Introduction

Unn Røyneland and Robert Blackwood

This is the companion volume to *Spaces of Multilingualism*. Together these two collections pay tribute to our colleague and friend, Elizabeth Lanza, a towering figure across a range of disciplines whose research interests inspire and underpin the philosophy of this homage. In planning these volumes, we agreed that one of the guiding principles would be that every chapter is co-authored, articulating in their conception and execution one of Elizabeth's approaches to life and scholarship, which we seek to honour. Not just through her leadership of the Center for Multilingualism in Society across the Lifespan (MultiLing) but throughout her career, Elizabeth has invited, engineered, and nourished collaborations between researchers. This recognition and valuing of the power of working together has come to characterise the work of MultiLing, the research center financed by the Research Council of Norway as a Center of Excellence. To reflect this approach, all of the contributors to both volumes were asked to work with someone else, in some cases where the authors have not collaborated before. These partnerships characterise, in their method, the creativity that can be unexpected, unorthodox, and even unlikely, but their outcomes are much more than the sum of their parts. As such, these volumes harness the imagination and dynamism of a wide range of researchers, both established and early-career, and exemplify the enthusiastic and creative relationships that have been initiated and nourished by Elizabeth over her own academic lifespan. Equally, they go some way to reflecting the numerous examples of co-authorship that have come to define Elizabeth's approach to scholarship where she has co-authored and co-edited with more than two dozen collaborators.

Multilingualism and Linguistic Diversity

In positioning the two volumes around multilingualism and linguistic diversity more generally, we address here one of the most pressing human issues: an issue that has long been recognised and cherished in some parts of the world, taken for granted elsewhere, and positively resisted and decried in other places (often in those countries – for there is a national dimension to this – which self-identify as modern, successful, and welcoming). Thinking

through linguistic diversity and multilingualism as a phenomenon is one of the aims of these two volumes; in particular, the authors interrogate some of the easy caricatures of what it means to deal with linguistic diversity: to be multilingual, to live multilingually, to organise others' lives multilingually. Assuming that multilingualism equates with multiple languages, some might think that we are overlooking the complexity contained within this axiom. We seek, however, to grapple with the breadth of questions surrounding the interaction between, across, and via languages and lects.

Languages and lects are acquired, deployed, restricted, encouraged, communicated, displayed, (re)created, and lost across the lifespan. The trajectories of languages – and here we deliberately (and for some provocatively) uncouple the concept of a language from habitual understandings in traditional discussions of acquisition – are not linear, regular, or without disruption. In this volume, we explore these trajectories as they play out in different settings across the lifespan, engaging creatively and challengingly with questions that have long been addressed within psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics, including language acquisition, family language practices and policies, and the consequences of aphasia and dementia on language use. From discussing approaches to understanding parental influence on bilingualism in children, multilingual family interactions, and ageing in a multilingual environment, through to analysing the impact of medical conditions (such as a stroke) and brain diseases (aphasia and dementia) on multilingual individuals, the authors foreground new research, unified by the shared interest in contemporary debates on multilingualism. This volume, alongside its partner volume dedicated to spaces of multilingualism, tackles issues around the processes of change in and of languages and societies. Grounded in cutting-edge research from scholars from across the world, the volume interrogates multilingualism as an evolving phenomenon at landmarks in individuals', families', and communities' lives.

The Volume and Elizabeth's Work

We have arranged this volume into three parts, each of which engages with a different perspective of Elizabeth's work. The boundary between the two volumes is not fixed, and in organising them, we have discussed at length how best to sequence the contributions. Consequently, it is in some ways unhelpful to characterise the volumes according to their intellectual orientation, especially as a number of chapters could sit in either tome. Nevertheless, this volume leans towards the psycholinguistic, whilst its companion volume tends towards the sociolinguistic – although, from the outset, we recognise the problematic nature of categorising each volume as such, especially as we argue that the symbiosis of these two areas of linguistics is highly productive and – of course – is embodied in Elizabeth's career.

Notwithstanding, we have structured this volume into three parts, the first of which addresses the methodological and theoretical advances within

the field of bilingual acquisition, “Bilingual Acquisition – Methodological and Theoretical Advances” (Part I). The three contributions in this section make very clear the foundational impact Elisabeth’s work has had on the study of bilingual children and parent–child interaction. Her bilingual family interaction model for conversation analysis between bilingual parents and their bilingual children (Lanza 1990, 1997) is discussed at length. One of Elisabeth’s first publications, from 1988 and published by Multilingual Matters, addressed infant bilingualism and language strategies in the home. Infant bilingualism and the importance of the family were also central topics in her PhD from (1990), a work which was the basis for the monograph published by Oxford University Press under the title *Language Mixing in Infant Bilingualism: A Sociolinguistic Perspective* (1997, paperback edition with new afterword 2004).

In the second part of this volume, three contributions deal with language practices and policies in the family, “Language Practices and Policies in the Family” (Part II). These chapters discuss the very foundations of the field as well as current directions, family language policy and planning in the contexts of both migration and indigenous language reclamation. The study of family language policy (FLP) has been a central part of Elisabeth’s research throughout her career. As we have already mentioned, the focus on families was prominent both in her early work on bilingual children and more recently through the MultiFam project: “Family Language Policy in Multilingual Transcultural Families” (2015–2018) led by Elisabeth and funded by the Research Council of Norway. Notably, Elisabeth has co-edited no less than four seminal special issues on multilingual family language policy: one with Li Wei in *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* (2016), one with Kendall King *International Journal of Bilingualism* (2017), and two with Xiao Lan Curdt-Christensen in *International Journal of Multilingualism* and in *Multilingua Journal of Cross-Cultural and Interlanguage Communication* (both 2018). In her blog post in *Psychology Today* from January 2021, Elisabeth asks rhetorically “Family Language Policies: Do We Need Them?” Taking off from her own journey towards multilingualism in childhood when she and her family sailed into New York Harbor in the 1950s, arriving from across the Atlantic, Elisabeth discusses recent research in FLP and gives advice to families who want to raise their children bi- or multilingually.

The third part discusses multilingual ageing, communication, and cognitive impairments, “Bilingual Ageing – Communication and Cognitive Impairments” (Part III). The four contributions in this part bring in both socio- and psycholinguistic perspectives to the study of multilingualism in the elderly population. The chapters deal with communication hurdles in healthcare settings; communication strategies to overcome isolation and support high-quality social participation of people with dementia; challenges in diagnosing and treating multilingual people with aphasia offering a set of best practices; and last but not least how the study of multilinguals

with aphasia may provide an important window into the human capacity for language. Understanding and supporting multilingual communication for the well-being of the elderly is a central topic running through all four chapters. How to secure well-being and both social and linguistic rights for all age groups and throughout the lifespan is central not only to these four chapters but also to all the chapters in this volume and, moreover, to its companion volume *Spaces of Multilingualism*. This is also at the very core of what Elizabeth wanted to achieve when establishing MultiLing as a Center of Excellence. The aspiration and the reality have been to bridge the gap between sociolinguistics and psycholinguistics in order to, and here we cite MultiLing's mission statement, "contribute to how society can deal with the opportunities and challenges of multilingualism through increased knowledge, promoting agency for individuals in society, and a better quality of life, no matter what linguistic and social background we have."

The Chapters

Part I of this volume returns to Lanza's first main research interest, namely bilingual acquisition, and focuses on the methodological and theoretical advances that have emerged over the last couple of decades. In the opening chapter, Simonsen and Southwood consider the disentangling of language impairment from multilingualism in assessments for children, drawing on the findings from an EU-funded project into multilingual children (Chapter 1). Recognising the multifaceted nature of child multilingualism, they interrogate the applicability and usefulness of cross-linguistic lexical tasks and a communicative development inventory in both Norway and South Africa. Focussing in particular on isiXhosa-speaking pre-schoolers, Simonsen and Southwood argue that, to be valid, assessment tools must consider local contexts and whilst there is much that can be exploited from research in the North, the variability and complexity of childhood multilingualism in the South have to be addressed. Next, De Houwer and Nakamura discuss developmental perspectives on how parents deploy a range of discourse strategies with bilingual children, considering Lanza's bilingual family interaction model for conversation analysis between bilingual parents and their bilingual children (Chapter 2). They analyse the factors which contribute to parents' use of bilingual rather than monolingual strategies in interactions with their children, highlighting the importance of parental language awareness and beliefs. De Houwer and Nakamura conclude that monolingual strategies are often hard to put into practice and may not produce lasting effects; they also draw attention to children's agency and how their strategies influence those of their parents, leading them to reaffirm the call for informing parents about the value of monolingual strategies. The third and final chapter in this part sees Phillips and Deuchar critically examine the little-studied issue of how children acquire code-switching when

they are raised in communities where this is a common practice (Chapter 3). They discuss findings from a bilingual community in Wales, UK, where they focus in particular on mixed language utterances featuring where the matrix language was either Welsh or English and seek to discern any differences in the code-switching patterns of adults and of children. Phillips and Deuchar find that, from as early as 2 years old, children start to reproduce adult code-switching patterns when the choice of the matrix language is the same.

Part II is devoted to language policies and practices in the family, and King and Curdt-Christiansen open this part with their perspective on family language policy, with particular reference to the influence of Lanza's work on three projects: one on language socialisation in Malay and Chinese households in Singapore; a second on Chinese families in the UK; and the third on Latino families' understanding of immigration and deportation policies in the USA (Chapter 4). They posit that family language policy is co-constructed by both adults and children and that, for transnational families, societal ideologies which place little value on minority languages constitute very real obstacles to supporting multilingual development. King and Curdt-Christiansen bring the role of the media and parents' understanding of highly mediated worlds into view, especially given the normalisation of technological connections with remote family members, in the quest to understand better how families create and define themselves through language. In the second chapter of this part, Anthonissen and Stroud consider the contextual determination of family language policy within migrant families to South Africa, privileging the constructs of time and temporality (Chapter 5). By considering the saliency of temporal experiences, including itineraries, provisionality, and improvised futures, they determine that particular identities and background factors interact with temporalities of migration but that the migrants they worked with did not recognise themselves as multilinguals with linguistic capital. Anthonissen and Stroud conclude that, in part because the families in their study do not fit traditional family structures and rarely contemplate language questions, their family language policies are remarkably different from those of socially secure families with time and material resources. Lane and Wigglesworth draw this part to a close with a comparison of the trajectories of language policy, shift, and maintenance with a particular focus on indigenous communities in Norway and Australia (Chapter 6). They chart the rise of the idea of the monolingual nation with its civilising mission for indigenous groups, underpinning assimilatory processes which, in both Norway and Australia, exploited educational systems. They attend to the reawakening of some Aboriginal and Torres Strait languages in Australia and the co-option of schools into the revitalisation of Sámi languages in Norway. Lane and Wigglesworth determine that indigenous languages have suffered significantly from Western ideologies that have degraded them and that revitalisation efforts are helping reclaim languages, cultural practices, and ways of knowing.

Part III of this volume is dedicated to bilingual ageing, and the authors consider the questions surrounding communication and cognitive impairments. The first chapter of this part is written by Ng and Cavallaro, exploring limited English proficiency in the setting of healthcare, and in particular in Singapore where Linguistically Displaced Older Adults (in particular speakers of Mandarin, Cantonese, and Hokkien) struggle to communicate successfully with doctors (Chapter 7). Ng and Cavallaro highlight the various strategies deployed under these circumstances, including the use of *ad hoc* interpreters, the minimum threshold of “getting by,” and the drawing in of family members to intercede between the patients and medical staff. The authors highlight how both patients and healthcare professionals experience language-discordant encounters and have to face the repercussions of this problem, which together point to the additional challenges of Linguistically Displaced Older Adults whose experience can be backgrounded as the spread of English has created unequal multilingualism in Singapore. The next chapter sees Svennevig and Hamilton contend with the question of how to foster storytelling – an important function for maintaining personal identity and for establishing and developing social relations with others – by Persons with Dementia (PWD) (Chapter 8). Drawing on approaches from conversation analysis and interactional sociolinguistics, the authors of this chapter provide a close analytical reading of two instances of storytelling involving at least one PWD, identifying well-intended but ultimately disruptive practices by participants in the two settings. Svennevig and Hamilton, in analysing the trajectory from relative autonomy to interdependence with others, critique discursive practices which not only support Persons with Dementia in multiparty interactions but also those, which despite participants’ best intentions, can derail the storytelling, and point to advice that is invaluable to the entourages of PWD.

In their chapter, Norvik and Goral review the main challenges associated with the assessment of linguistic and communication skills in multilingual individuals who acquire aphasia, not least given the limited availability of appropriate assessment tools (Chapter 9). They note how these communication difficulties result in numerous significant challenges for individuals who acquire aphasia and go on to consider the variables in the unevenness of aphasia across the languages in the individual’s repertoire. Norvik and Goral highlight the role of identity considering aphasia and draw attention to the importance of both trained interpreters for testing individuals and of culturally sensitive, standardised elicitation material, stressing the benefits of less formal assessments and a recognition of language backgrounds. The final chapter in this part is by Fyndanis and Lehtonen, who also discuss bilingual persons with aphasia but from the perspective of pathological language mixing/switching exhibited by individuals with deficient cognitive control (Chapter 10). They focus on the debate surrounding the interpretation of excessive language mixing/switching as either an issue of control deficit or a communicative strategy, drawing attention to the further challenge

posed in cases where the examiner assessing the persons with aphasia was multilingual. They conclude that further testing of executive functions in persons with aphasia would complement more traditional neuropsychological testing and shed new light on our understanding of language control mechanisms.

Ortega draws this volume to a close with her concluding remarks, signalling how both Lanza's work and this volume carve out new spaces in the study of individual multilingualism across the lifespan (Chapter 11). Ortega attends to the linking of young bilinguals' development to discourse dynamics and socialisation practices, teasing out the wider societal perspectives. Here, she pinpoints policy, ideology, and power as three factors that are impossible to ignore in the debates around Family Language Planning. Ortega also reviews the challenges and possibilities for research into health frailties in older age as part of adults' well-being, drawing this volume to a close by saluting Lanza's almost unrivalled ability to marry the fields of psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics – a feat we seek to echo in this volume.

Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>