# Dialect Diversity at the University: A Report on the Effectiveness of an Educational Initiative

Simon Wolf
*The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*

Becky Butler
*The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*

Katya Pertsova
*The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*

## 1. Introduction

This report summarizes the rationale, methodology, and results of an educational initiative focused on raising dialect diversity awareness on the campus of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (UNC) and facilitating discourse surrounding the relationship between language diversity and standardization in higher education.[1] UNC is a large public university that serves approximately 29,000 undergraduate (63%), graduate (29%), and professional (8%) students each term (UNC Factbook, 2017). These students come from a wide variety of linguistically diverse backgrounds, and 72% have lived in North Carolina for a year or more. Thus, nearly three quarters of the UNC student body come to the university after living for an extended period in the "dialect heaven" of North Carolina (as described in Wolfram & Reaser, 2014) and therefore represent a range of linguistic experience and diversity at least as great as that of the state. The remaining 28% of the student body has its origins in a variety of other linguistically diverse locales both in the United States and abroad, adding an even greater number of language varieties to the community. The project described in this report involved developing and assessing a set of

[1] This project was made possible by funding from a Thrive@Carolina Innovation and Collaboration grant. We would also like to acknowledge Amy Reynolds for her instrumental contributions to the organization and execution of this initiative along with Mika Wang, Kate Rustad, and Melissa Klein for their work on its analysis and further applications.

educational tools and activities designed to increase the sense of social belonging among linguistically marginalized students by promoting dialect and language diversity and by critically examining normative attitudes toward language variation. The initiative was divided into three distinct parts. First, organizers administered a series of attitudinal and informational surveys to the student body. Second, a short film about linguistic diversity was created featuring UNC students, faculty, and other members of the broad university community speaking about their own linguistic backgrounds and the importance of language to their identities. Finally, the organizers collaborated with multiple groups in the campus community to organize and facilitate a series of educational workshops and outreach events targeting faculty, staff, and students. Throughout the process, a subset of the survey respondents and outreach event attendees were followed, and their language attitudes were monitored in order to assess quantitatively the effectiveness of the initiative in promoting a climate of tolerance for linguistic diversity, increasing the sense of belonging in students who speak non-standard dialects, and initiating deeper reflection on language standardization.

## 2. Background and motivation

It is well acknowledged that language encodes socially valuable information about a speaker's identity as a member of a particular cultural, social, or ethnic group (see Bucholtz & Hall, 2004; Eckert, 1989, 2000; Lippi-Green, 2012; Mendoza-Denton, 2008; and many others). Given this indexicality, it also follows that linguistic diversity is tightly linked with other forms of diversity. Despite this connection, the increasingly plentiful diversity-focused programming within institutions of higher education (see Appel, Cartwright, Smith, & Wolf, 1996 for a review of some programs and their impacts) more often than not fails to address linguistic diversity as a component of importance. In contexts where race, gender, class, religion, nationality, sexual orientation, and other types of identity are protected statuses, linguistic rights are generally not acknowledged.

At the same time, most people maintain a strongly held belief that there are correct and incorrect varieties of speech despite extensive evidence to the contrary (Lippi-Green, 2012; Greenfield, 2011). Unfortunately, the "correct" varieties are those spoken largely by white, middle- to upper-class individuals, thereby putting varieties spoken by individuals of lower socioeconomic status (SES), people of color, and other marginalized communities at a disadvantage (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, 2006). Furthermore, because dialect and language use are strongly tied to culture and to factors like race and SES, dialect discrimination compounds with other types of bias that may already be present. Psychological research has found that among young children, accent has an even stronger influence than race on children's social interaction preferences (Kinzler et al., 2009).

The historically codified settings of academia are no exception to the hegemony of standardized varieties. Given the pervasive misconception of "correct" and "incorrect" varieties of English (further perpetuated by the conflation of spoken and written language) and the fact that academia is viewed as a community of "experts" that should enforce linguistic standards, it comes as no surprise that diversity in student speech varieties is often viewed as undesirable and in opposition to the goals of an educational environment (Adger, Wolfram, & Christian, 2007; Blake & Cutler, 2003; Davila, 2016; Williams & Naremore, 1974; among others). These views are often based upon misunderstandings of the nature of language as a wholly conventional, social phenomenon that is prescribed by experts. These misunderstandings often lead to systems that contain unnecessary prejudice

against speakers of non-standard dialects. This inherent (though often unintentional) bias hinders the ability of diversity initiatives to bolster the sense of social belonging of *every* student. As discussed by Walton and Cohen (2011) and in their accompanying sources, social belonging is a necessary element of academic success and intellectual achievement as well as general well-being. If a student feels they lack social belonging, their success and engagement in their campus community often suffer. This effect has been described by many authors including Scott (2008) who describes the adverse effects of speaking the Lumbee dialect of English on academic achievement and establishment of identity for a sample of Native American university students. In addition, Dunstan (2013) describes how the college experiences of speakers of Appalachian Englishes are influenced by their language background. Dunstan concludes that language is a critical element of student body diversity and states, "Academic experiences, perceptions of the inclusiveness of the campus environment, and interactions with others on campus would likely be improved by understanding dialect diversity and its social and cultural implications" (2013, p. 364). On a similar note, McBride (2006) emphasizes the importance of native Appalachian dialect in her sample of professional women from the Blue Ridge Mountains of North Carolina and describes their desire and struggle to maintain their cultural and linguistic heritage through language. McBride's (2006) results urge schools and universities to further the development of inclusive pedagogy and incorporation of dialect education into teaching and learning environments.

The goals of this project were to address perceptions of dialect diversity by the campus community as well as self-perception of one's own language variety and to open dialogue within the community about the importance of promoting linguistic diversity. In this respect, this project was both educational, teaching the community about the origins of language variation and change, and interventional, providing something like the "social-belonging intervention" described by Walton and Cohen (2011), in which they conclude that even a brief period of intervention with a group of students "can have significant effects on a wide range of important outcomes" (p. 1450) including measures of academic success, health, and general well-being. The project reported here sought to work toward a campus environment that could provide students with similar benefits to those observed by Walton and Cohen by addressing perceptions of dialect diversity by the campus community as well as self-perception of one's own language variety. In doing so, it addressed preexisting attitudes about the primacy of standardized language in academic settings and opened dialogue within the community about the importance of promoting diversity in languages and language varieties.

To achieve our goals in a targeted manner and to assess the current climate on campus, a preliminary survey of the student body was conducted in the spring term of 2016. It asked students about their college experiences that are linked to issues of dialect. The results of the survey were then used to better focus our dialect-centered diversity initiative. Some examples of negative attitudes toward non-standard dialect speakers from the survey results included that dialects are "lazy" and "break the rules of grammar" (a long-ubiquitous sentiment, see Lakoff, 2000 for an account of similar opinions during the Ebonics controversy) and that various speech characteristics commonly associated with women's or feminine speech in English (e.g. creaky voice, "uptalk") are undesirable. Such comments are consistent with the findings of Anderson, Klofstad, Mayew, and Venkatachalam (2014) that vocal fry has strong negative associations in women's speech and can even impact hirability when seeking employment. These sentiments are among those that are targeted in the initiative reported on here.

A final relevant aspect of the initial student survey is the observation by many of the respondents that prejudices about speech are associated with prejudices about people. Outside of the scientific community, not many people recognize that social biases underlie linguistic ones. Many of the initial survey respondents provided personal anecdotes describing being taken less seriously and discounted in cooperative work settings as well as being perceived as someone different from their true self based on built up stigma caused by their speech. Multiple respondents also wrote that they felt it was necessary to perform social and emotional work (in the sense of Fishman, 1978, and Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974) to counter the misconceptions and prejudices with which they are faced. The idea that linguistic prejudices should be addressed as equivalent and equal to other social prejudices is another important aspect of focus in this initiative.

## 3. Main survey

During the fall semester of 2016, the main survey was distributed to all graduate and undergraduate students. When closed, approximately 2,815 UNC students had completed the survey. Respondents provided information about their language background and answered questions aimed at assessing their subjective experiences as speakers of different dialects and their attitudes towards issues of linguistic diversity and linguistic standards. In order to communicate the intended dialect name more clearly to a population that likely has no formal linguistics background, some varieties were referred to in the survey by more colloquial or non-technical names (e.g. standard American English/no accent for Mainstream American English, African-American dialect for African American English). See Figures 1 and 2 for distributions of self-reported dialects in the sample.

**Figure 1. Distribution of respondents by self-reported dialect**

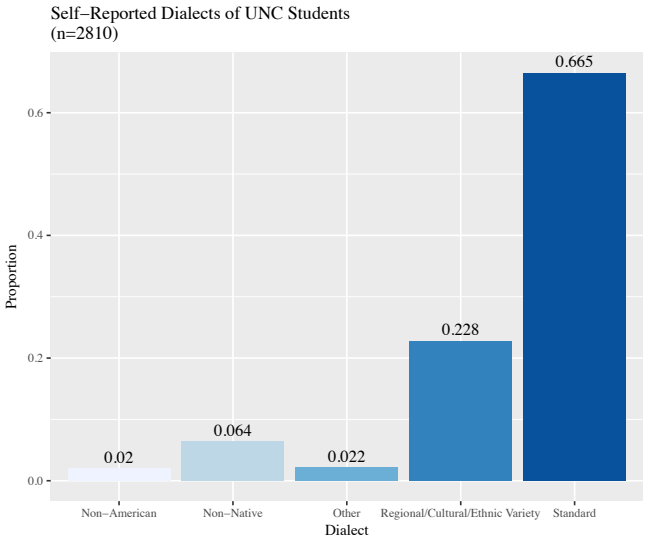
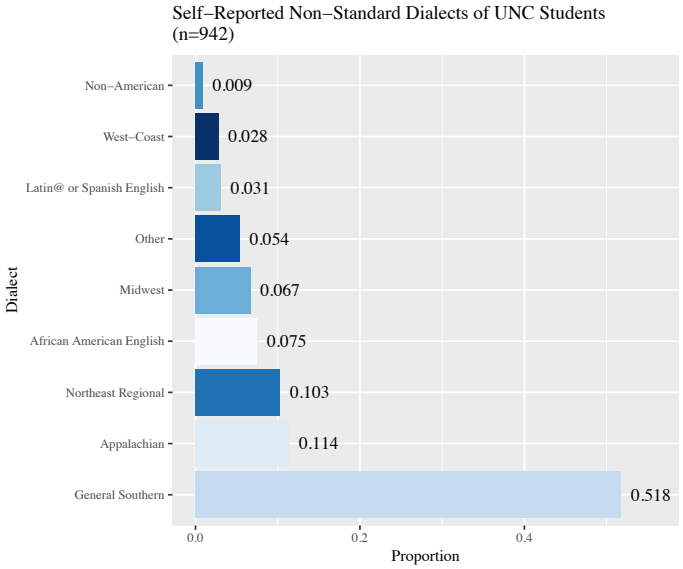


**Figure 2. Distribution of specific varieties among the non-standard dialect-speaking respondents**




The body of the survey contained questions about the students' linguistic knowledge and opinions and about their subjective experiences as speakers of specific dialects. Respondents were asked about their understandings of why dialects develop and how standard dialects are determined, as well as awareness questions about how their own speech variety has developed and their perception of differences between standard and non-standard varieties of English. Some questions produced responses that were notably indicative of negative associations and experiences with non-standard dialects. When participants were asked if they had ever intentionally tried to modify their speech just under half the respondents reported that they had. However, the proportion of positive responses from speakers of non-standard dialects was over 23 percentage points higher than that of the standard speakers. Among non-standard dialect groups, speakers of African American English (AAE) and Appalachian English showed the highest proportions of positive response (see Figure 3) with 92.2% of AAE speakers reporting that they had attempted to change their speech in the past.

Students were also asked to respond to questions about the kinds of positive and negative comments they had received concerning their speech. Approximately 59% of all respondents reported that they had received compliments or positive comments on their speech, while fewer (43.1%) reported negative comments overall. When self-identified standard speakers are compared to non-standard speakers, however, an interesting pattern emerges. Speakers of non-standard dialects receive a greater number of comments on their speech (whether positive or negative) compared to speakers of standard dialects (see Figure 4).

**Figure 3. Proportion of affirmative response to the question "Have you ever tried to change the way you speak on purpose?" by dialect group**

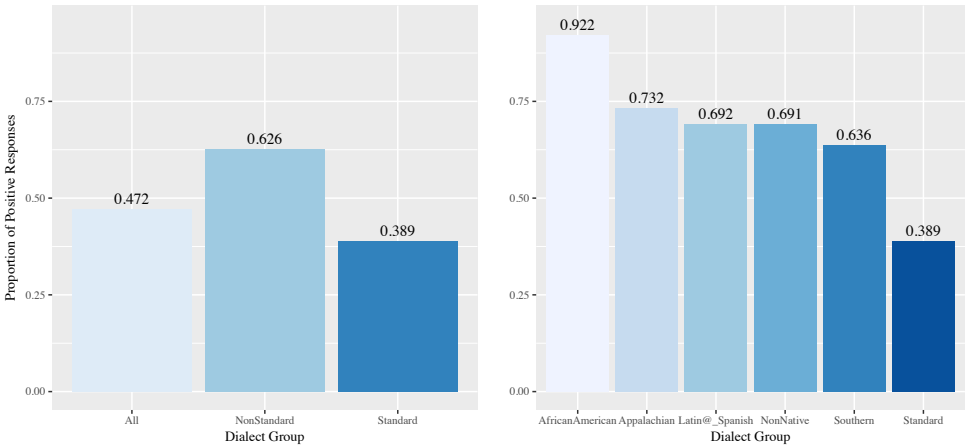
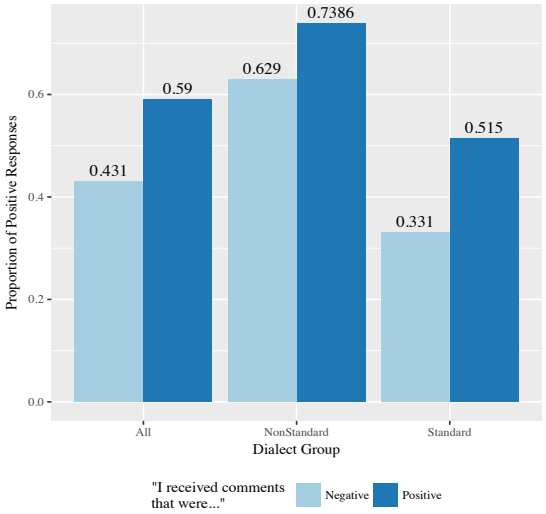



**Figure 4. Proportions of positive responses to the question "Have you received positive/negative comments/reactions because of the way you speak?"**




Respondents were also asked to provide some examples of common comments or reactions to their speech. Even though more speakers of non-standard varieties reported experiencing positive feedback than negative feedback, many of their positive examples included the word "cute," as in "you have a cute Southern accent" (this was particularly true for women) or referring to a dialect as "interesting." Some respondents even expressed hesitance to call these comments compliments, perhaps given that terms such as 'cute' and 'interesting' can also carry patronizing connotations depending on the context. In comparison, standard speakers reported positive comments that referenced proper grammar, enunciation, clarity, and even difference from non-standard varieties. As an

example, one respondent reported being told, “You don’t sound like you’re from the South.”

Similarly, in their examples of negative comments and reactions, non-standard speakers reported having been mocked, hearing that they must be “dumb” or “uneducated” based on their dialect, and even being told that they are unintelligible and that “all I can hear is accent.” When speakers of MAE did provide examples of negative feedback, often it contained comments about rate of speech or comments on prejudice that the respondent was aware of but had never experienced firsthand. Importantly, some significant racial themes emerged from these negative examples. “Sounding white” was reported by some speakers who identified with MAE as a positive comment and as a negative one by speakers who reported AAE as their primary dialect. The same respondents also used the term ‘proper’ in the same conflicting manner; it was considered positive by MAE speakers and negative by AAE speakers. Furthermore, at least one respondent reported being told that they sounded “dumb and colored” by not speaking “correctly.”

When asked to mark their agreement with the statement, “The way I speak is an important part of my identity,” 61% of respondents agreed, suggesting that the study’s assumptions based on previous literature broadly hold true at UNC: language background is an element of personal identity that is valued and should be supported. UNC students have a definite awareness of dialect differences and associated stigma, and many of them have experienced negative reactions concerning their speech. Furthermore, a large majority (80%) of respondents reported that they supported the idea that linguistic diversity is worth protecting and celebrating along with other forms of diversity, and only 11% agreed that linguistic diversity is utterly different from other forms of diversity and should *not* be protected in society.

**4. Short film**

To contribute to the project’s public reach, the organizational team produced a ten-minute film showcasing student, employee, and community voices and opinions on their language backgrounds and identities as well as informative material from local linguists and education experts. In the film, students speak about their backgrounds as speakers of Belizean Kriol, Southern English, Appalachian English, MAE, AAE, and with learning English as a second language. Additionally, linguists Walt Wolfram and J. Michael Terry provide an accessible account of the scientific basis for supporting dialect diversity as well as the complex relationships between standards and language variation. Throughout, other employees and representatives from the North Carolina universities (from North Carolina State University’s Office of Assessment and UNC’s Writing and Learning Centers) provide a broader perspective on the importance and challenges of linguistic diversity in the university setting. This film was included as a pivotal part of all the initiative’s outreach events and is a tool that will continue to be available to the university for use in trainings, orientations, and other events. The film is hosted for free on YouTube and at soundofdiversity.web.unc.edu for the foreseeable future.

**5. Diversity initiative: Community outreach events**

As the primary outreach and awareness-raising portion of the initiative, multiple workshops and events were conducted by the research team. Four of these events were widely publicized and open to the entire campus community, though directed

predominantly at students. The format of these public events consisted of an initial screening of the short film, a brief educational talk on some of the information on dialect diversity relevant to the workshop's theme, and finally a period of moderated small- and large-group discussion about the issues that had been presented and their importance to UNC and the surrounding communities. Topics covered in these workshops included distinguishing between prescriptive and descriptive grammar, the origins of written and spoken linguistic standards, the place and importance of dialect pride, and the effects of language prejudice. The largest of these public events was a panel that brought together faculty members from multiple departments to present their perspective on the place of linguistic standards and linguistic diversity in the university setting.

*5.1 Events and workshops*

The first public event, "Dialects and 'Good' Grammar," was a discussion around the questions of how dialects form and what some systematic differences between some Southern English dialects and more mainstream varieties are. It began with an explicit investigation of the participants' conceptualizations of "ungrammaticality." Attendees were presented a series of written sentences some of which contained prescriptive usage errors, some true syntactic or semantic ungrammaticality, and others which were examples of non-standard but dialectically acceptable usage. Without prompting or much background, they were then asked to decide with the others sitting at their table which of the statements were ungrammatical. After a discussion of prescriptivist versus descriptivist thought, the remainder of the workshop was spent in small-group discussion and sharing sessions about the naturally development of dialects and their systematic structures. Some examples were presented from AAE and Appalachian English to serve as conversation starters, but many more were volunteered by the attendees.

Approximately two months after the first event, the project coordination team hosted another workshop called "Dialect: Pride and Prejudice" that facilitated a community conversation around dialects and implicit biases associated with speech varieties. While many students attended this event, there were also multiple faculty members and other non-student employees of the university who attended. Based on feedback from attendees of the previous event, time in this workshop was spent in small-group discussion and reporting, and because of the wide variety of perspectives present in the room, the discussion was wide-ranging. Discussion topics included: Is standardization necessarily a bad thing when it comes to language? Would it be efficient to preserve as many languages as possible? Is emphasizing multilingualism and multidialectalism a viable alternative to language standardization? How would society in the U.S. or just in universities have to be structured in order to better maintain this support? While no clear group consensus was reached, many attendees were vocally optimistic about U.S. institutions' abilities to support multidialectalism in those they serve, though it was acknowledged that this would not come without difficulty.

The final workshop-style event explored the genesis of linguistic standards from a sociohistorical perspective, and its discussion was centered around what socioeconomic contexts influence standardizing language shifts and how features from certain varieties and not others are prioritized in the standardization process. In addition to the workshops, the fourth public event was an interdisciplinary panel featuring faculty members from the departments of English and Comparative Literature, American Studies, Linguistics, and Speech and Hearing Sciences. After lengthy remarks from each panelist and questions

from the audience, many topics had been raised similar to those from the workshop on implicit bias. There was a great deal of support from the panelists for the maintenance of linguistic standards alongside an acknowledgement of their power to unequally influence the experiences of speakers of stigmatized varieties. Materials from these public events can be found in the "Events" section of the project's website (soundofdiversity.web.unc.edu) along with an example of the post-event surveys that were filled out by those in attendance.

Apart from these public events, the initiative coordinators also facilitated workshops aimed at specific targeted audiences who have a direct impact on student well-being and success. Among these audiences were faculty members (supported by the Center for Faculty Excellence), library employees (as part of a library diversity education series), and employees of the Office of Student Retention (as a talk in their Brown Bag series). Booths, tables, and informative posters associated with the initiative were also present at a selection of diversity-oriented events on campus during the Spring/Fall 2016 and Spring 2017 semesters.

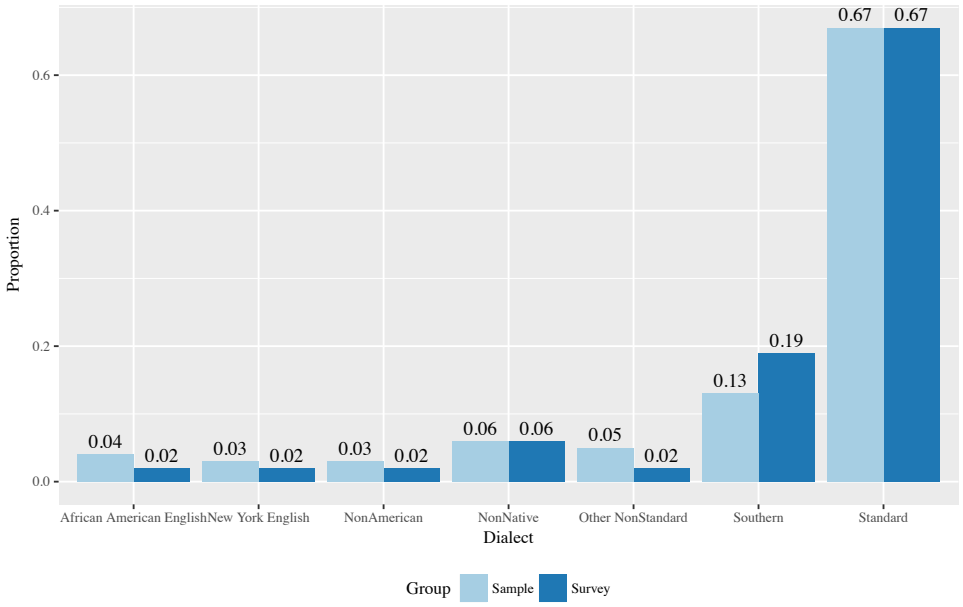
### *5.2 Efficacy study*

To better gauge the effectiveness of the workshop series, a sample of student participants was followed through their attendance, and their dialect knowledge and opinions were surveyed throughout the process. In the main survey, all respondents were asked if they would be interested in participating in the next stage of the research study and the first 100 students who responded affirmatively made up a sample that was the primary experimental group. This group was contacted separately with an opportunity to continue further in the study. Those who agreed were asked to attend at least two educational events about dialect diversity and to complete a follow-up survey similar to the main survey from section 3 of this report. This follow-up survey contained additional questions specific to the events the participants attended and to their evaluation of the initiative as a whole. Those tracked through received monetary compensation. The distribution of dialects spoken by the study participants very closely mirrored that of the participants in the greater survey. Proportion comparisons are presented in Figure 5.

As the final portion of the initiative, the group of students that were study participants and had succeeded in attending at least two dialect diversity events throughout the process responded to an evaluative survey in an attempt to measure any change that may have occurred in their opinions toward and knowledge about dialect diversity. Only 44 participants completed the final survey, so the changes can only be analyzed on a broad scale for general trends and are not representative of the entire student population. When asked if linguistic diversity was worth protecting and celebrating like other forms of diversity, the majority of follow-up respondents did not change their answers (Agree, n = 37, and Unsure, n = 3). However, three participants changed their responses from Unsure to Agree between the main survey and the follow-up survey. Furthermore, 84.1% of the follow-up respondents responded that they think their opinions of linguistic diversity had changed (n = 20) or may have changed (n = 17) as a result of attending the educational events. A clear majority (81.8%, n = 36) of these respondents also agreed they had been better equipped by the events and discussions to advocate for themselves and/or others who speak non-standard dialects. Though the sample is small and non-random (participants having self-selected), this response is positive. In the final survey of 44 students, most of them feel more knowledgeable and able to address situations of conflict

around language diversity and standardization that they may encounter during their time at UNC. If these experiences in any way resemble those of the many other students and community members who participated to varying degrees in the initiative, then there is a small population of individuals who can now contribute to facilitating a more welcoming and informed environment for speakers of all dialects.

**Figure 5. Comparative distribution of self-reported dialects in study and survey participants[2]**




From the workshops, a selection of most effective methods was synthesized. For public outreach, the organizers experienced a great deal of success with a certain amount of game-style explicit teaching about the systematicity and grammatical structure of non-standard dialects that are often believed to be random and follow no rules. Examples that were utilized include /a/-prefixing from Appalachian English, a simple example of which is presented in (1), and AAE constructions of copula deletion as well as use of habitual "be". Workshop participants were given examples of the phenomenon, asked to generate a relevant rule themselves, and then shown that it was productive through application to novel data. This methodology received positive responses from multiple workshops and clearly communicated the rule-governed nature of language. Furthermore, the most engaging public events that produced the most participation were those that primarily consisted of discussion both in small groups and among all the attendees.

(1) a. Grammar

| | |
|---|---|
| He was a-huntin'. | OK |
| He likes a-huntin'. | X |
| That child is a-charmin' all the grown-ups. | OK |
| The movie was a-charmin'. | X |

[2] This comparison is for the initial sample of 100 study participants. As described later in section 5.2, only 44 of these subjects participated in the entire study.

b. Quiz

| | |
|---|---|
| A-buildin' is hard work. | ? |
| She was a-buildin' a house. | ? |

In dialogues with university faculty and staff, the workshop participants were very interested in tangible strategies that they could implement in their classrooms and offices to better support and empower speakers of marginalized dialects. A challenge that instructors face is being able to identify and distinguish between instances of poor writing from dialectal features. Suggested solutions include the following: instructors can explicitly talk to students about possible dialect differences and about expectations with respect to formal writing requirements in their class. That kind of communication requires the instructor to have the appropriate linguistic knowledge and awareness of how language intersects with other facets of identity. Instructors and supervisors can more conscientiously and effectively support their students or employees by considering their personal backgrounds and not jumping to conclusions or making biased judgements simply on the basis of their speech characteristics. Furthermore, participants concluded that faculty and staff should work to open dialogue with colleagues and coworkers as well as facilitate a supportive campus environment in other ways such as by recommending on-campus resources like UNC's Writing Center and by encouraging students to address any linguistic issues they might be experiencing with the relevant instructor or person of authority and supporting the student if they choose to do so.

## 6. Conclusion

After significant survey of the campus population, utilizing multiple community outreach and education methods, and directly tracking a small population of students through the process, the UNC dialect diversity initiative yielded valuable information on the linguistic backgrounds of students as well as their knowledge, attitudes, and experiences with their own dialects. It is clear that UNC students attach their identities to their speech varieties and are also aware of any associated stigma either through direct negative experiences or latent cultural consciousness. Nearly half of them have tried to change the way they speak on purpose in the past, and many have experienced both negative and positive comments and reactions to their speech regardless of dialect. The initiative events were well-attended, began a variety of productive conversations on campus, and based on the follow-up survey responses, equipped participants with useful tools for further campus conversations around language and dialect diversity.

The project also has significant potential to expand. It has laid a foundation of awareness and resources on UNC's campus that can and should be capitalized on in the future. The initiative's organizers are working to incorporate the short film and other resources into new faculty and student orientations at UNC in order to ensure that incoming students and employees begin to include different language backgrounds when they consider diversity during their time at the university. In addition to being included in a widely-publicized Carolina Conversations event about diversity on campus in fall 2018, the project will meet with and involve university diversity liaisons. These events and connections will continue to raise awareness of language diversity-related issues and spread resources and knowledge to new populations. Additionally, it would be informative to collect a small amount of self-reported dialect information from all incoming students to more accurately track speaker backgrounds of the student population, since it is difficult to

know decisively at the moment what proportions of what dialects are spoken on campus. This will be included in future discussions with the university.

The same models and resources that proved fairly successful in the workshops reported here will continue to be used in additional workshops, film screenings, and invited speaker events. A related study is also in progress on dialect-based bias in instructor evaluation of students, which will deepen understanding of the linguistic environment at UNC and potentially at other universities as well in addition to providing more information to be used in creating supportive programs for speakers of non-standard language varieties.

## References


Adger, C. T., Wolfram, W., & Christian, D. (2007). *Dialects in schools and communities* (2nd ed.). Mahwah, NJ: Routledge.

Anderson, R. C., Klofstad, C. A., Mayew, W. J., & Venkatachalam, M. (2014). Vocal fry may undermine the success of young women in the labor market. *PLoS ONE*, *9*(5), 1–9.

Appel, M., Cartwright, D., Smith, D. G., & Wolf, L. E. (1996). *The impact of diversity on students: A preliminary review of the research literature*. Washington, DC: Association of American Colleges and Universities.

Blake, R., & Cutler, C. (2003). African American English and variation in teachers' attitudes: A question of school philosophy? *Linguistics and Education, 14*, 163-194.

Bucholtz, M., & Hall, K. (2004). Theorizing identity in language and sexuality research. *Language in Society*, 33(1), 469-515.

Davila, B. (2016). The inevitability of "standard" English: Discursive constructions of standard language ideologies. *Written Communication, 33*(2), 127-148.

Dunstan, S. (2013). *The influence of speaking a dialect of Appalachian English on the college experience* (Doctoral dissertation). North Carolina State University.

Eckert, P. (1989). *Jocks and Burnouts: Social identity in the high school*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Eckert, P. (2000). *Linguistic variation as social practice*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Fishman, P. M. (1978). Interaction: The work women do. *Social Problems*, *25*(4), 397–406.

Greenfield, L. (2011). The "standard" English fairy tale. In L. Greenfield & K. Rowan (Eds.), *Writing centers and the new racism: A call for sustainable dialogue and change* (pp. 33–60). Utah: Utah State University Press.

Kinzler, K., Shutts, K., DeJesus, J., & Spelke, E. (2009). Accent trumps race in guiding children's social preferences. *Social Cognition*, *27*(4), 623–634.

Lakoff, R. T. (2000). *The language war*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Lippi-Green, R. (2012). *English with an Accent* (2nd ed.). New York: Routledge.

McBride, K. (2006). *Roots and wings: Language attitudes of professional women native to the Blue Ridge Mountains of North Carolina* (Doctoral dissertation). Indiana University of Pennsylvania.

Mendoza-Denton, N. (2008). *Homegirls: Language and cultural practice among Latina youth gangs*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Sacks, H., Schegloff, E. A., & Jefferson, G. (1974). A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation. *Language*, *50*(4), 696–735.

Scott, C. (2008). *An investigation of the impact of speaking the Lumbee dialect on the academic achievement and identity development of Native American college students* (Doctoral dissertation). University of North Carolina.

UNC Factbook. (2017). Statistics of UNC-CH campus. Retrieved June 26, 2018 from http://oira.unc.edu/files/2018/06/Fact-Book-16-17_20180608.pdf

Walton, G. M., & Cohen, G. L. (2011). A brief social-belonging intervention improves academic and health outcomes of minority students. *Science, New Series*, *331*(6023), 1447–1451.

Williams, F., & Naremore, R. C. (1974). Language attitudes: An analysis of teacher differences. *Speech Monographs, 41*(1), 391-396.

Wolfram, W., & Reaser, J. L. (2014). *Talkin' tar heel: How our voices tell the story of North Carolina*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.

Wolfram, W., & Schilling-Estes, N. (2015). *American English* (3rd ed.). London: Blackwell.

Author Contact Information:

Simon Wolf
Dept. of Linguistics
UNC-Chapel Hill
CB #3155
Chapel Hill, NC 27599
*siwolf@live.unc.edu*

Becky Butler
The Writing Center
UNC-Chapel Hill
CB #5135
Chapel Hill, NC 27599
*becky.butler@unc.edu*

Katya Pertsova
Dept. of Linguistics
UNC-Chapel Hill
CB #3155
Chapel Hill, NC 27599
*pertsova@email.unc.edu*