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Nonverbal communication among Pointe Coupee Creoles

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NONVERBAL COMMUNICATION AMONG POINTE COUPEE CREOLES

A Dissertation

**Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in
The Department of French Studies**

**by
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
ABSTRACT	v
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW.....	4
2.1. Why Do We Gesture?	4
2.2. How Do We Gesture?	6
2.3. Differences in Gestural Styles	10
2.3.1. Gesture and Verbal Language	14
2.3.1.1. Language Obsolescence	19
2.3.2. Cultural Influence on Gesture	21
CHAPTER 3. SOCIOLINGUISTIC SKETCH OF POINTE COUPEE	26
3.1. Geography	28
3.2. Early European Settlers	29
3.3. Creole not Cajun	32
3.4. Slaves and Free People of Color	33
3.5. A Community Divided.....	34
3.6. American Influx	36
3.7. Bilingual Pointe Coupee	39
3.8. Pointe Coupee Today	43
CHAPTER 4. HYPOTHESIS	45
CHAPTER 5. METHODOLOGY	47
5.1 Analysis	54
CHAPTER 6. RESULTS	57
6.1. Control Group	57
6.1.1. Frequency and Duration	57
6.1.2. Spacing and Gestural Sphere	58
6.2. Group 1	69
6.2.1. Frequency and Duration	69
6.2.2. Spacing and Gestural Sphere	69
6.3. Group 2	80
6.3.1. Frequency and Duration.....	80
6.3.2. Spacing and Gestural Sphere	81
6.4. Summary	88

CHAPTER 7. DISCUSSION OF RESULTS	91
7.1. Frequency and Duration	92
7.1.1. Trends among Bilinguals	94
7.2. Spacing and Gestural Sphere	95
7.3. Categories of Gesture	106
CHAPTER 8. CONCLUSION	116
REFERENCES	124
APPENDIX A. PARTICIPANTS	131
APPENDIX B. VIDEO DATA	132
APPENDIX C. TRANSCRIBED VIDEO SEGMENTS	133
APPENDIX D. GESTURE DATABASE	147
VITA	174

ABSTRACT

Interactions are understood through the filter of language and culture. Because of this when people of different cultures interact, miscommunications often result. As both verbal and nonverbal aspects of communication are culturally specific, this paper examines trends in the nonverbal communication patterns of generations of Pointe Coupee Creoles undergoing language shift from Creole French in the older generation to English in the younger. The data demonstrate that nonverbal patterns are decoupled from verbal language to some extent in the degree to which they are maintained down the observable generations of Pointe Coupee Creole participants.

This study analyzes videos of naturally occurring conversations in Creole and English filmed in Pointe Coupee Parish, Louisiana, as well as an English-speaking control group filmed in Shreveport, Louisiana. These dialogues provide data on the frequency with which participants in various groups gesture, the duration of gesture phrases, as well as the personal sphere with its inverse relationship to the gestural sphere, and the usage of physical contact to regulate turn-at-talk. After establishing nonverbal communicative characteristics of the Creole speakers, I discuss the extent to which these features are maintained through successive generations. I find that while touching as a conversational regulator to hold speaker turn appears to have been dropped by the younger generation, other nonverbal communicative features such as the frequency of gesturing and wider gestural spheres (smaller personal spheres) observed in the older, Creole-dominant generation are maintained by the younger generation of English-dominant Pointe Coupee Creoles. Thus, aspects of the nonverbal patterns survive longer than the verbal system in this speech community.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

In *The Hidden Dimension* Hall (1966) examines how culture shapes experience and proposes that not only do people of different cultures speak different languages, but also “inhabit different sensory worlds,” (p.2). He employs the term *infraculture* to describe lower organizational level behaviors that underlie culture which include territoriality and spacing (p.101). Under infraculture, he defines *informal space* as the largely unconscious distance maintained among individual members of a group. These informal spatial patterns, Hall argues, have “distinct bounds, and such deep, if unvoiced, significance that they form an essential part of the culture,” (p.112). Hall notes that only when we encounter other cultures do we notice differences in informal spatial patterns. In discussing differences among French and U.S. citizens, Hall notes that French speakers look directly at their addressees as well as at people they pass on the street: “American women returning to their own country after living in France often go through a period of sensory deprivation. Several have told me that because they have grown accustomed to being looked at, the American habit of *not* looking makes them feel as if they didn’t exist.” (p.145). Of the United States, Hall, an American, comments, “We have consistently failed to accept the reality of different cultures within our national boundaries... and treat members of culturally differentiated enclaves with their own communication systems, institutions, and values” (p.183).

Remarkable among the fifty states due to the rich French cultural and linguistic heritage, Louisiana’s francophone regions constitute “culturally differentiated enclaves” within the United States and thus warrant further study. A phenomenon similar to the French gaze behavior, which Hall noted, can be found in one Louisiana French region -

Pointe Coupee Parish - where residents not only look directly at the people they pass on the sidewalk, but also look through the windshields of passing cars directly at the drivers. Growing up in this culture, I was accustomed to this shared practice and knew many other local residents and the vehicles they drove, whether they were their own, their parents' or friends'. I moved away from my hometown for ten years, spending time in northern Louisiana, Texas, and Colorado. When I returned, I had forgotten about this custom of looking into passing cars and found it disconcerting when other locals would tell me where they saw me. As Hall would put it, I had become accustomed to a different sensory world outside of my cultural enclave. Subconsciously or not, I had in fact changed many aspects of my communication patterns since leaving for boarding school at the age of fifteen. Classmates from urban areas ridiculed the way I spoke, so I adopted pronunciation and syntax more acceptable to them. Other changes were subtler and went largely unnoticed until I moved back home after a decade spent mostly in urban areas outside of French Louisiana.

Although French was the language of the majority of early settlers, as Klingler (2003) notes, the settlers were far from a homogenous group. There were many other cultures present, which influenced in different ways the languages and cultural practices throughout Louisiana's French Triangle. While varieties of Louisiana French are still spoken in some areas, the number of fluent speakers is declining. Over time, English has replaced French as the *lingua franca* in all aspects of life for most people in the area.

This study addresses the question: What happens to nonverbal aspects of culture in situations of language loss? More specifically, I seek to identify the extent to which nonverbal patterns have been maintained or declined among the monolingual Creole

English descendants in one historically French Creole county of south Louisiana, Pointe Coupee Parish. To answer this, I examine the frequency with which participants gesture, the sphere in which gestures are performed, and the category and form of gestures exhibited by Pointe Coupee Creole (PCC) bilingual and Pointe Coupee Creole English (PCCE) monolingual Creoles in Pointe Coupee Parish. As preliminary findings demonstrated that PCC speakers possess a nonverbal system uncannily similar to French monolingual speakers noted in research discussed in Chapter 2, the data from this study reveal that PCC speakers do in fact display the French gestural code in conjunction with the English verbal code and also that some trends are maintained in PCCE speakers one to two generations removed from the PCC language.

Chapter 2 presents previous research pertinent to this study, while Chapter 3 gives a brief history of the evolving sociolinguistic situation of present-day Pointe Coupee Parish, Louisiana. Research methods are addressed in Chapter 4, while Chapter 5 discusses the findings and analysis of the results. Finally, Chapter 6 concludes with a discussion of the broader implications of the current findings for language, culture, and gesture studies.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Why Do We Gesture?

“Le corps est un gant dont le doigt serait la pensée. Pensée, poussée, pouce et pincée qui sont presque homonymes, sont presque synonymes,” (p.30) [“The body is a glove whose finger is thought. Thought, thrust, thumb and pinch which are almost homonyms are almost synonyms,” (Trans. Piper, 1985, p.12)]. When student of French theater and mime Étienne Decroux (1963) writes these words, he expresses that we use gesture, including body posture, facial expression, and movement of the head, arms, fingers, etc., with or without accompanying verbal language, in order to transform and transmit our thoughts to others. Decroux’s contributions to the field of corporal mime moved away from simple pantomime or mimicking to a closer study of dramatic movement now referred to as “classical mime.” His students included Jean-Louis Barrault and Marcel Marceau. From the perspective of silent theater, Decroux describes his theory on acting, *“Voici la loi: plus un texte est riche, plus la musique de l’acteur doit être pauvre; plus un texte est pauvre, plus la musique de l’acteur doit être riche,”* (p. 54) [“Here’s the law: The richer the text, the poorer the actor’s music must be; the poorer the text, the richer the actor’s music must be” (Trans. Piper, 1985, p. 35)]. In the case of mime, the text is absent and, therefore, all information must be conveyed through nonverbal means. In explaining the importance of attention to the physical forms of expression, Decroux writes, *“On voit que si la langue écrite était suffisante, si elle disait vraiment tout ce qu’il y a à dire et dans le temps voulu, la diction, de ce fait, deviendrait inutile, au moins en étant qu’art positif: ce serait une imprimerie orale dont les sons plats du télégraphe peuvent donner quelque idée lointaine,”* (p. 55) [“If written language were

sufficient, if it really said everything there is to say in the desired time, then diction would become useless, at least as a positive art; it would be an oral printing, vaguely analogous to the flat sounds of the telegraph,” (Trans. Piper, 1985, p. 36)]. For Decroux, the silent actor’s art is in conveying meaning through the body just as the author expresses his art through words in the composition of the text. While a text, which already provides the necessary contextual background, can communicate similar information, Decroux recognizes the importance of non-verbal communication in the efficiency of “real time” communication, as well as in the dramatic arts.

In his article, “The Rationale of Gestures in the West: Third to Thirteenth Centuries” (in Bremmer & Roodenburg, 1992), Jean-Claude Schmitt examines the importance of gestures during the Middle Ages, calling Europe at this time a “gestural culture” (p. 59). As Decroux noted in the world of mime, the poorer the text, the greater the need for gestures in communication, Schmitt explains the weakness of literacy during this period necessitated this “culture of gestures” where, until the thirteenth century, gestures were more powerful than written legal documents. Schmitt notes the medieval view of humans consisting of two parts: body and soul, where gestures “embodied the dialectic between *intus* and *fortus* since they were supposed to outwardly express the ‘secret movements’ of the soul within” (p. 60). He goes on to acknowledge the existence of different “gestural communities” among lay people, monks, canons, and knights and states that in this ritualized society, gestures expressed hierarchies and “permitted everyone to confirm his belonging to one particular group” (pp. 61-62). Schmitt concludes that, among other things, “the development of literacy, and the growing

complexity of social encounters limited the scope of gestures in the context of other modes of communication and submitted them to more stringent control” (p. 69).

Giovanni Bonifacio (1547-1645) held that gestures are more natural than language and could even be considered as universally understood, as with deictic pointing. In compiling a dictionary of gestures and their rhetorical functions, Bonifacio claims that due to their universal nature, gestures provide additional information to help to cut the ambiguity of spoken language (as cited in Kendon, 2004, p. 326).

2.2. How Do We Gesture?

Attention to the performance of bodily movements in time and space was essential for Decroux (1963). He lists four “means of diction” available to actors or speakers: (1) inflection; (2) speed of delivery; (3) physical force (explosion or slow and regular push); and (4) opposites in expression. On the grammatical plane, in describing speech, these four features are expressed as adverbs and adjectives, but the nonverbal communicative plane contributes similarly to the text (p. 52). Actors can thus easily misrepresent the original communicative intent of the author; Decroux cautions in calling for actors to pay careful attention to gestures, the form, timing, and force of their gestures.

Focusing primarily on hand and head movements to the exclusion of the face, posture, walk, or eye movements, Efron’s (1972/1941) groundbreaking study, described further below, distinguishes three aspects of nonverbal communication: (1) the spatio-temporal aspect which includes a gesture’s radius, form, plane, and tempo, as well as the body parts involved; (2) the interlocutional or interactive aspect which covers familiarity

among interlocutors, simultaneous gesturing, conversational grouping, as well as the use of objects in gesturing, and; (3) the linguistic aspect which holds two broad classifications of gesture: the logical-discursive, which is described as “bodily re-enactments of the ideation process” and include batons and ideographs (described below), and objective gestures which have meaning independent of speech. These include deictic gestures, emblems, iconographs, and kinetographic gestures (p. 9-11).

Ekman and Freisen (1969) reformulate Efron’s three aspects as five categories of non-verbal behavior. The first, ***emblems***, they define as “those non-verbal acts which have a direct verbal translation, or dictionary definition, usually consisting of a word or two or perhaps a phrase and possess a socially acknowledged communicative status” (as cited in Kendon, 2004, p. 96). These are not necessarily obviously descriptive or pantomimic, but they have a standard meaning within a particular community and can take the place of a word or phrase. Examples of emblems include the “okay” signal formed by making a circle with the thumb and index finger and extending the remaining fingers, and the “quiet” signal formed by placing the index finger over closed lips.

Illustrators are those gestures that are directly tied to speech and serve to illustrate visually some aspect of what is communicated verbally. For Ekman and Freisen there are six types of illustrators: (1) *batons*, which “time out, accent or emphasize a particular word or phrase.” An example of a baton could be a speaker tapping the table with each noun phrase in a list of noun phrases for emphasis; (2) *ideographs*, which “sketch a path or direction of thought”; (3) *deictic movements*, which point to a person, place, object, or event in time, and can be a simple index point or a head nod at the intended referent; (4) *spatial movements*, which depict direction or distance, such as illustrating the location of

a person or place in relation to the speaker; (5) *kinetographs*, which depict bodily motions such as running and jumping; and finally (6) *pictographs*, in which speakers use gestures to trace out in space a picture of their referent. *Affect displays*, Ekman and Freisen's third category of gesture, consists mainly of facial expressions of emotion. Next are *regulators*, which maintain the flow of the conversation via back-channeling, controlling turn at talk, and expressing speaker and listener attitudes. Finally, *adaptors* are defined as "movements . . . first learned as part of adaptive efforts to satisfy self or bodily needs or to perform bodily actions or to manage emotions or to develop or maintain prototypic interpersonal contacts or to learn instrumental activities," (as cited in Kendon, 2004, pp. 96-97). Adaptors include blinking the eyes, fidgeting, and twirling hair. Kendon argues that these categories can overlap depending upon perspective, and that interactive behavior is best analyzed in terms of a multiple set of scales or dimensions of comparison, such as the degree to which behavior is conventionalized, the nature of link with speech, the extent and nature of the affectivity it shows, the interactive role, and the degree of behavior (pp. 97-98).

Kendon (1988) views gestures as existing along a continuum with highly conventionalized gestures at one end, such as in the sign language performed by the deaf, and "idiosyncratic spontaneous movements" at the other (as cited in Kendon, 2004, pp. 104-106). McNeil (2005) later named this conceptualization of gestures, "Kendon's continuum." He expounds upon the notion by placing the spontaneous "gesticulations" at one extreme, followed by "speech-linked gestures," emblems, and pantomime before "signs" at the other end of the continuum. See Figure 1.

Gesticulation ↔ Emblems ↔ Pantomime ↔ Sign Language

Figure 1. “Kendon’s continuum” of spontaneous to conventionalized gestures.
(McNeill, 2005, p. 5)

Like Decroux, McNeill (2005) notes two types of reciprocal changes in moving from gesticulations to signs: (1) there is a decrease in the need for accompanying speech, and (2) there is an increase in language-like properties demonstrated by the gestures. But for McNeill, this continuum is more accurately described as a web of continua based on factors such as a gesture’s relationship to speech, relationship to linguistic properties, relationship to social conventions, as well as the character of semiosis (pp. 5-11).

McNeill also proposes a mechanism through which utterances unfold, which he labels the *growth point*, and defines two aspects of an utterance: (1) the *linguistic categorical aspect*, which is made manifest in speech, and (2) the *imagistic aspect*, which is made manifest in gesture. For McNeill gestures are either *imagistic*, which depict form or movement and can be iconic or metaphoric; or *non-imagistic*, such as deictic gestures or beats. McNeill’s primary interest is in “idiosyncratic spontaneous movements of gesticulation,” a term borrowed from Kendon’s continuum, because it is through these gestures that he claims, “People unwittingly display their inner thoughts and ways of understanding events of the world... [And] memories and thoughts are rendered visible.” McNeill continues, “Gestures are like thought themselves. They belong, not to the outside world, but to the inside one of memory, thought and mental images” (p. 12). These distinctions facilitate further discussions of gestural practices in social contexts.

2.3. Differences in Gestural Styles

While gestures such as deictic movements may to some extent be universally understood, there is also a great deal of evidence for cultural specificity in gestural practices. Various researchers, such as Bremmer and Roodenburg (1992), Calbris (1990), Efron (1972), Hall (1966), Haviland (1993), McNeill (1992), Morris, Collet, Marsh, and O'Shaughnessy (1979), and Wylie (1977) describe the structure of gestures within specific cultures. These studies provide evidence of cultural differences in nonverbal communication practices.

Hall (1966) introduced the concept of proxemics, which he defined as the study of human use of space within a cultural context, and as previously mentioned argued that human perceptions of space are patterned by culture. Influenced by the difficulties Boas encountered due to projecting “the hidden rules of one language on the language being studied,” Hall claimed that the different cultural paradigms for defining and organizing space were both internalized and unconscious based on selective screening of sensory data (p. 1). Extending Whorf's theories on language to culture, Hall writes, “People from different cultures not only speak different languages but, what is possibly more important, *inhabit different sensory worlds*. Experience as it is perceived through one set of culturally patterned sensory screens is quite different from experience perceived through another,” (p. 2, emphasis Hall's). While Hall has been criticized for his “vague blend of cultural and biological determinism,” (Griffin, p. 66), he initiated a discussion on culturally determined space with implications for numerous fields of study.

Hall was influenced by Hediger's (1950, 1955, 1961) work in animal psychology in which Hediger noted a “personal distance” or normal spacing maintained among non-

contact animals¹. This personal distance functions as an invisible bubble around the animal; when the bubbles of two animals overlap, they are more intimately involved as would be appropriate for sex or fighting. Hediger claims that birds and mammals not only have territories, but a series of uniform distances, which they maintain from each other. Hediger classified these uniform distances as: flight, critical, personal, and social distances. Hall claims that humans too maintain uniform personal and social distances from one another, but that the flight and critical zones have largely been eliminated among humans (in Hall, 1966, p.13-14).

Like Hediger, Hall (1966) also notes that social organization is a factor in personal distance, with more dominant individuals having larger bubbles and subordinate individuals yielding room to the dominant. For most species of animals if the adumbrative system fails as personal territory is infringed upon, vicious fighting typically results. Hall discusses the “adumbrative” or foreshadowing act of communication as important in establishing acceptable boundaries between interlocutors and a speaker’s ability to recognize subtle changes in an addressee’s demeanor as they respond to what is being said.

In setting out to determine the number of different distances perceived by the human senses, Hall first proposed eight distances, which he later reduced to four, each with a close phase and a far phase: intimate, personal, social, and public distances, so named to provide a clue as to the types of activities and relationships associated with each distance (p. 114). It should be noted that the data Hall obtained comes from middle-class Americans from the Northeast. Hall does emphasize that the generalizations he

¹ Non-contact animal species are those not requiring regular physical contact among members of the group beyond infancy.

makes are not representative of human behavior in general, but only of the sample group; noting different proxemics patterns among “Negroes and Spanish Americans” (p. 16).

The following is a description of the close and far phases of Hall’s four distance zones with corresponding images all taken from Hall (1966). Hall claims that most people in the United States consider displays of intimate distance among adults in public to be inappropriate. The close phase of intimate distance is reserved for love making, wrestling, comforting, and protecting. Physical contact, or at least the high probability of contact, is foremost in the awareness of both parties. The far phase of intimate distance is 6 to 18 inches. Hall claims that the ability to focus the eye easily is important for the Americans he observed; noting, “Much of the physical discomfort that Americans experience when foreigners are inappropriately inside the intimate sphere is expressed as a distortion of the visual system” leading to remarks such as “I’m cross-eyed” or someone is “in my face” (p. 117-118).

Personal distance, a term borrowed from Hediger, is the distance consistently separating members of non-contact animal species or the “small protective sphere or bubble that an organism maintains between itself and others” (Hall, p. 119). Humans use this distance in discussing topics of personal interest and involvement. According to Hall, the close phase of personal distance (1.5 to 2.5 feet) is near enough to grasp an interlocutor but without any visual distortion. Of personal distance Hall writes, “Where people stand in relationship to each other signals their relationship, or how they feel toward each other or both” (p. 120). The far phase of personal distance (2.5 to 4 feet) extends just beyond the point where one interlocutor can easily touch another. Far

personal distance or keeping someone “at arms length,” thus in a very real sense marks the limits of possible physical domination.

Social distance among humans lies just beyond the “limit of domination,” and Hall claims there is little difference between the close and far social phases. Co-workers conduct impersonal business in the close phase of social distance (4 to 7 feet). Hall notes that Americans were observed shifting gaze from eye-to-eye to eye-to-mouth at the close social distance. While less involved than the close phase, it is more important for speakers to maintain visual contact in the far phase of social distance (7 to 12 feet), but it is not necessary to shift gaze from the eyes to the mouth, as the far social phase is the “stand away so I can see you” distance.

Public distance is so named as it is used by public speakers such as politicians and teachers. The close phase (12 to 25 feet) is for a more “formal style” while at the far phase (over 25 feet), Hall notes that speakers must amplify voice and non-verbal communication. Hall also states that the distance automatically set around public figures is 30 feet.

Hall (1966) claims it is the nature of animals, including man, to exhibit behavior, which we call territoriality, and in so doing, use the senses to distinguish between one space or distance and another. The specific distance chosen depends on the transaction; the relationship of the interacting individuals, how they feel, and what they are doing,” (Hall, p. 128). For Hall, understanding speakers as surrounded by these zones offers a new perspective on individual speakers: “Some individuals never develop the public phase of their personality and, therefore, cannot fill public spaces; they make very poor speakers or moderators. As many psychiatrists know, other people have trouble with the

intimate and personal zones and cannot endure closeness to others” (Hall, p. 115). Later researchers, such as Burgoon and Hale (1988), elaborate on Hall’s proxemics theory. Burgoon and Hale acknowledge Hall’s culturally appropriate distance, but claim that breaking proxemic norms can help the offender achieve some communicative intentions.

Hall is criticized for making broad generalizations of national cultures, as his claims are largely unsubstantiated with empirical evidence (Griffin, p. 66). Pointing out that Hall’s conclusions appear to be based on anecdotal episodes, Cardon (2008) notes that Hall does not describe his methodology in developing his theories of proxemics and high- and low-context cultures and that his methods of qualitative data collection would not be considered rigorous by today’s standards (p. 402). While Hall’s theories have been challenged by later researchers, he succeeded in calling attention to communicative space and providing useful terminology for future discussions in various fields of study.

2.3.1. Gesture and Verbal Language

One of the first modern researchers to investigate natural, interactive communication, Birdwhistell (1970/1952) asserts that speakers employ gestures to mark pronouns, pluralization, and location. In noting a “system of kinesic markers,” Birdwhistell also saw that co-verbal gestures are “highly patterned and show structural features that are analogous to features of speech” (as cited in Kendon, 2004, p. 77). Drawing these parallels, Birdwhistell (1970) applied terms from the field of structural linguistics to his kinesics analysis and defined a “*kine*” as the smallest unit of motion. Analogous to a phoneme, a *kineme* is the smallest discrete element of motion, which is made up of *allokines* (p. 15).

In his report on the pointing practices of the Guugu Yimithirr, an aboriginal Queensland Australian community, Haviland (1993) discusses the link between the language's morphology and the frequent use of gestural deictic devices within the Guugu Yimithirr speech community. Because the Guugu Yimithirr language itself is anchored in its cardinal-direction roots, it possesses a highly deictic verbal and nonverbal language system. Noting that gestures were used to compensate for ambiguous syntax, Haviland details the way in which linguistic structure dictates the organization of gestures within the Guugu Yimithirr communication and argues that a spoken language's grammar and lexicon influence that linguistic group's cultural practice of gesticulation.

Viewing speech and co-verbal gesture as inseparable parts of the utterance, McNeill (2005/1992) also argues for the influence of a language's grammatical structures and semantic categories on its speaker's gestural practices. In his study, McNeill showed participants an animated cartoon and then filmed them re-telling a scene to someone who has not seen the clip. This elicited narrative strategy allows for a close look at the cultural use of gestures with regards to the grammatical and semantic systems of different languages. McNeill finds that the speakers of different languages employ different linguistic devices to depict the same scene verbally and that these are accompanied by an equally divergent set of gestures.

In acknowledging the existence of different "gestural societies," Schmitt (in Bremner & Roodenburg, 1992) comments on the tendency to make comparisons across cultures and time, and notes that "Although we usually think that we are using fewer or more moderate gestures than our ancestors or our neighbors (the Italians as viewed by the French, the French by the Americans), in our own culture gestures fulfill crucial

ideological and practical functions” (p.62). He also states that gestural styles do “change from one place to another and from one time to another” (p. 62).

Burke (in Bremmer & Roodenburg, 1992) examines gesture in early modern Italy and discusses the heightened interest in gestural practices during the seventeenth century. He enumerates distinct differences in the gestural practices among southern and northern Europeans. Citing numerous period studies including, from England: Bacon, Bulwer, and various travelers' accounts; from France: Montaigne, Pascal, La Bruyère, La Rochefoucauld, and Courtin's “Nouveau traité de la civilité” (1671); and from Spain: Carlos García's 1617 treatise describing the “antipathy” between French and Spanish nonverbal communication styles, Burke describes gestures as “a sub-system within the larger system of communication which we call ‘culture’” (in Bremmer & Roodenburg, 1992, p.72). The cited works, Burke claims, reveal an interest in the psychology and sociology of gestures in different “domains of gesture” (home, court, church, etc.) and among different speakers: “There was at this time an increase in concern not only with the vocabulary of the language of gesture (exemplified by Bonifacio's attempt to compile a historical dictionary), but also with its ‘grammar’ (in the sense of the rules for correct expression) with its various dialects (or sociolects)” (p. 75).

Burke (in Bremmer & Roodenburg, 1992) blames the moral discipline of the Counter-Reformation for the gestural reform he describes during this period. He cites bishops writing in favor of “gravity in gestures, their walking and their bodily style” and fifteenth century humanists who warned nobles, young girls, and others to be modest in their movements (p. 76). Thus in a time where religion and social convention dominated daily life, the gestural reformers' adopted as their ideal the Spanish model, which was

grave and motionless when compared to the Italian and French gestural styles. Burke is careful to mention that the Spanish model simply met the “pre-existing demand” of the proponents of gestural reform for stricter control over bodily movements (p. 79).

Noting Norbert Elias’ (1994) study of the “process of civilization,” by which he means “self-control,” in northern Europe and Michel Foucault’s *Surveiller et punir: naissance de la prison* (1975) and *Histoire de la sexualité* (1976-1984), Burke (in Bremmer & Roodenburg, 1992) points out that this gestural reform was part of a broader western trend toward moderation and not for Italians alone. He goes on to hypothesize that the reformers were more successful in the northern Protestant Europe (Britain and the Netherlands) than in the Catholic south, and that the still prevalent stereotype of the “gesticulating Italian” reflects the contrast in the two gestural cultures which emerged in the reformist climate of Europe’s early modern period.

Muchembled’s framework (in Bremmer & Roodenburg, 1992) for examining gesture in France’s Ancien Régime centers on two concepts: (1) following Goffman, he views the world as a theater where social relations are continuously being redefined; and (2) like Hall based in ethology, observes the universal need in animals and humans for a “‘territory of [one’s] own,’ which every individual uses in order to come into contact with others or to avoid them” (p.130). He continues, “We issue signals (especially gestures) codified to indicate an expression of respect, a demand for consideration, or even a desire for confrontation” (in Bremmer & Roodenburg, 1992, p.131). However, Muchembled (in Bremmer & Roodenburg, 1992) remarks that this territory varies depending on the social situation, or age or sex of the interlocutors, as well as upon an individual’s culture or world-view. Admitting differences between the educated elite and

the “dominant groups” of society, he emphasizes the “close tie between gestures and culture in the lower and dominant classes of society” (p. 133). Noting the differences in gestural styles among the urban elite and among rural and lower class groups, Muchembled points to Erasmus’ *De civilitate morum puerilium*, in which he explains that the urban elite of the Ancien Régime quickly adopted to set themselves apart. Muchembled cites manuals on civility, legal sources - including numerous police regulations that were apparently unheeded by the peasants, as well as art and literature as evidence of the ruling class’s disdain for the ignoble gesticulating of the common people. Of nonverbal communication during the Ancien Régime in France, Muchembled summarizes, “The modernization of gestures manifests itself in a repudiation of everything that is too animal in man,” (in Bremmer & Roodenburg, 1992, p. 137). In writing, “No human society is purely ‘natural’; in this sense, gestures equally partake of culture,” (p.130), Muchembled explains how a self-conscious European society of this time diverges from nature, or the naturalness, of gestures.

In his introduction to *Beaux Gestes*, Wylie (1977) acknowledges the tendency to focus on the importance of words in a conversation, while overlooking the significance of other signals. Stressing attention to the nonverbal aspects of communication, Wylie writes, “We communicate not only with our voices, but with our entire bodies and the space around them,” (p. vii). He notes differences in the gestural practices of the Italians, Eastern European Jews, French, British, and U.S. citizens, and claims that while one can be highly fluent in a second language, he may misunderstand (or miss completely) the nonverbal signals, which are so closely linked to culture. Witnessing the French upper class punishing their children for talking with their hands, Wylie comments on the social

implications of gesture: “Intellectuals gesture fewer than less educated people, upper class fewer than lower classes, adults fewer than children, women fewer than men, and sober people fewer than drunks,” (p. ix). Intended as an educational tool for U.S. citizens learning the French language and culture, *Beaux Gestes* illustrates and describes through photographs and text some recognizable “unusual or amusing” French gestures. Wylie notes that while some of the gestures enumerated may not be unique to France, they have a distinct “French twist” (p. xii).

As another demonstration of the relationship between a group’s language and its distinct gestural styles, Calbris (1990) enumerates two lists of French emblematic gestures and analyzes the rate of comprehension of these French nonverbal expressions among French, Hungarian, and Japanese participants. Observing cross-cultural misinterpretations of these movements, she finds that, due to their close ties to linguistic expressions, emblems are conventionalized and highly culture-specific. Thus, they are socially acquired.

2.3.1.1 Language Obsolescence

Wolfram (2002) writes, “For as long as humans have used language to communicate, particular languages have been dying. In an important sense, obsolescence is simply part of the natural life cycle of language,” (in Chambers, Trudgill, & Schilling-Estes, p. 764). Wolfram also notes that language varieties are increasingly endangered and sets out to describe the sociolinguistic phenomenon of language death. He lists four primary types of language death identified by Campbell and Muntzel (1989) and notes that gradual language death due to contact with other languages is most common.

Pointing to earlier research (Schilling-Estes, 1998), Wolfram asserts that a complex array of factors is involved in language obsolescence (p. 767-768). Causes and models of language loss are equally varied. For example, some culturally marked features are not lost as a speech variety declines, as was the case with some linguistic features among the Smith Island English community (Schilling-Estes 1997, 2000; Shilling-Estes and Wolfram 1999). Wolfram (2002) points out that while language death is most noticeable at the lexical level as the declining language borrows vocabulary from a more dominant language, all levels of language organization (phonology, morphology, syntax, and language usage) are affected by language death (p. 772-777).

Acknowledging the large degree of variability within all language varieties, Wolfram (2002) claims that, “this variation often reflects language change in progress,” (p.777). Numerous researchers, including King (1989) and Holloway (1997), note a correlation between age and fluency in obsolescing linguistic forms. Wolfram critiques Holloway’s claim that the lack of social saliency is responsible to generational variation, as Labov (1972) notes that there may also be subconscious causes (p. 778). Thus Wolfram asserts there are independent linguistic and social constraints, which may affect variability (p. 779).

Wolfram (2002) also points out that some marked linguistic features are maintained in language obsolescence. “While there may be a profusion of variability in language death because of the number of linguistic structures undergoing change simultaneously, our investigation suggests that some receding structures may, in fact, take on social meaning,” (p. 780). This can lead to increased language variability. Thus

Wolfram concludes, “Language death is a complex sociolinguistic process involving alternative paths to obsolescence,” (p. 781).

2.3.2. Cultural Influence on Gesture

As Bloomfield (1933) notes, “gesture accompanies all speech... and to a large extent is governed by social convention,” (as cited in Kendon 2004, 67). In his efforts to transcribe the unwritten languages of the Native American peoples at the end of the nineteenth century, Franz Boas, a German immigrant, had to learn to distinguish between insignificant and significant behaviors, and, in doing so, notes differences in the gestural patterns or styles of different groups. Boas (1969) later writes: “The behavior of an individual is determined not by his racial affiliation, but by the character of his ancestry and his cultural environment” (p. 27). However, some credit for this notion must be given to a study by one of his students, David Efron.

Efron’s (1972/1941) comparative experimental study of traditional and assimilated populations of Eastern European Jews and Southern Italians living in New York City, as Kendon (2004, p. 66) notes, was in part motivated by the desire to disprove Nazi propaganda theories on racial disparities. As stereotypes predicted, Efron did find distinct differences in the nonverbal communicative styles of the two groups, but he also noted fewer differences in the gestural styles of the more assimilated younger generations, thus illustrating that gesture depends on ambient culture rather than on racial or ethnic heritage. As the culture of each successive generation varies somewhat depending on the prevailing social factors of the day, Efron finds that gestures, too, shift with the cultural identity of a group of people.

As mentioned above, Efron examines the physical movements of subsets of the two populations from spatio-temporal, interlocutional, and linguistic perspectives. He finds that the gestures of the traditional Jewish and Italian groups exhibit more difference between the two groups than those of the younger, more assimilated groups, and that the different groups perform these movements within different gestural spheres. Efron also notes that communicators from the Jewish population maintain relatively close personal spheres, while Italians gesture widely and freely. Kendon cites this cross-cultural multi-generational study as “conclusive evidence” of cultural influence on gestural conduct (pp. 330-334).

As previously noted, gaze behavior has also proven to be culture specific. While Hall (1966) finds that the French exhibit direct gaze among speakers and even people they pass on the street, Whiffen (1915) notes that among Native American communities it is common that neither speaker nor listener look at the other during natural interpersonal interaction. Hall also describes differences in the gaze behavior of U.S. citizens and English, finding that an American’s gaze wanders while listening and speaking and only occasionally will they look directly at their interlocutors to ensure comprehension, which Hall explains may be due to the U.S. notion that it is rude to stare. An English listener, on the other hand looks straight at the speaker, blinking the eyes to show attention, instead of the nodding of the head and grunting common among U.S. citizens (p. 143). In a comparative study of Anglo-American and Afro-American gaze patterns Erickson (1979) finds reverse results for the two groups. According to the study, African American speakers gaze at the addressees more frequently than African American addressees gaze at the speaker, while Anglo-American speakers tend to gaze at their

addressees less frequently than Anglo-American addressees gaze at the speaker. Studies such as these support the claim that differences in gaze behavior are due to cultural not linguistic differences.

In examining the three European cultures with the closest historical and cultural ties to middle-class U.S. citizens (i.e. English, German, and French), Hall (1966) notes that it was only when these Americans interacted with foreigners that cultural differences in perceived intrusions in the previously mentioned spatial zones became apparent, “so that what was intimate in one culture might be personal or even public in another” (p. 128). This is the case that Hall describes in the gaze patterns of Americans and English as well as in interactions between Americans and Germans. Hall notes that American definitions of what is *outside* their personal territory would be considered *inside* the German’s territory (p. 133). On the other hand, what for an American interlocutor would be considered *inside* a shared space and thus open for conversation, is often viewed by the English as an intrusion. Thus Hall finds that the German personal sphere is larger than that of the Americans whose personal sphere is in turn larger than that of the English. The French, Hall explains tend to crowd together more and thus are more sensorily involved, linking them more closely to Mediterranean cultures than to northern Europeans, English, and Americans. Hall claims that, “evidence of French emphasis on the senses appears not only in the way the French eat, entertain, talk, write, crowd together in cafes, but can even be seen in the way they make their maps” (p. 144). Hall describes two major European systems for patterning space: 1) the radiating star, found in France and Spain, is *sociopetal*, connecting all points and functions. This pattern which Hall claims touches many facets of French life, makes it possible to integrate a number of

different activities in centers in less space; and 2) the grid, which the Romans adopted in Asia Minor and carried to England, is *sociofugal* as it separates activities by stringing them out along a line (p. 146-7).

U.S. citizens tend to spread out more in the layout of their cities and other spatial arrangements with others. Pointing to the automobile as an expression of culture, like language and geographical layouts, Hall writes, “The American behemoths give bulk to the ego and prevent overlapping of personal spheres inside the car so that each passenger is only marginally involved with the others,” (p. 145). Hall claims, “Man and his extensions constitute one interrelated system. It is a mistake of the greatest magnitude to act as though man were one thing and his house or his cities, his technology or his language were something else” (p. 188). Thus Hall concludes, “virtually everything man is and does is associated with the experience of space... hence there is no alternative to accepting the fact that people reared in different cultures live in different sensory worlds” and for this reason, “people from different cultures, when interpreting each other’s behavior, often misinterpret the relationship, the activity, or the emotions” (p. 181).

As Hall (1966) sees it, “the relationship between man and the cultural dimension is one in which both man and his environment participate in molding each other,” p. 4). For this reason Hall writes that man cannot divest himself from his culture, “Even when small fragments of culture are elevated to awareness, they are difficult to change, not only because they are so personally experienced but because people cannot act or interact at all in any meaningful way except through the medium of culture” (p.188).

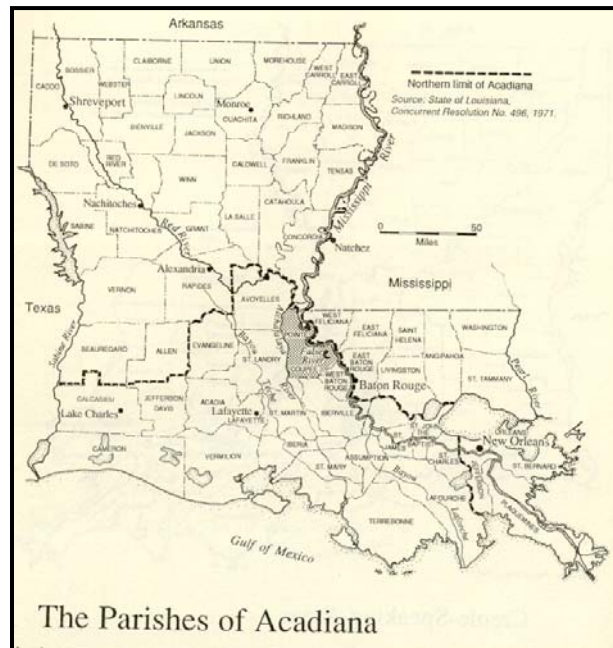
But since nonverbal aspects of communication are influenced by culture they will also change over time with social convention. Frijhoff (in Bremmer & Roodenburg,

1992) examines the public rites of kissing and embracing, and finds them to be “aggregation rites” obeying “cultural standards of public expression” (p. 230). Frijhoff concludes, if gestures, such as kissing or embracing upon greeting, are culturally dependent practices, then they are therefore also subject to changing historical conditions (p. 210).

Thus the previous research in gesture studies and related fields shows that human beings gesture to facilitate communication with others in real time. However communication is cultural, as it is linked to spoken language and to a speaker’s view of the world and how he fits into that world. This involves a speaker being rooted in a particular cultural heritage but living in a present and changing environment.

CHAPTER 3. SOCIOLINGUISTIC SKETCH OF POINTE COUPEE

Although Costello asserts that the region may have been occupied by the French *coureurs de bois* as early as 1708 (2010/199, pp. 17-18), Pointe Coupee church records dating from 1722 officially make it the third oldest European settlement in the Louisiana Purchase². Pointe Coupee Parish is located towards the northern end of Louisiana's *French Triangle*, sometimes referred to as the *Parishes of Acadiana* (see Figure 1). This region is the portion of the state with the strongest French influence due to the numerous francophone settlers who came in waves following LaSalle's 1682 claim of all territories drained by the Mississippi for France and Iberville's 1699 expedition upriver past present day Pointe Coupee.



Map 1. Louisiana's French Triangle
(Source: State of Louisiana, Concurrent Resolution No. 496, 1971.
As cited in Klingler, 2003, xxii)

² After Natchitoches in 1714 and New Orleans in 1717.

The settlement at Pointe Coupee was from the onset Creole. The term *Creole* is fairly ambiguous and has been applied differently throughout the history of Louisiana to describe an ethnically diverse group of people, local Louisiana produce or manufactured goods, or the language often described as a *Negro-French patois*. Originally a seventeenth century loan word from the Portuguese *criollo*, the term appears to have first been used during the colonial period to describe descendants of Europeans (primarily French and Spanish) who were born outside of Europe (Read, 1963/1931, p. 33; Valdman, 1996, p.10). During the period of slavery, Creole was also used to distinguish those descendants of Africans born in the colony from those who had known freedom in Africa. Creole slaves were considered more valuable to the white Creole landowners, as they were already familiar with the French language and culture. To confuse matters further, the term Creole was also used as an adjective to designate anything produced in the new world by the Creole people and, “considered therefore of peculiar excellence,” (Read, 1963/1931, p. 32).

The people described as *Creole* in this paper are the descendants of non-Anglo European settlers and Africans born in colonial Louisiana. Creole people today can be white, mixed race, or dark-skinned, but their ancestors predate other French settlers in Louisiana such as the Acadians or Cajuns, who arrived in Louisiana between 1764 and 1785 after being expelled from Canada by the British. The language of the Pointe Coupee Creole people is also quite different from the language spoken by these Acadian settlers and their descendants. While the origins of the Pointe Coupee Creole language (PCC) remain unclear, Klingler (2003) asserts that it most likely developed within the “multilingual colonial society” and was not imported by refugees of the revolution on

Saint-Domingue (p. 91). While PCC is based strongly upon the French lexicon with several borrowings from West African languages, the language structure, discussed extensively by Klingler, differs drastically from internationally recognized varieties of French.

In order to understand the current linguistic situation of Pointe Coupee, we must examine the geography and early history of the region.

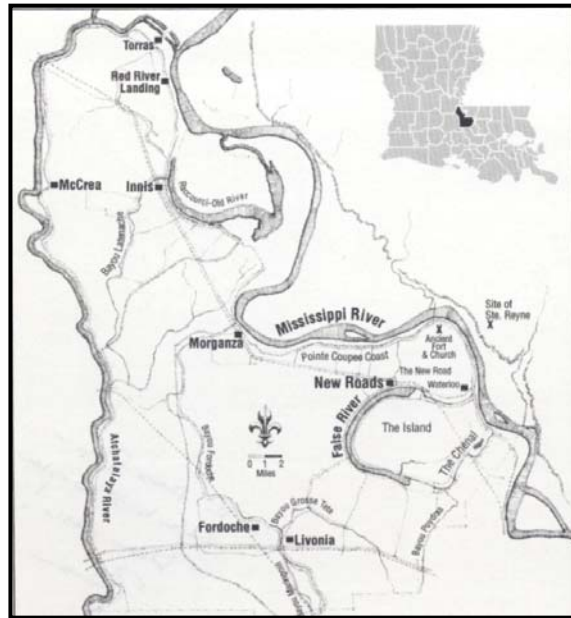
3.1. Geography

Settlement in the parish was greatly influenced by the three rivers that delineate its boundaries: the Mississippi to the east, the Atchafalaya to the west and the mouth of the Red River to the north. Now seen as barriers to travel, these rivers, and the lakes and bayous that spin off of them, served as passageways allowing Native Americans, early European explorers, and later waves of European and U.S. settlers access to the interior of the region, thereby facilitating travel and trade. The intersection of these rivers at the northern extremity of the parish, however, caused frequent flooding in upper Pointe Coupee, which prohibited early settlement in this portion of the parish.

The largest of the three rivers, the Mississippi, gave the parish her name, *Pointe Coupée* (French for “cut-off point”), for the point at which the river redoubled on itself and sometime around the early eighteenth century permanently changed its course to the more direct route (Costello, 2010/1999, p. 13).³ LaSalle’s 1682 expedition refers to a *rivière des risques*, which Costello asserts as evidence that the cut-off was already underway at this early date (p. 12). This shift left a 22-mile oxbow lake called *la Fausse*

³ There were actually several “pointes coupées” as the Mississippi is characterized by many sharp bends, which are bypassed by the natural flow of the river during periods of flooding. Upstream from False River there is another oxbow lake, Old River, within the parish boundaries.

Rivière (False River), which remained navigable from the Mississippi until the twentieth century.



Map 2. Pointe Coupee Parish
(Source: Costello 2010/1999)

3.2. Early European Settlers

As previously mentioned, *les coureurs de bois*, or French-Canadian trappers, were probably the first Europeans to explore the region extensively in the early 1700s. A few of these men may have remained in the area, as there are reports that some took Native American wives, but aside from subsequent claims in a couple of local accounts from 1892 and 1914 there is no primary source evidence to support this (Costello, 2010/1999, pp. 17-19).

Appointed by French Regent Philippe d'Orléans to govern the region, John Law's Company of the Indies established a concession system, which was intended to cultivate selected territories and attract the area's first inhabitants (Costello, 2010/1999, p. 18). Early settlers were few in number, but increased exponentially during the period of

French Rule. A 1726 census enumerates only four families and a total of 17 people in Pointe Coupee. The following year's census reveals only a slight population increase to 29 residents. In 1745, just eighteen years later, 779 inhabitants were reported in the parish including 426 slaves (as cited in Costello, 2010/1999, pp. 18-26).

Since the northern portion of the present day parish was deemed uninhabitable without levees to protect it, the Pointe Coupee Coast (see Map 2), the area just south of the Mississippi where the river runs west to east was settled first (Costello, 2010/1999, p.27). But after numerous crevasses at the Pointe Coupee Coast, many settlers moved southeast to settle along the calmer banks of False River. This settlement at False River, which was first documented in 1764 by British Captain Philip Pittman, came to be called *Chemin Neuf* (later translated to the plural *New Roads*, as it is known today) after a new road was built in the mid-1700s facilitating travel between this community and the Pointe Coupee Coast (Costello, 2010/1999, p. 38). Around 1717, a fort was built at the upper junction of the Mississippi and False River near an area called Waterloo, to serve as the shipping port. The lower junction of the present day oxbow lake was named *Chenal*, or channel, (and is still known by the French name today). This remained a navigable channel or passageway to the Mississippi in times of flooding. The Mississippi River's changing course created a temporary island to the east of False River surrounded by the waters of the Mississippi. This isolated area is still referred to as the "Island" or the "Island side" even though the channels and bayous once connecting False River to the Mississippi have long since receded. The first bridge to the Island was not completed until 1886 on the lower Chenal; before this all travel was by boat. (Costello, 2010/1999, pp. 66-67). Today, the Island is accessible by land at either end of False River.

The first families to settle at the Pointe Coupee Coast and False River came predominantly from various regions of France, French-Canadian settlements, and French settlements in other parts of the present-day United States such as Vincennes, Biloxi, Detroit, Natchez, Natchitoches and New Orleans (Costello, 2010/1999, p. 20). Other early residents came in much smaller numbers from Italy, Germany, Switzerland, Spain, and England (see Barron, 1978; Costello, 2010/1999; David, 1976; Catholic Diocese of Baton Rouge, 2002; Klingler, 2003; and U.S. Census Records, 1810-1860). Klingler mentions the first British colonist residing in Pointe Coupee in 1772. He also notes early U. S. citizens in the parish from North Carolina, Massachusetts and Virginia but labels the linguistic influence of their presence as “negligible” (2003, p. 100). As French was the language of the ruling class of wealthy planters and the vast majority of colonists in the region spoke some variant of French, non-francophone groups adopted the local French Creole language (Klingler, 1992, p. 63).

For situations of language contact, Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) mention the notion of a group’s *ethnovitality*, and delineate three categories of factors important for the analysis of the sustainability of an ethno-speech community:

- (1) *Status (economic, social, historical and language),*
- (2) *Demography (distribution and numbers), and*
- (3) *Formal and institutional support, (308-9).*

Thus despite the presence of these diverse groups among the area’s first settlers, the Pointe Coupee Coast and the settlement around False River were predominantly francophone from the moment of their inception.

3.3. Creole not Cajun

Although presently bordered on three sides by Cajun communities, the Pointe Coupee settlement was largely unaffected by the Acadian migrations following “Le Grand Dérangement” of 1755. United by the shared miseries of their Canadian expulsion, Cajuns comprised a socially cohesive group. Instead of the well-populated Creole communities more attractive to the waves of French Europeans, Klingler claims these exiles preferred to reunite with friends and family along the Acadian Coast to the south and Opelousas and Attakapas to the west (2003, pp. 100-101). Also occluding settlement in Pointe Coupee, a 1768 letter from Spanish Governor Ulloa to various established posts in the Louisiana colony (including Pointe Coupee) forbade residents from harboring Acadian exiles in an attempt to populate the unsettled southwest (Costello, 2010/1999, p. 28). While some Acadian surnames are recorded in early Catholic Church Registers of the parish held at the Diocese of Baton Rouge, Costello asserts that these were families in transit to established Cajun settlements⁴ or were the result of Pointe Coupee priests ministering to neighboring Acadian settlements (2010/1999, p. 37). The absence of Acadians in Pointe Coupee is supported by Deville’s (1962) partial record of marriage contracts through 1803, which does not include anyone from Nova Scotia. Because of this, the French language of the parish was much more affected by the steady migration of Europeans, primarily from the various regions of France. Klingler states, “This more measured influx of francophones to Pointe Coupee may help to explain why other varieties of French eventually gave way to Creole in this parish, while in other remaining Creole-speaking regions of Louisiana, the language continues to coexist with Cajun French,” (1992, p. 66). Even if a few Acadians settled in

⁴ Personal interview, 12 April 2005.

this region⁵, they were most likely to assimilate to the dominant Creole language as they were of low socioeconomic status, low demographics, and historically lacking in institutional support. Thus due to their small numbers in the parish, Acadians could not have had a significant impact on the French spoken in colonial Pointe Coupee.

3.4. Slaves and Free People of Color

Unlike the Acadians, a large number of African slaves, predominantly from West and Central Africa, were present in early Pointe Coupee (Klingler, 2003, p. 98). The first record of African presence in the parish is the 1731 census, which enumerates 55 Europeans and 53 Negro slaves (Costello, 2010/1999, p. 22). By 1745, slaves had surpassed the white population (see Barron, 1978; Riffel, 1983, p. 4; and Costello 2010/1999, p. 22), a trend that would continue throughout the period leading up to the Civil War.

Under the French system, some of these slaves were manumitted, as a 1785 Spanish census reveals four free persons of color and Sterks (1972) notes that between 1848 and 1850 sixteen slaves were released and given permission to remain in Pointe Coupee (p. 124). Several of these free people of color in the parish became wealthy planters as they are listed among those citizens able to afford private education either at home or in Europe. One notable Creole mulatto, Antoine Decuir, is listed among the largest slaveholders of Pointe Coupee in the 1860 census with 112 slaves on his plantation in the Chenal region (Costello 2010/1999, p. 73).

⁵ Klingler (2003) acknowledges some Cajun presence in Pointe Coupee in the nineteenth century (p. 101). Brasseaux (1992) found 237 Acadians in Pointe Coupee (1.8% of the population) on the 1870 Census, but stated they were highly likely to assimilate (p. 107).

In spite of their numerical majority, very little is known about linguistic trends among the slave population, as the dominant European group wrote the area's history. English and French were probably both employed by monolingual and bilingual slaves and free people of color. In fact, Costello notes that due to the temporary ban on importing slaves in 1796 and an influx of English-speaking slaves from the eastern United States, "large numbers of blacks spoke English before the majority of whites in Pointe Coupee," (p. 36). Yet because as a group they occupied a very low status and had no power in social or political realms, slaves and free persons of color, despite their numerical majority, did not have the necessary ethnovitality to have an impact on the linguistic situation of Pointe Coupee as a whole.

3.5. A Community Divided

The geographically and racially divided population was also separated socioeconomically with the wealth and prestige of large plantations on the Pointe Coupee Coast and on west bank of False River and small subsistence farms on the less accessible Island side of False River. As more Creoles moved to False River from the coast, the area that would become known as *Chemin Neuf* functioned as the metropolitan center for the settlement and was celebrated for its lavish Creole balls. Stereotypes of the inhabitants of the Island emerged from the perceived differences among the populations. A local antebellum proverb, although an oversimplification, explains the social hierarchy: "*Les messieurs de la Pointe Coupée, les gens de la Fausse Rivière, et les cadiens de l'Isle*, [The gentlemen of the Pointe Coupee Coast, the bourgeoisie of False River and the poor Frenchmen of the Island,]" (Costello, 2010/1999, p. 83).

The local Creole term *cadien*, strictly a social designation, was applied to the impoverished French-speaking Creoles of the Island, although, as previously mentioned, this was never a Cajun community (Costello, 2010/1999, p. 37, Klingler, 2003, p. 101). Brasseaux (1992) notes this usage of the term, *cadien*, throughout south Louisiana to refer to poor, non-Cajun, French-speakers (pp. 104 - 105). Ditchy (1932) also supports this usage citing a 1901 definition of *Cajun*, as a pejorative label, “sometimes used ironically but most often conveys disdain...it is applied indiscriminately to any Creole who...smells like the country and looks like a peasant,” (as cited in Bankston and Henry, 1998, p. 15). The prevalence of this label for the Creole people of the Island is evidenced in numerous publications throughout the history of the parish, as well as the fact that many younger descendants of families from the Island today continue to refer to themselves as Cajun (Dorr, 1938, Personal Interviews with CD, CB, JM and DM).

In an effort to distinguish themselves from these *Cadiens* and demonstrate their cultural eliteness, the educated Creoles of New Roads and the west bank of False River employed a more standardized and internationally understood variety of French in their speech and written communication expressing disdain for the local dialect (Costello, 2010/1999, p. 91). In this way, two distinct French speech communities⁶, a more international French in New Roads and the local Creole on the Island, defined the linguistic space of Pointe Coupee prior to the Louisiana Purchase. This division would later prove instrumental in the demise of French languages in the parish.

⁶ As defined by Gumperz (1968), a speech community is “any human aggregate characterized by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs and set off from similar aggregates by significant differences in language usage” (381).

3.6. American Influx

After the Louisiana Purchase, francophone settlers continued to arrive in Pointe Coupee from France and Canada, but they were numerically out paced by the scores of Americans moving south to seek their fortune. Evidence of the early presence of U.S. citizens comes from an 1807 Pointe Coupee tax assessor's survey enumerating 67 households, 10 of which were Anglo-Saxon (Costello, 2010/1999, p. 59). The extent of the American influx into the parish and their increasing economic situation is evident in the 1810-1860 United States Census records.

As the area around False River was heavily populated, the majority of the U. S. citizens settled in the northern and southern extremities of the parish (Pelligrin, 1949, p. 28), but Klingler (2003) does note Anglo-Saxons in "significant numbers" residing around False River, as well (p. 107). By the mid-nineteenth century, the previously mentioned flooding that prevented earlier French settlement of upper Pointe Coupee was controlled by a system of levees. By the start of the Civil War, the levees were complete along the Mississippi River in Pointe Coupee and the Atchafalaya levee construction began in 1860 (Costello, 2010/1999, pp. 69-70). This allowed the English language to establish an early stronghold in the parish, creating a monolingual northern region and a bilingual community around False River. This demographic distribution is supported by Sanford's (1906) account of the "prominent" families of the parish and Morrison's record of parish cemeteries revealing the surnames of families in Innis as a predominantly English; in Morganza, as primarily Italian and English with a few French families; and a mixture of French and English family names along both sides of False River, the Chenal, and in Lottie.

In the years before the Civil War, wealthy Anglo-Americans purchased plantations and local businesses and quickly assumed political power. As early as 1806, Anglo-Americans held the office of Parish Sheriff and retained control of the office for a considerable portion of the antebellum period (Riffel, 1983, p. 21). The small number of U.S. citizens that were noted in the 1810 and 1820 censuses of the parish were presumably poor, as few if any were recorded as holding slaves. Yet the 1850 census reveals that approximately one half of Pointe Coupee's largest slaveholders were American. By 1860, Anglo-American families owned 48 of the 63 Pointe Coupee plantations with 50 or more slaves. Americans held all plantations with more than 300 slaves and the largest Creole plantation totaled 159 slaves (Costello, 2010/1999, p. 72). Thus by the time of the Civil War, wealth and power in Pointe Coupee had shifted in favor of the growing Anglophone majority, suggesting the Americans' formidable ethnovitality.

Further evidence of Anglo-American vitality in Pointe Coupee can be found in the early school records. Although formal education was scarce in the colony⁷, public education was present in Pointe Coupee during the early American period thanks to Julien Poydras, a wealthy French immigrant who owned several plantations in Pointe Coupee and neighboring parishes. Poydras is commonly referred to as "the father of public education" because of the legislation he initiated in 1805 that resulted in the first state-funded schools in Louisiana. The only three public schools in the state in the first decades of the nineteenth century were all located in Pointe Coupee and employed both English- and French-speaking teachers. It should be noted, however, that public schools

⁷ Of the 169 Pointe Coupee residents who signed a 1769 Oath of Allegiance to Spain, 89 were unable to sign their own names and thus presumed illiterate.

were not popular at the time because, for upper class Creoles, receiving a free education was equivalent to accepting charity. Families who could afford to do so chose instead to hire private tutors and educate their children at home or to send them away to schools in New Orleans or France. Despite the early presence of public schools in Pointe Coupee, many poorer families could still not afford to send their children, as their assistance was required in the fields.

An endowment left in Poydras' last will and testament after his death in 1829 established the Poydras College for Boys, which operated under variations on the name over the years. According to an 1859 annual circular of "Poydras Military College", the school offered courses in English, French, Latin, Greek, history, geography, philosophy, political economy, algebra, geometry, calculus, chemistry, anatomy, physiology, botany, logic, drawing, and surveying. Although the French curriculum at this school was celebrated⁸, English was also emphasized as it was seen as vital to a boy's future success in business. The school required students to write weekly letters to their parents in both French and English. A listing of headmasters from 1848 until the Civil War proved revealing: in 1848, Rev. Frederick Dean, an American, served as head of school; two French priests followed him. Then in 1858, another American, A.W. Jackson filled the position and was assisted by Hypolite Didier, a native of France. Finally, Basile Vamalle, another native of France, succeeded Jackson (Costello, 2010/1999, pp. 88-89). The curriculum coupled with the alternating and simultaneous presence of French and English headmasters suggests bilingualism among the community and institutional support for both languages until the academy's closure at the onset of the Civil War.

⁸ The same 1859 Poydras Military College Annual Circular notes that the school considered math and French to be the most useful and necessary courses, boasting curriculum in the areas, "more thorough and extensive than in any Institution in the United States except West Point" (p. 7).

3.7. Bilingual Pointe Coupee

As the augmenting American presence suggests, the linguistic situation of antebellum Pointe Coupee approached the integral phase of bilingualism⁹ in New Roads, while English dominated the previously uninhabited northern regions. Klingler (2003) suggests the plantation system in which people functioned in tightly knit social networks and marriages between cousins were commonplace facilitated maintenance of French in these areas: “The inward looking nature of Pointe Coupee society was the best defense that the French and Creole languages had against the growing pressure from English,” (p. 109). In spite of the strong tendency for social cohesion, the first recorded Creole-American union was only 50 years after the colony’s inception when, in 1772, Suzanne Roy a Creole native of Pointe Coupee married William Gilchrist of North Carolina. That these marriages between Creoles and Americans became increasingly common is evident in the mid-nineteenth century unions of prominent False River planter, Valerien Bergeron’s eleven children, seven of whom married non-Creoles: Samson, Seibert, Mix, Hesley, Hesley, Chutz, and Hurst (Costello, 2010/1999, p. 62; Lebeau, M.). Costello claims these families assimilated to the Creole language and culture citing their children’s baptismal records in the Catholic registers as evidence (p. 62).

Although it can be argued that the Catholic Church was an institutional stronghold for the French languages in Louisiana, the various church records reflect the apparent linguistic vitality of the French community at Pointe Coupee, as nearly all Catholic Church records for the settlements at New Roads, Chenal, and Morganza were in French until the end of the nineteenth century. This is not surprising due to the fact that most of the clergy of the period came from France and thus probably addressed the local Creole

⁹ As defined by Mackey 2001

congregation in French until the early twentieth century. The only exceptions to the French-dominant church records were a register of 1861-1872 Marriage Records for Immaculate Conception Church in the Chenal area, which did contain some entries in English, and a single St. Francis Baptismal Register entry from 1877 in English (Diocese of Baton Rouge). The most illuminating of the documents maintained by the Catholic Church regarding language shift are the Parish Reports, initiated in the early twentieth century. These records show that, in 1912, half of the population attending St. Mary's Church in New Roads did not understand English. In 1915, "very few" among the same community are listed as not understanding English. The response remained "very few" until 1935, "unknown"; and by 1948 the priest responded that there were "none" among the congregation who did not understand English. No other church in Pointe Coupee parish responded to this question (Diocese of Baton Rouge). The fact that sermons were delivered in French and that half of the Catholics attending church in New Roads were reported as unable to even understand English as late as 1912 suggest a stable bilingual situation around False River in the decades prior to the turn of the century.

The 1850s and 1860s volumes of Original Acts held in the vault of the Pointe Coupee courthouse reveal the predominance of standardized French, the preferred variety of the social elite, in New Roads through the registers of Charles Poydras, A.O. Lebeau, Alcide Bondy and Charles Mix, all Notary Publics within the city limits. That each of these men wrote in both French and English, with the exception of A.O. Lebeau, gives further evidence of an integral bilingual situation in New Roads. While demonstrating full command of the English language, the French-dominant entries of American Charles Mix support Costello's claim of Americans assimilating to the French language and

culture and hints at the vitality of the French community around False River in the mid-nineteenth century. The Original Acts also indicate the strong presence of English elsewhere in the parish through the registers of J.B. Johnson in Livonia, Sam Bush and James Fort Muse near St. Francis Church on the Pointe Coupee Coast, Charles Tessier in upper Pointe Coupee, and W.G. Bozeman in Glynn. All of these men wrote exclusively in English, with the exception of Sam Bush, a future Sheriff of Pointe Coupee, who occasionally wrote in French. These findings demonstrate the near absence of francophones in the above noted settlements around the outbreak of the Civil War. Costello (2010/1999) mentions that other legal matters were recorded in both standardized French and English until after the Civil War, such as the minutes of the Police Jury, the parish's governing body (p. 92). These documents clearly delineate the area around False River as the francophone center of an increasingly Anglophone parish.

The stable bilingual environment of Pointe Coupee through the 1860s is evident in the publication of five bilingual newspapers: *The Southern Tribune*, 1845; *Le Démocrat de la Pointe Coupée*, 1858-60; *L'Echo*, 1861; *La Tribune de la Pointe Coupée*, 1861; and *Le Journal*, 1869 (Klingler, 2003, p. 108; Tinker, 1933, pp. 94-95, 102, 112). Yet this same measure also demonstrates the rapid demise of French in the parish: after 1872 publications in French cease, and by 1880 five new English-only papers appear. Klingler (1992) asserts that the disappearance of French publications is an indication of the declining prestige of the French language and the diminishing number of literate francophones (p. 75). Thus, after the Civil War and the breakdown of Creole plantation society, a powerful shift in the sociolinguistic dynamics of Pointe Coupee took hold.

In examining Pointe Coupee's linguistic history and considering the factors of ethnolinguistic vitality (Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor, 1977), the forces behind the early maintenance and later loss of French are apparent. As the language of the vast majority, French was viable in Pointe Coupee before the Louisiana Purchase. Demographically, French speakers were numerous and geographically concentrated along the banks of False River. Until the American Period, French Creoles controlled the area's wealth and enjoyed a prestigious status within the community. French also received early institutional support from the Catholic Church, colonial governments, and later public schools. Because these factors indicating strong ethnolinguistic vitality favored the francophone community, the Pointe Coupee French Creoles were unaffected by the less viable non-francophone Europeans, African slaves, and Cajuns.

French vitality wavered as the population divided socioeconomically and geographically by False River fractured further along linguistic lines. In favoring a more standardized, internationally recognized French language to distinguish themselves from the Americans and the poor, uneducated families of the Island, the elite population of New Roads essentially denigrated the status of their local Creole linguistic heritage. This fracture left a fragile French community to greet the massive American influx after 1803.

After the Louisiana Purchase, U.S. citizens flocked to the fertile Pointe Coupee soil and soon demonstrated all indicators of strong ethnolinguistic vitality, enjoying a high socioeconomic status and assuming political power soon after their arrival. With Anglophones in public office and in the parish's schools, the English-speaking population received the institutional support necessary to complete the trilogy of factors laid out by Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor (1977). The large number of U. S. citizens in conjunction with

the pre-existing language and class division of the francophone population eventually led the wealthier francophones of New Roads to distinguish themselves further from the *Cadiens* of the Island and align themselves with the burgeoning *nouveau riche* Anglo-Americans in the parish. Thus the shift towards English monolingualism was initiated and achieved much more rapidly among the town elite than the impoverished residents of the Island. Dubois (2003) noted a similar trend just west of Pointe Coupee with poorer Creoles in St. Landry Parish maintaining the Creole French language, in some cases until the present. It was thus a combination of these ethnolinguistic factors and linguistic attitudes of the dominant sector of the French speech community that undermined the vitality of the language and precipitated the demise of French in Pointe Coupee.

3.8. Pointe Coupee Today

Today Pointe Coupee Creole French (PCC) is rapidly fading as the few remaining speakers are advanced in age and only a few fluent speakers remain among younger generations. English is the language of commerce and instruction, and little effort has been made to preserve the Creole French of Pointe Coupee Parish. Yet one group, *Les Créoles de Pointe Coupée*, comprised of Creole speakers and enthusiasts primarily from the Island, meet weekly to converse in the language and discuss issues of importance to the community in an effort to keep the language alive. Finding pride and much value in their language and culture, these renitent Island Creoles are the only known group of Creole speakers in the state of Louisiana who meet regularly to preserve their linguistic heritage. While several collections of local folk tales and remedies have been published as Master's theses in French-based orthographic renderings accompanied by phonetic

transcriptions of the oral PCC language (see Jarreau and LaVerne), at this time, there are no regular publications in PCC.

CHAPTER 4. HYPOTHESIS

While working on a class project during my first semester of graduate school, I was distracted from the assigned phonetic transcription by the bodily movements of the older Creole man whom I was filming in my native Pointe Coupee Parish. This speaker seemed to communicate almost as much with his facial expressions and use of personal space as he did verbally. Immediately I recalled being mocked when I left home for boarding school, not only for my thick accent, but also for “talking with my hands.” My new friends would joke, “Tie her hands and see if she can talk!”

In this class project video, an older Creole man from the Island side of False River conversed in English with a younger woman from New Roads; I noticed a marked difference in the non-verbal communicative styles of the two participants. This led to the questions:

1. What are the nonverbal practices of the Creole people of Pointe Coupee Parish?
2. Do younger generations of Pointe Coupee Creole monolingual English speakers retain the gestural practices of older Pointe Coupee Creole bilinguals?

This study begins with the assumption that the nonverbal communicative patterns of Pointe Coupee Creole people differ from the nonverbal communicative patterns of other Americans (as described in Chapter 2). Preliminary findings lead to a hypothesis that Pointe Coupee Creoles gesture more frequently and in closer proximity to their interlocutors than do other English speakers in the United States. The second question posed above explores the relationship between nonverbal pattern retention or loss among generations of Pointe Coupee Creoles undergoing language shift. As the younger

generation is immersed in the surrounding Anglo-American culture, I expect to find that their nonverbal communicative patterns parallel the language shift and are more like the patterns found elsewhere in the United States.

CHAPTER 5. METHODOLOGY

The data collected and analyzed for this study consist of digital video recordings collected over a five-year period from 2004 to 2009 of bilingual and monolingual residents of Pointe Coupee Parish, Louisiana, engaged in natural, interpersonal, and interactive conversations in both Pointe Coupee Creole (PCC) and Pointe Coupee Creole English (PCCE). Participants in this study were identified via word of mouth and include males and females with various educational and socioeconomic backgrounds. All of the study group participants are residents of Pointe Coupee Parish and range in age from 35 to 86 years old at the time of the recordings. Filmed in Shreveport, Louisiana, the Control Group participants were selected to match the study group participants as closely as possible. Detailed descriptions of the participants are presented further in the chapter (Also consult Appendix A).

Recordings were made in relaxed environments, such as homes, break rooms at work, or favorite local establishments. All Pointe Coupee Creole data were captured in the traditionally Creole areas of the parish, around False River in New Roads and Ventress, the area commonly referred to as “the Island.” Subjects from the northern segment of Pointe Coupee Parish were not sought for this study due to cultural and historical differences and the higher concentration of Creoles in southern Pointe Coupee Parish. I told participants in the study group that I was studying Pointe Coupee Creole language and culture. The topics of discussion were left open but when necessary participants were prompted by questions on their family, childhood, and exposure to the local Creole language variety.

In transcribing the PCC language, I use the orthography in *Dictionary of Louisiana Creole* (Valdman, Klingler, Marshall, & Rottet, 1998). The nonstandard spelling of French words used by Pointe Coupee Creole speakers reflects the nonstandard pronunciation and usage of these forms in PCC.

In examining the data collected, I decided to focus on the White Creoles of Pointe Coupee, as there was insufficient multi-generational data collected among the Creoles of color. Six White Creoles and one Black Creole were included in this study. The one Black participant was selected because she is a younger bilingual PCC speaker. From the Pointe Coupee interviews, five videos were selected for this study, representing conversations in PCC, cross-generational PCCE conversations, and conversations among same-generation PCCE speakers. There is one PCC video, one bilingual video, and three PCCE videos. These videos were analyzed using iMovie, which allows for frame-by-frame examination of recordings, capturing detail, which would otherwise be missed at full speed. See Appendix B for a list of videos that provide data on the various groups.

The Pointe Coupee participants were divided into two groups based on their proximity to the Creole language. No monolingual PCC speakers could be found for this study, however this is not surprising as the only PCC monolingual that Klingler (1992) found was 90-years old at the time of his interview. There was no effort to stratify or systematize the sample, as the sample size is small and this dissertation does not attempt a quantitative analysis of the gestural repertoire of all Pointe Coupee Creoles, but instead offers a descriptive analysis of certain non-verbal aspects of communication among the generations of White Pointe Coupee Creoles available for interview. Statistical procedures were used to determine significance of summary data to form conclusions.

Group 1 consists of two bilingual speakers whose first language (L1) is PCC and are, therefore, considered PCC-dominant (CB and CD). They were recorded speaking to each other in PCC, as well as conversing in English with a monolingual participant in Group 2 (NE). All conversations involving Group 1 participants were filmed in private homes at a kitchen table or counter with participants sitting in movable chairs perpendicular to one another. CB and CD have known each other since childhood, as they are both PCC speakers from the Island and are approximately the same age, but as adults associate with each other less frequently. While not from the Island or related to CB and CD, NE is familiar to both of them. She is the Group 2 participant filmed with each Group 1 participant. She, too, is from the Creole community around False River and is close friends with CB's daughter.

CB is a White male in his eighties at the time of the recordings. He was born and raised in Jarreau on the southern end of False River and moved to the interior of the Island (Grand Bay) as an adult. He spoke PCC both at home and at school until the isolated school he attended on the Island hired an English-speaking teacher in his pre-teen years. He left school after the eighth grade and worked as a carpenter building houses until he retired. He is an avid gardener and fisherman. He maintains the Creole traditions. For example, every year he makes gumbo *filé* from the sassafras leaves, which he gathers in his backyard, dries on wood-framed screens on his roof, and hand grinds with a pestle and mortar that he and his father constructed from an old cypress trunk.

Also a PCC-dominant bilingual in his eighties, CD learned PCC at home where he, too, spoke the language with his parents, grandparents, siblings and neighbors. CD is also from the southern portion of the Island (Jarreau) and his mother was a teacher at the

school that both CD and CB attended. Although he first learned English as a pre-teen in school, CD claims he did not perfect it until he joined the Army in World War II. After the war, he graduated from Louisiana State University with a degree in education. He returned to Jarreau on the Island of False River where he raised a family and worked for decades in the Pointe Coupee public schools as a teacher and principal before retiring.

These Group 1 speakers may have passed on some knowledge of the language to their children, as PCC was still used infrequently in their homes. But as previously noted, English became the dominant language as its prestige grew in the community around False River after the Civil War.

Group 2 consists of five participants whose L1 is PCCE and who are at least one generation younger than Group 1 participants. There are three bilingual speakers in this group with varying ability in PCC, but who are PCCE-dominant (BC, MVJ, JM) and two PCCE monolingual speakers (DM and NE). These Group 2 bilingual participants speak English on most occasions, except with other known Creole speakers. Even with other Creoles, comfortable, familiar environments are preferred, but PCC is occasionally heard interjected into the English conversations in public places such as the local grocery, restaurants, and bars. Usage of PCC among this group is a strong indicator of solidarity, and there is an awareness that they are among the last individuals to speak PCC, a bittersweet source of pride. Two of the three bilingual Group 2 participants know each other as Creole activists in the community and were filmed together in a bilingual conversation (BC & MVJ). This conversation occurs at the conference table in the local library's meeting room with the participants sitting perpendicular to one another at the corner of the table in movable chairs. The third Group 2 bilingual (JM) was recorded

with a monolingual PCCE participant also in Group 2 (DM) who is actually a distant cousin. This conversation was recorded in a private dinning room of a local restaurant with the participants sitting perpendicular to one another at the corner of the table in movable chairs. It could be argued that the differences in conversational settings could affect nonverbal communication patterns, but while the settings differed, all were settings where participants meet and converse under normal circumstances. The size of the tables at which the Group 1 and 2 participants sit differs, but all participants sit in movable chairs at right angles to each other.

BC is a White bilingual male who is in his late-thirties in the recording. He was raised in a middle-class Island home with a chronically sick parent; as a result he spent a great deal of his youth next door at his grandparents' house. From his grandparents, BC learned PCC as a second language and developed a passion for local history and the old ways. He lived and worked in Pointe Coupee while completing his studies at Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge. Before returning recently to pursue a Master's Degree, BC published several books and numerous articles on the history of the parish.

MVJ is a Black bilingual female in her sixties at the time of the recording. She had to work to learn PCC from her mother who wanted her children to speak English first in order to excel in the English-speaking schools. Raised in *Poulailler* (the northern channel of False River) as one of the youngest in a large family, MVJ was always interested in the old Creole ways and her father's skills as a *traiteur* (healer), while other children her age were content to learn the modern American ways. Her mother was patient enough to repeat her English sentences in PCC for her inquisitive young daughter, who through much effort gained a level of competence in the language. MVJ attended

Southern University in Baton Rouge. After completing her degree in education, she returned to Pointe Coupee where she recently retired from the public school system.

JM is a White male in his forties at the time of the recording. He learned PCC from his father and uncles, but did not speak it frequently at home as his mother, an Italian-American from Morganza (in central Pointe Coupee), does not understand PCC. While he is capable of limited discussions in PCC (particularly in regards to hunting, fishing, and cursing), he was recorded speaking English with a monolingual PCCE participant also in Group 2 (DM). He has a high school degree and owns and operates several small businesses around False River.

The two Group 2 PCCE monolinguals (DM, NE) are both Creoles from the community around False River whose parents or grandparents identify themselves as Pointe Coupee Creoles. Both of these PCCE speakers are considered to be two generations removed from a local French variety, as their grandparents were the last fluent French/Creole speakers in their families. Group 2 monolingual participants were filmed in conversations with participants from Groups 1 (CB & NE; CD & NE) as well as a Group 2 bilingual (JM & DM).

DM is a White PCCE-monolingual male in his thirties at the time of the recording. Although he grew up hearing the older men in his family conversing in PCC, as one of the younger grandchildren, he never acquired fluency in PCC. He has lived on the Island his entire life except for the years he left to attend college. DM works for a firm in New Roads.

NE is a White female in her late-forties in the recordings. She is a descendant of Creoles from “Town”, or New Roads, and has no close family ties to the Island Creoles

of Groups 1 or 2. Locals often make a distinction between Creoles from the rural, isolated Island and those from “Town”, or New Roads, due to the historical, geographic, and social division between these two groups of Pointe Coupee Creoles discussed in Chapter 3. She too has lived on False River her entire life except for college.

Control data were collected in northern Louisiana and consists of three videos with a total of eight monolingual English speakers from other parts of the United States outside of Pointe Coupee Parish. None of the control group participants have ties to the French communities of Louisiana. Like the study group videos, these interviews were also conducted in the relaxed environments of home and work. Every effort was made to match participants in the control group with the participants from Pointe Coupee including finding control group participants who knew each other approximately as well as did the Pointe Coupee Creole participants who were interviewed together. JB and SB are an older married couple from the Midwestern United States who are in their eighties and seventies respectively. They are filmed at the breakfast table of their home, a similar conversational setting as the study participants in Group 1.

The second control video (LM, KT, & PT) differs from the others in that participants are not seated at movable chairs around a table. Instead these best friends and long-time co-workers are recorded in a friend’s living room. LM sits perpendicular to KT and PT who are seated beside one another on a couch. Although the conversational setting differs from the table and chairs in the other videos, this does provide an example of close friends conversing in an intimate setting outside of Pointe Coupee Parish.

MB, KJ, and MW are also friends and co-workers. They are all instructors in the same building of a university. These participants were selected to provide comparative data for the Group 2 males (JM, DM, BC) and were recorded while conversing at a conference table at their place of work. Like the study group participants, they too sit in movable chairs at right angles to each other.

This study was exempt from IRB oversight and all participants signed a written consent form prior to recording. All participants knew they were being filmed, but were informed only of the broader topic of the study, i.e. *Language and Culture in Pointe Coupee*, so as not to compromise gestural data. Although participants were aware of being filmed, they were given time to relax in front of the camera in order to collect the most natural conversations possible.

5.1. Analysis

At first glance, there was a striking difference in the co-verbal gestural practices of the speakers in the control group and those of the Pointe Coupee Creoles. For example, speakers in the control group appeared to be nearly motionless during conversation compared to the Pointe Coupee Creole speakers, who spoke with animated bodies and faces. Also, as participants selected the distance at which they sat from one another, the PCC speakers tended to converse in closer proximity to their interlocutors than the U.S. speakers in the control group. To further examine this apparent trend, three one-minute video clip samples were selected from each of the different conversations among the participants in the Pointe Coupee Creole study groups, as well as the control

group. To allow for the most natural conversation possible, samples were not selected from approximately the first minute of the interviews.

I recorded every gesture participants made while the different participants were speaking, noting several factors including the conversation, the speaker, the frequency and duration of the gesture as described below, the co-expressive speech, and a description of the movement performed. See Appendix D. The frequency of gesticulation was calculated for each participant based on the time at talk in each conversation.

In analyzing the movements made by participants, I noticed that many gestures were performed in a sequence, which directly corresponded to their verbal utterances. These sequences are what McNeill (2005) defines as a *gestural phrase*, or “what we would intuitively call a ‘gesture’,” (p.31). Gestural phrases, according to McNeill, are centered on the obligatory stroke (or what we think of as the gesture itself), but can also include a preparation leading up to the primary action of the stroke (when the hands, for example, leave a position at rest in preparation to perform the stroke), a pre-stroke hold in which a speaker moves out of a neutral resting position but holds another position until performing the stroke, a post-stroke hold (similar to the pre-stroke hold, but occurring after the stroke), and a retraction in which the hands return to a neutral resting position. While the stroke phase carries the meaning and is largely synchronous with the linked speech, the pre- and post-stroke holds can be repeated as necessary until the co-expressive speech is over (McNeill, 2005, pp.31-34).

In each of the selected segments, the frequency and also duration of gestural phrases made by participants was noted. Duration of a gestures or gestural phrases in this study was measured from the onset of the preparation to the completion of the retraction.

Speaker proximity to addressee was also noted on a five-point scale. For example when the speaker touches the addressee, they are assigned proximity of 1. Gestures made towards the interlocutor are at proximity 2. All gestures that are centered on the speaker are assigned a proximity of 3, while gestures made away from the interlocutor are assigned a proximity of 4. When a speaker is leaning farthest away from his or her addressee, they are assigned proximity of 5. The joint (shoulder, elbow, wrist) from which the different gestures are articulated was noted for comparison, as were the categories of the gestures performed.

Upon completion of this study, video clips will be compiled for contribution to an oral history project to help preserve Pointe Coupee's heritage. Copies of PCC and PCCE interviews will be housed in Louisiana State University's Center for French and Francophone Studies collection at Hill Memorial Library, the University of Louisiana at Lafayette's Center for Acadian and Creole Folklore, and the Pointe Coupee Parish Library Archives.

CHAPTER 6. RESULTS

The findings in this chapter are organized by group. I begin with the Control Group to underline the differences between nonverbal trends common in the United States and the nonverbal trends found in Group 1, the older Pointe Coupee Creole bilingual speakers. The contrast in these two groups confirms my first hypothesis; that PCC nonverbal patterns differ from the nonverbal patterns of other United States citizens.

6.1 Control Group

6.1.1 Frequency and Duration

As previously mentioned the three Control Group participants who gesture most frequently while speaking also spoke the least. Of the remaining participants in this group JB spoke the longest, 139 seconds, and performed 17 gestures; followed by MB who maintained turn-at-talk for 99 seconds and performed 15 gestures. This gives these participants frequencies of 0.122 and 0.152 respectively. In the conversation with LM, KT, and PT, PT held speaker turn the longest, 85 seconds, and performed 5 gestures giving her a frequency of 0.059. While KT and KJ spoke for 42 and 52 seconds respectively, KT only gestures once (0.024) and KJ only gestures 4 times (0.077).

It should also be noted that the majority of the gestures performed by Control Group participants, 38 of the 61 total gestures, have a duration of one second or less. There are 8 gestures which last 2 seconds, 6 which last 3 seconds, and 4 that last 4 seconds. There were a few longer gesture phrases performed by Control Group participants; 1 gesture was held for 5 seconds, 3 gestures were held for 6 seconds, and 1 gesture held for 9 seconds.

6.1.2 Spacing and Gestural Sphere

As previously mentioned, every attempt was made to match the conversational settings of the control group videos with those from the study group. JB and SB were recorded at a table in their home while seated on movable chairs at right angles to each other. This is similar to the conversational settings for study Group 1 participants. While not seated in movable chairs, LM, KT, and PT were recorded in the relaxed setting of the living room of a friend. LM sits perpendicular to KT and PT who sit beside each other on a couch. The three male co-workers, MB, KJ, and MW, were filmed in the conference room at their work place. They sit on movable chairs around a conference table roughly equivalent to the size of the table in the Group 2 recordings of JM and DM and also BC and MVJ.

The image stills below represent the range of the participants movements in the segments analyzed. The images selected represent the full extension of the stroke of gestures and gesture phrases. These images were selected after determining the frequency at which gestures were performed at different proximities then determining the percentage of that proximity for the entire interview. For example, in the Group 1 conversation CB&CD there were a total of 47 gestures with 7 occurring at proximity 1, thirteen at proximity 2, and twenty-seven at proximity 3. This corresponds to approximately 15%, 28%, and 58% for proximity 1, 2, and 3 respectively. Therefore, with ten stills, two frames represent proximity 1 (15%), three represent proximity 2 (28%), and six represent proximity 3 (58%). Five stills at proximity 3 are displayed below. For a complete description of the gestures performed in the images below, see Appendix D.

The majority of the gestures performed by Control Group participants were centered on the speaker (55 of the 61 total gestures). Only 6 gestures were made as the speaker moves toward the interlocutor (proximity 2). No participant in the Control Group performs gestures at proximity 1, 4, or 5.

Conversation: JB and SB



Segment 1, Gesture 1 (Proximity 3)
“...when she was on this...”



Segment 1, Gesture 2 (Proximity 3)
“I’ll tell you that much!”



Segment 1, Gesture 8 (Proximity 3)
“...feeling vulnerable...”



Segment 2, Gesture 3 (Proximity 3)
“The next day it might be India...”



Segment 2, Gesture 4 (Proximity 3)
“...you know, who knows?”



Segment 2, Gesture 7 (Proximity 3)
 "...might be up to fifteen now."



Segment 3, Gesture 3 (Proximity 3)
 "...fond memories of my youth and growing up."



Segment 3, Gesture 4 (Proximity 3)
 "I could see how my parents gave me a good work ethic..."



Segment 3, Gesture 8 (Proximity 3)
“...in my life.”

Conversation LM, KT, and PT:



Segment 1, Gesture 1 (Proximity 2)
“But if you’re going to do the fajita...”



Segment 1, Gesture 2 (Proximity 3)
“She doesn’t...”



Segment 1, Gesture 3 (Proximity 2)
 "...but if you're going to do the meat..."



Segment 1, Gesture 4 (Proximity 3)
 "I'll do it."



Segment 2, Gesture 1 (Proximity 3)
 "...you know, director's chair."



Segment 2, Gesture 2 (Proximity 3)
 "...taking care of the pralines?"



Segment 2, Gesture 3 (Proximity 3)
 "We need a big basket..."



Segment 2, Gesture 4 (Proximity 3)
 "We can put a hat on here with..."



Segment 3, Gesture 1 (Proximity 3)
“...address thing...”



Segment 3, Gesture 2 (Proximity 3)
“...um, gift card!”

Conversation MB, KJ, and MW:



Segment 1, Gesture 2 (Proximity 3)
“...was a stick that was bent in the shape of a gun.”



Segment 1, Gesture 4 (Proximity 3)
“It’s just a way...”



Segment 2, Gesture 2 (Proximity 3)
“...or at least we try.”



Segment 2, Gesture 3 (Proximity 3)
“Like the public housing projects...”



Segment 2, Gesture 4 (Proximity 3)
“...the savior of the inner city...”



Segment 2, Gesture 6 (Proximity 3)
“...turned out to be the worst thing...”



Segment 2, Gesture 7a (Proximity 3)
“...cutting these...”



Segment 2, Gesture 7b (Proximity 2)
“...broad swaths through them...”



Segment 2, Gesture 11 (Proximity 3)
“This is the solution...”



Segment 3, Gesture 2 (Proximity 3)
“If you go up a little ways...”

As seen in the images above, control group participants never touch each other, using other means to regulate the turn-at-talk.

6.2. Group 1

6.2.1. Frequency and Duration

Among Group 1 participants (L1=PCC), CB gestures most frequently while speaking, regardless of if he is speaking PCC (with CD) or PCCE (with NE). In the three one-minute video segments analyzed in CB and CD, CB maintains speaker turn for approximately 125 seconds and performs 38 gestures for a frequency of 0.304. The more passive participant in these PCC segments, CD speaks for 52 seconds and performs 9 gestures for a frequency of 0.173. When this same participant, CD, converses in PCCE with a younger participant (NE), he is the dominant speaker maintaining turn-at-talk the entire 180 seconds. CD shows only a slight increase in the frequency of co-verbal gesture here with 35 gestures for a frequency of 0.194. The frequency with which CB gestures also increases slightly in PCCE. He maintains speaker turn for 140 seconds in his conversation with NE and gestures 39 times for a frequency of 0.279.

Like the Control Group, the majority of gestures performed by Group 1 participants last only one second (41 of the 130 total gestures), but there are also 40 gestures that are 2 seconds long, 15 gesture phrases that are 3 seconds long, 14 gesture phrases that are 4 seconds long, 9 gesture phrases that are 5 seconds long, and 6 gesture phrases that are 6 seconds long. There are 5 gesture phrases that last 7 to 10 seconds.

6.2.2. Spacing and Gestural Sphere

In both the CB and CD conversation as well as the CB and NE conversation, the two interlocutors sit at the corner of a kitchen counter on movable bar stools. In the CD and NE recording, the interlocutors sit at a kitchen table at right angles to each other.

Group 1 participants were the only participants whose gestures involve touching their interlocutors while conversing (proximity 1). The data for this group show 22 instances of proximity 1, 25 at proximity 2, 75 at proximity 3, and 8 gestures performed away from the interlocutor at proximity 4 or 5. The image stills below represent the range of the participants movements in the segments analyzed.

Conversation CB and CD:



Segment 1, Gesture 1 (Proximity 2)
“...kote le babiner(?) Kote bab la ..Se le mem taille(?)”



Segment 1, Gesture 5 (Proximity 1)
“è kan to rapel on a dezekolie...”



Segment 1, Gesture 6 (Proximity 2)
“on è dezékolie avek vyeu frèr.”



Segment 1, Gesture 12 (Proximity 1)
“Aranj sa!”



Segment 1, Gesture 15 (Proximity 3)
“...ye met le drops...”



Segment 2, Gesture 13 (Proximity 3)
“kan kèkenn parl a la pares... nou-nou zotr... tou sela...”



Segment 2, Gesture 14 (Proximity 3)
“...au Chenal”



Segment 2, Gesture 16 (Proximity 2)
“o la, in my driveway.”



Segment 3, Gesture 2 (Proximity 3)
"...et Pierre"



Segment 3, Gesture 11 (Proximity 3)
"è de mezon..."

Conversation CB and NE:



Segment 1, Gesture 2 (Proximity 3)
"...and that's it..."



Segment 1, Gesture 4 (Proximity 1)
 "...And I went and bring for his son..."



Segment 1, Gesture 6 (Proximity 3)
 "...something else to put in there?"



Segment 1, Gesture 10 (Proximity 2)
 "...tried to give her a few doses of dope..."



Segment 1, Gesture 18 (Proximity 3)
 "...hang her drawers up..."



Segment 2, Gesture 2 (Proximity 2)
 "I joke with women..."



Segment 2, Gesture 10 (Proximity 3)
 "...excited your head, that!"



Segment 2, Gesture 13 (Proximity 3)
 “And maybe it was good, yeah!”



Segment 2, Gesture 17 (Proximity 1)
 “...because you’re not the same person.”



Segment 3, Gesture 4 (Proximity 1)
 “...like I was saying the other day...”



Segment 3, Gesture 8 (Proximity 3)
 "...I won't charge my battery for another man!"

Conversation CD and NE:



Segment 1, Gesture 4 (Proximity 3)
 "...agree as to were the original post of Pointe Coupee was."



Segment 1, Gesture 5 (Proximity 3)
 "...somewhere between the ferry landing and what we used to call Brooks."



Segment 1, Gesture 9 (Proximity 2)
 “Michel Olinde, your...”



Segment 2, Gesture 3 (Proximity 3)
 “You got to go to Haiti to run into similarities.”



Segment 2, Gesture 6 (Proximity 2)
 “...used to live on the Island...”



Segment 2, Gesture 8 (Proximity 3)
 "...you know, at the time when I was studying."



Segment 3, Gesture 3 (Proximity 3)
 "...so you did that for business."



Segment 3, Gesture 6 (Proximity 4)
 "World War II took us away and kept us away..."



Segment 3, Gesture 7 (Proximity 3)
 “And they didn’t speak any French in the Army!”



Segment 3, Gesture 15 (Proximity 4)
 “...come back, the man from the Seventh Armament.”

In the segments analyzed, Group 1 participants touch their interlocutor twenty-three times almost always to regulate the conversation.

6.3. Group 2

6.3.1. Frequency and Duration

The frequency of co-verbal gestures among Group 2 participants (L1=PCCE) falls within the same range for all participants (0.238 to 0.286). JM maintains speaker turn the longest, 122 seconds and gestures 29 times for a frequency of 0.238. His interlocutor, DM, speaks for approximately 57 seconds and gestures 16 times for a frequency of 0.281. The frequency at which BC and MVJ gesture remains similar; BC maintains his turn-at-

talk for 96 seconds and performs 26 gestures for a frequency of 0.271; and MVJ talks for 77 seconds, gesturing 22 times for a frequency of 0.286.

Like Group 1, the majority of gestures performed by Group 2 participants last only one second (27 of the 93 total gestures), but there are also a great deal of longer gesture phrases. There are 22 gesture phrases that last 2 seconds, 22 that last 3 seconds, 9 that last 4 seconds, 5 that last 5 seconds, 5 that last 6 seconds, 2 that last 7 seconds, and 1 that lasts 9 seconds.

6.3.2. Spacing and Gestural Sphere

Similar to the MB, KJ, and MW control group set up, JM and DM were filmed at a table in the small dining room of a local restaurant. They sit at the corner of the table in movable chairs. BC and MVJ were recorded conversing at a table in the small conference room of the local public library. The conference room is approximately the same size as the restaurant's small private dining room.

While Group 2 participants do not touch each other in the conversations analyzed for this study, there were 33 gestures performed at proximity 2, 55 at proximity 3 (centered on the speaker), and 5 performed away from the interlocutor. The image stills below represent the full range of gestures performed by this group.

Conversation JM and DM:



Segment 1, Gesture 1 (Proximity 3)

“...these guys coming out... I rent to a lot of people, you know, from there.”



Segment 1, Gesture 2 (Proximity 2)

“... you know, ‘*Comment ça va?*’ ”



Segment 1, Gesture 8 (Proximity 3)

“No, like you were talking about...”



Segment 1, Gesture 13 (Proximity 2)
 “So Straw was only probably like twenty years older...”



Segment 2, Gesture 6 (Proximity 3)
 “He put his little old legs back and he jumped...”



Segment 2, Gesture 7 (Proximity 2)
 “...and when I started calling him *crapaud*...”



Segment 2, Gesture 12 (Proximity 2)
 “I, I... To get back to the French part...”



Segment 3, Gesture 2 (Proximity 3)
 “You have some lines drawn between...”



Segment 3, Gesture 10 (Proximity 5 - full extension performed off-camera)
 “In fact, that... coming across from Preacher’s...”



Segment 3, Gesture 16 (Proximity 3)
 “What year was the Mississippi cut off from here?”

Conversation BC and MVJ:



Segment 1, Gesture 7 (Proximity 3)
 “...ou kont-ye se sorti en Afrik”



Segment 1, Gesture 9 (Proximity 3)
 “..isi”



Segment 1, Gesture 11 (Proximity 3)
"...ekri sa..."



Segment 1, Gesture 12 (Proximity 2)
"Mè la..."



Segment 2, Gesture 4 (Proximity 3)
"...then it helps you to remember"



Segment 2, Gesture 7 (Proximity 3)
 "...instead of *appellee*, *rapelle*..."



Segment 2, Gesture 11 (Proximity 3)
 "Instead of saying *praline*, we say *plarin*"



Segment 3, Gesture 2 (Proximity 3)
 "Until one day I was looking at a television show..."



Segment 3, Gesture 7 (Proximity 3)
“Encore, ankor”



Segment 3, Gesture 16 (Proximity 3)
“...ye pa gen mo pou airplane...”

There were no instances where Group 2 participants touch their interlocutor in the three one-minute segments analyzed for each conversation. This could be due factors of gender, age, and race in at least one of the two conversations.

6.4. Summary

Figure 1 shows a comparison of the frequency with which each participant in the different groups gestures while speaking.

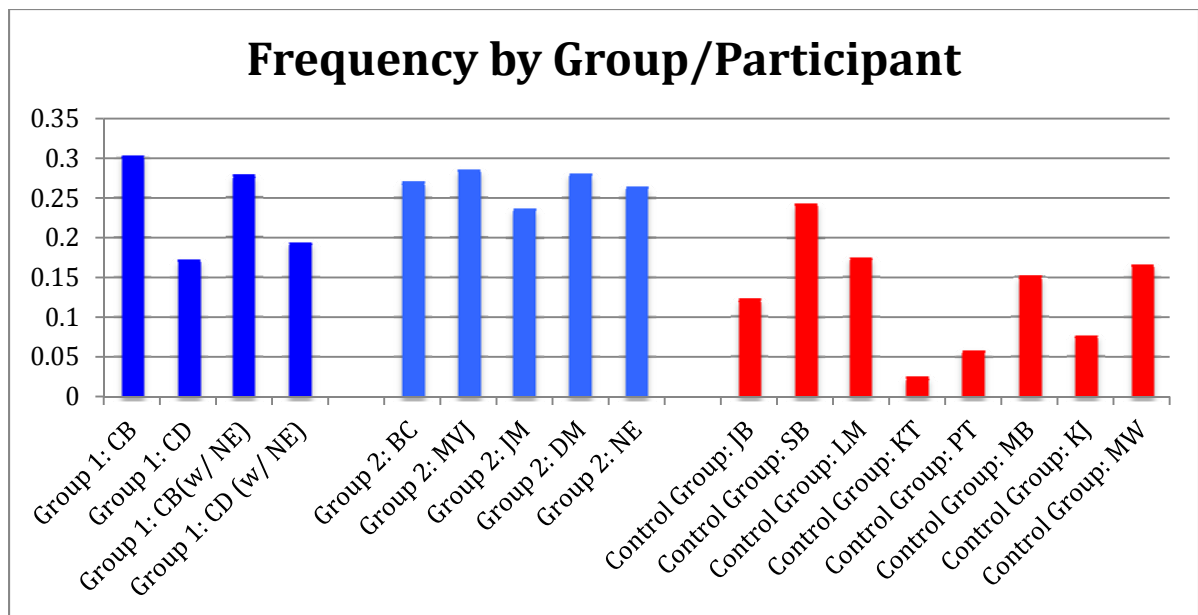


Figure 1. Gesture frequency counts by group and participant

The two Group 1 participants are bilingual, but spoke PCC as their first language. Most of the Group 2 participants (BC, MVJ, JM) are bilingual, but spoke PCCE as their first language. While there are outliers in the groups, it should be noted that the three Control Group participants who have the highest frequency of co-verbal gestures, spoke the least. For example, in the three one-minute video segments analyzed, SB is the speaker for approximately 41 seconds and performed 10 gestures, LM for 40 seconds with 7 gestures, and MW for 18 seconds with 3 gestures. This leads to frequencies of 0.244, 0.175, and 0.167 respectively. As the sample size is small, the numbers are somewhat skewed but a trend is apparent. Overall, the frequency with which participants gesture while speaking decreases from the study groups (Groups 1 and 2) to the Control Group.

	1 sec	2 secs	3 secs	4 secs	5+ secs	Total gestures
Group 1	41 (32%)	40 (31%)	15 (12%)	14 (10%)	20 (15%)	130
Group 2	27 (30%)	22 (23%)	22 (23%)	9 (10%)	13 (14%)	93
Control	38 (62%)	8 (13%)	6 (10%)	4 (7%)	5 (8%)	61

Figure 2. Duration of gesture by group

While all groups display gestures with shorter durations of one or two seconds, only 15 of the 61 Control Group gestures last longer than two seconds (25% of the total gestures). Of the 130 total Group 1 gestures, 49 lasted longer than 2 seconds (approximately 37%). Of the 93 total Group 2 gestures, 44 (or 47%) lasted longer than 2 seconds. See Figure 2 above.

	Prox 1	Prox 2	Prox 3	Prox 4/5	Total gestures
Group 1	22 (17%)	25 (19%)	75 (58%)	8 (6%)	130
Group 2	0	33 (35%)	55 (59%)	5 (5%)	93
Control	0	6 (10%)	55 (90%)	0	61

Figure 3. Proximity of gestures by group

Figure 3 highlights the fact that only Group 1 performed gestures at a proximity of 1. While participants in all groups showed a preference for gestures centered on the speaker (proximity 3), the Control Group performs all but six gestures at proximity 3.

CHAPTER 7. DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

Among the generations of PCC speakers available for this study, it is apparent that the language system of the Creole people of Pointe Coupee Parish has shifted from the French-based Creole language spoken by older generations of Pointe Coupee Creoles to the English language spoken by their American neighbors, who, as noted in Chapter 3, have outnumbered them in the parish since the late 1800s. As I began with the hypothesis that the nonverbal communicative system of this particular culture or sociolinguistic group is distinct, I will discuss the ways in which the nonverbal practices of the Creole people of Pointe Coupee Parish differ from practices observed in the Control Group.

One of the first things to strike an outside observer to a Pointe Coupee Creole conversation is the participants' frequent gesturing while speaking. In fact, PCC-dominant participants gesture more than twice as frequently as Control Group participants do while speaking. This will be discussed in comparison with the frequency of other groups gesturing in Figure 2 below.

Another observable difference, Pointe Coupee Creole speakers maintain smaller personal spheres which leads to larger gestural sphere, as seen in the images above in Chapter 6 (Conversations with CB & CD, CB & NE, CD & NE). The gestural sphere is so large among members of this group that there are twenty-two instances of touching to regulate turn-at-talk in the nine minutes of conversation for the two PCC-dominant participants.

Although among the Control Group videos are a married couple filmed in their breakfast room (JB & SB) and a group of long-time close friends and co-workers filmed

in a living room (LM, KT, & PT), touching is never used to regulate speaker turn. While KT and PT sit close together on the couch for the benefit of the camera, their gestures are circumscribed and all are speaker-centered at proximity 3. Thus, familiarity and setting cannot be factors in gestural sphere and the use of touch among these participants.

My second hypothesis asserted that the nonverbal communication system parallels the verbal system of Pointe Coupee Creoles in assimilating to that of the Anglo-Americans in the area. As the discussion below will show, while this is the case with touching to regulate turn-at-talk, gesture frequency is maintained among the younger generation of Pointe Coupee Creoles. Thus, the gestural system does demonstrate a greater persistence/vitality than the verbal system.

In an effort to answer the questions posed in Chapter 4, I sought to determine if nonverbal patterns from the older bilingual generation of Pointe Coupee Creoles could be found in the younger generations of Pointe Coupee Creole English speakers. To do this, I analyze data gathered from natural conversations on:

- The frequency and duration of gestures and gesture phrases
- The spacing of conversation participants and proximity of gestural spheres
- The categories of gestures performed

The analysis will show that while some features may be dropped, the nonverbal system of the younger generations of Pointe Coupee Creoles has maintained to some degree the expressive features of the older generation of PCC-dominant participants.

7.1. Frequency and Duration

The data collected on frequency and duration of gestural phrases provide some evidence of gestural practice maintenance among the generations of Pointe Coupee

Creoles consulted for this study. There is, however, a large difference in the frequency of gestures or gesture phrases performed by the Pointe Coupee study group participants and the frequency of gestures among control group participants, U.S. citizens from outside Louisiana's French triangle. Both Group 1 (whose L1 is PCC) and Group 2 (whose L1 is PCCE) participants gestured more than twice as frequently as control group participants. See Figure 4.

	Frequency of Gesture Phrases (gestures per minute)
Group 1 (L1 = PCC)	15.67
Group 2 (L1 = PCCE)	15.50
Control Group	6.78

Figure 4. Average frequencies of gesture phrases

Both groups of Pointe Coupee participants tend to hold gestures longer than control group participants, as the average duration of gesture phrases among PCC and PCCE participants was nearly one second longer than the average duration of gesture phrases performed by the control group. See Figure 5.

	Average Duration of Gesture Phrases (seconds)
Group 1 (L1 = PCC)	2.64
Group 2 (L1 = PCCE)	2.69
Control Group	1.96

Figure 5. Average duration of gesture phrases

7.1.1. Trends among Bilinguals

For the four bilingual participants in Groups 1 and 2, language choice does not appear to have a bearing on the frequency of gesturing; that is, these participants used the same high rate of gestural frequency whether they are speaking in PCC or in PCCE. While the two Group 1 participants tended to prefer PCC when recorded conversing together, there are four bilingual utterances in this conversation accompanied by gestures among the video segments analyzed for this study. When the gestures performed by these Group 1 participants in all conversations are tallied, it is clear that these participants gesture just as much when they are speaking PCCE as they do when they are speaking PCC. The two PCCE-dominant bilinguals in Group 2 who were recorded together also divided their gestures evenly among co-expressive utterances in PCC and PCCE. See Figure 6.

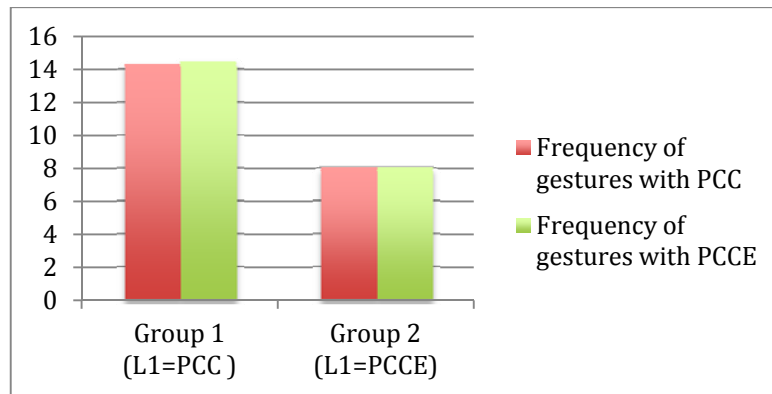


Figure 6. Average frequency of gestures per minute among bilingual participants

It should be noted that PCCE-dominant bilinguals in Group 2 gesture much less frequently than the bilinguals of Group 1, even when speaking PCC. Since Group 2 inherited the PCC language from family members who would be in Group 1 (were they

available) gesture frequency appears to be de-coupled from language in its inheritance properties.

Although the frequency of gestures performed among the four bilingual participants from Pointe Coupee is maintained across PCC and PCCE utterances, the average duration of these gestural phrases is greater accompanying PCCE utterances than PCC utterances. While this increase is only slight among PCCE participants, Group 1 shows significantly greater average duration of gesture phrase ($p < 0.001$). This could be due to the fact that English is a second language for the Group 1 participants, and as such they gesture longer to ensure listener comprehension. The duration in Group 2 is roughly the same regardless of the language spoken. See Figure 7.

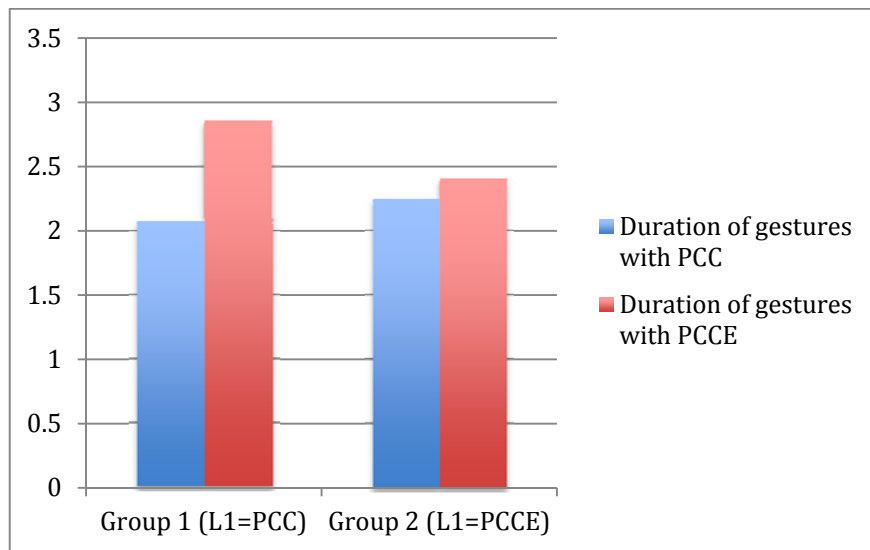


Figure 7. Average duration in seconds of gesture phrases among bilingual participants

7.2. Spacing and Gestural Sphere

While all participants in this study were provided with a similar physical set up (i.e. the corner of a table and movable chairs), participants from Pointe Coupee tend to seat themselves closer together than do those in the control group. See Images 1-3. In

Image 1, the average far phase of personal sphere that Hall observed among the U.S. citizens in his study (2.5-4 feet) holds true for the control group participants. The Group 1 and 2 participants in Image 2 maintain personal spheres closer to 18 inches, the far distance of Hall's intimate sphere. However, the younger Group 2 participants in Image 3 space themselves slightly further apart than the older Group 1 participants.



Image 1. Spacing among control group participants



Image 2. Spacing among Group 1 participants



Image 3. Spacing among Group 2 participants

As previously mentioned, every effort was made to record participants who were familiar with one another. The control group participants in Image 5 are coworkers. The PCC-dominant Group 1 participants in Image 6 are long-time acquaintances both from the “Island” around False River, while the Group 2 participants in Image 7 are cousins. Yet one video in this study stands in noticeable contrast to this trend of a smaller personal sphere among Pointe Coupee participants. Although this video contains bilingual dialogue of two “Island-side Creoles” there is a noticeable physical distance between the two interlocutors both in their spacing while seated and in the way they keep their arms closer to their bodies in this conversation. See Image 4. This could be explained by the differences in their age, gender, race, and ethnicity, as well as the fact that they are not as familiar with each other as are other dyads and triads of speakers who were filmed for this study. It should be noted however that these younger PCC bilinguals do still tend to lean in towards each other whether listening or speaking, unlike control group participants, as will be shown in the discussion of proximity and Figure 8 below.



Image 4. Spacing among Group 2 bilinguals (exception)

In the recordings of participants in dyads that cross generations and linguistic groups (CB & NE; CD & NE), there are obvious distinctions between the personal sphere of the interlocutors with the PCC-dominant Group 1 participants maintaining body positioning in shared space and even reaching over to touch the Group 2 PCCE monolingual participant, who, for nearly half of the hour-long recording, sits quietly with folded arms. See Image 5.



Image 5. Differences in personal sphere in Groups 1 and 2

When the PCCE participant does unfold her arms onto the table later in the conversation, her hands are pulled away from the PCC participant. See Image 6.



Image 6. Differences in personal sphere in Groups 1 and 2

Although the Group 2 participants do maintain a slightly wider personal sphere, and thus slightly smaller gestural sphere, than participants in Group 1, both groups of Pointe Coupee participants seem comfortable gesturing within a mutually agreed upon overlapping personal space, a trend not found among the control group.

As previously mentioned, control group participants seat themselves further apart than the Pointe Coupee study groups in what Hall (1966) would label a comfortable personal distance among the friends and family members filmed. Control group participants also tend not to lean in towards their addressee(s) while speaking. When control group speakers do gesture in the space in front of themselves, they do not venture very far, and in fact often lean back while performing larger gestures. Images 7 and 8 provide examples of fully extended pointing among the control group and PCC group.



Image 7. Full extension pointing in the control group



Image 8. Full extension pointing in Group 1

In Image 7, the speaker performs one of the larger gestures recorded among the control group data but manages to stay out of his interlocutors personal sphere (proximity 4). He accomplishes this by leaning his body backward while gesturing in front of himself. On the contrary, the Group 1 speaker in Image 8, while maintaining the closer

seated spacing common among study participants, does not lean away from his addressee. This causes his fully extended gesture to enter the addressee's personal sphere (proximity 2). In this way, the gestural sphere of PCC group participants often crosses into the personal sphere of the addressee. (See also Images 14 and 15 described below.)

As previously mentioned, the nearest proximity of the speaker to the addressee when performing a gesture phrase was noted on a five-point scale. Proximity 1 indicates a speaker touching the addressee, while gestures performed in the shared space between the speaker and addressee are assigned proximity 2. Gestures performed in a neutral position centered on the speaker were assigned proximity 3. Proximity 4 and 5 indicate when a speaker performs a gesture away from the addressee, with proximity 5 being the farthest away, such as gesturing away from interlocutors. Figure 8 below gives a breakdown of the proximity of the gestures performed by each group¹⁰.

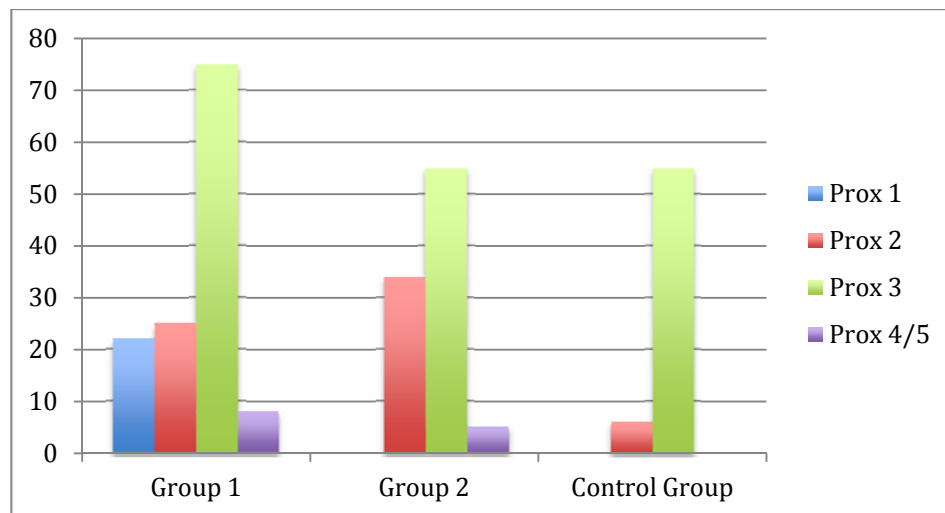


Figure 8. Proximity of gestures performed across groups

¹⁰ There were 141 gestures performed by Group 1 participants; 103 by Group 2 participants; and 61 by control group participants.

While speakers in all groups performed the majority of their gestures at proximity 3, centered on themselves, control group participants only occasionally gesture towards shared space at proximity 2 and when they do, they are still further apart than Pointe Coupee study group participants due to the previously mentioned seated spacing and tendency not to lean the body in toward the addressee(s) when gesturing. There were no recorded instances of the control group gesturing at the extreme ends of the scale and never do control group participants touch. Image 9 below shows a video still of the closest proximity (2) recorded among control group participants. In this segment, a married couple is discussing their youth and hometowns. As the speaker says, “I left and went to college and after that, you know, never would hang around,” his hand moves in a circular motion, with Image 9 representing the furthest extension of the gesture sequence moving towards but not quite reaching shared space.



Image 9: Closest proximity (2) among control group

On the other hand, PCC-dominant speakers in Group 1 touch their addressee twenty-two times in the nine minutes of video analyzed in this study (which totals 130 gestures). See Images 15-16 described below. While PCCE-dominant speakers in Group 2 do not appear to maintain this trend, PCCE participants do maintain wide and overlapping gestural spheres, that can at times approach touching an addressee. See Image 10.



Image 10. Close proximity (2) in Group 2

Another trend noted in the gestural practices of different speakers involves the use of the shoulder as the joint of articulation for a component of the gestural phrase. Shoulder articulation was deemed significant as the joint indicating the widest sphere available for a speaker performing a gesture. Use of the shoulder in articulating gestures illustrates continued differences in trends among the study and control groups, with the study participants articulating gestures from the shoulder more than twice as frequently as participants in the control group. See Figure 9. While Group 2 did articulate gestures

from the shoulder more than Group 1 the difference is not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.28$).

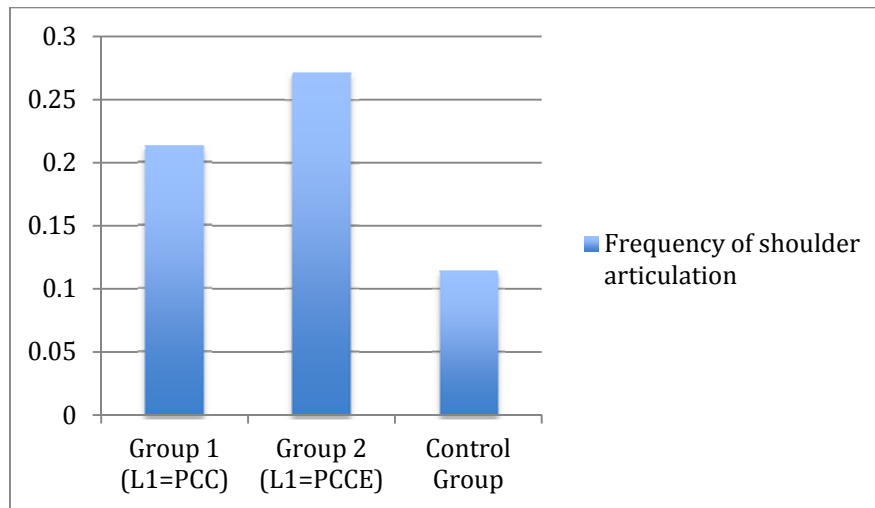


Figure 9: Frequency of shoulder usage among groups

On the rare occasions when control group participants do involve their shoulders while articulating a gesture, the shoulder movement tends to be slight, meaning the gesture is performed closer to the speaker than in the study group. These gestures are still assigned proximity 2 as they are performed in front of the speaker and move closer into shared space than other gestures observed in the control group data. See Image 11 (also Images 7 and 9 above).



Image 11. Example of shoulder articulation among control group

In contrast, participants from Pointe Coupee articulated wider gestures from the shoulder than the control group venturing into the shared space of proximity 2. See Images 12-13.



Image 12. Example of shoulder articulation in Group 1



Image 13. Example of shoulder articulation in Group 2

7.3. Categories of Gestures

Examining the categories of gestures performed by participants in this study, it is clear that the majority of gestures performed by participants in any group, including the control group, were illustrators (which as discussed on p. 7 illustrate visually some aspect of what is being communicated verbally). See Figure 10. Regulators (which regulate the flow of the conversation) were the second most common category of gesture among Pointe Coupee participants, but this was not the case with the control group. Adaptors (which include fidgeting) are not enumerated, as they do not have a direct relation to co-occurring speech. While this study does not attempt to capture all affect displays, which would include a detailed description of facial expressions, affect displays are noted only when accompanied by movement of the hand, arms, or head. The emblems noted in the video segments analyzed consist primarily of nods of affirmation and thus will not be discussed at length.

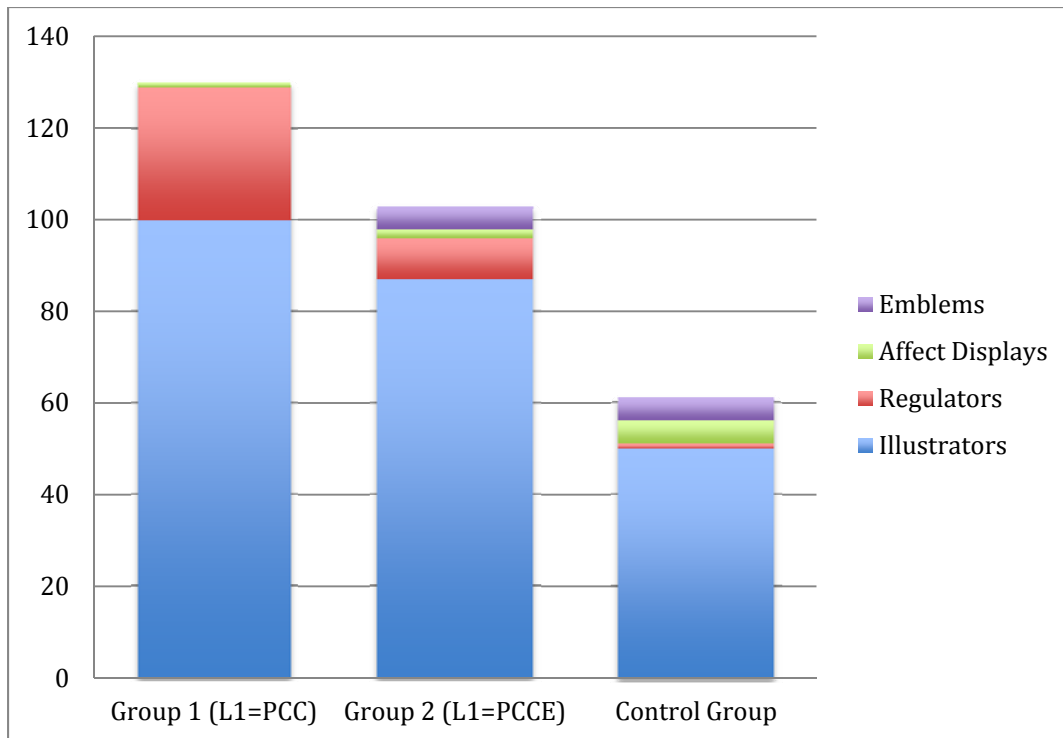


Figure 10. Distribution of gestures by category

While conversational regulators in the control group follow the gaze direct and avert trends described by Kendon (1967) and discussed in Chapter 2, the high occurrence of gestural regulators among participants from Pointe Coupee can be explained by the practice in this community of employing body positioning as well as head and hand gestures to control turn-at-talk.

The majority of the gestural conversation regulators (eighteen of the twenty-nine) performed by Group 1 participants were intended to maintain a speaker's turn-at-talk. In performing these regulators, PCC-dominant Group 1 participants reach across and touch their addressee as if to physically hold them back from entering the conversation at a transition relevance point. See Images 14 and 15. Touching to maintain turn-at-talk was

unique to these Group 1 participants and was exhibited by both members of Group 1 in conversations both in PCC and in PCCE.



Image 14: Group 1 participant touches a Group 1 addressee to maintain turn-at-talk

Text:[Gesture] Mé kofer ye te konen bien...

Translation: [Gesture] But what can you do, when they knew well...



Image 15: Group 1 participant regulating conversation with a Group 2 participant

Text: [Gesture and hold] They kept their own turnips and potatoes, you see?

Of the twenty-nine regulators performed by the PCC-dominant Group 1 participants in this study, five regulators served to initiate a speaker's turn-at-talk. To do this, the Group 1 PCC-dominant speaker turns toward the addressee as they begin their turn. This movement is sometimes accompanied by an upward nod of the head. See Image 16.



Image 16. Group 1 participant initiating turn

Text:

CB: (a) Ein a plus sa. ... (b) (c) E se te tou krèyol!

CD: (d) Krèyol, se tou ye pe di.

Translation:

CB: (a) There's no more of that. ... (b) (c) And it was all Creole!

CD: (d) Creole was all they could speak.

In Image 16a, CB, the interlocutor on the left, looks at CD and gestures while speaking. Image 16b shows a transition relevance place, when there is a pause in the conversation and both participants look down momentarily. As CB begins speaking again in Image 16c, he turns to face CD with a nod. CD reciprocates in Image 16d as he too turns toward CB and nods as he begins his speaker turn next.

In the six instances where Group 1 participants use bodily movement to relinquish turn-at-talk, they simply turn to face the interlocutor directly. Occasionally this too is accompanied by a nod of the head toward the addressee. In the following segment CB, a Group 1 PCC-dominant bilingual was just discussing a humorous encounter in which a young person mistook the gumbo filé that CB makes every year for “dope”. After asking NE, a Group 2 monolingual and close friend of the family, if she has ever taken dope, CB turns to address the author off camera to begin the sequence in Image 17.

After addressing his first sentence to a participant behind the camera, Image 17a, CB turns to face NE in Image 17b before asking her the question, “Why don’t you want to get in love with me?” As he completes the question, CB glances away momentarily in Image 17c, then turns to face NE directly in Image 17d while awaiting her response.

While Group 2 participants do use nonverbal means of regulating the turn-at-talk, they do not use gestures as frequently to maintain speaker turn, and there were no instances of touching to regulate the flow of conversation among the younger generations of PCCE speakers in the video segments analyzed for this study. The more common gestural regulators among participants in Group 2 involve using body positioning and the head to begin or relinquish a turn-at-talk. As in Image 18 for example, a Group 2

addressee may begin to nod his or her head upward to indicate the desire to add something to the conversation.



a



b



c



d

Image 17. Group 1 participant relinquishing turn at talk

Text:

CB: (a) Maybe if we tried to give her a few doses of dope, she'd start to get in love with me! (b) Why you don't want to get...(c) get in love with me? (d)

NE: Well...

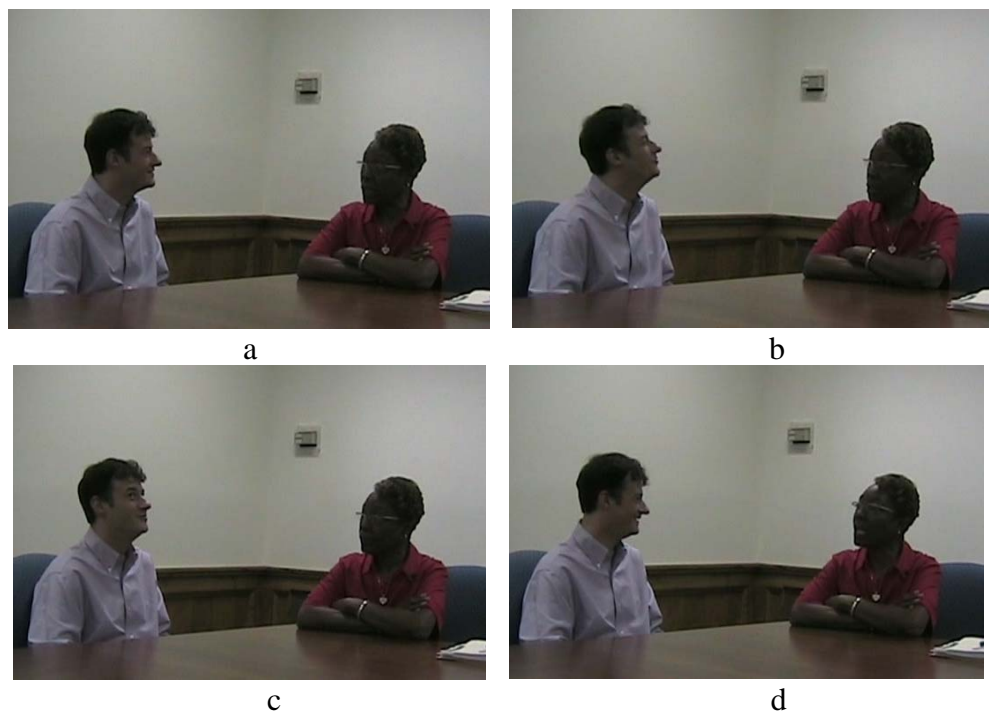


Image 18. Group 2 PCCE-dominant bilinguals initiating speaker turn

Text:

MVJ: Kompèr Bouki my mother used to relay (a) them like a person who was sly or slick.

BC: (Still gazing) Oh, wi (b)! Li te uh (c) malen (d)!

MVJ: Malen! (d) Sa se vre!

Translation:

MVJ: Compère Bouki¹¹...

BC: Oh, yeah! He was sly!

MVJ: Sly! That's right!

In Image 18a, the Group 2 bilingual on the left, BC, looks at his interlocutor, MVJ, another PCCE-dominant bilingual as she speaks, but begins to nod in Image 18b as he interjects, “Oh, wi... Li te malen!” When MVJ begins her next turn as speaker, she too begins with an upward nod of the head in Image 18d.

Group 2 monolingual participants exhibit differences in gaze patterns, as the interlocutor on the right in Image 19 below, DM, is looking away from the current

¹¹ Wolof for “hyena”

speaker while listening and must first direct his gaze to the speaker in order to initiate his turn at talk.



a



b



c



d

Image 19. Group 2 monolingual initiating speaker turn

Text:

DM: But, I mean, I'm sure you've figured out...

In Image 19a, DM, a PCCE monolingual participant, leans in without making eye contact with a speaker who sits off camera to his left. Signaling his desire to begin speaking, DM makes eye contact with the off camera speaker in Image 19b. As he begins speaking in Image 19c, DM performs a gesture with his hands while still maintaining gaze with the off camera participant. Image 19d shows him looking away and leaning back as he continues in his turn.

PCCE group participants turn to face interlocutors to relinquish turn-at-talk, often leaning in toward their addressee. In Image 20, the PCCE monolingual on the right leans towards his addressee while looking at him in an attempt to relinquish his turn at talk.



a



b



c



d

Image 20. Group 2 monolingual – relinquishing turn

Text:

DM: There's a lot of social issues that have transpired (a) over the years and over history. Probably not so much now... (b) You know, if you were to come up, grow up (c) living on the Island, it... it's probably not the same as when you were in high school or even... (d)

As this sequence begins, DM alternates between making eye contact with a previous speaker who sits off camera while gesturing to illustrate his speech. In Image 20b, DM turns and leans toward JM while gesturing with his hands in an attempt to

relinquish his turn. When JM does not begin speaking, DM continues to gaze at JM in Image 20c, but leans away as he maintains his speaker turn. To relinquish his turn-at-talk in Image 20d, DM again leans toward JM, gesturing towards him with his hands this time in closer proximity.

Thus, there is a noticeable shift in the usage of non-verbal conversational regulators among the generations of Pointe Coupee participants, with younger PCCE participants not touching the addressee to maintain speaker turn and relying more heavily on body positioning and gaze direct and avert to initiate, maintain, or relinquish speaker turn.

CHAPTER 8. CONCLUSION

This study began by asserting that the nonverbal communication patterns of the Pointe Coupee Creole community differ from the nonverbal patterns of other English-speaking residents of the United States. This hypothesis was demonstrated as there were several features observed in the Pointe Coupee Creoles of Group 1, which were not found in the Anglo-American data of the Control Group. These include: frequent co-verbal gesturing, a longer duration of gesture phrases, a smaller personal sphere leading to close spacing while seating, and a wide gestural sphere which combined with the close spacing facilitates touch as a means of regulating the flow of conversation among the PCC-dominant Creoles of Group 1.

While closely observing the movements made by PCC dominant participants (Group 1), I noticed that there were many sequenced gestures, which directly corresponded to their verbal utterances. These *gestural phrases* included not only the gesture, but also the preparation preceding the gesture, the pre-stroke hold, the post-stroke hold, and the retraction (McNeill, 2005). As found by McNeill, these pre- and post-stroke holds were often repeated until the co-expressive speech had ended. In conversations with PCC speakers, these sequences were often long and ran into the next gesture phrase.

In each of the selected segments, the frequency and duration of gestural phrases made by participants were noted. While there was not a noticeable difference in the frequency and duration of gesturing between Group 1 (PCC) and Group 2 (PCCE), there was a difference between the Pointe Coupee participants and the Control Group regarding both frequency and duration. The participants in the Control Group gestured rarely and

when they did, these gestures were of short duration. In contrast, Group 1 participants gestured frequently and for an average of a second longer than the Control Group.

Speaker proximity to addressee was significantly different for PCC-dominant speakers and speakers in the control group. Where participants in all groups showed a preference for gestures centered on the speaker (proximity 3), Group 1 participants were the only participants whose gestures involved touching their interlocutors while conversing (proximity 1). Although one of the three control videos was recorded outside of the home in the break room at work, all participants in this study were given a table to sit around. PCC dominant speakers moved their seats and leaned in so that they sat nearly touching each other. Control Group participants did not lean in, never touched, and even leaned back when making larger gestures.

My second hypotheses asserted that nonverbal communicative patterns would parallel verbal communication trends toward obsolescence. Among the generations of PCC speakers available for this study, it was apparent that the language system of the Creole people of Pointe Coupee Parish shifted from the French-based Creole language spoken by older generations of Pointe Coupee Creoles to the English language spoken by their American neighbors as there are few PCC speakers in the younger generation (Group 2). There could be numerous causes for this language shift such as the fact that the Anglo-American population in Pointe Coupee Parish has increased in size, English is the language of business and education in the United States, or the lack of prestige associated with the PCC language. Whatever the reasons for this, language shift has occurred in Pointe Coupee Parish, Louisiana. As language and gesture work together in communication, I expected to find that the nonverbal communicative patterns of the

younger generation of Pointe Coupee Creoles had likewise shifted to the nonverbal patterns observed in other English-speaking Americans. The evidence gathered from natural conversations between Group 1 and Group 2 speakers on the frequency and duration of gestures and gesture phrases, the spacing of conversation participants and proximity of gestural spheres, and the categories of gestures performed show that there is evidence of a shift in the gestural practices of the younger generation of PCCE-dominant speakers (Group 2), but this shift is not as complete as expected.

The use of touch in conversation provides the strongest evidence of a shift in the nonverbal trends of the White Creole people of Pointe Coupee. To regulate the flow of the conversation, PCC-dominant Group 1 participants already seated in close proximity to interlocutors reached out and touched their addressee as if to physically hold them back from entering the conversation at a transition relevance point. This display of touching to maintain turn-at-talk was unique to Group 1 participants and was found in Group 1 conversations in both PCC and PCCE.

While Group 2 participants do use nonverbal means to regulate speaker turn-at-talk, there were no instances of touching to regulate the flow of conversation among the younger generations of PCCE speakers in the video segments analyzed for this study. The more common gestural regulators found among participants in Group 2 involve using body positioning and the head to begin or relinquish a turn-at-talk. For example, to indicate the desire to add something to the conversation, a Group 2 addressee may begin to nod his or her head upward. PCCE group participants turn to face interlocutors to relinquish turn-at-talk, often leaning in toward their addressee. The Group 2 monolingual

participants also exhibit differences in gaze patterns, such as looking away from the speaker while listening and gaze direct to the speaker in order to initiate turn-at-talk.

In abandoning the practice, common in Group 1, of touching to maintain speaker turn Group 2 participants have dropped a marked feature of the conversational regulatory system of the PCC-dominant Group 1. Group 2 participants develop a system of regulating turn-at-talk, which maintains some features found in Group 1, such as leaning in and nodding, while adopting the Anglo-American gaze patterns described by Hall and discussed in Chapter 2. Thus, there is a noticeable shift in the usage of non-verbal conversational regulators among the generations of Pointe Coupee participants, with younger PCCE participants not touching the addressee to maintain speaker turn and relying more heavily on body positioning and gaze direct and avert to initiate, maintain, or relinquish speaker turn.

While the PCC-dominant Group 1 participants, when conversing with other Group 1 participants, held their bodies and limbs in close proximity, occupying a shared personal space, the two videos of cross generational conversations suggest differences in the personal sphere of younger Pointe Coupee Creoles. In the recordings where participants from the different study groups (Groups 1 and 2) converse, there are obvious differences in the personal spheres of the interlocutors with the Group 1 participant reaching over to touch a Group 2 (PCCE monolingual) participant, who sits with folded arms for the majority of the exchange. Illustrating her desire for a larger personal sphere, this Group 2 participant gestured then rested her arms and hands on the table away from the Group 1 interlocutor and his perceived shared space.

In conversations with other PCCE-dominant speakers, Group 2 participants also seated themselves slightly further apart than did the Group 1 participants. This made for a slightly larger personal sphere and a smaller gestural sphere than observed among the PCC-dominant Group 1 participants. For this reason, the gestures performed by Group 2 participants are somewhat further away from the interlocutors than the gestures performed by Group 1 speakers. Unlike the Control Group participants, Group 2 participants did seat themselves closer together and leaned in toward their interlocutors while speaking. Thus while spacing among Group 2 participants was not as close as it was among Group 1 participants, the Group 2 spacing was much closer than the spacing observed in the control videos.

There is, however, also evidence that Group 2 participants maintained some nonverbal patterns found in Group 1, particularly in examining the frequency at which gestures are performed and the duration of these gestures and gesture phrases in both Pointe Coupee study groups when compared to the English-speaking Control Group. There was a large difference in the frequency of gestures performed by the Pointe Coupee study group participants and the frequency of gestures among control group participants, who are all U.S. citizens from outside Louisiana's French triangle. Both Group 1 and Group 2 participants gestured more than twice as frequently as control group participants. Both groups of Pointe Coupee participants also tended to hold gestures longer than the control group participants, as the average duration of gesture phrases among both PCC and PCCE participants was nearly one second longer than the average duration of gesture phrases performed by the Control Group.

Further evidence of gestural pattern maintenance was seen in the use of the shoulder as the joint of articulation for some component of the gestural phrase. As previously mentioned, shoulder articulation is significant as this is the joint indicating the widest sphere available for a speaker performing a gesture. The data revealed that Group 2 participants maintained Group 1 participants' frequent use of the shoulder while gesturing. Use of the shoulder in articulating gestures also illustrates continued differences in trends among the study and control groups, with the study participants articulating gestures from the shoulder more than twice as frequently as participants in the control group. On the rare occasions when control group participants did involve their shoulders while articulating a gesture, they moved the shoulder only slightly or leaned back to avoid entering the personal spheres of other interlocutors.

Further evidence of trend maintenance is found in the bilingual conversations of the two Group 1 and two Group 2 bilinguals. As in Group 1, language choice did not appear to have a bearing on the frequency of gesturing among Group 2 bilinguals; that is, these participants used the same high rate of gestural frequency whether they were speaking in PCC or in PCCE. While the two Group 1 participants tended to prefer PCC when recorded conversing together, it was clear from the data analysis that these two Group 1 participants gestured just as much when they are speaking PCCE with a Group 2 participant as they did when they are speaking PCC to each other. The two PCCE-dominant bilinguals in Group 2 who were recorded together in a bilingual conversation also divided their gestures evenly among co-expressive utterances in PCC and PCCE.

Although the personal spheres of PCCE-dominant Group 2 were not as small (close) as the PCC-dominant Group 1, Group 2 participants did display personal spheres

much smaller or closer together than the Control Group participants, as observed in participant spacing while seated. The maintenance of smaller personal spheres among PCCE-dominant Group 2 participants led to a wide gestural sphere in which interlocutors leaned in while conversing and performed gestures in closer proximity to their addressee. We can understand why Hall (1966) writes, “Proxemic behavior of this sort is culturally conditioned” (p.123), as nonverbal communication patterns are linked to spoken language and to a speaker’s view of the world and his or her relationship to others, which is rooted in cultural heritage, but molded by the present environment.

Thus my second hypothesis cannot be confirmed as stated. While there is some evidence of a shift in the nonverbal trends (i.e. touch), there is also evidence of nonverbal trend maintenance. The nonverbal system (including gesture use, personal sphere, and gaze behavior) demonstrates a greater persistence or vitality than the verbal system, as it is de-coupled from language in the degree to which it is transmitted from generation to generation.

As Hall explains, man cannot “divest himself of his own culture... *because people cannot act or interact at all in any meaningful way except through the medium of culture*” (p.188). Gestures and other nonverbal patterns are part of cultural communication, varying from group to group, including alterations through the generations. This study has shown how nonverbal aspects of communication among Pointe Coupee Creoles have shifted to some degree closer to the patterns of other English-speaking Americans while retaining some features from the previous generation as traces of the Creole past. Limitations to the current study are due primarily to the small sample size. Further study into the history and linguistic situation of this

community is warranted, including closer attention to factors such as gender, ethnicity, education and socioeconomic status, which could play a role in the differences observed in the nonverbal communicative practices of interlocutors.

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APPENDIX A: PARTICIPANTS

Initials	Year of birth	Sex	Ethnicity	Place Raised	Language	Group
CB	1921	male	white Creole	PC - Island	PCC-dominant bilingual	Group 1
CD	1923	male	white Creole	PC - Island	PCC-dominant bilingual	Group 1
MVJ	1945	female	black Creole	PC - Island	PCCE-dominant bilingual	Group 2
NE	1957	female	white Creole	PC - New Roads	English	Group 2
JM	1964	male	white Creole	PC - Island	PCCE-dominant bilingual	Group 2
BC	1967	male	white Creole	PC - Island	PCCE-dominant bilingual	Group 2
DM	1972	male	white Creole	PC - Island	English	Group 2
JB	1935	male	white American	Ohio	English	Control
PT	1942	female	white American	Shreveport	English	Control
SB	1946	female	white American	Ohio	English	Control
MB	1947	male	white American	Northern Indiana	English	Control
LM	1949	female	white American	New Orleans	English	Control
KT	1949	female	white American	New Orleans	English	Control
MW	1955	male	white American	Kansas	English	Control
KJ	1963	male	white American	Northern Indiana	English	Control

APPENDIX B. VIDEO DATA

PCC Data:

CB & CD

BC & MVJ (bilingual conversation)

PCCE Data:

JM & DM

BC & MVJ (bilingual conversation)

CB & NE (cross-generational)

CD & NE (cross-generational)

Bilingual Data:

CB & CD (PCC)

CB & NE (PCCE)

CD & NE (PCCE)

BC & MVJ (bilingual conversation)

Control Data:

JB & SB

LM, KT, & PT

MB, KJ, & MW

APPENDIX C. TRANSCRIBED VIDEO SEGMENTS

Interview with CB & CD

Segment 1

CD: ...*la mèm kote ... kote le babiner(?)*. *Kote bab la ..Se le mèm taille(?)*

CB: *Se kom la tit fiy à Clarence Aguiard... Non, son tit afan... Li dit à sa moman, “You know him?” Mo demand, se.. M’a di à so moman, si Winnie te konen mon! Et kan to rapel on e dezékolie avek vyeu frèr.*

CD: *We! Ein ave ont de vyeu...*

CB: *Ein’a plu sa. E se tou Krèol.*

CD: *Krèol, se tou ...(?)*

CB: Now they got me in my tone! ...To talk French. That’s a bad habit, talk English!

AG: *Mais oui!*

CB: And I tried to teach mine... *To konen sa, to konen byen, Ailene... to te konen byen. Me kofè ye te konen byen, ...e di di di...*

CD: Umhuh.

CB: *Aranj sa! Ye te kone kouri nurse las dedan all night e on met à l’ékol e tou lezautr ye met le drops. E senkant sou par swa ... And try to get young people today!*

Segment 2

CD: *Sa ki rest... Ye pa pousse!*

CB: *Là Berthold, Berthold gone.... Apre Berthold la pren e grafted it ... Pacàn-ye e ...*

CD: *Là e li mouri!*

CB: *E ye te brag de la mond e ye te... Là Dago Robillard komen Berthold vini graft pou li. Me li kouri mèm l’ékol avek mon e se vre! Ein boug a LSU vini montre...Berthold te bon pour sa!*

CD: *We!*

CB: *Mo voule an...anb...anbete sa parskæ mo kone mon te pense le legum(?)*

CD: *We! Te tro traka tou avek ye plant-ye. Pou ven-kat ær ye gen gazon e arose, de koup l'erb tou le tan...*

CB: *Yeah, me arèt! Là to t'e parese!*

CD: *Twa? Mon? Quand [?] nou nouzautr... au Chenal?*

CB: *In no time sa fê! Kan mo just fini là m'a montre twa e twa ... mo gen o... in ma driveway.*

CD: *E kan to plante ye? Kan to plante ye?*

Segment 3

CD ... *jiska mond Baton Rouge komense vini isi pou loue de camps e Jim Jarreau, Lazare [?] e Pierre e la komense l'un apre l'ot...*

CB: *Ah te pre le ti camps au milie ye te komense one hundred fifty dollars se tou la se te koute ye. E jourdui mo pa ka obtyen un eskalie pou one hundred fifty dollars.*

CD: *Eh byen, non!*

CB: *On a parle pou le chmen e tro vwatur an l'il. Dezarpen an deryer Lakeland. To recuille sa?*

CD: *We.*

CB: *E la se tou blacktop e de mezon e I mean komen mo jwa a mon part... frustrated.*

[CD tries to talk] CB: *Si to gen deu coats of paint [??]*

CD: *Kan (?) se malad... à Oakland, lived on Dickenson [...] Evangeline Lane, [...] Laura ale o beauty shop à Madame Lejeune.*

Interview with CB & NE

Segment 1

CB: He was too glad I let him have uh... that and it... cause he's on dope... and I wanna bring for his son... "Yeah, but you don't have something else to put in there?" His son was on dope too! Did you take that already? Dope?

NE: No!

CB: Maybe if we tried to give her a few doses of dope, she'd start to get in love with me! Why you don't wanna get... get in love with me?

NE: Well, because your daughter's my best friend! It might break her heart, if I'd be chasing her daddy over here.

CB: Humm?

NE: If I'm chasing her daddy over here... it might break her heart. Instead of her best friend going to visit her, I'd be coming over here to visit you!

CB: If I had... then... you see, the old lady used to wash the clothes. I used to go hang... hang her drawers up...

Segment 2

CB: You see me? You can say that I joke with women, but to put the hands on the woman... I tried one day... That's not the sister?

NE: Her momma.

CB: Huh?

NE: I mean her aunt.

CB: Uh, her aunt! And she told me, "You too old for me" ...And I played with her hand yeah, I was playing with her hand, yeah! And she said, "Don't' don't do that. That's just gonna excited your head, that!" And pick up... took my pecans and bring them on the porch...

NE: Well, It was time for you to finish. It was raining outside. I was worried about you.

CB: And maybe it was good, yeah!

NE: It was good. Yeah, you needed to quit. You didn't need to be...

CB: You know when you get my age you're not all there, now?!

AG: You seem like you're doing alright.

CB: You know that... you know that...

NE: Seems like you're doing fine...

CB: You know, I mean, you know that when you start getting older because you're not the same person.

Segment 3

CB: If...if you go to bed with a man now, what you'll do with a man in bed?

NE: Well, I might give you a heart attack if I told you...

CB: Let's take a young woman... like I was saying the other day... I forgot the... I was talking about... for the dead batteries... and with an old woman... to remarry. That old woman said, "You can say what you want... even though my battery's dead, I won't charge my battery for another man! Even though she charge her battery... That's it... Ya' time is finished!

NE: My time is finished?! Ya' think?

CB: Listen to me... You don't want me, well I'm gonna put you in your place. Don't fool with another man... because you'll get hurt at your age. Like those... uh black... uh wi... those white women...

Interview with CD & NE

Segment 1

CD: The main reason they left the levee, where the old post was, somewhere in back of New Roads. I don't know. I don't think anybody can ever agree as to where the original post of Pointe Coupee was, but it was somewhere between the ferry landing and... and what we used to call Brooks, Louisiana. That's in the back of New Roads and there was a fort there and there's only a few families... François David, Michel Olinde, your...

NE – Right.

CD: They arrived back in 1721. Okay. They had about twenty soldiers and they had to feed those soldiers. So as soon as they got free, or saved enough, they just left and came on the Island. The Island was surrounded by water and then they didn't have to feed those damn soldiers. They kept their own turnips and potatoes. You see?

NE – Right.

CD: And what ever they were raising. And they came to live here because crossing False River when it was part of the Mississippi was not an easy task...

Segment 2

CD: There's very few people who speak French like we did on the Island. You gotta go to Haiti to run into similarities. And I think, and everybody else does 'cause Mr. Major, Mr. Hoguet Major, used to live on the Island and he was the head of the department of Romance Languages, you know at the time when I was studying. Well he had the belief that when we moved away from the soldiers to save the potato and then when the Ventresses came and there was another one by the name of Farra, Benjamin Farra, and so forth. Uh, they loaned us their, their blacks and the black and the white had to learn some kind of way... Because the blacks spoke a very poor grade of English and the whites spoke a very poor grade of French. Some where along the line we had to get a very poor grade of Franco-English...

Segment 3

CD: As more and more people moved in and uh then speaking English became important because these people couldn't speak French and you wanted that fifty cents or a dollar, so you did that for business. And gradually you got more and more English in here. But World War II did the trick... But World War II took us away and kept us away for three or four years and they didn't speak any French in the Army. They spoke English! When they say, "About face" you better know what they're talking about! [?] French when we went... in World... in France, and when they came around they didn't speak English either. They'd run to me, some of 'em, "*Il y avait quelqu'un qui parle français?*" And they didn't understand that. One old Frenchman I remember so well, we were waiting far off the side of the road, there was a crossroads, come back the man of the seventh [?] They were on trucks, tanks, jeeps, fast tracks. Oh, God! You name it they had it!

Interview with BC & MVJ

Segment 1

MVJ: Uh... *Kompèr Bouki*, uh... my mother used to relay them like a person who was sly, slick!

BC: *Oh, uh we! Li te malin!*

MVJ: *Malin! Sa se vre! To kom Kompèr Bouki, to te malin! Se sa ye te di.*

BC: *E li un peu en nom ki pa bon, me li chinen tou le fwa...*

MVJ: *We, we!*

BC: He always won, he always won. He wasn't...

MVJ: *Malin is right! Li tou juste chinen! Malin et vole un ti brin!*

BC: *We... e ye di l'istwar ou kont-ye se sorti an Afrik e mond ye menen sa avek ye isi. E Alcée Fortier, unn istoryen ki sorti an vil ekri sa vyen de Parwas St. Jacques, me là se just un oral... unn tradityon oral... uh, jusk'a Monseigneur Professor Jarreau ekri sa...*

Segment 2

MVJ: And as the words come then I can remember, you know, what the older people said. And then it comes back to me... And that's the beauty of continuing to talk, *parler* and then it helps you to remember... How do you say remember?

BC: Uh... *rapel*.

MVJ: *Rapel! We... oubli un pe.*

BC: *Ein a kèkchoz ke ye pele* elision. There appears some characteristics of Creole to where elision is one of them. And there's another one, like instead of saying "praline", we say *plarin* and that's metathesis. I think that's what they call it...

MVJ: We say *plarin*...

BC: *Plarine?*

MVJ: We say...

BC: *Plarine*

MVJ: *Plarine* like P-L-A... and then it's actually?

BC: *Praline... e portrait, me...*

Segment 3

MVJ: And then it was a long time before I... I associated *ankor* and "encore" meaning "again". Until one day I was looking at a TV show and it says, "encore" and it says "We're gonna do this again". So then my Creole kicked in and I said, "Oh, that's what my mother was talking about!"

BC: Yeah.

MVJ: Encore, *ankor*... but it's spelled the same way in English, just E-N-C-O-R-E and just English and French...

BC: Right... Uh, huh.

MVJ: Encore, *ankor*

BC: There's a lot of words in the English language that are, you know, borrows from French. English being more of a Germanic language, but you know, borrows, borrows a good bit... They say English is the worst language, well the hardest language to learn...

MVJ: That's what I understand...

BC: *Me se tou chanje avek technology... an Krèol ye pa gen mot pou "airplane" or "television". To ka di sa, "airplane" ou "television"...*

Interview with JM & DM

Segment 1

JM: But these guys coming out... I rent to a lot of people you know from there and it's always, you know, "*Comment ça va?*" You know, but then you get the older people that come from that end and you can really just you know it's, it's not us. It's a whole lot different... But Spike could do both sides of it and uh... But it's all good. But...

DM: Well, no like you were talking about earlier, regretting having, not having learned it. I mean... He was talking about Claibert, his grandfather...

JM: That'd be my grandfather...

DM: That, my grandfather and Claibert were brothers. See Claibert was the oldest, right? I think he was one of the olders (sic) and my grandfather was one of the youngest. So Straw was only probably like twenty years older than Spike. But he spoke, that's all he did was speak Cajun French. So when I was a kid, you know, growing up, I mean it was always natural for people to kind of do that.

Segment 2

JM: Oh he understands, but the other, other one, the oldest one, twelve. He...you know, I never say anything in French. I don't know why I did that. And the reason I call him

Crapaud is one day he was, he climbed up in the bed and it was the funniest thing. He put his little old legs back and he jumped. I... looked just like a frog, frog and when I started calling him *crapaud*, he was young, He'd go "Ribbit, Ribbit". He was born... He was premature about four months. We lost one. They was a set of twins and we lost one. But he was born one pound eleven ounces.

AG: Oh wow!

JM: And he survived. He's had two eye surgeries and a back surgery. He wears little glasses, you know, but he's just smart as a whip. Just, you know... I, I, to get back to the French part, I just wish I could just... And he asked me, cause we have a... uh, and you may want to borrow it...

Segment 3

DM: But, I mean, I'm sure you've figured out... I mean... You also went... especially if you start looking further and further back... I mean... You have some lines drawn between the Island and New Roads. And there's a lot of social issues that have transpired over the years and over history... Probably not so much now, you know. If you were to come up, grow up living on the Island, it... it's probably not the same as living on the Island when you were in high school, or even...

JM: No, everything changed. In fact, that... coming across from Preacher's, where he's building that... I don't know if you've been there... where he's building that subdivision. There's an old wedding trailer that came straight across the, uh... the False River.

AG: Really?

JM: Yep. They dug, I mean, I remember when they cut that other piece to move everything out. But years ago... when, what year was the Mississippi cut off... from here? Seventeen...

DM: Seventeen something.

JM: That's the way they travelled. They didn't have that other piece.

Control Group Interview with JB and SB Segment 1

SB: Becky asked today, when she was on this nostalgia thing, about whether or not we

should come back to South Carolina. She said, “Are you really gonna stay in Shreveport?” And I don’t know, I don’t know! I don’t want to go back north, I’ll tell you that much! But I’m not sure I want to go back to Clinton, South Carolina either! It just scared me a little bit. I gotta be honest with you. I mean, she’s never said anything like that before and... and She’s a very, very smart lady,,, and it’s totally illogical for... for her to say that. I... I just wonder if she’s feeling vulnerable... If she’s feeling old. I’ve never heard her say that before. It kinda freaked me out.

JB: Yeah and lonely (SB: Yeah) and you had befriended (SB: Yeah) her. I mean, how many... other than her son, who lives in St. Louis (SB: Yeah) and who calls her three days a week... (SB: Yeah) You’re very loyal about calling her every Saturday. And should you forget, you go into a bit of a panic attack.

SB; Laughs

Segment 2

JB: ... You don’t know who is calling you from where!

SB: Yeah, that’s true.

JB: Ya know... and a lot of times if I have a complaint about my bill, I might be getting somebody and talking with somebody from the Philipines. The next day it might be India. Ya know? Who knows... This is not unique to the Bairs... But anyway. New Philly, thirteen thousand people... might be up to fifteen now. Uh... Spent my entire childhood growing up there... and... and I liked it! My graduating class had a hundred and forty-eight and um, we had just a lot of fun. My grandfather started a meat market and it was called Bair’s Market. He and a partner started it around 1900.

Segment 3

JB: That's just sorts the way it, it uh it was and... and... I left and went to college and after that, I, ya know, never... would hang around. I.. Boy this is... looking back on it... it's one of the best things. I mean... I have fond memories of my youth and growing up. My high school was great fun. I could see how my parents gave me a good work ethic (SB: Yeah) But to live, which... and be super close to the family was not, un paramount in my life and um...

[Dog barks]

It's just sort of the way it...

SB: It's Jules.

JB: Yeah. But anyway... I forgot what point I...

Interview with LM, KT, and PT

Segment 1

PT: Alright, the dessert. She said they'd make the pralines and I'll have the, Excuse me.

LM: But if you're gonna dot he fajita stack, we'll do the enchiladas. She doesn't need to do the enchiladas. (PT: Yeah) Pat and I'll do that.

KT: Well just since there's only three of us...

LM: I know, but if you're gonna do the meat (KT: Ok) We'll do that and I'll come over and help you with that.

KT: It's no big deal. I do it all the time.

PT: Alright, her name is Leigh L-E-I-G-H Ann (KT: A-N-N?) Pennywell... And what is this address?... Where the party's being held...

KT: Pollard...

PT: Pollard, Pollard isn't it?

KT: Yeah, it's like... I don't know, we need to ask her. And when you and I do the invitations, I wouldn't do "Leigh Ann Pennywell", I'll do "Leigh Ann and Will"

PT: Alright, what time to what time?

LM: Or "William"?

Segment 2

PT: I have about five Hollywood, ya know, director's chairs, too... (KT: Ok) Um, ok and I'll look to find a little flower light... like, uh...

LM: I was gonna say, like...

PT: I wonder if Julie is taking care of the pralines. If she's having somebody make... make 'em.

KT: She said she was gonna call.

PT: Ok and so I've gotta get the rest picked... the pieces...

KT: Yes

LM: We need a big basket.

PT: Oh, I have plenty of baskets. Baskets are easy and we'll get our stuff together at school, all of us... seraps, Mexican hats...

LM: We can put a hat on here with...

KT: Yeah, but I don't think we're gonna get them to wear...

LM: Not to wear... Just for decorations.

Segment 3

PT: ...And the uh...

KT: She's coming over and helping me...

PT: ...address thing... um, gift card! [LM: Yes] Lee and I will make the enchiladas. Oh gosh, we gotta talk about the cookies...

[At the same time]

KT: I don't think we...

LM: I don't mind cooking... I don't mind baking cookies

PT: Really? I'm not good at baking... Or I just need to get the receipe...

LM: Ok, what we can do is mix it all up at one place and then divide the batter and make 'em half and half 'cause that's one hundred cookies.

KT: Ok, well uh we ate a hundred at our table! [Laughter] because we couldn't figure out what was in 'em... "Oh, we need another one!"

PT: Alright, I think this is gonna be a great party. I have the address... 404 Pollard... 6:30-9:00, Leigh Ann and Will...

Interview with MB, KJ, and MW

Segment 1

MB: What do you think has changed for your children growing up in an age where they're so technologically plugged in?

KJ: Well, I don't know. I... uh...I would say that in general kids now a days they want to be entertained in different ways. Um... Our kids want a cell phone and when I was there age, what I wanted more than anything was a stick that was bent in the shape of a gun...

(MB laughs)

KJ: And I was happy the whole day. But um... That's probably not true. I mean... I probably spent just as much time at my mother's hip saying, "I need a bike! I need a new bike!" ... than my kids spend saying, "I need a cell phone! I need a cell phone!" or "I need a new computer, dad. It's too slow."

MB: It's just a way of um... a different way of manifesting the same kind of behavior.

Segment 2

MB: I think of all those things that were done back then. Starting with... well when I was growing up and how now we've either gotten rid of them or at least we try to figure out ways to get rid of them...Like the public housing projects. That what they thought that was the savior of the inner city, you know and all the poor people. Of course it destroyed their communities and that turned out to be worse thing. And I think even the construction of the interstate highway system. You know some people are saying "What have we done to our cities, cutting these broad swaths through them and dividing them?" And of course, I know in Boston that they did they have... its basically well what they've done they've got to have a place for the automobile a place where you can put them out of view and restore continuity in the urban landscape. There were a number of things where they thought, "This is the solution to this problem" and they just went ahead and did it.

Segment 3

MW: I like Johnson City. Between there and Fredericksburg there's ten wineries and a distillery.

MB: (nods & laughs) Oh yeah!

KJ: Johnson City? Is that where they make the brats?

MW: Hum?

KJ: Is that where they make the brats?

MW: No, no. They make one big brat. (laughs)

MB: If you go up a little ways from there to uh New Braufields. That's where you...

MW: Yeah, that's where you get your brats.

MB: They have their own version of Oktoberfest in New Braunfields. [...] A lot of Texas A&M students go over there to get into trouble too

MW: I imagine and Oktoberfest is the setting for that.

MB: Oh well! So how do you guys reconcile yourselves to putting up with all the nonsense we hear everyday...

APPENDIX D. GESTURE DATABASE

Data shown in this appendix is organized by group and lists the video segment (1-3) for each conversation. The gestures performed by the different participants are numbered within each segment and their duration in seconds is shown beside the co-occurring speech. The category of gesture (as described by Ekman and Freisen) is listed for each, as well as a brief description on the gesture, gesture phrase, or sequence of gestures. Finally the joint or joints from which the participants articulate the gestures and the proximity at which they are performed are noted.

Conversation (Group 1)	Segment	Gesture Phrase #	Performed by	Duration	Co-expressive speech	Category of Gesture	Description of gesture or gestural sequence/phrase	Body Parts Involved	Joint(s) of Articulation	Proximity
CB & CD	1	1	CD	4	kote le babiner(?) Kote bab la ..Se le mem taille(?)	Illustrator - deictic	R makes big gest twice, shakes head	R index, hand, arm, head (side to side)	elbow, shoulder, then wrist in full extension point	2
CB & CD	1	2	CB	2	a Clarence Aguillard	Illustrator - deictic	R thump point over shoulder; then hand flips flat on table	R hand & arm	wrist, elbow, shoulder	3
CB & CD	1	3	CB	2.5	"You know him?" "	Illustrator - deictic	R index points out	R hand & arm	shoulder, elbow, wrist	2
CB & CD	1	4	CB	3.5	Mo deman, se.. m'a di a so moman, "Si Winnie te konnen mon.	Illustrator - deictic	points to chest, then out, then back to chest	R hand & arm	shoulder, elbow, wrist	3
CB & CD	1	5	CB	1	è kan to rapel on a dezekolie	Illustrator - deictic	L hand touches CD, then moves forward	L hand & arm	shoulder, elbow, wrist	1
CB & CD	1	6	CB	2	on è dezékolie avek vyeu frèr.	Illustrator	L hand moves from CD to center, palm up	L hand & arm	shoulder, elbow, wrist	2
CB & CD	1	7	CB	1	En n'a plu sa.	Illustrator	L open hand gestures up from table	L Hand	wrist	3
CB & CD	1	8	CB	4	È se tou kreyòl...	Regulator (beginning turn)	turns to look at CD, maintains gaze until CD speaks	head	neck	3
CB & CD	1	9	CB	1	Mè kofair ye te konen bien	Regulator (holding turn)	L open hand touches CD	L hand & arm	wrist, elbow, shoulder	1
CB & CD	1	10	CB	2	...è di di di...	Illustrator	counts on fingers	L Hand	knuckles, wrist	2
CB & CD	1	11	CB	1	---	Regulator (holding turn)	touches CD again	L hand & arm	wrist, elbow, shoulder	1
CB & CD	1	12	CB	2	Aranj sa!	Regulator (holding turn)	touches CD again	L hand & arm	wrist, elbow, shoulder	1
CB & CD	1	13	CB	4	las dedan <i>all night</i> on met a l'ekòl	Illustrator - baton	L fingers touche table	hands & arms	knuckles, wrist	2
CB & CD	1	14	CB	1	è tou lez otr	Illustrator - baton	R fist to table	hand & arm	elbow	3
CB & CD	1	15	CB	2	ye met le <i>drops</i>	Illustrator - kinetograph	2 fingers to eye; R open hand up	hand & arm	elbow, knuckles	3
CB & CD	1	16	CB	2	È senkant sou par swa ...	Illustrator	R flat hand raised to head then moves toward CD	hand & arm	elbow	2
CB & CD	1	17	CB	1	<i>and try to get young people today!</i>	Illustrator	R flat hand raised toward CD	hand & arm	elbow	2

Average 2.12

Conversation (Group 1)	Segment	Gesture Phrase #	Performed by	Duration	Co-expressive speech	Category of Gesture	Description of gesture or gestural sequence/phrase	Body Parts Involved	Joint(s) of Articulation	Proximity
CB & CD	2	1	CB	1	...Berthold <i>gone</i> ...	Affect Display	shoulder shrug	head, shoulders	neck, shoulders	3
CB & CD	2	2	CB	5	Berthold la pren è <i>grafted it</i> ... Pacàn-ye	Illustrator - baton	Beats: fist on table & hold, repeats	hand, arm	elbow, wrist	3
CB & CD	2	3	CB	1	ye te <i>brag</i>	Illustrator	L hand raises slightly & opens	hand, arm	elbow, knuckles	3
CB & CD	2	4	CB	2	Là Deigo Robillard	Regulator (holding turn)	L fist taps CD	hand, arm	shoulder, elbow	1
CB & CD	2	5	CB	1.5	Mè, li kouri...	Regulator (holding turn)	touches CD again	hand, arm	elbow	1
CB & CD	2	6	CB	1.5	...meme l'ekòl	Illustrator - deictic	index point	hand, arm	knuckles, shoulder, elbow	2
CB & CD	2	7	CB	1	Enn boug a LSU...	Regulator (holding turn)	open hand almost touches CD	hand, arm	wrist, elbow	1
CB & CD	2	8	CB	1	vini montre...	Illustrator	palm up hand moves to center, ends palm flat on table	hand, arm	shoulder	2
CB & CD	2	9	CB	2	Mo voule em..emb..embete sa	Regulator (beginning turn)	turns head to CD & open hand moves toward CD	head, hand, arm	neck, shoulder	2
CB & CD	2	10	CB	2	parsque mo kone mon te pense	Illustrator	2 open hands, fingers spread as if to hold something & shake	hands, arms	elbows, wrists	2
CB & CD	2	11	CB	1	---	Affect Display	frowns & negative head shake after speaking	face	face	3
CB & CD	2	12	CD	2	et arose, de koup l'herb tou le tam...	Illustrator	2 hands make small circle on table	hands, arms	elbows	3
CB & CD	2	13	CD	1	kan kèkenn parl a la pares... .nou-nou zotr... tou sela	Illustrator - deictic	index point at table	hand	knuckles, wrist	3
CB & CD	2	14	CD	1	... au Chenal	Illustrator - deictic	index point over shoulder	hand, arm	knuckles, elbow	3
CB & CD	2	15	CB	3	Kan mo juste fini là... mo montre twa	Illustrator - deictic	open hand extended arm point	hand, arm	elbow, shoulder	2
CB & CD	2	16	CB	2	o la... <i>in ma driveway</i> .	Illustrator - deictic	open hand extended arm point	hand, arm	elbow, shoulder	2
				Average	1.65					

Conversation (Group 1)	Segment	Gesture Phrase #	Performed by	Duration	Co-expressive speech	Category of Gesture	Description of gesture or gestural sequence/phrase	Body Parts Involved	Joint(s) of Articulation	Proximity
CB & CD	3	1	CD	5	... jiska mond Baton Rouge komense vini ici pou loue de kamp	Illustrator - deictic	alternating flat hands touch table and move outward	hands	wrists	3
CB & CD	3	2	CD	2	Lazare [??] et Pierre	Illustrator -	index point, repeats	hand, arm	elbow	3
CB & CD	3	3	CD	1	komense	Illustrator	raises 2 open hands to chest	hands, arms	elbows	3
CB & CD	3	4	CB	1	ye te komense	Illustrator - baton	flat hand taps table	hand	wrist	3
CB & CD	3	5	CB	1	E jourd'wi	Illustrator - baton	flat hand taps table	hand	wrist	3
CB & CD	3	6	CB	1	le chmen	Illustrator -	deictic head nod while speaking	head	neck	3
CB & CD	3	7	CB	1	de zarpan	Illustrator -	bigger nod	head	neck	3
CB & CD	3	8	CB	1	To rekule sa?	Regulator (relinquishing)	nods to CD	head	neck	3
CB & CD	3	9	CB	1	E là se tou <i>blacktop</i> ...	Regulator (beginning turn)	nods to CD	head	neck	3
CB & CD	3	10	CD	1	Ouais	Illustrator	affirmative nod w/ "ouais"	head	neck	3
CB & CD	3	11	CB	2	è de mezon...	Illustrator	2 hands open with fingers spread & pointing upward holding pose raises hands, then flips horizontal	hands, arms	elbows, wrists	3
CB & CD	3	12	CB	3	è <i>I mean</i> kòman mo joint a mon part... ; frustrated.	Illustrator	vertical hands w opposing open palms lowered to table then lap	hands, arms	elbows, wrists	3
CB & CD	3	13	CB	6	Parske... [CD trying to talk] Si to gen deu coats of paint...	Illustrator - kinetograph	hands raised from lap to table; 2 index rubs over extended L index & middle finger; then moves to 2 hand chop,	hands, arms, fingers	elbows, wrists, knuckles	3
CB & CD	3	14	CD	6	à Oakland, <i>lived on</i> Dickenson [...]	Illustrator - deictic	hand traces route/roads	hands, arms	elbows, wrists, shoulders	3
				Average	2.29					

Conversation (Group 1)	Segment	Gesture Phrase #	Performed by	Duration	Co-expressive speech	Category of Gesture	Description of gesture or gestural sequence/phrase	Body Parts Involved	Joint(s) of Articulation	Proximity
CB & NE	1	1	CB	1	He was too glad I let him have uh...	Illustrator - baton	raises hand in loose fist on table	hand, arm	wrist, elbow	2
CB & NE	1	2	CB	1	... and that's it...	Illustrator - baton	2 hands tap table with fingertips	hands, arms	fingers, wrist	3
CB & NE	1	3	CB	1	cause he's on dope!...	Illustrator w/ Affect Display	turns to NE & raises eyebrows	head, face	neck	3
CB & NE	1	4	CB	2	...And I went and bring for his son...	Regulator (holding turn)	touches NE; then loose fist flat on table	hand, arm	elbow, shoulder	1
CB & NE	1	5	CB	1	"Yeah, but you don't have..."	Illustrator - spatial movement	negative head shake	head	neck	3
CB & NE	1	6	CB	1	...something else to put in there?"	Illustrator - spatial movement	2 hands shake	hands, arms	wrists, elbows	3
CB & NE	1	7	CB	3	His son was on dope too!	Illustrator	turns to NE; then negative head shake	head	neck	3
CB & NE	1	8	CB	2	Did you take that already, dope?	Regulator (relinquishing turn)	turns to NE; holds...	head	neck	3
CB & NE	1	9	CB	4	...tried to give her a few doses of dope, she'd start to get in love with me!	Illustrator - deictic	thumb point to NE; hand shakes w thumb & index in "c"; then thumb points to self	fingers, hand, arm	knuckles, wrist, elbow	1
CB & NE	1	10	CB	2	Why you don't want to get... get in love with me?	Regulator (relinquishing turn)	turns to NE, head moves back & taps R hand	head & hand	neck & wrist	1
CB & NE	1	11	CB	1	Humm?	Regulator (relinquishing turn)	turns to NE	head	neck	3
CB & NE	1	12	CB	4	If I had... then...	Illustrator - baton	2 hands tap	fingers, hands	knuckles, wrist	3
CB & NE	1	13	CB	2	...you see the old lady used to wash the clothes	Illustrator	2 hands move back to self	hands, arms	wrists, elbows	3
CB & NE	1	14	CB	2	Then when... (laughs) I'd go hang...	Regulator (holding turn)	touches NE	hand, arm	elbow, shoulder	1
CB & NE	1	15	CB	3	...hang her drawers up...	Illustrator - kinetograph	2 hands raise as if hanging clothes	hands, arms	wrists, elbows, shoulders	3

Average 2.00

Conversation (Group 1)	Segment	Gesture Phrase #	Performed by	Duration	Co-expressive speech	Category of Gesture	Description of gesture or gestural sequence/phrase	Body Parts Involved	Joint(s) of Articulation	Proximity
CB & NE	2	1	CB	3	You see me?	Regulator (holding turn)	looks at NE; holds	head	neck	2
CB & NE	2	2	CB	3	... I joke with women, but to put the hands on	Illustrator	2 hands extended on table; then shake	hands, arms	elbows, wrists	2
CB & NE	2	3	CB	2	I tried one day...	Regulator (holding turn)	R hand touches NE...	hands, arms	elbow, wrist	1
CB & NE	2	4	CB	3	You can ask your sister... No, that's not the sister?	Illustrator - deictic	...then raises up	hand, arm	elbow	2
CB & NE	2	5	CB	4	And she told me, "You're too old for me!"	Illustrator	2 hands flip outward, hold, then back to table	hands	wrists	3
CB & NE	2	6	CB	3	...And I played with her hand, yeah!	Illustrator	touches NE, then back to table	hand, arm	elbow, shoulder	1
CB & NE	2	7	CB	1	"Don't, don't do that. That's just going to..."	Illustrator	negative head shake, hands flip up at wrist	head, hands	neck, wrists	3
CB & NE	2	8	CB	4	"...excited your head, that!"	Illustrator	2 index fingers raise to temples and make circles	hands, arms	elbows, wrists	3
CB & NE	2	9	CB	5	... and pick up, took my pecans...	Illustrator - deictic	nods toward porch	head	neck	3
CB & NE	2	10	CB	2	And maybe it was good, yeah!	Regulator (relinquishing turn)	looks at NE, then nods	head	neck	3
CB & NE	2	11	CB	1	...you're not all there, now?!	Illustrator	negative nod	head	neck	3
CB & NE	2	12	CB	3	You know that... you know that?	Regulator (holding turn)	looks, holds look, then touches NE	hand, arm	wrist, elbow	1
CB & NE	2	13	CB	5	You know, I mean, you know that when you start getting older because you're not the same person.	Regulator (holding turn)	touches and holds	hand, arm	wrist, elbow	1

Average 3.00

Conversation (Group 1)	Segment	Gesture Phrase #	Performed by	Duration	Co-expressive speech	Category of Gesture	Description of gesture or gestural sequence/phrase	Body Parts Involved	Joint(s) of Articulation	Proximity
CB & NE	3	1	CB	1	...What you'll do...?	Illustrator - baton?	flips hand to touch NE	hand, arm	wrist	1
CB & NE	3	2	CB	4	Let's take a young woman...	Affect display - mischief	looks at AG, then NE	head	neck	3
CB & NE	3	3	CB	2	...like I was saying the other day...	Regulator (holding turn)	touches NE	hand	wrist	1
CB & NE	3	4	CB	2	I forgot the...	Illustrator - baton	taps table	hand	wrist	2
CB & NE	3	5	CB	4	...for the dead batteries...	Illustrator - baton & Regulator (holding turn)	2 hands raise from table facing each other; ends touching NE	hands	wrists	1
CB & NE	3	6	CB	1	...to remarry	Regulator (holding turn)	touches NE	hand	wrist	1
CB & NE	3	7	CB	7	That old woman said, "You can say what you want, I won't charge my battery for another man!"	Illustrator - baton	leans back, then nods and sways to punctuate story	head, body	neck, waist	3
CB & NE	3	8	CB	1	Even though...	Regulator (holding turn)	touches NE	hand, arm	wrist, elbow	1
CB & NE	3	9	CB	3	That's it! Your time is finished!	Regulator (relinquishing turn)	looks, holds, nods	head	neck	3
CB & NE	3	10	CB	10	Listen to me. You don't want me, well I'm going to put you in your place.	Regulator (beginning turn) & Illustrator - baton	nods, looks at NE & taps	head, hand	neck, wrist	2
CB & NE	3	11	CB	6	...Like those... uh black (laughs) uh whi... those white women...	Regulator (holding turn)	touches and holds	hand, arm	wrist, elbow	1

Average 3.73

Conversation (Group 1)	Segment	Gesture Phrase #	Performed by	Duration	Co-expressive speech	Category of Gesture	Description of gesture or gestural sequence/phrase	Body Parts Involved	Joint(s) of Articulation	Proximity
CD & NE	1	1	CD	2	The main reason...	Regulator (beginning turn)	leans forward & R hand moves toward NE in a loose point	torso, hand	waist, elbow	3
CD & NE	1	2	CD	5	they left the levee... where the old post was, somewhere in back of New Roads. I don't know.	Illustrator	R arm extended w/ open hand, wrist moves horizontally, then hands down	arm	shoulder and elbow	4
CD & NE	1	3	CD	8	as to where the original post of Pointe Coupée was	Illustrator	2 open hands palms down at chest level	arms	elbow	3
CD & NE	1	4	CD	6	somewhere between the ferry landing and what we used to call Brooks	Illustrator	R hand moves right, L hand moves L; 2 hands come together and fingers shake	arms	shoulders, knuckles	3
CD & NE	1	5	CD	1	a fort there	Illustrator	R hand taps table, with nod	hand, arm, head	elbow, wrist, neck	3
CD & NE	1	6	CD	1	and there's only a few families...	Illustrator	2 hands center, palms down	arms	elbows	3
CD & NE	1	7	CD	2	François David	Illustrator	2 hands flip up	arm, hand	elbow, wrist	3
CD & NE	1	8	CD	3	Michel Olinde, your...	Illustrator	R thumb pt over shoulder, then L hand points to NE	arm, hand	elbow, wrist	3
CD & NE	1	9	CD	1	They arrived back in 1721	Illustrator - baton	hand beats on table w/ nod	arm, head	elbow, neck	2
CD & NE	1	10	CD	1.5	They had about twenty soldiers and they had to feed those soldiers.	Illustrator	2 hands extended to R; move toward S, nod	arm, head	elbow, neck	4
CD & NE	1	11	CD	2	they just left and came on the Island	Illustrator	2 hands reach out away from S then move toward S's body	arms	shoulder and elbow	4
CD & NE	1	12	CD	5	The Island was surrounded by water and then they didn't have to feed those damn	Illustrator - pictograph	index finger traces outline of Island on table; then hands down	arm, hand	shoulder and elbow	3
CD & NE	1	13	CD	1	They kept their own turnips and potatoes. You see?	Regulator (holding turn)	turns & touches NE as begins utterance	hand, arm, head	neck, elbow	1
CD & NE	1	14	CD	2	And they came to live here	Illustrator	2 hands center move toward self	hands, arms	wrists, elbows	3

Average 2.89

Conversation (Group 1)	Segment	Gesture Phrase #	Performed by	Duration	Co-expressive speech	Category of Gesture	Description of gesture or gestural sequence/phrase	Body Parts Involved	Joint(s) of Articulation	Proximity
CD & NE	2	1	CD	1.5	There's very few people who speak French	Illustrator - ideograph	Index finger wave	hand and fingers	wrist, knuckles	3
CD & NE	2	2	CD	2	like we did on the Island.	Illustrator - pictograph	palm down fingers trace Island on table	hand and arm	elbow	2
CD & NE	2	3	CD	4	You got to go to Haiti to run into similarities.	Illustrator - deictic	R thumb pt over shoulder on "Haiti" & hold	hand and arm	elbow	3
CD & NE	2	4	CD	1	and everybody else does	Illustrator - baton	2 hand wrist flip	hands	wrists	3
CD & NE	2	5	CD	1	Mr. Hoguet Major...	Illustrator - baton	nod	head	neck	3
CD & NE	2	6	CD	2	used to live on the Island...	Illustrator - deictic	R index point	hand and arm	elbow, shoulder, knuckles	2
CD & NE	2	7	CD	1.5	and he was the head of the department of Romance Languages	Illustrator - deictic	L hand flips over shoulder	arm	elbow	3
CD & NE	2	8	CD	2	you know at the time when I was studying.	Illustrator - pictograph	2 hands trace circle on table	arms	elbows	3
CD & NE	2	9	CD	1	Well he had the belief	Illustrator - baton	2 hands tap table	hands	wrists	3
CD & NE	2	10	CD	5	that when we moved away from the soldiers to save the potato...	Illustrator - kinetograph	2 hands form cup w fingers touching, draws to self	hands, arms	elbows	2
CD & NE	2	11	CD	6	and then when the Ventresses came and there was another one by the name of Farra, Benjamin Farra	Illustrator - ideograph	2 hands move left; then open slightly; then hands flatten	hands, arms	elbows, shoulders	2
CD & NE	2	12	CD	6	...They loaned us their, their blacks	Illustrator - ideograph	beat on table & opens with palms opposing	hands	elbows	3
CD & NE	2	13	CD	2	...and the black and the white had to learn some kinda way...	Illustrator - baton	leans to camera w/ nod	head, body	neck, waist	4
CD & NE	2	14	CD	7	the blacks spoke a very poor grade of English and the whites spoke a very poor grade of French. Some where along the line...	Illustrator - ideograph	flat hands move to left; R flat hand moves R; 2 flat hands come together	hands, arms	elbows	2

Average 3.00

Conversation (Group 1)	Segment	Gesture Phrase #	Performed by	Duration	Co-expressive speech	Category of Gesture	Description of gesture or gestural sequence/phrase	Body Parts Involved	Joint(s) of Articulation	Proximity
CD & NE	3	1	CD	3	As more and more people moved in	Illustrator - kinetograph	2 loose open hands at chest	arms, hands	elbows, wrists	4
CD & NE	3	2	CD	4	then speaking English became important because these people couldn't speak French	Illustrator - ideograph	2 palms facing move R then L, then to table; L flat hand moves forward	arms, hands	elbows	3
CD & NE	3	3	CD	5	...and you wanted that 50 cents or a dollar, so you did that for	Illustrator - baton	2 hands flat on table; 2 hands move forward	arms, hands	elbows, wrists	3
CD & NE	3	4	CD	1	Gradually...	Illustrator - baton	L hand flips up thumb	arm, hand	elbows, wrists	3
CD & NE	3	5	CD	1	But World War II did the trick...	Illustrator - baton	2 hands flip up from table then return	arms, hands	elbows, wrists	3
CD & NE	3	6	CD	5	World War II took us away and kepoint us away for 3 or 4 years	Illustrator - deictic	2 hands w/ thumbs up, L hand sweeps table; 2 flat hands over R shoulder; L index point	arms, hands	elbows, wrists	4
CD & NE	3	7	CD	2	And they didn't speak any French in the	Illustrator - deictic	L index points right	arm, fingers	elbow, knuckles	3
CD & NE	3	8	CD	8	When they say, "About face" you better know what they're talking about!	Affect Display & Adaptor	L hand sweeping table (adapointor?)	face, head, arm	neck, wrist, elbow	3
CD & NE	3	9	CD	4	in World... in France, and when they came around they didn't speak English either.	Illustrator - deictic	R index point to table & traces fingers on table	hand, finger	wrist, knuckles	3
CD & NE	3	10	CD	2	They'd run to me, some of 'em...	Illustrator - deictic	R index point at table	hand, finger	wrist, knuckles	3
CD & NE	3	11	CD	3	"Il y avait quelqu'un qui parle français?"	Illustrator - baton	2 loose flat hands raised from table to chest w palms down	arms	elbows	3
CD & NE	3	12	CD	1.5	One old Frenchman, I remember so well...	Illustrator - baton	nod	head	neck	3
CD & NE	3	13	CD	2	we were waiting far off the side of the road...	Illustrator	2 flat hands move apart	arms, hands	elbows, wrists	4
CD & NE	3	14	CD	1.5	there was a crossroads...	Illustrator - pictograph	R hand traces road on table	arm	elbow, shoulder	3
CD & NE	3	15	CD	4	come back the man of the Seventh Armament	Illustrator - kinetograph	R hand moves far off to R	arm	elbow, shoulder	4
CD & NE	3	16	CD	3	They were on trucks, tanks, jeeps, fast tracks	Illustrator - baton	raises 2 hands to punctuate each noun	arms, hands	elbow, shoulder, wrists	3
Average				3.13						

Conversation (Group 2)	Segment	Gesture Phrase #	Performed by	Duration	Co-expressive speech	Category of Gesture	Description of gesture or gestural sequence/phrase	Body Parts Involved	Joint(s) of Articulation	Proximity
JM & DM	1	1	JM	3	these guys coming out,,, I rent to a lot of people you know from there	Illustrator - kinetograph	L palm up, fingers extended loosely gesture back and forth	hand & fingers	wrist & fingers	3
JM & DM	1	2	JM	1	you know, "Comment ça va?"	Illustrator	L palm down, fingers spread loosely, moves R to L at chest level	hand & arm	wrist & elbow	2
JM & DM	1	3	JM	3	then you get the older people that come from that end and you can really just you know	Illustrator	L palm & fingers to side with tips bunched together; then fingers open slightly & hand moves toward body; head nod to side (negative)	hand & arm & head	wrist, elbow, shoulder, nod	2
JM & DM	1	4	JM	2	It's, it's not us.	Illustrator	shakes head in negative; L hand moves R to L palm down at shoulders	head, hand, arm	neck, wrist, elbow	2
JM & DM	1	5	JM	1	It's a whole lot different...	Illustrator	2 hands crossed in front of body on table, flip up and out	hands	wrist	3
JM & DM	1	6	JM	4	But Spike could do both sides of it...	Illustrator - ideograph	R hand flips back in forth on table ("both sides")	hand	wrist, neck	3
JM & DM	1	7	JM	1	It's all good...	Illustrator	2 hands crossed on table, move up to chest still crossed; fingers tight and slightly bent; shake back & forth	hand & arm	wrist & elbow	3
JM & DM	1	8	DM	3	No, like you were talking about...	Illustrator - deictic	R thumb points to JM on R	hand	wrist	3
JM & DM	1	9	DM	1	not having learned it...	Illustrator	flat R hand w thumb up, slices toward JM as leaning	hand, arm, body	wrist, elbow, shoulder, waist	2
JM & DM	1	10	DM	3	I mean...He was talking about Claibert, his...his	Illustrator - deictic	R thumb point twice	hand & arm	wrist, elbow too on 2nd	2
JM & DM	1	11	DM	3	That... My grandfather and Claibert were brothers.	Illustrator - deictic	R thumb points to self (chest); then to JM; then back to chest	hand, arm, body	wrist, elbow, shoulder, waist	2
JM & DM	1	12	DM	6	See Claibert was the oldest, right? I think he was one of the olders and my grandfather was one of the youngest.	Illustrator - ideograph	2 hands perpendicular to table with thumbs up; R arm extended, L arm/hand close to self (demonstrating age range b/t Spike & Straw)	hand, arm, body	wrist, elbow, shoulder, waist	2
JM & DM	1	13	DM	5	So Straw was only probably like twenty years older than Spike.	Illustrator - deictic	L hand palm up points to JM and holds	arm, body	elbow, shoulder, waist	2
JM & DM	1	14	DM	3	he spoke... That's all he did was...	Illustrator	L hand maintains position, but moves on top of R hand, then back out to R wrist; then back to hand	arm, body	elbow, shoulder, waist	2

Average 2.79

Conversation (Group 2)	Segment	Gesture Phrase #	Performed by	Duration	Co-expressive speech	Category of Gesture	Description of gesture or gestural sequence/phrase	Body Parts Involved	Joint(s) of Articulation	Proximity
JM & DM	2	1	JM	1	Oh, he understands...	Emblem	nods	head	neck	3
JM & DM	2	2	JM	2	...the other, other one, the oldest one, twelve	Illustrator	2 hands together on table, roll to S, fingers extend, palms facing each other, R hand rolls over L and back	hands, arms	elbow, later shoulder	2
JM & DM	2	3	JM	3	you know, I never say anything in French. I don't know why I did that.	Illustrator	R hand flips R, then 2 hands together, repeats twice	hand	elbow	2
JM & DM	2	4	JM	4	the reason I call him crapaud is one day he was,	Illustrator - deictic	R index point & holds while L hand bounces from shoulder to face to table	arms & hands	R shoulder, L elbow	2
JM & DM	2	5	JM	1	he climbed up in bed...	Illustrator - deictic	R hand points up from table	R hand	R wrist	2
JM & DM	2	6	JM	7	He put his little old legs back and he jumped.	Illustrator - kinetograph	2 arms move to S, positioned like frog legs, hands "jump" forward, hands flat on table; repeats with less movement	arms & hands	shoulders, elbows	3
JM & DM	2	7	JM	4	and when I started calling him crapaud...	Illustrator - deictic	L index point, hands together, repeats L index point; hands end together on table	L arm & hand	L shoulder, elbow	2
JM & DM	2	8	JM	6	He was premature about four months. We lost one. They was a set of twins and we lost one.	Illustrator - deictic	L hand touches L temple; R hand extends in loose index point; R index point extends from shoulder & alternates w/ middle finger; L hand down from temple w/ index & middle extended, fingers flip in "v", to index point, to fists (R on table, L in air)	arms & hands	shoulders, elbows, wrists	2
JM & DM	2	9	JM	4	But he was born one pound eleven ounces.	Illustrator - baton	L fist opens loosely & bounces w/ thumb & index touching & pinky spread; middle to pinky close to fist; bounces again w/ pinky extended	L arm & hand	L elbow, wrist	2
JM & DM	2	10	JM	3	He's had two eye surgeries and a back surgery.	Illustrator - deictic	L hand raise to S in fist; index and middle extended; L index point over R shoulder	L arm & hand	L elbow, wrist	3
JM & DM	2	11	JM	1	He wears little glasses...	Illustrator - pictograph	L fist opens loosely near S's face; R hand raises to S's face, fingers curled loosely; R hand back to table, L hand to chin	arms & hands	elbow, L wrist	3

JM & DM	2	12	JM	2	I, I... to get back to the French part...	Illustrator - deictic	L hand moves in loose fist from chin to R shoulder, to index & middle finger pt in front of S, moves to L then R	arms & hands	elbows, wrists	2
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Conversation (Group 2)	Segment	Gesture Phrase #	Performed by	Duration	Co-expressive speech	Category of Gesture	Description of gesture or gestural sequence/phrase	Body Parts Involved	Joint(s) of Articulation	Proximity
JM & DM	2	13	JM	2	I just wish I could just...	Illustrator - baton	R loose fist moves up from table to chest level & repeats	R arm & hand	R elbow	2
JM & DM	2	14	JM	3	And he asked me, because we have a	Illustrator - deictic	R index pt, repeats from shoulder	R arm & hand	R elbow, then R shoulder	2
				Average	3.07					

Conversation (Group 2)	Segment	Gesture Phrase #	Performed by	Duration	Co-expressive speech	Category of Gesture	Description of gesture or gestural sequence/phrase	Body Parts Involved	Joint(s) of Articulation	Proximity
JM & DM	3	1	DM	6	But, I mean, I'm sure you've figured out... I mean... You also went... especially if you start looking further and further back	Regulator (beginning turn)	2 hands, fingers extended, palm up on table; thumbs up, palms move to touching as S leans back then forward; hands still touching move L then R; then hold	hands & arms	wrists, elbows, body	2
JM & DM	3	2	DM	2	You have some lines drawn between	Illustrator - ideograph	R hand fingers extended thumb up, moves forward on table, then back (as if drawing line)	R arm & hand	R shoulder	3
JM & DM	3	3	DM	1	"the Island"	Illustrator	2 hands make "quotation marks" in air near S's head	arms, hands, & fingers	elbows, shoulders, 2 fingers	3
JM & DM	3	4	DM	2	and New Roads.	Illustrator - deictic	2 hands return to table loosely with palms facing each other in "cup"	arms & hands	elbows & shoulders	2
JM & DM	3	5	DM	4	there's a lot of social issues that have transpired	Illustrator	R hand extends on table palm up with fingers at 90 degrees; thumb tucks as hand moves back to S; repeats extension w thumb tucked	R arm & hand	shoulder	2
JM & DM	3	6	DM	2	over the years and over history...	Illustrator - baton	R hand in same position taps table further and further out 5x	R arm & hand	R shoulder & elbow	2
JM & DM	3	7	DM	3	Probably not so much now, you know.	Illustrator	R palm up with lax hand, thumb extended	R arm & hand	R wrist, elbow, then shoulder	2
JM & DM	3	8	DM	5	If you were to come up, grow up living on the Island, it...	Illustrator - ideograph	2 open hands, palms come together & hold touching while tapping table	hands & arms	elbows, then shoulders as body moves	2
JM & DM	3	9	DM	3	as living on the Island when you were in high school, or even...	Illustrator - deictic	L flat hand crosses R to pt to JM & hold; then R hand moves back R as JM starts talking	L hand & arm	shoulder, then elbow	2
JM & DM	3	10	JM	6	n fact, that... coming across from Preacher's, where he's building that... I don't know if you've been there...	Illustrator - deictic	JM turns w index point off camera & holds	head, body, L arm	neck, body, shoulder	5
JM & DM	3	11	JM	1.5	where he's building that subdivision.	Illustrator	2 hands come together at eye level while still turned on "building that subdivision"	arms & hands	shoulders, elbows, then wrists	4
JM & DM	3	12	JM	9	There's an old wedding trailer that came straight across the, uh... the False River.	Illustrator - deictic	JM turns w index point off camera & holds; head turns back & arms fold in front of S	head, body, L arm	neck, body, shoulder	5

(continued)

Conversation (Group 2)	Segment	Gesture Phrase #	Performed by	Duration	Co-expressive speech	Category of Gesture	Description of gesture or gestural sequence/phrase	Body Parts Involved	Joint(s) of Articulation	Proximity
JM & DM	3	13	JM	1	They dug...	Illustrator - kinetograph	L hand openloosely flips up, out then to S on "They dug up..." while R arm moves across body on table; ends w hand together on table	L arm; then body	wrist, elbow, then body & shoulder	3
JM & DM	3	14	JM	3	I remember when they cut that other piece to move everything out.	Illustrator - deictic	2 hands raise and open in loose double index point at DM, then away to open hands palms facing at S's chest; hands move in & out; then rest on table L over R	arms & hands	wrist, elbow, then body & shoulder	2
JM & DM	3	15	JM	3	But years ago, when...	Illustrator - deictic	L index point with body turned, moves off camera; returns to face forward	L arm; then body	wrist, elbow, then body & shoulder	5
JM & DM	3	16	JM	4	What year was the Mississippi cut off from here	Illustrator - deictic	R index & thumb point; holds	R arm & hand	elbow & wrist	3
JM & DM	3	17	JM	3	That's the way they travelled.	Illustrator - deictic	L index point moves off camers while R arm moves to table; S index points at different sites off camera	L arm; then body	shoulder, then elbow	5
Average				3.44						

Conversation (Group 2)	Segment	Gesture Phrase #	Performed by	Duration	Co-expressive speech	Category of Gesture	Description of gesture or gestural sequence/phrase	Body Parts Involved	Joint(s) of Articulation	Proximity
BC & MVJ	1	1	BC	1	Oh, uh ouais!	Regulator (beginning turn)	nods while talking	head	neck	3
BC & MVJ	1	2	MVJ	2	Malen! Sa se vre!	Illustrator	index extended, hand above head, point & return	finger, hand, arm	knuckles, wrist, elbow	3
BC & MVJ	1	3	BC	3	...li chinen tou le fwa...	Illustrator	2 open hands gesture up and out, maintain until resumes TAT	hands, arms	wrists, elbows	2
BC & MVJ	1	4	MVJ	1	Ouais, ouais!	Regulator	nod	head	neck	3
BC & MVJ	1	5	BC	4	...He always won. He always won.	Illustrator - ideograph	still extended hands move one at a time back & forth to chest	hands & arms	wrists, elbows	2
BC & MVJ	1	6	BC	1	[...chinen!]	Regulator	nods while MVJ is talking	head	neck	3
BC & MVJ	1	7	BC	1	ou konte-ye se sorti en Afrik	Illustrator	raises 2 open hands palms facing in	hands & arms	wrists, elbows	3
BC & MVJ	1	8	BC	2	ye menen sa avek ye	Illustrator - ideograph	as if tracing path from Africa to La, raises hands up & to left	hands & arms	wrists, elbows	3
BC & MVJ	1	9	BC	5	isi	Illustrator - deictic	on "ici" open hands with inward facing palms drops to table	hands & arms	wrists, elbows	3
BC & MVJ	1	10	BC	2	ki sorti en vil	Illustrator - deictic	R index point to R	finger, hand, arm	knuckles, wrist, elbow	3
BC & MVJ	1	11	BC	4	ekri sa	Illustrator - kinetograph	kinetograph of writing, holds .02 secs then points	finger, hand, arm	knuckles, wrist, elbow	3
BC & MVJ	1	12	BC	1	Mè la	Illustrator - deictic	R index point	finger, hand, arm	knuckles, wrist, elbow	2
BC & MVJ	1	13	BC	4	enn oral... une tradition orale	Illustrator - ideograph	rolls one open hand over the othe, palms inward	hands & arms	wrists, elbows	3
BC & MVJ	1	14	MVJ	1	"	Regulator	nods while BC is talking	head	neck	3
BC & MVJ	1	15	BC	2	M Profeseur Jarreau ekri sa	Illustrator - kinetograph	wags finger as if writing	finger, hand, arm	knuckles, wrist, elbow	2
Average				2.27						

Conversation (Group 2)	Segment	Gesture Phrase #	Performed by	Duration	Co-expressive speech	Category of Gesture	Description of gesture or gestural sequence/phrase	Body Parts Involved	Joint(s) of Articulation	Proximity
BC & MVJ	2	1	MVJ	3	...can remember, you know, what the older people said	Illustrator - baton	flips away from body on "remember"; repeats on "older people"	hand, arm	wrist	3
BC & MVJ	2	2	MVJ	1	... it comes back to me...	Illustrator - ideograph	hand flips in on "come back"	hand, arm	wrist	3
BC & MVJ	2	3	MVJ	1	...continuing to talk	Illustrator - baton	flips out on "continuing"	hand, arm	wrist	3
BC & MVJ	2	4	MVJ	1	...then it helps you to remember	Illustrator - baton	flips in to body on "helps you"	hand, arm	wrist	3
BC & MVJ	2	5	MVJ	1	"Rapel"	Illustrator - deictic	2 handed loose index finger point	finger, hands, arms	knuckles, wrists, elbows	3
BC & MVJ	2	6	BC	3	Il y a kèkchoz ke ye pele elisjon	Regulator (beginning turn)	looks away from MVJ	head	neck	3
BC & MVJ	2	7	BC	3	...instead of appelle, rapelle	Illustrator - kinetograph	finger "writes" something in air	finger, hand, arm	knuckle, wrist, elbow	3
BC & MVJ	2	8	BC	2	There appears some characteristics...	Illustrator - ideograph	2 hands palms out	hands, arms	elbows, wrists	3
BC & MVJ	2	9	MVJ	2.5	"	Regulator	nods while BC speaks	head	neck	3
BC & MVJ	2	10	BC	2	...elision is one of them...	Regulator	looks away from MVJ	head	neck	3
BC & MVJ	2	11	BC	2	instead of saying "pralin" we say "plarin"	Illustrator - baton	index point, then tap	finger, hand, arm	knuckle, wrist, elbow	3
BC & MVJ	2	12	BC	2	that's metathesis	Illustrator - ideograph	2 fingers in "V" shape flip back & forth	finger, hand, arm	knuckle, wrist, elbow	3
BC & MVJ	2	13	MVJ	3	We say, um, "pralin"...	Illustrator - baton	flat hand & fingers tap table	hand, fingers	wrist, knuckles	3
BC & MVJ	2	14	BC	3	"Praline"?... "Plarine".	Illustrator - baton	nods	head	neck	3
BC & MVJ	2	15	MVJ	5	P-L-A, like "pla"	Illustrator - baton	hands & fingers tap table, hammering out pronunciation of "praline"	finger, hand, arm	knuckle, wrist, elbow	3
BC & MVJ	2	16	BC	1	"Praline"	Illustrator - kinetograph	finger writes out word	finger, hand, arm	knuckles, wrist	3
BC & MVJ	2	17	BC	2	Et "portrait"	Illustrator - deictic	R hand palm flat raises to point to a portrait off camera	hand, arm	elbow, wrist	2

Average 2.21

Conversation (Group 2)	Segment	Gesture Phrase #	Performed by	Duration	Co-expressive speech	Category of Gesture	Description of gesture or gestural sequence/phrase	Body Parts Involved	Joint(s) of Articulation	Proximity
BC & MVJ	3	1	MVJ	1	"ankor"	Illustrator - baton	nods	head	neck	3
BC & MVJ	3	2	MVJ	5	..."again". Until one day I was looking at a TV show	Illustrator	2 hands, fingers roll out from chest	hands, arms	wrists, elbows	3
BC & MVJ	3	3	MVJ	1	"ankor"	Illustrator	R hand flips flat on table	hand	wrist	2
BC & MVJ	3	4	MVJ	1	it says, "We're going to do this again"	Illustrator - ideograph	R hand palm down touches table w/ fingers spread, moves as if reading a word	hand, fingers, arm	wrist, elbow	3
BC & MVJ	3	5	MVJ	3	then my Creole kicked in	Illustrator - ideograph	2 hands touch temples and hold	hands, arms	wrists, elbow, knuckles	3
BC & MVJ	3	6	MVJ	1	"Oh, that's what..."	Illustrator - deictic	index point at temples while still holding	hands, arms	wrists, elbows	3
BC & MVJ	3	7	MVJ	1	"Encore, ankor"	Illustrator - baton	2 hands flip palm up and out from temples[on "encore...encore"]	hand, fingers, arm	wrists, elbow, knuckles	3
BC & MVJ	3	8	BC	2	""	Regulator	nods while MVJ talks	head	neck	3
BC & MVJ	3	9	MVJ	2	But it's spelled the same way in English	Regulator (holding turn)	2 hands flip outward at face level	hands	wrists	3
BC & MVJ	3	10	MVJ	2	... just E-N-C-O-R-E	Illustrator - kinetograph	fingers write out word in air	fingers, hands	knuckles, wrists	3
BC & MVJ	3	11	MVJ	2	...its English and French	Illustrator - baton	bunched fingers point forward & again	fingers, hands	knuckles, wrists	3
BC & MVJ	3	12	MVJ	1	Encore... encore	Illustrator	2 hands flip outward at face level	hands	wrists	3
BC & MVJ	3	13	BC	1	...in the English language	Illustrator	R hand flips up then back down	hand	wrist	3
BC & MVJ	3	14	BC	2	...you know, borrows from...	Illustrator - kinetograph	2 hand flip back & forth	hands, arms	wrists, elbows	3
BC & MVJ	3	15	BC	6	They say English is the worst, well the hardest language to learn.	Regulator (relinquishing turn)	looks at MVJ waiting for her to talk	head	neck	3
BC & MVJ	3	16	BC	7	an kreyol, ye pa gen mo pou "airplane" or "television"; To ka di sa...	Illustrator - baton	raises open hand palm inward, holds; raises up; raises higher; 2 hands	hands, arms	wrists, elbows	3

Average 2.38

Conversation (Control)	Segment	Gesture Phrase #	Performed by	Duration	Co-expressive speech	Category of Gesture	Description of gesture or gestural sequence/phrase	Body Parts Involved	Joint(s) of Articulation	Proximity
JB & SB	1	1	SB	1	...when she was on this...	Illustrator	R hand flips outward from chin with fingers extended & loosely spread; then returns to chin	hand	wrist	3
JB & SB	1	2	SB	1	I'll tell you that much!	Affect Display?	2 hands fingers up, palms out; move out; then together with fingertips touching	hands	wrists	3
JB & SB	1	3	JB	1	"	Emblem?	nods while SB speaks	head	neck	3
JB & SB	1	4	SB	1	But I'm not sure...	Illustrator	fingertips separate, palms still opposing	hands	wrists	3
JB & SB	1	5	SB	1	...just scared me a bit	Illustrator	2 hands gesture slightly away from cup between them on "It just scared me..."	hands	wrists	3
JB & SB	1	6	SB	6	She's a very, very smart lady	Illustrator	L hand moves away from cup and stiffens with fingers tight; holds	hand	wrist	3
JB & SB	1	7	SB	1	I just wonder if she's...	Illustrator	raises L hand & moves it inward slightly; then back to cup	hand & arm	elbow	3
JB & SB	1	8	SB	1	...feeling vulnerable	Illustrator	2 hands flip off cup briefly on "vulnerable"	hands	wrists	3
JB & SB	1	9	SB	1	...feeling old	Illustrator	2 hands flip off cup briefly on "old"	hands	wrists	3
JB & SB	1	10	SB	1	It kind of freaked me out.	Illustrator	2 hands flip off cup briefly on "freaked"	hands	wrists	3
				Average	1.50					

Conversation (Control)	Segment	Gesture Phrase #	Performed by	Duration	Co-expressive speech	Category of Gesture	Description of gesture or gestural sequence/phrase	Body Parts Involved	Joint(s) of Articulation	Proximity
JB & SB	2	1	JB	3	You don't know who is calling you from where!	Affect Display	leans forward with eyebrows raised	body (upper)	waist	3
JB & SB	2	2	JB	2	... I might be getting somebody	Illustrator - deictic	R hand raises from table w index & middle fingers extended but together; back down	arm, hand, fingers	wrist, shoulder, fingers	2
JB & SB	2	3	JB	2	The next day it might be India	Illustrator - deictic	Quickly index & middle fingers point forward; then thumb point over shoulder	hand, arm	wrist & elbow	3
JB & SB	2	4	JB	1	...you know? Who knows?	Illustrator	2 hands flip outward with palms up	hands & arms	wrists & elbows	3
JB & SB	2	5	JB	1	New Philly	Illustrator - baton	nods for emphasis	head	neck	3
JB & SB	2	6	JB	1	thirteen thousand people	Illustrator - baton	nods for emphasis	head	neck	3
JB & SB	2	7	JB	1	might be up to fifteen now	Illustrator	R open hand with finger spread & palm vertical moves R then back	hand, arm	wrist & elbow	3
JB & SB	2	8	JB	2	my entire childhood growing up there...	Illustrator - ideograph	R palm down w fingertips traces circle on table	hand, arm	wrist, elbow, shoulder	3

Average 1.63

Conversation (Control)	Segment	Gesture Phrase #	Performed by	Duration	Co-expressive speech	Category of Gesture	Description of gesture or gestural sequence/phrase	Body Parts Involved	Joint(s) of Articulation	Proximity
JB & SB	3	1	JB	1	...just sort of the way it...	Illustrator - ideograph	R hand palm down w fingertips down towards table makes loose circle	hand & arm	elbow	3
JB & SB	3	2	JB	9	I left and went to college and after that, I, you know, I'd go back and visit, but I... I never would hang around	Illustrator - spatial movement?	R hand palm down w fingertips down towards table taps table, moves R; then further R; then forward in loose circle twice; the 2 loose hand circles the opposite direction on "never"	hand & arm	wrist, elbow, & shoulder	2
JB & SB	3	3	JB	5	...fond memories of my youth and growing up.	Illustrator	2 hands gesture together with palms up & fingers loose; holds position; then raises arms slightly from shoulders twice	Hands & arms	wrist, elbow, & shoulder	3
JB & SB	3	4	JB	3	I could see how my parents gave me a good work ethic	Illustrator	R hand palm up, fingers loose moves L; then R; then L again; ends center	hand & arm	elbow	3
JB & SB	3	5	SB	1	Yeah.	Affect Display	nods while saying "Yeah"	head	neck	3
JB & SB	3	6	JB	6	But to live, which... and be super close to the family	Illustrator - spatial movement?	R hand palm down fingers spread toward table taps table several times; then bounces to R	hand & arm	Wrist & elbow	3
JB & SB	3	7	JB	1	um, paramount	Illustrator	R hand maintains position; bounces again; then motions as if going over a hill w hand in same position as above	hand & arm	wrist, elbow, & shoulder	3
JB & SB	3	8	JB	1	in my life	Illustrator	R hand palm up, fingers loose gestures up and away from S	hand & arm	Wrist & elbow	3
JB & SB	3	9	JB	2	[dog barks at door]	Illustrator - deictic	R index point at door twice (deixis)	hand & arm	Wrist & elbow	3
				Average	3.22					

Conversation (Control)	Segment	Gesture Phrase #	Performed by	Duration	Co-expressive speech	Category of Gesture	Description of gesture or gestural sequence/phrase	Body Parts Involved	Joint(s) of Articulation	Proximity
LM, KT, & PT	1	1	LM	2	But if you're going to do the fajita stack	Illustrator - deictic	L index points, wags, & retracts (deixis)	hand (fingers) & arm	elbow, wrist, & finger	2
LM, KT, & PT	1	2	LM	1	She doesn't...	Illustrator - deictic	L index point (deixis)	hand (fingers)	wrist	3
LM, KT, & PT	1	3	LM	3	...but if you're going to do the meat	Illustrator - deictic	L flat hand extends as both open hands point to KT (deixis)	hands & arms	elbow, wrist, & finger	2
LM, KT, & PT	1	4	KT	1	I do it...	Illustrator	L loose hand filps outward from lap briefly	hand	wrist	3
LM, KT, & PT	1	5	PT	1.5	Where the party's being held...	Illustrator - deictic	L hand hangs loosly & points down twice (deixis)	L hand & arm	elbow, then wrist	3
				Average	1.70					

Conversation (Control)	Segment	Gesture Phrase #	Performed by	Duration	Co-expressive speech	Category of Gesture	Description of gesture or gestural sequence/phrase	Body Parts Involved	Joint(s) of Articulation	Proximity
LM, KT, & PT	2	1	PT	1	you know, director's chairs	Illustrator - pictograph	raises 2 hands from lap to chest level, palms facing, thumbs up	arms & hands	elbows	3
LM, KT, & PT	2	2	LM	1	[...taken care of the pralines...]	Emblem	nods while point speaks	head	neck	3
LM, KT, & PT	2	3	LM	4	We need a big basket	Illustrator - pictograph	2 hands raise up from lap palms facing, extended fingers spread; both hands rotate palm down & hold while point responds	arms & hands	elbows & wrists	3
LM, KT, & PT	2	4	LM	3	We can put a hat on here with...	Illustrator - deictic & pictograph	L open hand gestures to table & traces outline of hat, pointing out decorations	arm & hand	shoulder & wrist	3
				Average	2.25					

Conversation (Control)	Segment	Gesture Phrase #	Performed by	Duration	Co-expressive speech	Category of Gesture	Description of gesture or gestural sequence/phrase	Body Parts Involved	Joint(s) of Articulation	Proximity
LM, KT, & PT	3	1	PT	4	...address thing...	Illustrator - pictograph	L hand raises w thumb and index in "c" shape; then beats 3x while holding shape	hand (fingers)	elbow	3
LM, KT, & PT	3	2	PT	1	...um, gift card!	Affect Display?	L arm raises quickly as she thinks of the word	arm	elbow	3
LM, KT, & PT	3	3	PT	1	I just need to...	Illustrator	2 open hands gesture outward	arms	elbows	3
LM, KT, & PT	3	4	LM	6	...mix it all up at one place and then divide the batter and make them half and half, because that's only 100 cookies.	Illustrator - kinetograph	2 open hands up to chest level w palms up & fingers spread; moves to S with palms facing; then to L; then wrists rotate so fingers touch with palms facing out; make circle ending w palms facing down; R hand makes small circle from wrist, ending with both palms up; then both hands back to lap	arms & hands	elbows & wrists	3

Average 3.00

Conversation (Control)	Segment	Gesture Phrase #	Performed by	Duration	Co-expressive speech	Category of Gesture	Description of gesture or gestural sequence/phrase	Body Parts Involved	Joint(s) of Articulation	Proximity
MB, KJ, & MW	1	1	KJ	1	...and when I was their age...	Illustrator	hand flips up to vertical at lap	hand	wrist	3
MB, KJ, & MW	1	2	KJ	2	...was a stick that was bent in the shape of a gun	Illustrator - pictograph	2 hands raise up from lap with fingers together & opposing, then pull apart showing the size/shape of the stick, ends with hands in lap	hands, arms	elbows, then slight widening from shoulders	3
MB, KJ, & MW	1	3	KJ	1	...was happy the whole day.	Illustrator - pictograph	hand flips up to vertical at lap	hand	wrist	3
MB, KJ, & MW	1	4	MB	1	It's just a way...	Regulator	hand flips up horizontally on table	hand	wrist	3
Average				1.25						

Conversation (Control)	Segment	Gesture Phrase #	Performed by	Duration	Co-expressive speech	Category of Gesture	Description of gesture or gestural sequence/phrase	Body Parts Involved	Joint(s) of Articulation	Proximity
MB, KJ, & MW	2	1	MB	0.25	...well when I was...	Illustrator	hand flips out from chin	hand	wrist	3
MB, KJ, & MW	2	2	MB	2	...or at least we try...	Illustrator	hand flips out from chin & is held out until next gesture	hand	wrist	3
MB, KJ, & MW	2	3	MB	4	...Like the public housing projects.	Illustrator	2 horizontal hands come together, palms touching, holds	hands	wrists, elbows	3
MB, KJ, & MW	2	4	MB	1	...the savior of the inner city...	Illustrator - baton	2 hands flip outward	hands	wrists, elbows	3
MB, KJ, & MW	2	5	MB	1	...all the poor people.	Illustrator - baton	2 hands flip outward	hands	wrists, elbows	3
MB, KJ, & MW	2	6	MB	1	...turned out to be the worst thing...	Illustrator - baton	2 hands flip outward	hands	wrists, elbows	3
MB, KJ, & MW	2	7	MB	3	"...cutting these broad swaths through them and dividing them?"	Illustrator - kinetograph	2 hands come to chest, then together move up & outward twice	hands, arms	wrists, elbows	2
MB, KJ, & MW	2	8	MB	3	...done is they've got to have a place for automobile, a place where you can put them out of view	Illustrator - baton	2 hands flip outward on "done" "automobile" & "view"	hands, arms	wrists, elbows	3
MB, KJ, & MW	2	9	MB	1	... and restore continuity...	Illustrator - ideograph	2 hands move apart palms down to start gesture of moving together	hands, arms	wrists, elbows	3
MB, KJ, & MW	2	10	MB	1	... a number of things...	Affect display	shakes head	head	neck	3
MB, KJ, & MW	2	11	MB	1	"This is the solution.."	Illustrator	2 hands flip outward	hands, arms	wrists, elbows	3
MB, KJ, & MW	2	12	MB	2	...just went ahead and did it.	Illustrator	2 hands come to chest, then together move away from chest with palms facing outward	hands, arms	wrists, elbows	2
Average				1.69						

Conversation (Control)	Segment	Gesture Phrase #	Performed by	Duration	Co-expressive speech	Category of Gesture	Description of gesture or gestural sequence/phrase	Body Parts Involved	Joint(s) of Articulation	Proximity
MB, KJ, & MW	3	1	MB	0.25	Oh yeah!	Affect display	loose index point	hand	wrist	3
MB, KJ, & MW	3	2	MB	4	If you go up a little ways from there to, uh... New Braunsfields, that's where you...	Illustrator - deictic	finger wags	hand, fingers	knuckles, wrist, elbow (some)	3
MB, KJ, & MW	3	3	MW	1	Yeah, that's where you get your brats...	Emblem	nod	head	neck	3
MB, KJ, & MW	3	4	KJ & MW	1		Emblem	Nods while MB speaks	head	neck	3
MB, KJ, & MW	3	5	MW	1	I imagine...	Emblem	nod	head	neck	3
Average				1.45						

VITA

Elsie Angélique Bergeron Gardner was born in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, in September of 1978. She attended Catholic of Pointe Coupee in her native New Roads, Louisiana, until leaving to complete high school at Louisiana School for Math, Science, and the Arts in Natchitoches, Louisiana. She earned her Bachelor of Arts in French with a minor in African studies from the University of Texas at Austin in 1999. She spent several years teaching high school French in Texas, where she expanded her school's French program with enrollment growth and the addition of an Advanced Placement French Literature course. In 2004 Ms. Gardner returned to Louisiana to pursue graduate studies. While enrolled full-time at Louisiana State University, she worked as a graduate teaching assistant in the French Studies Department and as departmental liaison to Friends of French Studies. She was also vice president and founding member of the Linguistics Graduate Student Organization, during which time she assisted in hosting a symposium on Louisiana dialects and cultures. In 2006 she received a master's degree in French Studies from LSU and subsequently began doctoral studies in the same department. Ms. Gardner has presented her original research at national and international conferences.

Ms. Gardner worked extensively with Les Créoles de Pointe Coupée, compiling a bilingual collection of personal oral histories and songs, *Vini Ensamn*. Ms. Gardner has also worked on various projects with the Pointe Coupee Historical Society and has successfully secured grants for historical markers and programs. Her most recent grant commissioned a bicentennial play based on historical accounts of Julien Poydras petitioning for statehood to be performed as part of the statewide bicentennial celebration. She currently serves as Executive Director of the Pointe Coupee Historical Society and is responsible for the operation of the Julien

Poydras Museum and Arts Center. In this capacity she has also helped produce *New Roads and Old Rivers: Louisiana's Historic Pointe Coupee Parish* to be published by LSU Press in 2012.