Introduction

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This is the companion volume to *Multilingualism across the Lifespan*. 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 cultivated 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 spaces and through policies. From deconstructing the competing concepts for the analysis of multilingualism, the rethinking of language policy, and the testing of language rights, through to pedagogy, meaning-making, and activism in the linguistic landscape, the authors privilege the study of linguistic diversity as a defining element of identity creation and negotiation. Anchored in new research, the contributors engage creatively with multilingualism as a lived reality. This volume, alongside its partner volume dedicated to trajectories of multilingualism across the lifespan, tackles issues around the processes of change in and of languages and societies. As such, the authors in this volume attend to multilingualism as an evolving phenomenon at landmarks in individuals', families', and communities' lives.

The volume and Elizabeth Lanza's work

We have arranged this volume into three parts. 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 sociolinguistic, whilst its companion volume tends towards the psycholinguistic – 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, each of which engages with a different perspective of Elizabeth Lanza's work. The first part, "Rethinking the Context" (Part I), invites rethinking of the context(s) for spaces of multilingualism; here, the two pairs of contributors actively unpick the boundaries that traditionally have been erected between disciplines. They each grapple with the productive messiness that is generated

by unsettling long-established borders and by thinking through the potential for language policy, pedagogy, and activism to refocus our collective attention on approaches and structures that we might have accepted too readily. The study of language policy, or more specifically family language policy (FLP), has been a central part of Elizabeth's research throughout her career. This research area 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 Elizabeth and funded by the Research Council of Norway. One of Elizabeth's first publications, which was published by Multilingual Matters in 1988, addressed infant bilingualism and language strategies in the home. This was also the topic of her PhD (1990), a work which was the basis for the monograph *Language Mixing in Infant Bilingualism: A Sociolinguistic Perspective* (2004), published by Oxford University Press. Notably, she has co-edited no less than four seminal special issues on multilingual family language policy: one with Li Wei in the *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* (2016), one with Kendall King in the *International Journal of Bilingualism* (2017), and two with Xiao Lan Curdt-Christensen in the *International Journal of Multilingualism* and *Multilingua Journal of Cross-Cultural and Interlanguage Communication* (both 2018). In the title of her blog post in *Psychology Today* from January 2021, Elizabeth asks rhetorically, "Family Language Policies: Do We Need Them?" Taking off from her own journey towards multilingualism, which began in childhood when she and her family sailed across the Atlantic and into New York Harbor in the 1950s, Elizabeth discusses recent research in FLP and gives advice to families who want to raise their children bilingually or multilingually. Several articles dealing with language practices and policies in the family may be found in the companion volume, *Multilingualism across the Lifespan*. These articles discuss the foundations of the field and its current directions, including family language planning in migratory contexts and in the context of indigenous language reclamation. Elizabeth's research also encompasses language policy more generally. She was involved in a project on multilingualism in Ethiopia, which was funded by the Norwegian Council for Higher Education's Programme for Development Research and Education, in collaboration with Addis Ababa University (2001–2006). This project marks the beginning of Elizabeth's extensive involvement with sociolinguistic issues in Ethiopia, focusing particularly on linguistic landscapes and language ideologies, to which we return below.

In the second part of this volume, "Interactions, Ideologies, and Identities" (Part II), three contributions focus on the construction, contestation, and negotiation of identities through narratives and in interaction more generally, and on meaning-making in precarious situations, such as police investigative interviews with second-language speakers. The chapters show how contemporary transient and fluid realities call into question any easy equation of language or dialect with personal and group identities, and

how practice-oriented approaches to narratives may reveal how migrants' multiple identities emerge and are embedded, negotiated, and deployed in context, thus escaping essentialist views of identity. The study of narratives and migrant identities has been an important strand in Elizabeth's research, not least through the SKI project (2008–2013), "Språk, Kultur, Identitet" (Language, Culture, and Identity in migrant narratives), funded by the Research Council of Norway. In this research project, which was led by Elizabeth, scholars from linguistics, literary studies, and cultural studies gathered to investigate the ways in which narratives of migrant life present new understandings of cultural diversity. Notably, Elizabeth's long-standing collaborator, Anne Golden, was part of the SKI project, together with Pia Lane, and Anna De Fina played an important role as inspirer. Successfully bringing together researchers from across fields and disciplines attests to Elizabeth's remarkable ability to bridge disciplinary gaps and bring about illuminating interdisciplinary synergy, an ability which also has been a hallmark of her leadership of MultiLing.

The final part, "Linguistic Landscapes" (Part III), contains four chapters all dealing with Linguistic Landscape (henceforth LL). It is unsurprising that a considerable proportion of this volume includes contributions pertaining to LL, given Elizabeth's significant contribution to the field. Her numerous LL publications, including a volume she edited that built on the work first presented at the fourth Linguistic Landscape Workshop held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in 2012, leap to the eye. As discussed in Blackwood, Johanessen, and Mendisu (this volume, Chapter 6), Elizabeth's work on aspects of the LL of Ethiopia, with her collaborator and friend Hirut Woldemariam, has come to characterise her influence on LL research. From her academic and leadership roles at Addis Ababa University, Ethiopia, Woldemariam went on to enter politics serving as a minister in successive Ethiopian governments; she would have very much liked to contribute to this volume, but her commitments meant that, whilst she is very much part of the chapter by Blackwood, Johanessen, and Mendisu in spirit, she was not in a position to participate actively in this endeavour.

Elizabeth and Woldemariam were the earliest of early adopters of the potential of examining language and other meaning-making resources in the public space, with a joint presentation at the first Linguistic Landscape Workshop in Tel Aviv in 2007. Their contribution at this event, devoted to the LL of, as they referred to it, "an African country without a colonial past," heralded not only the explosion of research into Ethiopia, but also nourished early Ethiopian sociolinguistic scholarship. Some fifteen years later, there is more published LL research on Ethiopia than any other African country with the exception of South Africa. The dynamic collaboration between Elizabeth and Woldemariam has been highly productive and, as attested by a generation of Ethiopian scholars, hugely influential. Researchers including Fekede, Raga, Tesfaye, Woldemichael, Yigezu, and Mendisu (in his contribution to this volume (Chapter 6)) point to the

foundational work undertaken in Ethiopia by Elizabeth and Woldemariam, which provides an invaluable set of readings of the LL of a country in dramatic transition.

The context of Elizabeth and Woldemariam's paper in Tel Aviv attests to the potential of LL scholarship to embrace subjects from across the humanities and social sciences; in their paper, their engagement with postcolonialism foreshadowed not only the evolution of this field to interpret resources in the public space to understand the complexity of histories, but also continued the unpicking of artificial boundaries that can sometimes be erected between disciplines. The chapters in this volume which focus on LL are co-authored by researchers who self-identify in terms of their disciplinary backgrounds from across a wide number of fields, highlighting the porosity of the borders between subject areas as well as pointing to the productivity of collaborations that span these traditional boundaries.

At the same time, the collaboration between Elizabeth and Woldemariam presaged the belated recognition of the contributions made by scholars in the Global South, with their body of work serving to highlight the importance of Southern perspectives to work in sociolinguistics and beyond. It is characteristic of Elizabeth's long-standing commitment to Southern scholarship that she was, alongside Woldemariam, the driving force behind taking the LL workshops to Addis Ababa for the first meeting of the burgeoning group in Africa. Although one of the most frequent participants at LL workshops, Elizabeth – due to ill health – had to miss the meeting in Addis Ababa. Nevertheless, she was in e-mail contact from Oslo several times a day as the conference unfolded, following the progress of the discussions and keen for updates on papers that she had been particularly interested in as she and Woldemariam finalised the programme. The subsequent volume that emerged from this workshop, co-edited by Elizabeth and Woldemariam, which foregrounded the question of negotiating and contesting identities in LLs, includes half a dozen chapters from Southern contributors.

The volume published after the LL workshop in Addis Ababa also points to the productiveness of cross-fertilisation between Elizabeth's long-standing research interests, with questions of identity echoing through the body of work on the LL of Ethiopia. Significantly, the collaboration with Woldemariam did not privilege the centre and other traditional sites of power; in their work on Mekele, capital of the Tigray region of Ethiopia, Elizabeth and Woldemariam joined others in sociolinguistics interested in the periphery and those places where identity is often predicated on difference to the centre. In the light of geopolitical developments in Ethiopia, this work on Tigray has received renewed interest as questions of complex, negotiated, and compound identities remain the reality for most humans. As such, Elizabeth's work – with Woldemariam – in Ethiopia serves as one of the first benchmarks for interpreting identity in the public space which has been influential for subsequent generations of researchers.

The chapters

We frame Part I of this volume as rethinking the contexts for what follows and open with the chapter from Li Wei and Kelly-Holmes (Chapter 1). From their viewpoints, they engage in a dialogue on the evolution of language policy over the past two decades, considering the contours of socio-political disruptions that have characterised this period. Together, they reflect on the challenges which face each generation, including the naming of languages and the presuppositions of unity within ethno-linguistic communities to talk through issues such as translanguaging, commodification, and heritage language schools. Li Wei and Kelly-Holmes close their contribution with a series of pertinent questions regarding the possible impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic. Next, Shohamy and Pennycook (Chapter 2) trace the development from awareness to activism in LL research, sketching out what they identify as four different expansions in the field. Using the model of Critical Language Awareness (CLA), they highlight how multilingualism in public spaces can be used as a backcloth onto which awareness campaigns around inequality and injustices can be projected. Shohamy and Pennycook assert that a clearer and more critical focus on the locus of the gaze is called for in LL research, supported in part by displays and exhibitions that present to the community the LL journey from awareness to activism.

Part II covers questions of interactions, ideologies, and identities, and starts with a chapter by Mesthrie, Opsahl, and Røyneland (Chapter 3), who consider embodiment in linguistic performances and identity negotiations, contrasting the notion of Norwegianness with the fluidities of post-apartheid South Africa. Through the lens of language and embodiment, they contend that performances of the authentic local, of the immigrant persona, and of the other both confirm and contest stereotypes in Norway, whilst the South African examples remind us that the association of bodies with a single language is inappropriate for most of Africa. Mesthrie, Opsahl, and Røyneland conclude that recent rapid social changes have thrown the fluidity of language–body relationships into sharp relief, despite prevailing expectations of more straightforward connections between embodiments and language practices. De Fina, Golden, and Tonne’s chapter (Chapter 4) explores how narrative, as both a method and a lens, provides new insight into identity construction by migrants, in particular from a multilingual perspective. Adopting a practice-based approach, they consider storytelling activities by Dreamers (young, undocumented migrants to the USA who have grown up and been educated there) and by migrant doctors to Norway who have learnt Norwegian. De Fina, Golden, and Tonne argue that the identities assembled by narrators are complex and contradictory constructions which are highly nuanced and, as such, counter prevailing myths that see migrant identities as homogenous. The final chapter in Part II sees Urbanik and Pavlenko (Chapter 5) grapple with the issue of securing the understanding of a second language in the highly stressful scenario of

investigative police interviews, where rights are communicated by police authorities. Comparing interviews from the USA and Norway, the authors analyse the manipulation of power relations in the legal process of ensuring understanding in formal exchanges, but equally draw attention to the potential for the inability to understand to go undetected. Urbanik and Pavlenko articulate a set of recommendations to facilitate understanding of rights in a second language, which include speed, formulation in accessible language, and awareness of interactional accomplishment on the part of those communicating rights.

Part III opens with a contribution from Blackwood, Johanessen, and Mendisu (Chapter 6). Johanessen was working on this chapter when she died, and we recognise here her enthusiasm and excitement in contributing to this volume dedicated to her friend and colleague. Blackwood, Johanessen, and Mendisu bring Lanza's interest in Ethiopia into view with their examination of three pairings of sites (main commercial streets, markets, and shopping centres) in order to explore further the dichotomy of the symbolic and/or communicative value of what is broadly understood as "English". Using sites in Oslo, Norway, and Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, and testing the contention that function lies in the eye of the beholder, they note that the balance between the symbolic and the communicative use of English shifts, and argue that a language usually performs both functions at the same time.

Next, Jaworski and Gonçalves (Chapter 7) refract their analysis of a street-level literary monument to the Norwegian author and playwright Henrik Ibsen through the prism of nation-building and egalitarianism. They consider the 69 citations from Ibsen's works in the Norwegian national literary language in relation to traditional towering monuments to identity, including national flags punctuating the skyline. Jaworski and Gonçalves contend that this new landmark as a site of national memory, when read closely for its range of meaning-making potentials, seeks to articulate an egalitarian nationalism through pop art. Androutsopoulos and Deumert also exploit the potential of dialogue in their chapter (Chapter 8), in part in response to the COVID-19 pandemic. Fusing a material-semiotic approach to signage in Hamburg, Germany, and an atmospheric approach privileging affect, memory, and experience in Cape Town, South Africa, the authors interpret the arrangement of kiosks and spaza shops. By complementing a multimodal genre sign analysis with the embodiment of experience, Androutsopoulos and Deumert interrogate these urban sites of sociability and everyday interaction, concluding that there is important complementarity in the two approaches to analysing what they consider to be social assemblages. The section devoted to LL closes with a chapter by Gorter, Cenoz, and van der Worp (Chapter 9), which returns to Donostia-San Sebastián in Spain's Basque country to consider the uneven interaction between local and global relations as attested in the city's San Martín market. They consider their corpus of images from the market as well as

interviews with stallholders to discern the ideologies at play regarding the languages of signage, including Basque, Spanish, English, and – at the insistence of EU regulations – Latin. Gorter, Cenoz, and van der Worp remark that, from this glocal space (a local market richly decorated with markers of globalisation), there are important conclusions to be drawn, not just about the struggles of languages such as Basque but also about the highly textured connections between food and languages.

Thurlow (Chapter 10) has the unenviable task of drawing together the entire volume and rises to the challenge with his auto-ethnographical exploration of messiness in multilingualism. Invoking Universal Design, he considers a possibility for unpicking hegemonic multilingualism (which he identifies as hiding in plain sight in Switzerland) by creating spaces in which the substances of individuals' speech, ideas, and opinions are upheld. Thurlow identifies the thread of questions of power that runs through this volume, and concludes that Elizabeth has used her "power" at MultiLing to value process rather than output and to give space to the telling of stories in people's own words and languages.