LANGUAGE AND MIGRATION
Critical Concepts in Linguistics

Series editor: Carlos P. Otero

Other titles in this series:

Bilingualism and Multilingualism
Edited and with a new introduction by Li Wei
4-volume set

Clinical Linguistics
Edited and with a new introduction by Thomas W. Powell
and Martin J. Ball
4-volume set

Comparative Grammar
Edited and with a new introduction by Ian Roberts
6-volume set

Computer Assisted Language Learning
Edited and with a new introduction by Philip Hubbard
4-volume set

Corpus Linguistics
Edited and with a new introduction by Wolfgang Teubert
and Ramesh Krishnamurthy
6-volume set

Critical Discourse Analysis
Edited and with a new introduction by Michael Toolan
4-volume set

Educational Linguistics
Edited and with a new introduction by Nancy Hornberger
6-volume set

Endangered Languages
Edited and with a new introduction by Peter Austin
4-volume set
English for Academic Purposes
Edited and with a new introduction by Helen Basturkmen
4-volume set

Historical Linguistics
Edited and with a new introduction by Hope C. Dawson
and Brian D. Joseph
6-volume set

History of the English Language
Edited and with a new introduction by Elly van Gelderen
4-volume set

Japanese Linguistics
Edited and with a new introduction by Natsuko Tsujimura
3-volume set

Language Acquisition
Edited and with a new introduction by Charles Yang
4-volume set

Language Evolution
Edited and with a new introduction by W. Tecumseh Fitch
and Gesche Westphal Fitch
4-volume set

Language Isolates
Edited and with a new introduction by Stefan Georg
4-volume set

Language and the Media
Edited and with a new introduction by Helen Kelly-Holmes
4-volume set

Language Policy and Planning
Edited and with a new introduction by Thomas Ricento
4-volume set

Language Testing and Assessment
Edited and with a new introduction by Antony John Kunnan
4-volume set

Language Variation and Change
Edited and with a new introduction by Robert Bayley
and Richard Cameron
5-volume set
Lexicography
Edited and with a new introduction by Reinhard Hartmann
3-volume set

Lexicology
Edited and with a new introduction by Patrick Hanks
6-volume set

Metaphor
Edited and with a new introduction by Patrick Hanks
6-volume set

Morphology
Edited and with a new introduction by Francis Katamba
6-volume set

Phonology
Edited and with a new introduction by Charles W. Kreidler
6-volume set

Pragmatics
Edited and with a new introduction by Asa Kasher
6-volume set

Pragmatics II
Edited and with a new introduction by Asa Kasher
5-volume set

Second Language Acquisition
Edited and with a new introduction by Lourdes Ortega
6-volume set

Semantics
Edited and with a new introduction by Javier Gutiérrez-Rexach
6-volume set

Sociolinguistics
Edited and with a new introduction by Nikolas Coupland and Adam Jaworski
6-volume set

Syntax
Edited and with a new introduction by Robert Freidin and Howard Lasnik
6-volume set
Systemic Functional Linguistics
Edited and with a new introduction by James Martin and Yaegan Doran
5-volume set

Translation Studies
Edited and with a new introduction by Mona Baker
4-volume set

World Englishes
Edited and with a new introduction by Kingsley Bolton and Braj B. Kachru
6-volume set

Writing Systems
Edited and with a new introduction by Christopher Moseley
4-volume set

Vocabulary
Edited and with a new introduction by Stuart Webb
4-volume set

Forthcoming:

Applied Linguistics
Edited and with a new introduction by Jeff Connor-Linton
6-volume set

Biolinguistics
Edited and with a new introduction by Anna Maria Di Sciullo
4-volume set

Internet Linguistics
Edited and with a new introduction by Susan C. Herring
4-volume set

Multimodality
Edited and with a new introduction by Sigrid Norris
4-volume set

Pidgins and Creoles
Edited and with a new introduction by Bettina Migge and Joseph Farquharson
4-volume set
Sino-Tibetan Linguistics
Edited and with a new introduction by Randy LaPolla
4-volume set

Transeurasian Linguistics
Edited and with a new introduction by Martine Robbeets
4-volume set
LANGUAGE AND MIGRATION

Critical Concepts in Linguistics

Edited by
Ingrid Piller

Volume I
CONTENTS

VOLUME I

Acknowledgements xix
Chronological table of reprinted articles and chapters xxi

Introduction 1
INGRID PILLER

1 Homo sapiens populates the earth: a provisional synthesis, privileging linguistic evidence 21
PATRICK MANNING

2 Early agriculturalist population diasporas? Farming, languages, and genes 59
PETER BELLWOOD

3 The origin of the Na-Dene 87
MERRITT RUHLEN

4 Language classification, language contact, and Amazonian prehistory 93
PATIENCE EPPS

5 Origins of linguistic diversity in the Aleutian Islands 119
ANNA BERGE

6 Contact and the history of Germanic languages 145
PAUL ROBERGE
CONTENTS

7 Migration and linguistics as illustrated by Yiddish
   ROBERT D. KING 171

8 How people moved among ancient societies:
   broadening the view
   CATHERINE M. CAMERON 188

9 Against Creole exceptionalism
   MICHEL DEGRAFF 212

10 Urbanism, migration, and language
    JOSEPH H. GREENBERG 236

11 Reflections on the history and historiography of the
   nomad empires of central Eurasia
   DENIS SINOR 246

12 Multilingualism in Greater China and the Chinese
   language diaspora
   SHERMAN LEE AND DAVID C. S. LI 258

13 Migration and cultural interaction across the centuries:
   German history in a European perspective
   DIRK HOERDER 290

14 Historical demography and historical sociolinguistics:
   the role of migrant integration in the development of
   Dunkirk French in the 17th century
   REMCO KNOOIHUIZEN AND DAN DEDIU 307

15 Mobility, social networks and language change in
   early modern England
   TERTTU NEVALAINEN 338

16 Language, migration, and urbanization: the case
   of Bethlehem
   MUHAMMAD AMARA 349

17 Creolized Chinese societies in Southeast Asia
   G. WILLIAM SKINNER 366
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Article Number</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Bloody language: clashes and constructions of linguistic nationalism in India</td>
<td>404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. ANEESH</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Urdu as an African language: a survey of a source literature</td>
<td>429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NILE GREEN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Racializing language: a history of linguistic ideologies in the US Census</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JENNIFER LEEMAN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>‘We have room for but one language here’: language and national identity in the US at the turn of the 20th century</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANETA PAVLENKO</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Language testing and citizenship: a language ideological debate in Sweden</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOMMASO M. MILANI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Testing the claims of asylum seekers: the role of language analysis</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIANA EADES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Language, asylum, and the national order</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JAN BLOMMAERT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Practices of translation and the making of migrant subjectivities in contemporary Italy</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRISTIANA GIORDANO</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Latina mothers and small-town racisms: creating narratives of dignity and moral education in North Carolina</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOFIA VILLENAS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>“I’m tired. You clean and cook.” Shifting gender identities and second language socialization</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DARYL GORDON</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Authors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>‘Like the fish not in water’: how language and race mediate the social and economic inclusion of women migrants to Australia</td>
<td>DONNA BUTORAC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Individual grassroots multilingualism in Africa Town in Guangzhou: the role of states in globalization</td>
<td>HUAMEI HAN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Repertoires, characters and scenes: sociolinguistic difference in Turkish-German comedy</td>
<td>JANNIS ANDROUTSOPoulos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Language ideology and identity in transnational space: globalization, migration, and bilingualism among Korean families in the USA</td>
<td>JUYOUNG SONG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Cultural encounters in the social sciences and humanities: western émigré scholars in Turkey</td>
<td>MURAT ERGIN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>A 16-year longitudinal study of language attrition in Dutch immigrants in Australia</td>
<td>Kees De Bot and Michael Clyne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Identity and first language attrition: a historical approach</td>
<td>Monika S. Schmid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Multilingualism and later life: a sociolinguistic perspective on age and aging</td>
<td>DAVID DIVITA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Returned migration, language, and identity: Puerto Rican bilinguals in dos mundos/two mundos</td>
<td>ANA CELIA ZENTELLA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Transnational perspectives on sociolinguistic capital among Luso-Descendants in France and Portugal</td>
<td>MICHELLE KOVEN</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
38 Language maintenance and language loss in marginalized communities: the case of the *bateyes* in the Dominican Republic 435
SILKE JANSEN

39 From Moravia to Texas: immigrant acculturation at the cemetery 457
EVA ECKERT

VOLUME III

Acknowledgements ix

40 Linguistic and religious pluralism: between difference and inequality 1
ROGERS BRUBAKER

41 The endogeneity between language and earnings: international analyses 32
BARRY R. CHISWICK AND PAUL W. MILLER

42 ‘Survival employment’: gender and deskilling among African immigrants in Canada 75
GILLIAN CREEESE AND BRANDY WIEBE

43 The gatekeeping of Babel: job interviews and the linguistic penalty 100
CELIA ROBERTS

44 Language, employment, and settlement: temporary meat workers in Australia 112
INGRID PILLER AND LOY LISING

45 Deskilling and delanguaging African migrants in Barcelona: pathways of labour market incorporation and the value of ‘global’ English 133
MARIA ROSA GARRIDO AND EVA CODÓ

46 Language policy in practice: re-bordering the nation 153
MARIETTA L. BABA AND CARLA DAHL-JØRGENSEN
CONTENTS

47 Language acquisition, unemployment and depressive disorder among Southeast Asian refugees: a 10-year study
MORTON BEISER AND FENG HOU

48 “I feel I am a bird without wings”: discourses of sadness and loss among East Africans in Western Australia
FARIDA TILBURY

49 What multilingualism? Agency and unintended consequences of multilingual practices in a Barcelona health clinic
MELISSA G. MOYER

50 Regimenting discourse, controlling bodies: disinformation, evaluation and moral categorization in a state bureaucratic agency
EVA CODÓ

51 Negotiating entitlement to language: calling 911 without English
CHASE WESLEY RAYMOND

52 Migrants’ social networks and weak ties: accessing resources and constructing relationships post-migration
LOUISE RYAN

53 The relational contexts of migration: Mexican women in new destination sites
JOANNA DREBY AND LEAH SCHMALZBAUER

54 Local actors in promoting multilingualism
BRIGITTA BUSCH

55 Minority workers or minority human beings? A European dilemma
TOVE SKUTNABB-KANGAS AND ROBERT PHILLIPSON

56 Australian experiences: multiculturalism, language policy and national ethos
JOSEPH LO BIANCO
CONTENTS

57 Linguistic human rights and mobility 395
LIONEL WEE

58 Linguistic and cultural diversity in Europe: a challenge for educational research and practice 1
INGRID GOGOLIN

59 Migrations and schooling 16
MARCELO M. SUÁREZ-OROZCO, TASHA DARBES, SANDRA ISABEL DIAS AND MATT SUTIN

60 Semilingualism: a half-baked theory of communicative competence 37
MARILYN MARTIN-JONES AND SUZANNE ROMAINE

61 Migration, sociolinguistic scale, and educational reproduction 52
JAMES COLLINS

62 Segmented assimilation, transnationalism, and educational attainment of Brazilian migrant children in Japan 79
HIROHISA TAKENOSHITA, YOSHIKI CHITOSE, SHIGEHIRO IKEGAMI AND EUNICE AKEMI ISHIKAWA

63 The education of immigrant youth: some lessons from the U.S. and Spain 99
MARGARET A. GIBSON AND SILVIA CARRASCO

64 Children of the harvest: the schooling of dust bowl and Mexican migrants during the depression era 111
PAUL THEOBALD AND RUBEN DONATO

65 The long-term impact of subtractive schooling in the educational experiences of secondary English language learners 126
KATE MENKEN AND TATYANA KLEYN

Acknowledgements ix

xv
CONTENTS

66 Silencing bilingualism: a day in a life of a bilingual practitioner 148
LEENA H. ROBERTSON, ROSE DRURY AND CARRIE CABLE

67 Language programs at Villababel High: rethinking ideologies of social inclusion 165
LAURA MIJARES AND ANA M. RELAÑO PASTOR

68 “What we might become”: the lives, aspirations, and education of young migrants in the London area 184
MELANIE COOKE

69 Assigned to the margins: teachers for minority and immigrant communities in Japan 202
JUNE A. GORDON

70 Linguistic capital and the linguistic field for teachers unaccustomed to linguistic difference 218
NAOMI FLYNN

71 Becoming “local” in ESL: racism as resource in a Hawai‘i public high school 235
STEVEN TALMY

72 Achievement of immigrant students in mathematics and academic Hebrew in Israeli school: a large-scale evaluation study 261
TAMAR LEVIN AND ELANA SHOHAMY

73 Migrants’ educational success through innovation: the case of the Hamburg bilingual schools 287
JOANA DUARTE

74 Language ideologies in educational migration: Korean jogi yuhak families in Singapore 304
JOSEPH SUNG-YUL PARK AND SOHEE BAE

75 Reconstructing moral identities in memories of childhood language brokering experiences 324
ELAINE BAUER
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>76</th>
<th>The long-term effects of bilingualism on children of immigration: student bilingualism and future earnings</th>
<th>341</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ORHAN AGIRDAG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>77</th>
<th>Bilingualism and status attainment among Latinos</th>
<th>359</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>JENNIFER C. LEE AND SARAH J. HATTEBERG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Index

393
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The publishers would like to thank the following for permission to reprint their material:


ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS


Disclaimer

The publishers have made every effort to contact authors/copyright holders of works reprinted in Language and Migration (Critical Concepts in Linguistics). This has not been possible in every case, however, and we would welcome correspondence from those individuals/companies whom we have been unable to trace.
## Chronological table of reprinted articles and chapters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Article/chapter</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Vol.</th>
<th>Chap.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>Marilyn Martin-Jones and Suzanne Romaine</td>
<td>Semilingualism: a half-baked theory of communicative competence</td>
<td><em>Applied Linguistics</em>, 7:1, 26–38</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Paul Theobald and Ruben Donato</td>
<td>Children of the harvest: the schooling of dust bowl and Mexican migrants during the depression era</td>
<td><em>Peabody Journal of Education</em>, 67:4, 29–45</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>Robert D. King</td>
<td>Migration and linguistics as illustrated by Yiddish</td>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Chronological table continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Article/chapter</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Vol.</th>
<th>Chap.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Morton Beiser and Feng Hou</td>
<td>Language acquisition, unemployment and depressive disorder among Southeast Asian refugees: a 10-year study</td>
<td><em>Social Science and Medicine</em>, 53, 1321–1334</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Peter Bellwood</td>
<td>Early agriculturalist population diasporas? Farming, languages, and genes</td>
<td><em>Annual Review of Anthropology</em>, 30:1, 181–207</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Aneta Pavlenko</td>
<td>‘We have room for but one language here’: language and national identity in the US at the turn of the 20th century</td>
<td><em>Multilingua</em>, 21:2/3, 163–196</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>Michel DeGraff</td>
<td>Against Creole exceptionalism</td>
<td><em>Language</em>, 79:2, 391–410</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Journal/Proceedings</td>
<td>Page</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Denis Sinor</td>
<td>Reflections on the history and historiography of the nomad empires of central Eurasia</td>
<td><em>Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</em>, 58:1, 3–14</td>
<td>I 11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Patrick Manning</td>
<td><em>Homo sapiens</em> populates the earth: a provisional synthesis, privileging linguistic evidence</td>
<td><em>Journal of World History</em>, 17:2, 115–158</td>
<td>I 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Melanie Cooke</td>
<td>“What we might become”: the lives, aspirations, and education of young migrants in the London area</td>
<td><em>Journal of Language, Identity &amp; Education</em>, 7:1, 22–40</td>
<td>IV 68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Dirk Hoerder</td>
<td>Migration and cultural interaction across the centuries: German history in a European perspective</td>
<td><em>German Politics and Society</em>, 87:26, 1–23</td>
<td>I 13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Article/chapter</td>
<td>Source</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Tamar Levin and Elana Shohamy</td>
<td>Achievement of immigrant students in mathematics and academic Hebrew in Israeli school: a large-scale evaluation study</td>
<td>Studies in Educational Evaluation, 34, 1-14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Tommaso M. Milioni</td>
<td>Language testing and citizenship; a language ideological debate in Sweden</td>
<td>Language in Society, 37, 1, 27-59</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Jan Blondmaert and Brigitte Bien</td>
<td>Language, asylum, and the national order Local actors in promoting multilingualism</td>
<td>Current Anthropology, 50, 4, 415-441</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Jan Blondmaert and Brigitte Bien</td>
<td>Language, asylum, and the national order Local actors in promoting multilingualism</td>
<td>Current Anthropology, 50, 4, 415-441</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Diana Eades</td>
<td>Testing the claims of asylum seekers: the role of language analysis</td>
<td>Language and Linguistics Compass, 3, 2, 581-606</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Patience Epps</td>
<td>Language classification, language contact, and Amazonian prehistory</td>
<td>History of the Human Sciences, 22, 1, 105-130</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Murtu Ergin</td>
<td>Cultural encounters in the social sciences and humanities: western émigré scholars in Turkey</td>
<td>Language Assessment Quarterly, 61, 30-40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Margaret A. Gibson and Silvia Carrasco</td>
<td>The education of immigrant youth: some lessons from the U.S. and Spain</td>
<td>Theory Into Practice, 48, 4, 249-257</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>A. Aneesh</td>
<td>Bloody language: clashes and constructions of linguistic nationalism in India</td>
<td>Sociological Forum, 25, 1, 86-109</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>Anna Berge</td>
<td>Origins of linguistic diversity in the Aleutian Islands</td>
<td>Human Biology, 82, 5, 555-581</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chronological table continued
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Authors</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Journal</th>
<th>Volume</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>Kate Menken and Tatyana Kleyn</td>
<td>The long-term impact of subtractive schooling in the educational experiences of secondary English language learners</td>
<td><em>International Journal of Bilingual Education &amp; Bilingualism</em>, 13:4, 399–417</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>Steven Talmy</td>
<td>Becoming “local” in ESL: racism as resource in a Hawai‘i public high school</td>
<td><em>Journal of Language, Identity &amp; Education</em>, 9:1, 36–57</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>Eva Codó</td>
<td>Regimenting discourse, controlling bodies: disinformation, evaluation and moral categorization in a state bureaucratic agency</td>
<td><em>Discourse &amp; Society</em>, 22:6, 723–742</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>Article/Chapter</td>
<td>Source</td>
<td>Vol.</td>
<td>Chap.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco, Tasha Darbes, Sandra Isabel Dias and Matt Sutin</td>
<td>Migrations and schooling</td>
<td>Annual Review of Anthropology, 40, 311–328</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>Jannis Androutsopoulos</td>
<td>Repertoires, characters and scenes: sociolinguistic difference in Turkish-German comedy</td>
<td>Multilingua, 31:2-3, 301–326</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>James Collins</td>
<td>Migration, sociolinguistic scale, and educational reproduction</td>
<td>Anthropology &amp; Education Quarterly, 43:2, 192–213</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>Remco Knooijzen and Dan Dediu</td>
<td>Historical demography and historical sociolinguistics: the role of immigrant integration in the development of Dunkirk French in the 17th century</td>
<td>Language Dynamics and Change, 2:1, 1–33</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>Marietta L. Baba and Carla Dahl-Jørgensen</td>
<td>Language policy in practice: re-bordering the nation</td>
<td>International Migration, 51:2, 60–76</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2013 Elaine Bauer  Reconstructing moral identities in memories of childhood language brokering experiences  *International Migration*, 51:5, 205–218 IV 75

2013 Catherine M. Cameron Joanna Dreby and Leah Schmalzbauer  How people moved among ancient societies: broadening the view  *American Anthropologist*, 115:2, 218–231 I 8

2013 Naomi Flynn  The relational contexts of migration: Mexican women in new destination sites  *Sociological Forum*, 28:1, 1–26 III 53


2014 Rogers Brubaker  Linguistic and religious pluralism: between difference and inequality  *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 41:1, 3–32 III 40

2014 Donna Butorac  ‘Like the fish not in water’: how language and race mediate the social and economic inclusion of women migrants to Australia  *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics*, 37:3, 234–248 II 28
### Chronological Table continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Article/chapter</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Vol.</th>
<th>Chap.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>David Divita</td>
<td>Multilingualism and later life: a sociolinguistic perspective on age and aging</td>
<td><em>Journal of Aging Studies</em>, 30, 94–103</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>Maria Rosa Garrido and Eva Codó</td>
<td>Deskilling and delanguaging African migrants in Barcelona: pathways of labour market incorporation and the value of ‘global’ English</td>
<td><em>Globalisation, Societies and Education</em>, 1–21</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td></td>
<td>Segmented assimilation, transnationalism, and educational attainment of Brazilian migrant children in Japan</td>
<td><em>International Migration</em>, 52:2, 84–99</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

Ingrid Piller

Language and migration constitute two of the characteristics of *Homo sapiens*. In the same way that our ability to communicate through a complex symbolic system distinguishes us from other animals, including our closest evolutionary relatives, our propensity to migrate, most notably exemplified by the great human migration out of Africa about 80,000 years ago, distinguishes us from other hominid species, all now extinct. It has been argued that it is precisely the combination of language and migration that has resulted in the globally dominant position of our species (Gugliotta, 2008).

Despite the centrality of language and migration to our identity, research into their intersection has been patchy: undertaken in fits and starts and in the pockets of a range of different disciplines and traditions, often with little regard to each other. In assembling the present collection, I have aimed to bring some of these traditions into conversation.

At the time of writing, in late 2015, months of media reports about a refugee crisis in Europe have saturated global media and the early twenty-first century has been widely perceived – incorrectly as many of the articles in this collection demonstrate – as an age of unprecedented global migrations. Because of our heightened awareness of migration, social questions related to migration have become hotly contested political issues in many societies around the globe. How to ensure social cohesion and sustainability, how to safeguard the rights of old-timers and new-comers, or how to manage migration economically and ethically present pressing social problems of our time. Language is central to many of these debates.

While the social importance of migration can hardly be overstated and needs little justification, migration raises equally pressing theoretical questions for the discipline of linguistics: we are currently witnessing a paradigm shift from language understood as an object in space towards an understanding of language as a process in motion. Developing a new “sociolinguistics of mobility” is widely considered as constituting the current frontier in linguistic theorizing (Blommaert, 2010). Taking stock of the knowledge base of the discipline at this moment of paradigm shift is not only opportune but essential because there is a danger that at such a transformational moment the discipline might lose sight of the fact that concerns with language and migration have been foundational to its development:
migration is undoubtedly the key factor in contact-induced language change (Kerswill, 2006) and research into the relationship between language and migration dates back to at least the beginnings of historical linguistics with its then focus on Indo-European in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

In selecting critical contributions to research in language and migration I have aimed to strike a balance between the socially relevant and topical issues of wider concern raised by migration on the one hand, and disciplinary conceptual and methodological concerns on the other. In doing so, Language and Migration is intended both as a showcase of the most important work in the field as well as an intervention in contemporary debates. To meet this challenge, Language and Migration has been structured around four themes: languages in contact; identities and ideologies; linguistic diversity and social justice; and education in linguistically diverse societies.

Volumes I and II take language as their starting point and explore how migration affects language. Two major perspectives on what constitutes the nature of the central research problem can be identified here: one perspective focusses on the ways in which migration affects language structure (Volume I) and the other situates linguistic diversity in indexical orders and seeks to illuminate how linguistic diversity constructs identities (Volume II).

Volumes III and IV take migration as their starting point and ask how language affects migration. Different language issues in relation to migration arise for first-generation adult migrants and their offspring. Consequently, Volume III explores linguistic diversity and social justice against questions of adult language learning and in domains that mediate social inclusion for adults such as employment, health and community participation. Volume IV then focusses on education and the challenges of language learning and medium of instruction in linguistically diverse societies.

In addition to topical selection of the most important research, it has also been my aim to showcase research from a wide range of geographical, regional and historical contexts. Throughout, an attempt has been made to strike a balance between general overview articles and contextually situated case studies.

Having introduced the main selection principles, the following sections will provide an overview of the key issues addressed in the research presented in each volume. I close by identifying future research directions.

Languages in contact

As pointed out above, language and migration can be considered key characteristics of the human species. When we speak about language as a characteristic of the species, we do not mean a specific language but the human ability to learn and use language, “langage” in Saussure’s terms or the “innate language faculty” in Chomsky’s terms. The relationship between this language faculty and migration remains poorly understood. It is sometimes assumed that human language developed around the time of the exodus from Africa, along with a spurt of manufacture and
symbolic behavior that can be observed in the archaeological record (Corballis, 2014). It has also been proposed that the evolution of the language faculty might be directly linked to the requirements of spatial navigation (Hauser, Chomsky, & Fitch, 2002).

While the relationship between the language faculty and migration remains vague, the relationship between specific languages — “langue” in Saussure’s terms — and migration has long been an object of inquiry. In the same way that the language faculty is a characteristic of the species, linguistic diversity is. No two human beings speak in exactly the same way but similar ways of using language — in the form of a common language — constitute a group characteristic. We must assume that, as the language faculty evolved, it was expressed in some sort of original specific language, a mutually intelligible symbolic system. How that “original language” came to result in the great linguistic diversity of thousands of mutually incomprehensible languages has intrigued humans for millennia. The most famous pre-scientific explanation for the multitude of languages can be found in the biblical Babel myth, which posits divine intervention: God confused the original universal language as punishment for human ambition.

Scientific explanations have retained the idea of an originally mutually intelligible system but attribute linguistic diversity to group dispersion: in the manner of a family tree, “the original language” was broken up and developed differently in different groups as groups dispersed and the process continued over many generations and many migrations. The languages of groups who parted way tens of thousands of years ago might have changed beyond all recognition while the languages of groups who parted way only more recently retain significant similarities. For instance, the equivalent of English “mother” is “mater” in Latin and “maataa” in Sanskrit. Obvious cross-linguistic similarities such as these began to be observed from the sixteenth century onwards, leading to the recognition that many Asian and European languages derived from a common ancestral language, termed Indo-European. This language family includes twelve sub-families framed by the Celtic language family in the West and the Indo-Iranian language family in the East. These sub-families can be further divided into sub-sub-families, and so on.

The systematic examination of cross-linguistic correspondences such as the one between English “mother,” Latin “mater” and Sanskrit “maataa” started with the work of Franz Bopp, a nineteenth-century German linguist, who was the first to introduce the comparative method (Fox, 1995). The comparative method is designed to understand the genetic relationships between languages and to reconstruct ancestral languages of which no record remains. This is done by establishing correspondences (English “mother” corresponds to Latin “mater” etc.) and then establishing proto-forms (the Proto-Indo-European word for “mother” is reconstructed to have been “ma:te/r”). Normally, this is done on the level of phonemes and morphemes.

Once the fact that languages are genetically related was well understood, the next step was to ask how languages had spread: what were the migration routes that prehistoric speakers had taken and where were the ancestral homelands of
particular language groups? Comparative philologists initially favoured language-
internal evidence such as the identification of key words that might provide
geographical clues. For instance, all Indo-European languages have a word for
“bear,” “wolf,” “lynx,” “hare” and other wild animals that point towards a rela-
tively northern homeland.

Additionally, the discovery of genetic relationships between various languages
led to the obvious assumption that conclusions about migration routes can be
drawn from the geographical distribution of related languages (Dyen, 1956). The
most basic assumption here is that the area of related languages is contiguous; this
is why areas such as North America or Siberia, where bears, wolves, lynxes etc.
exit but where no precolonial Indo-European speakers settled, can be excluded
as potential Indo-European homelands. Another key assumption of migration
theory based on genetic language classification is that greater linguistic diversity
is found in origin areas as opposed to more recently settled areas, where diversity
is assumed to be more limited. An obvious example of the latter principle is the
greater dialectal diversity of the English language in Britain vis-à-vis the more
limited dialectal diversity in more recently established English-speaking settler
societies such as Australia or USA.

Much of what comparative linguistic evidence can tell us about prehistoric
migrations is highly speculative, and Manning (2006) reviews how historians
use linguistic evidence in conjunction with archaeological and genetic evidence
to retrace prehistoric human migration routes, as far back as the exodus from
Africa. In this collection, the methods, findings and limitations of the compara-
tive method and its contribution to our understanding of prehistoric migrations are
also exemplified with relation to research into the ongoing mysteries surround-
ing human settlement of the Americas (Berge, 2010; Epps, 2009; Ruhlen, 1998).
The comparative method not only continues to make important contributions to
our understanding of prehistoric migrations but also to that of migrations that are
partly within the historical record, such as the expansion of the Germanic lan-
guages (Roberge, 2010), including Yiddish (King, 1992).

Despite its obvious contributions the tree model of genetic language classi-
fication is uncontroversial only to the extent that specific relationships between
languages have been established: there are some clear language families and for
most languages it is clear to which language family they belong or do not belong.
However, the relationship of linguistic evidence derived through the compara-
tive method and actual migrations is much more controversial. Many academ-
ics prefer to stay away from such questions altogether because genetic language
classification became tainted very early on by its racist politicization. Particularly
with regard to the Indo-European language family and its Germanic sub-family,
language and race were conflated and, with Darwinian ideas of natural selection
thrown into the mix, language classification as race classification came to under-
gird the political programs of Nazism and other racist regimes (Hutton, 1999).

The fundamental mistake here is related to the nature of transmission: while
a metaphor such as that of language family trees is easily misread as implying
biological transmission, language transmission is not biological but cultural. The misconception of the relationship between language and migration as biological has been described as a “billiard-ball model” (Heather, 2010): migrating groups and their languages are conceived of as bounded entities, closed off to outsiders, who transmit their language fully intact and without any discontinuities from one place to another. Furthermore, migrating groups are assumed to move into unsettled territory, and the group language then becomes the language of the new territory. In reality, of course, migration into unsettled territory is exceedingly rare. Already during the exodus from Africa our ancestors encountered Neanderthals in Eurasia and possibly other hominids elsewhere. The story of language and migration is always a story of language contact.

The expansion of Indo-European, for instance, has in recent years come to be reconceptualized as one of recruitment transmission (Anthony, 2007): migrating tribal chiefs increased their power base by recruiting new followers. The latter adopted the language of the new elite in exchange for practical benefits, such as access to new technologies. Anthony (2007) argues that Indo-Europeans were able to seek new territory and recruit followers – who in time became new speakers – because they were able to harness horse-riding and the carted wheel as new means of transport. In the present collection, Bellwood (2001) provides an overview of agricultural technologies and their relationship with language expansion while Cameron (2013) explores language spread through migratory practices such as intermarriage and captive-taking in prestate societies.

For much of human history “a specific language” would have been nothing more than a mutually intelligible system the boundaries of which were determined by intelligibility. However, this “definition” of a language has become overlaid by language names and the names of ethnic and national groups. As a specific language has become tied to a specific name or a specific group, linguistic criteria for what constitutes a language such as mutual intelligibility have receded, and political criteria have become inextricably intertwined with linguistic criteria (Piller, 2011). As Max Weinreich famously put it: “A language is a dialect with an army and a navy.”

That political beliefs and prejudices have deep roots even in linguistic theorizing is best exemplified by the ways in which languages marked heavily by migration have been treated as “exceptional” languages. DeGraff (2003) reviews the arguments against creole exceptionalism. Other contributions examine the manifold relationships between the ways a specific language is understood and the political entities it is connected to with relation to link languages in tribal African societies (Greenberg, 1965), nomad empires of Eurasia (Sinor, 2005), China and Chinese languages (Lee & Li, 2013; Skinner, 1996), and German-speaking polities (Hoerder, 2008). These articles also demonstrate that migration has linguistic consequences not only across obvious linguistic boundaries but also within mutually intelligible systems. Migration-induced language-internal change is most often related to rural–urban migration, another key theme of this collection, and the explicit focus of research into seventeenth-century Dunkirk French
(Knooihuizen & Dediu, 2012), early modern London English (Nevalainen, 2000) and contemporary Bethlehem Arabic (Amara, 2005).

The key political lens which has shaped our understanding of what constitutes a specific language for the past few centuries has been the modern nation state. The focus of the research collected in Volume I is mostly on prestate societies and on states not organized as nation states. The intertwining of linguistic and political struggles over the definition of belonging in the nation state is addressed in research into Hindi–Urdu border formation (Aneesh, 2010) and Urdu as an African language (Green, 2012). As these articles begin to show, the development of the nation state over the past centuries, at a different pace in different parts of the world, has had a profound influence on the ways in which human mobility is understood today.

**Identities and ideologies**

Volume II showcases research that explores how languages and identities are constituted, negotiated and contested in migration, against the ideological dominance of the nation state. Against the ascendancy of the nation state both language and migration have come to be redefined. Migration has become strictly controlled by the nation state: modern borders, even those that are more permeable than the India–Pakistan border described by Aneesh (2010), are absolute, and the very definition of migration has become tied to the crossing of international borders. Intranational mobility, by contrast, even where it entails crossing linguistic borders, as is often the case in intranational migration in China (Chang, 2009) or India (Iversen & Ghorpade, 2011), is relatively absent from contemporary language and migration research. The state decides which border crossings are legal and which are illegal, who is allowed to remain on its territory, for how long and under which conditions. State regulations of human mobility are undergirded by ideologies of nativism, cultural belonging, legitimacy, or desirability, and language is tied to these beliefs in complex and contextually specific ways.

Language, too, has come to be redefined by the nation state, and a specific language is no longer seen as a system of mutual intelligibility but a state-sanctioned national standard language. As mentioned above, a specific language with a name, Saussure’s langue, is an abstract system. Each and every one of us draws on the system or systems available to them in a great variety of ways. Language use, “parole” in Saussure’s terms, is always individual. Linguistic diversity is ubiquitous and each individual repertoire – formed in childhood and youth and undergoing bigger or smaller changes throughout life as we lose an accent, incorporate a new style, forget a term or learn a new way of speaking – is a key aspect of our individual identity. Our individual language use is never identical to the abstract system of a particular language. Even so, linguistic theory has long been guided precisely by the illusion of a match between langue and parole, as in Chomsky’s famous tenet that “linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogeneous speech-community” (1965, p. 3). In making
this foundational assumption, linguistic theory has itself been in thrall to national ideology, as Bourdieu explains: “To speak of the language, without further specification, as linguists do, is tacitly to accept the official definition of the official language of a political unit” (1991, p. 45).

In some cases individual language use is perceived to be very close, if not identical, to the ideal standard language while in others it seems very different. Individual language use where the traces of language learning and multilingualism are readily apparent – as is usually the case for highly mobile speakers – seems more diverse than the individual language of less mobile speakers. Furthermore, beliefs about who is a prototypical legitimate member of a nation and who is not shape our perceptions of speakers of the particular language conventionally associated with a particular nation. In short, language becomes an index for identity.

The nation state guides the perception of what the ideal language is and who the ideal speaker is through numerous institutional practices that usually render languages and speakers with long-standing ties to a polity as prototypical citizens, and migrant languages and speakers as problematic. The ways in which these broad general processes play out in specific contexts are examined in this collection with reference to the ways in which certain languages other than English have been used as indexes of problematic racial status in the US census (Leeman, 2004) and the ways in which linguistic assimilation allowed European immigrants to the USA to become ideologically fully integrated into the national narrative (Pavlenko, 2002).

Much of the research exploring identities and ideologies governing language and migration has been carried out in the national context of the USA reflecting its status as a global migration magnet and US dominance in linguistic research. However, similar, yet locally specific, processes can be observed to unfold internationally, as exemplified by research into the ways in which Swedish language testing reproduces social differentiation in Sweden (Milani, 2008). As this body of research demonstrates, institutions of the state play a key role in sorting and ordering people and language. These complex processes of linguistic boundary-and identity-making in contexts of migration are particularly obvious with regard to language testing regimes. Language testing may be employed not only to determine who should be granted legitimate status in the destination country, as in Milani (2008), but also to verify identity claims of asylum seekers. Where examinations of the veracity of an asylum seeker’s account are based on ideologies about the relationship between language and identity current in the destination country but irrelevant to the origin society, the result will be highly problematic, as Eades (2009) and Blommaert (2009) demonstrate in their examinations of language analysis for the determination of origin.

State institutions tie language and migration together in myriad ways mediated by ideologies about legitimate languages and legitimate speakers. These positions are always ideological, and linguistic diversity indexes hierarchical social orders. Individuals may be caught up in the identity positions available to them but they are not determined by them. Individuals accept, negotiate, contest and
resist the identity positions available to them in dominant ideologies (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). A special focus of Volume II is therefore on work that explores how people on the move position themselves vis-à-vis hegemonic ideologies. National ideologies of legitimate languages and speakers are overlaid by broader sets of identity positions such as those of gender, class and race.

A special focus here is on research that explores how gender intersects language and identity in migration. Giordano (2008) shows how receiving societies often position migrant women as victims, and how, in the specific case of Italy, migrant women may only be granted citizenship rights if they produce acceptable narratives of victimhood that are recognizable in Italian bureaucratic discourse. Latina mothers in North Carolina, by contrast, claim dignity precisely by challenging discourses in the receiving society that position them as bad mothers (Villenas, 2001). Migration may also challenge traditional gender roles and provide new opportunities, including language learning opportunities, to some women, as it does for Lao women in the USA (D. Gordon, 2004), or reinforce traditional gender roles and position women as secondary to a “primary” male migrant, as happens to highly educated female migrants in Australia (Butorac, 2014).

Ideologies of race, too, may be renegotiated in migration and position migrants differently. “Racialization” – the discursive production of race and of some people as racially marked – is a prominent theme throughout the research collected in Volume II. Again, how beliefs about race position different people in different migration contexts varies significantly and needs to be illuminated by context-sensitive ethnographic research. In this collection, this research is exemplified with studies of grassroots multilingualism in an African migrant suburb in Guangzhou (Han, 2013), of media stereotypes of Turkish ways of speaking German (Androutsopoulos, 2012), of Korean migrations with the express aim of achieving linguistic and social transformation (Song, 2010), and of the modernization of the Turkish state through the reception of Western academics in the 1930s (Ergin, 2009).

The relationship between language and migration changes over the life-course. Not only do international migrants have to learn new languages in their destination but their first languages also change. De Bot and Clyne (1994) and Schmid (2004) examine processes of first language attrition in Dutch and German emigrants respectively. In aging societies, the specific needs of older migrants are as yet poorly understood and Divita (2014) examines multilingualism in later life in the context of a Spanish club in Paris.

Because the state is the prime determiner of who is or is not considered a migrant, it is not only actually internationally mobile people themselves who may be labelled with the “migrant” identity but in many contexts it has become customary to speak of “second (or even third and fourth) generation migrants,” even if these descendants of migrants may never have migrated themselves. While the education challenges faced by the descendants of migrants are explored in detail in Volume IV, Volume II presents research related to the identity constructions of second-generation migrants. Second-generation migrants are often perceived as
being caught between two worlds, their parents’ country of origin and the destination country, as in a classic study of teenagers circulating between Puerto Rico and New York (Zentella, 1990). Stateless descendants of Haitian migrants to the Dominican Republic find themselves in similarly marginalized positions (Jansen, 2013) while the descendants of Portuguese migrants to France are better able to capitalize on their bilingual proficiencies in a context where both their origin and destination countries are members of the European Union.

The articles in Volume I mostly take a view of “the longue durée,” a long-term view of history, that shows that migration and resultant linguistic and cultural contacts are a central facet of the human condition. By contrast, the articles in Volume II with their focus on contemporary individuals present a much more fractured and contentious view of language learning and identity formation in migration. The final article in Volume II links these two perspectives in an analysis of Moravian cemeteries in Texas, where, paradoxically and poignantly, the act of laying out a cemetery is the act of creating a new homeland: the land containing the bones of the departed also contains the roots of their new community (Eckert, 2002).

### Linguistic diversity and social justice

Volume III is the first of two volumes to switch perspective from a focus on “migration in language” to one on “language in migration.” The volume showcases research that explores how language mediates social justice in migration contexts. The challenge faced by most migrants is not only related to the fact that their identities may be constructed as marginal in the new society, as explored in Volume II, but also the basic linguistic fact that they have to learn a new language. Language learning as it is experienced by most adult migrants is vastly different from the kind of controlled language learning in the classroom that is studied in much second language acquisition research. Language learning as an adult migrant presents a dual challenge: you have to learn a new language while communicating in that language and you have to communicate while learning the language (Bremer, Roberts, Vasseur, Simonot, & Broeder, 2013 [1996]).

This dual challenge is a major source of inequality: language is all-pervasive and our daily lives are inevitably conducted through the medium of a particular language. For migrants the language they are trying to learn is often the medium through which they simultaneously have to sustain themselves as workers, citizens, neighbours, parents, patients, consumers, and the many other social roles people play. As Brubaker (2014, p. 23) explains in the article that opens Volume III: “the major sources of linguistic inequality come from the pervasiveness of language and from the increasingly and inescapably ‘languaged’ nature of political, economic and cultural life in the modern world.”

In addition to education and knowledge, which will be the focus of Volume IV, the domains most relevant to social justice include work and remunerated employment; health services, social security and a safe environment; and civic and political participation (Piller, 2016a).
As regards work and remunerated employment, economists have long noted a correlation between proficiency in the target language on entry and earnings over the life course. Chiswick and Miller (1995) review this research strand and provide an overview of international findings. Limited language proficiency constitutes a disadvantage right from the start at the point of entry into the labour market, as Roberts (2013) demonstrates in a study of job interviews for low-skilled jobs in the UK. Where language proficiency constitutes an initial barrier to entry into adequate employment, relevant skills and qualifications may be permanently lost in a process known as “deskilling”: existing skills and qualifications are not recognized because they are masked by a level of language proficiency that is inconsistent with those skills and qualifications. Creese and Wiebe (2012) and Garrido and Codó (2014) explain deskilling processes experienced by African migrants in Canada and Catalonia respectively.

Having the right level of language proficiency for a particular job is not only a matter inherent to the worker but of the assessments made by a range of gatekeepers. Often these assessments are not based on actual language requirements but on beliefs about how people of a particular background or in a particular society should speak. Piller and Lising (2014) examine the consequences of such linguistic gate-keeping processes for the social inclusion of meat-workers from the Philippines in Australia; and Baba and Dahl-Jørgensen (2013) show how private language service providers collude to channel Polish migrants into insecure segments of the Norwegian labour market.

The domains identified above as most relevant to social justice – education and knowledge; work and remunerated employment; health services, social security and a safe environment; and civic and political participation – are not neatly compartmentalized, of course. Exclusion in one domain is usually connected to exclusion in other domains. Beiser and Hou (2001) examine these connections in a group of Southeast Asian migrants to Canada and find that English language proficiency is not only related to adequate employment but also guards against experiencing depression. Depression is also the health issue at the heart of Tilbury’s (2007) research with East African migrants in Australia. This researcher takes a constructivist approach and explores the consequences of different understandings of mental health in pre- and postmigration contexts for service provision. Even where health care providers take the linguistic needs of their clientele into account, they usually do so not on the basis of an empirical needs analysis but on the basis of what they imagine their clients’ linguistic proficiencies and needs might be. Good intentions notwithstanding, such mismatched ideas and realities can have exclusionary consequences, as Moyer (2011) finds in an analysis of multilingual practices in a health clinic in Barcelona.

In contemporary societies access to health services, social security and a safe environment is usually negotiated through engaging with bureaucracies. Highly standardized linguistic and communicative practices of bureaucracies can present a particular challenge for migrants. The nature of these challenges is examined in detailed analyses of interactions at the information desk of an immigration office.
in Barcelona (Codó, 2011) and telephone calls to an emergency help line in the USA (Raymond, 2014).

Civic and political participation constitute the fourth domain that is highly relevant to social justice. Being included in or excluded from mundane everyday encounters has profound consequences for social cohesion and people’s sense of well-being. Speakers of minority languages and language learners are particularly vulnerable to exclusion from community participation. Featured research examines how migrant speakers’ inclusion in social networks is mediated by race, class and gender in case studies of the experiences of Polish migrants in the UK (Ryan, 2011) and Mexican migrants in the USA (Dreby & Schmalzbauer, 2013).

While evidence for the exclusion of migrant speakers abounds, evidence for strong participation networks in linguistically diverse societies is much more limited. A study of interactions and policies in the central library of Vienna constitutes such an exception (Busch 2009).

The final three articles in Volume III change perspective and offer examples of normative approaches to language and migration (Lo Bianco, 1995; Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1996; Wee, 2007).

**Education in linguistically diverse societies**

In the same way that adult language learners face the double challenge of learning a new language while having to communicate in that language, children whose home language is different from the language of schooling face the double challenge of having to learn a new language at the same time as having to acquire new academic content through the medium of the language they are learning. They usually have to face this double challenge in the presence of peers who are native speakers of the school language and can thus concentrate on academic content. Confronted with both groups of learners but insufficiently equipped to diagnose language proficiency, teachers often misrecognize the dual challenge of minority children – similar problems may be experienced by indigenous students (Dixon & Angelo, 2014) – as academic weakness. Where schools fail bilingual children in this way, migrant disadvantage can become entrenched as ethnic disadvantage over generations, as schooling outcomes continue to serve as reliable predictors of socioeconomic status in later life (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990).

Volume IV therefore moves attention from adults to children and puts the spotlight on the consequences of linguistic diversity in schools. The selection begins with two overview articles setting out the key issues in Europe (Gogolin, 2002) and destinations in the global north more generally (Suárez-Orozco, Darbes, Dias, & Sutin, 2011).

Viewing minority children in schools primarily in terms of their supposed academic and linguistic deficits is most clearly encapsulated in the idea of “semilingualism;” the notion that minority children lack complete mastery of any linguistic system. The fallacies of this notion are exposed in a classic article by Martin-Jones and Romaine (1986). Even if deficit views of migrant children have been debunked
in the academic literature since at least the 1980s, the fact of their educational disadvantage has hardly changed, as the more recent articles in this collection demonstrate. Collins (2012) provides an overview of the latest conceptual tools to examine educational reproduction in diverse schools. In particular, he illuminates how the notion of “sociolinguistic scale” [in this collection first introduced by Blommaert (2009) in Volume II] can serve to link intersecting levels of language practices and beliefs from the interactional via the local to the global. The intersections of educational reproduction with gender, race and class, by now familiar themes in language and migration, are further explored with regard to the experience of Brazilian children in Japan (Takenoshita, Chitose, Ikegami, & Ishikawa, 2014).

Comparative research offers an important way to generalize the findings of ethnographic research. Gibson and Carrasco (2009) offer an international comparison of the educational experiences of immigrant youths in California and Catalonia to find that – despite good intentions – migrant children experience high levels of exclusion in both cases. In another comparative study – this time of the experiences of English- and Spanish-speaking migrant children in California during the Great Depression – Theobald and Donato (1990) demonstrate that class was the key factor in educational exclusion during a time of economic crises. However, educational integration became available to poor whites after the depression in a way that it did not to Mexican migrants. That the learning outcomes of different groups of migrant children in the same school system may be quite different, depending on their status in broader, even global, hierarchies of race and class, is further exemplified in a large-scale study of the academic outcomes of Russian and Ethiopian immigrant students in Israel (Levin & Shohamy, 2008).

To gain an in-depth understanding of the educational experiences of migrant children, Volume IV features a number of ethnographic studies from a variety of contexts. These include a study of subtractive schooling and becoming a long-term English language learner in New York (Menken & Kleyn, 2010); the silencing of bilingualism in early childhood education in the UK (Robertson, Drury, & Cable, 2014); the exclusion of migrant children from regular school activities in a high school in Madrid (Mijares & Relaño Pastor, 2011); the mismatch between student aspirations and teacher expectations experienced by young refugee students in London (Cooke, 2008); and the construction of racial hierarchies among various groups of migrant students in a high school in Hawai’i (Talmy, 2010).

Despite the growing diversity of children in schools around the world, teachers continue to be ill-equipped to deal constructively and productively with linguistic difference. Flynn (2013) examines the experiences of teachers unaccustomed to linguistic diversity in the UK and J. A. Gordon (2006) shows that teachers in Tokyo schools with high concentrations of migrant children may themselves experience marginalization and stigma.

Mostly, the research assembled in Volume IV paints a gloomy picture of the educational disadvantage experienced by migrant children, particularly those who simultaneously occupy the lower rungs of global hierarchies of race, class and gender. Accounts of school systems and model schools that achieve more equitable outcomes
are difficult to find. An innovative bilingual school project in the German city of Hamburg, where elementary schools offer bilingual programs in Italian, Portuguese, Spanish and Turkish, provides a notable exception and demonstrates how schools can contribute to breaking the cycle of migrant disadvantage (Duarte, 2011).

While school is the central locus of contemporary education, the relationship between family and school is central to children’s educational experience, and the measure of educational success is ultimately the test of life. Volume IV closes with four articles that address these connections. The perspectives of families on multilingual and multicultural education are explored in an interview study with South Korean parents in Singapore (Park & Bae, 2009). Another interview study asks how British adults look back on their language learning experiences in childhood when they were called upon to mediate between their teachers and their migrant parents who did not speak English well (Bauer, 2013). The stories of moral personhood produced by Bauer’s (2013) interviewees show that the educational challenges faced by these children of migrants have, in fact, made them stronger and more resilient as adults. Another way to research the “test of life” is offered by Agirdag (2013) and Lee and Hatteberg (2015), who examine the long-term occupational status and salary outcomes of children of migration in the USA.

**Future directions**

Dell Hymes noted already in 1967 that linguistics needs sociology. With regard to language and migration this is as true as ever and should be extended to read linguistics also needs economics, education, geography, history, law, and others. As this overview has shown, it is precisely at the disciplinary and sub-disciplinary interstices that some major gaps in our knowledge can be identified. In this final section I will address four of the most promising research directions. These relate to the need to extend historical and geographical coverage, to pay attention to privilege, and to examine successful linguistically diverse societies.

**Historical coverage**

The present collection presents some fascinating historical research into language and migration. However, most of this work has been sourced from outside of linguistics and there is, at present, a distinct historical blindness in the discipline. Most sociolinguistic research is concerned with the present and this has three negative consequences. To begin with, we are poorly informed about societies to the organization of which migration and multilingualism were central, as is for instance the case for the Nomad empires of Central Asia [in addition to the research featured here, Sinor (2005), see also Golden (2011)]. Second, our capacity for comparative research, so crucial for generalization, as pointed out above, is severely limited. Third, the present obviously provides a limited evidence base for theorizing the relationship between language and migration. However, this is precisely what is currently done in much sociolinguistic research with its view
INTRODUCTION

of contemporary language and migration phenomena as historically new and the attendant drive to coin new terms to capture what are assumed to be novel phenomena of language contact [see Piller (2016b) for a detailed discussion].

Geographical coverage

Contemporary linguistic migration research is not only limited by its focus on the present but also by its focus on the Anglophone world. Two-thirds of a sample of contemporary sociolinguistic multilingualism research was found to either engage in context-free theorizing or to be located in the contexts of Anglophone centre countries such as Australia, the UK or the USA (Liddicoat, 2016). This is highly problematic because English as the hypercentral language of globalization (de Swaan, 2001) is a language that occupies a class of its own. Research into English and migration thus must be considered a special case and needs to be complemented by research into a variety of other sociolinguistic contexts.

Where sociolinguistic research is located outside Anglophone countries, other national contexts of the global north predominate. Despite the fact that much of the world’s migration is south–south migration, these contexts rarely figure in language and migration research. This leaves us with significant blind spots as can be exemplified with a lack of attention to contemporary Chinese migrations, to origin societies, and to theory from the South.

To begin with contemporary Chinese migrations: Chinese migrations to the global south have increased in importance to the degree that some commentators have started to identify them as a specific phenomenon, “Chinese globalization” (Yaghmaian, 2013). There is currently a notable lack of attention to the linguistic processes, practices and consequences of Chinese globalization [but see Han (2013) in this collection; and also Nyíri (2011)].

Second, language and migration research predominantly takes receiving societies as its empirical context. As a result, our understanding of the linguistic processes, practices and consequences of migration in sending societies is limited. It seems to be assumed that these are minor although large-scale migration may deeply disrupt origin societies, as van Reybrouck (2014) shows in his examination of the consequences of the slave trade for the Congo.

The third blind spot relates to a relative absence of “theory from the south” in linguistic research. Where allied fields in the social sciences have begun to critically examine what the predominance of research from the north means for our understanding of social processes and relations (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2012), this shift is yet to occur in linguistics.

Privilege

As pointed out above, our understanding of what migration is and who a migrant is continues to be deeply shaped by the categories imposed by the nation-state. The nation-state renders certain migrations and migrants as problematic, and these
groups are also highly salient to researchers: for instance, Hispanics in the USA or Africans in Europe and North America will be encountered repeatedly in this collection. By contrast the mobility of the privileged, particularly white people with North American or Western European passports, goes unnoticed. In fact, privileged mobile people are largely invisible because they are not even considered as migrants: they are classified as expats, sojourners or tourists. The same bias is true historically: British migration to Australia, for instance, is not considered a migratory movement, but, rather “settlement.” As a result, the linguistic processes, practices and consequences of privileged migrations and their relationship to marginalization and exclusion are in need of more coherent research attention.

**Successful linguistically diverse societies**

The media and politicians overplay the negative aspects of migration (Blinder & Allen, 2016). For different reasons, a problem focus also predominates in sociolinguistic research. While it is obviously vital that social problems be examined, this research needs to be complemented by studies of contexts where diversity is valued. Examination of “real utopias” where diversity enhances the common good – as represented in this collection in contributions by Busch (2009) or Duarte (2011) – is vital to the mobilization for social change. While many people may agree that alternative social arrangements are desirable, few will be motivated to take action for change unless they consider that positive vision viable and achievable. Viability and achievability in addition to desirability make a utopia a “real” utopia. As I have argued elsewhere in detail (Piller, 2016a), identification and analysis of linguistically and culturally diverse real utopias constitutes not only a research lacuna but also a contribution to positive social change.

**References**


INTRODUCTION


Busch, B. (2009). Local Actors in Promoting Multilingualism. In G. Hogan-Brun, C. Mar-Molinero, & P. Stevenson (Eds.), *Discourses on Language and Integration* (pp. 129–151). Amsterdam: John Benjamin Publishing. [Vol. III; Ch. 54]


INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION


INTRODUCTION


