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It's an Imagined *Fuṣḥatopia*: Teacher Language Ideologies and Multilingual Practices in Arabic Heritage Learning in the United States

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This article examines teacher ideologies and multilingual practices in teaching Arabic as a heritage language in the USA. Using indexicality and its nexus to language ideologies, it identifies the key index values assigned to Standard Arabic (SA) and how these shape teacher positioning for teaching Arabic heritage. The article also analyzes the extent to which these ideologies are congruent or incongruent with their classroom practices. The findings of in-depth semi-structured interviews showed teachers' veneration of SA with representations that index 'perfection', 'majesty', 'purism', and 'generosity'. Although teachers seemed tolerant of using Arabic dialects strategically, their overall positioning supported teaching SA and minimized teaching dialects. Drawing on data from a larger corpus of around 25 hr of classroom video recordings, teachers showed ubiquitous multilingual and multidialectal practices in classroom discourse. With its dual focus on language ideologies and practices, this article enriches the discussion about the idealization of SA (*fuṣḥatopia*) as restricting the potential of Arabic dialects as important resources for learning SA. It also disrupts the linguistic hierarchy between SA and the dialects.

1. Introduction

Arabic is a world language that is best known as a diglossic language, with at least two varieties existing side by side in most Arabic-speaking communities: Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and the dialects (Ferguson 1959; Badawi 1973). By virtue of its history, MSA occupies a high and official status in Arabic-speaking countries, and it is often assumed to be the common variety of the language and a proxy for national and sometimes religious identity at home and in diaspora (Bale 2010; Albirini 2016). Arabic diglossia is conceptualized by scholars as a continuum rather than a rigid standard-dialect dichotomy (Badawi 1973). It includes practices that range from the most formal (e.g. literary heritage and Qur'an) to the most

colloquial (spoken varieties). Scholars agree that there is overlap between MSA and dialects in these practices (Kaye 1994). For example, Alkhamees *et al.* (2019: 126) who examined diglossia with native speakers concluded that with the emergence of new media, the classical notion of diglossia has been 'destabilized' due to the translingual literacy practices that users engage in. They have also argued that Arabic users are no longer regulated by the traditional understanding of diglossia, but rather they are 'assigning these resources new values; resources refer to the varieties they employ in communication'. Thus, it is important to contemplate on what does this meaning for teaching and learning Arabic as a heritage language and what ideologies are adopted for teaching it.

The context of learning Arabic as a heritage language is under-researched in the USA, although the number of Arabic diasporas is increasing due to geopolitical changes such as labor migration and wars. Current research in this context has focused on characterizing the linguistic profile of heritage learners and how their Modern Standard Arabic is shaped by their dialectal competences (Albirini 2019). Another line of research has focused on the gains Arabic heritage language learners (HLL) make when they employ their integrated linguistic repertoire, including the dialects (Abourehab 2023; Abourehab and Azaz 2023). However, this current research has not examined K-12 teacher ideologies and belief systems and to what degree they reflect their practices in the heritage context.

Using indexicality and its nexus to language ideologies (Woolard 2020), this article explores the language ideologies of Arabic teachers in a community-based setting in which Arabic is taught as a heritage language. It identifies the key index values assigned to Standard Arabic (SA)[1] and how these shape teacher ideologies and orientations toward teaching Arabic as a heritage language. The article also examines the teachers' pedagogical practices and choices to determine to what extent these practices are consistent or inconsistent with their ideologies. The article shows how these ideologies, as revealed in the indexical values, are loaded representations of how and why SA should be the target for learning Arabic as a heritage language. Teachers think that SA or *fuṣḥa* is a 'must' and teaching dialects has 'no benefit' to their heritage language. The indexical values actively link SA to the identities teachers envision for their heritage learners. They could also shape the institutional policies for learning Arabic as a heritage language in the setting under study. Notably, while they defended their strong position on teaching SA, a detailed classroom discourse analysis for one of teachers who was carefully observed revealed multilingual and transdialectal practices that tolerated Arabic dialects and English. It is argued that teacher's ideologies were *inconsistent* or *paradoxical* with their pedagogical practices in the classroom, and the teacher interviews showed a merely *idealized* view of *fuṣḥa*. This idealization of Standard Arabic— *fuṣḥatopia*, I call it— is a feeling of nostalgia that does not reflect the reality of how Arabic is taught or used in this setting. To better contextualize this study and its methods, I first provide relevant background on indexicality and its connection to language ideologies and teacher multilingual practices.

2. Background
2.1 Standard language ideologies

Language ideologies are essential in shaping teacher and learner belief systems. They are often conceptualized as 'any set of beliefs about language articulated by the users [as] rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use' (Silverstein 1979: 193). Some of the language users' beliefs are based on institutional, national, and global beliefs (Blackledge 2005). Language ideologies are influenced and challenged by the sociocultural norms imposed by family members, school, peers, and the media (Park 2021). As such, dominant ideologies impact the speaker's beliefs and attitudes toward language varieties and their use. Another perspective on language ideologies is tied to the concept of 'investment in language' (Darvin and Norton, 2015)

and how language intersects with identity, cultural capital, and social beliefs. Investments in language learning are usually motivated by individual and societal viewpoints about which varieties should be assigned status and prestige.

Standard language ideology is a pervasive ideology in the fields of language education and language policy. As Lippi-Green (1994: 166) puts it, standard language ideology is 'a bias toward an abstracted, *idealized [emphasis added]*, homogeneous spoken language that is imposed from above and which takes as its model the written language'. These beliefs are common in global languages like English, French, and Spanish. Arabic, as one of the world languages, shares the same ideologies. Among Arabic speakers, MSA is perceived to be the most shared and prestigious language variety, although this contradicts speakers' attachment to their own dialectal variations. Paradoxically, these varieties are also deemed less important or valuable. Language ideologies are also essential to understand the motives of the selected language varieties in social contexts. Stressing the social role of language, Heath (1989: 53) identifies language ideologies as an orientation towards the 'roles of language in the social experiences of members as they contribute to the expression of the group'.

The work of Woolard (1998: 3) highlights the connections between language ideologies and other non-linguistic dimensions. In this regard, language ideologies are not necessarily about language; instead, 'they envision and enact ties of language to identity, to aesthetics, to morality, and to epistemology'. Through these connections, they emphasize linguistic use as well as the individual and social group, such as religious affiliation, socialization, schooling, and other social associations. In addition, Woolard (1998: 3) further defines language ideologies as '[r]epresentations, whether explicit or implicit, that construe the intersection of language and human beings in a social world'. With these critical orientations, language ideologies are viewed as the nexus between the linguistic practices and the social contexts of language learners and users (Schieffelin et al. 1998; Kroskrity 2000). They are not simply about language but also involve social and cultural conceptions of personhood, citizenship, morality, quality, and value. Although these ideologies have material effects on the world and are thus particularly important to understand, they do so in the interest of a particular, usually powerful, social position (Farr and Song 2011).

Another dimension of language ideologies, which is of relevance to this article, is the ideology of *language purity*. A central tenet in this regard is that standard languages (namely national languages) need to be protected from any 'foreign' languages (or varieties) that could disrupt them (Blommaert *et al.* 2012). In the same vein, the one-nation-one-language ideology indexes the idea that one common language creates national unity. Such *monolingual ideologies* are normalized where multilingual practices are not encouraged. These normative monolingual ideologies are often promoted by individuals, institutions, and states (Fuller 2018).

2.2 Indexicality

In the study of language ideologies, *indexicality* and *indexical order* have been important analytical tools that reveal teacher values and their meanings, and how they shape their overall belief systems. Language ideologies are not always articulated; they may be inferred from speakers' embodied dispositions in activities and practices. As an analytical tool, indexicality refers to the linguistic expressions and signs that convey meaning within a particular context (context-dependent). These expressions point to or 'index' beliefs, attitudes, and ideological stances about linguistic and social orientations. The interpretation of these meanings in discourse or narratives is socially situated and draws on cultural and contextual knowledge (Gee 2011). As Gal (2023: 5) puts it, it is essential to distinguish between 'meanings conveyed by signs as referential' and 'meanings as indexical, that is, pointing to or in existential connection with some feature of the context in which the signs occur'. These signs may index something that is expressed through gestural or lexical choices, dialects, and registers, among many others. In other words, the situation where the signs occur is associated with the social

and linguistic context in which they are contextualized and compared. Some scholars define this process as *social indexicality* (Gal 2023). Blommaert (2007) also conceptualizes indexicality as a connector that links language to cultural configurations that reflect multilingualism and multiculturalism. As such, individuals' beliefs about language and its users are indexed in their discourse.

Additionally, scholars argued that linguistic signs and expressions occur in a structured and ordered way. The concept of 'indexical order' refers to the indexical meanings that occur in patterns (Silverstein 2003). For instance, in any linguistic interaction, the register that is employed may index the speaker's dialect and social identity. These indexical meanings are not fixed but are imbued within a specific sociocultural context. In a recent study, Tseng (2021) found that language could be an index of culture and identity. This indexical relationship conveys the ethnic and cultural associations and ideologies towards using a non-dominant language. For example, ideologies of language correctness and status often place a linguistic hierarchy among not only different languages but also the dialectal variations within one language. Previous research has also shown that the i*dealization* of native-like expectations and correctness might discourage heritage learners from using their language (Bradley 2013; Tseng 2021). Similarly, in the case of Arabic as a multiglossic and multidialectal language (Bale 2010; Albirini 2016), the assumption or belief that the standard variety of Arabic is the 'correct' or 'pure' variety is a manifestation of monolingual ideologies that conflate language correctness and purity with the power and status of one variety over another.

3. This study

In the very few studies on multilingual practices in Arabic, Oraby and Azaz (2022) found translingual and transdialectal practices in teacher-learner and learner-learner interactions in which these practices enhanced the meaning-making process and deviated from the language-content divide in language education. They also argued that these transdialectal practices mobilized all the varieties in the classroom and destabilized the standard language variety. The multilingual practices in study abroad Arabic programs have been also examined among university-level learners (Trentman 2021). These studies provided insights on multilingual practices inside and outside the classroom among college-level students. Many scholars agree that Arabic bilingual education in the USA is underfunded (Zakharia 2016), and few studies focus on preparing K-12 bilingual Arabic teachers (Bale 2016; Deiri 2021). To this end, there has been less attention given to teachers' ideologies or attitudes toward teaching fuṣḥa and/or dialects, particularly in K-12 settings. This study focuses on teachers' ideologies and pedagogical practices in a K-12 community-based school. In the next section, I describe the community-based context of the study and my positionality as an Arabic speaker and researcher with the community-based teachers. In addition, I discuss the methods used for data collection and analysis. Participants profiles will also be characterized.

4. Methods
4.1 Context

This study was conducted at a community/heritage Arabic language school at a Muslim community center in a southwestern state in the USA. The center's vision aimed at the maintenance of MSA as a community/heritage language and in teaching basic Islamic studies. Learners of all ages come to learn Arabic for one hour per week on Sundays. Adolescent learners represent immigrant and ethno-linguistically diverse groups from the Middle Eastern, North Africa, East and West African regions, and in some cases Asia, mostly from Pakistan, Malaysia, and Indonesia. Learners speak English and often a dialect of Arabic. I

refer to the learners as HLLs for two purposes. The *first* is to amplify the community-based context where they are learning Arabic as a heritage language. The *second* is to highlight the dimension of learning Arabic heritage that is deeply rooted in Islamic history and culture. In this context, most of them come to learn Arabic for religious purposes and particularly to read the Qur'an. Nevertheless, there are a plethora of dialects that continue to support the varieties spoken by Arabic HLLs in this school. The curriculum is designed in MSA specifically for learners who are good at English and live in North America. As announced by the director of the center, there is an MSA/fuṣḥa-only policy that requires teachers to use only that variety in the classrooms.

4.2 Positionality

As a researcher and fluent Arabic speaker, I adopted a reflexive process (Heath and Street 2008; Glesne 2016) throughout the interviews with the teachers. To ensure an accurate interpretation of the data, I carefully examined the elaborations and responses by participants to the interview questions. I adopted an emic view to aid the analysis and to provide thick descriptions (Geertz 1973) of the social and cultural practices and perspectives shown by the participants. I documented the observations in weekly inquiry logs to record any methodological decisions and insights to help trace this reflexive process.

4.3 Data and participants

The data analyzed in this article came from a corpus of a larger ethnographic study that consisted of 25 contact hours of instruction, an hour per session, that were audio- and video-recorded from Fall 2021–Fall 2022. It also included in-depth interviews conducted with four Arabic teachers. The teachers were identified through snowball sampling (Noy 2008; Woodley and Lockard 2016). They were recruited after reaching out to the school principal to help identify Arabic teachers. Their consent forms were used for the classroom recording, observation, and subsequent interviews. In the context of this article, the focus is on the perspectives of two teachers who taught the same Arabic level and taught the same students in previous years according to what they shared in the interviews.

The *first* teacher is *Ustaadha Faraḥ (UF)*, a female teacher from *Palestine*. She has been in the US for 18 years. She taught Arabic at (and also directed) the Saudi School (which used to be a school in the southwestern part of the USA) for two years. In total, she has been teaching Arabic and Islamic studies for ten years, and only for one year in the setting under consideration. She is also a mother of three Arabic HLLs. The *second* teacher, *Ustaadha Wafaaʔ (UW)*, is a Yemeni female teacher who has been teaching Arabic for more than twenty years. She holds a master in Arabic linguistics from Yemen, and she is a professional poetess. Like UF, she taught Arabic at the Saudi School. She was also the Sunday school principal, and she has been teaching Arabic for ten years in the USA. Given her linguistic training, she taught the advanced classroom at the Sunday School.

For specificity, I carefully present and analyze the pedagogical practices from UF's intermediate/advanced Arabic classroom. UW also taught the same Arabic levels in previous years, but she was not teaching at the time of the study after she became principal. The interview excerpts in this paper help identify her ideologies about teaching Arabic as a heritage language and also showcase her school's policy. The Arabic HLL participants (*n* = 5, two females and three males) were adolescents whose grades ranged between the 7th and 10th grades and their ages ranged between 13 and 16 years. Their heritage dialect distribution was as follows: two Iraqi, two Libyan, and one Jordanian. They were all at the intermediate/advanced level in MSA, as demonstrated by analyzing language samples when they were asked to write and speak only in MSA.

To analyze teachers' ideologies and practices, an in-depth semi-structured interview (Seidman 2006) was conducted with UF after the first classroom observation to discuss the practices that

were observed in the classroom. The goal of the interview was to characterize her perspectives and practices and delve more into the multilingual practices to understand their scope and the benefits she thinks these practices offer. Another goal of the interview was to uncover the ideologies that motivate these practices. The structure of the interview consisted of three parts: educational and professional background (four questions); pedagogical practices (21 questions); and opinions (3 questions). The second part delves into two categories of practices. Here, I focus on one, which is the multidialectal, translingual, or transdialectal. This part of the interview uncovered teacher practices and beliefs about the strategic use of Arabic dialects, Standard Arabic, and English and other languages. The same interview questions were also conducted with UW. Both interviews took place on site. Questions that ran counter to some beliefs were asked in the interview to tease apart and sometimes to challenge teacher views and perspectives. For example, if the teacher showed flexibility with including dialects in the Arabic class, she was probed with a follow-up question to explore this belief such as 'do you think that students should learn a dialect other than their home dialect?'

Following participant language leads, the interviews were conducted in Standard Arabic (any dialect) and/or English. The interviewer used her native Egyptian dialect if the participants preferred the interview to be in Arabic, but the participants were given the freedom to respond in whatever language or variety they felt comfortable. Their responses were translingual in nature; they responded in their native dialects but used English and SA as well. The interview lasted for an hour. Through constant comparative analysis and thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke 2006; Xu and Zammit 2020), the emerging themes were coded, and repeated patterns were identified using an inductive coding process, such as multidialectal awareness, functions of dialects, beliefs, and challenges.

Data analysis used open coding of data to allow for possible emerging themes that relate to teacher ideologies and multilingual practices. To distinguish the varieties used in the interaction, these abbreviations were used: PA (Palestinian Arabic), JA (Jordanian Arabic), IA (Iraqi Arabic), and MSA (Modern Standard Arabic). An *italic* font was used consistently for the translation/glossing of the utterances. Arabic transliteration symbols were also used consistently (see Supplementary Appendix). Special attention was given to the use of trans/multidialectal practices and patterns of alternation as bridges to learn the linguistic feature in hand. These practices were used as resources that the teachers deployed in the interactions when learners could not speak the standard variety. The learners were given pseudonyms.

In the next section, I discuss the findings from the teachers interviews with close attention to the ideologies that were indexed. I also showcase the classroom interactions from UF's Arabic class to understand how consistent or inconsistent the practices were with her ideologies.

5. Findings

5.1 Teacher ideologies

The scripts of the interviews reflected multiple perspectives vis-à-vis the idea of using multiple languages in the classroom. Overall, the teachers' responses reflected a *strong* position that supports teaching Standard Arabic and *some* evidence of their raised awareness of learners' languages as important resources for language learning. However, there was some variation in the way they demonstrated these positions.

5.1.1 Excerpt 1: reverence of teaching standard Arabic as a sacred mission

This excerpt is taken from the opening part of the interview between the researcher-interviewer (RI) and Ustaadha Faraḥ (UF). The context of the extended exchange is a dialogue about why she wished she had been trained as a teacher of Arabic and Islamic studies (she got her degree in Mathematics). This exchange was initiated after I asked her about how many years, she has been

teaching Arabic. She responded saying that she has been volunteering as a teacher of Arabic for ten years and if the time is to go backwards, she would get a major in Arabic. I asked her why, and the important part about her ideology just came as the response in which she equates 'Arabic' with the 'Quran':

Speaker	Original & Transliteration	Translation
UF:	Volunteering tabʕii ħawalii 10 ʔisneen fil-sunday school, kuluh ʕarabii w quraʔan … ʔdhaa barjiʕ bil-zamaan, kunt tkhaṣaṣit ʕarabii muush riyaadiiaat w bil-shariiʕah kamaan. Volunteering تبعي حوالي ١٠ سنيين في الصنداي سكول، كله عربي وقرآن... إذا برجع بالزمان، كنت تخصصت عربي مش رياضيات وبالشريعة كمان.	*I have been volunteering for around 10 years in the Sunday school, all that time was for Arabic and Quran. If I were to go back in time, I would have been majored in Arabic, not in Mathematics, or even Islamic law.*
RI:	wi-liih kuunti [tifaḍalii] dah? وليه كنتي [تفضلي] ده؟	*Why would you have preferred this?*
UF:	liʔan ma-fiish aħlaa min il-ʕarabii, ma-fiish aħlaa min il-quraʔan. لان ما فيش أحلى من العربي. ما فيش أحلى من القرآن.	<u>*Because there is nothing better than Arabic. There is nothing better than the Quran.*</u>
RI:	uuliilii kamaan hahaha قوليلي كمان ههه...	*Tell me more, (laughing)…*
UF:	ma-fiish aħlaa min inik tʔrii il-quraʔan bil-ʕarabii ʔilii ʔintii fahimtiih. lamma adrus ʕarabii w ashuuf shuu hadaa w shuu hadaak, laa baħtaaj wa-laa li-tafsiir jambii. aḍal aʔraa wa-ashbaʕ wa-aħuṭ ʔalbii ʕalaa alquraʔan. Allah biiħkii maʕii, waʔna fahmaa. aʔraa waħfaz shii? waʔfhamuh,waʔadar atakhiialuuh waʔrsimuuh wa-ʔaʕmiluuh, wibiħis ħaalii ṭaairah. مفيش أحلى من إنك تقري القرآن بالعربي اللي انتي فاهمتيه. لما أدرس عربي واشوف شو هادا وشو هداك. أُضل أقرا والشبع. والحمد للّه أنا حط قلبي على القران. اللّه بيحكي معي، وانا فاهمه. أقرا وأحفظ. والحمد للّه أنا بحفظ. أنا مش ممكن أقدر افهم واحفظ شيئ وأفهمه وأقدر اتخيله وأرسمه وأعمله، وبحس حالي طايرة. aʔna bafakir aʔsajil iishii jidiid bil-jamʕaah, aruuħ adruus, bas bakhjal min hadha alwaḍ؟, yimkin bil-draasaat alsharq alʔawsaaṭiiaa […] nifsii something something tidaʕam hadhaa alkalaam. aʔna wilaadii kilhum ʔitkharjuu tʔriiban, ḍalah ʕandii bintii bil-high school. أنا بفكر أسجل إشي جديد بالجامعة، اروح ادرس، بس بخجل من هذا الوضع، يمكن بالدراسات الشرق الأوسطية […] نفسي something, something تدعم هذا الكلام. انا ولادي كلهم اتخرجوا تقريبا، ضله عندي بنتي بالـ high school	*There is nothing better than you read the Quran in the Arabic that you understand. When I study Arabic, and see this and see that, I do not need an interpretation (book) to be next to me. I continue to read and put my heart on the Quran. God is speaking to me, and I understand it. I read; I memorize, and thanks God, I memorize. It's impossible for me to understand and memorize anything or to understand it, or to imagine it or draw it and implement it [in the Quran without Arabic]. I feel myself flying (rejoiced).* *I'm thinking of registering for something (course) new on campus, to go and study, but I feel shy of this situation, may be in Middle Eastern Studies. I hope to do something to support this point. All my kids almost graduated, only one girl still at high school.*
UF:	idhaa bidii aʕmul ishii, bidi aʕmul ishii linnafsii ʕashaan afham quraʔani wi-ʕashaan aʔdar afahim ghirii. ya-riit kunt ʕirift hadhaa alkalaam min alʔawil, makunaash ʕarfiin. إذا بدي إشي، بدي اعمل إشي لنفسي، عشان افهم قراني وعشان أقدر افهم غيري، يا ريت كنت عرفت هذا الكلام من الأول، ما كناش عارفين . shuu ħaiiatnaa kanaat mithil kul muslim fii hadha albalaad salaah wi-ṣiiaam. baħis in-nighaar ʕan diinaa wi-quraʔanna […]ħataa maʕaah awlaadi maʔdarish to express myself about these things liʔan bikunuu…maʕa inii rabiithuum alahmdulillah. bas ʕashaan between two cultures bitkuun it is really hard sometimes bil-ẓabit tikhaliihum related to what you raided ʕalih wihuma raised ʕlaa ishii taan, ṣaʕib inn yifhamuh shuu intii bitʔṣuddii. شو حياتنا كانت مثل كل مسلم في هذا البلد صلاة وصيام. بحس إن نغار عن دينا وقرانا […]. حتى مع اولادي مقدرش to express myself about these things لان بيكونوا ... مع ان ربيتهم الحمد للّه. بس عشان between two cultures بتكون cultures it is really hard sometimes بالضبط تخليهم related، على اشي تان، صعب ان raisedوهما raisedto your what you raised يفهموا شو انتي بتقصدي.	<u>*If I want to do something, I want to do something for myself to be able to understand my Quran and to understand the others.*</u> *I wished I had known this point earlier, but we did not know.* *Our life in this country was like the life of any Muslim: prayer and fasting.* <u>*I feel that we should be jealous [guardian] for our religion and our Quran, […].*</u> *Even with my kids, I cannot express myself about these things although I raised them up well, thanks God. But because they are here between two cultures, it is really hard sometimes. It's exactly you make them relate to what you raised to do on, but they were raised to do something different, it becomes hard for them to understand what you mean.*

UF in underlined parts in the exchange associates 'Arabic' with 'the Quran'. Although she never used *Standard* or *fuṣḥa* in her narrative, it is very likely that she uses Arabic to index the Standard variety of Arabic. It's very uncommon for dialects (Palestinian in this case) to be associated with the functions she elaborated on. The narrative gives up a close window or access into her ideology in three capacities: a speaker of Arabic, a teacher, and as a mother of Arabic HLLs. There are three important things about her responses: the central status of SA as the medium to understand the Quran and interpret God's message. In being the medium to God's message, there is nothing 'better than' Arabic. She does not need an interpretation since God is speaking in SA. Proficiency in SA helps her to 'understand', 'memorize', 'imagine', and 'implement' what is in the Quran. The central status and functions of SA in her narrative are evident. With that, she wants to seek further opportunities to consolidate her knowledge in Arabic throughout further academic studies in Arabic. Importantly, the later part of her narrative elucidates the *scared mission* of promoting for SA for her children and learners. With children growing in "between" two cultures, maintaining SA is the means to establish the links to their own (Muslim) culture and heritage. In her own words, this scared mission is part of her "being jealous" to be a guardian of religion. With these views, one would legitimately expect her teaching practices to reflect a monolingual ideology that venerates SA in the classroom, but we will see in the next section that this does not consistently hold true in her teaching practice. These comments show the crucial role SA holds in the Islamic rituals and scripture and the Quranic recitations. Also, it shows the connection the teachers establish between Arabic language and the learners' identity.

UW also demonstrated the same attitude towards SA. But to her, reverence of SA is associated with its qualities as a Semitic language. This is how she exquisitely expressed it:

UW: wi-ʔillugha ʔil-ʕarabiyya? ʔil-lugha ʔil-ʕarabiyya, ʔil-lugha ʔil-ʕarabiyya lugha fakhmah, fakhmah. Lugha fiiha shimmuukh fii ilfuṣḥaa, aʔna atḥadath ʕan alfuṣḥaa, fiiha kathiir min ilshimmuukh, wi-fiiha iʕtizaz. ḥataa waqit tiqraʔii ilquraʔan ilsound bitaaʕ ilquraʔan yaasmuu bikii, fiiha simmuu, fahiiaa min ʔil-lughaat ʔilsaamiyya. shuufii… tiḥissii fiiha kida wi-ʔntii tiqraʔiin naṣ ʕarabii, qaṣiidah ʕarabiyya … ʔil-ṣuut il-ʕarabii ṣuut <u>raaqii saammii</u>. mish bas hatha, laʔan-nuuh kathiir min ilmaʕannii fii kathiir min ilkaramm, ʔiḥnaa kurammah fii kul shii?… kadhalik kaanit <u>almuffraḍaat al-ʕarabiiaa zakhiiraah.</u> ʔandinna muʕjamman al-ʕarabii zakhir bil-muffraḍaat.. fii lughatnna almaʕnna luh ʕiddaat muffraḍaat, wil-mufraadah laaha ʕiddaat maʕannii. iish hatha? hatha karam lughaah karriimah!

واللغة العربية؟ اللغة العربية، اللغة العربية لغة فخمة، فخمة. لغة فيها شموخ في الفصحى، أنا أتحدث عن الفصحى، فيها كثير من الشموخ، وفيها اعتزاز. حتى وقت تقرأي القرآن الـ sound بتاع القرآن يسمو بكي، فيها سمو، فهي من اللغات السامية. شوفي… تحسي فيها كده وانت تقرئين نص عربي قصيدة عربية … الصوت العربي صوت <u>راقي</u> سامي. مش بس (هذا)، لأنه كثير من المعاني في كثير من الكرم، احنا كُرمة في كل شيء… كذلك كانت <u>المفردات</u> العربية زاخرة. عندنا معجما العربي زاخر بالمفردات. …في لغتنا المعنى له عدة مفردات، والمفردة لها عدة معاني. ايش هذا؟ هذا كرم لغة كريمة!

The Arabic language? The Arabic language, the Arabic language is a statelier/majestic language. A language that has loftiness or superiority in the Standard variety. I'm speaking about the Standard variety. It has a lot of superiority, it has pride. Even when you read the Quran, the sounds in the Quran transcends/uplifts you. It has superiority. It's one of the Semitic (supreme) languages. Look you feel this in it when you read an Arabic text, an Arabic poem. The Arabic sound is a <u>superior/supreme sound.</u> Not only this, in a lot of meaning there is a lot of generosity, we (the Arabs) are generous in everything. So are the Arabic vocabulary. Our Arabic dictionary is <u>rich in /abounding in many items</u>… in our language, the meaning has many items, and the item has many meanings. What is this? This is a generous language.

This excerpt was her response to which varieties (Standard or the dialects or both) should be taught in school. She went on to justify why the Standard variety should be the focus. To her, SA is a 'superior language' (the word *saammiyya* means Semitic, but she means superior). As a poet and experienced Arabic teacher, UW used the word 'Semitic' to denote the status of the language as 'superior' as well as the value of the Arabic sounds as 'supreme/superior'. It is important to also note that, as a poet she intentionally used the two words 'saammiyya' and 'saammii' to connote the superiority of SA. In addition, she associated this with the Arab character. SA has its pride that was conventionally associated with the Arab character. This pride is denoted by its sound system as demonstrated in the Qur'an and poetry. She also associates the rich lexicon/dictionary of Arabic with the generous Arab character. It is known that the Arabic dictionary depletes with many synonyms that have multiple and different meanings, but the connection she made interestingly indexed how 'generous' the Arabs. Whatever the connections are, it is evident that her attitude towards SA resonates with that of UF.

5.1.2 Excerpt 2: reverence of standard Arabic as a spoken variety

The exchange below is taken from the beginning of the second part of the interview in which UF was asked about her use of SA and the dialects of her students. She took the question to be about her language practices of Arabic as a speaker, and not much as a teacher.

RI: ʔuliilii bi-tistakhdimmii ʔilfuṣḥaa ʔaktar wa-llaa bit-istakhdimmii lahjitik aw lahjit ʔal-ṭallabah?

قوليلي بتستخدمي الفصحى اكتر ولا بتستخدمي لهجتك أو لهجة الطلبة؟

Tell me, do you use the Standard more or your dialect or the dialects of the students?

UF: fii ʔil-balaad haathii ʔad maa titkalmmii bil-fuṣḥaa badik tiḥaawlii, … il-lughaah ʕindii baḥibb ʔatkalimm il-lughah il-ʕarabiiaa, kitiir bamuut ʕalaa illughaah al-ʕarabiiaa.

في البلد هاذي قد ما تتكلمي بالفصحى بدك تحاولي، … اللغة عندي بحب أتكلم اللغة العربية، كتير بموت على اللغة العربية.

In this country, you want to (should) try to speak in Standard Arabic. …As for the language for me, I like to speak Arabic, I very much like Arabic.

RI: yaʕnii ʔintii bithawlii tistakhdimmii ʔil-fuṣḥaa?

يعني انتي بتحاولي تستخدمي الفصحى؟

Do you mean that you use try to use Standard?

UF: ʔanaa mara babʕat li-ʔukhtii wi-biniḥkii bil-lahja ʔil-fuṣḥaa fa-bit?uulii ya-ʕiinii ʕaliikii wi-ʔintii bitiḥkii bi?lfuṣḥaa. fa-ba?uul haad ʔillii mafruuḍ niḥkiih ṣaraḥatan. la?iit ḥaali ghaṣib ʕannii biḥkii ḥikaayaat bi?il-fuṣḥaa. Sometimes lamaa bitḥibii tiʕabarii ʕann nafsiik ʔaktar bitiḥkii bil-fuṣḥaa.

أنا مرة ببعت لأختي وبنحكي باللهجة الفصحى فبتقولي يا عيني عليكي وانتي بتحكي بالفصحي. فبقول هاد اللي مفروض نحكيه صراحة. لقيت حالي غصب عني بحكي حكايات بالفصحى. sometimes لما بتحبي تعبري عن نفسك أكتر بتحكي بالفصحي.

Once (I remember) that I sent to my sister, and we spoke in the standard variety. She said how great you are when speaking in Standard. I said this is what we should be speaking, to be honest. I found myself telling her everyday stories in Standard spontaneously. Sometimes when you would like to express yourself well, you speak in Standard.

She continues to demonstrate her tendency to use SA to her best in this country. The phrase 'this country' indexes the diaspora in the USA that speaks Arabic. She underscores her endeavors to speak SA to her best saying 'In this country, you want to (should) try to speak in SA'. When she was asked again to comment on her attempt to use Standard, she gave an interesting example in which she is now using SA when she communicates with her sister in Palestine. Her sister, surprised as it seems, shows astonishment and awe for her speaking in

SA: 'She said how great you are when speaking in Standard'. More importantly, she further demonstrates her ideologies for the use of Standard by using the phrase 'what is supposed to be', and 'honestly'. To her, this is what native speakers (and not only her) should be speaking as noted in the excerpt which indexes a collective solidarity with Arabic speakers. Also, she finds herself using SA spontaneously to tell her sister some everyday events. It's very interesting that her linguistic practices highlight her use of SA to better express herself. This surprisingly contradicts what is known about native speakers of Arabic who tend to use their native dialects spontaneously when they talk to each other. This point arguably shows that the linguistic profile and repertoires of some teachers who work with the heritage communities are dynamically changing given their tendency to use SA as a marker of their religious identity in the diaspora.

5.1.3 Excerpt 3: orientation toward standard Arabic as a common denominator for HLLs

RI: lamma mathalaan bit-darrisii ʔillughaa ʔil-ʕarabiyya ʔil-fuṣḥaa lil-ṭullaab ʔintii kalimtinii ʕan ilqraʔaah wil-kitaabaah. bil-nisba lilkalaam, ʔizaaii bi-iiddarbuu ʕalaa ʔinuhuum yi-istakhdimuu illughaa dii fii ilkalaam? ʔiih al-activities?

لَما مثلا بتدرّسي اللغة العربية الفصحى للطلاب. انتي كلمتيني عن القراءة والكتابة. بالنسبة للكلام، ازاي بيتدربوا على إنهم يستخدموا اللغة دي في الكلام؟ ايه الـ activities؟

When you teach Standard Arabic for the student, you talked about reading and writing. As for speaking, how are the students trained to use this language in speaking? What are the activities?

UF: laazim niḥaawil zaii ma ʔaalit teacher Khadija, niḥaawil nitkalim illughaa il-ʕarabiiaa il-fuṣḥaa, alqaaf qaaf, alḍaad ḍaad, wil- ẓaaʔ ẓaaʔ. mathalaan /ẓ/ yaʕnii "alʔarẓ" (badlaan min /ḍ/) ʕriftii. ma-fiish maniʕ inuu yi-ʔulhaa maraah wa-laa marit-tiin, bas izaa yiʕrifhaa ʕshaan lamaa yijii yiqra? alqurʔaan maiʔuulsh mathalaan "wa-laa alẓaliin" […] zaii ʔiish "alʔarẓ" ʔiah, biiʔuuluu hiak.

لازم نحاول زي ما قالت teacher Khadija، نحاول نتكلم اللغة العربية الفصحى، القاف قاف، الضاد ضاد، والظاء ظاء. مثلا ظ يعني 'الأرظ' (بدلا من ض) عرفتي. ما فيش مانع إنه يقولها مرة ولا مرتين، بس إذا يعرفها عشان لما يجي يقرا القرآن ما يقولش مثلا 'ولا الظالين' [...] زي ايش 'الأرظ' ايه بيقولوا هيك.

We must try, as teacher Khadija (pseudonym) said, to use Standard Arabic: qaaf should be qaaf (not a glottal stop or /j/ in some dialects), ḍaaḍ should be ḍaaḍ and the /ẓ/should be /ẓ/. For example, "al-ʔarẓ" (land, earth) instead of /ḍ/, you know. I do mind if they say it once or twice, but they must know it because when they come to read the Quran they do not say, for example 'ولا الظالين' (the Qurʾanic reading in the verse is 'ولا الضالين') as they read 'الأرظا', yes, they say this.

Despite the celebration of learner dialects, the orientation toward SA is structured again within the liturgical purposes it performs. In this part of the interview, I asked UF to elaborate on the use of SA as a spoken variety. As the excerpt reads, she thinks that 'we', that indexes the Arabic teachers, must try to speak in SA, and the reason she provides is contextualized in liturgical purposes. The interesting part of this exchange, I think, is her fear that the sound variants in the dialects make their way in reading the Quran. She gave two examples from North African dialects in which the emphatic/ẓ/ substitutes the emphatic/ḍ/. In her take, the learners should know how to differentiate between these two sounds and use them properly in the Quran. But again, she is not strictly against the use of the dialects, and this tolerance was indexed when she said, 'I do not mind if they say it once or twice'.

5.1.4 Excerpt 4: ideologies about dialects as 'hard' and 'common'

RI:	?izaaii biddarisiihum?
	ازاي بدرسيهم؟
UF:	fii ilbalaad haathii ?ad maa titkalimmii b?il-fuṣḥaa badik tiḥaawlii, barduu timashii ?illii yiʕrafuu il-accent. ilʕraqqiiaa saʕbah wil-masriiaa mash-huurah min il-aflaam ?illi kunna nishufhaa.
	في البلد هادي قد ما تتكلمي بالفصحى بدك تحاولي، بردو تمشي اللي يعرفوا الـaccent. العراقية صعبة والمصرية مشهورة من الأفلام اللي كنا نشوفها.
	baʕid 20 sanaa, ba?dir ?afhim ?aii lahjaa, mish mushkilaa, mabitfri? maʕaiia.
	...بعد ٢٠ سنة، بقدر أفهم أي لهجة، مش مشكلة، ما بتفرقش معايا.

How do you teach them?

In this country, you want to (should) try to speak in Standard Arabic, but also to accommodate to those who know the dialect. The <u>Iraqi dialect is hard</u> and <u>Egyptian Arabic is known/common</u> from the movies we see.

… After 20 years, I can understand any dialect, there is no problem, it does not matter for me.

Despite UF's conceptualization of Arabic to be 'Standard Arabic', she now gets to another component of her linguistic repertoire, which is her transdialectal competence. She states that she is able to 'accommodate' to those who know Arabic accents (she means dialects), but she acknowledges some differences among these dialects. To her, Iraqi Arabic is 'difficult' and Egyptian is 'common' because of the movies she uses to watch. Concluding her comments on these dialects, she states that after 20 years (of living in the diaspora), she can understand any dialect. With that statement, UF leaves the question open of whether she can speak/utilize them in her teaching practices. This is the point I examine next.

5.1.5 Excerpt 5: use of the standard Arabic, dialects or English based on learner repertoires

UF:	shufii ?iḥnaa hunn ʕashaan al-ʕarabii as a second language, ?anaa bat?kid nistakhdim alfuṣḥaa. fii al?ashiiaa? alʕamiiaa ?illii hiiaa al?ashiiaa? albasitaah illii hiiaa maa ismuka? kaiifa ḥaaluka? kaiifa aṣbḥit? mataa alṣalaah? yaʕni hadaa kalimaat biʕrifuuhaa da?imaan bil-lughaah takaad takuun bil-fuṣḥaa.
	شوفي، إحنا هن عشان العربي as a second language، أنا بتأكد نستخدم الفصحى. في الأشياء العامية اللي هي الأشياء البسيطة اللي هي ما اسمك؟ كيف حالك؟ كيف اصبحت؟ متى الصلاة؟ يعني هدا كلمات بيعرفوها دائما باللغة تكاد تكون بالفصحى.

Look, because here Arabic is a second language, I make sure that we use Standard. In the basic colloquial things, which are simple such as: what is your name? how are you? how are you this morning? When is the prayer time? All these words, the know them in almost Standard Arabic.

	zaii maa ?ultilik, izaa waḥid ?amriikii mutʕalim ?illughaa al-ʕarabiiaa fuṣḥaa nit-ḥadath il-fuṣḥaa. izaa kaan ʕarabii yit-ḥadath ?ilinjiliziiaa first language wi-ṣaraat al-ʕarabii second language mumkin akhalaṭ biin biin. ?iḥnaa hinaa ma-iiʕrfuush il-lahjah ?aḥiianaa, fa-bihathaa alḥaalaah aḍtar aḥkii bi-?illughaa al-fuṣḥaa aw bil- ?ilinjiliziiaa the most.
	زي ما قولتلك، إذا واحد أمريكي متعلم اللغة عربية فصحى نتحدث الفصحى. إذا كان عربي يتحدث الانجليزي first language وصارت العربي second language ممكن اخلط بين بين. إحنا هنا ما يعرفوش اللهجة أحيانا، فبهذا الحالة اضطر أحكي الفصحى. فانا بضطر احكي باللغة الفصحى أو بالإنجليزي the most.

As I told you, if there is an American who learned Standard Arabic, we talk in Standard. If there is an Arab (learner) who speaks English as a first language and Arabic became their second language, we can mix between the two. Here some do not know the dialects sometimes. In this case, I have to speak in Standard or in English the most.

Paradoxical as it seems, UF expressed flexibility in using SA for basic communicative phrases that are usually rendered in the dialects. She supports this position by saying that they usually know these in Standard Arabic. This is an indication that some of the learners use these in Standard Arabic. Also, she is fluid enough to use Standard Arabic with 'an American who learned Standard Arabic'. She can 'mix between the two' with heritage learners who speak English as a first language and Arabic is their second language. She has to use SA or English if they do not speak a dialect of Arabic.

5.1.6 Excerpt 6: teacher resistance to teaching Arabic dialects

RI:	hal shaiifah ʔinn almafruud iltullaab titʕlim kazaa lahjah ghiir lahjit-hum?	Do you think that it is supposed for the learners to learn a dialect other than their own?
	هل شايفة إن المفروض الطلاب تتعلم كذا لهجة غير لهجتهم؟	
UF:	<u>laʔ laʔ!!</u> lazim yitʕlimuu il-ʔilughaa il-fushaa. ʔamaa lahjah, <u>laʔ laʔ!!</u> mish raaħ yistafiduu ʔishii. bas ʔana laħizit ʔinn almuslimiin iljudd ʔillii biiruħuu ʕamaṣir ʕshaan nikuun next to Azhar aw biiruħuu ʕalaa aljazaʔir aw biiruħuu fransaa haduul bitʕalimuu il-lahjah almaṣriiaa iza fiimaṣir aw illahjah almaghribiiaa fii alshamaal algharbii fii shamaal afrikiiaa. fayikuum easier ʕalihum yitʕalimuu lahjah. bas ʔana bil-nisbaa ʔillii yariit ʔillughaa al-ʕarabiiaa ilfushaa.	<u>No no!!! they must learn Standard Arabic.</u> As for the dialect, no no!! They will not learn anything. However, I noticed that new Muslim converts who travel to Egypt to be next to Al-Azhar they learn Egyptian (when they come back) and those who go to Algeria, or France they learn Moroccan (when they come back). It is easier for them to learn a dialect. <u>But for me, I hope they would learn Standard Arabic.</u>
	لا لا!!! لازم يتعلموا اللغة الفصحى. أما لهجة، لا لا!! مش راح يستفيدوا إشي. بس انا لاحظت إن المسلمين الجدد اللي بيروحوا عمصر عشان نكون next to أزهر أو بيروحوا على الجزائر أو بيروحوا فرنسا هدول بيتعلموا اللهجة المصرية إذا فمصر أو اللهجة المغربية في الشمال الغربي في شمال افريقيا. فيكون easier عليهم يتعلموا لهجة، بس انا بالنسبة اللي يا ريت اللغة العربية الفصحى.	

Sticking to her ideological stance that admires SA, she resists the position of teaching student a dialect other than their own. This resistance is marked by her use of a serious straight 'no' followed by an exclamation and a repetition of the same confirmatory note. To her, this would not help them, 'they must learn Standard Arabic'. However, those who come back from Egypt or Morocco can be enrolled in a class that target these dialects upon their return. But again, to her, she hopes that 'they would learn Standard Arabic'. She confirms the same attitude when asked whether she would have introduced an additional dialect other than Palestinian, she thinks that this is not possible because each family has their own dialect. It is the standard variety that can facilitate the understanding of the Quran and it is the medium through which all the problems can be solved.

Similarly, UW as the school principal, she thinks that SA must be used:

UW	il-lahjaat mukhtalifa. shuufii lahjaat iltalabah ʕandinna mukhtalifa fi-ilbiiuut liidhalika bil-taʔkiid ituuhiid. ituuhiid il-lahjah ʕabr il-fushaa. nahnuu laa-buda an-natahadth il-fushaa	The dialects are different. Look, the students' dialects at our School are different at home, therefore 'unification' is necessary. It's the unification of the dialects through Standard. <u>We must speak "Standard".</u>
	اللهجات مختلفة. شوفي لهجات الطلبة عندنا مختلفة في البيوت لذلك بالتأكيد التوحيد. التوحيد اللهجة عبر الفصحى. نحن لابد أن نتحدث الفصحى.	

However, she thinks that SA has a 'unifying' function in the school. Since the dialects are different at home, it is challenging to celebrate all these dialects. She believes in a unified language policy and that 'we' (referring to teachers) 'must speak *fuṣḥa* (or SA)'. This 'unification' is the ultimate goal of the school.

5.2 Multilingual practices in classroom interactions

In this section, multilingual practices are taken to refer to the use of Standard Arabic, Arabic dialects, and English. The transcripts of teacher–learner interactions illustrate how these multilingual practices are used in the classroom meaning making and negotiation. The community school had one advanced Arabic classroom and Ustaadha Faraḥ (UF) was the primary teacher for this class. For specificity and space limitation, I present one artifact, which is map, and two extensive excerpts from Ustaadha Farah's class observations. Her goal throughout the lessons was to employ her heritage learners' resources strategically. The excerpts show that translanguaging as a multilingual practice was used as an elicitation and scaffolding strategy. She

shuttled between English, MSA and the Palestinian dialect (PA) most of the time. The context for each excerpt will be introduced with an explanation of the translanguaging practices in lesson delivery. The original utterances and translation are provided. The translation of the utterances is in *italics*. Particular focus was given to the use of the written and spoken modes employed.

5.2.1 Excerpt 1: knowledge construction and scaffolding

In this excerpt, UF was introducing a lesson on the geographical location of Palestine on the map and the countries on the borders. She used a white board and markers. She began the lesson by drawing a map of Palestine and wrote on the board only in Arabic (see Figure 1). However, the map in the textbook was labelled in English.

    She started the lesson by expressing her identity. In line 1, she shared her religious identity with the students to show solidarity by saying 'as Muslims' and then she added her own ethnic and national identity 'as ʕarab' (as Arabs) and 'as filisṭiinniyya' (as a female Palestinian). She continued to highlight her national pride by repeating 'wi bikuul fakhir' (with all pride) twice as she was writing the word 'Palestine' in Arabic on the board. The multiple modes utilized in this excerpt were writing, drawing, and changing in tone of voice and pitch. These modes indexed the message of
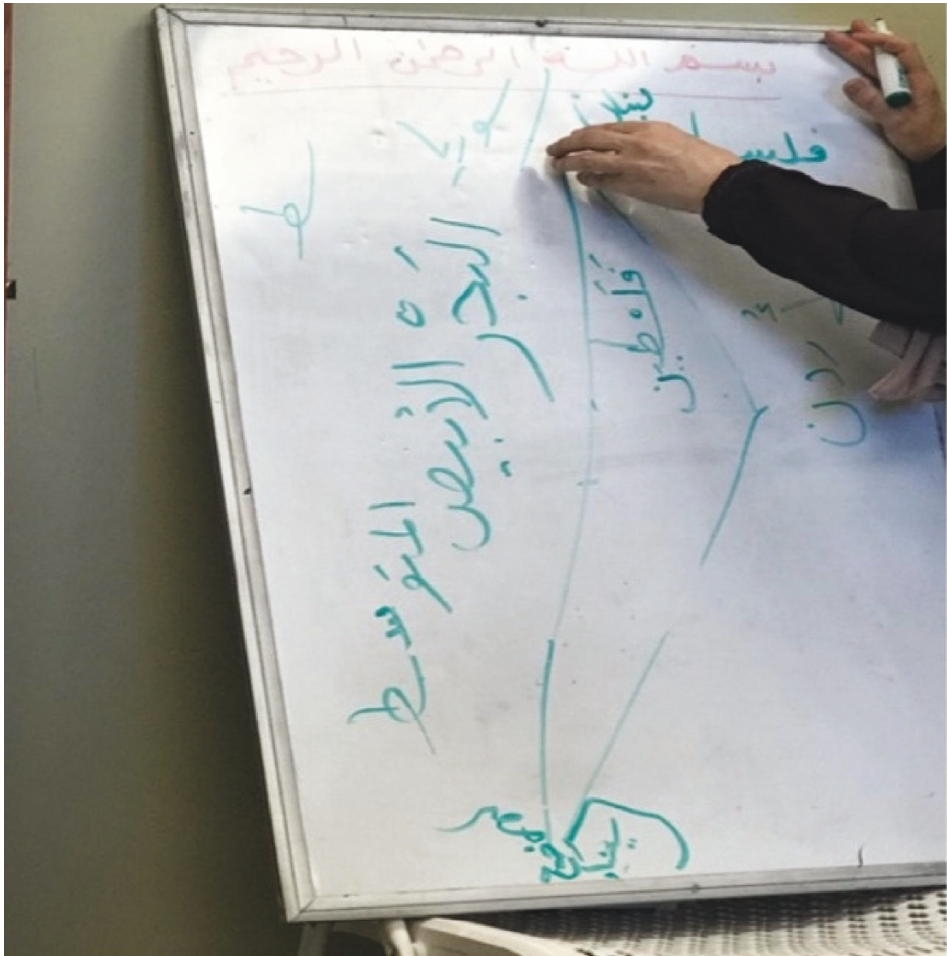
Figure 1: Map focus of the lesson. A picture of the teacher drawing a map and labeling it in Arabic on the whiteboard.

pride of her national identity and served as an affective mode of self-expression. In line 5, she shuttled between English and PA. The lexical and phonological choices she made indexes her dialect such as in 'biyaakhdo' (they take) and 'niʔuul' (let's say). Her dialect was reflected in the change of/ dh/ sound to/d/ in the first word and the change of/q/ sound to/ʔ/ which typically happens in some dialects. She also shifted to English to elicit information from learners. For example, she asked 'how about il-januub?' As we see, she used English to check if the student would understand the word 'south'. In line 6, Jana responded by providing the correct answer in Jordanian Arabic (JA).

Speakers	Utterances	Translation
1. UF:	ʔiḥna as Muslims, as ʕrab, as filistiniiaa [referring to herself], ʔiḥna niʔuul ʔinha ʔish. khalina niktubha <u>wi bikuul fakhir, wi bikuul fakhir</u> (higher tone) shuu filisṭiin. khalina nuḥuṭ il-nuun (writing on the whiteboard). khalina nishoof ilmanṭiqa haii ʔiḥna saʔlna ʕan alshamaal, khalina nishoof ilshamaal. احنا as Muslims، ‏as عرب، as فلسطينية، احنا نقول إنها ايش خلينا نكتبها وبكل فخر وبكل فخر شو نقول فلسطين. خلينا نحط النون. خلينا نشوف المنطقة هاي احنا سألنا عن الشمال خلينا نشوف الشمال.	<u>*We as Arabs, as Muslims, as Palestinian,*</u> *we say it is, let's write it <u>with all pride, with all pride,</u> we say Palestine. Let's put the letter 'nūn'. Let's look at this region. We asked about the north. Let's look at the north.*
2. Haala:	Lebnaan لبنان	*Lebanon*
3. UF:	lebnaan. fii shuaii min wiin? لبنان في شوي من وين؟	*Lebanon. And there are some from where?*
4. Haala:	nin suuriiaa من سوريا	*From Syria*
5. UF:	shiiwaiiaa min suriiaa wi lebnaan. lebnaan wi suuriiaa. idhaa bitsmaʕ ʕan shu ʔismuh haḍabit aljulaan fi suurya. huma biyakhdo nusaha aw talaat-terbaʕaha niʔul.(PA) How about il-jannuub? شوية من سوريا ولبنان. لبنان وسوريا. إذا بتسمع عن شو اسمه هضبة الجولان في سوريا هما بياخدوا نصها او ثلاثة أربعها نقول. How about الجنوب؟	*Parts of Lebanon and Syria. Lebanon and Syria. If we hear about what is called Golan Heights in Syria. They [the Israelis] took half of it or three quarters of it let's say. How about the south?*
6. Jana:	masir (JA) مصر	*Egypt*
7. UF:	masr. teʕraf belʐabiṭ specific ʔish min masr januub filisṭiine specific? belʐabiṭ specific? Jana, fi manṭiqa belʐabiṭ belʐabiṭ ʔismuha shibh jaʑiirit sinaa(PA) wi il-ʕaqaba alqariib min il-ʕaqabaa. manṭiqit al-ʕaqaba idhaa naʐarna (MSA) shuaii lil-kharṭa shibh jaʑirat sinaa? biinaa wi biin masr manṭiqqa ʔismahaa aiiḍhan, if you know exactly what's the name, ʔismuha rafaḥ. hadhaa rafaḥ huua albaab alraʔisi bain masr w bain filisṭiine. rafaḥ mashi? halla ḥakina lebnaan wa suryya w halla nakhod ilgharb. ilgharb. yalla niʔuul ilgharb (higher tone). بالضبط ايش من مصر جنوب فلسطين بالضبطSpecific؟ مصر. تعرف specific جني، في منطقة بالضبط بالضبط اسمها شبه جزيرة سيناء والعقبة القريب من العقبة. منطقة العقبة إذا نظرنا شوي للخارطة شبه جزيرة سيناء if you know exactly....بينا وبيين مصر منطقة what's the name، اسمها أيضا رفح. هذا رفح هو الباب الرئيسي بين مصر وبين فلسطين. رفح ماشي. هلا حكينا لبنان وسوريا هلا ناخد الغرب الغرب يلا نقول الغرب؟	*Egypt. Do you know specifically what from Egypt is south of Palestine specifically? Jana, there is a specific region that called Sinai Peninsula and Gulf of Aqaba. The Aqaba region if we look at the map, Sinai Peninsula, between us [she means Palestinians] and Egypt is this region, if you know exactly the name, it is called Rafah. Rafah is the main door between Egypt and Palestine. Rafah, okay? Now we talked about Lebanon and Syria and now let's take the west. West. Let's say the west? (higher tone).*
8. Jana:	ilgharb il.. ilbaḥr ilabiiaaḍ الغرب ال.. البحر الأبيض	*West is.. the White Sea.*
9. UF:	ilbaḥr… (writing on the board and saying it with high pitch)	*The sea.. (writing on the board and saying it with high pitch)*
10. Haala:	ilbaḥr <u>almutauuasiṭ</u> alabiiaaḍ. البحر <u>المتوسط</u> الأبيض	*The Mediterranean Sea. (Not in the correct noun-adjective order in Arabic)*
11. UF:	… ilabiiaaḍ almutauuasiṭ (Writing on the board and saying it) الأبيض المتوسط ..	*The Mediterranean Sea (Writing on the board and saying it)*
12. Amr:	Is this the Mediterranean?	
13. UF:	The Mediterranean Sea.	

UF continued to use PA and English throughout this excerpt. In line 7, she mainly used her dialect, but with inserting MSA words such as 'aiiḏhan' (too) and the phrase 'idhaa naẓarna' (if we look at). Then, she asked the students what was on the west border. Here, instead of using English (as in line 5) to elicit the answer from the learners, she used PA 'Now let's take the west. West. Let's say the west' This demonstrates the teacher's objective of this lesson which was to teach the directions on the map in Arabic and this was emphasized in the repetition of the word 'west'.

The interaction between UF and learners in lines 8–13 exhibited a meaning-making episode. The teacher was writing on the board and the students were responding. The literal equivalent translation for the Mediterranean Sea in Arabic would be the 'the average/middle white sea'. In line 8, Jana responded in Arabic saying 'ilbaḥr ʔilʔabyaḍ'. Then, Haala, in line 10, articulated the complete answer 'ilbaḥr ʔalmutawasiṭ ʔilabyaḍ' but not in the correct noun-adjective order in Arabic. UF corrected her and said 'ʔilabyaḍ almutawsiṭ' as she was writing on the board. Last, Amr asked in English if this means the Mediterranean and teachers confirmed by saying 'the Mediterranean Sea'. The meaning negotiation and meaning making present in these lines showed how learners were constructing meaning together using their full linguistic repertoire. The multiple modes that traversed the meaning-making process were in the teacher's pitch and use of gestures as she pointed to locations on the map. Thus, the multimodal and translanguaging practices in this excerpt illuminate how the dialects were mobilized and employed in instruction.

5.2.2 Excerpt 2: negotiation of meaning

In excerpt 2, UF had a one-on-one dialogue with Yasin and Yassir. The exchange here was about describing the weather and the lexical variation in specific words to describe the weather in Arabic. Similar to excerpts 1, she used the same elicitation strategy utilizing MSA, PA and English. In lines 1–3, she started by asking 'kiif ilṭaqs hunaak? (PA) kiif' ilṭaqs?' in which she emphasizes on the word 'ilṭaqs' (weather). She asked Yasin to describe the weather using his own language by saying 'uusiflii bi-lughatak if it's cold, madhaa ʔaqul ya Yasin? ʔidhaa ʔilṭaqs cold, maadhaa ʔaqul? (MSA)'. In this same utterance, she used MSA and English to elicit the corresponding Arabic word for 'cold'. Yasin responds in Libyan dialect and says 'baardah'. She confirms by repeating the word in line 3, and followed up by asking in MSA 'wi-ʔidhā kannat hot, madhaa ʔaqul?' (And if it is hot, what do I say?). Yasin responds by saying 'saakhinah' (hot) in his dialect. The teacher clarifies in line 5 the distinct usage for two equivalent Arabic words 'ḥaarrah' and 'saakhina'. This is an interesting meaning-making conversation because the word 'hot' in Arabic can be expressed in two ways depending on the noun the adjective modifies.

1.	UF	kiiff ilṭaqs hunaak? (PA) kiiff ilṭaqs? yaʕni ilṭaqs alṭaqs? uusiflii bi-lughatak if it's cold, madhaa ?aqul ya Yasin? idhaa ilṭaqs cold, madhaa ?aqul? (MSA) (PA)كيف الطقس هنك؟ كيف الطقس؟ يعني الطقس الطقس. اوصفلي بلغتك if it's cold، ماذا أقول يا ياسين؟ (MSA) اذا الطقس cold ماذا أقول؟	*What is the weather like there? What is the weather? I mean the weather weather. Describe it in your language. If it's cold, what do I say Abdullah?* *if the weather is cold, what do I say?*
2.	Yasin	baardah (LA) باردة	*Cold (in LA)*
3.	UF	baardah. wi-idhaa kannat hot, madhaa ?aqul? (MSA) باردة. واذا كانت hot، ماذا أقول؟(MSA)	*Cold. And if it is hot, what do I say?*
4.	Yasin	sakhiinah (LA) ساخنة	*Hot (in LA dialect)*
5.	UF	ḥaarrah. lil-weather ḥaarrah. lil-material sakhinah. wi-?idhaa bain bain between, madhaa ?aqul? حاره. للweather حاره. ساخنة.materialلل وإذا بين بين between ماذا أقول؟	Note: "sakhina" and "ḥarra" are two words for "hot" in Arabic, but they have different usage. *Hot. For the weather hot. Hot is for material and if it is in between, what do I say?*

6.	Yassir	Warm.	
7.	UF	aiiuuah aiiuuah bilʕarbii. ʔiḥna aʕdiin niḥkii ʕrabi ʕshan niʔuuii lughatnaa al-ʕrabiiaa. ilṭaqs kama qaal baarid aw ḥarr wi-ʔidhaa (MSA) bain bain (PA) between madhaa ʔaqqul? (MSA)	*Yes yes, in Arabic. We are here to talk in Arabic to strengthen our Arabic language. The weather like he said cold or hot and if it is in between, what do I say?*

<div dir="rtl">ايوة ايوة بـالعربي. احنا قـاعدين نحكي عربي عشان نقوي لغتنا العربية.</div>

<div dir="rtl">(MSA)ماذا أُقول ؟ الطقس كما قـال بـارد او حار وإذا كان بـين بـين between</div>

| 8. | Yassir | zain(IA) | *Good* (in IA dialect) |

<div dir="rtl">زين</div>

| 9. | UF | Barduu mashii bakhudlak ya ḥiluu. di zain ʕraqiiaa aḥibahaa kilmmit zain hiadii.(PA). bas tʔdar tʔuul (PA) kilmmit "muʕtaddil". nismmiih muʕtaddil. (MSA) il-iʕtidaal… | *Okay I will take it sweetie. Zain is Iraqi. I love this word zain. But can you say the word "balanced." We say "balanced." Balance* |

<div dir="rtl">بـردوا ماشي. بـدي بـاخدلك يا حلو.</div>

<div dir="rtl">دي زين عراقية أحبها كلمة زين هيدي. (PA) بـس تقدر تقول</div>

<div dir="rtl">كلمة معتدل. نسميه معتدل. الاعتدال (MSA)</div>

10.	Yassir	That's called balanced.	
11.	Jana	Balanced	
12.	UF	Balanced. Not much. Hot not much.	

The meaning negotiation in lines 5–12 is another example of making distinctions to describe a warm weather. UF asked in MSA and English to request the Arabic equivalent for 'warm'. Yasin did not know the answer, and Yassir responded in English. In line 7, she reminded the students to use Arabic by saying 'ʔaywa ʔaywa bilʕarabii. ʔiḥna ʔaaʕdiin niḥkii ʕarabi ʕashan niʔawii lughatnaa al-ʕarabiyya. ʔilṭaqs kama qaal baarid aw ḥaar wi-ʔidhaa bayn bayn between madhaa ʔaquul?' She shuffled between PA and MSA in this example which again shows her flexibility in using dialects in the classroom. In line 5, Yassir responded in Iraqi Arabic (IA) by saying 'zain'. The teacher praised him for using his dialect and expressed her satisfaction with reiterating the Iraqi word 'zain'. She followed up by providing the MSA word 'muʕtaddil' which literally means 'moderate' or 'balanced' in English. In line 10, it was clear that Yassir knew the meaning of the Arabic word 'muʕtadil' to the English word 'balanced' and was surprised to learn that this would be used to describe a warm weather. The rich meaning-making moments in this excerpt allowed for meaning negotiations by employing the full linguistic repertoire of HLLs. This underscores the critical role of utilizing a fluid multilingual approach in teaching HLLs in this context. UF's recognition of the home language as a valuable asset in the classroom connotes her deliberate appreciation for HLLs language proficiencies. However, this really contradicts her perspectives and ideologies expressed in the interview about using all their linguistic repertoires; she had a strong position that does not support teaching Arabic dialects.

The pedagogical practices of UF exemplified translanguaging and multidialectal practices. She fully utilized HLLs full linguistic repertoire for meaning making and meaning negotiation in this advanced class. The lesson's topic (in excerpt 1) might have sparked her interest to bring in her own lived experiences as a Palestinian which were indexed explicitly and implicitly in the classroom discussions. She employed multiple communicative modes to facilitate and scaffold instructions and vocabulary.

6. Discussion

Using language ideologies and indexicality, this article identified teacher ideologies and belief systems about teaching Arabic in a community-based setting. Using indexicality as a notion, the analysis of the interviews with the two teachers focused on the indexes teachers attach to the standard variety of Arabic, the dialects, as well as the use of these along with English. In this context, Standard Arabic (SA) renders visible intersections between ideologies of language purity,

identity and agency. The idealization of SA or *fuṣḥatopia* is a feeling of nostalgia rather than an indication of teachers actual teaching practices. As illustrated in the interviews and the classroom practices, the teacher's beliefs may have been influenced by this nostalgia but not necessarily demonstrated in teaching 'pure' SA. The evidence presented that the teachers demonstrated a strong belief about SA while using it minimally in practice contributes to the literature on language and identity in bilingual and multilingual settings (Hornberger and McKay 2010) and the literature on Arabic teaching and Arabic community-based schools. The characterization what teachers think of these varieties is essential for enhancing the teaching practices in a way that meets learner expectations.

Analyzing the teacher interviews also showed how the two teachers recognize SA as a marker or index for values that go beyond the linguistic use. Van Hoof (2013) argues that some indexical associations are gaining strength, while others are weakening. The discourses of the two teachers displayed strong indexical associations with the standard variety. It is the variety that has 'loftiness' or 'superiority' and 'pride'. These loft values assigned to it are directly connected to being the language of the Quran, as UF said 'Because there is nothing better than Arabic. There is nothing better than the Quran'. In her perspective, Arabic and Quran are intertwined. In continuation of the same index matrix, the majestic values assigned to Arabic is derived from the sounds of its linguistic system as 'the sounds in the Quran' and as part of 'the semitic (supreme) languages'. As UW mentioned, you feel this in [Arabic] when you read an Arabic text, an Arabic poem'. Importantly, part of these values is associated with the nature of the Arabic sounds, 'The Arabic sound is a superior/supreme sound'. Reading in SA makes UW as if she is 'flying'. This ecstatically emotional status in which she 'puts her heart on the Qur'an' has been a common index in the interview which illuminate the bond she has with the religious text. These nostalgic feelings or *imagined fuṣḥatopia* seem to be part of the lived experiences of Arabs and Muslims in the diaspora due to their connection to Standard Arabic as a language that is rooted in literary and religious heritage (e.g., Quran, poetry, and prose).

Another index that is gaining strength in the interview is how generosity—that is a social Arab value—is embedded in the linguistic system of Arabic. Interestingly, UW indexes Arabs social value in terms of the richness of the Arabic lexicon when she stated that there is generosity in a lot of meanings and the Arabs are generous in everything (excerpt 1). In her perspective, this generosity comes from the rich Arabic dictionary where one item could have multiple meanings. This indexicality that connects SA to other values appeared in the interview with UF in a very different but interesting way. Contrary to the common notion that SA is a written language, she thinks that it is the variety that needs to be spoken in the diaspora (excerpt 2). These signifying indexes help draw the characteristics of language ideologies for the two teachers. Woolard and Schieffelin (1994: 163) define language ideologies as follows, '[t]hose cultural presuppositions and metalinguistic notions that name, frame and evaluate linguistic practices, linking them to the political, moral and aesthetic positions of the speakers, and to the institutions that support those positions and practices'. For the two teachers, some specific language features entailed specific presuppositions about the users of those language features hierarchizing those language features and varieties. This hierarchizing meant that they gave the priority to teaching SA in the setting. The Standard variety, most often conceptualized as a written variety, was discussed by the two teachers as the variety immigrant families should be speaking in the diaspora. Remarkably, the varying difficult levels of Arabic varieties and lack of mutual intelligibility were discussed as motives to focus on SA for teaching HLLs. Although the two teachers seemed a bit tolerant of using Arabic dialects in the classroom for socio-psychological functions, and they were familiar with multiple Arabic dialects, their overall attitude favored teaching the Standard variety and minimized teaching the dialects.

The classroom observations examined in this study embodied translingual practices and provided a lens to whether the ideological stance that the teacher affirmed in the interview were congruent or incongruent with the pedagogical practices. In the advanced Arabic class in the community-based setting, UF as the instructor for this class demonstrated translanguaging

practices that celebrated HLLs full linguistic repertoire including their dialectal backgrounds (Iraqi, Libyan and Jordanian). The classroom discourse exemplified various examples of these translingual and transdialectal practices that focused on meaning making and negotiation and building lexical knowledge in learning Arab. The transcripts of the teacher-learner exchanges indicated the flexible and integrated use of learners' repertoires. These practices appear to be incompatible and inconsistent with UF's ideology expressed in the interview. Her goal was to facilitate comprehension and scaffold instruction by utilizing her students' full linguistic repertoire and linguistic resources. She used the standard variety, the Palestinian dialect, and English strategically. As scholars have argued, while translanguaging pedagogy disrupts the linguistic hierarchy between languages (Otheguy *et al.* 2015), it might not be practical to not name students languages (Turner and Lin 2020). Speakers' idiolect (lexical and structural features) is based on their desire to use a named language. The teacher in this study was cognizant of her students' dialectal backgrounds and complimented it during the lesson (excerpt 2). Additionally, she maintained an interpersonal connection with them through the usage of her dialect. Her practices legitimized and encouraged students to employ their dialects and English simultaneously.

Furthermore**,** the multimodal expressions presented in the teacher-learner exchanges examined the functions of intonations, gestures, and visuals as modes of communication. These modes stressed the objective of the lesson. For example, the teacher focused on repetition of certain words and used a rising intonation and pitch along with hand gestures (such as pointing on the board, as seen in Figure 1) to facilitate meaning-making. It has been argued that multiple modes afford HLLs to make meaning and contextualize their learning of the content which supports their 'transcultural competencies' (Amgott 2020). Using this map in its visual mode contributed to the learners' understanding of the focus of that lesson.

The critical multilingual setting awareness and literacy practices embedded in UF's pedagogical practices in this study are important. They help promote for learners' different dialectal backgrounds and various identifications (Krulatz et al. 2018). As seen in the interview with UF and the classroom discourse, she was mindful to the diversity in the classroom and considered the function of students' home dialects and English from psychological and humanizing perspectives to teach basic literacy skills in SA. This approach is also in line with the Arabic literacy development research which reported that home spoken dialects support the development of literacy in MSA (Maamouri 1998; Schiff and Saiegh-Haddad 2018; Vaknin-Nusbaum and Saiegh-Haddad 2020). Second, the literacy multilingual practices manifested in the classroom discussions on critical topics supports and affirms their multilingual and multidialectal identities (Krulatz *et al.* 2018). This was illustrated in the exchange in which maintains an interactive dialogue with learners in teaching them about the history and geographical location of Palestine. Therefore, the critical pedagogical practices such as translanguaging are argued to support the development the linguistic and cultural competencies for heritage learners.

7. Conclusion

The findings from this study suggest a disconnect between teacher ideologies and pedagogical practices in Arabic heritage language programs. The teachers' interviews promoted the use of Standard Arabic, and there was some tension around using English or students home dialects in the classroom. The teacher's pedagogical practices asserts that there were nurturing practices that celebrated students' translingual repertoire (Arabic dialects particularly). However, teachers' pedagogical practices that were reflected in their ideologies were curated from their professional and personal experiences. As perceived from a teacher participant, this was revealed in how heritage language teachers' ideologies are sometimes influenced by naming languages as 'first' or 'second'. Therefore, there is a need for engaging teachers in critical pedagogical reflections to value the full linguistic repertoire of all heritage learners (Arab and non-Arab). Future research may consider challenging teachers' beliefs through retrospective reflective interviews that focus on the critical teaching practices that seem to be asymmetrical to the overtly stated beliefs.

Through critical pedagogy that embraces teaching and learning as a dialogic process between individuals where action and praxis are encompassed, teachers' reflections and professional development on these practices (strategies, methods, or techniques) can support and address the multiplicity embedded in Arabic for the target community of HLLs. Based on this, this article promotes the use of translanguaging and transdialecting pedagogies in Arabic. Also, it advances the position of the functional integration of their linguistic repertoires (dialects and English) in teaching SA in institutional settings. With the increase of Arabic HLLs in the United States, this study makes pedagogical implications of how to better address their needs in the Arabic curriculum in community-based settings and in world language programs more broadly.

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Note

[1] Considering the nuanced differences between Quranic Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic, the phrase Standard Arabic (SA) was selected to be used throughout this paper for its relevance to the learners' religious identity. Also, it was used given the tendency for SA (more than MSA) to converge with Qur'anic or Classical Arabic.

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