The Field of Language and Race: A Linguistic Anthropological Approach to Race, Racism, and Racialization

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Abstract and Keywords

This handbook is the first volume to offer a sustained theoretical exploration of all aspects of language and race from a linguistic anthropological perspective. A growing number of scholars hold that rather than fixed and predetermined, race is created out of continuous and repeated discourses emerging from individuals and institutions within specific histories, political economic systems, and everyday interactions. This handbook demonstrates how linguistic analysis brings a crucial perspective to this project by revealing the ways in which language and race are mutually constituted as social realities. Not only does the volume position issues of race, racism, and racialization as central to language-based scholarship, but it also examines these processes from an explicitly critical and anti-racist perspective. The process of racialization—an enduring yet evolving social process steeped in centuries of colonialism and capitalism—is central to linguistic anthropological approaches. This volume captures state-of-the-art research in this important and necessary yet often overlooked area of inquiry and points the way forward in establishing future directions of research in this rapidly expanding field, including the need for more studies of language and race in non-US contexts. Covering a range of sites from Angola, Brazil, Canada, Cuba, Italy, Liberia, the Philippines, South Africa, the United Kingdom, the United States, and unceded Indigenous territories, the handbook offers theoretical, reflexive takes on the field of language and race, the larger histories and systems that influence these concepts, the bodies that enact and experience them, and finally, the expressions and outcomes that emerge as a result.

Keywords: language, race, racism, racialization, identity, ideology, discourse, colonialism, capitalism, migration

OVER the past two decades, the fields of linguistic anthropology and sociocultural linguistics have complicated traditional sociolinguistic understandings of the relationship between language and identity (Bucholtz and Hall 2004, Kroskrity 2000), including growing attention to key axes of identification and inequality, such as gender, sexuality, class, and race. But while research traditions that explore the linguistic complexities of gender and

sexuality have long been established, with specific journals and regular conferences dedicated to their growth, the study of race as a social, cultural, and linguistic process has been consolidating only recently. This handbook is the first volume to offer a sustained, in-depth theoretical exploration of many aspects of language and race from a linguistic anthropological perspective.

With the publication of *Raciolinguistics: How Language Shapes Our Ideas about Race* (Alim et al. 2016), the field of language and race was broadly construed by consolidating various perspectives within language studies, providing an interdisciplinary space for interaction between sociolinguists, linguistic anthropologists, and educational linguists. Taking theoretical and empirical support from previous volumes, such as *Growing Up Bilingual: Puerto Rican Children in New York* (Zentella 1997), *Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory* (Schieffelin et al. 1998), *Black Linguistics: Language, Society, and Politics in Africa and the Americas* (Makoni et al., 2003), *Beyond Yellow English: Toward a Linguistic Anthropology of Asian Pacific America* (Reyes and Lo 2009), and *White Kids: Language, Race, and Styles of Youth Identities* (2011), among others cited later in the chapter, the field focused on the linguistic construction of ethnoracial identities, the role of language in processes of racialization and ethnicization, and the language (p. 2) ideological processes that drive the marginalization of racially minoritized populations in the context of historically rooted political and economic systems. These scholars were all contributing to what Alim (2009, 2016) termed, “racing language” and “languaging race,” that is, viewing race through the lens of language and language through the lens of race to better understand them as co-constitutive processes. This handbook consolidates and furthers this perspective.

The handbook begins by acknowledging that a growing number of language scholars hold that rather than fixed and predetermined, race is created out of continuous and repeated discourses emerging from individuals and institutions within political economic systems and everyday interactions. The volume integrates social constructivist theories of race and language, with attempts to theorize the impact of racism on those who experience race as an everyday lived reality. We seek to crystallize this perspective by building upon seminal works of language and race and theorizing new ways forward. For example, while much research has focused on race as a social construct, with important developments in how speaking subjects perform race in interaction, recent scholarship has been theorizing how race becomes an intelligible category as listening subjects report about what they supposedly hear (cf. Inoue 2006; see Alim 2005, “Hearing What’s Not Said and Missing What Is”; and Rosa and Flores 2017, “Do You Hear What I Hear?”).

To be sure, there is a longstanding body of research on various aspects of language and race, but much of that research views race as a social product rather than a social process. As the chapters in this handbook show, the process of racialization—where race is an enduring yet evolving social process steeped in centuries of colonialism and capitalism—is central to the linguistic anthropological approaches that are taken up herein. In fact, race is not only a social construct, but race theorists like Du Bois (1903), Rodney (1974), Robinson (1983), Crenshaw (1989), Kelley (2002), Perry (2011), and Balibar and

Wallerstein (1991), among others, have long argued that race is inextricable from histories of genocide, enslavement, apartheid, occupation, dispossession, nationalism, capitalism and various forms of colonialism, as well as their contemporary manifestations. In chapter 3 of this volume, for example, Spears argues for a study of race and language that amplifies "the macro contexts" within which they are produced, what he refers to as the "political-economic pentad" (Spears 2016):

> (1) the global system; (2) the state; (3) ideology-coercion (in practice, two sides of the same coin), for the purposes of social and resource control via regime maintenance; (4) social stratification, not simply as regards socioeconomic class but also other hierarchies of oppression [I stress the hierarchical and also the authoritarian and patriarchal nature of oppressive systems]; and (5) oppression-exploitation (also two sides of the same coin).

In reading Spears (1999), what becomes clear is that the terror, violence, and brutality of these systems are not only the macro-contexts within which race and language are produced, but white supremacy comes to *depend* on the idea of race, and therefore, processes of racialization for its continued propagation. As Urciouli (1996, this volume) (p. 3) summarizes, building upon Omi and Winant's seminal racial formation theory (1994), racialization processes not only measure everyone else against a hegemonic norm, but analysis of racialization is "productively approached by examining not merely the emergence but the active construction of that norm as whiteness in relation to labor and economic structures and reinforced by social policies, as shown by DuBois (1947), Roediger (1991), Allen (1994), Jacobson (1998), and Lipsitz (1998) among others." Racialized people, according to Urciuoli (this volume), "are historically typified as human matter out of place, at best dirty, at worst dangerous, and always a problem." The outcome of racialization is, of course, systemic racism, across all social, cultural, political, and economic contexts and institutions from schooling and housing to medical malpractice and the prison industrial complex.

While the last decade or so in the United States—with the election of America's first Black president, Barack Obama, followed by its first orange one—has seen the rise of overtly racist discourse and policies, linguistic anthropologists and race scholars (van Dijk 1987, 1993, Hill 2008, Bonilla-Silva 2010, among others) have also focused on how even well-intentioned whites participate in processes of racialization that have racist outcomes. As Alim and Smitherman (2012, this volume) argue in relation to "raciolinguistic exceptionalism"—whereby exceptionalism occurs through white racist evaluations of, and ideologies about, both language and race—these forms of linguistic racism (Kroskrity 2011, this volume) are usually thought of as the favored practices of white racist conservatives. However, white liberal and progressive allies who claim not to see color (and even some of those who know enough to understand that "colorblind ideologies" often serve to counter anti-racist work) also readily participate in these racializing discourses. Researchers are not immune.

As argued by Bucholtz (2011), as well as Lo and Chun (this volume), early variationist sociolinguistic work conducted by well-meaning researchers often used race merely as an analytic prime to arrive at correlational linguistic patterns, and well-intentioned linguistic anthropological work after Boas often set aside race in favor of the supposedly more fundamental focus on culture. To some extent, the avoidance of race, or its displacement by ethnicity, was due to the desire to distance a new generation of scholarship from colonialist theories of race that were often rooted in biological, essentialist notions of human distinction and were integral to the formation of both anthropology and linguistics. Yet as Pollock (2005) argued, by de-emphasizing race in order to avoid reproducing racism, researchers lost a crucial concept for theorizing, and importantly, resisting racism and other processes of social differentiation.

More recently, however, in part due to the leadership of scholars of color, the study of race from an explicitly critical and anti-racist perspective has gained ground across the academy. As part of this shift, sociolinguists and linguistic anthropologists in the 1990s and early 2000s produced substantive research examining language and race as social processes (Hill 1993, Urciuoli 1996, Zentella 1997, Spears 1999, Lanehart 2001, Morgan 2002, Santa Ana 2002, Makoni et al. 2003) and continue to do so (Reyes 2007, Hill 2008, Mendoza-Denton 2008, Reyes and Lo 2009, Alim and Reyes 2011, Bucholtz 2011, Dick and Wirtz 2011, Ibrahim 2014, Roth-Gordon 2016, Williams 2017, (p. 4) Rosa 2019). Recent conceptualizations of language and racialization have demonstrated the powerful insights that emerge when race and language are analyzed together as dynamic processes rather than fixed objects (Ibrahim 2014, Alim and Reyes 2011, Dick and Wirtz 2011, Chun and Lo 2016). This scholarship has shown how particular discursive patterns function as covert forms of racialization, how race and language bundle together intersectionally with other identities and practices to organize social life, and how categories of language and race are constructed across scales of interaction and space/time.

Yet the longstanding reluctance to grapple seriously with issues of race in dominant approaches to language persists. This de-centering of race is not simply an attempt to avoid contributing to the troublesome reproduction of racism, but rather a systematic, cross-disciplinary blind spot that obscures crucial analytical insights regarding the nature of language and social life. Moreover, to the extent that conventional research acknowledges race, it too often replicates the limited perspective of earlier scholarship by treating race as a pregiven social category rather than as a focus of inquiry and critique in its own right. For these reasons, we have chosen to define the field as the field of “language and race.” Not only do we view the avoidance of race as unproductive, but by choosing the terms language and race, we are encompassing issues of language and racism and language and racialization. “Language and race,” for us, serves as a broad term that both pushes back against the scholarly neglect of race as a key area of intellectual inquiry in linguistics and anthropology, and directs future investigations in the field towards a deeper focus on processes of racialization that lead to racist outcomes and multiple forms of social inequality.

This handbook overcomes the past problems discussed above by positioning issues of race, racism, and racialization as central to language-based scholarship. In keeping with a substantial body of theoretical work on race (e.g., Omi and Winant 1994, Murji and Solomos 2005, Bacchetta, Maira, and Winant 2018), this framing emphasizes that race is not an explanation for social phenomena, as it has traditionally been viewed, but is instead itself a social phenomenon: That is, race is the result of sociopolitical processes that require systematic examination. We assume the same for language, a category that continues to be taken for granted by race scholars and even some linguists and anthropologists, by adopting critical, post-structuralist views of language and linguistics (García et al. 2016).

As Severo and Makoni (this volume) argue, as we do with "race" and "races," we "problematize from a historical and critical perspective the concept of languages as fixed entities capable of being counted, systematized, and named." Viewing language as a social process, rather than a product or "an abstract and separate entity that exists prior to … individuals and social practices," allows researchers to reveal hegemonic ideologies and practices, such as the homogenizing ideology of "one-language-one-nation" that undergirds several colonial practices, for example. Building upon the earlier theorizing of Makoni and Pennycook (2006) and Severo and Makoni (2015), Severo and Makoni summarize this necessary view of language as a process, an invention, by recognizing that:

(p. 5)

> (i) languages are historically and politically invented by a complex colonial apparatus that overlaid language, race, power and religion in specific ways; (ii) the metalanguage used to frame communicative practices is historically invented and cannot be considered separately from the "objects" they describe and invent; (iii) the colonial linguistics that helped to shape languages had material effects on language policies adopted by colonial powers, as in the role of education in the institutionalization and systematization of languages, mainly by inserting literacy as a powerful representation of what counts as language; (iv) the concepts of language should be submitted to continuous revision so that we avoid using colonial frameworks to describe and problematize historical power relations.

Further, as shown by many of the contributors in this handbook, linguistic analysis brings a crucial perspective to this project by revealing the ways in which language and race are mutually constituted as social realities (or "co-naturalized" as emphasized by Rosa and Flores, this volume). The contributions to this volume thus capture state-of-the-art research in an important and necessary yet often overlooked area of inquiry and point the way forward in establishing future directions of research in this rapidly expanding field, including the need for more studies of language and race in non-US contexts (see Alim et al. 2016 and many contributions in this handbook), as language, race, racism and racialization have emerged as central organizing principles in the rise of right-wing politics internationally.

Handbook contributors consider the complexities of language and race both historically and within rapidly changing politics, demographic shifts, migrations, and technological advances of the 21st century. Each contributor provides a broad theoretical overview of their chapter topic, illustrated by empirical examples from their own and/or others' research. As the study of language and race continues to take on a growing importance across anthropology, communication studies, cultural studies, education, linguistics, literature, psychology, race and ethnic studies, sociology, and other fields, this handbook represents a timely and urgently needed effort to focus these fields on the central role that language plays in the enduring relevance of race, racism, and racialization in the lives of racially minoritized populations both within and beyond the United States.

Outlining the Field

We have organized this handbook into four parts: Foundations and Formations; Coloniality and Migration; Embodiment and Intersectionality; and Racisms and Representations. This organization represents a loose movement from theoretical and reflexive takes on the field of language and race, to larger histories and systems that influence these concepts, to the bodies that enact and experience them, and finally, to the expressions and outcomes that emerge as a result. In many respects, since our organizing themes are interrelated, most chapters could fit into multiple sections. Yet, when (p. 6) the chapters in each section are considered together, they highlight each of our four themes as key areas upon which to build the future of the field.

Foundations and Formations

Though many folk and even some academic models of language and race assume the transparency and taken-for-grantedness of these categories, the pervasiveness, complexity, and delicacy of their mutually constituted and dynamic relationships demand that scholars contextualize their understandings and representations to encompass larger patterns. As the title of this section suggests, the authors of the chapters here are especially concerned with finding an appropriate basis for denaturalizing processes of racial formation, racialization, and related tropes of social hierarchization: What is the political economic basis for the construction of races and the production of linguistic racism? How do various racisms (Balibar 1991) or racial formations (Omi and Winant 1994) emerge as social and linguistic processes? What types of scholarly frameworks are necessary to relate racial "differences" between people to social practices of discrimination, dispossession, subordination, and social stratification? In an attempt to provide relevant frameworks and to answer some of these questions, the chapters in this section explore the *longue durée* of historical processes or insist that we use models that connect both language and race to relevant political-economic structures, or that we do both—and more—in an effort not only to analyze and disclose the various forms of linguistic racism but to disrupt and dismantle them in the name of social justice.

In “Language, Race, and Reflexivity” (chapter 2), Adrienne Lo and Elaine Chun direct a historical view to the flow of academic scholarship on language and race in fields like Sociolinguistics and Linguistic Anthropology. After an earlier stage of correlational sociolinguistic scholarship that focused on the linguistic differences associated with reified racial categories, scholars by the end of the 20th century embraced a sociolinguistic turn toward identity, recovering the agency of people of color’s own identity production but also the discursive basis for racializing projects. Critical to this shift was the understanding of racialized language as an ideological construct that, from contrastive perspectives, would enable researchers to better represent both the flexibilities and constraints on racialized actors’ identity production. Embedded within structures of power, these ideologically saturated, racializing discourses occur over varying scales of space and time.

In Arthur K. Spears’s “Racism, Colorism, and Language within Their Macro Contexts” (chapter 3), he contends that scholars of language and race have insufficiently attended to the constraints imposed by a pentad of forces that (re)produce racialized hierarchies. These macro-forces include the global capitalist system, the nation-state, political economic stratification, and other forms of socioeconomic inequality. For Spears, racism in the United States emerges from the social inequality imposed by global capitalism and the hegemonic influence of institutionalized racism rationalized by ideologies of white (p. 7) supremacy. For him, as for the other authors, this emphasis on disclosing the basis for racialization and the deliberate construction and maintenance of racial hierarchies, is a critical step in revealing and undermining the “historical arc of racist thinking.”

Paul V. Kroskrity’s “Theorizing Linguistic Racism from a Language Ideological Perspective” (chapter 4) explores the affordances of an approach that attends to the ways that beliefs and feelings about language and race both produce and conceal corresponding forms of overt and covert linguistic racism. In his historical analysis of “salvage” linguistic treatments of the traditional narratives of Indigenous Central California, he views hegemonic ideologies as critically mediating between scholars’ ethnocentric refusal to recognize both the integrity of an alternative cultural aesthetic as well as the role of settler colonialism in shaping their own skewed interpretations. In so doing, he provides an account of the emergence of a particular species of linguistic racism designed to ideologically erase Native Americans and their cultures. While language ideological approaches aim to understand how multiple ideologies interacting within language ideological assemblages (Kroskrity 2018) may make some speakers unaware of forms of covert racism, Kroskrity argues that disclosing the existence of such practices does not excuse researchers from recognizing the possibility of camouflaged yet deliberate deployments of linguistic racism.

In “Reimagining Race and Language: From Raciolinguistic Ideologies to a Raciolinguistic Perspective” (chapter 5), Jonathan Rosa and Nelson Flores argue for an approach that “interrogates the historical and contemporary co-naturalization of language and race.” They trace this co-naturalization to the globalization of European colonialism and the rearticulation of ideological distinctions between European and non-European—and by ex-

tension between whites and non-whites. These distinctions are reproduced by hegemonic institutions, which further promote their co-naturalization. The authors extend the notion of linguistic enregisterment (Agha 2005) to include raciolinguistic enregisterment in which signs of language and race are clustered into discrete sets. By analyzing processes of raciolinguistic enregisterment, it becomes possible to better understand how language and race emerge experientially as consubstantial.

Like the other chapters in this section, Bonnie Urciuoli's "Racializing, Ethnicizing, and Diversity Discourses" (chapter 6) locates the origins of race and racism in the globalized system of colonization and production. She details the connection between these discourses of ideological differentiation that are (re)produced by both nation-states and the neoliberal corporate order. In contrast to discourses of racialization that were designed to exclude groups, ethnicizing discourses permitted the descendants of immigrants to become "unmarked" as long as they demonstrated their worth to the nation and showcased appropriate values. While ethnicization is about unmarking immigrant groups in the project of nation-building, diversity discourses, within a neoliberal corporate order, also unmark groups by emphasizing individual contributions to an organization. Further, both processes of unmarking presuppose—as a condition of unmarking—the performance of class mobility. Urciuoli concludes by asking the question about how processes of inclusion and exclusion will be reconfigured in order to (re)produce the unmarked centrality of whiteness.

(p. 8) While some chapters offer reflexive analyses of the field of language and race (Lo and Chun; Kroskrity), others provide theoretical approaches to highlight the importance of considering broad social discourses and processes (Spears; Rosa and Flores; Urciuoli). Collectively, the chapters in this section all contribute to a dynamic and multidimensional representation of race and racialization, and offer insights into the coproduction and conaturalizaton of language and race through analyses of globalized systems of oppression, such as capitalism, colonialism, and imperialism.

Coloniality and Migration

As the chapters in the previous section discussed, colonialism and larger macro-forces, in the words of Spears, are central to studies of racialization. Continuing this mode of analysis, the chapters in this section explore imperial encounters as shaped by the creation of difference, particularly along lines of race and language. Authors ask and seek to answer this fundamental question: How do ideas about language and race emerge through colonial and migratory processes? Covering a range of sites (e.g., Cuba, Philippines, Angola, Brazil, Canada), the chapters in this section consider colonial, scientific, bureaucratic, and migratory processes in order to examine how ideologies of race and language are historically and situationally produced together and provide a frame for how the world is experienced. Through ethnographic fieldwork, historical and archival research, and other modes of analysis, authors probe further questions: What are the points of articulation between scientific racism and evolutionary linguistics in the late nineteenth century?

How are notions of racial and linguistic hybridity co-constituted through ongoing colonial discourses? What are the racial and linguistic consequences of the dispersal of peoples across and within metropole and colony? How do racial and linguistic performances become legible through the colonial and postcolonial systems that shape them?

In chapter 7, “The Linguistic Intimacy of Five Continents: Racializing Language in Empire,” Bonnie McElhinny and Monica Heller provide a genealogical analysis of the ways in which imperial and capitalist contexts coincide with the production of racial and linguistic ideologies. They analyze the field of comparative linguistics in relation to colonial discourse, as well as three subsequent paradigms that approached questions of language within different understandings of racialization: evolutionary linguistics, which elaborated and sharpened ideas of racialized difference on the grounds of biology; the study of pidgins and creoles which challenges notions of “hybridity” and thus certain ideas of race; and Boasian approaches, which critique certain aspects of racialization but leave others intact. They end by exploring the ways colonial ideologies of race played out in the pragmatics of imperial rule, by discussing language and industrial and residential schooling, particularly as it impacted Indigenous and Black populations.

“African Languages, Race, and Colonialism” (chapter 8), by Cristine Gorski Severo and Sinfree B. Makoni, explores how language was used in the racial construction of (p. 9) differences and equalities in colonial and post-independent contexts, following a politics of categories. They analyze the meanings attributed to Portuguese as a language in the colonial era of Brazil and Angola, two former Portuguese colonies. The discussion in this chapter represents the further development of previous research into colonial linguistics and the ideologies of language, and critical linguistic politics. It illustrates how although race and language were constructed as if discrete, they also overlapped in important ways: language was inscribed in race, and, conversely, race was inscribed in language.

Turning to questions of migration, Awad Ibrahim’s “Immigration, Language, and Racial Becoming” (chapter 9) focuses on the link between racial becoming and language learning. He examines questions of identity formation among immigrants and displaced subjects, focusing on the case of the Black (im)migrant body in North America. Exploring how African youth become Black as a rhizomatic process, Ibrahim identifies Hip Hop as an influential site of identification, which affects what and how they learn. He centers on the learning of what he calls “Black Stylized English,” which they access in and through Black popular culture by, for example, taking up the Rap linguistic and musical genre.

In chapter 10, “Coloniality of Mixed Race and Mixed Language,” Angela Reyes situates the study of race, language, and mixedness within imperial histories through which racial and linguistic typologies have developed. She argues that notions of “mixed race” and “mixed language” are less about mixing races and languages and more about “colonial recursivity” (Reyes 2017), the ongoing reproduction of colonial hierarchies through the creation of nested distinctions among social types. The chapter reviews work on mixed race and language and explores notions of hybridity that have become central in producing four paradigms of mixedness, what she calls “immiscibility,” “absorption,” “blend,”

and “end.” She draws on the case of “conyo,” Taglish-speaking mestizos in the Philippines, to explore how ideas about mixed race and mixed language emerge in concert and are tied to the creation of subject positions whose value solidifies or shifts across colonial and postcolonial projects.

Kristina Wirtz’s “Racializing Performances in Colonial Time-Spaces” (chapter 11) starts from the premise that colonialism begat the racial systems that continue to undergird hierarchies of power and privilege. She argues that colonial time-spaces (chronotopes) remain productive of racial orders, even in ostensibly postcolonial contexts. She draws on the case of Cuban *bozal*, a figuration of “untamed” African presence in contemporary Cuban religious and folklore performances. She traces the semiotic workings of racial performances in order to examine how they selectively highlight or erase the genealogies connecting past and present and enact configurations of racializing signs that can mark physical bodies and linguistic performance.

Together these chapters consider how racial and linguistic systems are formed through colonial and migratory encounters. Importantly, they highlight their continued relevance in contemporary global power formations. What is further evident across these chapters is how central and fundamental the body is in our understandings of language and race to processes of coloniality and migration. Whether described in (p. 10) archival documents, contemporary government policies, or interactional encounters, the body, as a theoretical turn, has much to offer studies of language and race—and is the subject of the next section.

Embodiment and Intersectionality

Contemporary linguistic anthropological studies of discourse and interaction have emphasized the importance of embodiment and intersectionality (Combahee River Collective 1977, Crenshaw 1989), and how multiple forms of oppression are experienced through and (re)inscribed upon the body. The chapters in this section make several interrelated arguments. The first, as articulated powerfully by Smalls (chapter 12), is that any study of language and race is beholden to race theory, past and present, and especially theory produced by those who experience racialized oppression. The second, as argued by Cornelius and Barrett (chapter 15), is that any study of language and the body (and language and gender, sexuality) must include a focus on race and racialization or risk being “mired in a swamp of racial bias.” The third, as outlined in Alim, Lee, Mason Carris, and Williams (chapter 14), is the dire necessity for scholars of raciolinguistics—and language, race, racism, and racialization writ large—to further develop the kinds of intersectional approaches “that understand race as always produced in conjunction with class, gender, sexuality, religion, (trans)national and other axes of differentiation” used in complex vectors of oppression (Alim et al. 2016: 6). Lastly, and returning to the body, chapters take up the question of agency in alignment with King (forthcoming), who argues, “The relationship between bodies and discourses is bidirectional and recursive (Edelman and Zimman

2014), with the body shaping the trajectory of semiosis in unpredictable ways, producing agency both materially and semiotically" (Bucholtz and Hall 2016).

The opening chapter in this section by Krystal A. Smalls addresses all of these points by demonstrating the utility of a racial semiotics—or *raciosemiotics*—in order to better understand racialization, racism, and racial subjectivity. In chapter 12, "Race, Signs, and the Body: Towards a Theory of Racial Semiotics," Smalls draws from her ethnographic research with Black-identified youth in the United States and Liberia to explore "how antiblackness disproportionately allocates a great deal of semiotic weight to their racialized (and gendered, classed, etc.) bodies." Smalls contributes to a more in-depth understanding of the role of racial subjectivity in semiotic mediation by introducing a historico-racial schema to semiotic theory, effectively denaturalizing the white body/subject as the default "human" in semiotic models. Drawing on examples from ethnographic research, social media interactions, and engagements with popular culture, Smalls' analyses of transnational and transhistorical Black signifiers rely on Black youth as "co-theorists" who engage in acts of resistance "that effectively transform the indexical meanings of many racialized signs and, for some people, the actual shapes and meanings of racial categories."

(p. 11) In chapter 13, "'We Don't Play': Black Women's Linguistic Agency Across Race, Class, and Gender," Marcyliena Morgan explores similar engagements against antiblackness, and sexism, by analyzing Black women's on-line and activist discourse as a "rigorous and intellectual critique of social reality as it represents the Black community's long history and assessment of social injustice." Morgan explores how what Higginbotham (1992, 2017) referred to as the "metalanguage of race" creates a site of contestation where speakers rely on a counterlanguage ideology (Morgan, 1994) to battle a white supremacist, patriarchal system that considers their voices to be "invisible and insignificant." She theorizes Black women's discourse within that system as located "somewhere in between cold indifference to white supremacy and privilege and a declaration of war against it." Further, Morgan argues that Black women's counterlanguage ideology is a foundational element of African American language ideology and has expanded into the public sphere as a response to racism, class oppression, and gender inequality in contemporary US society.

Extending the previous discussions of embodiment and intersectionality, chapter 14 "Language, Race, and the (Trans)Formation of Cisheteropatriarchy" by H. Samy Alim, Jooyoung Lee, Lauren Mason Carris, and Quentin E. Williams highlights how young men use creative, improvised linguistic performances to dialogically co-construct particular meanings of gender, race, ethnicity, sexuality, and the body. In their analyses of two case studies (one in Los Angeles, United States, the other in Cape Town, South Africa), they demonstrate "how young men of color often challenge the dominance of whiteness, while simultaneously celebrating and reifying particular kinds of 'Blackness/Colouredness' at the expense of already marginalized gendered and sexualized bodies." These hegemonic practices reconstitute social divisions that benefit *cisheteropatriarchy*, an ideological system that naturalizes normative views of what it means to "look" and "act" like a "straight"

man and marginalizes women, femininity, and all gender non-conforming bodies that challenge the gender binary. While their research offers a window into the interactional formation of cisheteropatriarchy, they conclude by emphasizing the power of language in interaction to (trans)form dominant ideologies of race, gender, sexuality, and the body.

In chapter 15, "'You Met My Ambassador': Language and Self-monitoring at the Intersection of Race and Sexuality," Brianna Cornelius and Rusty Barrett continue the focus on race, sexuality, and the body by exploring the language practices of Black gay men. Whereas Morgan (chapter 13) focused on the double marginalization of Black women's voices by both hegemonic white society and Black men, Cornelius and Barrett show how Black gay men use language to creatively navigate the double-bind of the racism "prevalent in predominantly white gay male communities and homophobia in some Black communities." In their in-depth analysis of the speech of one Black gay man (Bakari), they examine how he monitors his language and comportment as he constructs a "Black gay identity." Bakari creates an "ambassador," a persona that might, at least temporarily, evade racist, heteropatriarchal expectations, even within gay communities. Articulating with Alim, Lee, Mason Carris, and Williams' (chapter 14) analysis of the interactional formation of cisheteropatriarchy, Cornelius and Barrett show how the (p. 12) multiply marginalized creatively negotiate these kinds of harmful, discriminatory discourses through the use of complex linguistic repertoires.

In the final chapter in this section, Mariam Durrani's chapter 16 shifts the focus of intersectional oppressions to explore "The Gendered Muslim Subject: At the Intersection of Race, Religion, and Gender." Within the context of increasing rates of anti-Muslim racism across the United States in recent years, Durrani argues that "Muslim men (see chapter 18) are often depicted as hypermasculine, violent, sexual deviants, while Muslim women may be portrayed as submissive and oppressed *or* as collaborators with Muslim men in violence." Critically, Durrani focuses on the *gendered* nature of anti-Muslim racializing discourses. In examining these anti-Muslim discourses as they are rearticulated across four case studies in news, politics, and popular culture, Duranni first historizes contemporary Islamophobia within the history of Orientalism as described in Edward Said's (1978) groundbreaking work. Further, from an intersectional positioning, and relying on Agha's (2011) framework of scales of personhood, she elegantly lays out "the linkages that discursively yolk Orientalism and cotemporary Islamophobia with a theoretical center of both race and gender." Importantly, this chapter shows how gender plays a constitutive role in how discourse about Muslim models of personhood circulate and are re-animated across multiple mediatized events.

When read together, the chapters in this section make a compelling case for the need to analyze discourse and interaction as sites of formation of the harmful, intersecting ideologies of language, race, class, gender, sexuality, citizenship and religion. Through ethnographic studies, discourse analysis, and critical language studies of mediatized events—across the United States, Liberia, and South Africa, whether Black-identified young men, both queer and presumedly heterosexual, "Coloured" young men in Cape Town, or Black or Muslim women—authors show how these intersecting oppressions are co-produced

and, importantly, how we can begin to challenge them together, within and beyond the academy. In the next section, contributors focus squarely upon theorizing multiple forms of racism and representation in order to work towards more just societies.

Racisms and Representations

In many ways, all the chapters in this Handbook have addressed language, racism, and representation, albeit to varying degrees. In this final section, however, contributors make explicit the links between discourse—from everyday discursive practices like "joke-telling" and "compliments" to the discourse of politicians and representations of immigrants and racialized Others across societies—and varying forms of linguistic racism. Contributors integrate contemporary race theory with theories of language and discourse to build upon Kroskrity's (2015, this volume) template of *linguistic racisms*, modeled on Balibar's (1991) "spectrum of racisms," calls for a research program that (p. 13) targets "racist and racializing acts and/or projects that use linguistic resources as a means of discrimination and subordination" in order to "analytically disclose and explicate overt and covert forms of linguistic racism."

Beginning with chapter 17, "Racing Indian Language, Languaging an Indian Race," Barbra A. Meek explores how race and language become entangled in representations of Native Americans as well as conflicts over and denials of Native American heritage. Drawing on Kroskrity's (2018) concept of "language ideological assemblages," Meek demonstrates how several racializing settler-colonial ideologies configure the racial logics that determine "Indianness": purism (percentage of "Indian blood"), visibility (racialized and cultural manifestations of "blood"), continuity (maintenance of precontact "bloodline"), and foreignness (expression of primitive "blood" in and through language). Through her analysis of popular films, advertising campaigns, and current events, Meek shows how the use of various semiotic (visual and linguistic) elements helps produce the enduring racialization of American Indian languages and speech in public discourse, and importantly, how these racialized representations limit "individual recognition, citizenship, and tribal sovereignty" for Native Americans.

The "War on Terror," and the concomitant rise in Islamophobia in both the United Kingdom and the United States, serve as the backdrop to Kamran Khan's (chapter 18) analysis of how notions of race, religion, security, and language come together to "distribute fear and instill suspicion into everyday life." In raising the question, "What Does a Terrorist Sound Like?" Khan examines four cases of raciolinguistic profiling "which associate specific words and languages with Muslims as security risks" specifically within the domains of travel ("Travelling While Muslim") and education ("Studying While Muslim"). He highlights how "Muslim" becomes a de facto racial classification, particularly when brown bodies speak languages which appear deviant by causing insecurity among those in immediate proximity. Khan concludes by urging scholars to further interrogate the white listening subject—whether an individual on a plane, or government surveillance policies—

that constructs Muslims as "illegible and always/already suspect," while they "are often presumed innocent and their ignorance is left without scrutiny."

The hermeneutics of suspicion at play in Khan's analysis of anti-Muslim raciolinguistic profiling also inform Sabina Perrino's exploration of the everyday racist discursive practices that frame migrants from Africa, Asia, and other non-European contexts as illegitimate members of Italian society. In chapter 19, "Race, Humor, and Politics: Racialized Joke-Telling and Anti-Immigrant Politics in Northern Italy," Perrino examines how Italian joke-tellers code-switch from standardized Italian to their local varieties while telling jokes about migrants, and how this switching creates *exclusionary intimacies* by producing both xenophobic stances towards migrants as well as inclusionary stances towards "real" Italians who laugh, applaud, and otherwise share in these racist representations. Perrino's discourse analytic approach highlights how everyday discursive practices are linked to the increasingly "aggressive, exclusionary, anti-immigrant politics" that characterize the rise of racist, right-wing politics across Europe and the United States, where non-white immigrants suffer increasing rates of violence, discrimination, and even use of military force and concentration camps.

(p. 14) In chapter 20, "Racializing Discourses of Illegality: Mexican and Central American Migration in the Time of Trump," Hilary Parsons Dick picks up where Perrino left off by examining how the political discourse of US President Donald Trump (re)produces *immigrant illegality*: "the idea that violations of immigrant law are iconic of an 'illegal,' immoral, and dangerous personal character that makes undocumented migrants unimaginable as members of the US polity (Coutin 2005, De Genova 2005)." Drawing on theories of *interdiscursivity* (Silverstein 2005, see also Briggs and Bauman 1992 and Wortham and Reyes 2015), Dick ascertains how language practices across distinct moments of time help generate mobility and national belonging by considering the movement of discourse itself (Lo and Park 2017). While Trump draws on established discourse histories of immigrant illegality, Dick's analysis reveals the ways that he explicates and normalizes previously subtextual, covert racist discourses. Ultimately, Dick shows how Trump's "common sense racism" (Haney Lopez 2015) not only has deleterious effects on Mexicans and Central Americans, but it also aligns with the racialization of Muslims and African Americans, "as he links Latin American 'criminal aliens' to terrorists, who he broadly aligns with Muslims."

These alignments between racializations of various groups are a focus of H. Samy Alim and Geneva Smitherman's chapter (chapter 21), wherein they explicate how microcultural practices that appear overtly flattering—"you speak English so well," "you speak good English," or "you're so articulate," for example—(re)produce racist meanings and (re)enforce racializing regimes. Bringing together race theory (Perry 2011, Wise 2009) with the language ideological literature in linguistic anthropology (Schieffelin et al. 1998, Kroskrity 2011, this volume), Alim and Smitherman describe processes of *raciolinguistic exceptionalism*—whereby exceptionalism occurs through white racist evaluations of, and ideologies about, both language and race—to consider how ideas about minoritized groups and their speech serve to reinforce racist narratives about Asianness, Blackness,

Indigeneity, Latinidad, etc. They argue that raciolinguistic exceptionalism "is sinister in that it is simultaneously exceptionalizing *and* homogenizing, while remaining provisional, i.e., dependent upon one's most recent performance," as Perry (2011) argues more broadly. Their analysis further shows that processes of raciolinguistic exceptionalism take form differently across racialized groups with histories shaped by varying processes of domination, enslavement, settler colonialism, occupation, racial segregation, and other forms of global, racist capitalist exploitation.

Taken together, these chapters provide a comparative look across diverse national, ethnoracial, and linguistic contexts to better understand the role of language in maintaining and challenging racism. Racist discourses and reductive representations of racialized Others—from Native Americans, Mexicans and Central Americans, African Americans, and Muslims, to name a few—emerge from and rely upon historical discourses, as well as particular economic and political arrangements, in order to marginalize, subordinate, exclude and erase. Contributors in this section also share a commitment to producing work that not only highlights these racist social and political processes, but also aims to transform them in the pursuit for more just societies. The urgency and necessity of more research in the area of racisms and representations is (p. 15) highlighted by Perrino, who concludes that "due to the rapid rise of racialized stances not only in Italy, but across the globe as well, especially after the most recent elections of xenophobic politicians in the United States and in other European countries, it has become even more critical" to gain a grasp on these discursive processes and their "inevitable costs."

Final Thoughts

The field of language and race does not exist as merely an intellectual exercise. Many chapters draw attention to various forms of racism—from the Islamophobia that gave rise to a seemingly endless "War on Terror" in the United States and the United Kingdom to increasing anti-immigrant racism and xenophobia faced by African-, Arab-, Asian- and Latinx-identified groups to the intersectional oppression of Black women and LGBTQ communities and the continued symbolic and state violence against Indigenous populations throughout the world—in order to divulge and ultimately disrupt them. Importantly, we have shown the workings of race, racism, and racialization, and how these processes —and resistance to them—are inseparable from the process of language.

As we continue the project of "racing language" and "languaging race," our aim is to further theorize and empirically document the mutual relationship of racializing processes in language and linguistic processes in race by producing work that counters deeply entrenched colonial ideologies and policies, reveals the body not just as a site of the formation of intersecting oppressions but as a site of their eventual transformation, and exposes and resists racist representations of vulnerable groups by hegemonic populations. Many of the scholars in this handbook have worked with raciolinguistically marginalized populations on anti-racism campaigns and other social justice efforts. As the field continues to grow, we urge scholars to work directly with community organizations and groups

in order to understand the more nuanced perspectives that arise directly from the experiences of racially minoritized groups. Our theorizing should be led by our interactions at the grassroots level.

For Alim, for example, working with the Black Lives Matter Freedom School in Sacramento, California and with Heal the Hood in Cape Town, South Africa led to new ways of thinking about race—*transracialization*—as a political project that necessitates the alternative subversion and maintenance of racial categorization. Alim argues that the idea that our theorizing should *only* be about destabilizing the idea of race—no matter the context—is naïve at best, and counterproductive at worst. The inner workings of these organizations demonstrated a heightened level of sophistication, a recognition that racially discriminatory contexts require, as Pollock (2005) has argued, the simultaneous/alternating strategies of transracialization (a transgressive resistance towards racial categorization) with moments of strategic racialization (exploitation of racialization in Spivak's 1990 sense, regarding "strategic essentialism").

(p. 16) For Angela, her work with Southeast Asian refugee youth in Philadelphia, for example, has shown how seemingly rigid categories of race and language, such as "Asian American" and "accent," are quite flexible and multidimensional in local social practice. The teenagers, who participated in a video-making project where she conducted ethnographic research, drew on such broad categories in the local management of their identities, but also transformed these categories through their creative use of them. In making grassroots videos, the teenagers produced representations that often subverted those widely circulating in mainstream media, such as the "model minority" or "forever foreigner" stereotypes. In highlighting the link between art and activism, the Asian American community arts organization that offered the videomaking project encouraged youth participants to think and act creatively and critically about categories of race and language.

For Paul, his work with various Native American communities has informed a collaborative approach designed to blend expertise in linguistic anthropology with the recognition of the linguistic sovereignties of the Western Mono (Central California) and Village of Tewa (Northern Arizona) communities in which he has worked over the past four decades. Like many Native American languages, these languages and their traditions of verbal art have been variously suppressed and ideologically erased because they are the resources of resistance against a hegemonic state culture bent on assimilation and ethnocide. Working with Western Mono heritage keepers like the late Rosalie Bethel, he helped to produce the community's current on-line dictionary and a CD-ROM of verbal art performance videos (Kroskrity, Bethel, Reynolds 2002, Kroskrity 2017). In addition, he has begun the process of repatriating the narrative traditions of Indigenous Central California that were so denigrated and misrepresented by "salvage" researchers in the early and mid-20th Century (Kroskrity 2015, this volume). Though many Native American communities as well as Native American scholars (e.g. Champagne 2010) often prefer to represent themselves as Native nations—in accord with their special legal and political status—this is certainly not incompatible with recognizing the historical fact of their oppressive racial-

ization. This is surely a significant contribution to what Indigenous scholars like Tiffany Lee (2014) have termed “critical indigenous consciousness.”

In this handbook, Smalls, Ibrahim, and Morgan all explore the practices and perspectives of young Black men and women (whether in the United States, Canada, or Liberia) as forms of disruption and pushback against forms of anti-Blackness. While not ignoring some problematic practices, Smalls worked directly with youth as co-theorists to analyze how their transnational acts of resistance transform the indexical meanings of racialized sign categories. Similarly, Ibrahim theorizes the process of racial becoming as a semiotic and linguistic one where immigrants and displaced subjects take up Hip Hop Culture in order to stylize themselves and their speech in ways that draw strength and a sense of belonging from transnational Blackness (see also Alim et al. 2009, Williams 2017). Morgan looks directly to the practices of Black women, arguing that the counterlanguage ideology that undergirds their anti-racist and anti-sexist on-line and (p. 17) activist discourses serves as a model for the public sphere on how to counteract a white supremacist, patriarchal system. She argues that Black women’s struggles against racism, class oppression, and gender inequality in contemporary US society can influence our work towards justice across spheres.

In drawing inspiration from grassroots anti-racist efforts, this is not to say that we should abandon our critical lens. Rather, our criticality should be informed by the nuanced perspectives that can sometimes escape even our best efforts as we unwittingly center the academic voice. More generally, as Alim (2016) has argued, how raciolinguistically marginalized populations negotiate and resist hegemonic racial and linguistic ideologies—whether engaged in micro-interactional forms of resistance (Garcia-Sanchez 2016), deliberate counterhegemonic performances (Bucholtz 2016), social activism (Perez et al. 2016), or the transgressive, destabilizing practices of transracialization—has a lot to offer theorists of language and race moving forward.

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