
Chapter 9

Conclusion: Towards Healthy Futures in the Language Sciences

“Prejudice is a burden that confuses the past, threatens the future, and renders the present inaccessible.” – Maya Angelou

9.1 The Argument So Far

I have been the one to assemble these pages, but it is a story that belongs to us all. Countless languages and language varieties are minoritized, marginalized, stigmatized, and even oppressed, for reasons that have nothing to do with their complexity, expressivity, cultural richness, or inherent scientific interest. The preceding chapters are but a few pieces of a jigsaw that I have collected and assembled, but they are one we as a field and as a species continuing each day to build together. Within the two years I have spent writing this book, for example, the reality of the situation of the Uyghurs in China has drastically worsened by alarming proportions. Minoritization and oppression rages large for other peoples across the globe. A UNESCO report by Brenzinger et al(2003) details that roughly 97 percent of the world’s people account for 4 percent of the world’s languages, and thus that 3 percent of the world’s population speak 96 percent of the world’s languages.

Writing this book has been carried out with the goal of resonance with other concentric and overlapping circles of struggle against minoritization, whether politically and economically or within the canons of the academy itself. Even as academics that are part of larger, external institutional structures, we often unconsciously internalize biases that perpetuate the treatment of minoritized, indigenous, or signed languages as afterthoughts or addenda in our teaching as well.

Concern with language loss (endangered languages) is by now a well-known concern among linguists and the public at large, but the case of minoritized languages is partially distinct from endangered languages. There are minoritized languages that are not endangered per se, but which continue to be underrepresented in the scientific canon. Take signed languages, many of which are far from endangered, but which are rarely if ever included beyond cursory mention in phonology textbooks, or languages such as Zazaki Kurdish, about which most of the general public does not know is an Indo-European language. More recently, scholars such as Tamburelli and Tosco (2021) have drawn attention to *contested* languages such as Kashubian or Piedmontese in Europe – languages that are considered regional ‘dialects’ and hence of low sociolinguistic status and are thus increasingly marginalized sociopolitically as well as academically. As Hale (1992, p.1) points out, language loss and devalorization in today’s day is “part of a much larger process of loss of cultural and intellectual diversity, in which politically dominant languages and cultures simply overwhelm indigenous local languages and cultures”. More recent quantitative work, including Bromham

et al. (2022), points to factors such as greater road density and formal schooling policies as consistent macroecological factors leading to continued language shift away from local languages. Part of this being overwhelmed, devalorized, and lost is reflected in the scientific community as well, where these cultures and languages are ignored, undervalued, or left aside in the formation of our shared understanding of the diversity and limits on human nature.

Speaker linguists (and signer linguists) are arguably fundamental to this continued effort for representative contributions to psychology and the language sciences. Basque, for example, is now one of the most well-represented languages studied in neurolinguistics, merely due to the presence of generations of highly-trained speaker linguists, valorization of the importance of the language to scientific diversity, a few key players in laboratory leadership roles, and last but not least, government incentives for the study of minoritized languages. This last point is a policy issue, in fact. Large-scale thematic funding incentives in public science organizations such as the AHRC in England, CNPq in Brazil, the DfG in Germany, and the NSF in the United States (four of the largest global funders for language science research) should in fact be providing incentives for the creation of large-scale laboratories for the neurolinguistic study of minoritized languages across these three continents.

I imagine that one cannot help but read the preceding fourteen or so case studies without feeling a twinge of activism, in terms of raising awareness about the need for greater inclusion of languages such as Ch'ol in Mexico, Kaingang in Brazil, or Xhosa in South Africa in today's cutting edge conferences, as staples of textbooks about irrefutable contributions to the completeness of linguistic theory and indeed to some of its more compelling moments of evolution as a scientific pursuit. Rice (2021) is one of many recent prominent voices calling for increased activism in our roles as linguists in securing continued rights, recognition, and representativity of languages of some of the world's *First Nations* – the communities that have been here (wherever 'here' is) for centuries before incursions of imperial, colonial, and globalizing waves completely upended local population dynamics.

9.2 On Unattested Chapters in this Version of this Book

Inspired by Borges' 'Library of Babel', I am aware that there are many parallel combinatorial possibilities that the universe might have reshuffled to yield a minimally different version of this same book with different case studies chosen instead. The choice of case studies that I have highlighted within this book has been designed to cover a typologically broad range of languages (from essentially every continent), phenomena across grammatical levels (syntax, morphology, semantics, phonology), and case studies that have, like an uncomfortable grain of sand inside an oyster shell, ended up truly generating a pearl, as a result of continued development and dialogue between previously unfamiliar linguistic facts and the limits and predictions of extant theories that change as a result. However, there are many other case studies one could have chosen as well. One extremely important case in the history of linguistic theory has been the importance of Berber syllabification for phonological theory (Dell and Elmedlaoui, 1985), where its syllabic consonants (italicized in words such as *tl.bʒt* 'step-onto.2sg.perf' and *tr.kst* 'hide.2sg.perf') teach us that the syllabification algorithm in language works in a very particular way, by scanning an entire word first for its highest peaks and then proceeding successively downwards in the sonority hierarchy of consonants. Another case study to which I have not devoted a chapter, though easily could have, involves the contribution of what are historically called creole languages (the results of

forcibly-imposed language contact) such as Haitian Creole to understanding the “factative effect” (Déchaine, 1991), whereby in a language without overt tense marking, the specificity of objects and inherent aspect of a predicate (such as ‘sell a book’ vs ‘like cats’) leads to a default interpretation of tense as past or present. Ideally, books such as the present one can be but one set of collected case studies for extended efforts to continually reinforce and canonize the contribution of minoritized languages as recognized cornerstones of the development and evolution of linguistic theory.

Not every case of a confrontation between a minoritized language and extant theoretical models of linguistic structure has been covered in the preceding pages. The ones that have not made an appearance are of a few types, however. There are cases that I have not covered which, even though they represent genuine transformative moments between empirical discoveries and theory, they have simply been beyond my scope as someone writing this book — but surely someone else, writing a parallel version of the same book, should and could describe them with their due presentation. Indeed, like almost everyone, I must admit that I have inherent limitations inevitably due to the lens and filter through which I view things, as much as I may yearn for panorama. The second set are cases that I contend that challenging a theory alone, without presenting a transformative solution that yields a change in the theory, do not qualify, though some day of course they might. The third set are ones that are extremely close to changing the theory right now, and in a few years’ time may indeed yield large-scale revisions to specific aspects of specific models.

In the preceding pages, we have seen in close-up details that by confrontation with novel empirical patterns from understudied and often undervalued languages, some of linguistic theory’s major ‘heroes’ have been proven wrong in specific ways: Kaplan, Jakobson, Marantz, Chierchia, and Chomsky, to name a few, in terms of very specific theoretical postulates or aspects of the theory of possible human language structures. Crucially, all of these cases involved discrete aspects of theoretical claims about human language – e.g. structures predicted to be impossible that turned out to in fact exist. This is the way all science works: specific theories – and not people – are what fall and are then reconstructed. It is important to point out, however, that there are also instances in which minoritized languages haven’t (yet) changed linguistic theory.

The OVS word order of the South American language Hixkaryana (Derbyshire, 1977) has definitely changed inventories of language typology, but hasn’t really had a transformative effect on syntactic theory itself, as its direct impact on modeling is underconstrained by the data, and in fact can be analyzed in a range of ways (see, for example Kalin (2014)) without yet forcing specific changes to the theory of syntactic structure. In other words, Hixkaryana has not “changed the theory” but has rather required reconsidering existing components of the word order transformations that are generally available, and an understanding of how they combine in this particular language. Alternatively, consider the claim that the Pirahã language lacks sentential recursion, made in Everett (2005). While the claim was based on a minoritized language (and indeed, to this day, the Pirahã people face a grim reality of minoritization, common throughout the Brazilian Amazon at present), it hasn’t changed linguistic theory (at least not yet), as neither the evidence nor the proposed theoretical change were convincing enough to make any real difference. (In fact, work such as Rodrigues et al. (2018) and Sauerland (2018) cast serious empirical doubts on the claims about Pirahã recursion). In all of the cases discussed above, linguistic theory has changed in dialogue with minoritized languages when specific aspects or cornerstones of the theory are rethought, re-assembled, or removed. Everett’s (2005) article was not concerned with any details of any specific linguistic theory, or with framing specific theoretical ingredients that could be replaced as alternatives, but was rather an attempt to obliterate the entire edifice itself, with all its results, models, and

details – and moreover on the basis of either inconsistent or insufficient quantities and qualities of data. Productive dialogue between unfamiliar empirical patterns and linguistic theory requires attempts at mutual integration where the pieces do not fit, as opposed to outright nihilism with respect to the latter.

Turning to a different case, the prosodic patterns of the Australian language Arrernte, as described by Breen and Pensalfini (1999) (who originally posited VC syllabification, but made clear that alternative analyses, if possible, were to be preferred) involve stress and reduplication in which onset consonants contribute to syllable weight. In fact, the contribution of onset consonants to weight patterns including stress had been convincingly and clearly already argued for by Pirahã (Everett and Everett, 1984), in which voiceless onsets attract stress, and for English stress patterns by (Davis, 1988), in which obstruents attract secondary stress. In Topintzi and Nevins (2017), it was argued that the distribution of word-initial consonants, loanword phonology, and musicological evidence all point to CV-syllabification for this language, with moraic onsets. In fact, Tabain (2004) looked for acoustic evidence of planned coarticulation and reduced variability in the production of CV vs VC sequences in English and Arrernte, but found that “It might be noted (contrary to our hypothesis) on the rare occasion results are significant for the Aboriginal data, it is the VC context which shows more variability than the CV context” (p.185). Tabain (2009) then looked at articulatory kinematics, but the results showed no differences between patterns of English and Arrernte jaw movement. As Breen and Pensalfini (1999, p.10) stated “Clearly, the more restrictive version of Universal Grammar, if tenable, is the best, so if there is a viable alternative to VC(C) syllabification for Arrernte, it should be preferred”. Arrernte has thus far not changed the theory, but rather provided further evidence for an existing conjecture – moraic onsets. Nonetheless, for all of three cases just mentioned, we must leave open the possibility that future investigations will in fact potentially lead to changes in linguistic theory. What seems crucial is the convergence from both directions of research: top-down (theoretical predictions) and bottom-up (empirically driven) and their constant interplay back and forth. Both components are equally important: seriously strong empirical evidence, and well-formulated theoretical modifications. In sum, it is uncontroversial that studying these languages has been and will be interesting. But it is a far cry to say that they have as of yet yielded any significant changes in the nuts and bolts of linguistic theory in the sense that they have caused revisions to specific models of language structure.

Other cases of thorough study of minoritized languages forcing the revision of specific postulates within highly articulated, cross-linguistically accountable models of human language are no doubt waiting in the wings as I write this. A number of important efforts to intensively study minoritized language varieties are now underway, especially from what is called microcomparative work. There are rich results coming forth from microcomparative work of traditionally non-standard and undervalued dialects of Europe (Barbiers et al., 2005; Andriani et al., 2022; de Mareüil et al., 2019)), as well as their recontextualization in diaspora and heritage contexts (see Polinsky (2018)) for an overview), where one-way bilingualism, an operative force amongst minoritized languages, holds as well.. Moreover, continued scientific attention to languages as spoken in diaspora and refugee contexts, and from languages that have directly resulted from historical conditions of enslavement will bear importance in establishing their grammatical validity, their neuropsychological processing, and their onward social and historical trajectories.

Increased focus on minoritized, heritage, refugee, and stigmatized dialects becomes especially urgent for policy, educational, and health-related decisions (for further discussion, see Hudley, Garraffa & Nevins (2022)) in which bilingualism – often asymmetric bilingualism (or bidialect-

talism) has direct communicative consequences for the people involved. This is alarmingly clear in the situation of refugee arrivals and asylum seekers who face unprepared or even grossly erroneous assessments in identifying their language and providing resources for communication – particularly for refugees of minoritized languages, such as war refugees who speak non-national languages such as Runyankole (Blommaert, 2009), or deaf adult asylum seekers from the Middle East (Sivunen, 2019). For another example, see Hudley et al. (2018) for compelling arguments that speech-language pathologists in the U.S. have an pressing need for sociolinguistic and grammatical training with respect to African American English for equitable assessment and treatment; the same conclusions and reasoning can doubtless be replicated in dozens of nations on Earth in which stigma and stereotypes about specific languages or language varieties exist. This is all the more important for the future of the language sciences, as it is currently the case that virtually no linguistic theory – either from formal linguistics or sociolinguistics – is present in the school curriculum of any of the world’s to-be-citizens. As a result some of the most fundamental discoveries that have been made about the biological and social nature of language are unknown to the general public, and given this lack of awareness, questions of language policy, educational inclusiveness, and critical thinking in terms of media reports on scientific results often operate in an thoroughly uninformed state. These concerns form part of a larger picture that will have to change.

9.3 The Value of Inclusivity, and Rethinking Aspects of our Discipline

Consider search engines and everyday language automation tools. Bender (2019) observes that even the field of natural language processing research often treats English as a default proxy for all languages“ in ways that continue to perpetrate inequalities and undermine its own goals". Healthy futures ahead for minoritized languages include the commitment of us as language scientists to be as inclusive as possible in our teaching and in public engagement, resisting the comfort zone in which we simply take English as a stand-in representative of all human languages, when in fact many other languages provide equally compelling starting places for describing what we currently understand about the limits and possibilities of the language faculty. As Sanders et al. (2020) point out, “no matter how aware we might be of our language-based biases, if we do nothing to challenge or disrupt them, we will pass them on to our students, and the cycle will continue".

What would benefit linguistic theory (and the fields that indirectly depend on it) most directly in terms of the continued protagonism of minoritized languages within the canon, within the everyday nuts-and-bolts of the theoretical lynchpins, and the everyday classroom exemplification, would obviously be more people who speak minoritized languages working within the fields of the language sciences. This has happened in increasing strides over the past four decades, but there haven’t been enough conversations about the topic, and the whys and hows of there being minority (and perhaps minoritized) numbers of speakers of minoritized languages within the field. Some important initial steps have been taken, such as the Linguistic Society of America’s (2019) statement on race . However, our field lags behind that of *many* adjacent social sciences, in part perhaps because of the perception that linguistics is universalizing, colorblind, and humanist, and hence “of course we’re not a racist or biased field". There are, however, by now quantitative statistics on representativity in higher academia (including, for example, the absence of linguistics programs at Historically Black Colleges and Universities) that reveal significant areas of shortcomings in diversifying the profession. Our everyday example sentences in linguistics, the empirical staple of the field, skewedly reflect a dominant white culture, far more than it does of minoritized races and

ethnicities, often forgetting that “Who we hire, who we cite, and who we signal is a part of our field to our students and early career researchers has a large impact on its makeup. The shape of the world our example sentences convey to readers—students and active researchers alike—implicitly and sometimes explicitly sends powerful signals about who is welcome in our field and who is less so.” (Kotek et al., 2021).

Examples of unconscious perpetuation of racism aren’t just about hiring, promotion, and graduate student recruitment, and can even be found in the portrayal of conversations and canonical examples of populations in supposedly ‘neutral’ second-language learning textbooks (Anyia, 2016), where ‘only grammar is the concern’ but nonetheless, white supremacy, the native speaker construct, and other forms of normativity intrude; see Kubota (2002) on how ‘a nice field like TESOL’ is rife with everyday microaggressions against non-white scholars and students. Is it any wonder that students of color do not continue in the language sciences beyond, say French or Portuguese language-learning classes, that already flunk any measure of inclusivity (see especially Macedo (2019))? There are important ways that non-standard, diaspora, and stigmatized linguistic varieties can be protagonized into pedagogy so that the students who speak these varieties at home increase their sense of ownership in the language arts, as opposed to the hierarchizing distinctions that children are often taught right away between their home languages and the ‘modern’ languages taught in schools. Smitherman (2017) identifies one of the gravest areas of linguistic miseducation right in the language arts classrooms. These are uncomfortable truths to suddenly confront in the 2020s, but as Hudley et al. (2020b, e221) penetratingly observe, we currently face a disciplinary-wide failure to recognize that there is racism and audism happening within linguistics as a field. This presumed colorblindness of academic subfields is now being widely revisited (Crenshaw et al., 2019) across disciplines, and we often forget or dismiss it maybe an issue in other departments, but not in “ours”, due to “the deeply entrenched societal ideology that positions racism as intentional and individual, rather than structural and often below the level of awareness of those who enact it (Hill, 2008)”, as discussed by Hudley et al. (2020b, e212).

Numerous factors have led to the situation in which people whose identities are minoritized do not identify with the field of linguistics. Leonard (2020) calls attention to the fact that Native Americans continue to be the least represented within the discipline, in contrast to the extreme presence of Native American languages in linguistic scholarship. In part, this comes from what Hudley et al. (2020b, e212) have diagnosed as narrow definitions of prestige, reward, and investment in research evaluation, and the constant gatekeeping of what counts as linguistics (ibid:e221). The report in Silbiger and Stubler (2019) shows that unprofessional peer reviews within the publication process have disproportionately harmed underrepresented groups across STEM fields of academia. Gutiérrez et al. (2012) provide a range of case studies demonstrating the difficulties across every aspect of academia that women with minoritized identities face in careers, and Kilomba (2021) provides a particularly compelling personal narrative of the constant, daily, everyday uphill struggle that she faces as a Black woman in academia.

At the time of writing, there are not very many Kurdish, Maxakalí, Black ASL, or Hiaki-speaking linguists, and we should ask ourselves what might happen if this is to ever change significantly. In some places, such as Brazil, quota-based doctoral funding and admissions for indigenous, Deaf, and African-descent students have led to greater inclusivity in linguistics programs, and for me, it is an honor to be part of the supervision team for the first three Deaf doctoral students to be admitted to the linguistics program at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (while aware that this kind of inclusivity ought to have started long ago). These changes in student pop-

ulations must always be accompanied by changes in curriculum as well (a point carefully made by Baniwa (2013)). As Kotek et al. (2021) observe, many aspects of the way the field is currently practiced affect “the kinds of research questions that are welcome, and the kinds of answers that we expect and ultimately adopt. Limiting access to the field inevitably leads to a reduced richness of ideas, research topics, approaches, and types of data collected, and more generally it limits the reach and breadth of our field. It is thus in everyone’s interest to increase our field’s inclusivity.” How would the field of linguistics as it is practiced and structured as an academic discipline have to transform in order for more people from various racial groups to actively want to study, teach, and learn linguistics (Hudley et al., 2020a)? How can people from racially minoritized groups be empowered, rather than isolated in linguistics? How can we signal that Black Minds Matter? How can we reverse the trend of countless talented, valuable, intelligent young people of color who decide to ‘opt out’ of postgraduate careers in academia (Beasley, 2011)? Relatedly, how can we overcome the difficulties in finding outlets for community-oriented scholarship (Montoya, 2020)?

9.4 When Minoritized Languages Change Linguists’ Daily Work

In parallel, minoritized languages might require changes in linguists’ daily work. Two colleagues of mine, who I hold extreme respect for as language activists, have deliberately left academia in order to leverage their linguistics training specifically in service of more time to community needs. I quote from Gabrielle Hodge’s remarks in Hodge, Jones & Nevins (2022), for example:

“I was tempted by academia for a while last year, but the job market and other factors such as audism and the difficulty of doing community engagement/social impact work makes it unattractive to me now. I don’t want to spend my life teaching sign linguistics 101 to hearing non-signing students who may never have anything to do with deaf people beyond their degree. I feel my skills should be directed instead towards deaf people. If you look at how energies from within and outside deaf communities are directed, most of it is directed for hearing people: sign language classes, interpreter training, university courses, etc. These are important of course, but there also needs to be more focus on what deaf people need and want. Currently it is skewed.”

We live in an age where content is abundantly available, be it from online videos, social media, e-books, and numerous other fora. Practical training and problem-solving should become more of a priority. Students in linguistics aren’t taught even the basics of legal issues, safety and medical issues, or educational issues. As important as it is for people outside of linguistics to have basic knowledge of the discoveries of the field to avoid perilous language myths and their policy consequences, I contend that a healthier future for our field requires that students trained in the language sciences have required basic coverage and practical exercises in speech pathology and reading difficulties, legislative issues, scientific communication to the greater public, and/or native language pedagogy. As Kerry Jones observes in her interview in Hodge, Jones & Nevins (2022) about work with the highly minoritized and endangered Khoesan populations (see Jones (2019) of South Africa,

“If the languages are protected in our constitution, they must show that an effort is being made to do so. The red tape with university finance departments is far too slow and complicated for urgent work. The academic system is littered with red tape

and bureaucracy that hinders work that urgently needs to be done. I've had to go independent to be able to do meaningful work. I do collaborate with universities, but I have to be practical in order to be more efficient and ethical in the way that I operate. The academic system gives very little real attention to ethics and fair exchange when it comes to this kind of work."

These are people who are leaving academia for the right reasons: they have seen that they can be more efficient outside of it in accomplishing goals of urgency and meaningfulness to the linguistic communities they work with. Field methods courses must undergo reflexive steps towards decolonizing their traditions of approaching language data, as these courses often provide minimal time for students to learn about the epistemologies of their speaker-collaborators and indigenous research methodologies (Tsikewa, 2021), or the historical trauma that indigenous collaborators may experience in working on/with their languages. Language archival data that we record with high-quality devices and metadata should be more focused on providing means that the speakers of these languages themselves can access in a meaningful way (Carew et al., 2015; Seyfeddinipur et al., 2019).

For each of the studies I report in this book in which minoritized languages have directly benefitted theoretical linguistics, we might ask, how can theoretical linguists benefit these language communities in return? As Nora England makes clear within her contribution in Hale (1992), citing the words of Cojtí Cuxil (1990), "It is difficult in Guatemala for linguists to define themselves as neutral or apolitical, since they work on languages that are sentenced to death and officially demoted. The linguist who works on Mayan languages has the option of activism in favor of a new linguistic order in which equality in the rights of all the languages is made concrete". Projects related to indigenous participation and protagonism are underway across many countries as we speak, although not necessarily in the high-prestige institutions that are traditionally the centers of linguistic theory. Academic environments and funding agencies must continue to change and refocus to become more inclusive of minoritized linguists and "to serve the needs of the colonized communities whose languages form the foundation of linguistics scholarship and linguists' careers" (DeGraff, 2020). In a recent hiring interview in which I participated in 2022, the candidate remarked that he had not included his native speaker consultant as a coauthor on the high-prestige journal article for the sole reason that his doctoral advisors warned him about the importance of having singly-authored publications for hiring and promotion. Among important voices envisioning a more equitable, symmetric role between linguists and the communities in which they make their careers, Czaykowska-Higgins (2009) recognizes the importance of fieldwork and community-based language research that is done *for* the language communities, where the linguist may have the role of a consultant for an agenda defined by the community, and not solely by the values dictated in the system of academic hiring, promotion, and tenure.

Gerds (1998) enumerates ways that linguists can serve communities, including training teachers and helping teach the language, serving as mediators between speakers and universities, acting as advocates for native language programs at universities, and serving as expert witnesses on matters involving language, including place names for land claims, ethnobiology for land use studies, and labels and translations for museum exhibits. Being able to secure land rights for the traditional communities that have inhabited it long before colonial invasions, through means of linguistic arguments in legal arena, is one of the highest ambitions we might all yearn towards, as is guaranteeing accurate subtitling and descriptions in documentaries, museum exhibits, and even the

development of educational materials in the language as seemingly easy as a coloring book with linguistically-informed categories and vocabulary. Actions like these have the potential to benefit very young people in linguistically-minoritized communities in relatively straightforward ways, so that our daily interactional work is not just limited to an audience of the 18-25 year olds in university classrooms; see Figueroa (2022) for a discussion of the potential of podcasting to break through the financial and psychological paywall, where scientific research is too often limited to specialist communities, “together with imposition of a tone that demands dispassionate engagement with topics that are urgent and painful to the participants of their research”. The past years have witnessed a great development of collaborative linguistic fieldwork and models of empowerment for native speakers in the community (Yamada, 2007), and a number of responsibilities that linguists can take on outside of the linguistic classroom and linguistic journal model that is routinely considered as the bread and butter of the profession, such as working in language centers and developing community-oriented exhibitions (Truscott, 2014), or contributing to national census-type indices of linguistic diversity and territorial claims with accurate resources about the linguistic landscapes in indigenous communities (Nash, 1984; Galucio et al., 2018).

While I have relied in the introductory chapter on the importance of language scientists and the social sciences more generally in stepping outside of our comfort zone in terms of the languages that are spoken within our university classroom, I contend that our discipline will have healthier futures once we step more outside of the classroom itself. Minoritization of languages, and indeed minoritization of people’s very identities forms part of a very large and often tragically repetitive historical pattern. But we as language scientists, psychologists, educators, health professionals, legal and judicial resources, or policymakers needn’t replicate these same lines in our empirical bases for the most accurate theories possible and the most accurate application of linguistic expertise to real-world concerns as well.

Paraphrasing Saussure (1916), the task of the linguist is to denounce and dispel the myriad of absurd ideas, fictions, and prejudices that arise in the domain of language. I believe that the field has had a modicum of success over the past three decades or so, and that minoritized languages have become protagonists within this narrative. UNESCO has declared this year, 2022, as the start of an International Decade of Indigenous Languages. You all can provide the forthcoming episodes, and I am excited at the prospects of keeping in touch and hear about your efforts, be they within academic channels or without them.

Bibliography

- Abbott, Edwin Abbott. 1884. *Flatland: A Romance of Many Dimensions*. London: Seeley & Co.
- Alok, Deepak, and Mark Baker. 2018. On the mechanics (syntax) of indexical shift: Evidence from allocutive agreement in Magahi. Ms., Rutgers University.
- Alsina, Alex, and Sam Mchombo. 1990. The Syntax of Applicatives in Chichewa: Problems for a Theta-Theoretic Asymmetry. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 8:493–506.
- Anagnostopoulou, Elena. 2003. *The syntax of ditransitives*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Anand, Pranav. 2006. De de se. Doctoral Dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, MA.
- Anand, Pranav, and Andrew Nevins. 2004. Shifty operators in changing contexts. In *Proceedings of SALT 14*, 20–37.
- Anderson, Stephen R. 1976. Nasal consonants and the internal structure of segments. *Language* 52:326–344.
- Anderson, Stephen R. 1977. On mechanisms by which languages become ergative. In *Mechanisms of Syntactic Change*, 1–23. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Andriani, J., L. Casalicchio, F.M. Ciconte, R. D’Alessandro, A. Frasson, B. Van Osch, L. Sorgini, and S. Terenghi. 2022. Documenting Italo-Romance minority languages in the Americas. Problems and tentative solutions. In *Contemporary research in minority and diaspora languages of Europe*. Langsci Press.
- Anyá, Uju. 2016. *Racialized Identities in Second Language Learning: Speaking Blackness in Brazil*. Routledge Advances in Second Language Studies.
- Apontes, Selmo. 2018. Descrição gramatical do oro waram, variante wari’ norte. Doctoral Dissertation, Belo Horizonte: Federal University of Minas Gerais.
- Arregi, Karlos, and Andrew Nevins. 2012. *Morphotactics: Basque auxiliaries and the structure of spellout*. Springer.
- Austin, Peter, and Joan Bresnan. 1996. Non-configurationality in Australian Aboriginal Languages. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 14:215–268.
- Baerman, Matthew. 2014. Suppletive kin term paradigms in the languages of New Guinea. *Linguistic Typology* 18:413–448.

- Baertsch, Karen, and Stuart Davis. 2003. The split margin approach to syllable structure. *ZAS Papers in Linguistics* 32:1–14.
- Baker, Mark. 1988. Theta Theory and the Syntax of Applicatives in Chichewa. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 6:353–389.
- Baker, Mark, Ken Safir, and Justine Sikuku. 2013. Complex Anaphora in Lubukusu. In *Selected Proceedings of the 43rd Annual Conference on African Linguistics*, ed. Olanike Ola Orie and Karen W. Sanders, 196–206. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press.
- Baker, Mark C. 1991. On the relation of serialization to verb extensions. In *Serial verbs: Grammatical, comparative and cognitive approaches*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Baker, Mark C. 1996. *The Polysynthesis Parameter*. Oxford University Press.
- Baker, Mark C. 2014. On Dependent Ergative Case (in Shipibo) and Its Derivation by Phase. *Linguistic Inquiry* 45.3:341–379.
- Baker, Mark C., and Chris Collins. 2006. Linkers and the Internal Structure of vP. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 24:307–354.
- Bale, Alan, and Jessica Coon. 2014. Classifiers are for numerals, not for nouns: Consequences for the mass/count distinction. *Linguistic Inquiry* 45:695–707.
- Baniwa, Gersem. 2013. Lei das Cotas e os povos indígenas: mais um desafio para a diversidade. *Cadernos de Pensamento Crítico Latino-Americano* 34:18–21.
- Barbiers, S, H. Bennis, M. Devos, G. de Vogelaer, and van der Ham, M. 2005. *Syntactic Atlas of the Dutch Dialects (SAND) Volume 1*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Battison, Robbin. 1974. Phonological deletion in American Sign Language. *Sign language studies* 5:1–19.
- Battison, Robbin. 1978. *Lexical borrowing in American sign language*. ERIC.
- Battison, Robbin, Harry Markowicz, and James Woodward. 1973. A good rule of thumb: Variable phonology in American Sign Language. In *New ways of analyzing variation ii* (eds. shuy & fasold).
- Baynton, Douglas C. 1996. *Forbidden Signs: American Culture and the Campaign against Sign Language*. University of Chicago Press.
- Beasley, Maya. 2011. *Opting Out: Losing the Potential of America's Young Black Elite*. University of Chicago Press.
- Beck, Sigrid, Sveta Krasikova, Daniel Fleischer, Remus Gergel, Stefan Hofstetter, Christiane Savelsberg, John Vanderelst, and Elisabeth Villalta. 2009. Crosslinguistic variation in comparison constructions. *Linguistic Variation Yearbook* 9:1–66.

- Bender, Emily. 2019. English isn't generic for language, despite what NLP papers might lead you to believe. Symposium on Data Science & Statistics, Bellevue, WA, May 30, 2019.
- Bhatia, Archana, Elabbas Benmamoun, and Maria Polinsky. 2009. Closest conjunct agreement in head final languages. *Linguistic Variation Yearbook* 9:67–88.
- Bhatt, Rajesh, and Martin Walkow. 2013. Locating agreement in grammar: An argument from agreement in conjunctions. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 31:951–1013.
- Blevins, Juliette. 1993. The nature of constraints on the nondominant hand in ASL. In *Current issues in ASL phonology*, 43–62. Elsevier.
- Blommaert, Jan. 2009. Language, asylum, and the national order. *Current Anthropology* 50.4:415–441.
- Bobaljik, Jonathan David. 2012. *Universals in comparative morphology: Suppletion, superlatives, and the structure of words*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Bock, K., and Carol Miller. 1991. Broken Agreement. *Cognitive Psychology* 23:45–93.
- Booker, Karen. 1982. Number suppletion in North American Indian languages. *Kansas Working Papers in Linguistics* 7:15–29.
- Booth, Katie. 2021. *The Invention of Miracles: Language, Power, and Alexander Graham Bell's Quest to End Deafness*. Simon and Schuster.
- Borer, Hagit. 2014. Wherefore roots? *Theoretical Linguistics* 40:343–359.
- Bošković, Željko. 2009. Unifying first and last conjunct agreement. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 27:455–496.
- Boyes-Braem, P. 1973. The Acquisition of Handshape in American Sign Language. Ms., The Salk Institute.
- Breen, Gavan, and Rob Pensalfini. 1999. Arrernte: a language with no syllable onsets. *Linguistic Inquiry* 30:1–25.
- Brentari, Diane. 1998. *A prosodic model of sign language phonology*. MIT Press.
- Brentari, Diane, and John A Goldsmith. 1993. Secondary licensing and the nondominant hand in ASL phonology. In *Current issues in ASL phonology*, 19–41.
- Brentari, Diane, and Carol Padden. 2001. Native and foreign vocabulary in American Sign Language: A lexicon with multiple origins. *Foreign vocabulary in sign languages: A cross-linguistic investigation of word formation* 87–119.
- Brenzinger, Matthias and Arienne M. Dwyer and Tjeerd de Graaf and Colette Grinevald and Michael Krauss and Osahito Miyaoka and Nicholas Ostler and Osamu Sakiyama and María E. Villalón and Akira Y. Yamamoto and Ofelia Zepeda. 2003. Language vitality and endangerment.

Document submitted to the International Expert Meeting on UNESCO Programme Safeguarding of Endangered Languages, Paris, March 10–12. www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/00120-EN.pdf.

Bresnan, Joan, and Lioba Moshi. 1990. Object Asymmetries in Comparative Bantu Syntax. *Linguistic Inquiry* 21:147–185.

Bromham, Lindell, Russell Dinnage, Hedvig Skirgård, Andrew Ritchie, Marcel Cardillo, Felicity Meakins, Simon Greenhill, and Xia Hua. 2022. Global predictors of language endangerment and the future of linguistic diversity. *Nature Ecology & Evolution* 6:163–173.

Camargo-Souza, Livia. 2020. Locality Domains for Number-Based Suppletion: Evidence from Yawanawa. In *Proceedings of WCCFL* 38.

Carew, Margaret, Jennifer Green, Inge Kral, Rachel Nordlinger, and Ruth Singer. 2015. Getting in touch: Language and digital inclusion in Australian Indigenous communities. *Language Documentation and Conservation* 9:307–323.

Carochi, Horacio. 1645. *Arte de la lengua mexicana*. Mexico: Juan Ruyz.

Carstens, Vicki. 1991. The morphology and syntax of Determiner Phrases in Kiswahili. Doctoral Dissertation, UCLA.

Carstens, Vicki. 2019. Noun class, gender, and the workings of Agree: Evidence from agreement with conjoined subjects in Xhosa. Ms., UConn.

Cheek, Adrienne, Kearsy Cormier, Ann Repp, and Richard P. Meier. 2001. Prelinguistic Gesture Predicts Mastery and Error in the Production of Early Signs. *Language* 77.2:292–293.

Cheng, Lisa, and Rint Sybesma. 1999. Bare and not-so-bare nouns and the structure of NP. *Linguistic Inquiry* 30:509–542.

Chierchia, Gennaro. 1998. Reference to kinds across languages. *Natural Language Semantics* 6:339–405.

Choi, I., R. E. Nisbett, and A. Norenzayan. 1999. Causal attribution across cultures: Variation and universality. *Psychological Bulletin* 125:1:47–61.

Chomsky, Noam. 1957. *Syntactic Structures*. The Hague: Mouton.

Chomsky, Noam. 1975. *Reflections on Language*. New York: Pantheon.

Chomsky, Noam. 1977. On wh-movement. In *Formal syntax*, ed. Peter W. Culicover, Thomas Wasow, and Adrian Akmajian, 71–132. New York: Academic Press.

Chomsky, Noam, and Morris Halle. 1968. *The Sound Pattern of English*. New York: Harper and Row.

Cinque, Guglielmo. 1999. *Adverbs and Functional Heads*. Oxford University Press.

- Clancy, Kathryn B.H., and Jenny L. Davis. 2019. Soylent Is People, and WEIRD Is White: Biological Anthropology, Whiteness, and the Limits of the WEIRD. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 48:169–186.
- Clements, George N. 1975. The logophoric pronoun in Ewe: its role in discourse. *Journal of West African Languages* 10:141–177.
- Cojtí Cuxil, Demetrio. 1990. Lingüística e idiomas Mayas en Guatemala. In *Lecturas sobre la lingüística Maya*, ed. Nora C. England and Stephen R. Elliot, 1–25. Guatemala City: Centro de Investigaciones Regionales de Mesoamerica.
- Comrie, Bernard. 1973. The ergative: Variations on a theme. *Lingua* 32:239–253.
- Connell, Bruce. 1994. The structure of labial-velar stops. *Journal of Phonetics* 441–476.
- Coon, Jessica. 2010. Rethinking Split Ergativity In Chol. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 76:207–253.
- Coon, Jessica. 2020. The linguistics of *Arrival*: Heptapods, field linguistics, and Universal Grammar. In *Language invention for linguistics pedagogy*, to appear. Oxford University Press.
- Corbett, G.G., and Alfred D. Mtenje. 1987. Gender agreement in Chichewa. *Studies in African Linguistics* 18:1–38.
- Corbett, Greville G. 1983. *Hierarchies, targets and controllers: Agreement patterns in Slavic*. London: Croom Helm.
- Corbett, Greville G. 2000. *Number*. Cambridge University Press.
- Corver, Norbert, and Henk van Riemsdijk. 2001. *Semi-Lexical Categories: The Content of Function Words and the Function of Content Words*. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin.
- Crasborn, Onno. 1995. Articulatory symmetry in two-handed signs. Master's thesis, University of Nijmegen.
- Crasborn, Onno. 2011. The other hand in sign language phonology. *The Blackwell companion to phonology*.
- Crenshaw, Kimberlé Williams, Luke Charles Harris, Daniel Martinez HoSang, and George Lipsitz. 2019. *Seeing Race Again: Countering Colorblindness across the disciplines*. University of California Press.
- Croneberg, C. 1965. Sign language dialects. In *A dictionary of American Sign Language*, 313–319.
- Cuervo, Cristina. 2003. Datives at large. Doctoral Dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, MA.
- Czaykowska-Higgins, Ewa. 2009. Research models, community engagement, and linguistic fieldwork: Reflections on working within Canadian Indigenous communities. *Language Documentation & Conservation* 15–50.

- Dahl, Östen. 1990. Standard average european as an exotic language. 8, 3. De Gruyter Mouton.
- Davis, Stuart. 1988. Syllable onsets as a factor in stress rules. *Phonology* 5:1–19.
- Deal, Amy Rose. 2020. *A Theory of Indexical Shift*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Déchaine, Rose-Marie. 1991. Bare sentences. In *Proceedings of SALT 1*, 31–50.
- DeGraff, Michel. 2020. Toward racial justice in linguistics: The case of Creole studies (Response to Charity Hudley et al.). *Language* e292–e306.
- Dell, François, and Mohamed Elmedlaoui. 1985. Syllabic Consonants and Syllabification in Imd-lawn Tashlhiyt Berber. *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 105–130.
- Derbyshire, Desmond C. 1977. Word order universals and the existence of OVS languages. *Linguistic Inquiry* 590–599.
- Dixon, R. M. W. 1979. Ergativity. *Language* 55:59–138.
- Dixon, R.M.W. 1994. *Ergativity*. Cambridge University Press.
- Dresher, B. Elan. 2009. *The Contrastive Hierarchy in Phonology*. Cambridge University Press.
- Eccarius, Petra, and Diane Brentari. 2007. Symmetry and dominance: A cross-linguistic study of signs and classifier constructions. *Lingua* 117:1169–1201.
- Edwards, Terra, and Diane Brentari. 2020. Feeling Phonology: The Conventionalization of Phonology in Protactile Communities in the United States. *Language* 819–840.
- Embick, David, and Morris Halle. 2005. On the status of stems in morphological theory. In *Romance Languages and linguistic theory 2003*, 59–88. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Emonds, Joseph Embley, and Jan Terje Faarlund. 2014. *English: The language of the Vikings*. Olomouc: Palacký University.
- England, Nora C. 2007. The influence of Mayan-speaking linguists on the state of Mayan linguistics. In *Linguistische Berichte Sonderheft 14: Endangered Languages*, ed. Peter K. Austin and Andrew Simpson, 93–111. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag.
- Etxepare, Ricardo, and Aritz Irurtzun. 2021. Gravettian hand stencils as sign language formatives. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B* 376:20200205.
- Everett, Dan, and Keren Everett. 1984. On the relevance of syllable onsets to stress placement. *Linguistic Inquiry* 15:1–25.
- Everett, Daniel. 2005. Cultural Constraints on Grammar and Cognition in Pirahã. *Current Anthropology* .
- Farkas, Donka, and Henriëtte de Swart. 2010. The semantics and pragmatics of plurals. *Semantics and Pragmatics* 3.6.

- Figueroa, Megan. 2022. Podcasting past the paywall: How diverse media allows more equitable participation in linguistic science. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 42:40–46.
- Foley, William, and Robert Van Valin. 1984. *Functional Syntax and Universal Grammar*. Cambridge University Press.
- Foppolo, Francesca, and Adrian Staub. 2020. The puzzle of number agreement with disjunction. *Cognition*.
- Frishberg, Nancy. 1975. Arbitrariness and iconicity: historical change in american sign language. *Language* 696–719.
- Galeano, Eduardo. 1997. *Open Veins of Latin America: Five Centuries of the Pillage of a Continent*. NYU Press.
- Galucio, Ana Vilacy, Denny Moore, and Hein van der Voort. 2018. O patrimônio linguístico do Brasil: novas perspectivas e abordagens no planejamento e gestão de uma política da diversidade linguística. *Revista do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional* 38:194–219.
- Gary, Judith, and Edward Keenan. 1977. On Collapsing Grammatical Relations in Universal Grammar. In *Grammatical Relations (Syntax and Semantics 8)*, 149–188. New York: Academic Press.
- Georgi, Doreen. 2012. A relativized probing approach to person encoding in local scenarios. *Linguistic Variation* 12:153–210.
- Geraci, Carlo. 2014. Spatial syntax in your hands. In *Proceedings of NELS 44*, 123–134.
- Gerdts, Donna. 1998. Beyond expertise: The role of the linguist in language revitalization programs. 13–22. Bath, England: Foundation for Endangered Languages.
- Gold, Jana Willer, Boban Arsenijević, Mia Batinić, Michael Becker, Nermina Čordalija, Marijana Kresić, Nedžad Leko, Franc Lanko Marušić, Tanja Milićev, Nataša Milićević, Ivana Mitić, Anita Peti-Stantić, Branimir Stanković, Tina Šuligoj, Jelena Tušek, and Andrew Nevins. 2018. When Linearity Prevails over Hierarchy in Syntax. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 115.3:495–500.
- Greenberg, Joseph. 1963. Some universals of grammar with particular reference to the meaning of elements. In *Universals of Language*, ed. Joseph Greenberg, 73–113. MIT Press.
- Greenberg, Joseph. 1972. Numerical classifiers and substantival number: Problems in the genesis of a linguistic type. *Stanford Working Papers on Language Universals* 9:1–39.
- Gu, Shengyun. 2018. The Feature System of Handshapes and Phonological Processes in Shanghai Sign Language. Doctoral Dissertation, East China Normal University.
- Gutiérrez Sánchez, Pedro. 2014. Las clases de verbos intransitivos y el alineamiento agentivo en el Chol de Tila, Chiapas. Master's thesis, CIESAS, México.

- Gutiérrez, Gabriella y Muhs, Yolanda Flores Niemann, Carmen G. González, and Angela P. Harris. 2012. *Presumed Incompetent: The Intersections of Race and Class for Women in Academia*. University of Colorado Press.
- Hale, Ken. 1983. Warlpiri and the Grammar of Non-Configurational Languages. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 1:5–47.
- Hale, Ken. 1992. On endangered languages and the safeguarding of diversity. *Language* 1–3.
- Hale, Kenneth. 1967. Review of Hidatsa Syntax by G. H. Matthews. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 33.4:329–341.
- Hale, Kenneth. 1973. Person marking in Warlbiri. In *A Festschrift for Morris Halle*, ed. Stephen Anderson and Paul Kiparsky, 308–344. Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Hale, Kenneth, Laverne Masayesva Jeanne, and Paula M. Pranka. 1991. On suppletion, selection, and agreement. In *Interdisciplinary approaches to language: Essays in honor of S.-Y. Kuroda*, ed. Carol Georgopoulos and Roberta Ishihara, 255–271. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Halle, Morris. 1997. Impoverishment and fission. In *PF: Papers at the interface*, ed. Benjamin Bruening, Yoonjung Kang, and Martha McGinnis, 425–450. MIT Working Papers in Linguistics 30. Cambridge, MA: MIT, MIT Working Papers in Linguistics.
- Harbour, Daniel. 2020. Frankenduals: Their typology, structure, and significance. *Language* 96:60–93.
- Harley, Heidi. 2009. A morphosyntactic account of the ‘Latinate’ ban on dative shift in English. Talk delivered at UCSC.
- Harley, Heidi. 2014. On the identity of roots. *Theoretical Linguistics* 40:225–276.
- Heim, Irene, and Angelika Kratzer. 1998. *Semantics in generative grammar*. Blackwell Publishers.
- Henderson, Brent. 2018. Bantu applicatives and Chimiini instrumentals. In *The Routledge Handbook of African Linguistics*. Routledge.
- Henrich, Joseph, Steven J. Heine, and Ara Norenzayan. 2010. The weirdest people in the world? *Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 33:61–83.
- Herbert, Robert K. 1986. *Language universals, markedness theory, and natural phonetic processes*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Hickok, Gregory, Mark Kritchewsky, Ursula Bellugi, and Edward S Klima. 1996. The role of the left frontal operculum in sign language aphasia. *Neurocase* 2:373–380.
- Hill, Jane H. 2008. *The Everyday Language of White Racism*. Wiley-Blackwell.
- Hill, Joseph C. 2021. Black ASL. <https://www.josephchill.com/black-asl>.

- Hockett, Charles. 1960. The origin of speech. *Scientific American* 203:88–97.
- Hodge, Gabriella, Kerry Jones, and Andrew Nevins. 2022. Refocusing the priorities of academic linguists: a discussion. Podcast in preparation.
- Holisky, Dee Ann. 1987. The case of the intransitive subject in Tsova-Tush (Batsbi). *Lingua* 71:103–132.
- Hudley, Anne H. Charity, Maria Garraffa, and Andrew Nevins. 2022. Refocusing the priorities of academic linguists: a discussion. Podcast in preparation.
- Hudley, Anne H. Charity, Christine Mallinson, and Mary Bucholtz. 2020a. From theory to action: Working collectively toward a more antiracist linguistics (Response to commentators). *Language* e307–e319.
- Hudley, Anne H. Charity, Christine Mallinson, and Mary Bucholtz. 2020b. Toward racial justice in linguistics: Interdisciplinary insights into theorizing race in the discipline and diversifying the profession. *Language* e200–e235.
- Hudley, Anne H. Charity, Christine Mallinson, Kenay Sudler, and Mackenzie Fama. 2018. The Sociolinguistically Trained Speech-Language Pathologist: Using Knowledge of African American English to Aid and Empower African American Clientele. *Perspectives of the ASHA Special Interest Groups*.
- van der Hulst, Harry. 1996. Acquisitional evidence for the phonological composition of handshape. In *Proceedings of Gala*, ed. C. Koster and F. Wijnen, 39–56. Munich: Lincom Europa.
- Humboldt, Wilhelm von. 1836. *Über die Verschiedenheit des menschlichen Sprachbaues*. Berlin.
- Hyman, Larry M. 1976. Phonologization. In *Linguistic Studies offered to Joseph Greenberg*, 407–418. Anna Libri: Saratoga, CA.
- Iverson, Gregory K, and Joseph C Salmons. 2007. Domains and directionality in the evolution of German final fortition. *Phonology* 121–145.
- Jakobson, Roman. 1941. *Child language, aphasia and phonological universals*.
- Jakobson, Roman. 1962. Why ‘mama’ and ‘papa’? In *Selected Writings, Vol. I: Phonological Studies*, 538–545. The Hague: Mouton.
- Jelinek, Eloise. 1984. Empty categories, case, and configurationality. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 2:39–76.
- Jeong, Youngmi. 2007. *Applicatives: Structure and interpretation from a minimalist perspective*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Jespersen, Otto. 1913/1961. *A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles*. Copenhagen: Munksgaard / London: George Allen & Unwin.
- Johannessen, Janne Bondi. 1998. *Coordination*. Oxford University Press.

- Johnson, Charlene A. 2014. Articulation of deaf and hearing spaces using deaf space design guidelines. Master's thesis, University of New Mexico.
- Johnson, Kimberly. 2021. Suppletion in a Three-Way Number System: Evidence from Creek. *Linguistic Inquiry* 1–20.
- Johnston, Trevor, and Adam C Schembri. 1999. On defining lexeme in a signed language. *Sign Language & Linguistics* 2:115–185.
- Jones, Kerry. 2019. Contemporary khoesan languages of south africa. *Critical Arts* 33:55–73.
- Kalin, Laura. 2014. The syntax of OVS word order in Hixkaryana. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 32:1089–1104.
- Kaplan, David. 1977. Demonstratives. In *Themes from Kaplan (1989)*, 481–564. Oxford University Press.
- Kasbarian, J.-M. 1997. Langue minorée et langue minoritaire. In *Sociolinguistique, concepts de base*, ed. M.-L. Moreau, 185–188. Bruxelles : Mardaga.
- Kayambazinthu, Edrinnie. 1998. The language planning situation in Malawi. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 19.5:369–439.
- Kayne, Richard S. 1994. *The Antisymmetry of Syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Kelso, JA, Dan L Southard, and David Goodman. 1979. On the nature of human interlimb coordination. *Science* 203:1029–1031.
- Kenstowicz, Michael. 2004. *Studies in Zazaki Grammar*. MIT Working Papers on Endangered and Less Familiar Languages.
- Keyser, Samuel Jay. 2011. Reversals in Poe and Stevens. *Wallace Stevens Journal* 35:224–239.
- Keyser, Samuel Jay, and Kenneth Noble Stevens. 2006. Enhancement and overlap in the speech chain. *Language* 82:33–63.
- Kilomba, Grada. 2021. *Plantation memories: episodes of everyday racism*. Between the Lines.
- Kimenyi, Alexandre. 1980. A Relational Grammar of Kinyarwanda. Doctoral Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.
- Kiparsky, Paul. 1982. Word formation and the Lexicon. In *Mid-America Linguistics Conference*, ed. Frances Ingemann, 3–29. Department of Linguistics, University of Kansas, Lawrence.
- Kiparsky, Paul. 1995. Indo-European origins of Germanic syntax. In *Clause structure and language change*, 1995. Oxford University Press.
- Klima, Edward, and Ursula Bellugi. 1979. *The Signs of Language*. Harvard University Press.
- van der Kooij, Els. 2002. Phonological categories in Sign Language of the Netherlands: Phonetic implementation and iconic motivation. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Leiden.

- Kotek, Hadas, Rikker Dockum, Sarah Babinski, and Christopher Geissler. 2021. Gender bias and stereotypes in linguistic example sentences. *Language* 653–677.
- Krifka, Manfred. 1995. Common nouns: A contrastive analysis of English and Chinese. In *The Generic Book*, 398–411. University of Chicago Press.
- Krifka, Manfred. 2007. Functional similarities between bimanual coordination and topic/comment structure. *Interdisciplinary studies on Information Structue* 8:61–96.
- Kroeber, A.L. 1958. Sign Language Inquiry. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 24.1:1–19.
- Kubota, Ryuko. 2002. The Author Responds: (Un)Raveling Racism in a Nice Field like TESOL. *TESOL Quarterly* 36.1:84–92.
- Kuhn, Jeremy, and Valentina Aristodemo. 2017. Pluractionality, iconicity, and scope in French Sign Language. *Semantics and Pragmatics* 10.6:1–49.
- Kurlansky, Mark. 1999. *The Basque History of the World*. New York: Walker and Company.
- Kusters, Annelies. 2015. *Deaf space in Adamorobe: An ethnographic study of a village in Ghana*. Gallaudet University Press.
- Labov, William. 1963. The social motivation of a sound change. *Word* 273–309.
- Labov, William. 1966. *The social stratification of (r) in New York City department stores*. Washington: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Ladefoged, Peter. 1975. *A Course in Phonetics*. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc.
- Laka, Itziar. 2006. Deriving split ergativity in the progressive. In *Ergativity: emerging issues*, 173–196. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Lakoff, George. 1987. *Women, fire, and dangerous things*. University of Chicago Press.
- Laughren, Mary. 1982. Warlpiri Kinship Structure. In *Languages of kinship in Aboriginal Australia*, 77–85. Sydney: Oceania Linguistics Monographs.
- Legate, Julie Anne. 2001. The configurational structure of a nonconfigurational language. *Linguistic Variation Yearbook* 1:63–99.
- Leonard, Wesley Y. 2020. Insights from Native American Studies for theorizing race and racism in linguistics (Response to Charity Hudley, Mallinson, and Bucholtz). *Language* e281–e291.
- Lepic, Ryan, Carl Börstell, Gal Belsitzman, and Wendy Sandler. 2016. Taking meaning in hand: iconic motivations in two-handed signs. *Sign Language & Linguistics* 19:37–81.
- Levin, Beth. 1983. On the nature of ergativity. Doctoral Dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, MA.
- Levin, Beth, and Malka Rappaport Hovav. 1995. *Unaccusativity: At the Syntax-Lexical Semantics Interface*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

- Liddell, Scott K. 2003. *Grammar, gesture and meaning in American Sign Language*. Cambridge University Press.
- Liljencrants, Johan, and Björn Lindblom. 1972. Numerical simulation of vowel quality systems: The role of perceptual contrast. *Language* 48:839–862.
- Lillo-Martin, Diane, and Edward S. Klima. 1990. Pointing out differences: ASL pronouns in syntactic theory. In *Theoretical issues in sign language research*, ed. Susan D. Fischer and Patricia Siple, 191–210. University of Chicago Press.
- Lima, Suzi. 2018. New perspectives on the count-mass distinction: Understudied languages and psycholinguistics. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 12:e12303.
- Linguistic Society of America. 2019. LSA statement on race. Online: <https://www.linguisticsociety.org/content/lsa-statement-race>, approved May 4, 2019.
- Longobardi, Giuseppe, and Cristina Guardiano. 2009. Evidence for syntax as a signal of historical relatedness. *Lingua* 119:1679–1706.
- Lucas, Ceil, R. Bayley, and C. Valli. 2001. *Sociolinguistic Variation in American Sign Language*. Gallaudet University Press.
- Lucas, Ceil, Amber Goeke, Rebecca Briesacher, and Robert Bayley. 2007. Phonological Variation in American Sign Language: 2 Hands or 1? Paper presented at NAW 36, University of Pennsylvania.
- Lupyan, Gary, and Rick Dale. 2010. Language Structure is Partly Determined by Social Structure. *PLoS One* 5.1:e8559.
- Léglise, Isabelle, and Sophie Alby. 2006. Minorization and the process of (de)minoritization: the case of Kali'na in French Guiana. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 67–85.
- Macedo, Donaldo. 2019. *Decolonizing Foreign Language Education: The Misteaching of English and Other Colonial Languages*. Routledge.
- MacNeilage, Peter F, Lesley J Rogers, and Giorgio Vallortigara. 2009. Origins of the left & right brain. *Scientific American* 301:60–67.
- Maier, Emar. 2014. Language shifts in free indirect discourse. *Journal of Literary Semantics* 43:143–167.
- Major, Travis, and Connor Mayer. 2019. What indexical shift sounds like: Uyghur intonation and interpreting speech reports. In *Proceedings of NELS* 49.
- Mallery, Garrick. 1886. *Sign language among North American Indians compared with that among other peoples and deaf-mutes*.
- Mantovan, Lara. 2020. Exploring the effects of phrase-final lengthening in Italian Sign Language (LIS) noun phrases. *Revista Lingüística* 16:250–273.

- Marantz, Alec. 1991. Case and licensing. In *Arguments and Case*, 11–30. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Marantz, Alec. 1993. Implications of asymmetries in double object constructions. In *Theoretical aspects of Bantu grammar*, 113–150. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Marantz, Alec. 1997. No escape from syntax: Don't try morphological analysis in the privacy of your own lexicon. In *Proceedings of the 21st Annual Penn Linguistics Colloquium*, ed. Alexis Dimitriadis, Laura Siegel, Clarissa Surek-Clark, and Alexander Williams, volume 4.2 of *U. Penn Working Papers in Linguistics*, 201–225. Penn Linguistics Club, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
- de Mareüil, Philippe Boula, Gilles Adda, Lori Lamel, Albert Rilliard, and Frédéric Vernier. 2019. A speaking atlas of minority languages of france: collection and analyses of dialectal data. In *19th International Congress of Phonetic Sciences, Melbourne*.
- Marten, Lutz, and Maarten Mous. 2017. Valency and expectation in Bantu applicatives. *Linguistics Vanguard* 3.1.
- Martí, Luisa. 2020. Numerals and the theory of number. *Semantics and Pragmatics* 13.3.
- Martin, Jack B. 2011. *A grammar of Creek (Muskogee)*. University of Nebraska Press.
- Martinet, André. 1957. Arbitraire linguistique et double articulation. *Cahiers Ferdinand de Saussure* 105–116.
- Marušič, Franc, and Andrew Nevins. 2020. Distributed agreement in participial sandwiched configurations. In *Agree to Agree: Agreement in the Minimalist Programme*, 179–198. Berlin: Language Science Press.
- Marušič, Franc, Andrew Nevins, and William Badecker. 2015. The grammars of conjunction agreement in Slovenian. *Syntax* 18:39–77.
- Marušič, Franc, Andrew Nevins, and Amanda Saksida. 2007. Last-conjunct agreement in Slovenian. In *Formal Approaches to Slavic Linguistics 15, (The Toronto Meeting)*, ed. Robert Comp-ton, Magda Golezdzinowska, and Ulyana Savchenko, 210–227. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Michigan Slavic Publications.
- Matthews, G. H. 1965. *Hidatsa Syntax*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Matthewson, Lisa. 2013. Strategies of quantification in St'át'imcets and the rest of the world. In *Cross-linguistic studies of quantification*, ed. Kook-Hee Gil, Stephen Harlow, and George Tsoulas. Oxford University Press.
- McCarthy, John J, and Alan Prince. 1993. Prosodic morphology: Constraint interaction and satisfaction.
- McCaskill, Carolyn, Ceil Lucas, Robert Bayley, and Joseph C. Hill. 2011. *The Hidden Treasure of Black ASL: Its History and Structure*. Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press.
- McGinnis, Martha. 2001. Phases and the syntax of applicatives. In *Proceedings of NELS 31*.

- Mchombo, Sam. 2004. *The syntax of Chichewa*. Cambridge University Press.
- McNally, Louise. 1993. Comitative Coordination: A Case Study in Group Formation. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 11:347–379.
- Meinhof, Carl. 1906. *Grundzüge einer vergleichenden Grammatik der Bantusprachen*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.
- Mel'čuk, Igor. 2003. Suppletion. In *International Encyclopedia of Linguistics (2nd ed.)*, ed. William J. Frawley. Oxford University Press.
- Mitchley, Hazel. 2015. Agreement and Coordination in Xitsonga, Sesotho and IsiXhosa: An Optimality Theoretic Perspective. Master's thesis, Rhodes University.
- Miyagawa, Shigeru, and Takae Tsujioka. 2004. Argument structure and ditransitive verbs in Japanese. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 13:1–38.
- Montoya, Ignacio L. 2020. Enabling excellence and racial justice in universities by addressing structural obstacles to work by and with people from racially minoritized communities: Response to Charity Hudley et al. *Language* e236–e246.
- Moosally, Michelle. 1998. Noun phrase coordination: Ndebele agreement patterns and crosslinguistic variation. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Texas, Austin.
- Moskal, Beata. 2013. On some suppletion patterns in nouns and pronouns. Paper presented at PhonoLAM, Meertens Instituut, Amsterdam. [http://homepages.uconn.edu/~bam09006/Downloads_files/PhonoLAM_On some suppletion patterns in nouns and pronouns.pdf](http://homepages.uconn.edu/~bam09006/Downloads_files/PhonoLAM_On%20some%20suppletion%20patterns%20in%20nouns%20and%20pronouns.pdf).
- Msaka, Peter Kondwani. 2019. Nominal classification in Bantu revisited: The perspective from Chichewa. Doctoral Dissertation, Stellenbosch University.
- Murdock, George Peter. 1959. Cross-language parallels in parental kin terms. *Anthropological Linguistics* 1.9:1–5.
- Murphy, Andrew, and Zorica Puškar. 2017. Closest conjunct agreement is an illusion. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 36:1207–1261.
- Napoli, Donna Jo, and Rachel Sutton-Spence. 2010. Limitations on simultaneity in sign language. *Language* 86:647–662.
- Napoli, Donna Jo, and Jeff Wu. 2003. Morpheme structure constraints on two-handed signs in american sign language: Notions of symmetry. *Sign language & linguistics* 6:123–205.
- Nash, David. 1984. Linguistics and land rights in the Northern Territory. In *Further Applications of Linguistics to Aboriginal Contexts*, ed. Graham R. McKay and Bruce A. Sommer, 34–46. Melbourne: Applied Linguistics Association of Australia.
- Nevins, Andrew. 2011. Multiple agree with clitics: Person complementarity vs. omnivorous number. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 29:939–971.

- Newman, Paul. 1990. *Nominal and Verbal Plurality in Chadic*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Nicodemus, Brenda, and Caroline Smith. 2005. Prosody and utterance boundaries in ASL interpretation. In *32nd Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*.
- Nowak, M. A., K. M. Page, and K. Sigmund. 2000. Fairness versus reason in the Ultimatum Game. *Science* 289:1773–1775.
- Noyer, Rolf. 1992. Features, positions and affixes in autonomous morphological structure. Doctoral Dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, MA.
- Ohala, John, and James Lorentz. 1977. The story of [w]: an exercise in the phonetic explanation for sound patterns. *Berkeley Ling. Soc., Proc., Ann. Meeting* 577–599.
- Olson, D. 1977. From utterance to text: The bias of language in speech and writing. *Harvard Educational Review* 47:257–281.
- Ortega, Gerardo, and Gary Morgan. 2015. Phonological development in hearing learners of a sign language: The influence of phonological parameters, sign complexity, and iconicity. *Language Learning* 65:660–688.
- Padden, Carol A, and Tom Humphries. 1988. *Deaf in America*. Harvard University Press.
- Padden, Carol A, and David M Perlmutter. 1987. American sign language and the architecture of phonological theory. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 5:335–375.
- Pesetsky, David. 1995. *Zero syntax: Experiencers and cascades*. MIT Press.
- Pettenati, Paola, Silvia Stefanini, and Virginia Volterra. 2010. Motoric characteristics of representational gestures produced by young children in a naming task. *Journal of child language* 37:887.
- Pfau, Roland. 2009. *Grammar as Processor: A Distributed Morphology account of spontaneous speech errors*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Plaster, Keith, and Maria Polinsky. 2007. Women are not dangerous things: Gender and categorization. *Harvard Working Papers in Linguistics*.
- Player, David. 2021. How the White Deaf people benefit from White Privilege. Available at <https://dplayer84.medium.com>.
- Polinsky, Maria. 2013. Applicative constructions. In *The world atlas of language structures online*, ed. Matthew S. Dryer and Martin Haspelmath. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. URL <https://wals.info/chapter/109>.
- Polinsky, Maria. 2018. *Heritage Languages and Their Speakers*. Cambridge University Press.
- Postal, Paul. 1963. Some syntactic rules in Mohawk. Doctoral Dissertation, Yale University.
- Postal, Paul. 1995. Coordination: the syntax of &P. Doctoral Dissertation, University of California at Irvine.

- Pranka, Paula M. 1983. Syntax and Word Formation. Doctoral Dissertation, MIT.
- Py, B., and R. Jeanneret. 1989. *Minorisation linguistique et interaction*. Genève: Droz.
- Pylkkänen, Liina. 2008. *Introducing arguments*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Quer, Josep. 2013. Attitude ascriptions in sign languages and role shift. In *Proceedings of 13th meeting of the Texas Linguistics Society*, 12–38.
- Rezac, Milan, Pablo Albizu, and Ricardo Etxepare. 2014. The structural ergative of Basque and the theory of Case. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 32:1273–1330.
- Rice, Keren. 1986. Some remarks on direct and indirect speech in Slave (Northern Athapaskan). In *Direct and indirect speech*, ed. F. Coulmas, 47–76. Mouton de Gruyter.
- Rice, Keren. 2021. Can formal linguistics help language reclamation? Paper presented at the WCCFL 39, Univ. of Arizona.
- Riedel, Kristina. 2009. The Syntax of Object Marking in Sambia: A comparative Bantu perspective. Doctoral Dissertation, Leiden University.
- Riehl, Anastasia. 2008. The phonology and phonetics of nasal obstruent sequences. Doctoral Dissertation, Cornell University.
- Rizzi, Luigi. 1982. *Issues in Italian Syntax*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Rizzi, Luigi. 1997. The Fine Structure of the Left Periphery. In *Elements of Grammar*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Rodrigues, Cilene, Raiane Salles, and Filomena Sandalo. 2018. Word Order in Control: Evidence for Self-Embedding in Pirahã. In *Recursion across domains*, ed. Luiz Amaral, Marcus Maia, Andrew Nevins, and Tom Roeper, 111–126. Cambridge University Press.
- Ross, L. D., T. M. Amabile, and J. L. Steinmetz. 1977. Social roles, social control, and biases in social-perception processes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 35:485–494.
- Sagey, Elizabeth. 1986. The representation of features and relations in nonlinear phonology. Doctoral Dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, MA.
- Salanova, Andrés. 2007. Nominalizations and aspect. Doctoral Dissertation, MIT.
- Samek-Lodovici, Vieri. 2015. *The Interaction of Focus and Givenness in Italian Clause Structure*. Oxford University Press.
- Sanches, Mary, and Linda Slobin. 1973. Numeral classifiers and plural marking: An implicational universal. *Stanford Working Papers on Language Universals* 11:1–22.
- Sanders, Nathan, and Donna Jo Napoli. 2016. A cross-linguistic preference for torso stability in the lexicon: Evidence from 24 sign languages. *Sign Language & Linguistics* 19:197–231.

- Sanders, Nathan, Pocholo Umbal, and Lex Konnelly. 2020. Methods for increasing equity, diversity, and inclusion in linguistics pedagogy. In *Proceedings of the 2020 annual conference of the Canadian Linguistic Association*. Online: https://cla-acl.artsci.utoronto.ca/wp-content/uploads/actes-2020/Sanders_Umbal_Konnelly_CLA-ACL2020.pdf.
- Sandler, Wendy. 1989. *Phonological representation of the sign*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Sandler, Wendy. 2012. Visual prosody. In *Sign language: An international handbook*, ed. Roland Pfau, Markus Steinbach, and Bencie Woll, 55–76. De Gruyter Mouton.
- Sandler, Wendy, and Diane Lillo-Martin. 2006. *Sign Language and Linguistic Universals*. Cambridge University Press.
- Sapir, Edward. 1930. Southern Paiute, a Shoshonean Language. *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 65:1–296.
- Sauerland, Uli. 2018. False Speech Reports in Pirahã: A Comprehension Experiment. In *Recursion across domains*, ed. Luiz Amaral, Marcus Maia, Andrew Nevins, and Tom Roeper, 21–34. Cambridge University Press.
- Saussure, Ferdinand de. 1916. *Cours de linguistique générale*. Publié par Ch. Bally et A. Sechehaye avec la collaboration de A. Riedlinger, Paris.
- Schembri, Adam, David McKee, Rachel McKee, Sara Pivac, Trevor Johnston, and Della Goswell. 2009. Phonological variation and change in Australian and New Zealand Sign Languages: The location variable. *Language Variation and Change* 21:193–231.
- Schlenker, Philippe. 1999. Propositional attitudes and indexicality: a cross-categorical approach. Doctoral Dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, MA.
- Segall, M. H., D. T. Campbell, and M. J. Herskovits. 1966. *The influence of culture on visual perception*. Bobbs-Merrill.
- Seki, Lucy, and Andrew Nevins. 2018. Strategies of Embedding and the Complementizer Layer in Kamaiurá. In *O apelo das árvores*, ed. Alessandro Boechat and Andrew Nevins, 417–444. Campinas: Editora Pontes.
- Sells, Peter. 1987. Aspects of logophoricity. *Linguistic Inquiry* 18:445–479.
- Seyfeddinipur, Mandana, Manfred Krifka, Felix Ameka, Susan Kung, Lissant Bolton, Miyuki Monroig, Jonathan Blumtritt, Ayu’Nwi Ngwabe Neba, Brian Carpenter, and Sebastian Nordhoff. 2019. Public access to research data in language documentation: Challenges and possible strategies. *Language Documentation and Conservation* 13:545–563.
- Shklovsky, Kirill, and Yasutada Sudo. 2014. The syntax of monsters. *Linguistic Inquiry* 45:381–402.
- Siedlecki, Theodore, and John D Bonvillian. 1993a. Location, handshape & movement: Young children’s acquisition of the formational aspects of american sign language. *Sign Language Studies* 31–52.

- Siedlecki, Theodore, and John D. Bonvillian. 1993b. Phonological Deletion Revisited: Errors in Young Children's Two-Handed Signs. *Sign Language Studies* 80:223–242.
- Sigurðsson, Halldór Ármann. 1991. Icelandic Case-marked PRO and the licensing of lexical arguments. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 9:327–363.
- Silbiger, Nyssa J., and Amber D. Stubler. 2019. Unprofessional peer reviews disproportionately harm underrepresented groups in STEM. *PeerJ* 7:e8247.
- da Silva, Mário Coelho, and Andrew Nevins. 2020. Maxakalí has suppletion, numerals and associatives but no plurals. *Linguistic Variation* 20.2:271–287.
- Simango, Silvester Ron. 2019. English Prepositions in isiXhosa Spaces: Evidence from Code-Switching. In *English in Multilingual South Africa: The Linguistics of Contact and Change*, ed. Raymond Hickey, 310–328. Cambridge University Press.
- Simpson, Jane, and Gillian Wigglesworth. 2019. Language diversity in Indigenous Australia in the 21st century. *Current Issues in Language Planning* 20.1:67–80.
- Singerman, Adam. 2018. The Morphosyntax of Tuparí, a Tupían language of the Brazilian Amazon. Doctoral Dissertation, The University of Chicago.
- Siple, Patricia. 1978. Visual constraints for sign language communication. *Sign Language Studies* 19:95–110.
- Sivunen, Nina. 2019. An Ethnographic Study of Deaf Refugees Seeking Asylum in Finland. *Societies* 9.2.
- Skilton, Amalia. 2021. Tone, stress, and their interactions in Cushillococha Ticuna. Ms., University of Texas at Austin.
- Smith, Henry. 1997. "Dative Sickness" in Germanic. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 12:675–736.
- Smitherman, Geneva. 2017. Raciolinguistics, "Mis-Education," and Language Arts Teaching in the 21st Century. *Language Arts Journal of Michigan* 32.2:Article 3.
- Snyder, William, and Karin Stromswold. 1997. The Structure and Acquisition of English Dative Constructions. *Linguistic Inquiry* 28:281–317.
- Soltan, Usama. 2007. On agree and postcyclic merge in syntactic derivations: First conjunct agreement in standard Arabic. In *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics: Papers from the annual symposium on Arabic Linguistics. Volume XIX: Urbana, Illinois, April 2005*, 191–213.
- Sotto-Santiago, Sylk. 2019. Time to Reconsider the Word Minority in Academic Medicine. *J Best Pract Health Prof Divers* 12.1:72–78.
- Speas, Margaret. 2000. Person and point of view in Navajo. In *Papers in honor of Ken Hale*, ed. E. Jelinek, A. Carnie, and M. Willie. MIT Working Papers in Linguistics.

- Stampe, David. 1969. The acquisition of phonetic representation. In *Papers from the fifth regional meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*, 443–451.
- Steriade, Donca. 1993. Closure, release, and nasal contours. In *Nasals, nasalization, and the velum*, 401–470. San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Stewart, Dafina-Lazarus. 2013. Racially Minoritized Students at U.S. Four-Year Institutions. *The Journal of Negro Education* 82.2:184–197.
- Stewart, Jesse, and Martin Kohlberger. 2017. Earbuds: A method for analyzing nasality in the field. *Language Documentation and Conservation* 11:49–80.
- Stoianov, Diane, and Andrew Nevins. 2017. The phonology of handshape distribution in Maxakalí sign. In *Sonic signatures*, ed. Geoff Lindsey and Andrew Nevins, 231–262. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Stokoe, William C. 1960. *Sign language structure: An outline of the visual communication systems of the american deaf*. New York: Buffalo University.
- Stokoe, William C., Dorothy C. Casterline and Carl G. Croneberg. 1965. *A Dictionary of American Sign Language on Linguistic Principles*. Gallaudet College Press.
- Sudo, Yasutada. 2012. On the semantics of phi features on pronouns. Doctoral Dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, MA.
- Sudo, Yasutada. 2016. The semantic role of classifiers in Japanese. In *Number: Cognitive, Semantic and Crosslinguistic Approaches*, ed. Susan Rothstein and Jurgis Škilters. Baltic International Yearbook of Cognition, Logic and Communication, vol 11.
- Sundaresan, Sandhya. 2011. A plea for syntax and a return to first principles: monstrous agreement in Tamil. In *Proceedings of SALT 21*, 674–693.
- Sundaresan, Sandhya. 2012. Context and (co)reference in the syntax and its interfaces. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Tromsø.
- Suomi, Kari. 1983. Palatal Vowel Harmony: A Perceptually Motivated Phenomenon? *Nordic Journal of Linguistics* 6:1–35.
- Tabain, Marija. 2004. VC vs. CV syllables: a comparison of Aboriginal languages with English. *Journal of the International Phonetic Association* 34:175–200.
- Tabain, Marija. 2009. A preliminary study of jaw movement in Arrernte consonant production. *Journal of the International Phonetic Association* 39:33–51.
- Tabak, John. 2006. *Significant Gestures: A History of American Sign Language*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Tamburelli, Marco, and Mauro Tosco. 2021. *Contested Languages: The hidden multilingualism of Europe*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

- Tanaka, Yu. 2017. Phonotactically-Driven Rendaku in Surnames: A Linguistic Study Using Social Media. In *West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics (WCCFL) 35*, ed. Aaron Kaplan et al, 519–528. Somerville, MA: Cascadia Press.
- Telles, Edward. 2004. *Race in Another America*. Princeton University Press.
- Thornton, Abigail. 2018. Plural Verbs, Participant Number, and Agree. In *West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics (WCCFL) 35*, ed. Wm. G. Bennett et al, 391–398. Somerville, MA: Cascadia Press.
- Tkachman, Oksana, Gracellia Purnomo, and Bryan Gick. 2021. Repetition Preferences in Two-Handed Balanced Signs: Vestigial Locomotor Central Pattern Generators Shape Sign Language Phonetics and Phonology. *Frontiers in Communication* 5:612973.
- Toosarvandani, Maziar. 2016. Vocabulary insertion and locality: Verb suppletion in Northern Paiute. In *Proceedings of NELS 46*, 247–257.
- Topintzi, Nina, and Andrew Nevins. 2017. Moraic onsets in Arrernte. *Phonology* 34:615–650.
- Truscott, Adriano. 2014. When is a linguist not a linguist: the multifarious activities and expectations for a linguist in an Australian language centre. *Language Documentation and Conservation* 8:384–408.
- Tsikewa, Adrienne. 2021. Reimagining the current praxis of field linguistics training: Decolonial considerations. *Language* e293–e319.
- Veselinova, Ljuba. 2006. *Suppletion in verb paradigms: Bits and pieces of a puzzle*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Vigliocco, Gabriella, Pamela Perniss, and David Vinson. 2014. Language as a multimodal phenomenon: implications for language learning, processing and evolution. *Philos Trans R Soc Lond B Biol Sci* 369:20130292.
- Voegelin, C.F. 1958. Sign Language Analysis, on One Level or Two? *International Journal of American Linguistics* 24.1:71–77.
- van der Wal, Jenneke. 2020. A featural typology of Bantu agreement. Book ms., University of Leiden.
- Weisser, Philipp. 2017. Why is there no such thing as Closest Conjunct Case? In *Proceedings of NELS 47*, 219–233.
- West, La Mont. 1960. The sign language, an analysis. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Indiana.
- Westbury, John. 1983. Enlargement of the supraglottal cavity and its relation to stop consonant voicing. *Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* 1322–1336.
- Wetzels, W. Leo, and Andrew Nevins. 2018. Prenasalized and postoralized consonants: the diverse functions of enhancement. *Language* 94:834–866.

- Wilhelm, Andrea. 2008. Bare nouns and number in Dëne Sųliné. *Natural Language Semantics* 16:39–68.
- Wągiel, Marcin. 2018. Subatomic quantification. Doctoral Dissertation, Masaryk University.
- Woo, Nancy. 1969. Prosody and phonology. Doctoral Dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, MA.
- Wood, Esther Jane. 2007. The semantic typology of pluractionality. Doctoral Dissertation, UC Berkeley.
- Woodward, J., and S. DeSantis. 1977. Two to One it Happens: Dynamic Phonology in Two Sign Languages. *Sign Language Studies* 17:329–346.
- Woodward, James C., and J. Woodward. 1976. Black Southern Signing. *Language in Society* 5.2:211–218.
- Woolford, Ellen. 1997. Four way case systems: Ergative, Nominative, Objective, and Accusative. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 15:181–227.
- Wray, Alison, and George W. Grace. 2007. The consequences of talking to strangers: Evolutionary corollaries of socio-cultural influences on linguistic form. *Lingua* 117:543–578.
- Xavier, André Nogueira. 2014. Uma ou duas? Eis a questão!: um estudo do parâmetro número de mãos na produção de sinais da Língua Brasileira de Sinais (Libras). Doctoral Dissertation, UNICAMP.
- Xrakovskij, Viktor. 1997. Semantic Types of the Plurality of Situations and Their Natural Classification. In *Typology of iterative constructions*, ed. Viktor Xrakovskij, 3–64. Munich: Lincom Europa.
- Yamada, Racquel-María. 2007. Collaborative Linguistic Fieldwork: Practical Application of the Empowerment Model. *Language Documentation and Conservation* 1:257–282.
- Yu, Alan C. L. 2003. Pluractionality in Chechen. *Natural Language Semantics* 11:289–321.
- Zeller, Jochen. 2012. Object marking in isiZulu. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies* 30:219–235.
- Zimmer, June. 1989. Toward a description of register variation in American Sign Language. In *The sociolinguistics of the deaf community*, 253–272. Elsevier.