Critical Multilingualism Studies
an interdisciplinary journal

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MULTIGLOSSIA AND THE LEARNING OF ARABIC AS A HERITAGE LANGUAGE: IDEOLOGICAL AND SOCIOCULTURAL MOTIVATIONS

Abstract:
The di/multiglossic nature of Arabic (Kaye, 2001; Ferguson, 1959) often poses a challenge to educators and parents who wish to transmit Arabic as a heritage language (HL) to their students and children respectively (Benmamoun et al, 2013; Trentman & Shiri, 2020; Nassif, 2021; Azaz & Abourehab, 2021). Ideologies about the best way to teach Arabic are constantly at play in parents' and educators' minds as they wish to transmit Arabic in a manner, they deem effective (Said, 2021a). This paper explores the perceptions and experiences parents and educators have about the diglossic nature of Arabic and how they view its role in the effective transmission of Arabic as a HL. Data for this paper derives from two separate projects conducted in the UK. Project one investigated the role Arabic heritage schools play in teaching Arabic and in citizenship building of young children in England (Szczepek Reed et al, 2020). Project two lasted for twelve months and examined how parents taught and planned for their children's Arabic HL learning with a special focus on language ideology and language practices. All data were transcribed and thematically analyzed (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The interview data in both projects point to the theme of anxiety about diglossia. Parents (more than) and educators worried that this characteristic and sociolinguistic reality would impede children's effective learning of Arabic. Some parents overtly communicated their apprehension of exposing their children to Spoken Arabic (SA) in the form of books or cartoons. Teachers declared their preference for Standard Arabic whilst others appreciated the functions of Spoken Arabic and taught along a continuum between dialect and Standard. The paper suggests that perhaps by adopting a multidialectal approach to language teaching and transmission and by exploiting Arabic's multiglossic nature perhaps parents, and educators can effectively enhance children's acquisition of Arabic as a HL through multilingual and multidialectal socialization. It also underlines that ideologies about diglossia are not always purely linguistic in nature and may in fact be motivated by sociocultural or other related issues.

Said, F.F.S (2024). Multiglossia and the learning of Arabic as a heritage language: Ideological and sociocultural motivations. *Critical Multilingualism Studies, 11*(1) 196–226. ISSN 2325–2871.

Keywords: Arabic language ◆ family language policy ◆ multilingualism ◆ diglossia ◆ Arabic heritage schools ◆ heritage language

Introduction

This paper explores the perceptions and experiences parents and educators have about the multi/diglossic nature of Arabic and how they view its role in effective transmission of Arabic as a HL. It also collects language-in-use data in the home and classroom domain, coupled with participant interviews to further understand the role di/multiglossia plays in the learning of Arabic.

Arabic is a heritage language (HL) for many Arabic speaking origin families residing in non-Arabic speaking majority countries. A heritage language is "...used to identify languages other than the dominant language (or languages) in a given social context" (Kelleher, 2010, p.1). These families often wish to transmit their heritage language to their children through extra-curricular education at weekends or more recently through enrolment in online Arabic schools in addition to efforts made within the home in the form of reading, TV, and online content. The second or third-generation child is therefore a heritage speaker who is defined as "an early bilingual who grew up hearing and speaking the heritage language (L1) and the majority language (L2) either simultaneously or sequentially in early childhood...but whose L2 became their primary language at some point during childhood" (Benmamoun, Montrul & Polinsky, 2013, p. 134). These children's language acquisition trajectories are different from those who grow up speaking Arabic in Arabic speaking majority countries as well as other bilinguals. HL bilingualism is receiving more attention due to the distinct nature of this unique population of bilingual children (see for example, Polinsky, 2008; Rothman, 2009; Rothman et al, 2016).

The Arabic language is spoken by approximately 420 million speakers across twenty-two countries (Worlddata, 2022). Many of these speakers can also be found outside the Arabic speaking majority countries due to natural migration patterns but also increasingly because of unfortunate wars and the ease with which families relocate for employment or study purposes (Brown, 2017; Fejes et al, 2022). In the 2011 UK Census 4.2 million (7.7.%) residents in England and Wales declared that they spoke another language alongside English. Of those 159,000 selected Arabic as their "other" language (ONS, 2011). However, in the latest 2021 Census (ONS, 2021) this number has increased to 204,000 individuals who identify as Arabic speakers. A large number of those who declared themselves bilingual speakers of Arabic often choose to transmit their language to their children and thus create a demand for Arabic tutoring,

high quality Arabic educational media content, Arabic schools, and Arabic teachers to help with this process of transmission, as the paper will demonstrate below.

In the UK there are growing number of Arabic supplementary or heritage schools, however it is difficult to ascertain exactly how many of these are running since there does not exist a register for all the schools. In most large cities in the UK one can find such schools, including in London, Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, Glasgow, and Cardiff. Recently and due to COVID-19 restrictions, some schools went and have remained online, thereby teaching Arabic to more students anywhere in the UK. Other new schools opened due to a demand of online Arabic teaching during the pandemic and have thus created a new avenue for HL learning (Said, *under review*). This paper first provides a critical overview of Arabic multiglossia, followed by a discussion on Arabic as a HL before introducing the methodology and overview of participants and data. The data analysis and discussion sections make meaning of the diverse data and suggest possible effective ways for the learning of Arabic as a HL.

Literature Review

Arabic multiglossia

Arabic is one of the languages identified by Ferguson (1959) as a language of diglossia, whereby the one language has two varieties that are utilised for different social functions. To consider Arabic without discussing the notion of diglossia would make it an incomplete analysis (Soliman & Khalil, 2022). It is also a notion that is constantly in the minds of Arabic speakers and more so for parents transmitting Arabic as a HL, as will be demonstrated shortly. Ferguson's model suggested that diglossic languages were divided into two main varieties: the high (H) and low (L). The high variety is described to be used for official purposes such as by the government, education, and news reporting as well as religious purposes. The high variety, Classic/Standard Arabic (FuSHa)[1], is a standardized form across the Arabic speaking countries with minor lexical and syntactic differences depending on the region. The low language is the spoken Arabic (SA) variety that most children hear and learn from birth and is used in informal situations. With the rise of social media, blogs, video platforms and other applications it is not uncommon to see SA written and widely shared among speakers (Aboelezz, 2018). One of the interesting outcomes of such prevalence of SA on television and social media as well as other communication applications, is that speakers are exposed to and learn a dialect other than their own (Qudah, 2017; Alshamrani, 2012). From a linguistic justice perspective, this paper views

[1] FuSHa, Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), Standard Arabic are all used interchangeably to mean the opposite of Spoken Arabic without hierarchical preferences.

all varieties (official, non-official, spoken, Standard, Classical, Qur'anic, Bedouin, and so on) as equal, legitimate, and worthy of enquiry and use among its speakers and learners.

The notion of diglossia as it relates to the Arabic language has been criticised as being too simplistic to capture the reality of how speakers use Arabic for their social functions. Although it captures the notion that one language can have multiple varieties and these varieties are designated for variable uses by its speakers, it fails to adequately describe the sociolinguistic use of Arabic in the everyday life of its speakers. Trentman and Shiri (2020, p.105) point out that, "speakers produce utterances along a continuum between Classical Arabic and local dialects"; there is no clear demarcation of only two varieties of Arabic. The forms of Arabic exist along a continuum leading some researchers to view Arabic as multi and not just diglossic language (Azaz & Abourehab, 2021; Holes, 2004). Biadsy et al (2009, p.55) highlight that, "[a]lthough the two variants have clear domains of prevalence: formal written ([modern Standard Arabic] MSA) versus informal spoken (dialect), there is a large gray area in between and it is often filled with mixing of the two forms". Badawi (1973) was one of the earliest researchers of Arabic to have made a serious attempt at conceptualising precisely how Arabic is used by its speakers. He is credited with paving the way for what came to be "Arabic multiglossia" describing the intricacies of the different forms of Arabic in use. Hary (1992, p.3) says based on Badawi's model the "Arabic continuum consists of an infinite number of language varieties, or to be more specific, lects, that are used by native speakers at different times and occasions". The paper uses the term multiglossia in a bid to reflect the sociolinguistic reality of Arabic. The next section offers an overview of Arabic as a HL and its connection to language socialization and how multilingual families generally make decisions about the languages they choose to learn and use.

Learning Arabic as a HL

The family home and the community are usually the first points of language socialization (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011) and children are socialized into and through their language. For Arabic speaking children in the UK, this means that they are socialized by the Arabic language and into the ways deemed socially appropriate through the SA dialect of their family and English. Family language policy (FLP) studies have examined the rules, planning and practices parents undertake when transmitting Arabic to their children where Arabic is a HL (AlZahrani, 2020; Said, 2021a, 2021b, 2022; Said & Zhu, 2019, Said & Zhu, 2017; Yousef, 2022). Many of these studies have found a number of shared variables that support the parents to transmit Arabic to the next generation: the mixing of languages within the home, moments of using Arabic only, reading in Arabic, watching TV in Arabic and more recently the use of YouTube videos (Said,

2021a) and attending Saturday or weekend Arabic schools. FLP is interested in understanding how families learn, use, and manage their multiple languages (King et al, 2008) and studies often cite obvious practices like those variables mentioned above as strategies used by parents to transmit a language. However, increasingly and especially where studies are ethnographic in nature, FLP seems more complex and multilayered than simply a process of quantity of input, strategies that promote HL learning, or a parents' language proficiency. Though such aspects mentioned above are key to the foundation of HL transmission, other variables also influence successful transmission of a HL. For example, the role family relationships play (Lanza, 2007; Said & Hua, 2019) and the intersection of motherhood, gender, and language planning (Said, 2022; Wright, 2020; Fogle, 2013; Okita, 2002), and religion (Alamri, 2022) all seem to contribute and influence family language practices and language management within the home. These sociocultural aspects of family life seem to provide a stronger motivation for parents than merely their ideology that language x is important or that FuSHa is better than SA. Additionally, the importance of being a good mother or having a strong relationship with one's children becomes a strong motivation for using language x and is what often sustains successful language practices and management over a long period of time. The data affirms current understandings that ideologies about language represent the interests of the speaker and are not necessarily linguistic in nature (see Piller, 2015).

In the education domain the politics of teaching Arabic are equally complex due to the issue of multiglossia which poses a challenge for teachers (Albirini, 2016; Azaz & Abourehab, 2021; Al-Batal, 2017; Soliman and Khalil, 2022; Trentman & Shiri, 2020). Arabic weekend schools feel that they must teach in accordance with what parents expect and strive to be seen to be honouring the Arabic language by teaching only the Standard variety (FuSHa). Parents and the majority of the Arabic speaking society share the ideology that FuSHa is the legitimate language for their children to learn, especially given the challenges families face in the transmission and preservation of Arabic as a HL. The Arabic heritage or weekend schools are run by volunteers who make time alongside their day jobs to set up these schools and give families a chance to teach their children Arabic (Simon, 2018, p.29). The schools are limited in venue space and often hire either local community centres or purpose-built school buildings that do not operate on the weekends. Some communities have managed to buy and sometimes modify buildings in order to offer a purpose-built space for learning and teaching of Arabic as well as tuition for school (the author is aware of four such venues in the North of England and two in Glasgow). The school organisers therefore charge a fee to cover the rent as well as to buy resources and pay a small fee to teachers as a token of appreciation. In the project on heritage schools in England (Szczepek Reed et al, 2020a) the school leaders explained that they needed to do what

parents expected I terms of teaching FuSHa, or they would lose funds for their rent since parents would go elsewhere. Simon (2018, p.4) points out that, "[b]eyond their role in the delivery of education, supplementary schools act as sites of identity construction through which the community identity is preserved, defended, negotiated and reconstructed in light of discourses circulating within wider society". Parents elect to send their children to these schools for linguistic as well as identity building purposes: when the school does not meet the desired "community identity," parents choose to send their children somewhere else. Hence, even though the school may want to offer a teaching style that incorporates FuSHa and SA, it would require convincing parents of the value of this idea and the school risks losing the majority of their student base. They would also risk losing many of their teachers, who may also hold the belief that only FuSHa should be taught. Azaz and Abourehab (2021, p.91) point out that even if more progressive multilingual-centric pedagogies have been shown to be successful "[t]hese ideologies are predicted to be in conflict with teachers' monolingual ideologies and beliefs that still reverberate an MSA-only policy. This is due to the status and power of the standard variety of Arabic". Therefore, schools sustain the status quo and teach only in MSA or FuSHa to appease parents' expectations of what it means to teach "actual" Arabic.

An important related issue is that distinct from other diglossic situations (e.g., Greek, see Karatsareas's, (2020) discussion on the devaluing of Spoken varieties by diasporic communities in the UK), Arabic is spoken across twenty-two countries, each with distinct SA varieties. This makes the adoption of a translanguaging pedagogy difficult for teachers who have traditionally viewed FuSHa as the only language for the classroom. A translanguaging pedagogy has "been proposed as a critical pedagogy that allows all the linguistic resources of learners to be brought to the classroom in bi/multilingual settings" (Azaz & Abourehab, 2021, p.91). This may be useful in a context where schools are organised specifically for students from a particular background (e.g., Lebanese, Iraqi, Syrian, Libyan), often funded by their embassies. In this case, issues of dialect do not matter so much and a translanguaging pedagogy maybe useful, even encouraged. These schools act to reinforce children's (or parents') national identities through language, cultural celebrations and they allow students to learn, practice for and take exams for their parents' country of origin (e.g., Egyptian or Libyan education system). In the other type of schools that cater for Arabic heritage students from a plethora of countries, such a pedagogy would face resistance. As in other FLP studies, language choices are not purely motivated by linguistic ideologies, but also by various sociocultural factors. These include the demand, context, and to an extent pedagogical expectations of the parents' and the wider Arabic speaking community as well as parents' need to also transmit their national or ethnic identities to their children. This is further complicated by the fact that there is a lack of excellent translanguaging resources and training for teachers to instruct cross-dialectally (see for

example, Al-Batal, 2016). The paper now turns to the methodology adopted for the projects and explains the types of data used to discuss the topic at hand. Both projects had as one of their research questions: *how is Arabic learned as a HL in the UK?*

Methodology

The paper employs a social constructivist perspective and locates meaning within discourse (Boyland, 2019) in participant interactions or interview responses. In its data collection approach, it employs sociolinguistic analysis and linguistic ethnography which allows for multiple mixed methods data to be used in a bid to understand how speakers view their multiple languages and dialects and use them on a daily basis (Wolcott, 1999; Copland & Creese, 2015).

Participants were purposively recruited through Arabic teaching networks and Arab culture lists in emails and other social media channels. In both projects, the target was bilingual speakers of Arabic and English living in the UK. In particular, the schools' headteachers were contacted via email and invited to take part in the project. The emails were obtained from the schools' websites publicly available online. None of the participants were known to the researchers and all those who responded did so out of interest in being part of the projects.

Data sources

Data for this paper derives from two separate projects conducted in the UK. Project one investigated the role Arabic heritage schools play in teaching Arabic and citizenship building of young children in England (Szczepek Reed et al, 2020b). Although the aim of the first project was not directly related to the theme of multiglossia, it was mentioned by teachers directly and identified as a factor in the classroom data. Data was collected through interviews with schoolteachers, headteachers, and students (McGrath, 2019). The researchers also observed live Arabic classes and video recorded these to form a deeper appreciation of how Arabic is taught as a HL in the school. Project two, also in the UK, lasted for twelve months and was interested in how parents taught and planned for their children's Arabic HL learning, with a special focus on language ideology and language practices. Data was collected in the form of surveys (to build demographic details), parental interviews, and audio recordings of home interaction between family members. The merging of data from two separate projects, in this paper, aims to illustrate the versatility as well the complex role the Arabic language plays in the lives of its multilingual speakers across diverse contexts. Though the data in the school and in the home are not based on the same participants, they illustrate the reality of how young multilingual Arabic speaking children are socialised across formal and informal contexts of their HL learning.

Participant profiles

The paper presents data collected from two families (project 2) and two teachers (project 1) from one Arabic weekend school in the UK. Family 1 (F1) is a two-parent family with both parents from different parts of Egypt. The mother, Howaida, was born in the UK, then grew up in Egypt from age two, and returned to the UK at eighteen to complete her degree in nursing. She is of Egyptian and Yemeni heritage and identifies Egyptian Arabic (EA) as her first language with English and has knowledge of Adeni Arabic (AA) and FuSHa. Her husband Hamza was born and raised in the UK and considers English his first language followed by EA. He has some knowledge of FuSHa but cannot read Arabic. He speaks German as a second language and is a freelance translator of German-Arabic texts. He teaches Geography at the local secondary school. Their four children are all born and raised in the UK, and from birth were spoken to in a mixture of AA, EA and English. When Fahim (12) the eldest became seven, the parents decided to take a more explicit approach to *"ensuring"* their children had a good grounding in FuSHa. Howaida took charge of ensuring materials, cartoons, books and weekend school curricula were suitable for the children since she *"was educated in Arabic during my teens"* (F1:INT1).

Family 2 (F2) is also a two-parent family. The mother, Najat, is a third-generation Arabic speaker, with her parents born in France and Holland, and then moving to the UK where Najat was born. She considers English her first language, with *"Casablancan Arabic"* as her second language. She cannot read FuSHa nor *"understand lots of it",* but she can read the Qur'an. She is a social worker working closely with foster children and families. Her husband, Kamal, was born in Jordan and arrived in the UK at the age of fifteen to complete his schooling and vocational training as an electrician. He considers Jordanian Arabic (JA of Amman) as his first language followed by English and then FuSHa which he "can read and write and I understand it very well" (F2: INT 1). See table 1 below for more information and summaries on both families:

Table 1. Family Demographics

Family	Parents	Children	Arabic language activities	Language spoken at home
F1	Howaida (36), Egyptian 2nd generation Hamza (39), Egyptian 2nd generation	Salim (12), Year 7 (6th grade) Nora (10) Year 6 (5th grade) Kareem (7) Year 3 (grade 2) Ahmed (3) Pre-school	-Arabic Saturday school -Arabic playgroup -Annual trips to Alexandria -Arabic cartoons -Arabic books (Adeni, Egyptian and Standard Arabic)	Some Adeni Arabic, Egyptian Arabic, English (mainly), some German
F2	Najat (35), Moroccan 3rd generation Kamal (40), Jordanian 2nd generation	Joury (11), Year 7 (6th grade) Laila (9) Year 6 (5th grade) Maria (6) Year 3 (grade 2)	-Arabic Saturday school (online) -Biannual trips to Jordan and Morocco -Arabic cartoons -Arabic books (Standard Arabic)	English (mostly) Standard Arabic, Jordanian Arabic, and Casablanca Arabic (less)

The school

The weekend school caters for children of all Arab backgrounds and teaches Arabic, Islamic Studies, Mathematics, English, and Science. It mees on Saturday, and teaches Arabic as a second language, meaning all students who come into the school begin learning the alphabet first before starting language instruction lessons after which they are grouped by age and then by abilities (beginners, intermediate and advanced). Teachers at the school are graduates from their countries of origin: Iraq, Algeria, and Jordan and many have also trained as qualified teachers in the UK (Qualified Teacher Status (QTA)). They were educated in Arabic until their undergraduate studies and therefore have strong foundational knowledge in the Arabic language. The school teaches about two hundred students on a Saturday during term times and closes during mainstream school holidays.

The data from the school is based on one Arabic teaching session and two interviews with the two class teachers. Like the home data, all interview data was audio recorded, but the classroom teaching data was video recorded. The researchers only received consent that allowed them to use the audio component of the video data and to not share the video or its stills.

Teacher one is Afaf (36), originally from Iraq. An engineer by training, she arrived in the UK at the age of twenty and trained as a physics teacher five years later. She *has "a passion and love for the Arabic language and that's why I take my spare time and teach it to the next generation"* (INT: T1). She is a mother of two children (12 and 9) and has trained to teach Arabic through various training bodies in the UK and online from the US. The second teacher is Khaula (40), who is from Egypt and has lived in the UK since her early twenties. She is an IT teacher in her local high school, and she also runs a small online IT skills training business for women in Egypt. She has four children (21, 17 14, 10) and is a grandmother who *"shares my Arabic with my grandchildren so that they know how to talk to me"* (INT: T2). She has taught Arabic for the last 10 years and has been an examiner for Edexcel Arabic GCSE exams for five years at the time of the project. Together the data sources offer a rich store of information and insights into how parents, children, and teachers (all of whom make up the Arabic speaking community) use and think about their languages in spontaneous day-to-day communication contexts.

Ethics

Both projects adhered to the ESRC's framework for research ethics (ESRC, 2015) as well as those of the University of York. Participant identities were protected their exact places of living and learning as well, all names used are pseudonyms and any unique identifying details about the participants and the school that would cause them to be recognizable (yet inconsequential to the analysis of data) were omitted. Signed consent forms were collected after family, school headteachers, teachers, and students were briefed on the nature of the study. During and after the data collection period all data was anonymised and any identifying information was removed and stored separately. Anonymised data was shared with the research assistant for transcribing purposes (project one and two) and similarly when data was shared with an independent researcher for purposes of rigour and ensuring that suggested themes were reflective of the data. All participants were also informed about how their data would be used and where and for how long it would be stored by the researcher.

Data analysis

Data was systematically analysed following the principles of inductive analysis that consisted of careful numerous re-readings, reflection, and iterative evaluation of raw data (Guest et al, 2011) in order to answer the research question. The interactional data was transcribed and where necessary translated into English and interactional sociolinguistics (Rampton, 2019) was used as a lens through which to focus on how speakers make meaning during interaction. The

interviews were transcribed and analysed thematically (Braun & Clarke, 2006) following the six-step method (Braun & Clark, 2017, see Appendix I for an example of the process of analysis) to identify ideas and understand notions that organise the families and schools in how they learn, teach, and use Arabic as a HL. See Appendix II for key to symbols and writing conventions in the transcription and interview samples. Survey data was used to build family and individual teacher profiles and demographic information that would add context to the other data sources.

A note on reflexivity and positionality

The researcher, being an Arabic speaker in the UK herself, tried to remain curious during the data analysis process rather than relying on shared background assumptions. This was the only way to respect the data and to fully access it (Whitecross & Smithson, 2023; L'Ecuyer, 2014) whilst consciously working to suspend any judgments. The researcher avoided relying completely on her knowledge of Arabic, or participants' use of the language in other projects, to make assumptions about possible meanings in this project. But asking questions about each aspect of interest whilst remaining curious about the responses helped to avoid stereotypes and present a much more robust account of the data. The next section introduces the participants in the data and the contexts from which data was collected.

Findings

Contexts of data collection

Data was collected in two settings at home and at the Saturday Arabic (heritage language) schools. In the home, interactional data samples were collected, and it was clear that translanguaging (Albirini, 2011; Bonacina-Pugh et al, 2021; Prilutskaya, 2021) was extensively employed, owing to the fact that these were multilingual families. In general, where families used more than one type of Arabic, and especially FuSHa, their children appeared more confident to speak in Arabic (see Khamis-Dakwar & Makhoul, 2022). The children explored different words and expressions across the dialects and were eager to read in Arabic. Others decided to only teach FuSHa and speak English, whilst some offered both forms of Arabic but were unsure of the correct ratio of exposure to each variety for effective learning. Multiglossia was an issue that seemed to determine many of these families' language choices and language management efforts.

Similarly, in the classroom teaching data, although teachers taught FuSHa grammatical rules, they instructed in both Spoken Arabic (SA) and FuSHa. They asked questions, pointed out errors and talked to students whilst moving between both varieties and without seeming to confuse students. What is of note, is that some of these teachers held the belief that FuSHa should only be taught in FuSHa, though their practices openly contradicted their declared beliefs. Some teachers noted that in classes where cross-dialectal communication took place (i.e., SA was used alongside FuSHa), students spoke more Arabic than in classes where only FuSHa was strictly adhered to. Again, multiglossia appeared to be a constant backdrop to all decisions and pedagogical choices teachers made whilst teaching Arabic as a HL.

Thematic analysis of the interview data and interactional sociolinguistic analysis of the spoken home and classroom data highlighted the central role the notion multiglossia plays in how parents, families, teachers, and their students learn, think about, and use or try to control how the Arabic language is used. Data presented here is exclusively from parent and teacher interviews as well as home interaction. The main theme "multiglossia and HL transmission" has two sub-themes: (1) Multiglossia is a positive feature, (2) Multiglossia makes learning Arabic as a HL difficult (see appendix I for a brief example of how themes were derived). Below is an overview of the data in both sites followed by data excerpts organized under the themes and sub-themes were appropriate.

Multiglossia and HL transmission

Descriptions of multiglossia and its effect on parental language practice and management choices and pedagogical teaching decisions were of note and some examples are shown below.

Sub-theme 1: Multiglossia as a positive feature

In this interactional example, the children (Kareem (7) and Nora (10)) are playing hide and seek when the mother (Howaida) asks Kareem if he would like a lettuce in his sandwich, he chooses to answer yes in the Egyptian Arabic (EA) *"aah"* who which his sister reacts to and begins a series of exchanges with him about the inappropriateness of his choice of word. What is of note in this particular interaction, is not only the mother's intervention and communication of her ideology that both forms of Arabic can be used, but that her daughter Nora (10) has already formed strong beliefs about which form of Arabic is appropriate to use in which social situation:

Excerpt 1: "No say, na'am!"

01	Kareem	Yes, *aah, aah*! With lots of cheese please

02	Nora	No, we say **na'am na'am!**
03	Kareem	No I can say it…like...what I like
04	Nora	But Maama says you say **na'am** you're not talking to [a
05	Kareem	[no, I can say it how I like
06	Nora	When she's calling you, then you say **na'am** not *aah, aah, aah*, so silly so rude
07	Kareem	*Aah* is not rude [begins to cry]
08	Mother	*Khalaas! Khalaas! Kifayah ba'a* you guys are… *eh da*? Enough, enough! That's it you guys are … what is this?
09	Nora	He's being rude and you said say **"na'am"** when I call you He's being rude and you say ""yes" when I call you"
10	Mother	*Khalaas*, *ma feesh muskhilah*, don't fight and shout *ya* Maama let him answer with both, both are *'araby* It's okay, no problem, don't fight and shout my daughter let him answer with both, both are Arabic!
11	Kareem	Maama sorry for being rude [continues to cry]
12	Mother	*La! La, khalaas, yalla* hug each other and *ulee aasifa ya* Maama, Nawwarah *yalla* No! No, enough, come on now hug each other and say sorry my daughter, Nawwarah (nickname) come on.
13	Nora	Okay, sorry Maama…sorry ya Karam (nickname)
14	Mother	*Skukran*, thank you *aiwa da hilw*… Thank you, thank you, yes this is good [now]

Note that the nicknames used are also pseudonyms to replace the actual nicknames used in the recording. In this interaction, Nora socialises her brother by taking charge in 'correcting' his choice of dialect. She inadvertently positions herself as supporter of the FuSHa "na'am" which is perhaps as a result of the ideological socialization she has already undergone as a speaker of Arabic. It is not uncommon for speakers of Arabic to engage in long conversations about the merits and downsides of Arabic's linguistic reality of multiglossia. Each speaker holds different, often opposing, beliefs to others and children witness such passionate discussions and thus internalise what they hear and utilize such views as a base of forming their own early beliefs. However, in Nora's family the mother champions the use of *'aammiyah* (spoken Arabic*)* as she expressed in the interview because she is "very proud of my Egyptian Yemeni heritage and language" and wants her children to use SA as "much as possible" (INT: F1). It is not clear if Nora holds the belief that *'aammiyah* should not be used because of its hierarchy or social position as seen by its speakers; but she does hold a strong belief about the functionality of each variety. She believes FuSHa is a worthy vehicle through which to show respect to the mother and *'aammiyah* is for other times. She bases her insistence for the need to use yes or "na'am" (turn 09) by reminding the mother that it was she who in fact previously socialized them to respond to her with "na'am" when she calls their names.

Nora has come to therefore understand "na'am" as the polite and appropriate word and variety to use when interacting with her parents. Two aspects rise out of this reference to the family's socialization practices, one, that ideologies do not always translate into language practices so although the mother may have taught such a rule, she now directly contradicts that here (Curdt-Christiansen, 2016) and allows for both forms of Arabic to be used. Such contradictions are found in many FLP studies and are simply a reflection of the incongruent relationship between ideologies and actual language practices. So, whilst the mother emphasizes in the interview that she supports both varieties of Arabic, it seems that her language management strategies and socialization preferences do not explicitly support her declared beliefs. Secondly, the sample illustrates children's direct contribution to family language practices as well as their language management attempts. Language management refers to "the explicit and observable effort by someone or some group that has or claims to have authority over the participants in the domain (Spolsky, 2009, p.4). Nora tried to control Kareem's language use which the mother overruled and instead allowed for language to be used another way.

From an interactional sociolinguistics perspective language is seen as indexical to social reality as this interaction clearly demonstrates. The ubiquitous nature of language and language related notions (multiglossia and the function of language varieties) are inseparable from the everyday lives of speakers. As illustrated above through a mundane question about the contents of a sandwich the interaction smoothly turns to the explicit discussion about the lexical function of words in the Arabic language. All interlocutors engage with this new direction without asking why they are talking about this topic and without disengaging from the conversation. The mother's intervention highlights too that family multilingualism and language choices can also be choices directly related to the forging of familial relationships (Lanza, 2007; Said & Zhu, 2019; Fogle, 2013), as the mother does not want conflict between the children. It is unclear whether the mother would have supported Nora had this instance not been a disagreement between the children.

Interviews were an excellent way for the researcher to probe further about language rules in the home and what family preferences were in regard to the use of Arabic and English. Although the researcher did not ask about multiglossia, parents were quick to bring it into the conversation, again illustrating the heavy shadow of ideology on the everyday use of Arabic (Said, *forthcoming*). The reference to multiglossia was either through their description of the struggles they face when looking for appropriate literacy materials (see Said, 2021a) or media content or in general about the challenges they face with transmitting Arabic as a HL. The below interview response (excerpt 2) is an example,

Excerpt 2: "It makes their Arabic good"

Najat (F2), says that she likes to use all types of Arabic when transmitting the language to her children,

> "I like that they have a chance to learn more than one type of Arabic. I had real problems with husband, he's [Jordanian] Arabic is great and I get it most of the time, but sometimes, I really do not understand it. I won't even go into my Moroccan, he now gets it mostly after all these years, but I feel like we were hidden away from the different *'Arabiyyat* (Arabics) hhhh [laughs]. I want the kids to get a chance to hear different Arabic types. Kamal is against reading in *'aammiyah* though, so we just at least show them *khaleeji* (Gulf), Egyptian and Moroccan children's programs in Darija or spoken Arabic. I don't wanna go against him because I make the rules for everything around here, if he's involved then I'll go with him so he will also help me hhhh... umm...I think it makes their Arabic good and nicer than the kids who only learn one type, I love Arabic for that, so many choices"

Najat's aim is to allow her children to learn and speak any type of Arabic so that her children can avoid the challenges she faced with having to learn Jordanian Arabic in order to communicate with her husband and his family. She does, however, demonstrate that the FLP rules in the home are also made with her husband. Since he does not support reading in Spoken Arabic (SA) she implements that as a rule in the home and she agrees to do so as a bid to get him to help her in finding suitable books and for him to be more involved in the children's journey to learn Arabic. Though mothers always undertake much of the language management efforts in the home, fathers play an important supportive role. In this, like many Arabic speaking families, multiglossia influences the language and literacy choices parents make for the transmission of Arabic.

The mother works to implement her belief that embracing the multiglossic nature of Arabic will be useful to her children and proceeds to choose suitable SA cartoons and shows to support this belief. She notes that, "the kids speak a lot of Arabic, they are constantly making comparisons between words". This is true and corroborated through other interactional data of peer-to-peer play, as in excerpt three.

Excerpt 3: Moya, maa', water

01	**Joury**	Okay okay you speak Arabic but pretend that you don't know English, *yalla yalla*
02	**Laila**	Okay okay *ana miskeenah ana biddy moya*
03	**Maria**	**Maa', maa'** yes hhh
04	**Joury**	*Yalla* Maria speak Arabic now too

05	**Maria**	*Ana mneeha biddy maa* is *maa moya* and water?
06	**Joury**	Yeah it is all the same…so come on you need…you be Muna, I'll be Hawa and you be Ahmad
07	**Maria**	No I am a girl. I be Nuha. I will choose *maa* then, *biddy maa hhhh w sandawichet laham*
08	**Laila**	*Wa ana kamaan biddy moya*
09	**Joury**	I know I got an idea let me be a shopkeeper, you have to make your order, ask me '*ammo biddy* blah blah blah okay?
10	**Maria**	**Maa' maa' maa' maa' shukran ya rabby 'alal maa'** Water, water, water, water, thank you Lord for the water [sings and siblings join in and sing very loudly]

The talk about language and the translation equivalents between the dialects is almost unmarked by the children. Maria (6) being the youngest seems more interested in making the connections between the three lexical items and Joury takes the position as the authority figure and affirms (turn 06) that all three share one meaning. This episode takes place in the mother's presence, but she does not intervene to manage the language use. Her silence is approval to the way the children are translanguaging and moving between not only languages but dialects and accents (Garcia & Kleifgen, 2020). Trentman and Shiri (2020, p.126) note that this movement between languages is expected among multilinguals' whereby "translanguaging practices drawing from a variety of multilingual and multidialectal resources to negotiate language learning as well as achieve interactional and social goals". Garcia and Li Wei's (2014) groundbreaking work helped researchers and teachers understand that this fluid language practice is ordinary to multilinguals and that classrooms should embrace such natural practices. Not only will such practices foster more attractive language learning experiences for children, but they also contribute towards shifting towards a more social-justice centric teaching and learning model for multilinguals.

Language is a tool multilingual children use for play or to enhance their imaginative play experiences (see Paugh, 2005). In excerpt three, the game develops simultaneously along the same time frame as the metalinguistic talk develops illustrating how multilingual children live on a daily basis being constantly aware of the functionalities of their languages, and in this case, dialects too. At the end of the excerpt above, Maria sings a song from the popular children's Show "*Iftah ya Simsim*" based on the Sesame Street shows. An indication that the children are exposed to an array of Arabic language input sources in addition to their parents' language use. In language acquisition studies, the notion of translation equivalents is noted to take place between two distinct languages (Nicoladis & Genesee, 1996), but for Arabic speakers this process is not bi- directional in the sense of moving between two languages instead speakers

also move between three, often more, dialects with distinct sets of lexical items that all share the same meaning. This is an area gaining more exploration, especially among HL bilinguals (see Rothman et al, 2016).

Excerpt 4: '*Afiyeh, Mumtaz* well done!

Translanguaging in the classroom is not different to how it takes place in the home. The data below demonstrates how the teacher weaves the different varieties and dialects in a single session teaching and revising with students about the present tense in Arabic. These students were aged 11 and 12.

01	**Teacher**	*Kul waahed yurrakiz 'ani ssu'aal maali okay Yasin, okay? Eeeeh, kul waahed…areed ya'nee please yantabih 'ala su'aal maali wa yujaawib…intabih 'ala su'aal maali wal jawaab maali* okay Each one of you focus on my questions okay, Yasin, okay? Umm, each one of you…I want, I mean please pay attention on my question and answer…pay attention to my question and my answer okay? Silence, teacher allows late students into the class …alyaum fi ssubuh ishtaghalna 'alal "**al fi'l al mudhaari'**" okay *Al yaum ishtaghalna 'ala…qassamnaa al af'aal* Silence *Okay anwaa' al af'aal Ahmad tadhkkar as-subbuh shniow anwaa' al af'aal illy darasnaahaa fi class fi tamaareen faddhal* Ahmed Today in the morning we worked on verbs "the present tense verb" okay? Today we worked on the…we categorized the verbs. Okay, types of verbs, Ahmed do you remember in the morning what types of verbs we studies in class in the exercises… go ahead please Ahmed.
02	**Ahmed**	**Fi'l mudhaari'** Present tense
03	**Teacher**	*'Afiyeh* Well done
04	**Ahmed**	**Fi'l maadhee w fi'l musta[qbal** Past tense and future tense
05	**Teacher**	*mustaqbal, 'afiyeh,* **mumtaaz,** well done Future tense, well done, excellent, well done
06	**Qasim**	Ah, so Miss, **ya ustadha** umm.. amr **fi'l amr** Ah, so Miss, O teacher, umm… command, commanding form [of the verb]
07	**Teacher**	**Amr, mumtaaz** Commanding, excellent!

The excerpt starts ten minutes into the session, as students found it difficult to settle with the presence of the camera in class and it was also after their lunch break. The teacher (Afaf) reminds the students that this is a second session to what was already taught earlier that day and

asks them to pay attention. She begins by asking them to remind her about the types of verbs they learned about.

The teacher speaks along a continuum of a repertoire between Iraqi Arabic and FuSHa, with words such as *"shinow*" (what, Iraqi)", *"ishtaghalna"* (we worked, FuSHa), and *"maali"* (mine, Iraqi). This variation does not seem to impede student learning nor their ability to respond to her and interact in class. Afaf explained she chose to use SA *"to make the session easier, more interesting for them, I don't want anyone telling me, Ustadha (teacher), "I don't get it"* (INT:T1). Every single student in the class has an opportunity to speak and interact with the teacher and with the assistant who also conversed along the same continuum. Students however respond to the teacher in FuSHa and not in SA. This may be a rule they have internalised or have previously learned with other teachers given the fact that numerous teachers from different backgrounds teach at their school. They understand that FuSHa operates like a Lingua Franca and can be used with all speakers of Arabic as a language of communication. The teacher praises answers "na'am (yes, FuSHa), *'*afiyeh (well done, Iraqi), mumtaaz (excellent, FuSHa) and then she recasts what the student has said in order for others to understand. She explains and delivers the entire lesson in Arabic along the above-described continuum and the students speak Arabic throughout the session with very minimal use of English. Perhaps the teacher's use of multiple Arabic varieties creates an environment in which students feel confident to speak in Arabic and not resort to English much, which is an achievement most Arabic teachers desire. The children are being socialised into translanguaging practices whereby the use of English, FuSHa and multiple dialects are used at once in a single communication event.

Afaf mentions later in the interview that, *"I find that students push themselves to use harakat (diacritical marking) correctly at the end of the words, that makes me happy and sometimes I joke by using 'aammiyah and they correct me*" (INT:T1). She illustrates here that her strategy to use 'aammiyah is a good one since it pushes students to show understanding of the grammar of FuSHa. Afaf was open in her views of using SA in the classroom and showed awareness and justification for why she used both varieties.

What cannot be fully demonstrated through these transcripts is that the children of Yemeni background respond to the teacher in Arabic in their distinct Yemeni accents which sets them apart from the other students in the classroom. This raises another question, beyond the scope of this paper, is accent a feature of HL transmission? How can children who are born in non-Arabic speaking majority countries acquire their parents' accents? It would seem from this,

that students are at ease and are allowed to explore different aspects of Arabic through the teacher's choice to use her Iraqi Arabic alongside, FuSHa and English to a lesser extent.

Sub-theme 2: Multiglossia makes learning Arabic as a HL difficult

On the other hand, Khaula holds a belief that multiglossia or in particular, the use of *'aammiyah* to teach FuSHa or Standard Arabic is undesirable. She declares this in the interview that she dislikes using SA to teach FuSHa and and says that,

Excerpt 5: Confusion for the students

> "[s]tudents need only **FuSHa**, it's the language of the Qur'an it's the best example of how to use the Arabic language, how can I start to communicate to them in *'aammiyah*? That does not make sense to me, I will confuse them and I need to be the real life of the language, to show them that this is not impossible, we can talk like this and that it is beautiful language. How I can teach them **"wal qana yaqrau' l-qana"** in *'aammiyah*? How will they appreciate the sounds, tones, the **mashhad** (context) of the text and hear the master talent of the writer? So yes, we do not deny it [diglossia], but we need to separate it and no one should claim they can or will learn Arabic whilst hearing *'aammiyah* from the teacher"

Similar to many parents and teachers across the literature on learning and teaching Arabic, Khaula relies on the justification that Arabic is the language of the Qur'an and must therefore only be learned or taught in FuSHa is common. This motivates her to prefer only using FuSHa and she goes on to try and further explain why she holds such a belief. The boldened line above "wal qana yaqru' l-qana" literally means "and the spear clashed with [another] spear" describing a scene in battle from a stanza in a poem by the famous poet Abu Tayyib al-Muttanabbi (see Larkin, 2008 for commentary). In this second half of the ninth stanza, like in all his other poems, he employs his unique style of describing a scene vividly and creatively through the use of allegory, metaphor, perfect metre, and onomatopoeia. Without ceremony in the middle of the interview, she quotes this part of the stanza from the poem, and asks how can she teach that in 'aammiyah? Khaula feels that to teach such a refined text in 'aammiyah would diminish the beauty of the language and erase the intricacies of FuSHa. She emphasizes the need to model excellent Arabic for students and wishes not to confuse them. The refusal however, to use 'aammiyah in the classroom does not suggest that teachers are oblivious to the sociolinguistic reality of how diglossic languages function (cf. Soliman & Khalil, 2022) nor the important role 'aammiyah plays in communication. It means that they prefer and hold strong

beliefs about the "purity" of the language and the need to separate the two for the purposes of learning. She adds later, *"I am not against 'aammiyah, I speak 'aammiyah and I find that I express myself really well in it better than FuSHa, but as a teacher I don't want to confuse students who are already struggling with keeping Arabic and fighting against the English"* (INT1: T2). Her belief is that 'aammiyah and FuSHa both exist but each has a distinct function and 'aammiyah has no place in the classroom for children learning Arabic as a HL. This is exactly the opposite to Afaf. Interestingly, both teachers teach in the same school and chances are that all students will learn from both of them during their years of attendance, it would be fascinating to understand how their beliefs would affect student beliefs about multiglossia.

Discussion and Conclusion

The five data samples above were representative of the themes and meanings in the data that related to Arabic multiglossia and its connection to it as a HL in both home and educational domains. All actual examples of using Arabic cross-dialectally illustrate the ease of moving between the dialects without problems in meaning between speakers, demonstrating that for speakers there is no separation of languages and dialects within their repertoire. The paper made a significant contribution to the current understandings of how Arabic speakers at home and in educational settings view multiglossia and how such beliefs affect how they use, learn, and transmit it. The negative, often highly complicated perceptions of multiglossia push parents and teachers to form specific ideologies that sometimes become apparent in language practices and these adopted beliefs also influence language management decisions by parents and teachers.

The home data demonstrated that talk about language and language itself are intertwined with the business of daily life and the building, negotiating, and the redefining of family relationships. Children are afforded space to explore their languages, language varieties and use these as they wish within the home. They also form ideas about issues central to their languages such as, in this case, multiglossia early on and further develop them as they continue socialization by and through their language. In the family data, it is clear that sociocultural needs and contexts take precedence over any ideology parents claim to hold. This is why there remains a discrepancy between parents' declared ideologies and their language practices.

On the other hand, the school data, though in a different setting, similarly demonstrated that language takes a central role in the activities and represents more than its linguistic characteristic. Here, language ideologies are explicitly palpable within the classroom and come alive during teaching and the pedagogical preferences teachers enact. Children who attend these heritage language schools are exposed to an array of dialects which model the multiglossic

nature of the Arabic language and the reality of how its speakers use it in educational settings. Children internalize these ideologies from how they learn the Arabic language coupled with their parents own ideas about Arabic which contribute to children's own formation of beliefs about their languages and dialects as well as the role their repertoire plays in their lives. Arabic language classrooms would benefit greatly from adopting translanguaging-based pedagogies, whereby children would not only be exposed to multiple ways of expressing meaning, but also feel more comfortable using Arabic in everyday communication.

Consistency in how teachers use Arabic for teaching or their awareness of how they translanguage is very important for the students' learning of Arabic. Without such awareness and consistency in style, students learning will be affected (Azaz & Abourehab, 2021). Such an argument however, though valid and true, does not bear on the everyday use of Arabic as a language of communication. This is where the notion of Arabic as a multiglossic language becomes valuable, by using 'aammiyah one cannot affect their learning and understanding of the Qur'an. No doubt that for students learning Arabic as a HL learning the differences between the *Arabics* may be a burdern, but the literature does not report that it would impede understanding of the Standard or Qur'anic Arabic. Instead, a multiglossic pedagogy would benefit children's experiences of learning Arabic as a HL.

The paper has demonstrated that Arabic speaking children undergo multidialectal socialization which is different from multilingual socialization that other multilingually raised children experience. They learn to speak more than one distinct language, but Arabic speaking children learn their own dialect, then learn FuSHa and are then also exposed to other *Arabics*. The difference in multidialectal socialization is that children are socialized into and through more than one dialect with space made for more than one way to express a thought or meaning. This expands their linguistic repertoire and their knowledge of semantic fields in Arabic across the varieties they are exposed to (Aljehani, 2014; Badran, 2022). Lexical items are the building blocks of a language, the more words children learn the more of the language they understand and more of it, they themselves, can produce (Nation, 2014). When children acquire a large number of lexical items, they need to semantically organise these (e.g., kinship terms, adjectives, tenses) and then use them to express themselves, such activities strengthen and support children's cognitive skills and development (Tager-Flusberg, 2002).

It would be pretentious, however, to claim that all families welcome the use and learning of multiple dialects. For example, in a project looking at, among other variables, the role of digital content on the learning of Arabic, vlogs were found to be important mediums of language and cultural immersion. They allowed children to learn and be exposed to cultures and different

dialects of other Arabic speakers whom they would not usually encounter. However, during the interviews, parents expressed a dislike to their children using dialects other than their own, emphasizing that each person should only speak their own dialect (Said, *under review*). The point, however, remains that Arabic speaking children undergo multidialectal socialisation (within languages) which is a unique experience and different to multilingual socialisation (across languages).

From a methodological perspective, the data demonstrated that there is value in collecting ethnographic data and offering participants an opportunity to discuss and describe the issues that organise their thinking and how they choose their language practices. In traditional surveys participants do not have the opportunity to explain the multilayered and complex meanings of their linguistic experiences, interviews offer such an opportunity and allow researchers to gain a better understanding of the phenomena under study.

It is hoped that such data allows researchers and students to move away from the often-imagined theoretical demarcations of FuSHa versus Spoken Arabic towards a more precise view that language is used in ways that show it to be at once rigid, based on ideology, but also fluid, flexible, and primarily to serve the communicative, identity, or social emotional needs of the speaker in that context at that time. Using language in this manner may also offer an opportunity for HL speaking children to learn, explore and experience Arabic in ways that make its learning more attractive.

In all, ideologies about multiglossia are complex, multilayered, and as the data above shows not always about the language itself though they originate from speaker-community ideas about how the language should function. Rather, speakers' uses of Arabic in multiglossic ways are influenced in the home domain by sociocultural emotional needs and in the education domain by parental expectations and teachers' language beliefs, use and teaching practices. The paper concludes that embracing the multiglossic characteristic of Arabic will enhance parental and education institutions' efforts to teach and transmit Arabic as a HL more effectively. In this way students and children will feel less pressure to produce so-called "perfect" and "pure" Arabic and may be more motivated to learn both FuSHa and Spoken Arabic simultaneously. It is hoped that future studies can also include students and children's voices about multiglossia and how they think such a characteristic affects their own learning of their HL.

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Appendix I- Thematic analysis example from data Steps Data sample

Steps	Data sample
1: Familiarizing yourself with the data *(reading the data more than once in parts and its entirety).* At this stage the researcher read and underlined anything that caught her attention in terms of description or language use that was emotive.	**Ex. 1 from Parental interview:** "Arabic is not like Spanish, I have to teach them more than one Arabic because I want them to read Arabic, understand and enjoy all the good books and stories. So, this 'ammiyyah and FuSHa thing is really killing, *shay' yu'waaji' raasi,* I'm telling you. do I give them both? Or one? Or none? My mother thinks they don't need FuSHa, my mother-in-law..well..hhhh [laughs] she speaks to them in FuSHa and makes comments when they cannot umm…give her.. answer back, so it's really difficult for me in addition to needing to be a good mother and get them all they need, *ana umm, wa umm mumtaazah* is..umm.. if I can say so, hhhh [laughs] but this thing is heavy on me" **Ex. 2 from interaction** 01 Child 1 Say *maa'* not *moya*, they don't mean the same thing. 02 Child 2 Yes, they do, it's the same, if I need water, if I'm thirsty and I say give me water are you gonna say to me, say it like this *"maa'"* (makes a small squeaky voice) 03 Child 1 No 04 Child 2 No, I didn't think so 05 Mother Don't you think Arabic gives us more than two ways to say something? 06 Child 2 Yeah Mother Great, so it's good then
2: Generating initial codes (*Finding initial codes in the data: reading the data closely and iteratively to organise data).* Boyatzis (1998, p.63) defines a code as 2[t]he most basic segment, or element, of the raw data or information that can be assessed in a meaningful way regarding the phenomenon"	Having read the data a few times and underlining some sections from the interviews and identifying some interactions the following initial codes emerged: **a. Diglossia is a problem/it's hard** **b. Children don't like diglossia/find it a challenge/have different opinions about it?** **c. Diglossia puts pressure on the parents and children to learn** **d. Being a good mother and teaching Arabic**
3: Searching for themes *(mapping of the various codes by combining, analysing, and comparing across the data set).* Notes about themes should be noted at this stage. This is	A month later another round of readings and re-evaluation of codes assigned last time. Revising all the data assigned to the proposed codes above and then assigning more data to try to make a coherent set of themes. **Diglossia gives people freedom and choice in language use** this can be seen in the mother's intervention between the two children reminding

usually a write/think-out-aloud process.	them that there are two ways to say the same thing and it could be a positive characteristic of Arabic. Her intervention also plays a double role in that she is taking on the position of mediator and trying to diffuse a tense situation between her children who are in disagreement. **Development of child language beliefs** there is also a related issue of children building their language beliefs from a young age (under 10) about the appropriate way to speak or, in this case, the correct variety of Arabic to use. **Diglossia makes Arabic too hard to learn** this is from the interview and is inferred to in the interaction between the children and their mother also. In the interview the mother communicates her frustration at making these language related decisions and illustrates that the sociolinguistic nature of Arabic is a challenge in transmitting Arabic. **Diglossia puts pressure on the speakers' social and family life** issues of language are in fact issue related to family and the delicate management family expectations as the mother mentions in the interview. She has to take into account her mother and mother-in-law's opinions respectively (perhaps?) and these opposing opinions pose a challenge to her. Language issues may not just be about ideology? Other factors at play here: family relationship dymanics. **Intersection of motherhood and language transmission** the mother adds as a criterion of her being a good mother that she must also ensure good/correct(?) transmission of Arabic to the children. That this aspect of diglossia is adding extra pressure to her role as mother. She also explicitly says that she is an 'excellent mother' perhaps she feels judged?
4: Reviewing themes (*2-level analytical process: step1= ensure all codes fit within proposed themes and step 2= review themes to ensure they map across the data set*). A re-reading of the entire data is required again at this stage to ensure codes and themes are accurate and reflect the data set content.	Current suggested themes have been reviewed again with reference to the data and mapping of each theme to sections of data looking for congruency between labels and examples that capture participants' experiences and accounts. 6 themes have been identified thus far: 1. Diglossia poses a challenge to the teaching and learning of Arabic as a HL 2. Diglossia offers a unique/positive HL learning experience 3. Diglossia contributes to early development of children's language beliefs 4. Language ideology/beliefs affect how speakers view diglossia 5. Language management of Arabic language is unique 6. Intersection of diglossia and motherhood 7. Diglossia and familial relationships The researcher asked an independent researcher to look over themes as they are attributed to data. All information, names and other identifying details of the family were removed. A file containing only the data in question with themes was shared. The independent researcher has agreed with all themes and data as they are attributed to the data that was shared.
5: Defining and naming themes (describing each	1. **Diglossia and family relationship management**- highlights the connection between heritage language maintenance and use to

theme and state why it is important)	family cohesion. This extends to non-immediate family members such as aunts, mothers-in-laws, and parents who live in other geographical areas. They affect parents' language transmission trajectories. It also refers to the statements and language practices that directly connect parenting or more precisely motherhood with language learning and use. Language evokes sociocultural aspects of (in particular) mothers' parenting and how language choices magnify the intersection between language, gender, family life, and HL maintenance. 2. **Diglossia and child agency**- refers to the instances in interactional data, interviews, as well as child interviews, that show the child's direct role in affecting language use and management at home. 3. **Diglossia and HL transmission**- the efforts, rules and events put in place by parents to ensure the learning and use of Arabic take place. 4. **Child language beliefs**- refers to the data that demonstrates children's developing language beliefs and preferences and how they communicate such beliefs. The 7 suggested themes became 4 main themes that represent the data content and interconnected meanings. Some of these themes are further broken down into sub-themes that focus on small unique aspects of the main theme.
6: Producing the report/manuscript *(write up of final analysis, the researcher can broaden the analysis by relating these back to the research question of the project*).	A final report of themes across the data set was prepared and used to disseminate research findings.

Appendix II- key to transcription & abbreviations (adapted from Said & Zhu Hua, 2019)

Symbol/abbreviation	Meaning
INT	Interviewer
…	Long pause
.	Short pause
[	Overlapping speech
xxxx	Unclear speech
Italics	Spoken Arabic
Bold	Standard Arabic
hhhh	laughter

Appendix II: Key to transcripts