DISMANTLING "THE MASTER'S TOOLS": MOVING STUDENTS' RIGHTS TO THEIR OWN LANGUAGE FROM THEORY TO PRACTICE

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ABSTRACT: This article considers how linguists (more specifically, linguists from the U.S. South) view their responsibility to advance educational equality and justice. Drawing upon insights learned from working with inclusive groups of Southern K–12 educators, the authors call upon linguists to broaden their focus and extend their engagement efforts from K–12 to the sphere of higher education. African American, Latinx, Native American, and Asian American students and faculty are particularly underrepresented in linguistics departments. These disparities require linguists to think more deeply about what linguistics is, who it is for, and who it benefits so that they might develop strategies and models for social change. This article provides theoretical discussion on these issues and offers practical strategies that linguists can use to address underrepresentation, broaden participation, and promote inclusive student achievement in higher education. With their disciplinary insights into communication, culture, educational equity, and linguistic justice, linguists—particularly Southern linguists—are well positioned to contribute to educational justice in ways that benefit our discipline, speakers, communities, and academia at large.

KEYWORDS: inclusion, broadening participation, education, engagement, linguistic justice.

BOTH OF US IDENTIFY as Southern scholars, born and raised in Virginia and North Carolina, respectively. In line with the social movement argument that the personal is political, we recognize how our own histories and cultures have influenced our development as scholars and our perspectives on the role of language and linguistic research. The way we see justice and injustice has much to do with the long history of racial segregation and economic and social disparities in the Southern communities that we grew up in—which informs our own sense of personal and professional responsibility to ourselves and to our families, communities, institutions, and disciplines.

Much of our research and engagement-based work has centered on K–12 education, stemming from "Language Variation in the Classroom"

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(2008–15), a six-year umbrella initiative through which we held professional development workshops with several hundred K–12 educators across Virginia and Maryland and drew participants for subsequent research studies. Through this initiative, our primary goal—working with Southern-based educators to understand language differences, pedagogical practices, and student assessment—related to linguistic diversity and language variation, particularly for students from Southern and/or African American backgrounds (see, e.g., Charity Hudley and Mallinson 2011, 2014, 2016).

In this article, we extend this work to share insights learned from Southern educators that have inspired us to think more deeply about what linguistics is, who it is for, and who it benefits. Across the South, in cities and states (including Virginia and Maryland) where African American as well as Latinx, Asian, multiracial, and other nonwhite populations are increasingly substantial and growing in number, students and faculty from these backgrounds are nevertheless not comparably represented on our research university campuses. As such, we must broaden our focus, not only engaging with K–12 educators to spread linguistic knowledge, but also to engage with fellow linguists as we consider the role we should play in inclusion in higher education. And as Southern scholars, we further assert that we must ask specific questions, such as those articulated in Cress, Collier, and Reitenauer (2013), about our role in Southern neighborhoods and communities as well as on our academic campuses, particularly in our own linguistics departments.

This reframing, in which we turn a critical lens on ourselves, reflects and dovetails with the message of poet and activist Audre Lorde, whose often-quoted statement "the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house" informs the title of this article. As Lorde (1984, 112) states,

> Those of us who stand outside the circle of this society's definition of acceptable women; those of us who have been forged in the crucibles of difference—those of us who are poor, who are lesbians, who are Black, who are older—know that survival is not an academic skill. It is learning how to stand alone, unpopular and sometimes reviled, and how to make common cause with those others identified as outside the structures in order to define and seek a world in which we can all flourish. It is learning how to take our differences and make them strengths. For the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house. They may allow us temporarily to beat him at his own game, but they will never enable us to bring about genuine change.

Exclusion versus inclusion, and social change/social justice—these are issues on which the Linguistic Society of America (LSA) has taken a definitive stance in recent years. John Rickford's (2016) LSA presidential address was a direct call to action for linguists to "get off our linguistic asses" and use linguistic knowledge to address social challenges. For linguists who decide

to carry out this agenda, we must think just as much about how we formulate our political, social, and intellectual agendas individually and collectively as we do about how we formulate our research.

Our rationale for and the pursuit of linguistic justice, specifically in the South, is also informed by Martin Luther King, Jr. At a staff retreat of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in South Carolina in 1967, a year before he was assassinated, King stated, "We have moved from the era of civil rights to the era of human rights, an era where we are called upon to raise certain basic questions about the whole society. [...] The whole structure of American life must be changed. [...] We in the civil rights movement must come all out now and make it clear that America is a hypocritical nation and that America must set her own house in order." King's call to action compels us to ask whether, as Southern linguists, our own houses are in order. Within this intellectual frame, we reject the notion that basic research is separate and distinct from research that is applied and/or oriented toward social justice (Charity Hudley and Mallinson 2018). Instead, we adhere to a model of research that recognizes how linguistic and social inequalities are intertwined, while at the same time recognizing language as an important mechanism for social change.

How do linguists view our responsibility to address injustice, specifically in the South? And how can we use linguistic knowledge and tools to combat social inequalities that are particular to and prevalent in contemporary Southern educational settings? We respond to Lorde's and King's calls by discussing inclusion in linguistics and in the South and demonstrating how we have begun this reflective and conscious process. We focus on the population of scholars that we henceforth call "Southern linguists"—a term we use to refer to (1) other linguists such as ourselves who identify as Southern or who have past or present ties to this region; (2) linguists who study varieties of Southern U.S. English (SUSE) or other languages and language varieties (such as Appalachian English) located/spoken in the South, broadly defined; and (3) linguists whose academic positions locate them at Southern colleges or universities and/or who work with students from the South. Though such efforts will not fully solve inclusion challenges in linguistics or the South, we nevertheless share insights, provide examples of important questions to ask, and discuss potential mechanisms and models for change.

Throughout this article we discuss the importance of refocusing our approach as Southern linguists to the study of linguistic perception in the South. Such refocusing requires us to do an accounting of where we stand as Southern linguists. We must not only study what people with no education in linguistics (such as most K–12 educators) perceive and do—though their insights can be critically important to our own reappraisals, as we will

describe—but we must also take a closer look at the tools we are using and the research questions we are asking, using an intersectional approach that incorporates Black Studies and Southern Studies. We must examine how raciolinguistic ideologies are reproduced in linguistic/academic work in/on/about the South, and we must actively ground our research in models that contest and resist them. Finally, we must strive to create a more socially just teaching environment, in which we facilitate the acquisition of knowledge about and demonstrate the value of SUSE and African American English (AAE), providing space for students to use and acquire these varieties so that we educate the next generation of linguistically and culturally supportive scholars and researchers, within and outside the South.

A CALL TO ACTION FOR SOUTHERN LINGUISTS: GETTING OUR OWN HOUSES IN ORDER

We begin by focusing on linguistic approaches to studying Southern English varieties. Black Studies and Southern Studies matter—everywhere, but particularly in the South, where racial and economic injustices and disparities have a long and lingering history, especially for African Americans (Equal Justice Initiative 2017). As such, when we teach about and do research on language, Southern linguists must not leave race or culture out of the mix. Race and culture are intertwined with language, indeed are mutually constitutive. Therefore, we must interrogate models of SUSE or AAE that simply use race as a direct correlate to linguistic features and that avoid discussion of culture, including Southern culture.

As Charity Hudley (2017) describes more in depth, most research on language variation within and across racial categories has centered on who speaks (or not) a particular language or variety. Linguists still have a tendency to define race with respect to language variety, as in African American English (AAE) or Chicano/Latinx English, and the absence or presence of linguistic features is generally correlated with broad definitions of race. Yet, such models are oversimplified. Language, race, and culture are too imbricated to simply position race as a discrete variable in a checkbox that is then mostly run as correlation in a statistical model. Quantitative findings are important, but in order to be racially inclusive in our work, we must also describe language use by particular cultural groups in time, place, space, and context. To do otherwise can lead to inaccuracies in our linguistic description. For example, a large body of research on SUSE has been carried out by white linguists who have centered their research on white Southern phonological and syntactic features, and listener's reactions to them. In comparison, AAE has largely been treated as a separate and distinct variety and has been disproportion-

ately studied—indeed, one might say overinvestigated (Schneider 1996, 3). This has helped perpetuate the notion that AAE and SUSE are separate and distinct varieties, while their historical and contemporary commonalities have largely been underinvestigated. A social justice–oriented approach to linguistics asks deep questions about why certain areas of focus are considered separate from others and who is benefited (or not) by such an approach.

Research on SUSE and/or perceptions about the South must be inclusive. This work cannot be carried out by white linguists alone, by focusing mainly on white speakers in the South, or by assuming that black Southern speakers are not also affected by region. We must rethink old models that are predicated on binary conceptual divisions between SUSE and AAE and that position SUSE as a white variety of English (as Cramer and Preston [2018] also point out in the introduction to this special issue). As scholars who see first-hand the trajectory of an increasingly diversifying "New South," Southern linguists have a calling to lead the way in rejecting conceptualizations of SUSE that fail to address the contemporary ways in which language, race, region, and culture are intertwined. To do otherwise, we maintain, can dangerously border on academic voyeurism, or even a modern-day academic overseer-sharecropper separate-but-unequal model that is rooted in binary racial classification and fails to take into account racial and cultural identifications of individuals and groups themselves.

The reexamination of old questions and methods can also benefit linguistics as a discipline and as a scholarly community. One way is by pushing us to examine how linguistics as a discipline is (and should be) engaging with communities and languages spoken by people of different races—including Southern African American communities and other Southern communities made up of people from diverse racial, ethnic, and linguistic backgrounds. As Rickford (1997) points out, a central injustice within linguistics is the fact that our discipline has greatly benefited from the examination of AAE and other languages/varieties of populations that are profoundly underrepresented among our faculty and students. It is critical for Southern linguists also to recognize this challenge and change the situation. To do so, we must broaden our view of what SUSE looks like in the New South and how we should study it. We also must ask inclusive research questions and carry out our analyses in ways that do not have unintentional negative consequences for underrepresented groups. Instead, our work on language and culture in the South should aim to empower people from underrepresented groups, to ask and engage with questions that are relevant and intellectually curious to them. In the next section, we show what this looks like for work in linguistics and education, drawing from our work with Southern African American K–12 educators and students.

BRINGING CULTURE INTO THE MIX: INSIGHTS FROM SOUTHERN AFRICAN AMERICAN EDUCATORS AND STUDENTS

While much linguistics work designed to support Southern African American speakers is well intentioned, a lack of racial and cultural theory behind it can cause challenges. One such challenge is the fact that much information for educators about AAE and SUSE employs a code-switching model designed to encourage students to be adept at switching between their home variety and that of the school or dominant culture. Success is measured by acquisition of school knowledge, which encapsulates an ability to "switch" as a latent goal. At their best, code-switching models help students use their knowledge of their home culture, language, and identity and build on it while helping students acquire standardized English. At their worst, however, code-switching models help speakers to acquire standardized language while demeaning their home and communities in the process.

Either way, the ideology of code-switching, while touted as practical and effective in classrooms, is highly racialized. Whether consciously or inadvertently, the message that students may glean from the hidden curriculum of code-switching is that students and educators are best served by leaving their cultural and social identities at the classroom door. Such an ideology can promote internalized racism as well as linguistic insecurity for both students and educators—which Du Bois (1903, 3) framed as "double-consciousness." How do we disrupt linguistic double-consciousness and its impact in our research methods, in K–12 classrooms, and on our college campuses? What steps must we take to disambiguate education from assimilation? How can we take a previous focus on internalized racism (often framed in our circles as linguistic insecurity) and reframe it around empowerment, so that linguistic injustice is disrupted?

Our research indicates that proceeding from a community-generated model may be the best approach to addressing this challenge. A community-generated model allows for linguistic agency in the classroom for everyone—the teacher, the students, and the linguist. Community-based participatory research models (see Cress, Collier, and Reitenauer 2013) advocate for community members to be part of the research process, incorporating the racial and linguistic values of the community. This concept moves the discussion from a code-switching model to a multilingual/multivarietal model that is grounded in a framework of community, culture, and inclusion and that has a premium focus on the preservation of speaker meaning and voice. In this way, power is shifted, and our collaborators and communities become authorities.

This focus on speaker and community agency and voice is reflected in the second part of our title for this article—and it is captured in the sentiment that students have the right to their own language, expressed by such organizations as the National Council of Teachers of English (2003). However, despite the increasing number of educators and organizations concerned with language, literacy, and culture who understand that all languages are legitimate, there is often a struggle to incorporate this reality in teaching praxis, in part due to the high value on standardized English that is embedded in our educational system and in the professional process of becoming an educator. Yet, only by setting up the structures to allow for the acquisition and use of the languages and varieties in question can they actually become equal. In order to support a model of linguistic and cultural fluidity, educators and students must have the space to use and acquire varieties of English. Educators and students alike must become active learners of their varieties and thereby share the burden of communication (Lippi-Green 2012).

In our own work with Southern educators, we have taken this type of approach—weaving together general and specific information about the South, about African Americans, and about community and culture into discussions about teaching, learning, and social and educational justice (see Mallinson et al. 2011; see also Charity Hudley and Mallinson 2011, 2014). Our workshops proceed from a framework of multicultural education, in which language and culture are viewed as intertwined and inseparable and as central to discussions about identity and education. We follow the work of black education scholars Tatum (2003), Banks (2004), and Prudence Carter (2007), each of whom advocate that, in order to fully consider issues of language and racial/ethnic identity in educational settings, educators must discuss the concept of culture with students. Carter (2007) specifically discusses the concept of "keeping it real" in African American culture, which expresses the idea that even though the norms of white society may prevail in most social institutions, internal respect for African American culture, which includes respect for AAE, is essential. Thus in our workshops, we acknowledge educators' reality of balancing multiple educational, linguistic, and cultural responsibilities and roles. We discuss how AAE-speaking educators as well as students may feel pressure to shed their home linguistic patterns to succeed in a mainstream climate, yet they may be highly invested in maintaining their authentic African American speech and culture. As one educator who attended one of our workshops put it:

> My Black and brown K–12 students already struggle with pressures of representing their entire race; feeling internalized oppression because of their statuses as one of the only members of their race in predominately White academic spaces; and

the pressures to combat negative stereotypes about their racial identities. They need champions, specifically mentors and representatives of color like myself, who will hear the splendor of their culturally specific language expressions and see the power of their ideas shine through standardized grammatical errors—that function to work against them.

We have found that Southern African American educators tend to have great insight into these matters. Most express that they feel linguistic and cultural ties to the language of their communities, and they often use AAE features in their teaching to build rapport with African American students (see also Foster 1989). They also often ask questions about and express interest in the relationship between language and black and Southern culture. Some of the educators we have worked with have thought about these issues for many years. Others have had similar linguistic and cultural experiences but have never thought of them as being worthy of intellectual inquiry or educational exploration. During our workshops, we routinely heard Southern African American educators share sentiments such as, "You have made me less ashamed of my own language," and "Today was the first day my language has been validated. I've been teaching for 30 years!" For others, the information we presented to them about language and culture was brand new—leading them to ask us such questions as, "Why haven't I heard about all of this before?" This is an especially critical question for Southern linguists to consider, as we think about the role of linguistics from a community-centered framework. Educators appreciate theory and discussion, but they also concretely want to know what to do in their classrooms and are often most receptive to practical information and materials (Charity Hudley and Mallinson 2011, 2014, 2016). If we as linguists overlook their needs, we lose our audience and our opportunity for engagement with educators—and we lose the opportunity to learn from them.

Yet, even after the workshops, Southern African American educators still faced the realities that language variation often remains marginalized, ideologically and practically, in classrooms and schools. Some educators continue to refer to AAE as "slang" or use other shorthand descriptions. Educators who speak AAE may continue to be unsure about the identity politics or the educational politics of reproducing it in their classrooms or in public. And some have told us that, while our information is great and needed, in their classrooms "we can't really do that though." Such evidence shows that linguists have a long way to go in making sure that our information fully reaches educators. Indeed, as Gupta (2010) found in a recent study with elementary school teachers, though they felt that their AAE-speaking students faced communication problems in the classroom, they had never been offered any teaching strategies to help them address this challenge.

Linguists' efforts to change this situation need to be more unified and strategic. In the South in particular, where race-related issues are uniquely complicated and where conversations about race can often cause educators and administrators to bristle, we know that this can be hard to do.

As Southern linguists, we can lead the way by working with K–12 educators, but we can also lead the way in our own classrooms. In our own teaching, we must disrupt linguistic ideologies that can permeate even our best-intentioned efforts. We ask K–12 educators to make space for their culturally and linguistically diverse students to speak—and write—in their own languages and language varieties. Yet how many of us, in our college and university classrooms, do the same? How do we reconcile this with the fact that our own academic spaces—our classrooms, our academic writing, our conference papers, and the like—are largely monolingual? How many of us give our students the opportunity to write in, or study, their home varieties of SUSE and AAE? Our own general message about language variation in the classroom has often not gone beyond the same "I respect your language/language variety/culture/what you're trying to do here, but there is a time and place for everything" sentiment that we are quick to judge among K–12 educators. Any well-informed K–12 educator could look at our own practices, compare them to what we are telling her to do, and question it as a double standard (see also Mallinson and Charity Hudley 2018b). It is nothing short of hypocritical to expect educators (and other groups) to do what we do not do ourselves.

A community-based participatory perspective, however, challenges us to focus on community and speaker agency in our own classrooms. In our teaching, often via pedagogical techniques such as service-learning, project-based learning, and team-based learning, we can position our students as experts and coresearchers on topics related to language and culture in the South. In some of our other work we have described these techniques and their impact. Charity et al. (2008) describe the use of a service-learning linguistics class at the College of William and Mary as a means of initiating introductory students "to the methods and values of sociolinguistic research while serving their local communities" (237) in ways that also benefit students' personal lives and future career trajectories. In a subsequent iteration of that course, one of Charity Hudley's Virginia-born and -raised African American students shared, "I never thought to apply service learning techniques or linguistic study to my own family. I did not think that my experiences as a scholar were applicable to that part of my life. Despite the initial shock, I am grateful that I am able to reconcile at least these two parts of my identity with one another rather than splitting myself down the middle yet again." As the quotation illustrates, the theoretical and applied focus on culture,

speaker agency, voice, and community in this course was not only intellectually enlightening, but also helped the student avoid linguistic and academic double-consciousness. Another student shared in a reflection paper about his experience as "a Black, queer, low-income male growing up in a rural, predominantly White town in Virginia." In this community, "standardized English was the expectation [and] I grappled with internal oppression around my use of African American Vernacular English inside and outside of the formal classroom space." Learning about AAE—not only its linguistic value but also its cultural value—"liberated my consciousness […] I will forever be grateful […] that there are scholars invested in demonstrating that the language specific to my racial community is not only beautiful but also worthy of academic attention." As these students express, language, race, and culture are deeply and inextricably interrelated.

Similarly, Mallinson (2018) describes how her sociolinguistics seminar Language in Diverse Schools and Communities was particularly appealing to and beneficial for graduate students from underrepresented backgrounds. In various iterations of this course, structured to follow the principles of project-based learning, students have engaged in service-learning projects, produced podcasts based on original research about language variation, and created a short film that highlighted linguistic diversity on campus. One student, a fourth-generation African American Baltimorean, created a podcast, "Baldamor, Curry, and Dug" (DeShields 2011), that explored language variation among black speakers in Baltimore; the podcast (hosted among others on Mallinson's website, Baltimore Language, http://baltimorelanguage.com) garnered the interest of a *Baltimore Sun* reporter who wrote an in-depth feature piece on "Baltimore's Black Vernacular" (Britto 2017) and is cited on Wikipedia as one of a handful of sources for original research on language variation in Baltimore ("Baltimore Accent" n.d.).

Such courses encourage students to focus their linguistic examinations within the culture and context of the community, rather than strictly on the study of the racialized or marginalized languages and language varieties themselves. In this way, the community's racial and cultural values are integrated into the learning model as well as into research designs and outcomes. Such classes allow students from Southern and African American language backgrounds to take seriously our messages about community engagement and linguistic and cultural diversity. Teaching from this perspective also helps linguists put a greater value on the language varieties and their cultures themselves, not just on the study of abstracted linguistic features. In this way, community-centered models also more explicitly empower—rather than simply count or describe—underrepresented voices. Within the South, this is critical, as we must ensure that we help empower the voices of the

next generation of Southern thinkers, speakers, and writers—the next Toni Morrison, the next Flannery O'Connor, the next Martin Luther King, Jr.

In sum, we maintain that proceeding from a community-generated model of research and teaching is crucial for Southern linguists. Our current linguistic modeling of SUSE must do better at incorporating the intersectionality of language and culture in Southern contexts—which inherently involve historical and contemporary manifestations of race, ethnicity, culture, gender/sexuality, social class, and more. We must also incorporate into our research agendas an exploration of the continuing social, educational, and economic implications for Southerners of all backgrounds who speak SUSE and the ways in which they overcome linguistic bias and discrimination. In our teaching, centralizing community and culture as part of language study may require us to open up our definitions of what linguistics is and who it is for. It may also require that we engage our own departments and program faculty in conversations about what we value and why. If we think of ourselves as teaching STUDENTS, not courses, we can see more clearly that our students and the communities they come from have immensely important insights about language—which are necessary to incorporate when working toward educational equity. The learning must go both ways, challenging the very notion of a dichotomy between researcher and researched, between knowledge holder and knowledge receiver. In the next section, we offer some examples of how linguists have addressed these challenges by enacting specific structural or institutional measures to support and facilitate the educational achievement of culturally and linguistically diverse speakers in our classrooms and on campus and thereby ensure greater inclusion.

CREATING INCLUSIVE SPACES: OPERATIONALIZING OUR SENTIMENT AS SOUTHERN LINGUISTS

"The South, as always, will help determine the nation's future. This path toward progress demands a concerted effort to deepen and expand social justice work in the South," notes a report by Grantmakers for Southern Progress (2013, 4). To promote justice in the South and ensure its equitable future, the report continues, we must "set aside shorthand language and take the time to have conversations about what [we] are trying to achieve and, just as importantly, why" (17). These sentiments are particularly applicable to Southern linguists, given our direct affiliation with this region of the United States that still faces continuing racial, economic, and legal disparities as well as disproportionate rates of poverty, especially among students in schools (Southern Educational Foundation 2013; Equal Justice Initiative 2017).

How can we as Southern linguists operationalize a call to action in a way that moves us from sentiment to practice? We must make sure that our linguistic efforts for educational and public good (on individual as well as structural levels) match our sentiments, because inaction can be the same as negative action. As we previously asserted, linguistic action must not only be outward facing, focusing on external groups such as K-12 educators, it must also be inward facing, focusing on our own classrooms and campuses. Otherwise we leave ourselves open to the charge that as academics we benefit and even profit from an unfair examination of K–12 education without a parallel, and needed, emphasis on higher education practices and policies. One direct avenue for taking concrete action, as we have suggested, is to weigh in on pressing structural issues of inclusion in higher education and in academia—of which language is a central part, though not the sole focus. Such issues include increasing research on understudied languages and language varieties; ensuring that students of color and students from diverse backgrounds can succeed in linguistics courses, in the major, in graduate school, and in the profession; and ensuring that the vast majority of the diverse peoples whose language patterns are studied by linguists yet who do not end up in college (let alone in linguistics classes) nevertheless still benefit from our academic endeavors.

In the following sections, we highlight various research-, teaching-, and program-based initiatives carried out by Southern linguists at Southern universities that have variously addressed issues of diversity and inclusion within our field and in higher education. Broadly speaking, each of these initiatives promotes awareness about language and the discipline of linguistics, celebrates linguistic diversity, and addresses issues of student, faculty, campus, and community inclusion. Our goal is that these models inspire other linguists to create similar programs and undertake similar endeavors on their own campuses, whether located in the South or elsewhere. In addition, within each section, we provide a series of guiding questions pertinent to each theme that can help inform thinking about and taking action regarding diversity and inclusion. These questions draw from those written by faculty in the College of William and Mary Linguistics Program (2017). Upon agreeing that diversity among faculty and students and in the curriculum will lead to better learning, better research, and greater social justice in the South, they followed a model established at Virginia Commonwealth University and designed and implemented a plan for diversity and inclusion. The plan emphasizes the need to support diversity among faculty, among students and majors, and in the curriculum, as well as the need to promote a positive climate where all students feel welcome. Diversity plans can be an important starting point for linguists to establish the issues, values,

and goals that guide our thinking about issues of diversity and inclusion. In addition to drawing insight from William and Mary's Linguistics Program, we have also drawn from other resources on diversity, equity, and inclusive excellence, especially guidelines from the Association of American Colleges and Universities (e.g., Eisenmann 2015; Bernstein 2016).

STUDENT INCLUSION. It is critical that our college and university campuses be supportive and inclusive places for students. A growing body of linguistic research shows that valuing student diversity—along racial/ethnic, cultural, and linguistic lines—can help promote student confidence and sense of academic belonging (see, e.g., Fama 2007; Dunstan 2013; Dunstan and Jaeger 2015). Promoting academic belonging means that we must ensure that courses about language (whether in linguistics programs or in related majors) are situated in the curriculum in such a way as to make them accessible to and inclusive of students of various races. To begin, we offer some guiding questions about student inclusion—which includes curriculum and assessment—for other scholars to consider in the context of their colleges and universities, which we follow with examples of student inclusion endeavors carried out at Southern colleges and universities.

1. In your class (and others in your department), are students introduced to a range of languages and varieties? Can students use their own language/variety in speaking, writing, and/or signing? Are you fluent in the languages/varieties that you most often teach?
2. Do your syllabi and courses (and those of other faculty in your department) assign readings and include research from of a diverse pool of scholars?
3. Do you (and other faculty in your department) seek to involve a diverse range of students in undergraduate and graduate research?
4. Do you, your faculty, your department, and your college/university emphasize standardized tests in admissions policies? How are they used formally and informally in admissions processes (undergraduate and graduate)?
5. Does your department have data on your students, majors, and professional career paths by demographic and social group to make sure you are reflective of your student body/state/target population?
6. Do you, your faculty, and your department support programming for students that promotes broad exposure to diverse and meaningful global or cross-cultural experiences (e.g., International Mother Language Day, Martin Luther King Jr. Day, guest speakers, and so forth)?

According to the Linguistic Society of America's 2015 annual report, "The population of ethnic minorities with advanced degrees in linguistics is so low in the U.S. that none of the federal agencies report data for these groups" (16). Southern linguists often work in areas where numbers of Afri-

can American students are higher than elsewhere in the United States—and as we prepare to work with increasingly diversifying generations of undergraduate and graduate students, we must think about the comprehensive support of underrepresented students as a central focus of the social justice mission of linguistics. Many prominent linguists have, to date, shed light on the linguistic and social conditions of those who speak marginalized languages and language varieties. Now we must extend this work by articulating pathways for individuals from such backgrounds to enter our universities and succeed in linguistics.

This goal brings to the foreground the question of how and why linguistics matters—and compels us to consider how it is situated within a Southern Studies and African/African American Diasporic frame. Where is linguistics taught in the South, and in what form? Too often, higher education in general and linguistics courses in particular are most often taught at elite and large public schools—yet these schools are designed primarily for white and economically advantaged audiences, due to the existence of spending gaps that disproportionately affect students of color and lower income students (Garcia 2018). For African American and Southern students not at these elite or large public institutions (and even for some who are), pathways into language study may be through majors such as Africana Studies, communication studies, composition/rhetoric, education, English, speech-language pathology, and Southern Studies. Pathways for inclusion may require linguistics departments and programs to establish partnerships with these other majors, especially Africana/ethnic studies, communication studies, and education, that tend to serve larger numbers of diverse students than linguistics typically does. Cross-listing courses, coteaching, and guest lectures are also good ways to integrate content across related areas and majors, where underrepresented students in particular may be more comfortable taking courses. In addition, for linguistics majors, encouraging students to take classes outside the major can also give them the historical, cultural, and social knowledge necessary for putting information about language (and especially about perception) into broader social and cultural context. In sum, having a broad perspective on language, particularly when working with Southern and/or African-American students and at Southern colleges and universities, can help build a stronger, more diverse, and more inclusive curriculum and can also be critical to attracting diverse students to linguistics.

Ensuring pathways for students to reach linguistics content and courses can be particularly critical at Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), which tend not to have linguistics as a major and typically fold linguistic content into areas such as communication studies and rhetoric. Yet this trajectory tends to separate HBCU faculty and students from the

field of linguistics, excluding students from opportunities within linguistics and limiting our pipeline of diverse future students and faculty. To address this issue at the University of California, Santa Barbara, Bucholtz and Charity Hudley's (2017) UC-HBCU Initiative Pathways Grant, HBCU Scholars in Linguistics, establishes a partnership between UCSB and HBCU faculty to allow students from three Southern HBCUs (Norfolk State University, Virginia State University, and Virginia Union University) to enroll in UCSB's graduate program in linguistics. Since linguistics is not offered as a major at these HBCUs, a central goal of the project is to raise students' awareness of and interest in linguistics as a direction for graduate study, with a long-term goal of establishing a sustainable model for cross-campus collaborations that broaden participation in linguistics. Grounded in a community-centered model, the HBCU students will study the use of AAE in the college environment, including perceptions, biases, and pathways for social mobility via higher education. Within an increasingly diversifying South, other linguists can lead the way in carrying out similar projects that link Southern campuses with HBCUs, as well as with community colleges, tribal colleges, and Hispanic Serving Institutions.

Student inclusion efforts also benefit from "high-impact" teaching practices, as advocated by the American Association of Colleges and Universities (AAC&U) (Kuh 2008). Traditional teaching methods often go hand in hand with standardized methods of grading and assessment (which often have inherent linguistic biases, as linguists have pointed out with regard to K–12 education in particular). In contrast, high-impact teaching practices can include first-year seminars, writing intensive courses, collaborative assignments, team-based and project-based learning–centered courses, undergraduate research, internships, capstone courses and projects, and so on. Such techniques have been shown to help foster the success of all students, particularly underrepresented students—who, as Gannon (2018) writing for the *Chronicle of Higher Education* points out, "are ill-served by the status quo." The benefit of high-impact teaching methods in linguistics is emphasized in "Linguistics and the Broader University," a recent special issue of the *Journal of English Linguistics* (Mallinson and Charity Hudley 2018a) that frames and describes endeavors and initiatives by linguists to bring about linguistic and educational change at Southern colleges and universities. For example, Childs (2018) describes the creation of materials at her university to contextualize linguistic diversity on campus, primarily SUSE and AAE. Three learning modules that use an electronic badge system were implemented to encourage students to explore linguistic diversity and discuss the different ways of "being" (including language) that they encounter in their new academic community; additional materials were developed and

implemented for student tutors at the university writing center. These initiatives not only helped affirm first-year and first-generation college students' linguistic identities and home languages (National Council of Teachers of English 2003; Smitherman 1995), but also helped them learn how to negotiate multiple linguistic terrains in ways that promote their retention and academic persistence.

Carrying forward the theme of supporting and retaining undergraduate students from underrepresented backgrounds, Charity Hudley (2018) describes her prior work as cofounder and director of the William and Mary Scholars Undergraduate Research Experience (WMSURE) at the College of William and Mary. With a social justice–based commitment to culturally and linguistically diverse students at the crux of this initiative, Charity Hudley demonstrates how efforts to promote the success of underrepresented students can lead to the greater diversification of linguistics and the professoriate. Even if linguists cannot be involved in the creation of new programs, lending our support to existing ones can also help bring underrepresented students into linguistics. Such programs may be federally funded, such as the McNair Scholars Program; supported by foundations and private nonprofit organizations, such as the Gates Millennium Scholars and the Mellon-Mays Undergraduate Research Fellowship Program; university-internal, as with the WMSURE program; and discipline-specific, such as the National Science Foundation Research Experience for Undergraduates program.

Other high-impact practices that can help support underrepresented undergraduate students in carrying out scholarly research include creating research roadmaps, which can particularly help those from underrepresented backgrounds who may have less exposure to what academic research looks like. Following the AAC&U's high-impact guidelines, Charity Hudley, Dickter, and Howard (2017) created research roadmaps, designed with underrepresented students in mind. Providing examples of undergraduate and graduate linguistic research trajectories helps students recognize their own interests and see where linguistics can take them. For example, at the College of William and Mary, Charity Hudley mentored a culturally and linguistically diverse group of undergraduate students, whose honors theses covered a range of language-centered yet interdisciplinary topics: communication between undergraduates and mathematics professors (Daniel Villarreal), cultural variation in parenting practices and language development for children with autism (Kiara Savage), the use of accented English by speech pathologists (Kenay Sudler), and an exploration of language variation in standardized testing (Elizabeth DeBusk).

Southern linguists looking to advance student inclusion can also gain insight from the extensive engagement work carried out at North Carolina

State University, drawing upon decades of work in Southern communities by Walt Wolfram and colleagues. In "The Importance of Graduate Student Engagement in a Campus Language Diversity Initiative," Dunstan et al. (2018) present "Educating the Educated," their campus-wide model of linguistics-centered programming that aims to infuse a value of linguistic diversity into the academic experience for undergraduate and graduate students. The authors describe how the broad, campus-wide reach of this program—which cuts across student affairs, academic affairs, human resources, faculty affairs, and campus diversity—has helped ensure its success. Having grown significantly, the program now involves peer education, primarily led by graduate students, who benefit personally, professionally, and academically from participating in these campus initiatives. As Dunstan et al. maintain, linguists have a central role to play in building an educational climate in which faculty, staff, and administration work together to promote the success of culturally and linguistically diverse students in higher education.

FACULTY, CAMPUS, AND COMMUNITY INCLUSION. We also consider issues of faculty, campus, and community inclusion, which are tied to student inclusion. Similar to the challenge linguistics faces in terms of student diversity, there is serious underrepresentation within our field by linguists of color, particularly African American and Latinx faculty. In many cases their intellectual inquiries—and indeed in some cases their very presence as faculty members—are marginalized on college and university campuses. Given the South's complicated history and legacy surrounding slavery, segregation, Jim Crow, and lingering effects of racial bias and discrimination, questions about how faculty experience diversity and inclusion on campus, what campus climate looks like, and what measures are taken to promote campus inclusion are all particularly relevant in the South—and have much to do with language. As in the previous section about student inclusion, we also pose a series of guiding questions to address issues of faculty, campus, and community inclusion for other scholars to consider:

1. Does your department and college/university recruit and retain a diverse faculty? Is value shown for the experiences and viewpoints that diverse faculty and students bring? Are search and promotion processes monitored for bias?
2. Does your department and college/university have an inclusive view of scholarly research topics, including applied or pedagogy-related endeavors?
3. Do you, your faculty, and your department support applied efforts that benefit the campus or the community (e.g., service-learning endeavors, public engagement projects)? Who is the work benefiting and how?

In many ways the question of intellectual inclusion lies at the heart of efforts for faculty, campus, and community diversity and inclusion. We

must reject the marginalization of the intellectual interests of those who are traditionally underrepresented in our discipline and profession. Underrepresented scholars and those who work at nontraditionally elite colleges and universities are often more interested in exploring the intersections between and across fields and may not meet arbitrary and exclusionary criteria about what does or does not "count" as linguistics, which leads to bias within our discipline. Many African American scholars and other underrepresented faculty who conduct linguistics-centered research often value applied and education-facing work; Zentella (1997) makes a similar point about Latinx faculty as part of a call to action to attract more Latinx scholars to linguistics. Scholars who move between linguistics and the fields of Southern Studies, Appalachian Studies, folklore, etc., also often have an interest in engaged scholarship. In sum, particularly at Southern colleges/universities, HBCUs, and campuses other than the traditionally elite institutions where stand-alone linguistics departments are traditionally housed, we must have a welcoming approach—one that avoids reifying exclusionary disciplinary boundaries and instead draws underrepresented scholars and those who work with underrepresented communities into the conversation.

In order to attract and retain diverse faculty to linguistics, we must establish inclusive faculty practices. For one, this may involve openly valuing applied scholarship. For instance, at the College of William and Mary, linguistics faculty have been actively involved in various educational outreach efforts, including establishing educational partnerships with other universities and K–12 schools around the state of Virginia and writing materials for pre- and in-service teachers (Anne Charity Hudley, with Christine Mallinson at UMBC), developing language revitalization programs with the Coushatta and the Muskogee (Jack Martin), establishing interpretation services on Virginia's Eastern Shore (Jonathan Arries), and developing materials for Spanish speakers and teachers of English Language Learners in Newport News, Virginia (Jonathan Arries and Katherine Barko-Alva). Inclusive faculty practices also may involve having transparent discussions about how jobs in higher education are financed, generated, and brought to market. It may involve talking about structural bias throughout the hiring process, from the writing of job ads and application review down to the final negotiation. It also has implications for tenure and promotion processes, including what value is given to applied research and engaged scholarship.

While we cannot address every aspect of these interrelated issues, we point readers to the work of others who have established the importance of such considerations for faculty diversity and inclusion. For instance, a task force spearheaded by the Modern Language Association of America exam-

ined current standards and emerging trends in publication requirements for tenure and promotion in English and foreign language departments in the United States—a process that is very relevant to Southern linguists who work in English departments (Modern Language Association 2006). The Tenure Team Initiative on Public Scholarship (TTI) has considered similar issues related to tenure and promotion guidelines that recognize the value of engaged scholarship in the academy; they note, "The TTI advances the democratization of higher education by working toward the full participation of diverse faculty and diverse students and by strengthening the public and civic mission of colleges and universities" (Imagining America, n.d.). Other materials written by faculty, such as the book *The Black Academic's Guide to Winning Tenure—Without Losing Your Soul* (Rockquemore and Laszloffy 2008) and the edited collection *Presumed Incompetent: The Intersections of Race and Class for Women in Academia* (Gutiérrez y Muhs et al. 2012), discuss these issues from the perspective of African American and other underrepresented scholars.

Within linguistics, media outreach can also foster community inclusion. Phillip Carter (2018) describes his scholarly public outreach within his position at Florida International University, a Hispanic Serving Institution. Scholarly engagement with the mass media through editorial writing and interviews can be an important mechanism for helping educate the public about language-related issues. Through media outreach, linguists can combat damaging linguistic ideologies that disproportionately affect minority/first-generation/low-income students, thus having a tremendous impact on and off campus. As Carter's work illustrates, such endeavors can be especially critical in the South, where many communities are increasingly and rapidly diversifying. When culturally and linguistically diverse students and faculty know that their interests and perspectives are being heard, understood, and represented at an institution, they feel included. Faculty, campus, and community inclusion efforts can therefore strengthen pipelines and increase the engagement of underrepresented speakers and communities in linguistics and in higher education, within and outside of the South.

CONCLUSIONS: CHANGING CONVERSATIONS AND TAKING ACTIONS

Throughout this article, we have provided theoretical as well as practical discussion about pathways through which Southern linguists can carry out educational initiatives that address underrepresentation, broaden participation, and improve diverse student achievement. Going forward, what issues are

necessary for Southern linguists to address to further speak to and empower communities and speakers of all backgrounds in the U.S. South? We invite all linguists—especially Southern linguists—to join efforts both to include others within our discipline and to encourage those within linguistics to extend our efforts outward in order to promote equity and social justice. With insights into communication, culture, educational equity, and linguistic justice, linguists are well positioned to contribute to diversity and inclusion in ways that benefit our discipline, speakers, communities, and academia.

There are many directions in which Southern linguists can expand the conversation and take needed action, in ways that benefit faculty, students, campuses, and communities. First, there is no racial justice without linguistic justice—and no linguistic justice without racial justice (Charity Hudley 2018). With respect to racial justice, one way linguists are taking action is to draft an LSA statement on race (Charity Hudley et al. 2018; see also http://charityhudleymallinson.com/LSArace). Second, we can also extend the conversation in ways that focus not only on the U.S. South, but also on the global South as well as the African Diaspora. Though models of race are different across the world, issues of race, color, class, education, and the like are interrelated in historical and contemporary ways that extend beyond regional and international lines (see, e.g., Mufwene 2001; DeGraff 2005; Alim, Rickford, and Ball 2016). Third, we can work on an ideological level by continuing to explore and dismantle privilege within linguistics—and resisting the within-discipline exclusionary practices and rhetoric that position some scholars, subdisciplines, institutions, research areas, and so forth as worthier than others and thereby make restorative work more challenging.

With a definition of linguistics and language broadly conceived and maximally relevant, Southern linguists can best position ourselves to speak to the concerns and challenges of diverse and inclusive communities, from speech communities to educational communities. Following the models of Lorde and King, we can change conversations and take direct action to dismantle barriers and reintellectualize community-centered linguistic research and engagement within and beyond the South. We must bring our skills of listening—indeed, one of our best skills as linguists—to address the challenge of including the lived experiences of diverse Southern communities, speakers, students, and scholars into our decision-making in linguistics, to disrupt long-standing power dynamics and shift the narrative going forward in formative ways.

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