain’t up to nothin’ [tade:]”
Teranda: mmmhm
Carneal
94. *laughs*
95. [a:] can say that in a classroom
context (18.45)
96. if
97. given that my children [no:] 
98. that we Ø jus’ usin’ slangs
Teranda: okay
Carneal
99. right
Teranda: yeah
Carneal
100. but we Ø in a African American class
101. they’ll laugh it off
102. very good English students
103. they’ll jus’ laugh it off (18.58)

(Response to II.1)
Carneal
104. uh (23.10)
105. ‘bout two weeks ago
106. uh
107. [ma:] friend girl
108. uh
109. (P...)
110. an’ I (23.15)
111. an’ (P...) is
112. she calls [həsɛlf]
113. she classifies [həsɛlf] African American
114. an’ she’s dark skin
115. we were walkin’ through
116. an’ some folks were at a cash [rɛǰɪste]
117. an’
118. the lady says
119. “you Ø Creole” (23.30)
120. an’ it resonated through [da] room
121. said “[a:]’m black
122. “multicultural
123. “multiethnic
124. “black”
125. *laughs*
126. an’ she says
127. “well [yʌ] look Creole” (23.45)
128. [a: se:]
129. “well how do Creole people look”
130. an’ this what she started sayin’
131. [a: se:]
132. “[a:] get so many interpretations”
133. an’ then one of ‘em (G...) story
134. an’ [da] (G...) family
135. who

Teranda: mmhm

Carneal
136. [a:] assume they’re Creoles too
137. an’ so she said
138. “oh so you’re [cɑmfaðəbl] in [ya] skin” (24.00)
139. [a: se:]
140. “[a:]’m [cɑmfaðəbl] in [ma:] skin however you classify me”
141. so [a:] said
142. “pretty much
143. “[a:] would say mutliethnic

144. “black
145. “multicultural”
146. she says
147. uh
148. “well tell me
149. “what race groups are in [yə] background” (24.15)
150. [a: se:]
151. “get you a lunch an’ a chair”
152. *laughs*
153. “cause it’s lots of ‘em
154. their were Spanish
155. you [no:]
156. “people from the (...)”
157. “Honduras”
158. which [a:] didn’t [no:] whether they were Spanish or French
159. [a:] said
160. “Italians
161. black folks”
162. [a: se:]
163. “descendents of slaves (23.30)
164. “an’ slave owners”
165. [a: se:]
166. “[a:] have both in [ma:] family”

Teranda: mmhm
Carneal
167. an’ she jus’ says
168. “wow”
169. by that [la:m]
170. [ma:] groceries was paid (for)
171. an’ [a:] could go
172. so
173. what [a:] do is uh
174. just in tone
175. how [a:] speak to people (24.45)
176. an’ it changes so subtly
177. an’ uh
178. jus’ so
179. it’s
180. [a:]’m not [ænkəmfədəbl]
181. makin’ [dos] changes
182. an’ [a:]’m not [ʌnkʌmfədəbl] in most environments
Teranda: mmhm
Carneal
183. an’ [a:] think people of
184. free people of color
185. if [a:] could lump [da] whole group
(25.00)
186. free people of color has always
187. kin’a like
188. drawn the borderline of between
189. uh
190. betwixt an’ between
191. as far as
192. race is concerned
193. culture is concerned
194. uh
195. acceptance is concerned
Teranda: mmhm
Carneal
196. an’
197. you get so [cʌmkedabl]
198. you can go either way
199. because [ya] used to different cultures (25.25)

.............
Carneal
200. [ya] gran’ father (1.16.23)
201. an’ l
202. would
203. [ya] gran’ father was instrumental
204. Walden Donatto was instrumental
(1.16.30)
205. he made pursuing an education
206. an’ also
207. reading as a hobby
Teranda: mmhm
Carneal
208. so we would have
209. [dis] great great arguments
210. over philosophical views
211. an’ [de] changes that had taken place (1.16.45)
235. “Mrs. (S...)’s got seven children to feed”
236. [a:] said
237. “[nã] she’s gotten eight”
238. so when [ma:] Uncle Walden an’ I would have [dis] arguments (1.17.45)
239. about philosophical views
240. an’ demonstrations at Southern University that we were takin’ part in
241. well he’d put me out
242. but [dtn] he would call back [da] next week
243. an’ wonder why [a:] hadn’t come over [dca] (1.18.00)
244. an’ argue why [a:] hadtn’t come over [dca] (1.18.00)
245. to eat
Teranda: *laughs*
Carneal
246. cause it was just an argument
247. you [no:]
248. an’ so
249. he
250. it was an embarrassment to ‘em
251. [daet] was some of [da]
252. mos’ fun days
253. college wasn’t (...)
254. but in seventy-one
255. an’ seventy-two
256. when [a:] was in school (1.18.15)
257. goin’ back to argue [wrd] him
258. those were some of [ma:] mos’ fun days
259. but he was one a [da] people that was instrumental in me becomin’ a reader
260. you can always read
261. cause he was always reading somethin’
262. or tryin’ to figure somethin’ out
Teranda: mmmhm
Carneal
263. an’ [dtn a:] found out [daet] (1.18.30)
264. [a:] didn’t have to work
Carneal
265. if [a:] would go to school an’
266. be patient enough to read
267. an’ read children’s paper
268. [de:] would pay you for [daet]
269. an’ [de:] call ‘em teachers
Carneal and Teranda
270. *laughs*
Carneal
271. he’d tell me [a:] was too lazy to be a teacher (1.18.45)
272. [a: se:]
273. “no
274. “[a:]’m gonna read”
275. so with that
276. him an’ reading
277. an’ arguing with him
278. was always fun in [ma:] formative [yıes]
279. an’ that was before the service
280. durin’ the service
281. an’ durin’ college
282. so this lasted for about six [yıes] (1.19.00)
283. we had a lot a fun
284. but [da:]’s one a [ma:] fondest memories of growin’ up
285. yeah (1.19.06)

.............
Carneal
286. [a:] have [dts] cousin [daet] travels to Nova Scotia (1.19.16)
Teranda: *laughs* (1.19.30)
Carneal
287. she’s always in school
288. her dad reminds me constantly about [da] dollars he’s spendin’
Carneal and Teranda
289. *laugh*
Carneal
290. an’ [a:] tell him
291. don’t worry about it
292. [de:] Ø gonna reach [daet] point when [de:] Ø twenty-eight (1.19.45)
293. an’ he tells me when she’s twenty-eight
294. she’s gonna
295. when she’s twenty-eight
296. he’s gonna be fifty-eight
297. an’ he needs to retire
Teranda: *laughs*
Carneal
298. that’s always a good story
299. then [a:] have this cousin
300. named (B...)
301. who says (1.20.00)
302. “[ma: brəθə] jus’ dudn’t wanna spend any money”
303. it’s gonna be okay
Theresa: (...)
Carneal
304. an’ [a: hɪə dæt] story
305. over an’ over again
306. so that’s one a [ma:] favorite stories
307. [a: se:]
30. uh
31. minors weren’t allowed to
32. jus’
33. stay in [de] theatres
34. without
35. you [no:]
36. somebody there

Teranda: mmhm

Shalii
37. so we were jus’
38. being regular teenager
39. runnin’ around
40. and (1:00)
41. umm
42. we
43. saw this dance troupe
44. an’ we stopped in our tracks
45. cause they were so good
46. you [no:]
47. [a:] couldn’t imagine
48. you [no:]
49. even being able to dance with
   someone like that
50. well
51. the person that (1:15)
52. was
53. uh
54. in charge
55. for over the dancers
56. one of the greatest dancers ever
57. was Alvin Ailey
58. an’ [a:] was like amazed
59. because
60. [a:] had heard his name before
61. but
62. at that particular [ta:m] (1:30)
63. it didn’t even [re]sta to me
64. you [no:]
65. [a:] was jus’ like
66. this is great
67. dance troupe
68. so we were goofin’ off
69. an’

70. behin’ the curtain
71. we were doin’ what we
72. saw the people *laughs* on stage
do

Teranda: *laughs*

Shalii
73. an’ (1:45)
74. he [kot] me
75. he came back [dcr] actually to run us
   off
76. an’ he
77. saw me dance
78. an’ he stopped me an’ [æksd] me to
   come out
79. an’ [a:] was like
80. he’s really gonna get me
81. [a:] just felt like [a:] was really really
   in trouble (2:00)
82. they wanna
83. probably wanted to [no:] who our
   umm
84. you [no:]
85. you [no:] who’s supervising us
86. you [no:]
87. [a:] was like
88. “oh my god”
89. an’ [a:] was like
90. “the rest of ‘em were doin’ it too”

Teranda: *laughing*

Shalii
91. an’ then he’s like
92. “would you come here”
93. [a:]’m like
94. “but they were doin’ it too”
95. *laughs*

Teranda: *laughs*

Shalii
96. you [no:] (2:15)
97. so he tol’ me to do
98. what he had jus’ seen me do
99. [a:] was like
100. “okay”
101. [a:] was scared
102. by that [ta:m a:] was like
103. couldn't hardly remember what [a:] was doin'
104. so [a:] jus' did a little
105. li'l
dance
107. you know
108. an' he's like
109. "very good"
110. he said
111. you [no:]
112. "where did you learn to dance" (2:30)
113. [a:]'m like
114. "at home"
115. *laughs*
Teranda: "laughs*
Shalii
116. like
117. "you're not takin' dancing anywhere"
118. [a:]'m like
119. "nope"
120. "been dancin' forever"
121. *laughs*
Teranda: "laughs*
Shalii
122. you [no:]
123. an' [a:] wasn't that old
124. like
125. "dancin' forever"
126. an' he said
127. "well (2.45)
128. "you have a great style"
129. [a:] was like
130. "oh"
131. "thank you"
132. then [a:] was like
133. "[nã]* they had to come"
134. *laughs*
135. you [no:]
136. but after that
137. he talked to me
138. an' [æksd] me if [a:] could come
139. an' go to school
140. an'
141. you [no:]
142. probably
143. take some (3:00)
144. courses under him
145. it's like
146. "we're only visiting"
147. you [nõ]*
148. "[a:]'m with a
149. "a school from
150. "Louisiana
151. "an' we're here to sing"
152. an' [a:] said
153. "[a:] have a li'l spot [ôn]* Broadway
154. "in a few days
155. "an'
156. "that's what we'll be doin'"
157. so (3:15)
158. it was like umm
159. it was
160. jus'
161. amazing
162. that that had happened
163. so fast
164. an' [a:] was in a place where [a:] wasn't supposed to be
165. cause like [a:] said
166. we were goofin' off
167. so (3:30)
168. [a:] said
169. "now
170. "how am I gonna tell anybody
*laughs* that
171. "[a:] met Alvin Ailey
172. "he wants me to dance
173. "an' [a:] wasn't even supposed to be there"
174. *laughs*
Teranda: *laughs*
Shalii
175. so
176. one thing lead to another
177. each year
178. uh
179. for spring
180. umm
181. my high school (3:45)
182. would travel an’ sing
183. from Washington to New York
184. an’
185. so every spring
186. [a:] went
187. an’ [a:] would
188. sneak off
189. an’ go dance with Alvin Ailey
Teranda: *laughs*

Shalii
190. and
191. it was
192. it was jus’ amazing that
193. [a:] was able to do this for so long (4:00)
194. *laughs*

Teranda: *laughing*

Shalii
195. an’ nobody really
196. none of the adults really knew what
   [a:] was doing
197. all the kids knew
198. cause they were covering for me
199. an’
200. it ended up that uh
201. [a:] turned out to be a pretty
202. good dancer
203. an’
204. [a:] was able to teach (4:15)
205. uh
206. Alvin Ailey’s
207. dancers from Florida
208. cause he had different studios
209. an’ uh
210. of course Alvin Ailey passed away
211. umm
212. he had passed away by the time
213. [a:] was
214. helpin’ to teach
215. other kids
216. who had gone through his school
217. so
218. [a:] jus’ thought that was pretty amazing
219. cause umm
220. everyone [no:s] about
221. Alvin Ailey
222. anybody that’s ever danced
223. they [no:] about Alvin Ailey
224. an’
225. to jus’ be able to
226. to meet him
227. was amazing for me
228. but
229. its was an accident
230. *laughs*
Teranda: *laughs* (4:45)

Teranda: *laughs* (4:45)

.......

Shalii
231. umm (4.55)
232. I umm
233. [a:] signed up to be
234. umm (5:00)
235. a substitute teacher
236. in the East Baton Rouge Parish
237. and
238. [a:] was called one day at
239. umm
240. to jus’ fill in for
241. a half a day
242. to a school
243. it’s called umm
244. it was a preparatory school (5:15)
245. an’ a lot of the children were
246. umm
247. special
248. children
249. uh
250. with autism
251. an’
252. different things
253. jus’
an’ some were
combination of things
but umm
[a:] didn’t [no:] that
*laughs*
[a:] thought
[dæ dey]’ were
special in (5:30)
talented
not knowing [dey]’ were special
special kids
so [a:] went
[a:] mean
hey
it was a job
an’
[a:] went on an’
an’ umm
jus’ filled in for half a day
well the teacher
the original teacher
[ncva] showed up
so [a:] had to stay the whole day
(5:45)
it was fun
you [no:]
din a] got to see what type of kids
[a:] was really workin’ with
[a:] was like
[a:] didn’t quite understand at first
because
that was [ma:] first encounter with
autism
an’
[a:] tell [yʌ]
it was
different
an’ [ma:] whole class (6:00)
were autistic children *laughs*
but in the end
if you [no:] anything about autism
they were autistic in different ways
so it was like
tryin’ to learn
each child
how to reach each child
an’
[a:] didn’t have any (6:15)
formal training in that
no education
nothing about that
[a:] was like
okay
well to make a long [stә-y] short
the teacher
[ncva ɛva] came back
Teranda: *laughs*
Shalii
*laughs*
so the principal
called me the next day (6:30)
to come fill in
he
you [no:]
[a:] was like
okay
well two days outa the week
that’s not bad
well
it ended up bein’ a whole semester
you [no:]
’til the end of the school year
that I stayed [dcr]
as a regular teacher
teachin’ these kids
[a:] was supposed to be jus’ a
substitute teacher (6:45)
well I learned
a lot about
autism
I
was able to
work with kids who had never
spoken before
who had never done any type
of regular schoolwork
332. Math
333. English
334. Reading
335. anything like [daet]
336. they were basically staring (7:00)
337. into
338. thin air
339. you [no:]
340. jus’ into space
341. doin’ nothing
342. well
343. I am so happy to say that
344. those children
345. started singing
346. they were doin’ math
347. [a:] found one kid
348. he was (7:15)
349. such a genius in math
350. no one ever knew it
351. I pulled that out of him
352. [a:] had one that wrote music
353. that we did
354. uh
355. for Christmas
356. we sang at the umm
357. the mall
358. it was so beautiful
359. an’ they’re people that can still tell you about [daet] (7:30)
360. umm
361. some of those kids are still around
362. umm
363. [ma:] mother still gets calls from them
364. because she was the pianist
365. for me
366. uh
367. when I finished teaching those kids the songs an’ everything
368. but
369. [a:] had one child that (7:45)
370. umm
371. she could
372. smell you an’ tell you exactly what perfume
373. you wore
374. it didn’t matter
375. where you got it from
376. she’d give you the perfect name
377. you [no:]
378. she’d jus’ come an’ sniff you
379. an’ say
380. it was
381. kin’a
Teranda: *laughs*
Shalii
382. weird
383. but that was her thing (8:00)
384. you [no:]
385. [a:] had another one
386. his numbers
387. jus’ numbers
388. he’d jus’ rattle off numbers
389. an’ so [a:] started givin’ him
390. math
391. papers
392. jus’ to see if he could
393. if he could say it
394. maybe he could actually do it an’ write it
395. an’ he did (8:15)
396. they were so surprised
397. an’ the other one
Teranda: *laughing*
Shalii
398. they was
399. *laughs*
400. they were jus’
401. umm
402. tryin’ to get them to read
403. an’
404. he wasn’t interested
405. so [a:] put some music in front of him
406. an’ [æksd] him
407. could he read this song for me (8:30)
408. an’ he started
409. reading the song
410. an' he said
411. “song
412. “song”
413. [a:] said
414. “yes
415. “it’s a song
416. “can you sing”
417. an’ he
418. started
419. glarin’ off again
420. but all a sudden he started hummin’
421. an’ [dɪn] he started writing very very
[fæ̃st]* (8:45)
422. what he was doin’
423. he had composed
424. a song
425. right there
426. [a:] said
427. so
428. [a:] was
429. actually
430. communicating with these kids
431. an’ [a:] really had no real knowledge
of how to deal with that (9:00)
432. so [a:] stuck with it
433. an’
434. [a:] continued to work with those
type of children
435. an’ [a:]’m
436. [a:] became a artist in residence
437. through the arts council
438. an’ I
439. worked with the deaf
440. an’ the blind
441. that were autistic as well
Teranda: hmm (9:15)
Shalii
442. an’ occasionally [a:] still get the
[čɛ̃ns]* to do that
443. so its pretty fascinating (9.20)

N8: Peter

Peter
1. uh (0.00)
2. [a: stʊədɪd wʌəkɪŋ]
3. an’ [wɛə a: wʌək] at
4. (L...)
5. was cotton products
6. from nineteen sixty-[fa:v]
7. [stʊədɪd dəə]
8. [a:] was eighteen [ʏəs] ol’
9. an’ [a: wʌək]
10. [wʌəkd dəə]
11. a’ ‘lear’ (…)
12. uh
13. [a: stʊədɪd] off [wʌəkɪŋ] in a field
(0.15)
14. an’
15. [a:] got [offad] to go to [wʌək dəə]
16. an’ uh
17. [stʊədɪd dəə]
18. sixty-[fa:v]
19. [eːtin ʏəs] ol’
20. an’
21. now
22. [a:]’m sixty-[fa:v] (0.30)
23. but [truːd əm ɗæt a: wʌəkt dəə]
24. it was like
25. you [nɔː]
26. different [bɔːsɪs]
27. different [taːm]
28. different people
29. bought [də ˈɛːn] out
30. [θeːŋs]* happen
31. [a:] kin’a lef’ a couple
32. kin’a wondered away a couple a
[taːms] (0.45)
33. but came back
34. didn’t stay [lōŋ]
35. came back
36. ‘til [a:] finally
37. got married
38. nineteen sixty-[naːn]*
39. had kids
40. wife had [foə] kids (1.00)
41. an’
42. stayed at (L....)
43. an’ [a:] kin’a wandered off a li’l bit
44. again
45. but [a:] came back
46. an’ [dtn a:] kin’a [se:]
47. well it’s [taːm] to
48. catch up [wɪd ma:] life
49. an’ stay home an’ [teːn]
50. [a:]’m
51. so [a:] went back [dce] (1.15)
52. an’ [dts]
53. plant
54. grew
55. an’ it grew
56. an’ [dts] is two-[tausand] ten
57. an’ it grew
58. out of (...)
59. you [no:] an’
60. [edə] words
61. [a:] been [dce] forty-[faːv yəs]
62. had a couple a accidents (1.30)
63. kin’a
64. fell out in a tank [ko] one [taːm]
65. an’ [dæt] was in
66. back in nineteen
67. eighty-seven
68. [a: teːnk]* it was
69. [səmən] like [dæt]
70. [dtn enədə taːm]
71. back in nineteen
72. [a:] don’t [no:] (1.45)
73. it was (0)

74. (01)
75. or [səmən] like [dæt]
76. we had a accident one evenin’
77. cut my [ləm] off
78. stayed hung in [dce] yea
79. an’ right [nə]*
80. [a:] BEEN [wləkɪn dce]
81. it’s forty-[faːv yəs nə]*
82. [a:] BEEN [wləkɪn] at (L...)

Teranda: mmmhm (2.00)

Peter
83. an’ love [ma:] job
84. [a:] love to get up an’ go [də wəæk] in [də] morning
85. [a:] jus’
86. love it
87. you [no:]
88. love people [dæt a: wəæk wɪd]
89. get along [wɪd ɛvəbədə]
90. never fight an’ fuss about [nadɪn]
91. always a happy [taːm] with me (2.15)
92. an’ gettin’ in [da] age
93. [a:] got to stay happy [wɪd ɛvəbədə]
94. cause don’t want nobody to get mad [wɪd] me
95. might be an old grouch [səmtəm]
96. but
97. a lota [taːm a:]’m kin’a [no:] what [a:]’m talkin’ about
98. [a: wəæk wɪd] a lota [yalŋstəs]
99. an’ [de:] get upset with me
100. [a: se:]
101. well go ‘head (2.30)
102. [a: se:]
103. you Ø gonna [lən]
104. [səmtəm] its kin’a [hoæd]
105. [a: se:]
106. if you’da did what [a:] tol’ you to do
107. you’d be fine
108. an’ [de:] realize
109. [de:] do it
110. well okay
111. never apologize [do]*
112. you [no:]  
113. jus' cause [de:] Ø [vʌgstəs]  
114. [de:] ain't gonna
Teranda: *laughs*
Peter
115. *laughs*
116. laugh it off (2.45)
117. but [a:] love [wʌθɪn wɪd] 'em
118. we all get along [wɪd] one [ənədə]
119. an' [de:] pick at me 'bout [cvɛθə:ŋ]
120. an' uh
121. [eθə dɪn dæt]
122. [tæm]
123. life is good (2.57)

...............  
Peter
124. [a:] got a li'l life story 'bout [wʌθk]  
(4.53)
125. [a:] don't know if [a:] should
126. if [dɪs] is a story
127. but it was an amazin' [te:ŋ] to me  
(5.00)
Teranda: mmhm
Peter
128. one [de:]  
129. [a:] was [eθksd] to do [sʌmɪn]
130. went to [wʌθk]
131. said Peter
132. we want you to do [sʌmɪn tede:]  
133. [de:] never would tell me
134. so [dey] said
135. so [a:] kin'a [had* de] CO came  
down (5.15)
136. from [de] corporate office
137. an' [dæt de:]  
138. it's a new guy
139. [a:] had
140. nobody hadn't seen him before
141. a new young fella
142. real young
143. you [no:]  
144. jus' came an' (5.30)

145. an' uh
146. so [de:] came  
147. [de:] say
148. "Peter
149. "meet us [dɛə]
150. "up [dɛə]
151. "such an' such a time in [da] office"  
152. so
153. [a:] went with 'em upstairs
154. [de] main office
155. an'
156. [se:] "look
157. "[hə]"
158. (...)  
159. [se:] "[de:] Ø watchin'"
160. [se:] "alright"
161. "go by [da] flag pole
162. "[dæt] big flag"
163. [se:] "go by [de] flag pole"
164. an' [de:] (5.45)
165. an'
166. "an' give him [dɪs]"
167. so
168. [a:] went down
169. an' uh
170. went down [dca]
171. stand by [da] flag pole
172. so he came up [dca] to me
173. an' [a:] looked at 'im
174. [a: se: dɪs] can't be [da] CO (6.00)
175. to [ma:sɪl] you [no:]  
176. so [ɛvɛbɒdɪ] was standin' around
    me laughin'
177. so he come up
178. shake han'
179. he introduce [ma:sɪl] to me
180. he [se:] "yeah"
181. [a:] shook han's
182. [a: se:] well [a:]'m Peter Thibodeaux
183. an' uh
184. (...)  
185. well
186. he start talkin'
187. shoot
188. “well how long you BEEN here”
   (6.15) (possibly imitate the man’s
dialect)
189. [a: se:]
190. “forty-[fa:v ɪəs]”
191. he [se:]
192. “forty-[fa:v ɪəs]”
193. he [se:]
194. “you BEEN [hɪə] long as [a:] been
195. “almos’ long as [a:] been born”
196. “laughs”
197. so we
198. an’ [a: se:] (...)  
199. a young man like [dæt]
200. runnin’ a corporate business (6.30)
201. a big corporate
202. a big business like we is
203. we more [dɪn]
204. we a bunch a plants
205. an’ he Ø runnin’ [də] whole [teːŋ]
   from [də] corporate office
206. look at ‘im like
207. you are a [ɹʌnstə]
208. way [ɹʌnstə dən] me
209. an’ it was [sʌmɪŋ] amazin’ for me to
   see (6.45)
210. you [no:]
211. so
212. an’ introduce ‘im to [də]
213. [wɪd də] gif’ [de:] gave us
214. so
215. me an’ him talked
216. an’ (...)  
217. so he opened up [də] present an’
   [ɛvəθeːŋ]*
218. [a:] helped ‘im open it an’ [ɛvəθeːŋ]
219. an’ guess what it was
220. [a:] didn’t even [no:] what it was
221. uh (7.00)
222. uh uh uh
223. a cool breeze
224. uh
225. [jæz]  
226. an’ boy
227. he was amazed
228. but [a:]
229. then [a:] was more amazed at him
230. cause to (...) shake han’s [wɪd] him
231. a young man
232. jus’
233. jus’ [de] nicest person [a: ɛvə] wanted to see (7.15)
234. an’ [dæt] was a story [a:]’ma carry
to [me:] to [ma:] grave
235. [a:] mean
236. [dæt] was [sʌmɪŋ] wonderful
   wonderful to me
237. you [no: dæt] happened to me
238. [a:] mean
239. [dæt]
240. [sʌmɪŋ] like [dæt] will [ɛvə] happen
   no more
241. but it happened to me [dæt ta:m]
242. an’ [a:]
243. [dæt] made me felt good (7.30)
244. cause [də:] picked me to do it
245. you [no:]

Teranda: oh/ present him with the gift
Peter
246. yeah
247. give him [wɪd də] gif’
248. an’ meetin’ him
249. you [no:]

Teranda: uh-huh
Peter
250. [də] corporate (...)  
251. [də]
252. [də] OC a [də] company
253. you [no:]
254. [dæt] was [sʌmɪŋ] amazin’ for me
255. you [no:]

Teranda: oh
Peter
256. [dæt] story of (7.45)
257. biggest story [a: ɛvə] had to tell
258. you [no:
259. but [dæs ʌmɪn
Teranda: mmhm/ mmhm
Peter
260. ʌmɪn amazin’ to me
Teranda: oh/ and what/ what was the gift
Peter
261. a
262. a true breeze [jəzi
Teranda: true breeze jersey
Peter
263. [jəzi
264. yeah
265. from New Orleans Saints
Teranda: oh
Peter
266. yeah (8.00)
Teranda: oh/ oh okay
Peter
267. yeah
268. a [jəzi
269. uh
270. uh
271. actually uh
272. [da
273. [da] real [jəzi
Teranda: oh/ oh okay
Peter
274. it was [də nʌmbə naːn]
Teranda: yeah
Peter
275. it was [də nʌmbə naːn] an’ [ɛvɛθəːŋ]
Teranda: yeah/ oh okay
Teranda
276. an’ he was
277. he was jus’ as happy
278. as me (8.15)
Teranda: *laughs*
Peter
279. an’ [a:] was jus’ as happy jus’
280. jus’ to meet him
281. jus’ (...) shake han’s [wɪd] him an’
[ɛvɛθəːŋ]

282. an’ jus’ to be
283. an’ uh
284. an’ [a:] was
285. an’ right [nə aː]m [da] o’es’ man
[daə]
286. at [da] plant
287. [da] o’es’ man
288. [de loʊs] o’es’ man [daə] (8.30)
289. an’ [da] o’es’ man [daə] right [nə]
Teranda: mmhm
Peter
290. so
291. [daːt] make me feel good
292. [dæs maː] story
293. you [no:
294. [dæ]’s
295. [dæs maː] story (8.40)

Teranda: mmhm
Peter
296. [aː] have a good (9.40)
297. le’s see
298. mmm (9.45)
299. oh
300. [aː] got a good story
301. one [tə:m
302. [dɪs] is ‘bout a [skwel]* too
303. [aː] had [kɑt] me a [skwel]* in [da]
woods
304. so [aː]’ma tame it
305. we call ’em fox [skwəls] down [hɛə]
306. big red [skwəls]
Teranda: uh-huh (10.00)
Peter
307. so [aː]’ma kin’a tame it down
308. you [no:
309. so [aː] played [wɪd]
310. had ’im tied [wɪd] a [steːŋ]
311. [aː] was a kid
312. well
313. kid [dɪn]
Teranda: mmhm
Peter
314. had ’im tied
315. an’ [a:] play [wɪd] ‘im all [de taːm] 316. runnin’ (...) 317. so one [de:] (10.15) 318. [a:] always would catch ‘im 319. put ‘im back in his cage 320. so one [de:] 321. [a: rɛč] at ‘im 322. to catch ‘im 323. behin’ 324. [a:] always catch ‘im behin’ [de] head 325. but [daːt de: dca] 326. he was waitin’ on me 327. he must a had been practicin’ 328. an’ [a:] didn’t [no:] Teranda: *laughs* Peter 329. he did a wonderful job a doin’ it (10.30) 330. boy 331. [a: rɛč] at ‘im like [daːt] 332. an’ [a:] (...) 333. an’ he did [daːt] 334. he duck his head 335. [ma:] han’ pass over ‘im 336. an’ he grabs [de] finger 337. he bit me 338. an’ [a:] was up [daː] shakin’ an’ hollerin’ 339. an’ he Ø hangin’ on Teranda: *laughs* Peter 340. he Ø hangin’ 341. he bit [de] daylights out a me 342. [a: se:] let ‘im go (10.45) 343. let ‘im go Teranda: *laughs* Peter 344. *laughs* 345. [a:] got a 346. [a:] got [enədə] good story 347. an’ [dɪs] was after [a:] was married 348. me an’ [ma: brʌdəs] was out one night 349. an’ [a: lʌv] animals 350. [lʌv] kitties 351. kittens 352. so we’s comin’ down [da] road (11.00) 353. [a:] look down [de] road 354. it wudn’t quite [dɔək]* yet 355. you [no:] 356. [a: se:] 357. aww look 358. [de prɪDy] little kittens in the ditch 359. (...) [pwɪDy] li’il kittens yea 360. so 361. [a: se:] 362. “man 363. “ya’ll stop” 364. of course (11.15) 365. we had done drank a few 366. you [no:] 367. so 368. [de:] stopped 369. [se:] “Peter 370. “leave [dɪm] dang on cats alone 371. “you got enough cats at [yʌ] house” 372. [a: se:] 373. “man 374. “[a:] ain’t gotta never have enough cats” 375. man 376. [a:] got out [de ko] 377. went down in [da] ditch 378. [dɪm] cats (...) *makes hissing noise* (11.30) 379. [de:] Ø kin’a shy 380. kin’a was shyn’ [əwe:] from me 381. you [no:] 382. an’ [a: se:] 383. [a: se:] aww come on 384. [a:] kin’a 385. rub ‘em on [da] back a li’il bit 386. get close
387. an’ (...) [de:] *makes hissing noise*
388. [a:] rubbed (...)  
389. an’ [a:] haul off  
390. an’ [a:] grab one  
391. an’ when [a:] grab ‘im (11.45)  
392. he [se:]  
393. “you don’t have to turn me loose”  
394. “[a:]’ma turn you aloose when [a:] get ready”  
Teranda: *laughs*

Peter

395. [a:] was hoopin’ an’ hollerin’  
396. an’ rollin’ in [dæt] ditch  
397. an’ shakin’ [ma:] han’  
398. he had [ma:] hand  
399. he had [da] claws in me  
400. he was bitin’ me at [da] same [ta:m]  
401. an’ [a:] couldn’t get ‘im off me  
402. he had all four (12.00)  
403. [a:] was hoopin’ an’ hollerin’ an’ rollin’ in [dæt] ditch  

404. [de:] Ø up [dca] laughin’ at me on [da] hill  
405. [de:] Ø up [dca] laughin’ an’ takin’ (...)  
406. when [a:] got [truw]  
407. an’ did  
408. [da] cat did decide he was gonna let me go  
409. he turned loose  
410. an’ he  
411. [a: trowd] ‘im off in [de] grass  
412. an’ got back outa [dca] (11.15)  
413. (...)  
414. an’ [a:] said  
415. “man  
416. ‘why ya’ll didn’t come pull [dæt] cat off me  
417. [se:] “tol’ you to leave [dɪm] cats alone”  
418. [se:] “okay boy  
419. “le’s go home”  
Teranda and Peter: *laugh* (12.22)

N13: Rita

Rita
1. uh (34.27)  
2. le’ me see  
3. umm (34.30)  
4. well  
5. recently  
6. we did [da] uh  
7. safe halloween  
Teranda: mmhm  
Rita
8. at [da fomes mɔkɪd]*  
9. what’s [dæt]  
10. [da fomes mɔkɪd]*  
11. uh  
Rita’s sister: farmer’s market  

Rita
12. at [de fomes mɔkɪd]*  
13. umm  
14. we was over [dcr]  
15. givin’ out (34.45)  
16. [kændi] an’ [ɛvəθe:n]*  
17. [ædvətæsɪn] for [da] business  
18. an’  
19. what  
20. what  
21. what shocked us was  
22. (P...)  
23. (P...) was [dcr]  
24. he had on his li’l custom  
Teranda: mmhm
Rita
25. his li'l ninja outfit an' [ɛvɛθeːn]

Teranda: mmhm

Rita
26. uh
27. [maː] sister went bring him around
28. to trick-r-treat at all [de] li'l (35.00)
29. houses an' [ɛvɛθeːn]
30. an'
31. we
32. she came back to help me an'
[ɛvɛθeːn]
33. an' it was
34. it was surpri—
35. you [noː]
36. it
37. it jus' shocked us to see he was up
[ðɛɾ]
38. an'
39. an'
40. [ʰɪə] he suppose to be out [ðɛɾ] in
[de] crowd
Rita's sister: crowd/ (…)

Rita
41. [wɪd de ædə] li'l kids (35.15)
42. goin'
43. goin' trick-r-treat an' [ɛvɛθeːn]
44. an' [ʰɪə]
45. [dɪz hɪə] is a baby [dæ]’s
46. what
47. eighteen nineteen months right [nɑː]

Rita's sister: months/ right

Rita
48. an' he was up on [de] porch [wɪd] us
49. givin' all [de ædə] li'l kids [kændi]

Teranda: "laughs*

Rita
50. an'
51. an' li'l toys an' [ɛvɛθeːn]
52. he [seː] “trick-r-treat
53. “thank you
54. “thank you” (35.30)
55. an' [aː]’m like

56. you Ø a baby
57. you Ø supposed to be out [dɛɾ]
enjoyin' [yosɪʧ] an' helpin'
58. you [noː]
59. along [wɪd de ædə] kids
60. but
61. (P…) wanted to be up [dɛɾ] helpin' us
out an' [ɛvɛθeːn]

Teranda: mmhm

Rita
62. an'
63. helpin’ give out [kændi]

Rita’s sister: passing out candy

Rita
64. passin’ out [kændi]
65. an’ [dɪm] uh
66. [de] uh (35.45)
67. people [wɪd de] newspaper came
out
68. an’ it’s
69. for some reason
70. [aː] don’t [noː] if
71. if somebody tol’ [dɪm]
72. go to
73. come to our li'l buildin’ or [sʌmɪn]
74. but it’s like
75. [de] (newspaper) came [dɛɾ]
76. an’ he
77. it
78. it’s like it was
79. [aː] guess it amazed all of ‘em
80. (E…)

Rita’s sister: uh-huh

Rita
81. is [dæt]
82. uh
83. he came [dɛɾ] (36.00)
84. he took two or three shots
85. an’ (P…) was posin’ for [pɪʧəz] an’
[ɛvɛθeːn]
86. an'
87. [dɪn de] TV people came [dɛɾ] with
88. [deː] was filmin’ our area
89. an’ [a:] was like
90. [a: wʌnda] if [de:] wouldn’t do [dət] at all [da]
91. all [da] homes like [dət]
92. you [no:]
93. but
Teranda: mmmhm
Rita
94. it’s like [de:] stayed [dɛə] for [da] longest
95. like (36.15)
96. [a:] guess it was so amazin’ to [dɪm] too to see
97. you [no:]
98. this li’l (...) Teranda: *laughs*
Rita
99. you [no:]
100. givin’ out [kændi]
101. it’s like he was
102. droppin’ ‘em in all [da] bags as [de:] come
103. [se:]
104. “thank you
105. “thank you”
106. *laughs*
107. [a:] mean
108. it was somethin’
109. [a:] was like
110. “man”
111. [a: se:]
112. “jus’
113. “check [dɪs] baby out” (36.30)
114. you [no:]
115. he’s so grown for
116. you [no:]
117. not even two [yɪəs] ol’
118. an’ [dɪn]
119. he
120. he observes [ɛvɛθən]
121. you [no:]
122. he really observes [ɛvɛθən]
123. an’

124. [a:] mean
125. (P...) is jus’ a blessin’ for us
126. you [no:]
Teranda: mmmhm
Rita
127. mmmhm
Rita and Teranda: *laugh*
Rita
128. well
129. so
130. [a:] mean (36:45)
131. for him to be
132. pickin’ up one li’l [kændi]
133. [a: se:]
134. “oh
135. “(P...) wanna give out one [kændi] to each bag”
136. “thank you”
Rita and Teranda: *laugh*
Rita
137. “thank you
138. “thank you
139. “trick-r-treat
140. “trick-r-treat”
141. *laughs*
142. it was somethin’ though
Rita’s brother: he doing that cause that’s a new word his (...)
Rita’s sister: uh-huh (37:00)
Rita
143. don’t talk about (P...) like [dæt]
144. *laughs*
Rita’s brother: new word (...)
Rita
145. don’t
146. listen at ‘im (37.06)

............... 
Rita
147. well (37.45)
148. right now
149. [a:]’m gettin’ ready to umm
150. open up
151. try an’ open up [ma:] business an’
[cvcθeːn]  
Teranda: mmhm
Rita
152. an’ umm
153. [de] buildin’
154. we Ø at
155. [aː] mean
156. from where it done came from
157. [aː] mean
158. when we firs’ got in [de] buildin’
159. it was first a beauty shop
160. now can you imagine (38:00)
161. takin’ all [dɪs] beauty shop
   equipment outa [dɛr]
162. an’ [dɪn] you have to transform
   [dɪs] buildin’ into a uh
163. to a restaurant
164. an’
Teranda: mmhm
Rita
165. [dɪs] is what we been goin’ through
   right now
166. an’
167. we had to repaint it
168. redo [de] floors an’ [cveːθeːn]
169. an’
170. we BEEN in [dɪs] goin’ on for ‘bout
   what (38:15)
171. seven eight months now
172. tryin’ to get [dɪs] buildin’ together
173. an’
174. what
175. what BEEN workin’ on [maː]
   nerves is like
176. we need plumbing done in [dɪs]
   buildin’
177. uh
178. we done came across about
179. five or six plumbers
180. an’
181. every one of ’em is [da] same story
   (38:30)
182. oh you Ø gonna need to do [dɪs]
183. you Ø gonna need to do [dæt]
184. an’ it’s like
185. go buy [dɪs]
186. go buy [dæt]
187. oh no
188. no no no
189. you can’t
190. you done bought [de] wrong stuff
191. no bring [dæt] back
192. an’
193. umm
194. we finally came across one
195. an’ he’s willin’ to do [da] work
   (38:45)
196. an’ uh
197. he tol’ us
198. jus’ [wɪnɛvə] [aː]’m ready
199. go buy [maː] equip
200. not [da] equipment
201. [de] uh
202. supplies an’ [cvcθeːn]
203. he’ll
204. he’ll come out [wɪd] us
205. instead a havin’ us goin’ back an’
   forth to stores
206. buyin’ all [dɪs] stuff
207. an’
208. but he [se:] he’s willin’ to come out
   [wɪd] us (39:00)
209. [wɪnɛvə] we Ø ready
210. go buy what we need
211. an’ he Ø gonna come an’ install
   [cvcθeːn]
212. so [a: seː]
213. “thank you Jesus”
214. finally somebody
Teranda: *laughs*/ yeah
Rita
215. you [noː]
216. worth wile an’ [cvcθeːn]
217. [dæ]’s really
218. you [noː]
219. willin’ to cooperate [wɪd] me
220. an’ get [da] job done
221. an’ umm
222. so hopefully
223. within [da] next two or three weeks
   (39:15)
224. we’ll have [dɪz θeːn] up an’ runnin’
225. you [no:]
Teranda: mmhm
Rita
226. mmhm
Teranda: that’s good
Rita
227. yeah
228. so [dɪz] is what
229. we BEEN
230. prayin’ [dæt ɛvɛθeːn] works out
   alright
Teranda: mmhm
Rita
231. mmhm (39.25)
.......... RITA
232. what’s some a [da] latest thing
   (39.45)
233. what’s some a [da] stuff he’s been
   doin’ uh
234. (E...)
235. umm
Rita’s sister: oh my god
Rita
236. umm
Rita’s sister: picking up/ throwing things that
shouldn’t be thrown/ *laughs*
Rita
237. oh he
238. oh (P...) always
239. okay in [de mʊ]
240. in [de mʊnɪns]*
241. it’s like
242. umm
243. we don’t have a [əlom]* clock
244. we really don’t (40:00)
245. we have
246. we don’t have a [əlom] clock
Rita’s sister: he’s our alarm
Rita
247. he’s [de əlom] clock
248. (J...) is [de əlom] clock
249. an’ its like
250. he’ll get up in [de mʊnɪns]
251. an’
252. he’ll tap on [yə]
253. like
254. uh
255. “na-na na-na”
256. or [iː]
257. “ma mama”
258. an’ he get up
259. he wants his milk
260. an’ uh
261. “eat eat eat” (40:15)
262. he [no:] when he’s ready to eat
263. an’ uh
264. he umm
265. what else he’s been doin’
266. umm
267. when its [taːm] for him to eat
268. he [noːs] when its time to get up
   an’ [ɛvɛθeːn]
269. but girl
270. it’s like
271. he done got to [da] point
272. he’s [dʊs] terrible two (40:30)
273. he
274. he’ s doin’ [dʊs] terrible two
275. uh
276. stages
277. it’s like
278. when [θeːn] don’t go his way
279. he
280. he wants to start
281. fallin’ out
282. throwin’ hisself backwards
283. an’
284. uh
285. fallin' on [da] floor an' [ɛveθe:ŋ]
286. an'
287. an' uh (40:45)
288. or [da]
289. he'll go to [de] bathroom
290. uh
291. when he takes his bath
292. he wants to
293. his frogs an' his ducks in [de wɔdə] when he take his bath
294. an' [dɪn] gets upset
295. when you don't throw his frogs an' his ducks in [de wɔdə]
296. an' it's like
297. you'll put 'im in [dɛr]
298. let 'im take his bath an' [ɛveθe:ŋ] (41:00)
299. an'
300. umm
301. when you get ready to take 'im out
302. [se:] "okay"
303. "it's [ta:m] for you to get out"
304. uh
305. he won't le' you dry him off
306. uh
307. until
308. you unplug [dæt wɔdə]
309. an' [de wɔdə] Ø goin' out
310. an' [dɪn] he go
311. "*makes the sound of water draining*"
312. "it's all gone (41:15)
313. "no mo'
314. "no mo'"

Teranda: "laughs*

Rita

321. mmhm
322. or if its not [dæt]
323. he’s always in [de toːlɪt] (41:30)
324. when [a:]['m] talkin’ ‘bout [de toːlɪt]
325. he wanna play his han’ in it
326. [dɪn] he come
327. “wash wash wash
328. “wash wash
329. “wash wash”
330. [dɪn] he wash
331. you have to wash his han’
332. he [se:]
333. “shake shake shake
334. “shake, shake, shake”
335. dry his hands
336. [a: se:]
337. “oh (P... (P...)
338. he keeps us runnin’ all [de taːm do] girl (41:45)
339. he really does
Rita and Teranda: "laugh*

Teranda: what happened whenever he first started waking y’all up

Rita

340. oh
341. he
342. he wants to tap us on [de] shoulder
343. or he Ø huggin’ us
344. an’ he kiss
345. an’ he Ø
346. huggin’ an’ kissin’ you an’ [ɛveθe:ŋ]
347. an’
348. he say
349. uh
350. “milk milk milk”
351. an’ [dɪn] uh
352. [dæt] means get up
353. [a:] want some milk (42:00)

Rita’s sister: milk
Rita

354. an’ [dən] uh
355. an’ [dən]
356. oh TV
357. when he wanna watch a certain [θeːɾə] on TV
358. he like
359. he don’t [se:] “T”
360. he can’t [se:] “TV” right [nɑ]
361. so he [se:]
362. “we we we we”
363. “we we we”
364. an’ it’s certain things
365. it’s two tapes [dæt] he wants to watch
366. [de:] have [dɪs] one called ba—
367. it’s a baby genius DVD (42:15)
368. an’ it learned him how to count his [nʌmbəs]
369. one
370. one to ten
371. an’ [dən] it have [dɪs ædə] one called [De Ædvɪntəs] of Bug Land
372. an’
373. uh
374. what’s [dæt] dance [dæt da] babies be doin’
375. [da] wiggle
Rita’s sister: the wiggle
Rita

376. [da] wiggle
Rita’s sister: the wiggle/ (….)
Rita

377. uh (42:30)
378. [da] wiggle
Rita’s sister: the wigglator
Rita

379. wigglator
380. or wiggle wop
381. or [sæmɪn]
382. an’ he gets up [dɛə]
383. an’ he jus’ dance dance dance
384. an’ he falls

Rita’s sister: no/ it’s the zoby zop
Rita

385. oh
386. [da] zo
387. [da] zoby zip zop
388. [dæ]’s
389. [dæ]’s what [de:] call it
390. an’ he gets up [dɛə]
391. an’ he be doin’ [da] zoby zip zop
Rita

392. an’ he Ø dancin’ (42:45)

Teranda: *laughing*

Rita

393. an’ he falls on [da] floor
394. jus’ like [da] kids on [da] DVD
395. an’
396. an’ g—
397. he be breakin’ a sweat
398. oh
399. he be breakin’ a sweat
400. an’
401. an’ [dən] he comes
402. “juice juice juice”
403. “juice, juice, juice”
404. [aː seː]
405. “oh (P...)”
406. [seː]
407. “you Ø workin’”
408. “you’re workin’ up a sweat [dɪs mɔnɪn] eh”

Rita and Teranda: *laugh* (43:00)

Rita

409. but [da]
410. [da] uh
411. [da] zoby zip zop
412. he
413. he really loves [dæt] tape

Teranda: oh yeah

Rita

414. [De Ædvɪntəs] of Bug Land

Teranda: *laughs*

Rita

415. an’ [deː] have to do [dɪs] li’l dance
called [də] zoby zip zop
ds: oh (P..., P..., P...)
*laughs*

he's really growin' [do]
Teranda: yeah
Rita

mmhm (43.15)

N14: Betty

Betty
1. [a:] like this story (55.44)
Teranda: okay (55:45)

Betty
2. an’ it
3. its from [ma:] son
4. [ma:] son left’ here
5. an’ he moved to
6. Washinton D.C.
7. to go to school

Teranda: mmmhm

Betty
8. an’ umm
9. when he got [dɛr]
10. [a: ɵe:nk] it was a cultural
11. difference from [hɪə] (56:00)
12. for him
13. not only
14. well [a:] guess more southern
15. you [no:]
16. it’s
17. it’s a difference
18. the east coast
19. although
20. DC is not so
21. east
22. you [no:]
23. its kin’a on that Mason Dixon Line
   (56:15)
24. but anyway it’s
25. people from Louisiana are
different
26. an’ he was sayin’ that uh
27. an’ [a:]’ve heard
28. quite a few kids who lef’ Louisiana
29. an’ went (56:30)
30. the most popular club
31. are
32. at Howard University
33. is the Louisiana club
34. everybody wants to be
35. a Louisianan
36. because
37. you [no:] they wanna eat
38. an’
39. they’ll get [tɛɡ coveted]
40. an’ they’ll have (56:45)
41. uh
42. you [no:] the crawfish [bo:]l
43. the étouffée
44. the king cake
45. jus’ the whole Louisiana
46. culture

Teranda: mmmhm

Betty
47. an’
48. he called me
49. an’ he asked me
50. he [se:] “mom”
51. he [se:]
52. “why is it (57:00)
53. “people feel
54. “that if you Ø from Louisiana
55. “its like you Ø from [ㄣʌɗæ]
country
56. “its like Louisiana is not even a part
57. “of the United States”
58. an’ as [a:] go out
59. [a:] do find that (57:15)
60. people
61. if
62. if you [se:]
63. “[a:]’m from Alabama”
64. “oh that
65. “that’s nice”
66. but if you [se:]
67. “[a:]’m from Louisiana”
68. it’s a whole
69. its like
70. “oh
71. “really"
72. you [no:]
73. an’ then
74. an’ [a: no:]
75. its because of the culture (57:30)
76. it’s the uh
77. it’s such a diverse
78. place
79. you [no:]
80. not only cultural wise
81. but
82. well [a:] guess culture is what
   makes it
83. you [no:]
84. so
85. that
86. [a:] like (57:45)
87. you [no:]

Teranda: mmhm

Betty
88. [a:] like bein’ from Louisiana
89. because of its
90. it’s so unique
91. an’
92. an’
93. people find that
94. nationwide
95. that it is
96. you [no:]

Teranda: okay

Betty
97. yeah
98. so
99. [a:]
100. [a:] guess that’s the one li’l
   (58:00)
101. story [a:] really like
102. an’ umm
103. they talk about accents
104. but
105. [a:] don’t know how much of it is a
   southern accent
106. an’ how much of it is

Teranda: mmhm

Betty
107. Creole accent (58:15)

Teranda: mmhm

Betty
108. when [a:] was in school
109. it would be the Creole accent
110. then when you leave
111. you don’t
112. you [no:]
113. when people [se:]
114. “oh
115. “you have an accent”
116. but you don’t [no:]
117. well
118. is it a
119. Creole accent
120. you Ø talkin’ about
121. or is it a (58:30)
122. Southern accent
123. you [no:]
124. but
125. [a:]
126. [a: θe:nk] it
127. well
128. now it may be
129. both
130. because when you watch
   television
131. an’ you notice
132. [a:] don’t [no:] if you’ve
133. seen Swamp People
134. an’ you see
Teranda: oh/ god/ *laughs*
Betty
135. *laughs* (58:45)
136. but listen
137. if you listen
138. to the
139. to the language
140. that’s what [a:] listen to
141. [a:] listen to the language
142. the dialect
143. an’
144. or
145. you [no:]
146. an’ [a: ɵːn] it may have been on
one of ‘em say
147. “no they Ø speakin’ English”
(59:00)
148. but
149. its indicative
150. to Louisiana
151. you [no:]
Teranada: mmmhm
Betty
152. so [a:]
153. if [ya] studyin’ language
154. Louisiana would be the place
155. to come to
156. because it is
157. so different (59:15)
158. an’
159. uh
160. (D…) was sayin’
161. you [no:]
162. people have a lota questions
163. about Louisiana
164. you [no:]
165. an’ what it is [dæt] makes us
166. us
167. so
168. an’ one [ɵːn]
Betty
201. you [no:]
202. where we mean jus'
203. would you put this away
Teranda: yeah

Betty
204. so she said
205. when they tol' [hə]
206. but
207. see
208. comin' from a Creole culture
209. go put that up
210. you [no:]
Teranda: mmhm

Betty
211. you [no:] what to do with
212. but
213. so she said (1:01:45)
214. when they [se:] “go put this up”
215. she was lookin’
216. *laughs*
217. “up where
218. “[wə] you want me to put it”
219. you [no:]
Teranda: *laughs*

Betty
220. an’ [de: se:]
221. “oh no
222. “jus’ put it away”
223. that
224. you [no:]
225. an’
226. uh
227. if you drink somethin’
228. “oww
229. “[drə] is some good” (1:02:00)
230. well is some of it good
231. an’ some of it bad
232. you [no:]
233. you [nevə ðe:nk] of it
234. because this is how we talk
Teranda: yeah

Betty
235. an’
236. uh
237. now this
238. [a: ðe: nk]
239. is
240. is Creole
241. [wʊə]
242. we end up [wərd] yea
243. “oww
244. “[dæ]’s some good yea” (1:02:15)
245. you [no:]
246. *laughs*
247. now [dæt a: no:]
248. is Creole

Teranda: mmhm/ mmhm

Betty
249. you [no:]
250. “oww
251. “he Ø bad yea”
252. you [no:]
253. so you hear that
254. so
255. it’s
256. [a:] guess it’s jus’ language
257. (…) language (1:02:30)
Teranda: they also think its/ well you say
“put up”/ but/ well/ we say too at home/ but
I’ll say/ “can you save this”
Betty
258. yeah

Teranda: and they say/ they say
Betty and Teranda
259. “save”

Betty
260. yes

Teranda: what are you talking about/ save this
Betty
261. yeah

Teranda: I’m like/ just put it away (1:02:45)
Betty
262. yeah
yeah
[dæ]'s it too
yeah
it's a lot a li'l [θe:n]
we don't realize
until
like you [se:]
you get
[wɛə] someone comin' from a
totally different area
or
different culture
[a: θe:nk] it's a cultural [θe:n]
(1:03:00)

Teranda: mmhm

Betty

275. because
276. in the Creole
if you say "put [dts] up"
[de:] automatically [no:]
she did not come
from a Creole
background
but she's from Louisiana
you [no:]

Teranda: mmhm

Betty

284. an' if
285. she
286. she had [ncva] heard (1:03:15)
‘till she went to Lafayette
which is
you [no:]
heavy heavy
Creole culture
so she [se:]

Teranda: yeah

Betty

293. she was holdin'
294. put it up
295. put it up wh—
296. [wɛə] up
297. you [no:]

298. *laughs*

Teranda: *laughs*/ yeah

Betty

299. yeah
300. an' so [de:] probably [se:]
(1:03:30)
301. "well no
302. "jus' save it"
303. *laughs*
304. you [no:]
305. which
306. [nā a: θe:nk] she may have
known save

Teranda: mmhm

Betty

307. [a: θe:nk]

Teranda: mmhm

Betty

308. you [no:]
309. [a:] jus' thought it was unusual
she didn't understand what they
meant
311. *laughs*
312. when [de:] say put it up

Teranda: yeah

Betty

313. [a:] say
314. “you didn’t [no:] that”
315. she said “no” (1:03:45)
316. she say
317. “[a:] was lookin’ up
318. “put it up where”
319. you [no:]
320. so
321. you [no:]
322. an' [a: θe:nk]
323. that
324. [a:]
325. guess that’s where you really see
the language

Teranda: mmhm

Betty

326. an’ [a:] guess all places
327. have different pockets
328. in their areas (1:04:00)
329. that have different sayin’s that you find
330. you [no:]
331. but jus’ to me
332. Louisiana is jus’ unique
333. an’ [a: θə:nk] nationwide (1.04.09)

............
Teranda: so (1:05:15)/ I mean/ whenever I went to/ St Joseph’s/ umm/ l/ I had an accent/ people just
Betty
334. oh yeah
335. [a:] would [θə:nk]
336. uh-huh
337. comin’ outa Opelousas
338. uh-huh
Teranda: they just/ I caught/ heck for
Betty
339. [a: no:] you did
Teranda: "laughs*
Betty
340. [a:]
341. well
342. you see (1:05:30)
343. it was [de] same [θə:ŋ]
344. when umm
345. [a:] went to public school
346. when [a:] was in Catholic school
347. we all pretty much
348. spoke [de] same
349. you [no:]
350. we came from a Creole background
351. so the language was pretty much
352. the same (1:05:45)
353. like [a: se]
354. [a:] didn’t notice a difference
355. until [a:] went
356. to public school
357. you [no:]
Teranda: mmhm
Betty
358. an’ they would uh
359. tease you about it
360. an’ uh
361. [ma:] dad would always had a story
362. about when he was comin’ up
363. they had a li’l sayin’ (1:06:00)
364. that the kids
365. would taunt
366. them with
367. an’ it was like
368. umm
369. "crawfish
370. "crawfish
371. "get in a hole
372. [hɪə] come a Frenchman
373. “with a net an’ pole”
374. because
375. you [no:]
376. the Creole culture
377. [dɛ]’ll call you Frenchman
Teranda: mmhm
Betty
378. an’
379. oww (1:06:15)
380. that would make [dɪm] so mad
381. because
382. at that time
383. we were the only ones pretty much eating crawfish
384. an’ so
385. they would
386. use [dæt] li’l
387. song
388. to taunt them
389. you [no:]
390. [a:] thought it was funny
Teranda: cause they were/ was it because they were saying that they were poor (1:06:30)/ or
Betty
391. no
392. jus’ [dæt]
393. umm
394. like
395. like with [de] Koreans
396. you [no:]
397. you [bcDe] hide [ye] dog
399. you [no:]
400. *laughs*
401. it was jus’ synonymous
402. with you eatin’ it

Teranda: uh-huh
Betty
403. you [no:]

Teranda: mmhm
Betty
404. umm (1:06:45)
405. [a:] don’t [θe:nk] it was because
406. a lot a the creoles had money
407. because

Teranda: yeah/ well that’s why I was asking
Betty
408. yeah
409. no
410. [a: θe:nk]
411. because the ones with [da]
   money
412. they

413. the ones they were taunting
414. had more money
415. you [no:]
416. the kids who were doing the
   taunting (1:07:00)
417. the ones [de: we]
418. uh
419. teasing
420. had more money
421. than [dɪm]

Teranda: mmhm
Betty
422. [a:]’m jus’ [θe:nkɪn]
423. they jus’ associated us with eating
crawfish
424. an’
425. you [no:]
426. tellin’ the crawfish
427. “get in the hole”
428. “cause [hra] come a Frenchmen
429. “with a net an’ pole” (1:07:15)
430. you [no:]

Teranda: *laughs*
Betty
431. jus’
432. [tne:θe:n] to aggravate you
433. you [no:] (1.07.20)

N15: Marcus

Marcus
1. yeah (29.27)
2. well
3. [a:]’ll go
4. [a:]’ll talk about [a:] dogs firs’ (29.30)
5. since
6. huge part a [ma:] life
7. uh
8. one’s named Cassie
9. the other named Dakota
10. had ‘em three years
11. their Siberian Huskies
12. yes [a:] have Huskies in Louisiana
13. *laughs* they live inside [do] (29.45)
14. so
15. it’s not a big deal
Teranda: uh-huh/ yeah
Marcus
16. [a:] actually drove all [da] way to
   Atlanta
17. to buy them  
18. an’ uh  
19. then [a:] mean  
Teranda: did you get them/ huh  
Marcus  
20. huh  
21. what’d you say  
Teranda: did you get them when they were babies  
Marcus  
22. yeah  
23. [a:] bought ’em  
24. their sisters (30.00)  
Teranda: oh/ okay  
Marcus  
25. [a:] bought ’em as puppies  
26. so  
Teranda: uh-huh  
Marcus  
27. so they’re three years old now  
28. [a:] mean  
Teranda: are they spayed  
Marcus  
29. yes  
30. yeah  
31. so  
32. uh  
33. they  
34. they pretty much complete [ma:] life  
35. for right now (30.15)  
Teranda: mmhm  
Marcus  
36. [a:] mean  
37. in the future  
38. of course [a:] would to get married  
39. but  
40. right now  
41. these two dogs  
42. that’s my best match when [a:] go home  
43. so  
Marcus and Teranda: *laughs*  
Teranda: oh/ that sounds like Honey  
Marcus  
44. [a:] mean (30.30)  
45. of course  
46. [de:] make a mess  
47. jus’ because [de:]  
48. shed so much  
49. [a:]’ve probably burned  
50. maybe [fa:v] or six vacuum cleaners up  
51. vacuuming  
52. [de] house  
Teranda: *laughs*  
Marcus  
53. yes  
54. uh  
55. when [a:] do so  
56. uh  
57. it’s pretty much a (30.45)  
58. entire trash bag  
59. of dog hair come outa [da] carpet  
60. an’ [a:] vacuum three times a week  
61. it’s that much hair  
62. comes outta those dogs  
63. *laughs*  
Teranda: oh my god  
Marcus  
64. [de:] do not sleep with me  
65. cause [a:] cannot have hair in [ma:] bed  
Marcus and Teranda: *laugh* (31.00)  
Teranda: are they really big/ or  
Marcus  
66. oh  
67. they’re both 45 pounds a piece  
68. so  
69. that’s  
70. they’re not big  
Teranda: man/ my cat/ gees  
Marcus  
71. an’  
72. the great thing about  
73. [ma:] two huskies at least  
74. they don’t bark
Teranda: oh/ yeah
Marcus
75. they're not a good protection dog (31.15)
76. now if
77. a [æmbulēns]* or [sʌmɪn]
78. passes by
79. they will try to imitate it by howling
Teranda: *laughs*
Marcus
80. oh yeah
81. they
82. they try to talk to you
83. [a:] tell *em to get in [də] kennel
84. they will talk back (31.30)
Teranda: do you keep them/ umm/ do they
sleep in a cage/ or something
Marcus
85. yeah
86. durin' [de] night
87. an' durin' [de] day when [a:]'m not
there
88. they are kenneled
89. but they're inside
90. so (31.39)

Teranda: (32.30) so/ what are they/ more
about your dogs/ I guess
Marcus
91. oh
92. they're basically like havin' two
girlfriends
Teranda and Marcus: *laughs*
Marcus
93. [de:] Ø totally (32.45)
94. totally different
95. one's gonna be [de] one that wants
to cuddle [wtf] you
96. the other one
97. nothin' to do with you
Teranda and Marcus: *laughs*
98. she does her own li'l thing
99. this one'll wanna cuddle
100. uh
101. they'll sit [dcr] an' watch TV
102. TV with me
Teranda: uh-huh
Marcus
103. uh
104. if [a:] go out to eat (33.00)
105. which [a:] do a lot
106. [a:] have to bring [dɪm] French fries
back
107. an'
108. [a:] have to get [dɪm] extra ice outa
[ma:] cup
Teranda: *laughs*
Marcus
109. (...) that
110. *laughs*
111. if [a:] do not do [dæt]
112. an' [a:] ate [dæt] in front a [dɪm]
113. [de:] will get in [de] kennel
114. an' face [de] wall
115. [de:] will not look at me (33.15)
Teranda: oh my god
Marcus and Teranda: *laugh*
Marcus
116. oh yeah
117. they have a personality
118. *laughs*
Teranda: you give them French fries
Marcus
119. [de:] have to have French fries
120. an' [de:] have to have [de] ice
121. jus'
122. they have to
123. or they're totally pissed off at me
124. *laughs* (33.30)
Teranda: you don't cook
Marcus
125. no [a:] don't cook
126. [a:] don't cook
127. okay
Teranda: (...)/ you're wasting your money on
a restaurant
Marcus
128. *laughs*
129. when [a:] was buyin’ food to cook
130. [a:] think [dæ]’s a waste of more money (33.45)

Marcus and Teranda: *laugh*

Marcus
131. by [də ta:m a:]’d burned everything
132. an’ throw it away
133. yeah
134. no
135. or jus’ don’t eat it
136. cause [a:] forget [a:] have it
137. like a gallon a milk
138. will jus’ go to waste
139. [a:]’ll forget [a:] have it
140. an’ it never gets opened

Teranda: really

Marcus
141. yeah (34.00)

.............

Marcus
142. it’s cheaper for me eat to out (34.58)
143. It really is (35.00)

Teranda: *laughs*

Marcus
144. [a:] mean

Teranda: although I always

Marcus
145. if cooking counts
146. [a:]’ll
147. bake pizzas
148. [a:]’ll do that
149. [a:]’ll bake cookies

Teranda: *laughs*

Marcus
150. [a:]’ll make hot dogs

Teranda: the pre-packaged

Marcus
151. yeah
152. [a:]’ll do simple stuff like [dæ]
153. but as far as actually cooking a meal (35.15)

154. no
155. not me
156. no
157. [dæ]’s what [a:] have [a:] grandma for on Sunday
158. an’ [ma:] mom on Friday night

Marcus and Teranda: *laugh*

Marcus
159. that’s [ma:] little routine

Teranda I cook on the weekends/ and then I eat (35.30)/ what I cook/ for the/ I mean not all the week/ but I eat what I cook for the rest of the week/ and I try to get something for breakfast/ (…)

Marcus
160. [a:]’ve tried that
161. [a:] tried doin’ like
162. gettin’ the stir-fries
163. maybe settin’ [ma:] stuff out before [a:] go [da] work
164. plan it out (35.45)
165. no
166. it don’t work that way (35.46)

.............

Marcus
167. when [a:] was in school in uh (38.22)
168. (place)
169. [a:] actually bought a bike
170. [a:]
171. [a:] was on [da] planogram team
172. so
173. [a:] would always [no:] what was going clearance before it went clearance (38.30)

Teranda: mmhm

Marcus
174. cause we would reset all the aisles an’ stuff
175. so we knew
176. ol’ product that’s leavin’ the store
177. so [a:] bought like this uh
178. what brand was it
179. a Schwinn bicycle
180. with like eighteen speed
181. or somethin' like [dæt]
182. a men's bike (38.35)
183. really nice bike
184. for like
185. seventeen dollars
186. "laughs*
187. so it was a really nice bike
188. [a:] rode it all [da ɪə ˈm əʊ ɹ ɪ ʃ]ne
dsr]
189. rode it when [a:] moved back here
190. when [a:] bought [da] house
191. [dæt] was [da] end a [dæt] bike
Marcus and Teranda: "laughs*

Marcus
192. [a:] was like (39.00)
193. [a:] have a yard for [da] dogs
194. [de] could go outside
195. "laughs*
196. (…)
197. [a:] wanna sit down an' watch TV
Teranda: I don't know/ I like/ I like the
exercise classes though/ cause (…)
Marcus
198. no [a:]
199. [a:] have all [da] equipment too
200. it's jus'
201. it holds clothes
Marcus and Teranda: "laugh* (39.15)
Teranda: oh my gosh/ (…)
Marcus
202. actually it's against [da] wall now
203. cause [a:] had to get more room in
[ma:] office
204. cause [a:] have a big L desk
205. with [ma:] MacBook Pro here
206. an' [drn] my iMac here
207. an' [a:] have it where [a:] can jus’
slide around
208. an' do whatever [a:] want
Marcus and Teranda: "laugh* (39.30)
Teranda: oh my gosh
Marcus
209. [a:] tried takin' up uh
210. keyboarding
211. like piano
Teranda: oh
Marcus
212. [dæt] didn't
Teranda: that didn't work out
Marcus
213. no
Teranda: no
214. [a:] had bought [drst] really really nice
215. "laughs*
216. Yamaha keyboard (39.45)
217. [dæt] lasted maybe
218. a couple [mɑn]
Teranda: you could probably sell it/ and get
some money
Marcus
219. no
220. it's jus' nice decoration
Teranda: "laughs*/ nice decoration
Marcus
221. "laughs*
222. it's a really nice keyboard
Teranda: "laughs*
Marcus
223. everybody tells me [a:] make too
much money for [ma:] own good
224. cause all [a:] do is waste it
Marcus and Teranda: "laughs*
Marcus
225. [a:]m single (40.00)
226. have nothin' to do
227. so [a:] buy really weird stuff
Teranda: yeah/ I was doing/ I got/ actually/
my minor at Northwestern with photography/
so/ I have a camera (40.15)/ that I used
while I was there and after/ but/ since I
started graduate school/ I have not done
anything with it
Marcus
228. a camera
229. like an SLR or somethin'
Teranda: yeah
Teranda: oh my god/ and I/ I'm like looking for a new one/ also/ cause mine was outdated when I bought it

Teranda: oh/ no

Marcus

230. oh
231. [a:] have a really nice one too
232. [a:] have a Nikon D80
233. [wtf] probably 7 or 8 lens
234. it's probably 5 thousand dollars worth a stuff (40.30)
235. [a:] only ever use it once or twice
236. a year

Teranda: oh yeah

Marcus

237. oh yeah

Teranda: so

Marcus

238. yeah
239. cause [de] weird thing 'bout [de] D80
240. [de] uh (40.45)
241. [de] screen only shows up after you take [de pɪčə]
242. like you can't

Teranda: oh/ no

Marcus

243. yeah

Teranda: that's how mine is

Marcus

244. okay

Teranda: I think a lot of the SLRs are like that

Marcus

245. okay
246. cause [a: no:] some a [da] newer ones
247. [da:] can do movies an' everything now

Teranda: mmhm

Marcus

248. so

Teranda: yeah/ but I would like to get to a point where I'm actually using that skill (41.00)

Marcus

249. oh
250. [a:] agree
251. [a:] wanna go take some classes
252. photography classes
253. cause [a:] use a
254. camera actually
255. at work

Teranda: oh yeah

Marcus

256. we're estimating (...) 257. then sen' it in to the insurance companies
258. but not [dæt] camera

Teranda: well/ I could tell you (41.15)/ some good composition things

Marcus

259. oh yeah
260. like [a:] said
261. [a:] have [da] lens [dæt] could do it
262. [a:] have a really nice [pɪčə]
263. from [de] top a[de] state capital
264. lookin' into tiger stadium

Teranda: uh-huh

Marcus

265. an' [a:] mean
266. it's like you're in [de] stadium
267. *laughs*

Teranda: oh yeah/ yeah/ cause you have/ you probably have a long (41.30)

Marcus

268. yeah
269. [a:] have a telephoto lens
270. *laughs*
271. don't [no:] why
272. it was cool at [de ta:m]
273. [a:] bought it

Marcus and Teranda: *laugh*

Marcus

274. [a:] have a li'l toy remote control car
275. [dæt a:] jus' gave to [ma:] brother
276. [a:] had a
277. [a:] bought it at
278. when [a:] was at school in (place)
279. was bored on [da] weekend
280. it’s a little remote control car
281. [dæt] actually goes 65 miles an hour (41.45)
282. an’ it’s gas powered
283. *laughs*
Teranda: well/ you better put some of that money away/ don’t spend it all
Marcus
284. oh [a:] do
Teranda: *laughs*
Marcus
285. [a:] do (41.57)
.............
Marcus
286. [a:] never thought [a:]’d be [dɪs] far (42.30)
287. to be honest [wɪf] you
Teranda: yeah
Marcus
288. not tryin’ to
289. you [no:]
290. doubt [maːˈsɪl]f]
291. jus’
292. you don’t see as many young people actually
293. doin’ somethin’ [wɪd Ʌr] life
Teranda: yeah
Marcus
294. [dæs da] really sad part
Teranda: yeah/ yeah/ not to say that I won’t be there (42.45)/ because I will
Marcus
295. no
296. no
297. [a:]’m not
298. [a:]’m not sayin’ that (…)
Teranda: (…) time
Marcus
299. but [a: no:] of
300. people [a:] graduated [wɪf]
301. [de:] do nothin’
302. [a:] mean
303. nothin’ (42.55)

N16: Anthony

*(response to question I.2)*

Anthony
1. uh (3.27)
2. cultural identity
3. it’s definitely (3.30)
4. it’s your
5. ancestors
6. umm
7. you [no:]
8. where they came from
9. who their are
10. and
11. you [no:]
12. that’s your cultural identity
Teranda: okay

Anthony
13. an’ in
Teranda: okay
Anthony
14. an’ in my case
15. umm
16. I’m a (3.45)
17. [a: se:] a hundred percent Creole
18. because
19. I’m French and Spanish descent
20. an’ a lot of people
21. umm
22. interpret that totally different
23. they call people
24. light skin of color
25. or either
26. some people call us dark skin of color (4.00)
27. anyway
28. they think it’s a mulatta
29. an’ mulatta
30. it’s really
31. a mixture of white an’ black
32. an’
33. Creoles are really
34. they’re
35. full-blooded
36. or
37. French and Spanish descent
38. their ancestry (4.15)

Teranda: okay
Anthony
39. so [a:] think that’s
40. what [a:] call cultural (4.18)

............... (response to question I.6)
Anthony
41. of course (6.40)
42. uh
43. probably
44. daily

Teranda: daily
Anthony
45. yes
46. mmhm

Teranda: okay/ (6.45) can you tell me just about/ some of the situations where you/ really want to focus on that Creole identity/ and showing people that/ you’re Creole
Anthony
47. well
48. first of all
49. since I
50. moved here
51. a li’l bit over six years ago
52. umm
53. everybody
54. [ma:] last name (7.00)

55. it’s not a common last name
56. so everybody
57. wants to [no:]
58. what are you
59. so I’ve
60. caught myself more
61. in six years explaining
62. my culture
63. or my
64. race
65. than I have (7.15)
66. living back at home
67. where I’m from originally
68. cause everybody knew who we were
69. so it’s like
70. you didn’t get asked as much
71. but since I moved here
72. to the Baton Rouge area
73. it’s just unbelievable how many people
74. wants to [no:] (7.30)
75. because of my
76. [a:] guess my hair texture
77. my
78. skin
79. my
80. personality
81. you [no:]

Teranda: mmhm
Anthony
82. [a:] guess
83. it all makes ‘em
84. interesting
85. you [no:]
86. that [a:]’m not
87. [a:]’m different (7.45)

Teranda: okay/ so just kind of/ you want to focus on it whenever people are/ kind of asking you/ so what are you/ what’s your heritage/ stuff like that
Anthony
88. well not really (8.00)
89. cause it’s not really [ɪmpɔrtɪnt]* to me
90. [a:] mean it
91. it’s more [ɪmpɔrtɪnt] to
92. they wouldn’t ask
93. [a:] guess
94. if it wasn’t [ɪmpɔrtɪnt] to them
Teranda: oh/ mmhm
Anthony
95. it doesn’t matter to me
Teranda: mmhm
Anthony
96. [a:]’m jus’ a person
97. an’ [a:] don’t
98. look at [ma:scif] as
99. you [no:]
100. a race (8.15)
101. or
102. a culture
Teranda: uh-huh
Anthony
103. [a:] jus’
104. [a:] try to
105. rub off on people
Teranda: mmhm
Anthony
106. such as
107. umm
108. bein’ nice
Teranda: mmhm
Anthony
109. speaking to people when you walk upon them
110. uh
111. jus’
112. all [da] li’l things [a:] was raised with
113. [a:] mean
114. jus’
Teranda: okay
Anthony
115. [a:] jus’ like to rub off on people
(8.30)
116. that

117. I’m who I am
118. [a:] mean
119. jus’
120. a
121. person
122. that
Teranda: *laughs*
Anthony
123. you [no:]
124. care about individual
125. [a:] really do care about people
Teranda: okay/ so it’s not necessarily that you’re focusing on it (8.45)/ but it’s that other people are focusing on it/ okay
Anthony
126. that’s correct
Teranda: and asking you about it
Anthony
127. and asking me about it
Teranda: okay
Anthony
129. not
130. me
Teranda: mmhm
Anthony
131. it’s jus’
132. [a:] wish [a:] could
133. you [no:]
134. like
135. give them a
136. pamphlet
137. an’ say
138. ‘well here
139. “read up about”
140. you [no:] (9.00)
141. “Creoles”
142. or
143. because they all Ø
144. curious
145. they want to know (9.04)
(response to question II.1)
Anthony
146. umm (9.37)
147. I jus’
148. be myself
149. I don’t try to
150. be someone else
Teranda: mmhm
Anthony
151. [a:]
152. [a:]’m really a person that cannot fake
153. you understand
154. you [no:] (9.45)
155. like
156. do something that really
157. [dɛ]’s not
158. me
Teranda: mmhm
Anthony
159. I’m
160. gonna express myself
161. when necessary
162. I keep my
163. mouth closed when
164. it’s necessary
Teranda: mmhm
Anthony
165. an’
166. sometimes you mess up
167. but most of the times
168. [a:] just like to rub off on people (10.00)
169. as bein’
170. you [no:]
171. like I am
172. genuine
173. caring
174. you [no:]
175. concerned
176. an’
177. loving (10.07)

(response to question II.2)
Anthony
178. well (11.07)
179. now [a:] understand the question a lot better
180. an’ it’s amazing
181. that
182. [a:]’m glad that we’re touching on this
183. I actually can (11.15)
184. fluctuate
185. [a:] can change
186. depending on who I’m talking to
187. I will change my
188. uh
189. language
190. I will
Teranda: okay
Anthony
191. like if [a:]’m
Teranda: could I
Anthony
192. go ‘head
Teranda: could I get an example of that
Anthony
193. well
194. [a:]
195. get people in from Lafayette (11.30)
Teranda: mmhm
Anthony
196. or Opelousas area
197. an’
198. I will start talking like them
199. an’ they [se:]
200. “[wɛə] you from”
201. or whatever
202. an’ it’s just
Teranda: mmhm/ mmhm/ okay
Anthony
203. it’s interesting
204. [a:] mean that
205. [a:] do it
206. not even [no:]
207. knowingly (11.45)

Teranda: mmhm/ mmhm

Anthony
208. it jus'
209. it jus'

Teranda: okay/ okay/ so/ you don’t make a
conscious choice to do it

Anthony
210. oh no

Teranda: you just do it

Anthony
211. it’s jus’ a

Teranda: okay/ okay

Anthony
212. it’s natural

Teranda: alright

Anthony
213. an’
214. it’s jus’ adjusting to
215. (12.00) who [a:]’m talkin’ to

Teranda: okay

Anthony
216. [a:] guess that’s why [a:] can
217. speak to anyone one
218. on any level
219. no matter
220. if you’re

Teranda: mmhm

Anthony
221. the [prɛsɪdɛnt]
222. or the
223. whoever

Teranda: okay

Anthony
224. [a:] can get on anyone’s level
(12.10)

(\textit{response to question II.2 for actions})

Anthony
225. of course (12.40)
226. [a:] think [a:] mentioned it
227. earlier
228. umm
229. passing upon
230. an individual (12.45)
231. it’s so easy to [se:]
232. “good morning”
233. or
234. “hello
235. “how are you [dade:]”
236. an’
237. that
238. [ma:]’m mom kin’a instilled in me as a
kid
239. because [a:] remember umm
240. passing through
241. the neighbor’s [yɔrd]
242. to go to the store
243. it was short-cut instead of goin’
around (13.00)
244. an’ she watched me through the
kitchen window
245. an’ she said
246. she called me back
247. [a:]’d thought she had forgot to tell
me what’s
248. on the list
249. so
250. as a kid
251. that stayed with me
252. she made me walk back (13.15)
253. speak to those older people
254. because [a:]’d passed upon them
like their wudn’t even
255. there

Teranda: mmhm

Anthony
256. an’ so now
257. some people
258. laugh at me
259. because they said
260. he speaks every time he passes
261. an’ it’s like
something that was instilled in me (13.30)
bein’
nice
polite
an’
jus’ treat people like you wanna be treated (13.37)

(response to question II.3)
Anthony
yeah (14.03)
that’s no question about
umm
mos’
Creoles
[a:] would [se:]
are
Catholics

Anthony
and
such as me bein’ one of ten kids
of course number five
an’ (14.15)
those [de:s] are gone
you [no:]
people raisin’ that many kids
but
it was the
best thing ever could happen to me
because it’s
it taught me
I learned from my older siblings
I
of course [a:]’m [da] middle
of siblings
an’ [dən] the younger ones
of course [a:] learned from them (14.30)

Anthony
but it was jus’ the mos’
especially now
since we’re older
it’s jus’ when we get together
like for these holidays that’s coming up
it’s jus’ the mos’
umm
enjoying time to be [wrt] your siblings
an’ that’s why I (14.45)
credit the
older
my parents
as bein’
not selfish
to keep
having kids
an’
an’

Anthony
I miss that with
my own
[a:] only have two
two kids of my own (15.00)

(continued response to question II.3)
Anthony
it’s no question (15.22)
umm
everything [a:] do
everyday
[a:] mean it’s

Anthony
which is
bein’ (15.30)
genuine
an’ bein’ yourself
an’
jus’
Teranda: okay

Anthony

328. jus’ bein’
329. kin’
330. an’ polite
331. an’
332. speaking
333. acknowledging older people
334. as well
335. [a:] jus’ think that’s imperative
336. to say in time
337. people ignore the older people
   (15.45)
338. and
339. my enjoyment
340. from that
341. is the speaking to them
342. an’
343. [a:] can actually

Teranda: okay

Anthony

344. it’s speaking to these older people
345. an’ watch their (16.00)
346. smile
347. or their
348. jus’
349. they Ø jus’ so happy that
   somebody took [ta:m] to [se:]
350. “hello”

Teranda: mmhm

Anthony

351. an’ that’s the things
352. that I do
353. daily

Teranda: mmhm/ so do you think that that/
that kind of that umm/ (16.15) focus on/
keeping up with earlier generations/ is kind
of something that is really/ very Creole/or

Anthony

354. yes
355. because as a kid
356. [a:] jus’ remember
357. my dad took us around
358. we’d visit nothing but [da] older
   people (16.30)
359. so it’s like instilled in me
360. an’ [a:]’m gettin’ older now
361. but
362. it’s jus’
363. as I get older
364. [a:] realize
365. why he did it

Teranda: mmhm

Anthony

366. it was imperative
367. that you acknowledge
368. an’
369. treat (16.45)
370. an’ you hug
371. kiss
372. you [no:]

Teranda: okay

Anthony

373. [a:] still do that
374. uh
375. to older
376. younger
377. it’s just I
378. try to touch everyone

Teranda: okay

Anthony

379. it’s my gold in life (16.56)

.............

Teranda: do you speak Creole French at all
(20.02)

Anthony

380. uh
381. jus’ French
382. [a:] jus’ [no:] very few words
383. umm
384. our parents actually
385. umm
386. they spoke it
387. when they didn’t want us to [no:]
   what they were talking about

Teranda: *laughs*/ okay
Anthony
388. but whenever they extend the [konvərˈseʃən] (20.15)
389. we would [fɪgə-] it out
Teranda: okay
Anthony
390. cause they would use
391. some English
392. you [no:]
Teranda: mmhm
Anthony
393. with it
Teranda: mmhm

N17: Anita

Anita
1. [a:] know most recently (36.27)
2. we were kind of
3. [ma:] parents an’ I were laughing about (36.30)
4. cause it was Christmas
5. [a:] was probably like
6. twelve or thirteen
7. an’ we usually did Christmas day at [ma:] mom’s house
8. an’ [ma:] mom’s side of the family
9. an’ in Christmas night
10. we’d go to grandmother
11. on [ma:] dad’s side
12. in (place)
13. an’
14. one year (36.45)
15. [ma:] cousins
16. from [ma:] mom’s side
17. cause we’re
18. closer in age
19. so
20. an’ [a:] would see them every summer
21. we played a lot [tægəðə]

Teranda: mmhm

Anthony
394. so we were
395. like
396. it was a challenge for us to [ftrə]-
397. [a:] jus’ wish they would’ve
398. umm
399. actually
400. let us
401. you [no:]
402. (20.30) learn it
403. [a:] wish
404. [a:] miss that (20.32)
Anita
40. that they all left
41. an’ [a:] think [a:] was still at
42. some cousin’s house
43. in a bedroom
44. playin’ with somethin’
45. an’ [a:] came out
46. an’ everybody was [gœn]
47. an’ (L...)
48. who’s [ma:] cousin (37.30)
49. she’s much older than me
50. she kin’a was like
51. “well you’re still here?”
52. an’ [a:] said
53. “yeah
54. “where’s everybody else?”
55. an’ they had left an’ gone to [ma:]
   grandmaw’s house
56. so they had to all come back
57. an’ pick me back up
58. an’ so we still kinda laugh about the
   [ta:m a:] got lef’ behind
59. an’ they didn’t even realize that [a:]
   was gone (37.45)
Anita and Teranda: *laughs*
Anita
60. we were talkin’ about that recently
61. [a:] don’t know what the connection
   was to it
62. but it jus’ kinda came back up
63. about how they lef’ me behind
64. didn’t even realize they’d lef’ their
   own child
Teranda: *laughs*
Anita
65. behind for Christmas (38.00)
66. but [a:] know it was cause it was a
   kind of a
67. you [no:]
68. when you got that many of ‘em [ye]
   pullin’ in a van
69. an’ goin’ from house to house with
70. [a:] jus’ got lost

71. we kinda laugh at that (38.10)

............... 

Anita
72. we were umm (40.02)
73. again
74. [ma:] friend’s from New Orleans
75. [a:] have a friend from Lutcher
76. that [a:] work with
77. we had a similar conversation at the
   table
78. about picky eaters
79. an’ [a:] pretty much grew up eating
   (40.15)
80. food
Teranda: mmhm
Anita
81. you [no:]
82. if you put food in front of me
83. I was like
84. “okay”
85. I’m gonna eat it
86. you [no:]
87. rice an’ gravy was [ma: æeftə] school
   snack
88. an’ then [a:]’d have rice an’ gravy for
   dinner
89. it
90. [a:] [eːt]* food
91. well
92. umm
93. [ma:] friend didn’t eat veal
94. an’ [a:] said (40.30)
95. “you don’t eat veal?”
96. an’ she’s like
97. *no
98. “I can’t stand what they do to the
   baby”
99. umm
100. “cows”
101. an’ [a:] said
102. “you eat deer?”
103. an’ she said
104. “oh yeah”
105. “that’s Bambi”
106. like
107. “why would you do that to Bambi”
108. she’s like
109. “[a:] eat Bambi
110. “[a:] eat thumper too
111. “it doesn’t [moDe]” (40.45)
112. an’

Anita and Teranda: *laughs*

Anita
113. an’ [a:] thought
114. oh my god
115. [a:] can’t believe
116. you
117. you [no:]
118. you won’t touch veal
119. you’ll eat a steak
120. but give you a rabbit or a deer
121. an’ it’s
122. you [no:]
123. fair game
124. an’
125. I’m kind of
126. you [no:]
127. I eat gator (41.00)
128. ‘specially after (…) a good
129. you [no:]

Teranda: mmhm

Anita
130. like blackened alligator in different places

Teranda: mmhm

Anita
131. but [a:]
132. shy away from deer
133. shy away from rabbit
134. [a:] will not do it
135. cause [a:]
136. [a:] see them as
137. soft little furry creatures (41.15)
138. (…) [a:] wanna pet (41.18)

.............
173. if [a:] go to a restaurant
174. [a:] don’t wanna try you’re gumbo
175. you [no:]

Teranda: mmhm

Anita
176. even at [ma:] friend’s homes
177. who aren’t from you
178. you [no:] (42.45)
179. Opelousas or that aren’t like family
180. their gumbo’s different
181. it’s not what [a:]’m used to eating
182. an’ [a:] kind of connect that to who I am an’ where [a:]’m from
183. an’
184. you [no:]

Teranda: mmhm

Anita
186. bein’ Creole
187. an’ maybe just bein’ from that part of you
188. you [no:]
189. Louisiana in general (43.00)
190. that the way that we cook things is different
191. you [no:]

Teranda: yeah

Anita
192. when [a:] make a gumbo
193. it’s totally different from [ma:] friend (K...’)s dad’s gumbo
194. which is like thick an’
196. full of okra
197. an’ it’s jus’
198. not what [a:]’m used to *laughs*
199. *laughs*
200. an’ the same thing with okra too (43.15)
201. [a:] grew up
202. with [ma:] grandmother cookin’ it a certain way

Teranda: mmhm

Anita
203. [ma:] mom cookin’ it a certain way
204. an’
205. [a:] jus’ don’t like that anywheres else

Teranda: yeah/ talks about people who put eggs in there gumbo and that she hasn’t had that before (43.22—43.40)

Anita
206. [ma:] dad had [ma:] mom do that once
207. like he’ll ask her every now an’ then
208. it’s different (43.45)
209. but yeah
210. it’s not what you’d think of as the norm

Teranda: yeah/ yeah

Anita
211. [a:]’ve been to a friends house
212. an’ her mom was from Breaux Bridge
213. but
214. they lived in Dallas
215. an’ she made a gumbo that was really thick
216. like
217. full of okra
218. an’ she had catfish an’ crawfish tails in it (44.00)
219. an’ [a:] had a hard time tryin’ to pretend like [a:] enjoyed that plate of food
220. cause it was jus’

Teranda: *laughs*

Anita
221. it was different
222. [a:] don’t [no:] about you
223. but gumbo to me is usually
224. not thick

Teranda: no/ it’s

Anita
225. it’s
226. it's
227. it's brown (44.15)
228. it's dark
229. it's
Teranda: kind of soupy
Anita
230. soupy
231. you [no:]
232. more watery than thick
233. an' it's full of
234. you [no:]
235. seafood
236. an'
237. meat
238. an' sausage
239. but not
240. thick
Teranda: not/ and not fish
Anita
241. fish
242. yeah
Teranda: tells about friends parents who ordered étouffée from a restaurant in Tuscaloosa that didn't look like étouffée or taste good (44.30—45.00)
Anita
243. that's not it
244. yeah
245. that's [anetha] thing
246. [a:] don't order étouffée in restaurants
247. [a:] don't order gumbo
Teranda: mmhm/ mmhm
248. [a:] jus' kinda raise an eyebrow
249. an' go "no thank you"
250. *laughs*
Teranda: yeah/ talks about Louisiana food always being better at home(45.13—45.46)
Anita
251. it's always b—
252. an' it's always better at [hôm]
253. because you jus'
254. you [no:]
Teranda: you're used to it
Anita
255. even in New Orleans
256. [a:] kind of
257. shy away from stuff
Teranda: mmhm
Anita
258. because New Orleans is a place that
259. has it's own Creole identity
260. an' definition (46.00)
Teranda: mmhm
Anita
261. an' to me that's different from what
262. I see
263. like when they talk of Creole cooking
264. [a:]'m a food network junkie
265. [a:] can't help myself
Teranda: *laughs*
Anita
266. that's not what [a:] see as
267. you [no:]
268. Creole
Teranda: like what
Anita
269. [a:] can't think of anything right now (46.15)
Teranda: you mean/ like Emeril/ and
Anita
270. yeah
Teranda: okay
Anita
271. you kn—
272. an' [a:] find too
273. an' [a:]'m tryin' to remember
274. like in that area
275. [a:] think the definition of Creole would be more of a
276. society
277. and umm (46.30)
278. more of a social status
279. a little bit
Teranda: mmhm

Anita
280. if [a:]’m
281. an’ [a:]’m tryin’ to remember from
282. because [a:] took a lotta
283. classes when [a:] was in school
284. cause [a:] 285. like you
286. was really interested
287. in that
288. but it was more of like a
289. a class thing
290. an’ a society thing (46.45)
291. an’ so there it was more of
292. umm
293. [a:] don’t wanna say aristocratic
294. but more of your
295. you [no:]
296. more socially well off
297. umm
298. you [no:]
299. like white people
300. people of that
301. status in that area

Teranda: mmhm

Anita
302. an’
303. the food was different to me
   (47.00)
304. when you think of Creole food
305. [a:]’m down here havin’

Teranda: mmhm

Anita
306. you [no:]
307. [ma:] mom’s gumbo or
308. [a:] think étouffée is Creole food
309. an’ there it’s more of a higher
310. fancier
311. kind of thing than it is here

Teranda: mmm/ okay
Anita
312. [a:] don’t [no:] if that makes sense
   (47.15)
313. but

Teranda: no/ yeah/ no actually it’s good
that you’re telling me that because I’ve been
reading a lot of about New Orleans/ and
Creoles/ and so it’s kind of coming from that
take/ that of course/ that’s something that I
now need to think about
Anita
314. [a:] think that it’s a different
definition from what I identify as
   Creole (47.30)

Teranda: mmhm
Anita
315. [a:] don’t [no:] if you’ve made that
   connection yet from what

Teranda: mmhm
Anita
316. you thought
317. an’ what you’ve seen in the New
   Orleans area

N19: Winston

Winston
1. I’ll tell you a story (52.15)
2. that I tell
3. when I’m doing [ma:] little speeches
   an’ stuff
4. an’
5. it’s a story about a lady named
   Josephine DeCuir
6. have you [cva] heard that story

Teranda: no
Winston
7. Josephine DeCuir was the
8. daughter of
9. Antoine
10. DeCuir
11. an’ Antoine Dubuclet (52:30)
12. an’ she was born in about the eighteenth
13. forties
14. and
15. was a free woman of color
16. very privileged
17. owned a plantation called the Austerlitz
18. in the New Roads area
19. at any rate (52:45)
20. umm
21. durin’ the civil war
22. they were always free
23. they were always very privileged
24. very wealthy
25. uh
26. they were Creoles
27. now both were from
28. parents who were free people of color
29. so they
30. they had no direct
31. uh (53:00)
32. European in them
33. (...) direct African in them
34. they were
35. come from (...)
36. li’l Creole (...) group
37. but at any rate
38. uh
39. [ha] husband died
40. right after the end of the civil [wə]
41. some [tə:m] around 1865, 66 (53:15)
42. she continued to run [də] plantation
43. she used to have to
44. go to New Orleans
45. to sell the crops
46. an’ do the business
47. an’ that sort of stuff
48. she was educated in France
49. by the way
50. was a
51. accomplished piano player
52. uh
53. on one of her trips down
54. uh
55. in 1869 (53:30)
56. umm
57. she decided
58. that she was going to
59. test the new public accommodations law
60. that
61. had been passed by the
62. reconstruction legislation in Louisiana
63. that said that riverboats couldn’t (53:45)
64. discriminate in the carrying of passengers
65. she bought a ticket to return from New Orleans to Chenal
66. Chenal was a riverboat stop
67. and uh
68. when she got on the riverboat
69. an’ she bought the ticket
70. she demanded to be placed in a
71. a white compartment (54:00)
72. because it was like an overnight trip
73. they refused
74. she set on the top of the riverboat
75. refused to go inside the boat
76. refused to go to what they called “the colored quarters”
77. refused to go to what they called all the way from (54:15)
78. an’ rode the riverboat on the outside
79. New Orleans to Chenal
80. which [a:] think takes about a day an’ a half
81. and uh
82. when she got [dɛr]
83. she sued
84. [da] boat owner
85. an’ went all the way to the
86. for discrimination
87. an’ went all the way to the
88. state supreme court
89. an’ she won
90. claiming she had been discriminated against (54:30)
91. an’ was awarded a
92. a nominal amount of money
93. what have you
94. an’ [da]
95. riverboat people appealed to the
   United States Supreme Court
96. an’
97. it was reversed
98. it was America’s first
99. civil rights case (54:45)
100. because there were no civil rights
101. prior to the ending of slavery
102. it was America’s first civil rights case
103. she lost the case
104. the United States Supreme Court
   said that the law in Louisiana
105. banning discrimination was
   unconstitutional
106. can you imagine that (55:00)

Teranda: "laughs*

Winston
107. saying that
108. only the federal government
109. could regulate interstate commerce
110. and that the riverboat was an
   interstate commerce
111. an’ Louisiana’s law
112. banning discrimination
113. [ɪnəfɪrd wɪd dæt] right
114. because Mississippi might have a
   law
115. which required (55:15)
116. separation of races
117. an’ then the captain would have to
   change the passengers
118. as he
119. crossed the various state lines
120. so they declared it unconstitutional
121. she hangs up
122. in the Louisiana state museum
123. uh
124. in the civil rights section (55:30)
125. as being the very first
126. civil rights case
127. an’ the very first
128. sit-in
129. so when you think of sit-ins
130. from the nineteen
131. sixties
132. an’ seventies
133. she came up
134. well
135. she an’ a group
136. it was not her alone
137. came up with this idea
138. way back in (55:45)
139. 1870s
140. uh
141. when they actually thought that the
    thirteenth fourteenth and fifteenth
    amendment
142. meant equality
143. an’ found out
144. that it did not
145. that case formed [da] bases of
   Plessy vs. Ferguson
146. which was about twenty years later
   (56:00)
147. and
148. her case formed the bases for the
   sixty-four
149. 1964 Civil Rights Act
150. whether
151. Supreme Court says yes
152. the government can ban
153. discrimination
154. because remember we talked about
   DeCuir over here
155. saying that only the Federal Government could regulate it (56:15)
156. so when they regulated it
157. we go back to that case
158. to say they can
159. so she was a very famous woman
160. an' its sort of interesting because
161. even though they were
162. Creole
163. an' privileged (56:30)
164. unbeknownst to many folks
165. both from
166. the European or white side
167. an' [de] black side
168. that the actual fight for civil rights
169. were actually lead
170. by this group of people
171. same thing with Plessy

Teranda: mmhm

Winston
172. you [no:]
173. you [no:]
174. an' on an' on (56:45)
175. but generally
176. you don't find the Creole community receiving
177. any
178. any credit
179. for that sorta thing
180. they generally established the schools
181. uh
182. after the civil war
183. they took in
184. their African American counterpart (57:00)
185. who were not Creole
186. into their schools
187. an' educated 'em
188. uh
189. there were
190. little Creole schools long before there were any public schools

191. for African American children
192. an' that sorta thing
193. so
194. you [no:]
195. we like to think that we did make a contribution (57:15)

Teranda: mmhm/ *laughs*

Winston
196. you're laughin' at me

Teranda: no/ no no no/ its really interesting/ umm/ I hadn't known that/ about/ kind of the history

Winston
197. well
198. if you go
199. you know where the state museum is
200. the new state museum (57:30)
201. it's
202. right behind the state library

Teranda: mmhm

Winston
203. an' across from the state capitol
204. its called The Louisiana State Museum

Teranda: mmhm

Winston
205. you go into there
206. an' you go into the exhibit
207. on the firs' floor
208. there's a whole exhibit on the (57:45)
209. the African American experience an' civil rights
210. the very firs' display
211. is Josephine DeCuir

Teranda: *laughs*/ oh

Winston
212. its called
213. Benson vs. DeCuir
214. or Hall vs. DeCuir
215. [a:] forgot
216. that was the name of the case
Teranda: mmhm

Winston

217. an’ it formed the basis of both
(58:00)
218. it
219. it d—
220. it was the firs’ to
221. come up with the strategy of sit-ins

Teranda: mmhm

Winston

222. an’ civil protest
223. an’ the firs’ to try an’ use
224. the courts
225. to (58:15)
226. vindicate
227. acquire
228. or establish civil rights

Teranda: hmm/ okay

Winston

229. didn’t [no:] that one did you

Teranda: no/ I didn’t/ I didn’t/ its not
something they really/ teach in school

Winston

230. that’s right (58.28)

.........

Winston

231. you may have experienced this
(58.53)
232. an’ this is not so much a story as a
thing
233. umm
234. when I was growing up
235. uh (59:00)
236. my mother an’ father spoke
237. did not speak any French around me
at all
238. so [a: nɛvə] really picked it up
239. [mɑ:] mother was not as fluent as
[ma:] father
240. but
241. [ɑ:] used to stay with [ma:] father’s
relatives

242. you [no:] they would babysit while
the folks were at work
243. you stayed with this cousin or [dæt]
cousin
244. they all lived in [də] same
neighborhood (59:15)
245. an’
246. [ɑ:] stayed with one
247. uncle
248. his brother
249. an’ h—
250. her wife
251. his wife
252. who had two old aunts
253. that were there
254. an’ [ɑ:] was a little tyke
255. [ɑ:] mean
256. firs’ grade
257. kindergarten tyke
258. an’ they could not speak (59:30)
259. English
260. so
261. when we were growing up
262. what they would actually do
263. to discipline us
264. or try an’ talk about how they were
going to
265. manipulate us
266. cause a [dɪz dæt] or [də ədə]
267. they would speak (59:45)
268. French to each [æə]
269. because they [no:] we didn’t
understand it
270. an’ as we began to pick it up
271. they would change to doing
something else
272. to uh
273. to be able to communicate
274. around us
275. so that we didn’t
276. learn
277. unfortunately I should’ve listened
better (1:00:00)
an' learned more
older cousins are
are pretty fluent in Fren—
in that dialect'
[a:] should say

Teranda: mmmh

Winston
pretty much
course I'm not
talking/ speaking French to (1:00:15)

Teranda: mmmh/ so they were kind of
doing French to (1:00:15)

Winston
so that we couldn't understand them

Teranda: yeah/ *laughs*

Winston
you [no:]
like if you were speaking to a
[chil']
you'd say
don't want the chil' to [no:] where
you were going
you were saying
you [no:]
'm gonna go to the S-T-O-R-E
'll be right back

Teranda: yeah/ *laughing*

Winston
so that the
chil'
who couldn't spell yet
didn't understand what you were
doing (1:00:31)