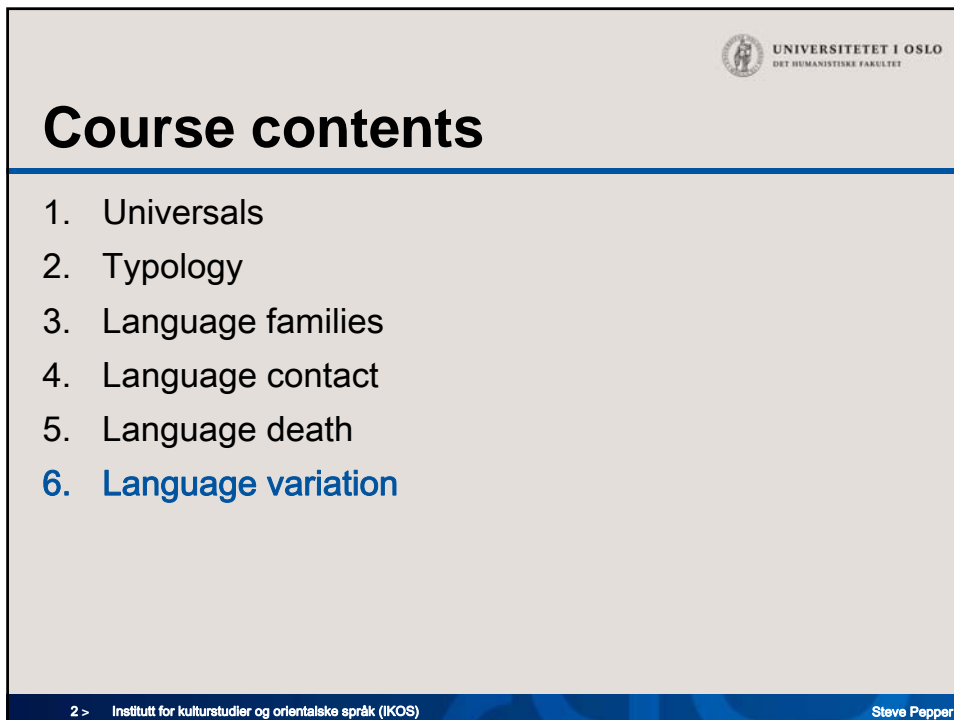


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EXFAC003-AAS v11 Language

□ 6: Language variation

Steve Pepper <pepper.steve@gmail.com>



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Course contents

1. Universals
2. Typology
3. Language families
4. Language contact
5. Language death
6. **Language variation**

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Language variation

- ☐ Topics
 - Terminology
 - Linguistic item and language variety
 - Geographical variation
 - Language vs. dialect, dialect continuum, isogloss
 - Social variation
 - Sociolect, slang, jargon
 - Contextual variation
 - Language policy

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Language variation

- ☐ Languages vary
 - from one place to another,
 - from one social group to another, and
 - from one situation to another
- ☐ Today's topics are therefore
 - [geographical](#) variation
 - [social](#) variation
 - [contextual](#) variation
- ☐ Variation has political implications, so we also discuss [language policy](#)
 - Two examples
 - Cameroon and Korea
- ☐ These topics are the domain of sociolinguistics


The Three Dimensions of Variation

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How do you pronounce 'H'?

- The changing sound of English pronunciation
 - Pedants, beware!
 - The sound of
 - says
 - ate
 - mischievous
 - harass
 - garage
 - schedule and
 - aitch (H)
 - is shifting



<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-11642588>

- Different accents? dialects? sociolects? languages?


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Some basic terminology

- Terms like 'language', 'dialect', 'sociolect', 'accent', 'jargon' and 'register' are hard to define
- For example, defining [dialect](#) as a geographical subdivision of a [language](#) begs the question
 - What is a 'language'?
 - What do we mean by 'subdivision'?
- More basic terms required:
 - [Linguistic item](#)
 - [Language variety](#)

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Linguistic items

- Any basic unit of language
 - e.g. words, sounds, grammatical constructions
- Examples of different linguistic items:
 - Pronouns **yous** '2pl' and **you** '2 sg/pl'
 - Words **child** and **bairn** (N. England, Scotland)
 - Phonemes /ʌ/ and /ʊ/ in /'sʌn/ and /'sʊn/ 'sun'
 - Suffixes /ɪŋ/ og /ɪn/ in /kʌmɪŋ/ og /kʌmɪn/ ('coming')
 - Past tense forms **caught** and **catched** (dialect)
 - Grammatical constructions
Give it to me! ~ **Give me it!** ~ **Give it me!**

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Language variety

- A set of linguistic items with similar social (including geographical and cultural) distribution
- May refer to
 - a full-fledged language or dialect
 - a small set of linguistic items (e.g. slang)
 - anything in-between (e.g. sociolect, idiolect)

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Varieties of English

(a) **Standard English** *No one has gone to the post office yet.*

(b) **Jamaican Creole** *Nobadi no gaan a puos yet.* 'No one has gone to the post office yet.'

(c) **Southern US white Non-Standard dialect from Atlanta** *Nobody don't like a boss hardly.* 'Hardly anybody likes a boss.'


(d) **Tok Pisin (New Guinea Pidgin)** *Papa, min bin mekim sin long God na long yu.* 'Father, I have sinned against God and against you.'

(e) **Older Standard English of the 'King James version' Bible** *Father, I have sinned against heaven, and in thy sight.*

(f) **Scots, from Leith** *When ah wis a boy ma mither an faither died.* 'When I was a boy my mother and father died.'

(g) **Standard English & English slang** *Walking 5 miles to work is a real ball-ache.* 'Walking 5 miles to work is really inconvenient.'

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Questions:

1. Do these varieties represent the same or different languages?
2. Do these varieties represent the same or different dialects of the same language?
3. How many languages are actually represented here?

There are no unique ("correct") answers!

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Varieties of Arabic


(h) **Chadian Spoken Arabic** *Ulâd Eli 'Amm Muusa daxalat zeribt al-bagar*
'Mûsa's mother entered the enclosure of the cows.'

(i) **Moroccan Spoken Arabic** *Bi't nækri sayyara lmuddet usbu:ʔ*
'I would like to hire a car for a week.'

(j) **Standard Maltese** *Mart is-sultan marida afna*
'The sultan's wife is very ill.'

(k) **Standard Written Arabic** *Ra'aytu nâsan ayra sukkâni Makkata*
'I saw people who were not the inhabitants of Mecca.'

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Again:

1. One language or more than one?
2. If more than one, then how many?

N.B. Standard Written Arabic may be divided into at least two different forms

- Classical Arabic
- Modern Literary Arabic

We have chosen variants of English and Arabic

We could have compared many other "languages"

? Norwegian ↔ Swedish

? Hindi ↔ Urdu

? Bosnian ↔ Serbian ↔ Croatian

? Mandarin ↔ Cantonese

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Geographical variation

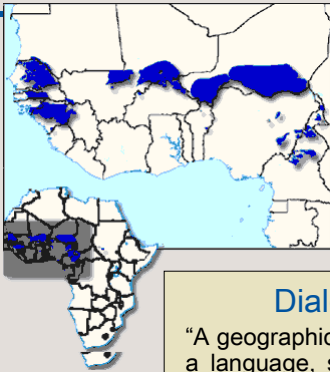
- ☐ Topics
 - Language vs. dialect
 - Dialect continuum
 - Isoglosses
 - *Abstand* languages and *Ausbau* languages
 - Standard languages

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The example of Fula

- ☐ A **Niger-Congo** language
 - Spoken in 17 countries
 - Mostly in West Africa, especially the Sahel
 - **Mauritania** and **Senegal** in the west, through **Guinea, Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger, Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad**, and neighbouring areas
- ☐ Not geographically continuous
 - Interrupted by many areas with hundreds of other languages
- ☐ Generally assumed to be a single language with a number of different dialects



Dialect

“A geographical variety of a language, spoken in a certain area, and different in some linguistic items from other geographical varieties of the same language.”

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Proposed definitions of 'language'



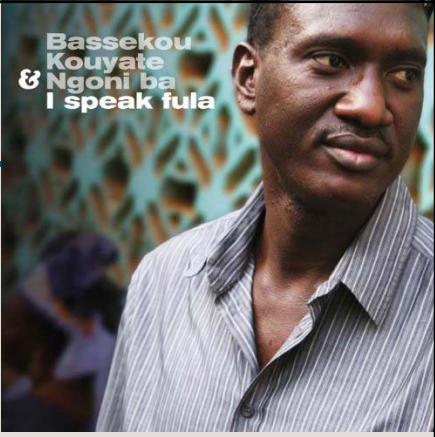
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- ❑ This is a common definition of 'dialect' used among linguists
 - Different from the "popular" notion of a dialect being a provincial variant of the "proper" language
- ❑ Problematic because it presupposes a satisfactory definition of 'language'

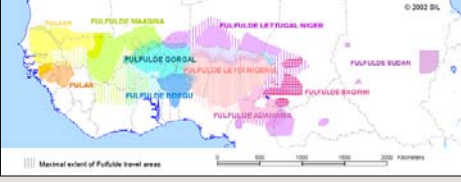
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. "A language consists of speech varieties that are <u>mutually intelligible</u>" 2. "A language consists of speech varieties that are considered <u>subordinate to the same standard variety</u>" 3. "A language consists of speech varieties in which a <u>large percentage of words are etymologically related</u>" 	<p>Norwegian = Swedish Mandarin ≠ Cantonese</p> <p>Norwegian ≠ Swedish Mandarin = Cantonese (? possibly) Most 'languages' have no standard variety</p> <p>(Depending on what 'large' means) Norwegian = Swedish Mandarin = Cantonese (? probably)</p>
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Dialects of Fula



- ❑ Different Fula-speaking areas can be referred to as dialect areas
- ❑ Between ten and fifteen major dialects; most important:
 1. Northern Senegal, Southern Mauritania
 2. Guinea
 3. Mali
 4. Burkina Faso, Western Nigeria, Western Niger
 5. Central Nigeria
 6. Eastern Nigeria, Northern Cameroon



Maximal extent of Fula dialect areas

- ❑ Speakers from neighbouring areas can communicate without problems
 - Each speaks his/her own native variety
- ❑ But speakers from one end of West Africa have problems communicating with speakers from the other end
 - Abilities vary from person to person depending on degree of exposure to other dialects

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Dialect continuum

- ❑ A **dialect continuum** is a chain of dialects, let us say dialects A–H:
 - Speakers of dialects A and B understand each other extremely well
 - The same applies to B and C, to C and D, etc.
 - Speakers of A and C understand each other rather less well
 - Speakers of dialect A and dialect E less well again
- ❑ There comes to a point, say at dialect G, where dialect A is no longer intelligible to the local people and vice versa.


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Isoglosses

- ❑ Dialects can be mapped using **isoglosses**
 - Lines on a map mark the boundary between different linguistic items
 - Usually no clear boundary between dialects
- ❑ The **Rhenish Fan** in Germany
 - Varieties: Low, Middle and High German
 - Linguistic items: 'ik~ich', 'Dorp~Dorf', 'dat~das'

'I'	'make'	'village'	'that'	'apple'	'pound'	
ik	maken	dorp	dat	appel	pund	Low German
ich	machen	dorp	dat	appel	pund	
ich	machen	dorp	dat	appel	pund	Middle German
ich	machen	dorf	dat	appel	pund	
ich	machen	dorf	das	appel	pund	
ich	machen	dorf	das	apfel	pund	High Germ

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Abstand languages and Ausbau languages

Abstand language

- = “Language by distance”
- Regarded as a language by dint of its linguistic distance from other languages
- e.g. [Basque](#), [Korean](#)

Ausbau language

- = “Language by development”
- Regarded as a language by dint of its autonomy with respect to related languages
 - Standardized form
 - Used in schools
 - Written form widely used (including as official national or regional language)
- e.g. (standard) [Dutch](#) and [German](#)


Ausbau languages arise out of situations with a dialect continuum

- One dialectal variety → standard
 - Usually the variety used by educated people in the capital
 - Autonomous with respect to other dialects
 - Other dialects are heteronomous with respect to the standard

Status can change over time

- [Bosnian](#), [Serbian](#) and [Croatian](#) formerly heteronomous dialects of [Serbo-Croatian](#)
 - Since 1990s autonomous languages
- [Scots](#), [Plattdeutsch](#) (Low German), [Provençal](#) once autonomous
 - Now heteronomous with respect to [English](#), [German](#) and [French](#)

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Standard languages

Prototypical properties of a standard language

- Used by educated users
 - e.g. in the professions, the media, etc.
- Defined in dictionaries, grammars, and usage guides.
- Regarded as more correct and socially acceptable
- Enjoys greater prestige
 - Non-standard varieties felt to be the province of the less educated
- Used as a written language
- Used in important functions in the society
 - Government, parliament, courts, trade, bureaucracy, education, literature, industry

Standard varieties rise and fall

- Reverse of standardization is dialectization
 - [Okinawan](#) once the standard language of the Ryukyuan kingdom: Now usually seen as a dialect of [Japanese](#)


Not all languages have a standard variety

- May be an Abstand language without being an Ausbau language
- Usual case for minority languages
 - Found within a larger nation state
 - Only used in private (e.g. at home)

A language may be Ausbau despite little Abstand from its relatives

- e.g. [Danish](#), [Norwegian](#), [Swedish](#)

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The last word on language vs. dialect?

- ❑ א שפראך איז א דיאלעקט מיט אן אַרמיי און פֿלאָט
- ❑ A shprakh iz a dialekt mit an armey un flot
- ❑ **A language is a dialect with an army and navy**


- Usually attributed to Max Weinreich



A teacher at a Bronx high school once appeared among the auditors. He had come to America as a child and the entire time had never heard that Yiddish had a history and could also serve for higher matters.... Once after a lecture he approached me and asked, 'What is the difference between a dialect and language?' I thought that the maskilic contempt had affected him, and tried to lead him to the right path, but he interrupted me: 'I know that, but I will give you a better definition. A language is a dialect with an army and navy.' From that very time I made sure to remember that I must convey this wonderful formulation of the social plight of Yiddish to a large audience.

See also Romania/Moldova: Divided By A Common Language: <http://www.rferl.org/content/article/1079514.html>

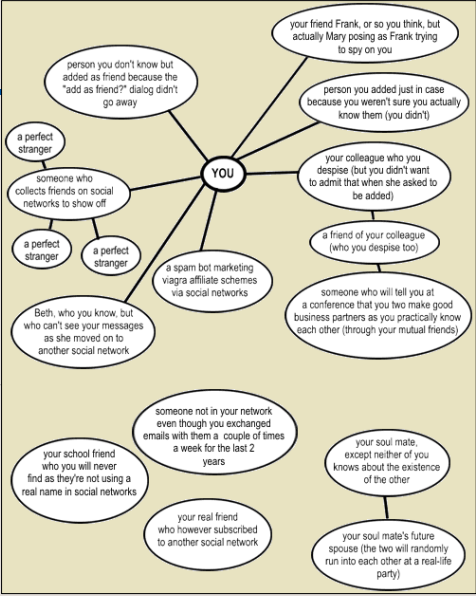
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Social variation


- ❑ Geographic distance leads to language variation
- ❑ Social distance also leads to language variation
- ❑ Topics
 - Social organization
 - Social networks ----->
 - Social stratification
 - Sociolect
 - Slang
 - Jargon



The diagram illustrates various social network relationships centered on 'YOU':

- person you don't know but added as friend because the "add as friend?" dialog didn't go away
- your friend Frank, or so you think, but actually Mary posing as Frank trying to spy on you
- person you added just in case because you weren't sure you actually know them (you didn't)
- your colleague who you despise (but you didn't want to admit that when she asked to be added)
- a perfect stranger
- someone who collects friends on social networks to show off
- a friend of your colleague (who you despise too)
- a perfect stranger
- a perfect stranger
- a spam bot marketing viagra affiliate schemes via social networks
- someone who will tell you at a conference that you two make good business partners as you practically know each other (through your mutual friends)
- Both, who you know, but who can't see your messages as she moved on to another social network
- someone not in your network even though you exchanged emails with them a couple of times a week for the last 2 years
- your school friend who you will never find as they're not using a real name in social networks
- your soul mate, except neither of you knows about the existence of the other
- your real friend who however subscribed to another social network
- your soul mate's future spouse (the two will randomly run into each other at a real-life party)

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Social networks

- ❑ Individual belongs to social networks
 - Stronger and looser ties with other individuals
 - Dimensions of solidarity between individuals in their everyday contacts
- ❑ Strong networks
 - Language changes more slowly
 - Stigmatized and low-status language items persist

- ❑ Network strength based on degrees of density and multiplexity
 - ❑ **Dense network**
 - Everyone knows everyone else
 - ❑ **Multiplex relationship**
 - A interacts with B in more than one capacity (e.g. as workmate and friend)

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Social stratification

- ❑ Hierarchical structure of a society
 - Arising from inequalities of wealth and power
- ❑ Different types of hierarchy
 - Rank society
 - Class society
- ❑ Europe after ca. 1800
 - Change from hierarchy of rank to hierarchy of class

- ❑ Rank society
 - People born with certain rank, low social mobility
 - Speak language of birth throughout life
- ❑ Class society
 - People born into certain class, high social mobility
 - Change their language in order to improve social status


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From rank to class

- ❑ Traditional European rank society
 - People spoke the dialect of their home area
 - Only minor variation between the ranks
 - Easy to locate someone geographically, but not socially
- ❑ Change to class society
 - Ca. 1800: industrialization
 - New social strata:
 - Working class and bourgeoisie (middle class)
 - Opportunities to improve economic and social status

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The emergence of middle class English

- ❑ England, end of 18th century
 - Standard written language, no standard spoken language
- ❑ Middle class speaking habits changed towards most prestigious variety
 - Used at royal court in London
 - Upper class (aristocracy) and lower class continue to speak local dialect
 - Middle class dialect varied much less from place to place
- ❑ Network differences an important factor
 - Close-knit solidarity characteristic of lower and higher social groups
 - Leads to greater stability
 - Weaker among middle sectors of society
 - Easier to change

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Sociolects

- ❑ Network structures result naturally from different life modes
 - e.g. self-employed, wage-earners, professionals
- ❑ Sociolects
 - Language varieties used by particular societal strata
 - Most language varieties have geographical as well as social distribution
 - Geographical variation now larger among lower classes than middle and upper classes

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Huntin', shootin' and fishin'

- ❑ The story of English **-ing**
- ❑ Originally two suffixes
 - Verbal noun **[-ɪŋe]**, written <-inge>
 - e.g. 'writinge' cf. NOR *skrivning*
 - Present participle **[-ɪnde]**, written <-inde>
 - e.g. 'writinde' cf. NOR *skrivende*
- ❑ Erosion → neutralization



```

          graph TD
            A[-ɪŋe] --> B[-ɪŋ]
            C[-ɪnde] --> D[-ɪnd]
            B --> E[-ɪŋ]
            D --> E
          
```

 - pronounced **[-ɪŋ]**, written <-ing>
 - Middle class → **[-ɪŋ]** (conform to standard)
 - Upper and lower class retained **[-ɪŋ]**
 - Hence the phrase **huntin', shootin' and fishin'**
 - Descriptive of upper class pastimes

Three in Norway is an account of a "huntin', shootin' and fishin'" trip to Jotunheimen in Norway by three English (actually two English and one Irish) gentlemen in 1882

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Slang

- ❑ Very informal language variety
 - Includes new and sometimes not polite words and meanings...
- ❑ Often used among particular groups of people
 - e.g. teenagers or professional groups
 - Not commonly used in serious speech or writing
- ❑ Some expressions contain ordinary words with a special meaning
 - e.g. khyber, kisser and knocking
 - New meanings, often based upon fanciful and creative metaphors and metonymies
 - e.g. Cockney rhyming slang
- ❑ Other expressions contain special words with no «non-slang» meanings
 - e.g. kooky

British slang (<http://www.peevish.co.uk/slang/>)

kerb crawler *Noun*. A person who drives slowly to view street prostitutes, with the intention of procuring their services. {Informal}.

khyber (pass) *Noun*. Buttocks, anus. Cockney rhyming slang on 'arse'.

kiddie fiddler *Noun*. A paedophile. *Derog.*


kipper *Noun*. The face. E.g. "Did you see the miserable kipper on that idiot stood at the back?" [Liverpool/North-west use.]

kisser *Noun*. Mouth. Origins in boxing.

knocking shop *Noun*. A brothel.

kooky *Adj*. Crazy, eccentric.

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Jargon

- ❑ A set of vocabulary items used by members of particular professions
 - i.e. their technical terms
- ❑ Linguists have a large vocabulary that is not well understood by non-linguists
 - (ref. these lectures...)
- ❑ Other typical examples
 - Computer jargon
 - scroll bar, SCSI, short cut, spam...
 - Printers' jargon
 - NOR: slis, drittel, enke, horeunge...
- ❑ All professions have their own jargons
 - Farmer's jargon
 - Jargon of Fulani shepherds...

guddiri 'bull without a tail'

wudde 'cow without a tail'

jaabuye 'cow with a large navel'

lelwaaye 'cattle with eyes like a gazelle'

gerlaaye 'cattle that is like a bush-fowl'

happuye 'cow in milk after her calf has died'

mbutuye 'cow whose calf has been killed so that she may be fattened'

elliinge 'cattle with upright horns'

gajje 'cattle with horns twisted back' (also called mooro)

hippe 'cattle with horns drooping forward'

hogole 'cattle with horns almost meeting'


lettooye 'cattle with one horn up and the other drooping'

wijaaye 'cattle with horns drooping towards the ears'

tolle 'cow with one horn'

wumale 'cow without horns'

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Contextual variation – honorifics


Contextual variation: Variation within the individual

Honorifics and politeness in Korean

<input type="checkbox"/> Plain level you = nŏ <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Used by any speaker to any child; own younger sibling, child, or grandchild; daughter-in-law; intimate adult friends whose friendship began in childhood 	<input type="checkbox"/> Blunt level you = tangsin <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Authoritative connotations, gradually disappearing from daily usage • Sometimes used by a boss to subordinates or by an old generation husband to wife
<input type="checkbox"/> Intimate level you = chane <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Close friends whose friendship began in childhood or adolescence 	<input type="checkbox"/> Polite level you = kŭ-dae (obsolete), taek <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most popular level towards an adult, used by both males and females in daily conversations • Less formal than the deferential level.
<input type="checkbox"/> Familiar level you = chagi <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • E.g. male adult to adolescent (high school or college student); one's son-in-law; between close adult friends whose friendship began in adolescence 	<input type="checkbox"/> Deferential level you = ŏrŭsin (rare) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Used in formal situations such as news reports and public lectures





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Language policy

The language situation varies enormously from country to country
 We look here at two very contrasting countries

<input type="checkbox"/> Cameroon <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Languages: 280 <div style="display: flex; align-items: center;">   </div>	<input type="checkbox"/> Korea <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Languages: 1 <div style="display: flex; align-items: center;">   </div>
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A linguistic thought experiment



Imagine the following situation. You live in a small town called Speechville. Your mother tongue is **German**, and this language is spoken by your family and your closest neighbours. If you walk five minutes down the street, the language you hear around you is **Finnish**, and after another five minutes everybody speaks **Russian**. When you want to communicate with any of these Finns and Russians, you address them in the local lingua franca, which is **English**.

Imagine, furthermore, that **German**, **Finnish** and **Russian** are never used as written languages. All street signs in your town are written in **Japanese**, which is the official language of your country.

1. German	Germanic	Indo-European
2. Finnish	Finno-Ugric	Uralic
3. Russian	Slavic	Indo-European

When you were in school, the only language you were taught was **Japanese**. You had a teacher who had recently moved to your town from the southern part of the country. He could only speak two languages: **Italian**, which was his mother tongue, and **Japanese**, the official language.

When you started in school, you could only speak your mother tongue, **German**, and the local lingua franca, **English**, which you used when talking to your **Finnish** speaking playmates down the street. But the teacher addressed you and the other sixty-two children in the classroom in **Japanese** from the very first day.

4. English	Germanic	Indo-European
5. Japanese	Japanese	
6. Italian	Romance	Indo-European

The linguistic situation in Cameroon



- ❑ Galim, Adamawa Province
 - approx. 3,000 inhabitants




- ❑ A typical African village
 - 5–10 local languages
 - A local *lingua franca* (**Fula**)
 - A national language (**French**)
- ❑ Social-functional classification of these languages
 - LG 1: **Fula**
 - LG 2: **Hausa**
 - LG 3: **Nizaa, Vute, Kanuri, Mbum, Chamba**

1. Nizaa	Mambiloid	Niger-Congo
2. Hausa	Chadic	Afro-Asiatic
3. Chamba	Adamawa	Niger-Congo

4. Fula	Atlantic	Niger-Congo
5. French	Romance	Indo-European
6. Ewondo	Bantu	Niger-Congo

Patterns of multilingualism



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Fula spoken by everybody

- **Hausa** second lingua franca
 - The only L2 for the Fulani people

Social groups

- **SG 1 – Upper stratum: merchants**
 - High degree of intermarriage
 - Language(s) of this SG only
- **SG 2 – Other villagers**
 - Own languages and those of SG 1
 - Often other SG 2 languages
- **SG 3 – Nomadic Fulani**
 - On the fringe of village society
 - Own language only; low status


Ethnic groups	Languages			
	Fula	Hausa	Kanuri	Other
Sedentary Fulani	L1	L2		
Hausa	L2	L1		
Kanuri*	<L1>	L2	<L1>	
Nizaa, Vute, Mbum, Chamba	L2	L3		L1
Nomadic Fulani	L1			

1. Nizaa	Mambiloid	Niger-Congo
2. Hausa	Chadic	Afro-Asiatic
3. Chamba	Adamawa	Niger-Congo

4. Fula	Atlantic	Niger-Congo
5. French	Romance	Indo-European
6. Ewondo	Bantu	Niger-Congo

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Language policy in Cameroon and Africa



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Colonial language **French** adds a further complication

- Official language since WW1
- Limited use until recently
 - Schools, public offices
- Insufficiently understood to function as *lingua franca*
 - Only 13% have good grounding in French from school
- Will probably not replace **Fula** in Northern Cameroon
 - In Africa, the *lingua franca* tends to be an African language or a pidgin with a European language superstrate

“One language, one nation”

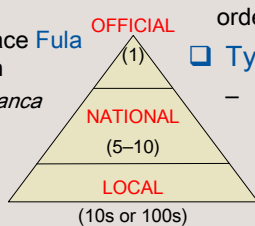
- A strictly European concept
 - No meaning in an African context

Cameroonian nationalism is non-linguistic

- Language regarded as a regional or “separatist” affair
- Language differences ignored in order to create national unity

Typical in most of Africa


- Usual language hierarchy
 - 1 official language
 - 5-10 national languages
 - 10s or 100s of local languages



A pyramid diagram illustrating the language hierarchy in Africa. The pyramid is divided into three horizontal layers. The top layer is labeled 'OFFICIAL' and contains '(1)'. The middle layer is labeled 'NATIONAL' and contains '(5-10)'. The bottom layer is labeled 'LOCAL' and contains '(10s or 100s)'. The word 'Fula' is written in blue above the top layer.

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The linguistic situation in Korea




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- Korean** spoken in North and South Korea
 - No linguistic minorities
 - Among the few monolingual states in the world
- 2 standard varieties**
 - Both regulated by national language policies
 - South Korea: Seoul dialect
 - North Korea: Pyongyang dialect
- 7 regional dialects**
 - Some not easily mutually intelligible

- High literary rates
- Own writing system (Han'gŭl)
 - Developed in 15th C on the initiative of King Sejong
 - Scientifically designed alphabet in which 2, 3 or 4 letters are “stacked” to create syllables
- E.g. ‘huchu’ (pepper)
 - H (ㅎ) + U (ㅓ) = 후
 - CH (ㅈ) + U (ㅓ) = 추
 - HU-CHU = 후+추 = 후추

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Summary of concepts: **Universals**



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- Absolute, statistical and implicational universals
- Lexicon and grammar
- Form and meaning
- Phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics
- Arbitrariness, motivation, iconicity
- Double articulation (duality of patterning)

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Summary of concepts: Typology




- Analytic vs. synthetic (polysynthetic)
- Agglutinative vs. fleective
- Word order (SOV, SVO, VSO, etc.)
- Head-first vs. head-last
- Left-branching vs. right-branching
- Verb-framed vs. satellite-framed

Summary of concepts: Language families



- Family trees and protolanguages
- The comparative method
- Regular sound change
- Regular sound correspondences
- Indo-European, Afro-Asiatic, Sino-Tibetan, Uralic


Summary of concepts: Language contact

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- Borrowing
- Code-switching
- Language shift and interference
- Language death
- Superstrate and substrate languages
- Pidgins and creoles
- Linguistic areas, Sprachbund

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Summary of concepts: Language variation

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- Linguistic item and language variety
- Language vs. dialect
- Dialect continuum
- Isogloss
- Abstand languages and Ausbau languages
- Standard languages
- Sociolect, slag, jargon
- Multilingualism and language policy

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Next week: Culture!

□ Further reading on language variation

- Michael E. Brown and Sumit Ganguly (eds.) 2003. *Fighting Words: Language Policy and Ethnic Relation in Asia*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press
- Fardon, Richard and Graham Furniss. 1994. *African languages, development and the state*. London: Routledge
- Ljung, Magnus. 2011. *Swearing. A cross-cultural linguistic study*. Basingstoke: Palgrave
- Trudgill, Peter. 2000. *Sociolinguistics: An introduction to language and society*. London : Penguin
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- Vickers, Caroline H. and Sharon K. Deckert. 2011. *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics: Society and Identity*. London: Continuum