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Critical Concepts in Linguistics

Edited by Ingrid Piller

Volume I



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References within each chapter are as they appear in the original complete work.

VOLUME I

	Acknowledgements	xix
	Chronological table of reprinted articles and chapters	XX
	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
_	DALIL BODENCE	

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

18	Bloody language: clashes and constructions of linguistic nationalism in India	404
19	Urdu as an African language: a survey of a source literature NILE GREEN	429
VO	DLUME II	
	Acknowledgements	ix
20	Racializing language: a history of linguistic ideologies in the US Census JENNIFER LEEMAN	1
21	'We have room for but one language here': language and national identity in the US at the turn of the 20th century ANETA PAVLENKO	25
22	Language testing and citizenship: a language ideological debate in Sweden TOMMASO M. MILANI	55
23	Testing the claims of asylum seekers: the role of language analysis	89
24	Language, asylum, and the national order JAN BLOMMAERT	102
25	Practices of translation and the making of migrant subjectivities in contemporary Italy CRISTIANA GIORDANO	150
26	Latina mothers and small-town racisms: creating narratives of dignity and moral education in North Carolina SOFIA VILLENAS	184
27	"I'm tired. You clean and cook." Shifting gender identities and second language socialization DARYL GORDON	208

28	'Like the fish not in water': how language and race mediate the social and economic inclusion of women migrants to Australia DONNA BUTORAC	227
29	Individual grassroots multilingualism in Africa Town in Guangzhou: the role of states in globalization HUAMEI HAN	242
30	Repertoires, characters and scenes: sociolinguistic difference in Turkish-German comedy JANNIS ANDROUTSOPOULOS	260
31	Language ideology and identity in transnational space: globalization, migration, and bilingualism among Korean families in the USA JUYOUNG SONG	283
32	Cultural encounters in the social sciences and humanities: western émigré scholars in Turkey MURAT ERGIN	307
33	A 16-year longitudinal study of language attrition in Dutch immigrants in Australia KEES DE BOT AND MICHAEL CLYNE	331
34	Identity and first language attrition: a historical approach MONIKA S. SCHMID	343
35	Multilingualism and later life: a sociolinguistic perspective on age and aging DAVID DIVITA	359
36	Returned migration, language, and identity: Puerto Rican bilinguals in dos worlds/two mundos ANA CELIA ZENTELLA	381
37	Transnational perspectives on sociolinguistic capital among Luso-Descendants in France and Portugal MICHÈLE KOVEN	399

38	Language maintenance and language loss in marginalized communities: the case of the <i>bateyes</i> in the Dominican Republic	435
	SILKE JANSEN	
39	From Moravia to Texas: immigrant acculturation at the cemetery EVA ECKERT	457
vo	DLUME III	
	Acknowledgements	ix
40	Linguistic and religious pluralism: between difference and inequality ROGERS BRUBAKER	1
41	The endogeneity between language and earnings: international analyses BARRY R. CHISWICK AND PAUL W. MILLER	32
42	'Survival employment': gender and deskilling among African immigrants in Canada GILLIAN CREESE AND BRANDY WIEBE	75
43	The gatekeeping of Babel: job interviews and the linguistic penalty CELIA ROBERTS	100
44	Language, employment, and settlement: temporary meat workers in Australia INGRID PILLER AND LOY LISING	112
45	Deskilling and delanguaging African migrants in Barcelona: pathways of labour market incorporation and the value of 'global' English MARIA ROSA GARRIDO AND EVA CODÓ	133
46	Language policy in practice: re-bordering the nation MARIETTA L. BABA AND CARLA DAHL-JØRGENSEN	153

47	Language acquisition, unemployment and depressive disorder among Southeast Asian refugees: a 10-year study MORTON BEISER AND FENG HOU	17 4
48	"I feel I am a bird without wings": discourses of sadness and loss among East Africans in Western Australia FARIDA TILBURY	196
49	What multilingualism? Agency and unintended consequences of multilingual practices in a Barcelona health clinic MELISSA G. MOYER	219
50	Regimenting discourse, controlling bodies: disinformation, evaluation and moral categorization in a state bureaucratic agency	241
51	Negotiating entitlement to language: calling 911 without English CHASE WESLEY RAYMOND	262
52	Migrants' social networks and weak ties: accessing resources and constructing relationships post-migration LOUISE RYAN	290
53	The relational contexts of migration: Mexican women in new destination sites JOANNA DREBY AND LEAH SCHMALZBAUER	308
54	Local actors in promoting multilingualism BRIGITTA BUSCH	334
55	Minority workers or minority human beings? A European dilemma TOVE SKUTNABB-KANGAS AND ROBERT PHILLIPSON	356
56	Australian experiences: multiculturalism, language policy and national ethos	372

57	Linguistic human rights and mobility LIONEL WEE	395
VO	LUME IV	
	Acknowledgements	ix
58	Linguistic and cultural diversity in Europe: a challenge for educational research and practice	1
	INGRID GOGOLIN	
59	Migrations and schooling MARCELO M. SUÁREZ-OROZCO, TASHA DARBES, SANDRA ISABEL DIAS AND MATT SUTIN	16
60	Semilingualism: a half-baked theory of communicative competence MARILYN MARTIN-JONES AND SUZANNE ROMAINE	37
61	Migration, sociolinguistic scale, and educational reproduction JAMES COLLINS	52
62	Segmented assimilation, transnationalism, and educational attainment of Brazilian migrant children in Japan hirohisa takenoshita, yoshimi chitose, shigehiro ikegami and eunice akemi ishikawa	79
63	The education of immigrant youth: some lessons from the U.S. and Spain MARGARET A. GIBSON AND SILVIA CARRASCO	99
64	Children of the harvest: the schooling of dust bowl and Mexican migrants during the depression era PAUL THEOBALD AND RUBEN DONATO	111
65	The long-term impact of subtractive schooling in the educational experiences of secondary English language learners KATE MENKEN AND TATYANA KLEYN	126

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 MELANIE COOKE	184
69	Assigned to the margins: teachers for minority and immigrant communities in Japan JUNE A. GORDON	202
70	Linguistic capital and the linguistic field for teachers unaccustomed to linguistic difference	218
71	Becoming "local" in ESL: racism as resource in a Hawai'i public high school STEVEN TALMY	235
72	Achievement of immigrant students in mathematics and academic Hebrew in Israeli school: a large-scale evaluation study TAMAR LEVIN AND ELANA SHOHAMY	261
73	Migrants' educational success through innovation: the case of the Hamburg bilingual schools JOANA DUARTE	287
74	Language ideologies in educational migration: Korean jogi yuhak families in Singapore JOSEPH SUNG-YUL PARK AND SOHEE BAE	304
75	Reconstructing moral identities in memories of childhood language brokering experiences	324

76	The long-term effects of bilingualism on children of immigration: student bilingualism and future earnings	341
	ORHAN AGIRDAG	
77		359
	JENNIFER C. LEE AND SARAH J. HATTEBERG	
	Index	393

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Chronological table of reprinted articles and chapters

Date	Author	Article/chapter	Source	Vol.	Chap.
1965	Joseph H. Greenberg	Urbanism, migration, and language	Hilda Kuper (ed.), Urbanization and Migration in West Africa (Los Angeles: University of California Press), pp. 50–59	П	10
1986	Marilyn Martin-Jones and Suzanne Romaine	Semilingualism: a half-baked theory of communicative competence	Applied Linguistics, 7:1, 26–38	2	09
1990	Paul Theobald and Ruben Donato	Children of the harvest: the schooling of dust bowl and Mexican migrants during the depression era	Peabody Journal of Education, 67:4, 29–45	>	64
1990	Ana Celia Zentella	Returned migration, language, and identity: Puerto Rican bilinguals in dos worlds/two mundos	International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 84, 81–100	П	36
1992	Robert D. King	Migration and linguistics as illustrated by Yiddish	Edgar C. Polomé and Werner Winter (eds), Reconstructing Languages and Cultures (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter) pp. 419–439	П	7
1994	Kees de Bot and Michael Clyne	A 16-year longitudinal study of language attrition in Dutch immigrants in Australia	Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 15:1, 17–28	П	33
1995	Joseph Lo Bianco	Australian experiences: multiculturalism, language policy and national ethos	European Journal of Intercultural Studies, 5:3, 1995. 26–43	III	99
1995	Barry R. Chiswick and Paul W. Miller	The endogeneity between language and earnings: international analyses	Journal of Labour Economics, 13:2, 246–288	Ш	41
1996	G. William Skinner	Creolized Chinese societies in Southeast Asia	Anthony Reid (ed.), Sojourners and Settlers: Histories of Southeast Asia and the Chinese (Sydney: Allen & Unwin), pp. 51–93	Н	17

Chronological table continued

	441	4 - 5 - 7 - 7 - 7 - 7 - 7 - 7	2	1771	1
Date	Author	Artıcıe/chapter	Source	101.	Chap.
1996	Tove Skutnabb- Kangas and Robert Phillipson	Minority workers or minority human beings? A European dilemma	International Review of Education, 42:4, 291–307	III	55
1998	Merritt Ruhlen	The origin of the Na-Dene	Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America, 95:23, 13994–13996	Ι	8
2000	Terttu Nevalainen	Mobility, social networks and language change in early modern England	European Journal of English Studies, 4:3, 253–264	Ι	15
2001	Morton Beiser and Feng Hou	Language acquisition, unemployment and depressive disorder among Southeast Asian refugees: a 10-year study	Social Science and Medicine, 53, 1321–1334	H	47
2001	Peter Bellwood	Early agriculturalist population diasporas? Farming, languages, and genes	Annual Review of Anthropology, 30:1, 181–207	Ι	2
2001	Sofia Villenas	Latina mothers and small-town racisms: creating narratives of dignity and moral education in North Carolina	Anthropology and Education Quarterly, 32:1, 3–28	П	26
2002	Eva Eckert	From Moravia to Texas: immigrant acculturation at the cemetery	Richard E. Meyer (ed.), Markers, XIX, 174–211	П	39
2002	Ingrid Gogolin	Linguistic and cultural diversity in Europe: a challenge for educational research and practice	European Educational Research Journal, 1:1, 123–138	N	28
2002	Aneta Pavlenko	'We have room for but one language here': language and national identity in the US at the turn of the 20th century	Multilingua, 21:2/3, 163–196	П	21
2003	Michel DeGraff Daryl Gordon	Against Creole exceptionalism "I'm tired. You clean and cook." Shifting gender identities and second language socialization	Language, 79:2, 391–410 TESOL Quarterly, 38:3, 437–457	ПП	9

37	20	34	16	11	69		48	57	89	25	13
П	П	П	Ι	Ι	\geq	Ι	Ш	Ш	N	П	Ι
American Ethnologist, 31:2, 270–290	Journal of Language and Politics, 3:3, 507–534	Estudios de Sociolingüística, 5:1, 41–58	Linguistics, 43:5, 883–901	Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, 58:1, 3—14	Teaching and Teacher Education, 22:7, 766–776	Journal of World History, 17:2, 115–158	Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power, 14:4, 433–458	Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 28:4, 325–338	Journal of Language, Identity & Education, 7:1, 22–40	American Ethnologist, 35:4, 588–606	German Politics and Society, 87:26, 1–23
Transnational perspectives on sociolinguistic capital among Luso-Descendants in France and Portugal	Racializing language: a history of linguistic ideologies in the US Census	Identity and first language attrition: a historical approach	Language, migration, and urbanization: the case of Bethlehem	Reflections on the history and historiography of the nomad empires of central Eurasia	Assigned to the margins: teachers for minority and immigrant communities in Japan	Homo sapiens populates the earth: a provisional synthesis, privileging linguistic evidence	"I feel I am a bird without wings": discourses of sadness and loss among East Africans in Western Australia	Linguistic human rights and mobility	"What we might become": the lives, aspirations, and education of young migrants in the London area	Practices of translation and the making of migrant subjectivities in contemporary Italy	Migration and cultural interaction across the centuries: German history in a European perspective
Michèle Koven	Jennifer Leeman	Monika S. Schmid	Muhammad Amara	Denis Sinor	June A. Gordon	Patrick Manning	Farida Tilbury	Lionel Wee	Melanie Cooke	Cristiana Giordano	Dirk Hoerder
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Chronological table continued

Date	Author	Article/chapter	Source	Vol.	Сһар.
2008	Tamar Levin and Elana Shohamy	Achievement of immigrant students in mathematics and academic Hebrew in Israeli school: a large-scale evaluation study	Studies in Educational Evaluation, 34, 1–14	2	72
2008	Tommaso M. Milani	Language testing and citizenship: a language ideological debate in Sweden	Language in Society, 37:1, 27–59	П	22
2009	Jan Blommaert Brigitta Busch	Language, asylum, and the national order Local actors in promoting multilingualism	Current Anthropology, 50:4, 415–441 Gabrielle Hogan-Brun, Clare Mar-Molinero and P. Stevenson (eds), Discourses on Language and Integration (Amsterdam: John		24 54
2009	Diana Eades	Testing the claims of asylum seekers: the role of language analysis	Benjanni ruonsning), pp. 129–131 Language Assessment Quarterly, 6:1, 30–40	П	23
2009	Patience Epps	Language classification, language contact, and Amazonian prehistory	Language and Linguistics Compass, 3:2, 581–606	_	4
2009	Murat Ergin	Cultural encounters in the social sciences and humanities: western émigré scholars in Turkey	History of the Human Sciences, 22:1, 105–130	П	32
2009	Margaret A. Gibson and Silvia Carrasco	The education of immigrant youth: some lessons from the U.S. and Spain	Theory Into Practice, 48:4, 249–257	2	63
2009	Joseph Sung-Yul Park and Sohee Bae	Language ideologies in educational migration: Korean <i>jogi yuhak</i> families in Singapore	Linguistics and Education, 20:4, 366–377	2	74
2010	A. Aneesh	Bloody language: clashes and constructions of linguistic nationalism in India	Sociological Forum, 25:1, 86–109	I	18
2010	Anna Berge	Origins of linguistic diversity in the Aleutian Islands	Human Biology, 82:5/6, 557–581	Ι	S

65	9	31	71	50	73	29	49	52
\geq		П	\geq		N	\geq		Ħ
International Journal of Bilingual Education & IV Bilingualism, 13:4, 399–417	Raymond Hickey (ed.), <i>The Handbook of Language Contact</i> (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell), pp. 406–431	International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, 13:1, 23–42	Journal of Language, Identity & Education, 9:1.36–57	Discourse & Society, 22:6, 723–742	International Review of Education/ Internationale Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft/Revue Internationale de l'Education. 57:5/6, 631–649	International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, 14:4, 427–442	Journal of Pragmatics, 43:5, 1209–1221	The Sociological Review, 59:4, 707–724
The long-term impact of subtractive schooling in the educational experiences of secondary English language learners	Contact and the history of Germanic languages	Language ideology and identity in transnational space: globalization, migration, and bilingualism among Korean families in the USA	Becoming "local" in ESL: racism as resource in a Hawai'i public high school	Regimenting discourse, controlling bodies: disinformation, evaluation and moral categorization in a state bureaucratic agency	Migrants' educational success through innovation: the case of the Hamburg bilingual schools	Language programs at Villababel High: rethinking ideologies of social inclusion	What multilingualism? Agency and unintended consequences of multilingual practices in a Barcelona health clinic	Migrants' social networks and weak ties: accessing resources and constructing relationships post-migration
Kate Menken and Tatyana Kleyn	Paul Roberge	Juyoung Song	Steven Talmy	Eva Codó	Joana Duarte	Laura Mijares and Ana M. Relaño Pastor	Melissa G. Moyer	Louise Ryan
2010	2010	2010	2010	2011	2011	2011	2011	2011

Chronological table continued

)				
Date	Author	Article/chapter	Source	Vol.	Chap.
2011	Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco, Tasha Darbes, Sandra Isabel Dias and Matt Sutin	Migrations and schooling	Annual Review of Anthropology, 40, 311–328	IV	59
2012	Jannis Androutsopoulos	Repertoires, characters and scenes: sociolinguistic difference in Turkish—German comedy	Multilingua, 31:2–3, 301–326	П	30
2012	James Collins	Migration, sociolinguistic scale, and educational reproduction	Anthropology & Education Quarterly, 43:2, 192–213	N	61
2012	Gillian Creese and Brandy Wiebe	'Survival employment': gender and deskilling among African immigrants in Canada	International Migration, 50:5, 56–76	II	42
2012	Nile Green	Urdu as an African language: a survey of a source literature	Islamic Africa, 3:2, 173–199	П	19
2012	Remco Knooihuizen and Dan Dediu	Historical demography and historical sociolinguistics: the role of migrant integration in the development of Dunkirk French in the 17th century	Language Dynamics and Change, 2:1, 1–33	П	14
2013	Orhan Agirdag	The long-term effects of bilingualism on children of immigration: student bilingualism and future earnings	International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, 17:4, 449–464	<u>N</u>	92
2013	Marietta L. Baba and Carla Dahl-Jørgensen	Language policy in practice: re-bordering the nation	International Migration, 51:2, 60–76	≡	46

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	How people moved among ancient societies: broadening the view	American Anthropologist, 115:2, 218–231	Ι	∞
2013	Joanna Dreby and Leah Schmalzhauer	The relational contexts of migration: Mexican women in new destination sites	Sociological Forum, 28:1, 1–26	III	53
2013	Naomi Flynn	Linguistic capital and the linguistic field for teachers unaccustomed to linguistic difference	British Journal of Sociology of Education, 34.2, 225–242	N	70
2013	Huamei Han	Individual grassroots multilingualism in Africa Town in Guangzhou: the role of states in globalization	International Multilingual Research Journal, 7:1, 83–97	П	29
2013	Silke Jansen	Language maintenance and language loss in marginalized communities: the case of the bateves in the Dominican Republic	International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 221, 77–100	П	38
2013	Sherman Lee and David C. S. Li	Multilingualism in Greater China and the Chinese language diaspora	Tej K. Bhatia and William C. Ritchie (eds), <i>The Handbook of Bilingualism and Multilingualism</i> (Oxford: Blackwell) np. 813–842.	П	12
2013	Celia Roberts	The gatekeeping of Babel: job interviews and the linguistic penalty	Alexandre Duchène, Melissa Moyer and Celia Roberts (eds.), Language, Migration and Social Inequalities. A Critical Sociolinguistic Perspective on Institutions and Work (Bristol: Multilinoual Matters) np. 81–94	Ш	43
2014	Rogers Brubaker	Linguistic and religious pluralism: between difference and inequality	Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 41:1. 3–32	II	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	П	28

Chronological table continued

Date	Author	Article/chapter	Source	Vol.	Сһар.
2014	David Divita	Multilingualism and later life: a sociolinguistic nerspective on age and aging	Journal of Aging Studies, 30, 94–103	Π	35
2014	Maria Rosa Garrido and Eva Codó	Deskilling and delanguaging African migrants in Barcelona: pathways of labour market incorporation and the value of 'slohal' English	Globalisation, Societies and Education, 1–21	Ħ	45
2014	Ingrid Piller and Loy Lising	Language, employment, and settlement: temporary meat workers in Australia	Multilingua, 33:1/2, 35–59	III	44
2014	Chase Wesley Raymond	Negotiating entitlement to language: calling Language in Society, 43:1, 33-59 911 without English	Language in Society, 43:1, 33–59	Ш	51
2014	Leena H. Robertson, Rose Drury and Carrie Cable		International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, 17:5, 610–623	\geq	99
2014	Hirohisa Takenoshita, Yoshimi Chitose, Shigehiro Ikegami and Eunice Akemi	Segmented assimilation, transnationalism, and educational attainment of Brazilian migrant children in Japan	International Migration, 52:2, 84–99	≥	62
2015	Jennifer C. Lee and Sarah J. Hatteberg	Bilingualism and status attainment among Latinos	The Sociological Quarterly, 1–28	2	77

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 confounded 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 relatively 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 comparative method and its contribution to our understanding of prehistoric migrations are also exemplified with relation to research into the ongoing mysteries surrounding 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 languages (Roberge, 2010), including Yiddish (King, 1992).

Despite its obvious contributions the tree model of genetic language classification 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 comparative method and actual migrations is much more controversial. Many academics 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 undergird 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 Germanspeaking 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 boundaryand 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 show-cases 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 gate-keepers. 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 child-hood 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

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.

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