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Thompson 340
Office Hours: Tuesdays 2:30 to 4:30

**Political Science 797LP
UMass Amherst
Thursdays, 4:00-6:30
Machmer E23
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THE LANGUAGE OF POLITICS

This semester we will examine three approaches to studying politics through language: Wittgenstein's and Austin's ordinary language analysis, Skinner's "recovery of intentions," and Foucault's genealogy. What these approaches share is a recognition that language is constitutive of social and political reality. This starting point opens up exciting possibilities for studying politics by way of language.

The main goals of this course are for you to (1) understand and critically assess the premises of each approach; (2) see how each approach has been used to study politics, broadly construed; (3) practice using the tools of each approach; and (4) put together and deploy what you have learned, perhaps in ways that the founders and/or practitioners of these approaches did not intend. The emphasis in this course will be on figuring out how to adapt and use these tools to answer empirical questions that you yourself find important.

Course logistics

A major goal of this course is for you to learn how to conduct research – and to do so thoughtfully – by adapting each of the three approaches to your own intellectual agendas. To achieve this goal, I have designed the course to have the following features:

User guides

Each seminar member will prepare (alone or in pairs – depending on course enrollment) a "user guide" for the week(s) you are responsible. You should use the week's readings to prepare the guide, which should have three parts:

1. Premises

- a. The major premises of this mode of analysis (in a few sentences).
- b. The two or three most fundamental questions that you have about these premises.

2. How-to

- a. step-by-step guide of how to do the analysis (in no more than 2 or 3 pages).
- b. The two or three most fundamental questions that you have about how to do this analysis.

3. Uses

- a. The major things that we can learn by using this mode of analysis (in a few sentences).
- b. The two or three most fundamental questions that you have about what we can learn by using this mode of analysis.

Please always use MS Word in preparing the user guides so that we can use its “track changes” feature. There are a total of 9 sessions for which a user guide needs to be prepared:

Whoever is responsible for weeks 2,4,6, or 9 will need to prepare the user guide from scratch.

Whoever is responsible for weeks 3,7,10,11, or 12 will revise a guide already prepared by your peers. Each revision you make to the user guide should use “track changes” so that the class can see what revisions you made to the original or previous revisions of the user guide. When distributing to the class, distribute print-outs showing the tracked changes.

Bring enough hard copies to class for everyone to have his or her own copy, and be prepared to make a 5- to 10-minute presentation of your guide to the class.

Also email a copy of the guide (in doc or docx format – not pdf) to the entire class by 9 pm the next day. If you wish, you may revise the guide based upon feedback you received during our class meeting, though you are not required to do so. If you do make changes, please use “track changes” so that the class can see what revisions you made.

Practice analyses

Each member of the class will prepare a practice analysis for each of three major approaches we will be studying, taking your general direction from the final version of the user guide prepared for that approach.

I ask that you choose one word, which you will focus upon in each of the three analyses (you need to focus on the same word in all three). The word need not be in English, nor do your

analyses of that word necessarily have to be historical. Please do not choose any of the words that we will be examining together during the course of the semester (democracy, liberty, freedom, the n-word, power, state, worker, sexuality).

Each analysis should be accompanied by a short (no more than one-page) statement discussing the extent to which you followed the “how-to” section of the user guide, and explaining the reasons for any departures that you chose to make from that section.

We will discuss in class your ordinary language analysis on week 5, your Skinnerian analysis on week 8, and your Foucauldian analysis on week 13. So that everyone in the class has an opportunity to read everyone else’s analyses, the analyses will be due a day or so before each of these three class meetings (we’ll decide together exactly when). Each analysis should be no more than 2,500 words long.

To encourage you to be bold, explore, and take chances, I will not grade these practice analyses, though you will receive feedback during our class sessions devoted to discussing them. You will have an opportunity to re-use (suitably revised) or build upon these analyses in your final paper.

Final paper

Your final paper should be no more than 8,000 words long (double spaced, please). You have three template options for the paper, which I list below. You may also propose a different option, but it will need my approval.

Option 1. Three Analyses + Commentary

In this option, you will revise each of your practice analyses and then provide a commentary on those analyses. The main theoretical question that I ask you to grapple with in this commentary is: “What are the relative strengths and weaknesses of each mode of analysis for understanding the word that you have analyzed?”

Option 2. Expanded Analysis

In this option, you will revise and expand one of the three practice analyses that you prepared. The main theoretical questions that I ask you to grapple with are: “What does this analysis teach us? What is the pay-off?”

Option 3. Core Concept Analysis

In this option, you will choose one of the core words that we have examined: “democracy” (as discussed in *Democracy in Translation*), “liberty” (as discussed in *Liberty Before Liberalism* and “Are Freedom and Liberty Twins”), or “power” (as discussed in *Discipline and Punish*) and then

conduct an analysis using one of the alternative approaches. Thus you might do some kind of genealogical analysis of democracy or an ordinary language analysis of power. The main theoretical question that I ask you to grapple with is: “What does each of the two analyses (the one Schaffer/Skinner/Pitkin/Foucault conducted on the one hand and the one you conduct on the other) reveal and obscure about the concept?” Note that if you choose “liberty” your only choice will be to do a genealogy, which you can contrast to either Skinner or Pitkin or both.

Course grade

Your grade will be calculated as follows: class participation (30%), user guide preparation (20%), final paper (50%). Note that the final paper will be penalized one third of a grade (for instance, A to A-) for each day, or portion of a day, late.

Required readings

Always be sure to bring the texts assigned for the given week with you to class, in either print or electronic form, because we will be examining them closely together.

Material marked with an asterisk [*] is available on the course website in Moodle. The books listed below are not available in the course website. I have placed one copy of each on reserve at the circulation/reserves desk of the library. *Discipline and Punish* and *Visions of Politics* are also readable in ebook form through the library website, though they are not printable or downloadable. All of the books are available at the Textbook Annex if you wish to purchase your own copies.

Austin, J. L. 1975. *How to Do Things with Words*, 2nd edition. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Foucault, Michel. [1969] 1972. *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. New York: Vintage.

Foucault, Michel. [1975] 1995. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, 2nd edition. New York: Vintage.

[http://fcaw.library.umass.edu/F/2KN8MSMNCVSGPKFJP7CXCQX6DE1C2UXUEIRIVAXY7JKISQALHE-00200?func=item-global&doc_library=FCL01&doc_number=011111978&year=&volume=&sub_library=UMDUB]

Pitkin, Hanna Fenichel. 1973. *Wittgenstein and Justice: On the Significance of Ludwig Wittgenstein for Social and Political Thought*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Schaffer, Frederic Charles. 1998. *Democracy in Translation: Understanding Politics in an Unfamiliar Culture*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Skinner, Quentin. 1998. *Liberty before Liberalism*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Skinner, Quentin. 2002. *Visions of Politics: Regarding Method* (Volume 1). New York: Cambridge University Press.

[http://fcaw.library.umass.edu/F/YQBCR4PXV6RLEGK96TTB5NPDV2SRGEQ92EH9Y6SYXUDFF77743-06508?func=item-global&doc_library=FCL01&doc_number=004341616&year=&volume=&sub_library=UMDUB]

Other resources

Here are a few tools, resources, and starting points that you may find helpful in locating a word for your practice analyses. They may also come in handy in conducting those analyses:

Online

Google Ngrams (<http://books.google.com/ngrams>); Ngram information (<http://books.google.com/ngrams/info>)

Lexicons of Early Modern English (via UMass Amherst Libraries Research Databases: <http://www.library.umass.edu/ndl/view/>)

Oxford English Dictionary (via UMass Amherst Libraries Research Databases: <http://www.library.umass.edu/ndl/view/>)

Eighteenth Century Collections Online (via UMass Amherst Libraries Research Databases: <http://www.library.umass.edu/ndl/view/>)

The Urban Dictionary (<http://www.urbandictionary.com/>)

Political Concepts: A Critical Lexicon (<http://www.politicalconcepts.org/>)

In print

Kay, Christian, et al. eds. 2009. *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Sparks, A. W. 1994. *Talking Politics: A Wordbook*. New York: Routledge.

Williams, Raymond. 1983. *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society, revised edition*. New York: Oxford University Press. [good for locating a word to analyze, but treat Williams' own analysis with great caution]

Bennett, Tony, Lawrence Grossberg, and Meaghan Morris, eds. 2005. *New Keywords: A Revised Vocabulary of Culture and Society*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell. [ditto]

The Dictionary of American Regional English, volumes I-VI. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

You may also get some ideas by looking over the supplemental bibliography attached to the end of the syllabus.

Class schedule

JANUARY 24 (WEEK 1). INTRODUCTION AND LOGISTICS

* Schaffer, Frederic Charles. 2013. "What is Elucidation?" draft chapter.

Please read over this syllabus too!

JANUARY 31 (WEEK 2). ORDINARY LANGUAGE ANALYSIS I: MEANING AS USE

* Wittgenstein, Ludwig. 1965. *The Blue and Brown Books*. New York: Harper, pages 17-20.

* Wittgenstein, Ludwig. 1972. *Philosophical Investigations*. New York: Macmillan, paragraphs 65-67, 531-532.

Wittgenstein and Justice, pages 1-115, 264-86.

Person/Group 1: "Ordinary language analysis I: meaning as use" user guide 1.0

FEBRUARY 7 (WEEK 3). THE MEANINGS OF FREEDOM AND LIBERTY, AND OF DEMOCRACY IN TRANSLATION

* Pitkin, Hanna Fenichel. 1988. "Are Freedom and Liberty Twins?" *Political Theory* 16,4, pages 523-52.

* Schaffer, Frederic Charles. 2006. "Ordinary Language Interviewing." In *Interpretation and Method: Empirical Research Methods and the Interpretive Turn* edited by Dvora Yanow and Peregrine Schwartz-Shea. Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, pages 150-60.

Democracy in Translation, pages ix-xii, 1-115, 139-46.

Person/Group 2: “Ordinary language analysis I: meaning as use” user guide 2.0

(If we had more time, we would also read Pitkin’s *The Concept of Representation* and my “Thin Descriptions: The Limits of Survey Research on the Meaning of Democracy,” available at: www.concepts-methods.org/Files/WorkingPaper/PC_45_Schaffer.pdf)

FEBRUARY 14 (WEEK 4). ORDINARY LANGUAGE ANALYSIS II: SPEAKING AS ACTING

* Wittgenstein, Ludwig. 1972. *Philosophical Investigations*. New York: Macmillan, paragraphs 11-12, 23-24.

How to Do Things with Words

* “Taliban Note Grounds Boston-Bound Plane,” *Yahoo News* December 1, 2005. [try to use Austin’s framework to think about this article]

* Kennedy, Randall. 2003. *Nigger: The Strange Career of a Troublesome Word*. New York: Vintage, pages 3-44. [again, try to use Austin’s framework to think about this chapter]

Person/Group 3: “Ordinary language analysis II: speaking as acting” user guide 1.0

(If we had more time, we would also read Judith Butler’s *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative*)

FEBRUARY 21 (WEEK 5). DISCUSSING YOUR PRACTICE ORDINARY LANGUAGE ANALYSES

Read the practice analyses of your peers

FEBRUARY 28 (WEEK 6). SKINNER’S METHODOLOGICAL WRITINGS: “THE RECOVERY OF INTENTIONS”

* Tully, James. 1988. “The Pen is a Mighty Sword: Quentin Skinner’s Analysis of Politics.” In *Meaning and Context: Quentin Skinner and his Critics* edited by James Tully. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pages 7-25.

Visions of Politics, chapters 4, 5, 6, 9.

Person/Group 4: “The Recovery of Intentions” user guide 1.0

(If we had more time, we would also read works by other members of or adherents to the “Cambridge School” of which Skinner was a founding member. Among them: J.G.A. Pocock, Terence Ball, John Dunn, James Farr, Russell Hanson, Anthony Pagden, Richard Tuck, and James Tully)

MARCH 7 (WEEK 7). SKINNER ON “LIBERTY”

Liberty before Liberalism

Person/Group 5: “The Recovery of Intentions” user guide 2.0

(If we had more time, we would read any number of other studies by Skinner - some of which can be found in the other two volumes of *Visions of Politics*, also available electronically through the library website)

MARCH 14 (WEEK 8). DISCUSSING YOUR PRACTICE SKINNERIAN RECOVERIES

Read the practice analyses of your peers

MARCH 21. NO CLASS. SPRING BREAK

MARCH 28 (WEEK 9). FOUCAULT’S ARCHAEOLOGY (ON OUR WAY TO GENEALOGY)

* Veyne, Paul. 2010. *Foucault: His Thought, His Character*. New York: Polity, pages 54-58.

Archaeology of Knowledge, pages 1-211.

Person/Group 6: “Foucauldian archaeology/genealogy” user guide 1.0

(In this book, Foucault explains his archaeological method. If we had more time, we would also read Foucault actually doing archaeology – in books such as *The History of Madness*, *The Birth of the Clinic*, and *The Order of Things*)

APRIL 4 (WEEK 10). FOUCAULT'S GENEALOGY

- * Bevir, Mark. 2008. "What is Genealogy?" *Journal of the Philosophy of History* 2, pages 263-75.
- * Foucault, Michel. [1971] 1977. "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History." In *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews* edited by D. F. Bouchard. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, pages 139-64.
- * Foucault, Michel. [1976] 1980. "Two Lectures," In *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-77*. New York: Pantheon, pages 78-108.
- * Foucault, Michel. [1969] 1994. "What is an Author?" In *The Essential Foucault* edited by Paul Rabinow and Nikolas Rose. New York: New Press, pages 377-91.
- * Davidson, Arnold I. 2001. "Foucault and the Analysis of Concepts." In *The Emergence of Sexuality: Historical Epistemology and the Formation of Concepts*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, pages 178-91.

Person/Group 7: "Foucauldian archaeology/genealogy" user guide 2.0

APRIL 11 (WEEK 11). FOUCAULT'S GENEALOGY OF POWER

Discipline and Punish

Person/Group 8: "Foucauldian archaeology/genealogy" user guide 3.0

APRIL 18 (WEEK 12). FOUCAUDIAN STUDIES OF WORK, SEXUALITY, AND THE STATE

- * Scott, Joan Wallach. 1999. "A Statistical Representation of Work: *La Statistique de l'industrie à Paris, 1847 - 1848*." In *Gender and the Politics of History*, revised edition. New York: Columbia University Press, pages 113-38.
- * Davidson, Arnold I. 2001. "Sex and the Emergence of Sexuality." In *The Emergence of Sexuality: Historical Epistemology and the Formation of Concepts*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, pages 30-65.
- * Mitchell, Timothy. 1991. "The Limits of the State: Beyond Statist Approaches and Their Critics." *American Political Science Review* 85,1, pages 77-96.

Person/Group 9: "Foucauldian archaeology/genealogy" user guide 4.0

APRIL 25 (WEEK 13). DISCUSSING YOUR PRACTICE GENEALOGIES

Read the practice analyses of your peers

MAY 7. FINAL PAPER DUE

Email me an electronic copy and put a hard copy in my department mailbox by 2 pm.

Postscript

This semester we are examining three particularly generative approaches to studying politics through language, but there are other valuable approaches. If we had a few more weeks I would also include:

Bourdieu's Reflexive Sociology

Bourdieu, Pierre, and Loïc J.D. Wacquant. 1992. *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1979. "Public Opinion Does not Exist." In *Communication and Class Struggle, Volume 1, Capitalism, Imperialism* edited by Armand Mattelart and Seth Sieglau. New York: International General.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1990. "The Uses of 'People.'" In *In Other Words: Essays Towards a Reflexive Sociology*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1993. "Youth is Just a Word." In *Sociology in Question*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Oren, Ido. 2006. "Political Science as History: A Reflexive Approach." In *Interpretation and Method: Empirical Research Methods and the Interpretive Turn* edited by Dvora Yanow and Peregrine Schwartz-Shea. Armonk: M.E. Sharpe.

German *Begriffsgeschichte*

Koselleck, Reinhart. 1979. *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Koselleck, Reinhart. 2002. *The Practice of Conceptual History*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Koselleck, Reinhart. 2006. "Crisis." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 67,2 (April), pages 357-400.

Richter, Melvin. 1995. *The History of Political and Social Concepts: A Critical Introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Hampshire-Monk, Iain, Karin Tilmans, and Frank van Vree, eds. 1998. *History of Concepts: Comparative Perspectives*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Also noteworthy is a Spanish-language project inspired by *Begriffsgeschichte* (I haven't found anything written in English):

Fernández Sebastián, Javier and Juan Francisco Fuentes, eds. 2002. *Diccionario político y social del siglo XIX español*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial.

Fernández Sebastián, Javier and Juan Francisco Fuentes, eds. 2008. *Diccionario político y social del siglo XX español*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial.

Fernández Sebastián, ed. 2009. *Diccionario político y social del mundo iberoamericano "La era de las revoluciones, 1750-1850"*. Madrid: CEPC.

A helpful website: <http://www.historiaintelectual.net/>

Whorf's Linguistic Relativity

Whorf, Benjamin Lee. 1956. *Language, Thought, and Reality*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Laitin, David D. 1977. *Politics, Language, and Thought: The Somali Experience*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Cohen, Raymond. 2000. "Meaning, Interpretation and International Negotiation." *Global Society* 14,3, pages 317-35.

Cameron, Deborah. 1999. "Linguistic Relativity: Benjamin Lee Whorf and the Return of the Repressed." *Critical Quarterly* 41,2, pages 153-56.

On still other ways of studying the language of politics (including additional references for the above approaches) see the supplemental bibliography below.

Frederic C. Schaffer
“Language of Politics” Supplemental Bibliography

Updated 1-27-13

What is Language? What is Political Language?

- Dallmayer, Fred. 1984. *Language and Politics: Why Does Language Matter to Political Philosophy?* Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Everett, Daniel L. 2012. *Language: The Cultural Tool*. New York: Pantheon.
- Parkin, David. 1984. “Political Language.” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 13: 345-65.
- Pinker, Steven. 1994. *The Language Instinct*. New York: W. Morrow.
- Trask, R. L. 1995. *Language: The Basics*. New York: Routledge.
- Wardhaugh, Ronald. 1993. *Investigating Language: Central Problems in Linguistics*. Cambridge: Blackwell.
- Wittgenstein, Ludwig. 1958. *Philosophical Investigations*, 3rd ed. Translated by G.E.M. Ascombe. New York: Macmillan.
- Yule, George. 1996. *The Study of Language*, 2nd ed. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Writing and Political Organization

- Bloch, Maurice. 1975. *Political Language and Oratory in Traditional Society*. London: Academic Press.
- Cole, Michael, and Sylvia Scribner. 1981. *The Psychology of Literacy*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Cross, Frank Moore. 1992. “How the Alphabet Democratized Civilization.” *Bible Review* 6 (December).
- Furet, Francois, and Jacques Ozouf. 1982. *Literacy in France from Calvin to Jules Ferry*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Goody, Jack. 1986. *The Logic of Writing and the Organization of Society*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- _____. 1987. *The Interface Between the Written and the Oral*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McKenzie, D.F. 1985. *Oral Culture, Literacy and Print in Early New Zealand: The Treaty of Waitangi*. Victoria University Press.
- Ong, Walter J. 1982. *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word*. London: Routledge.
- Zaret, David. 1994. “Literacy and Printing in the Rise of Democratic Political Culture in Seventeenth-Century England.” In *Political Culture and Political Structure: Theoretical and Empirical Studies*, edited by Frederick D. Weil. Greenwich, CT: Jai.

Speaking as a Form of (Political) Action

- Altman, Andrew. 1993. “Liberalism and Campus Hate Speech: A Philosophical Examination.” *Ethics* 103,2: 302-317.
- Arendt, Hannah. 1958. *The Human Condition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Asim, Jabari. 2007. *The N Word: Who Can Say It, Who Shouldn't, and Why*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Beeman, William O. 1986. *Language, Status, and Power in Iran*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Bernstein, Richard J. 1971. *Praxis and Action: Contemporary Philosophies of Human Activity*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1991. “Authorized Language: The Social Conditions for the Effectiveness of Ritual Discourse.” *Language and Symbolic Power*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Bowles, Samuel and Herbert Gintis. 1987. “Community: Language, Solidarity, and Power.” In *Democracy & Capitalism: Property, Community, and the Contradictions of Modern Social Thought*. New York: Basic.
- Brenneis, Donald. 1980. “Fighting Words.” In *Not Work Alone: A Cross-Cultural View of Activities Superfluous to Survival*, edited by Jeremy Cherfas and Roger Lewin. Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Butler, Judith. 1997. *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative*. New York: Routledge.

- Duranti, Alessandro. 1994. *From Grammar to Politics: Linguistic Anthropology in a Western Samoan Village*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- _____. 2004. "Agency in Language." In *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology*, edited by Alessandro Duranti. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Finnegan, Ruth. 2007. *The Oral and Beyond: Doing Things with Words in Africa*. University of Chicago Press.
- Frake, C. O. 1972. "How to Ask for a Drink in Subanun." In *Language and Social Context: Selected Readings*, edited by Pier Paolo Giglioli. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Henderson, Anita. 2003. "What's in a Slur?" *American Speech* 78,1: 52-74.
- Maitra, Ishani, and Mary Kate McGowan. 2012. *Speech & Harm: Controversies Over Free Speech*. New York: Oxford.
- Merlan, Francesca, and Alan Rumsey. 1991. *Ku Waru: Language and Segmentary Politics in the Western Nebilyer Valley, Papua New Guinea*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mills, C. Wright. 1984. "Situated Actions and Vocabularies of Motive." In *Language and Politics*, edited by Michael J. Shapiro. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Pocock, J.G.A. 1973. "Verbalization as a Political Act." *Political Theory* 1 (February).
- Ross, Stephanie. 1981. "How Words Hurt: Attitude, Metaphor, and Oppression." In *Sexist Language: A Modern Philosophical Analysis*, edited by Mary Vetterling-Braggin. Littlefield, Adams.
- Searle, John R. 1969. *Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Shuy, Roger W. 1993. *Language Crimes: The Use and Abuse of Language Evidence in the Courtroom*. Cambridge: Blackwell.
- Tambiah, S.J. 1968. "The Magical Power of Words." *MAN NS* 3,2: 175-208.

Diglossia, Codeswitching, and the Politics of Language/Register Choice

- Bamiro, Edmund O. 2006. "The politics of code-switching: English vs. Nigerian languages." *World Englishes* 25,1: 23-35.
- Baron, Dennis. 2000. "Ebonics and the Politics of English." *World Englishes* 19,1" 5-19.
- Beck, Rose Marie. 2006. "We Speak Otjijhero but We Write in English - Disempowerment Through Language Use in Participatory Extension Work." In *Along the Routes to Power: Explorations of Empowerment Through Language*, edited by Martin Pütz, Joshua A. Fishman, and JoAnne Neff-van Aertselaer. New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Blom, J.P., and J.J. Gumperz. 1972. "Social Meaning in Structure: Code-Switching in Norway." In *Directions in Sociolinguistics*, edited by J.J. Gumperz and D. Hymes. New York: Holt, Rinehart, Winston.
- De Fina, Anna. "Code-switching and the Construction of Ethnic Identity in a Community of Practice." *Language in Society* 36: 371-92.
- Dua, Hans R. 1993. "The National Language and the ex-Colonial Language as Rivals: The Case of India." *International Political Science Review* 14,3 (July): 293-308.
- Eckert, Penelope. 1980. "Diglossia: Separate and Unequal." *Linguistics* 18,11/12:1053-1064.
- Ferguson, C.A. 1972. "Diglossia." In *Language and Social Context: Selected Readings*, edited by Pier Paolo Giglioli. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Gal, Susan. 1987. "Codeswitching and Consciousness in the European Periphery." *American Ethnologist* 14,4 (November): 637-53.
- _____. 1988. "The Political Economy of Code Choice." In *Codeswitching: Anthropological and Sociolinguistic Perspectives* edited by Monica Heller. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Gardner-Chloros, Penelope. 1991. *Language Selection and Switching in Strasbourg*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Heller, Moncia. 1992. "The Politics of Codeswitching and Language Choice." In *Codeswitching*, edited by Carol M. Eastman. Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters.
- _____. 1995. "Codeswitching and the Politics of Language." In *One Speaker, Two Languages: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives on Codeswitching*, edited by Lesley Milroy and Pieter Muysken. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- _____. 1998. "Strategic Ambiguity: Codeswitching in the Management of Conflict." In *Codeswitching: Anthropological and Sociolinguistic Perspectives* edited by Monica Heller. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Laitin, David D. 1988. "Language Games." *Comparative Politics* 20,3 (April): 289-302.
- _____. 1989. "Linguistic Revival: Politics and Culture in Catalonia." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31,2 (April): 297-317.
- _____. 1992. *Language Repertoires and State Construction in Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- _____. 1993. "The Game Theory of Language Regimes." *International Political Science Review* 14,3 (July): 227-39.
- _____. 1994. "The Tower of Babel as a Coordination Game: Political Linguistics in Ghana." *American Political Science Review* 88,3 (September): 622-34.
- Laitin, David D., Carlota Solé, and Stathis N. Kalyvas. 1994. "Language and the Construction of States: The Case of Catalonia in Spain." *Politics and Society* 22,1 (March): 5-29.
- Rosina Lippi-Green. 1997. *English with an Accent: Language, Ideology, and Discrimination in the United States*. New York: Routledge.
- Martin-Jones, Marilyn. 1989. "Language, Power, and Linguistic Minorities: The Need for an Alternative Approach to Bilingualism, Language Maintenance, and Shift." In *Social Anthropology and the Politics of Language*, edited by Ralph Grillo. New York: Routledge.
- Matiki, Alfred J. 2001. "The Social Significance of English in Malawi." *World Englishes* 20,2: 201-18.
- Mazrui, Alamin M., and Ali A. Mazrui. 1993. "Dominant Languages in a Plural Society: English and Kiswahili in Post-Colonial East Africa." *International Political Science Review* 14,3 (July): 275-92.
- Myers-Scotton, Carol. 1993. *Social Motivation for Code-Switching: Evidence from Africa*. New York: Clarendon.
- _____. 1990. "Elite Closure as Boundary Maintenance: The Case of Africa." In *Language Policy and Political Development* edited by Brian Weinstein. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- _____. 1999. "Explaining the role of norms and rationality in codeswitching." *Journal of Pragmatics* 32: 1259-1271.
- _____. 2006. "How Codeswitching as an Available Option Empowers Bilinguals." In *Along the Routes to Power: Explorations of Empowerment Through Language*, edited by Martin Pütz, Joshua A. Fishman, and JoAnne Neff-van Aertselaer. New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Pool, Jonathan. 1990. "Language Regimes and Political Regimes." In *Language Policy and Political Development*, edited by Brian Weinstein. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
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If You Read French

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