

The Routledge handbook of language and superdiversity

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The concept of ‘superdiversity’ was introduced by Vertovec (2017) to capture the complexity of migration patterns in the post-war and globalisation era. Blommaert and Rampton (2011) linked the concept to language, arguing for the need for a new sociolinguistic epistemology. Two edited volumes (Arnaut et al. 2016, Arnaut et al. 2017) brought together theoretical discussions and case studies devoted to language and superdiversity. The volume under review sets out to present the state of the art in this field. It contains 35 chapters by 54 contributors. Due to constraints on space, I will only discuss some of those. Part 1 (chapters 1–5) is devoted to key concepts, while Part 2 (chapters 6–10) addresses methodological issues. The remaining chapters (Parts 3–6, chapters 11–30) mirror the organisational structure of a 4-year (2014–2018) research project (‘TLANG’) coordinated by co-editor Angela Creese, examining the dimensions of business, heritage, sport and law (advice workers), with some chapters deriving directly from that project. Part 7 (chapters 31–35) complements those adding the dimension of education.

The thread that unites the contributions is the view of language as practice, explored through the lens of linguistic ethnography. Contributors represent a variety of disciplines, including education, TESOL, sociology, sport, social policy, translation, modern languages, law, communication, and applied linguistics. This delivers on the ambition for an interdisciplinary approach, although there is a notable gap in the absence of a discussion of the contact linguistic implications of superdiversity for the structural composition of repertoires. The focus is instead on spatial dimensions, power relations, and mediality (particularly digital technologies).

Part 1 (‘language and superdiversity’) elaborates on concepts. Alistair Pennycook flags the role of spatial repertoires as modes of interacting in particular sites. Li Wei reviews how patterns of mobility require new conceptualisations of language, arguing for a ‘post-multilingualism’ that looks beyond contact between demarcated languages. Introducing the term ‘translanguaging space’, he proposes to redirect analytical attention to ‘moments’ of interaction where creativity and (structural) unexpectedness represent the flexibility that users of language have in exploiting multidimensional elements of their repertoire. Sirpa Leppanän, Saija Peuronen and Elina Westinen review social media as sites of creativity, agency and pathways to fashion local identities. Dirk Geldof notes that the need for a new conceptualisation of diversity primarily represents a Western perspective (p. 44). He explains how superdiversity is the outcome of changes to patterns of migration since the 1990s that bring about a qualitative transition, in that the whole of society is affected by diversity, and ethnicity becomes less relevant. This normalisation of diversity presents practical challenges in institutional contexts, while at the policy level, it requires a rethinking of the concept of integration. Susanne Wessendorf reiterates

the point on the normality of cross-culture and cross-language encounters in cities, with examples of research diary extracts from observations in Hackney (London).

In Part 2 ('Researching communication in superdiverse contexts'), Martha Karrebæk and Constadina Charalambous note that the challenge to research in superdiverse contexts is to move away from analysing languages as objects and approach them instead as 'doing'. Lisa Goodson and Caroline Tagg discuss vignettes as a research method, addressing self-reflection among the TLANG project team and the participants. Jannis Androutsopoulos and Andreas Staehr discuss how digital tools facilitate transnational mobility, how they impact repertoires and multimodal interactions and how they impact the global circulation of semiotic resources. Fiona Copland points out how the reality of cultural factors makes ethics a particular challenge in superdiverse settings, as procedures such as asking for consent and anonymity and ensuring that research is in the interest of participants are all shaped by culture-specific norms and perspectives. I would add that neo-liberal universities see themselves as corporate enterprises keen to protect themselves from liability claims. This increases the tension potential, as the generic norm designed to protect the interests of management is inevitably culture specific; that puts academic staff who view the world through the prism of superdiversity and a commitment to anti-discrimination in risk of noncompliance.

In Part 3 ('Language, superdiversity and heritage'), Ana Deumert defines heritage as the outcome of choosing inheritance. It is an activity that involves a process of action as well as agency, reflexivity and meta-discursive processes. Discussing online language use in South Africa, she shows how 'heritage language' can consist of an array of features that are meaningful to users, deriving from a wide range of encounters. Much of the remaining content of Part 3 is devoted to case studies. Joan Beal addresses the connection between indexicality, commodification, heritage and dialect, and Jing Huang examines discourses of Chineseness. Mike Robinson calls for a more discursive, open and bottom-up discussion of heritage to replace or at least complement official national discourse, while Sabina Vakser points to the relevance of the biographical experiences of individuals in narrating identity and language repertoires.

Part 4 ('Language, superdiversity and sport') opens with a comparison of language policy in the Olympic games by Rachele Vessey. Lian Malai Madsen then argues that sports are global events and inherently linked to superdiversity. Other chapters in this part deal with the language and discourse of football and with language, sport and health among Black and Asian ethnic minority groups in the United Kingdom. Part 5 on language in businesses opens with case studies from the TLANG project. Kiran Trehan discusses narratives in a butcher shop run by a migrant, and Caroline Tagg and Agnieszka Lyons discuss mobile messaging. Both illustrate how the superdiversity stance prompts a particular approach to observing everyday practices, while the observations themselves make us aware of the stratified complexity of practices, including choice of language features and medium of communication. Jiří Nekvapil and Tamah Sherman introduce a bespoke theoretical framework of language management in multinational companies, while Marta Kířilova and Jo Angouri address the challenges of staff recruitment and interaction in a multicultural work environment, and Maria Sabaté Dalmau outlines how commercial multilingualism capitalises on migration by providing services such as call centres.

Part 6 addresses 'language, superdiversity and the law', another dimension covered in the TLANG project. Marco Jacquemet describes how accessing information online, including translations, can be helpful for agents involved in processing claims for asylum, shedding light on the role of digital media as resources that facilitate interaction in superdiverse environments. The author gives examples in the form of transcripts of interpreter-mediated communication along with English translations. I noticed that Kurdish segments appear in an improvised transcription rather than in Kurdish orthography (p. 389). That does not diminish the author's arguments, but it does in my opinion illustrate the risks of approaching language and superdiversity from the strictly ethnographic and pedagogical perspectives

while paying less attention to the formal-structural aspects of language, as if the implied theoretical stance of looking beyond ‘named languages’ necessarily also requires or justifies looking away from language structures. From a handbook entry on language in asylum procedures in superdiverse contexts, I would have also expected a review of the key methodological issues surrounding research-led practice, namely, how to take into account multilingual repertoires, dialect and stylistic variation, connections of language and place, and the role of experts and native speakers in the language assessment procedures, all key issues that have been subject of debates for over two decades now and are nicely summarised, among others, by Spotti (2016) in his contribution to Arnaut et al.’s (2016) collection on language and superdiversity. In her chapter on legal interpreting, Ludmila Stern provides a useful introduction to the history of court interpreting and various other interpreting modes and of issues on which research has focused in this area, such as professionalisation and preparation of specialised terminology and cross-cultural competence. Under ‘new debates’, the author addresses responses to the challenges of so-called new and emerging communities, for which provisions do not yet exist, the reliance on interpreting agencies and issues of quality assurance, the lack of training for many indigenous and minority or ‘smaller’ languages, and the emergence of procedures of international tribunals as a possible model for superdiverse environments. An interesting point in connection with the overall notion of superdiversity is the potential for a transfer of experience from international courts to the domestic environment and the implication that superdiversity potentially leads (in policy and practice) to a kind of internationalisation of the domestic scene. Joanna Dragon and Krzysztof Kredens add to this discussion key issues in legal translation such as legal language and the need to rethink issues of equivalence. Their chapter incorporates a reflection in translation studies about the need to consider the function of the target text, terminology, quality assurance, complexity and language stratification in the form of dialects, slang and socio-demographic variation and concludes by addressing policy issues in regard to government contracts for court interpreting. Karen McAuliffe and Aleksander Trklja discuss the case of the European Court of Justice, focusing on the way in which a balance is maintained between the use of French as the principal working language, the use of five additional Western European languages as ‘pivot languages’ for translation of documents and the mandatory translation of judgements into all official member state languages. Concluding this part of the collection, Christopher Stone and Gene Mins survey the development of deaf legal discourse. Overall, Part 6 is particularly informative and stimulating; there is no doubt that judicial procedures face particular challenges in superdiverse environments, and the reflection on whether international procedures can inspire domestic practices is novel and thought provoking.

Part 7 deals with education. Kendall A. King and Martha Bigelow introduce nexus analysis, virtual ethnography, classroom discourse analysis, and participatory pedagogy referring to them as ‘superdiverse methods’ (leaving open whether that means methods that are useful in superdiverse contexts or methods that have been uniquely designed to explore contexts that are superdiverse). They also address the problem of assessment methods and drafting models of multilingual education as policy challenges. The implication seems to be that the focus of language policy needs to shift from serving nation-building (in the traditional sense of ethnicity-based nationhood) to addressing the needs of multilingual populations. Jean Conteh addresses translanguaging as pedagogy—arguably one of the key pillars of language and superdiversity in both research and practice. This chapter features three case studies: sign-language multimodality, multilingual early years of schooling in Luxemburg, and supplementary schools in England. Particularly inspiring is the author’s position that translanguaging involves identity performance and is therefore very different from traditional pedagogical approaches not only in its deployment (or acknowledgement) of linguistic resources but also in terms of its overall mission statement, mirroring the idea that ‘superdiversity’ is not just a descriptive approach but also a call for active engagement. Sari Pöyhönen, Mirja Tarnanen and James Simpson discuss teaching the dominant

language to adult immigrants (e.g., English for speakers of other languages or ESOL). As migration increases, policy increasingly links ESOL (and similar) to citizenship, assigning a gatekeeping function to language skills in addition to the existing link to employability. Concluding the collection are a case study of English and Xhosa teaching at the University of Cape Town and a chapter describing 'mobile learning' (online digital learning resources) for languages.

Overall, the collection makes the point that the transformations brought about by migration patterns have opened up a new lens to study multilingualism, particularly in western urban centres. There is, however, no obvious cut off point that would justify identifying the emergence of superdiversity as anything but a gradual process beginning in the post-war and post-colonial era in the second half of the 20th century. The contemporary aspects that make this field of enquiry distinct are the new approach to linguistic resources and accompanying 'deconstruction' of the notion of language boundaries and 'system' integrity, the focus on communicative practice routines in institutional and semi-institutional settings, the attention to multimodal communication and in particular to the role of digital communication, and the ambition to contribute to policy. The recurring effort in the individual chapters to define superdiversity and the fact that the editors have not been inclined to impose uniformity highlight the fact that this is still an emerging field.

Indeed, in the Introduction to the volume, the editors and a group of 13 collaborators describe superdiversity as 'conceptual work in progress' (p. xxxiv) and an alternative ideological stance 'equipped to critique forces of discrimination' (p. xxiii). From the outset, then, the field of language and superdiversity is defined not just as an analytical framework but as a political mission statement. According to the authors, it 'highlights the need for policymakers and public service practitioners to recognise new conditions created by global migrations and population change' (p. xxvi). It therefore requires academic researchers to 'communicate effectively with those who can make a difference to policy and practice' (p. xxvii) and to join forces with researchers across disciplines 'with an interest in contributing to the creation of more equal societies' (p. xxvii). While this spirit of engagement appears in many of the chapters, the collection gives no direct consideration to issues such as potential conflict spaces where research funders have an interest to promote particular policy recommendations, nor do the case studies describe actual engagement aimed directly at changing policy or practice or confronting discrimination.

The individual chapters follow, with few exceptions, the format of section headings that is prescribed by the publisher's guidelines for handbooks—starting with 'historical perspectives', moving to 'core issues and topics', and ending with 'new debates and future directions'. However, it often feels that these headings have been superimposed, resulting in a slight mismatch of structure and content, particularly in the chapters that focus on case studies and local research projects. The headings 'core issues' and 'new debates' are often used to accommodate a contextualisation of the authors' own research as one would do in any research article rather than review the relevant subfield more widely, while under 'new directions', many of the authors choose to discuss the implications of their specific studies where one would normally expect from a handbook entry an evaluation of the direction of enquiry in the wider subfield. The handbook is thus a bit of a hybrid, seeking to combine the state of the art and conceptual foundations with showcasing the TLANG project and related studies from other countries.

The volume is an important landmark thanks to the wealth of experiences and perspectives that it captures, and engaging with its content is without a doubt an enriching experience. However, in terms of format, it does not entirely deliver on the expectations for a handbook. Typical handbooks in this Routledge series on applied linguistics offer a much more systematic and structured overview of topics that are considered foundational to the respective field. For example, Canagarajah's (2017) *Handbook of Migration and Language*, covering a very closely related enquiry field, is divided into parts on 'concepts', 'contexts', 'methods' and 'policies'. The individual chapters deal with foundational issues and

abide by the purpose of the prescribed section headings offering in-depth surveys of research in each of the subfields. In contrast, the volume under review accommodates very different kinds of contributions (it should be noted that each part was edited by a separate team of editors, or ‘subeditors’). There is some duplication in dealing with concepts and methods, while on the other end, there are contributions on case studies that seem semi-detached from the main direction of the book. Some batches of contributions might have better been grouped together, particularly those in Parts 4–7, while some themes lack dedicated chapters on topics that to me would seem essential to the field of language and superdiversity, such as policy on foreign or second language curriculum and community languages, urban multilingualism and linguistic landscapes, language provisions in the health care sector, multilingual library provisions, multilingualism in cultural institutions and the role of celebratory activities such as language days. Perhaps these editing difficulties are a token of the challenge of defining the state of the art in a field that is not only still emerging but also understood more as an ideological stance than an established academic discipline or even an epistemological approach. Nonetheless, the collection is a valuable sequel to the earlier volumes on language and superdiversity (Arnaut et al. 2016 and Arnaut et al. 2017) and will without a doubt inspire many to expand their studies in this area.

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