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A Sociolinguistic Study of Language Practices and Language Attitudes of Lebanese Families in London

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I would like to dedicate this work to my dearest husband Charlie, and our precious children Mark, Paul and Maya for their unconditional love and support throughout my studies. I am extremely blessed to have you all in my life. I love you more than words could ever say!!!

BHIBKOUN

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Abstract

This study explores the intergenerational patterns of language use and family language policies (FLPs), language attitudes towards Arabic and multilingualism, and identity practices of Lebanese families in London. It also investigates whether heritage language maintenance (HLM) or language shift (LS) is taking place, and whether assimilation or integration into the host society is occurring. My motivation for focussing on Lebanese immigrant families is that this ethnic group is relatively under-researched, despite being arguably one of the more heterogeneous Arabic-speaking communities-ethnically, socio-historically and religiously.

The participants in this study are first-generation Lebanese parents who were born in Lebanon, and their second-generation Lebanese-British children born in the UK. The study uses a mixed-method approach and data is collected by means of questionnaires, distributed to children and parents, semi-structured interviews with children and Arabic schoolteachers, focus group discussions with parents, and ethnolinguistic observations of families.

The findings show that Lebanese parents are engaged in family language practices and FLPs to maintain the use of Lebanese Arabic (LA) at home. Children respond by speaking mostly LA with their parents and grandparents, and mostly English with their siblings and peers. However, the domain of FLP is dynamic and multi-directional. Children exercise their own agency in various ways to (re)negotiate FLPs and socialise their parents into their own language practices and behaviours. They use code-switching (CS), with both adults and peers, as a practical bilingual practice to fulfil various communicative needs and index different identities. With regards to Arabic literacy, the data indicates that children have 'average' literacy skills in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), but these skills are comparatively lower than those in English, despite the input from various socialisation sources such as dense networks of Lebanese and Arabic-speakers, Arabic mass media and Arabic complementary schools in London. The data also shows that parents

and children prefer English for most literacy purposes. With regards to language attitudes, Lebanese parents and children hold positive attitudes towards both varieties of Arabic. The communicative need for LA, its emotional and symbolic value, its important role in guaranteeing strong familial and cultural connections, and participants' oral proficiency support favourable attitudes towards LA. On the other hand, the educational, economic and religious value ascribed to MSA shape participants' positive attitudes. However, the learning of MSA is perceived as more challenging than LA and as requiring more efforts and motivation to attain competence. As for identity practices, Lebanese parents and children have successfully managed to integrate into British society, whilst equally retaining their ethno-cultural identity.

This study contributes to the literature on FLPs, HLM and LS, and identity practices within ethnic minorities in the UK. It also highlights the diversity within the micro-level of Lebanese families in particular, and Arabic-speaking communities in general, and the dynamics of HL learning and language practices.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This dissertation is a sociolinguistic study which investigates intergenerational language practices, language attitudes and identity practices of Lebanese immigrant families living in London. It examines these concepts within the framework of FLP, since the language policies that operate at the family level can determine whether or not intergenerational transmission of the HL and maintenance of the ethnic identity can occur within the dominant society (Fishman, 1991; Spolsky, 2004; Schwartz, 2008).

In highlighting the principal problems associated with HL loss and the challenges that HL communities face in safeguarding their HL(s) and ethnic identity, the following section (1.1.1) explains the rationale of my study and the need to further expand the field of HL research to Arabic-speaking communities originating from diverse national, ethnic and religious backgrounds and living in the UK. Section 1.1.2 highlights the dominant characteristics of the Lebanese immigrant families in London and introduces the researcher's motivations for conducting this study as well as its key research questions.

1.1.1 Overview

With the growing trends of international migration, globalization, and modernisation, some heritage languages (HLs)¹ and language communities can become more vulnerable to the linguistic pressures imposed by the host society, whilst other HLs survive despite competition from the dominant language(s) of the new environment. This complex sociolinguistic issue, driven by a multitude of factors including social, linguistic, economic and

¹ The term heritage language has conventionally referred in the literature to an immigrant, ethnic minority, ancestral, native or mother language (Valdés, 2001). In Australia, HL refers

political, is dynamic and ambiguous. It varies depending on the context, the speech community², and the speaker, and is representative of heritage languages (HLs) in language situations across the globe.

Research shows that heritage language (HL) acquisition and maintenance is a substantial challenge to immigrant parents, particularly when their children embark their education and socialisation in the dominant language of the host country (Wong Fillmore, 1991; 2000). The focus of this study is not the problem of learning English, the dominant language, but rather HL development and heritage language maintenance (HLM). When the HL is not maintained, it may be forgotten and eventually lost. In such outcomes, immigrant families face numerous challenges that include the loss of their cultural and religious identity since language, religion, identity and culture are often closely interlinked (Wong Fillmore, 2003; Dörnyei et al., 2006; Fishman, 2013; Spolsky, 2012). Emotional connection between children, their parents and extended family members may also be impacted since the HL offers a link to cultural heritage, and loss can cause the destabilisation of family structures and deterioration of inter-generational relationships (Kirsch, 2011; Guardado, 2010). In addition, children who fail to maintain their HLs may suffer lower self-esteem and lower academic achievement than their counterparts with additive bilingualism (Ball, 2011). Cummins (2001; 2005) argues that language and cognitive skills are inextricably linked and that linguistic interdependency between first and second language skills exists. As such, there are correlations between HL proficiency, ethnic identity, and self-esteem, which may further affect children's school performance and

² The definition of speech community has been debatable in the literature. This study focusses on the shared community membership rather than the shared linguistic membership. Labov (1972) emphasizes the aspect of participation in shared norms and defines a speech community as: *"The speech community is not defined by any marked agreement in the use of language elements, so much as by participation in a set of shared norms: these norms may be observed in overt types of evaluative behaviour, and by the uniformity of abstract patterns of variation which are invariant in respect to particular levels of usage* (p. 120-1). Chomsky (1965) focusses on the linguistic membership and defines speech community as: *"concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogeneous speech-community, who knows its language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance* (p. 3).

attitude towards future education (Portes, 2002; Yu, 2015).

Over the past few decades, HL research has emerged as a popular field of study in the UK that focusses on HLs and their speakers (Polinsky & Kagan, 2007). With more than 250 HLs spoken in London (Baker & Eversley, 2000), and over 3 million London residents being foreign-born (Census, 2011), it is important to understand how these multi-ethnic, multilingual and multicultural communities contribute to London's diversity. Studies relating to the Chinese (Wei, 2007; 2009; 2012); the Japanese (Gyogi, 2015; Okita, 2002); the Bangladeshi (Hamid, 2011; Blackledge, 2008; Creese, et al., 2008); the Punjabi/Urdu (Harris, 2006) and the Turkish (Lytra, 2011) communities have explored the sociolinguistic process of bilingual development, HLM and LS. However, there has been a relative lack of studies investigating Arabic-speaking communities originating from diverse national backgrounds now firmly established in the UK, and particularly the Lebanese in London who arguably constitute one of the more heterogeneous Arabic-speaking communities - ethnically, socio-historically and religiously. By focusing on the 'family' domain as a sociolinguistic environment, this study enhances our understanding of family language practices and FLPs which shape the development of bilingualism/multilingualism and maintenance (or loss) of HLs and ethnic identity (Caldas, 2012; Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; 2013; 2016; Fogle & King, 2013) among the Lebanese ethnic group.

1.1.2 Focus of the study

The Lebanese immigrant community in London is a heterogeneous group, in terms of socio-economic class, religious and ethnic background. Lebanese immigrants have arrived sporadically from the Middle East, namely Mount Lebanon, into Great Britain from the 17th century onwards. However, substantial upsurge in the British-Lebanese migration began in the mid 1970s, when the Lebanese civil war forced several hundred thousand Lebanese people to leave their hometowns and villages (Labaki, 1992). Although the majority of emigrants in the first exodus between 1975 and 1989 were Christians, the second wave of migration, following the Israeli

invasion of Beirut in 1982, comprised mostly Muslims and Druze (Helou, 1995). This study shows that socio-economically, 70% of first-generation parents are in employment, 52% of whom work in the professional and skilled labour category, while 30% are homemakers rearing their children. Educationally, 93% of parents hold university or college degrees. Higher educational levels coupled with high socio-economic standards distinguish members of the Lebanese community from those from other poorer, working class Arabic-speaking communities in London, such as Yemenis and Moroccans (Jamai, 2008). Moreover, from an ethnic perspective, Lebanese are divided in their self-perception. Some associate their Lebanese identity with the Arab one and strongly identify with the Pan-Arab nation and the common Arabic language which creates a sense of 'shared Arabness' among all Arabs (Alsaifi, 2018: 93). Others, driven by Lebanese nationalist ideology, refute the Lebanese-Arab and Arab-Islamic relationship, and view their Lebanese identity and Lebanese language as being completely distinct, instead associated with the Phoenician identity, language and culture (see chapter 6).

As a Lebanese migrant who has had the opportunity to experience transnational migration from Lebanon to the UK, a linguist, and a mother witnessing the multiple challenges of rearing bilingual, bicultural and biliterate children, I explore the situation of Arabic maintenance or shift in the Lebanese community in London, focussing on the family at the micro-level. There is a lack of research into Arabic-speaking communities in the UK, and particularly the Lebanese community in London, whose speakers originate from a single country of origin, but are yet diverse in many respects. Others studies which have investigated Arabic use in the UK, have either focused on a single Arabic-speaking community outside London (Manchester) and which comprised Arabs from different Arab countries (Othman, 2011), or compared two Arabic-speaking communities from different origins living in different parts of the UK (Bichani, 2015). This study draws on a variety of data collection methods, namely questionnaires, interviews, observations and field notes, to examine the language practices and FLPs of Lebanese parents and children, their attitudes towards Arabic and multilingualism, their literacy

practices, and the role language choice plays in their integration process (or lack thereof) in the dominant society. It also investigates how Lebanese parents and children (re)construct and (re)negotiate their identities in a Western context, where the attitudes of the majority society towards Arabs and speakers of Arabic can be stigmatising, particularly if the Arabic language is associated with the religion of Islam and acts of terrorism. The rationale for using a combination of research instruments is to produce richer and more-detailed findings regarding this minority group, and enable useful comparisons between the answers. The specific areas of investigation include:

1. Family Language Policies (FLPs) and language practices of Lebanese parents and Lebanese-British children in various domains
2. The state of children's proficiency in Arabic in terms of oracy (LA) and literacy (MSA)
3. The attitudes of Lebanese parents and Lebanese-British children towards Arabic (MSA and LA)
4. The identity practices of Lebanese parents and Lebanese-British children

By providing an understanding of, and insights into, Lebanese families' language policies and practices and how they construct their multiple identities in their host society, this study makes a meaningful contribution to the literature on Lebanese immigrant families in the UK specifically, and Arabic-speaking communities generally who number 404,207 in the UK (NABA, 2014). It also empowers Lebanese participants to share their stories and voice their personal experiences with other Lebanese immigrants in different continents, other ethnic minority communities living in the diaspora, and members of majority societies. Ultimately, this research aims to enhance the understanding of broader issues related to FLP, HLM and LS and multilingual and biliteracy practices in migration contexts. It also highlights the crucial role HL and ethno-cultural identity can play in the integration (or lack thereof) of HL speakers in general, and Lebanese in particular, within the wider context of social and ideological pressures.

1.2 Organisation of the thesis

Chapter two consists of a literature review of the principal concepts and frameworks used in the research study. I explore the impact of diglossia on Arabic language learning in the UK, the use of code switching (CS) and code-mixing (CM) as a linguistic behaviour, the major factors affecting language use in multilingual contexts such as language ideologies, beliefs, and attitudes of parents and children towards their own HL, and those of the dominant society towards speakers of HLs. I also enumerate the key factors determining HLM and shift in ethnic minority settings highlighting the main individual and group influences on HLM and LS, and discuss the theoretical framework of FLP. The relationship between HL and identity construction is also examined, based on Norton's (2013) theory of 'identity and investment in language learning', to understand how ethnic minorities in the UK adapt or assimilate to their host society. This study argues that the desire to learn LA is closely related to the identity that the learner wishes to construct, and to the community he/she would like to engage and identify with. Although language learning may be understood as a personal cognitive process, it is different from the learning of all other subjects, since language learning is essentially a socially constructed process that involves participation in a network of other members who wish to develop their linguistic skills (Norton, 2000).

Chapter three explains the sociolinguistic situation both in Lebanon and of Lebanese immigrants now settled in the UK. Since the focus of the study is Lebanese families who emigrated as a result of the Lebanese civil war (1974-1990) and of the Israeli attacks on Lebanon in 1982 and 2006, and who mostly settled with their second-generation children in London, it is crucial to appreciate the sociolinguistic situation and linguistic practices in Lebanon. These evidently inform the attitudes and practices of Lebanese parents and the impact they might have on their Lebanese-British children's linguistic attitudes and practices.

Chapter four discusses the methodology and hypotheses adopted in this study. It explains the rationale for choosing particular research instruments; the development of the questionnaires and the pilot study; the selection of participants; and the execution of the fieldwork.

Chapters five and six present the research findings and discuss FLP and intergenerational patterns of language use, language proficiency, and language attitudes of Lebanese families living in London. This analysis will help determine the extent of LM and LS among second-generation Lebanese-British children. It also gives a detailed picture of the way Lebanese parents and Lebanese-British children (re)construct and (re)negotiate their multiple identities in the host society.

Chapter seven summarises the main outcomes of this study. It discusses the extent to which these contribute to the literature on multilingual education, FLP, and HLM and LS in minority communities more generally, and Lebanese and other Arabic-speaking communities in particular. It also outlines the key contributions, implications and limitations of the study, and offers some suggestions for future research.

The appendices include a participant's information sheet and consent form, list of the conventions used for transcription, list of abbreviations, transliteration scheme, key to colour coding, transcription and data analysis sample, sample texts used for children's informal testing, questionnaire for parents (in both English and MSA), questionnaire for children (in both English and MSA), profile of participants interviewed, sample of interview transcripts, time line, and a sample of field notes.

Chapter 2: Literature review

2.1 Overview

This chapter gives a description of the literature relevant to this study, and is divided into two main sections. Section 2.2 deals with sociolinguistic concepts such as diglossia, the notion of Arabic languages and dialects, key factors affecting language choice and behaviour, language attitudes, and the process of HLM and LS and associated models. Section 2.3 tackles concepts related to the concept of identity, and its relationship with language religion and culture.

2.2 Sociolinguistic concepts

This section introduces the concept of diglossia and the use of Arabic languages and dialects in different communication settings. It then examines the key factors that impact language choice and behaviour in a particular immigrant context, focusing on CS and CM, and language attitudes. It finally reviews the process of HLM and LS, focusing on Kloss' clear-cut and ambivalent factors model, the subjective and objective ethno-linguistic vitality (EV) theory (Giles et al., 1977), the 'core value' theory (Smolicz, 1981) and the Family Language Policy (FLP) framework.

2.2.1 Diglossia

Classic diglossia (as defined by Ferguson, 1959) is a linguistic phenomenon that arises when two different forms of the same language are used to achieve different communicative functions within the same speech community. Diglossia was first introduced by the French Arabist William Marçais in 1930, to describe the Arabic linguistic situation. However, it did not receive much attention until the late 1950s, when Ferguson investigated this linguistic duality and proposed further explanations (Kaye, 2001: 117). He then introduced this concept to the Anglo-Saxon world in his seminal

article “Diglossia” (borrowed from the French word *diglossie*) in the journal, Word. He defines it as:

'... A relatively stable language situation, in which in addition to the primary dialects of the language, which may include a standard or regional standards, there is a very divergent, highly codified variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature ... which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation' (Ferguson, 1959: 336).

In his interpretation, Ferguson refers to the interaction of two related varieties within the same language - the high variety (henceforth H) and the low variety (henceforth L) -, that exist in parallel in a speech community. Each variety fulfils a specific role and communicative function. H is regarded as the standard, highly codified, prestigious and written variety that is culturally and literarily rich. It is used in official, formal and religious situations and is usually taught at school and in second language acquisition programmes. L, by contrast, lacks prestige, is largely oral, uncoded and limited to informal communications and social setting such as family, friends and colleagues. Such compartmentalisation of functions means diglossia is a stable linguistic situation, despite occasional overlap between the two situations (Ferguson, 1996: 28).

Ferguson explains and defines the key characteristics of diglossia based on his investigations of four language situations in Greece, German-speaking Switzerland, Haiti and the Arab-speaking world. In each speech community he identifies two distinct varieties- H and L: Katharevousa and Dhimotiki for Greece, standard German and Swiss-German for Switzerland, French and Haitian Creole for Haiti, and Classical and Colloquial Arabic for the Arab-speaking world. He enumerates nine typical elements of diglossia: function, prestige, acquisition, standardisation, stability, literary heritage, grammar, lexicon and phonology.

Following Ferguson's contribution to the theory of diglossia, many researchers further examined this concept in order to provide a more

detailed explanation of other diglossic situations. Fishman (1967) introduces the possibility of extending diglossia to bilingual situations where two genetically unrelated linguistic (or, at least, historically different) systems may exist in a diglossic situation. One is employed for the H functions (used in religious, educational, literary and other such prestigious domains), and the other fulfils the L functions and is employed for more informal, primarily spoken domains. He proposes four possible types of relationships between diglossia and bilingualism: 1- both diglossia and bilingualism, 2- diglossia without bilingualism, 3- bilingualism without diglossia and 4- neither diglossia nor bilingualism.

Despite attempts to (re)define and extend the notion of diglossia, scholars have not been able to firmly agree on what constitutes diglossia, since not all the language situations fit the descriptions proposed by Ferguson, Fishman or the others. This may not be completely surprising given that the nature of language use is dynamic and diverse, and often linked to aspects of language attitudes, beliefs and ideologies.

2.2.2 Arabic languages and dialects

2.2.2.1 Arabic languages: Classical Arabic (CA) and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA)

Various Arabic languages and dialects have always existed on the Arabian peninsula (Versteegh, 1997) but they all evolve from CA. However, CA is itself the offspring of the Quraysh dialect, a variety of a dialect spoken in pre-Islamic Mecca long before the birth of Islam in the 7th century. Given Mecca's status as a prestigious pilgrimage destination, ever since Abraham built the holy shrine Al-Kaaba, the Quraysh dialect emerged as the *lingua franca* spoken on the Arabian peninsula (Mansour, 1993: 107). With the spread of the Islamic conquests, the language of the Quran became the dominant variety given its religious significance and social prestige. As a result, CA evolved as a combination of this *lingua franca* and the Arabic of the Holy Quran, and quickly established itself as the standard Arabic variety.

Many efforts were made to standardise the Arabic script, to achieve some degree of uniformity from the numerous language varieties spoken across the empire. These led to the production of the first grammar book of CA by Sibawayh in 700 AC (Bateson, 2003). This book described the syntactic rules, morphology and pronunciation of the Arabic sounds, referred to in religious contexts as the rules of *tajwid* (i.e. the perfection of pronunciation). The rules are of great significance to Muslims and must be rigourously adhered to when reciting the holy Quran (Boullata, 2013).

However, between the 13th and 18th century, CA was in a non-dynamic and static phase. Indeed, Ferguson (1990: 42) argues that:

*...CA had been more or less stagnant from the 13th to 18th centuries...
In the 19th century there was a fantastic revival of the use of Arabic as
a great language and as a vehicle of a new literate and literary culture.*

This revival movement was driven by a nationalist desire to establish an Arab nation with a prestigious literary heritage and resist colonial dominance over the Arab nations. Both Christian Arabs, many of who were the westernized literary elites of the East, and Muslim Arabs (through the establishments of Islamic institutions known as 'Madrassa' and usually attached to mosques) led this movement. As a result, MSA emerged as the revived formal language of Arabic, and both varieties (CA and MSA) retain a prestigious and holy status given their religious dimension and link to the Quran and Islam in general, even to Muslims of non-Arab origin.

In Arab literature, CA, as it is known in the west, is referred to as:

اللغة العربية الفصحى

(*Eloquent Arabic language*).

MSA in the Arab world is known as

اللغة العربية المعاصرة أو لغة النشر أو لغة الصحافة

(*The Language of the Press*). It is considered today the standard language throughout the Arab world and is used in formal situations namely education, written and broadcast news, public speaking and conferences. It is also the

predominant written variety of Arabic taught to children at school and mostly used in language programmes in the teaching of Arabic as a second language (Ferguson, 1959; Versteegh, 1997). MSA emerged in its current form in the nineteenth century, fuelled by an upsurge in Arab nationalism in response to European occupation in the aftermath of the Ottoman Empire (Versteegh, 1997). These factors stimulated the revival of CA and the rise of MSA, which incorporated new scientific and political concepts and became the linguistic vehicle of a new literate and literary culture.

Both MSA and CA are referred to as High (H) varieties according to Ferguson, and they are acquired formally through education. Chejne (1969) refers to MSA as the standard formal language and to CA as the religious literary language. They co-exist and share the same Arabic script and most aspects of pronunciation, as described in Sibawayh's book, despite some lexical variation.

2.2.2.2 Arabic dialects

In addition to the CA/MSA varieties, Arabic also has many regional dialects that have emerged through language contact. They are referred to in the Arab world as

العامية أو اللهجة أو الدارجة

These are the spoken dialect, colloquial variety of the region, have their own native speakers, and are considered inferior to a language, often lacking in prestige and status. They are rarely written, not taught in formal education, and fulfil the functions of the Low (L) form, as described by Ferguson (1959), such as for communication at home, with family and friends, and in the streets.

The terms 'dialect' and 'language' are widely used in the literature but without agreement on a general definition that distinguishes one variety from another. Many sociolinguists have devoted a lot of attention and effort to determining what constitutes a dialect versus a language, and to distinguishing one variety from the next (Hudson, 1996). In line with the

Western ideology of what does and what does not define a language, Stewart's sociolinguistic typology (1968: 536) specifies that for a variety to acquire a language status, it has to be first and foremost codified. For Haugen (1966: 933), a language is the result of a standardisation process that involves four stages: selection of norm, codification of form, elaboration of function and acceptance by the community. A dialect lacks standardisation and codification, thus limiting its ability to fulfil all linguistic functions on all occasions. Hudson (1996) claims that a dialect appears to be derived from a language rather than vice versa. He adds that a language has a certain prestige whereas a dialect lacks such prestige and status.

However, such a view may be contested in certain Arab nations where there is differentiation of status among the various dialects. Abdel Jawad (1987) argues that the level of prestige attributed to an Arabic dialect by its native speakers, depends on how powerful and modern its speech communities are considered. This is evident in the preference for the Nablus dialect of Palestine over other Palestinian dialects, and for the Cairene dialect over other Egyptian dialects. Additionally, Ferguson (1959) restricts the usage of dialect to informal situations. In recent observations, although specific to Egypt, Wilmsen (2010) reports the normalcy of using Cairene Arabic in conferences, educational settings, movie productions, television programs and religious preaching in Egypt. This may suggest a shift in language attitudes and language use in parts of the Arab region, a fact that does not appear implausible, given that languages and dialects are not static by nature but rather dynamic.

In Lebanon, the use of Arabic in different communicative situations is divided between the standard form known in Arabic as

'الفصحى'

(*CA/MSA in Western literature*)

and the spoken variety known as

'الدارجة' أو 'اللبناني'

(Colloquial or LA).

LA is the low variety (L) used for oral communication, which is acquired informally at home and lacks standardization. It is an Arabic vernacular related to the Levantine dialects that replaced the Aramaic languages spoken in the region before the advent of the Arabic language in the 7th century AD. CA/MSA is the high variety (H), used as the official and national language. It is also the codified language used in education, the vehicle of all literacy and cultural heritage, and the unifying language among all Arab nations although not the native language of any. It is also the language used by Lebanese Muslims for liturgical practices and worship.

Despite the demarcation of roles between LA and CA/MSA and the difference in their status, some scholars argue that these varieties are two facets of the same language that exist side by side on an Arabic continuum (Ryding, 2013; Younes, 1995; Badawi, 1973). In order to develop a full range of linguistic proficiency, the speaker needs to acquire both varieties and switch between them according to the communicative purpose. This situation corresponds closely to 'diglossia' (section 2.2.1) and is an integral element of the Lebanese sociolinguistic setting.

Geolinguistically, Arabic dialects extend from Morocco and Mauritania on the Atlantic Coast in the West to the shores of the Arabian Gulf in the East. They range from easily intelligible or utterly unintelligible to speakers of other Arabic dialects, given their variation at the lexical, phonological, morphological and syntactical level. Maamouri (1998) divides these Arabic dialects into two distinct groups: the Machreqi³ dialects and the Maghrebi⁴ dialects. This implies that Algerian Arabic spoken in Algeria might be totally incomprehensible to speakers of Lebanese Arabic or Syrian Arabic. The reason Maamouri offers is that the languages spoken in the occupied lands prior to their Islamic invasion initially influenced the Arabic dialects spoken by

³ the Machreqi dialects include four subgroups: (a) Egypt and Sudan; (b) Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, and Jordan; (c) Iraq and Saudi Arabia, and (d) the Gulf States.

⁴ the Maghrebi dialects include the five countries of the Arab Maghrebi Union namely Mauritania, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Libya.

their current speech communities. Versteegh (1997) classifies these dialects into five distinct groups⁵ based on their geographical positions and their stage of Arabic standardisation. Soleiman (2014), however, is less focused on the location-dialect relationship, suggesting rather that the dialects of some Bedouin tribes who live around different cities in the Arab region, may resemble one another more than they do the urban dialects spoken in their countries. This is a common behaviour for any 'speech community' whose members share not only similar attitudes to language varieties but equally have similar patterns of language behaviour and language practices. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1999: 188) add that an individual may participate in many 'communities of practice' such as family, church group, sports team, and not just in one common language practice. He/she negotiates identity by his/her participation in these communities of practice.

2.2.3 Language choice and behaviour

Language choice and behaviour is often difficult to analyse in contact situations, notably in majority - minority contexts. However, the situation of the Lebanese immigrant families in London is further complicated because Arabic, the minority language in the host society, is a diglossic language (section 2.2.1) divided into two functionally distributed forms, but in competition with the dominant language. Speakers, consciously or unconsciously, make choices between one language rather than another or one linguistic code over another, depending on various factors and norms that govern their social interactions. This is known in sociolinguistic studies as code-switching (CS) and code-mixing (CM). It is a linguistic behaviour most common in multilingual and transnational communities (Wei & Wu, 2009; Wei & Garcia, 2014; Wei & Dewaele, 2014) whose members often consider the learning and maintenance of the HL(s) and the majority language vital for purposes of identity and belonging. Moreover, CS is

⁵ Versteegh's (1997: 145) classification includes five groups of Arabic dialects:

- 1- The dialects of the Arabian Peninsula
- 2- Mesopotamian dialects
- 3- Syrio-Lebanese dialects
- 4- Egyptian dialects
- 5- Maghreb dialects
- 6- Egyptian

reported in settings where power negotiation and identity formation take place, such as in bilingual classrooms (Martin-Jones, 2000).

2.2.3.1 Definition of code-switching and code-mixing

An influential work on language choice is Blom and Gumperz's (1972) study of the dialect Ranamål and the standard language Bokmål in Hemnesberget, northern Norway. It introduces a two-type model of CS - situational and metaphorical switching - and defines CS as the use of two or more languages during the same utterance or conversation in order to fulfil different communicative purposes. Unlike diglossia which is known for being a societal phenomenon in multilingual societies, Gardner-Chloros (2009) describes CS as a phenomenon that affects individual linguistic practices in bilingual communities and is driven by sociolinguistic factors. Bassiouney (2009: 31) argues that diglossia can be studied within the framework of CS since switching can occur not only within the scope of bilingualism, but equally between the H and L varieties, identified by Ferguson (1959). However, the speaker's level of awareness when CS in diglossic situations is thought to be more pronounced than the CS that occurs in bilingual situations (Wardhaugh, 1986). CM is another linguistic phenomenon studied within the sphere of CS. The main distinction between 'CS' and 'CM' is that in the latter mixing between the varieties is not restricted to just the lexicon but can also include the use of grammatical features of one variety in the speech of another. Some linguists like Myers-Scotton (1997) and Bista (2010) do not consider CS and code-mixing as two separate processes, regardless of whether the switching occurs inter-sententially (across sentences) or intra-sententially (within a sentence). I take this view and will hereafter use the term CS to refer to all instances of switching and mixing between linguistic codes in a single conversation.

2.2.3.2 Reasons for code-switching

CS can be either situationally or metaphorically motivated (Blom & Gumperz, 1972). Situational CS is caused by factors external to the speakers, such as university lecture halls, that would impose formality on the code choice, the

topic of the speech (formal or non-formal), and the change in social situation (in a lecture theatre or family gathering) or participants within the same setting. Blom and Gumperz (1972) present an example of situational CS when teachers switch from Bokmål when giving formal lectures, to Ranamål when they wish to invite the contribution of students to open discussions. Metaphorical CS is driven by the speakers themselves, and reflects their self-perception in the context of external factors (such as the switching from one code to another to include or exclude someone from the conversation, to convey a sense of intimacy, or simply to emphasize a message). This type of CS occurs within the same domain and with the same audience, for rhetorical purposes. Gumperz (1977: 6) introduces the 'we' and 'they' dichotomy to explain the significance of CS where languages are associated with identities. Speakers use this practice to signal their in-group connection with the speech community or their out-group distance from it. Lo (1999) asserts that CS is the basis of co-membership in a language community governed by shared norms of denotational code. However, such dichotomous division between situational and metaphorical CS has been criticized in the literature, on the basis that this separation cannot be maintained in practice, and that speakers often switch between one and the other within the same conversation (Myers-Scotton, 1993 and Auer and Di Luzio, 1984).

Myers-Scotton (1986) introduces the markedness model which differentiates between the unmarked and the marked choice. The former is the appropriate choice made by speakers and is governed by the conventional rules of an exchange, whereas the latter is the non-appropriate choice and does not conform to the norms of exchange. According to Myers-Scotton, the choice of one variety over the other is associated with accepted norms of appropriateness (Myers-Scotton, 1986: 404).

Fishman (1965) identifies 'domains of language use' as an important factor in language choice in multilingual settings, and defines it as:

A socio-cultural construct abstracted from topics of communication, relationships between communicators, and locales of communication,

in accord with the institutions of a society and the spheres of activity of a culture, in such a way that individual behaviour and social patterns can be distinguished from each other and yet related to each other (Fishman, 1965: 75).

He explains that speakers tend to associate certain languages with specific domains, which are mainly influenced by three factors: topic, role-relations and locale. This implies that speakers may use one language variety when discussing a certain topic (such as family) but switch to another variety when discussing another topic (such as politics). Role-relation means that the choice of language is determined by the interlocutors involved in the conversation, whereas locale refers to the setting where the conversation takes place. Fishman further specifies five language domains, namely home/family, friendship, religion, education, and employment. As such, the language(s) used by speech communities in the home domain may differ to the ones used in the work or school domains.

Additionally, he argues that language transmission in the home domain is the most important factor in the vitality of a language, and warns that HLs can only survive and grow if they are transmitted in 'the realm of intimacy - home, family, neighbourhood, friendship, immediate community' (Fishman, 2000: 40). A number of studies conducted by Yagmur et al. (2003) on second-generation Turkish immigrants in France reveal that the HL is mostly spoken in the domestic domain and in the neighbourhood with other members of the Turkish community. The same patterns of language choice are also observed among the Turkish immigrants in other national contexts such as the Netherlands (Yagmur, 2009), Germany (Yagmur, 2004) and Australia (Yagmur et al., 1999) demonstrating the dominance of the HL in the domestic domain. Lawson and Sachdev (2004) report similar findings among second-generation Sylheti-Bangladeshi immigrants in London. English use dominates in the public domains, but Bengali-Sylheti constitutes an equally important part of participants' sociolinguistic repertoires, mostly used in private domains. In his study of five Egyptian families in Durham, UK, Gomaa (2011) notes that a policy of Egyptian Arabic (EA) only at home is a common practice among all the participant families, contributing to the effective transmission and maintenance of EA. Similarly, Al Sahafi (2016) notes the

crucial role of the home environment in contributing to the development of Arabic skills, both oral and literacy, among New Zealand-raised Arab immigrant children. In addition to the home domain, Clyne and Kipp (1999) found in their study of the Arabic community in Melbourne, Australia that the religious domain also played a role in the use and maintenance of Arabic among Arab-Australians.

Holmes (2013) also uses the term 'domains of language use' to draw on three important social factors in language choice: participants, topic and setting. She uses domains of use to understand 'typical interactions, between typical participants, in typical settings' (p. 21-22). As such, interlocutors are attributed a significant role in language choice and language behaviour. Yagmur (2009) observes different patterns of language use between first and second-generation Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands. First-generation speakers have a higher preference for Turkish across almost all domains, whilst second-generation speakers choose predominately Dutch over Turkish when speaking about the majority of issues, other than when talking to their parents. In which case, the speaker's age as well as other associated factors such as birthplace and social networks, seem to impact language choice and behaviour. Similarly, Ferguson (2013) notes in his study of a UK Yemeni community, that the language preferences and behaviours of younger Yemenis differ significantly from the older generation; older Yemeni speakers tend to limit their use of English in most domains, whereas younger Yemeni tend to code-switch more to English exhibiting a high proficiency level. Gender differences are also believed to affect language use patterns in some ethnic minorities communities. In some typical Arab Muslim families for instance, fathers play a key role in parenting and act as the guardians of their families. Consequently they are expected to play an active role in the process of transmitting the HL and heritage culture (HC) to their families (Al-Sahafi, 2015). In other communities such as Gujarati speakers in London, Harris (2006) remarks that fathers' involvement in life outside the house allows them to speak more English than mothers who tend to spend most of their time at home rearing their children. This leads to the predominant use of the

HL by mothers at home in communication with children, and a consequently lower proficiency level in English than the fathers.

Finally, the topic of conversation is also argued to affect language choice and CS. Fishman (2000) suggests that some topics are best handled in one language than in another, and bilingual speakers may find it easier to discuss particular topics in one code over another. In Paraguay for instance, Guaraní is regarded more appropriate for telling jokes and humorous anecdotes. When discussing political issues in Spanish, a Paraguayan may switch to Guaraní to make a humorous joke aside. Similarly, in Norway, Norwegian is the language of education, but while in the classroom children might switch to their local dialect to make rude comments or jokes about the classroom teacher. Such switches involve emotional and affective functions. Pavlenko (2005) and Dewaele (2010) indicate in their research that emotions may trigger more CS in some multilinguals, while in others they may inhibit the use of particular languages. Other switches are thought to be referentially motivated, such as the switches that occur when the bilingual speakers wish to report the exact words, or cite specific proverbs or famous sayings from another language.

From a socio-linguistic point of view, Baker (2006) points out twelve key factors behind CS: the need for speakers to emphasise a point, clarify a point, substitute for an unknown word or expression, express a concept that has no equivalent in the culture of the other language, reinforce a request, express identity, relate a conversation held previously in the language(s) used, interjecting into a conversation, signal change of attitude or relationship, ease tension and inject humour, exclude people from the conversation, and introduce certain topics (p.111-113).

In describing metaphorical CS as a signal of solidarity between people from different or the same ethnic groups, Myers-Scotton (2006: 131) refers to the 'accommodation theory' which is used by 'speakers to accommodate their speech to persons whom they like or whom they wish to be liked by'. She gives the example of ethnic minority communities whose members converge

to the dominant language to assimilate and integrate into their new society, resulting in language shift and, in some cases, HL loss. The speakers' motivation to converge their communicative behaviour to that of their interlocutors' is driven by a need for social integration and identification with their interlocutors. In their communication accommodation model (CAT), Giles et al. (1991: 7-8) distinguish between convergence and divergence. While speakers may resort to the former to reduce differences in communication between them and their interlocutors, they may adopt the latter to accentuate these differences and diverge from interlocutors with whom they have no desire to affiliate. Additionally Giles et al. (1991:11) note two directions of convergence and divergence: upward and downward. Upwards convergence and divergence refer to the shift towards a more prestigious variety, and downward convergence and divergence describe the shift towards more stigmatised or less socially valued forms in context.

Other scholars (Wei, 1994; Wei et al., 2008; Cochran, 1990) note that social networks may equally influence language choice, LM and LS. Cochran (1990) distinguishes between two mechanisms of network influence: the direct mechanism that influences parental attitudes and behaviours, and the indirect mechanism that influences children's behaviour as a result of parent-children interactions and children's involvement in their parents' social networks. Social network is generally defined as 'the study of the social structure that individuals and entities construct through interaction' (Velázquez, 2013: 190) and as 'a group of people who know each other in some capacity and with differing degrees of intensity' (Stoessel, 2002: 95). Milroy (1987) applies social network analysis (SNA) to language variation in three working-class neighbourhoods in Belfast, Ireland. She finds that in a close-knit, high-density network, where everyone knows one another in at least one milieu, with little contact beyond the defined network, speakers are able to form a cohesive speech community and resist pressures (social and linguistic) from outside their group. Therefore, they are more likely to maintain their vernacular than speakers with more open, low-density networks who tend to have more social connections and interactions with the wider society, therefore less likely to maintain their distinct language. The

SNA framework has been extended to investigate LM and LS in immigrant communities. In her studies of the Puerto Rican neighbourhood in New York, Zentella (1997) concludes that language choice is influenced by gender and age-related networks, and that these networks act as support system for their members. Wei (1994: 23) concurs that:

There is a dialectical relationship between speakers' linguistic behaviours and interpersonal relations; that is, speakers' language choice in multilingual communities is affected and shaped by the types of social relations they have, and at the same time contributes to the social relations which speakers maintain.

2.2.3.3 Code-switching in Arabic diglossic situations

A number of studies have attempted to explain the motivations for CS between the H and L varieties in Arabic-speaking societies (Abu-Melhim, 1991; Mazraani, 1997; Mejdell, 1996, 1999; Holes, 1993). They conclude that speakers of Arabic code-switch between MSA and other Arabic vernaculars or other languages to achieve various linguistic functions. As a result of CS between MSA and local dialects, Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA), referred to as *عاميات المثقفين* in Arabic, emerged as a new Arabic code used particularly by educated Arabic speakers (Badawi, 1973). Abu-Melhim (1991: 249) reports that Jordanians code-switch from the L variety to MSA or English when they need to quote, emphasise or clarify a statement. They also switch from Jordanian Arabic to Egyptian Arabic to 'accommodate' to the dominant prestigious variety, and facilitate conversation (Abu-Melhim, 1991: 237). Holes (1993) claims that speakers code-switch deliberately, and they use different strategies according to the needs of the conversation. Mejdell (1996) concludes in her study that a change of code is related to a speaker's change of role vis-à-vis her or his audience (1996: 227). She notes that people often switch from MSA (H) to Egyptian Arabic (L) when explaining, providing examples or rephrasing a previous statement in MSA to maximise understanding.

These studies demonstrate that CS is a widespread practice in the Arab world and an integral part of the linguistic behaviour of many Arab speech communities. Similarly, it is endemic to Lebanon's multilingual landscape, where two official languages, Arabic and French, co-exist, even post independence. Speakers also often code-switch naturally and effortlessly between MSA and LA, and LA and other languages such as Armenian, English and French. They code-switch deliberately to convey their social, educational, cultural, ethnic and religious identities. The ability to speak foreign languages such as French and/or English in Lebanon is evidence that the speaker is highly educated, westernised, well travelled and sophisticated. For Lebanese immigrants in London, CS between LA and English is a question of communication between the first-generation, usually fluent in LA, and the second generation who may be less so (chapter 5). However, CS may also be a strategy used to suggest the speakers' sense of in-group solidarity with the Lebanese community and flag up their Lebanese identity through the use of LA (chapter 6).

2.2.3.4 Attitudes towards code-switching

CS is viewed ambivalently in the literature. Some studies report negative attitudes (see 2.2.4) towards CS, belittling it as linguistic incompetence in a linguistic code or an act of laziness (Dewaele & Wei, 2014; Gafaranga, 2007a and 2007b). Bentahila (1983) observes that the majority of Arabic-French bilinguals in Morocco are ill-disposed towards CS because French is perceived as the language of the colonials. Similarly, Lawson-Sako and Sachdev (2004) report negative feelings towards CS among Tunisian bilinguals. In educational contexts and child language acquisition, CS is also viewed as an example of lack of proficiency in the target language (De Houwer, 2009).

In contrast to these negative attitudes, some other studies attest to the numerous merits of CS, and describe it as a sign of creativity and high linguistic competence among bilingual or multilingual speakers (Wei & Garcia, 2014; Wei & Dewaele, 2014). It is described as "the most distinctive

behaviour of the bilingual speaker” (Wei & Wu, 2009: 193). Within the dynamic field of bilingualism/multilingualism and specifically the field of language education, CS is seen as an effective pedagogical tool used in language teaching and learning. Children’s acquired ability to code-switch demonstrate a high level of linguistic competence and sociolinguistic sensitivity that promote tolerance of others in multilingual contexts (Gardner-Chloros, 2009). The use of CS is also considered “good parenting” in multinational environments (King & Fogle, 2006) as its practice brings major economic benefits and work prospects to the speakers of minority languages, as well as contributing to the preservation of the HL and heritage culture.

Despite some negative assessment of CS, it may not simply be an additional effective linguistic tool used to convey a message. It may be used as a communication strategy to fulfil distinct socio-cultural needs within a speech community, reflect the language ideology of its speaker, and signals his/her level of tolerance and openness to others. In an increasingly global environment with high levels of migration, CS or rather ‘translanguaging’ should be seen as the natural linguistic behaviour of the global citizen, and not necessarily indicative of poor language knowledge as some non-linguists claim. Wei (2011: 1223) defines translanguaging, originally a concept in education, as an act that:

(...) Creates a social space for the multilingual language user by bringing together different dimensions of their personal history, experience and environment, their attitude, beliefs and ideology, their cognitive and physical experience.

The prefix *trans* communicates how multilingual speakers’ language practices in fact “go beyond” use of state-endorsed named language systems (García & Wei, 2014: 42). From a poststructuralist perspective, this theory moves away from the previous conceptualisation of bilingualism/multilingualism that treated bilinguals as having equal proficiency in two separate language systems that corresponded to two nationally sanctioned, standard and named languages such as English,

French, Chinese, etc. (Vogel & García, 2017). As a sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic theory, translanguaging posits that bilinguals, multilinguals and all users of language fluidly select and deploy particular features from a unitary linguistic repertoire to make meaning and negotiate particular communicative and expressive ends in different contexts (Vogel & García, 2017; Otheguy, García & Reid, 2015). Given that bilinguals' language practices are dynamic, socially constructed and are 'multiple and ever adjusting to the multilingual multimodal terrain of the communicative act' (García, 2009: 53), individuals' languaging repertoires are unique to them; they do not belong to any named language. Translanguaging theory distinguishes between the internal and external perspective in bilingual language practices. The external perspective perceives that when bilinguals select and use features without regard to named language categories, they are using two separate codes or 'code-switching'. The internal perspective, however, regards translanguaging as the bilinguals' flexible and fluid language practices without adherence to the socially and politically constructed boundaries of named (and usually national and state) languages (Otheguy et al., 2015: 281; García & Wei, 2014).

Epistemologically, the two concepts of 'code-switching' and 'translanguaging' are viewed as different. Whilst code-switching seeks to maintain named language categories as clearly discrete systems, translanguaging aims to dismantle named language categories and disrupt the socially constructed language hierarchies that consider particular languages as superior to others, suppressing the languages of many minoritised people (Vogel & Garcia, 2017). As such, translanguaging acts as a theoretical framework that aims to protect HL communities, their languages and their schools (Otheguy et al., 2015).

In a HL context (see section 2.2.5), CS or translanguaging is of particular significance in the language and literacy practices of heritage speakers (who may or may not have developed full competence in their HL). This practice is gradually being recognized as a valuable skill, enabling the bilingual speaker to combine multiple linguistic repertoires together - no matter how 'truncated'

they are - without the need to demonstrate full competence in any specific linguistic code (García, 2009; Wei & Garcia, 2014; Creese & Blackledge, 2010).

Consequently, HLs have an increased chance of being used, if translanguaging is supported and given 'safe places' (Auer, 2010) to exist both inside and outside the confines of the classrooms. De Houwer (2015: 169) highlights the importance of developing 'harmonious' Family Language Policy (FLP) in multilingual families, where children are encouraged to actively use two languages rather than just one, and to move between languages to ensure a positive bilingual experience. Such children are more likely to become highly proficient in their languages, while the HL has a stronger chance of being maintained.

Having reviewed the literature focussing on CS, language choice and behaviour, the next section discusses the concept of language attitudes and their impact on HL maintenance and shift.

2.2.4 Language attitudes

One of the main aims of this study is to examine the attitudes of Lebanese parents and children towards both varieties of Arabic (i.e. formal language and dialect), and towards English. It is therefore necessary to examine the concept of language attitudes given their significance in the understanding of language use and behaviour (Gardner, 1985; Gardner & Lambert, 1972; Baker, 1992; 1996; 2000; Fishman, 1991; Cummins, 2005; Dörnyei, 2003; 2009), identity formation (Hogg & Smith, 2007), language planning and management (Spolsky, 2004; 2009), and language revival and maintenance (Baker, 1992; Fishman, 2001).

Baker (1992: 29) notes that language attitude is an umbrella term that covers a range of specific attitudes to: languages, dialects, speech styles, language groups, minorities, learning a new language, and language lessons. Language attitudes are associated with, reflect, and sometimes construct identity. This is because the language spoken is associated with the identity

the speaker wishes to construct, and the community he/she wishes to be part of (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004a). Therefore, language attitudes do not only expose opinions of, and attitudes to a particular language or code, as expressed at the individual or community level, but they can also encompass attitudes towards the speech communities, using the language in question.

2.2.4.1. Definitions of, and approaches to, attitude

The study of attitudes is a central feature of the terminology associated with social psychology, and it has been described as 'one of the key concepts of social psychology or even the most distinctive and indispensable concept in (American) social psychology' (Jaspars, 1978: 256). Its use also overlaps with other fields of social science, namely education and sociolinguistics, notably after the seminal work of Labov (1966) on the social stratification of postvocalic (r) in New York department stores.

Attitudes towards languages are difficult to define, predict or measure because of their multi-faceted nature and the variety of ways in which they can be manifested. Consequently, theorists have proposed various definitions depending on the features of attitudes examined in each context. For Ajzen (1988: 4) attitude is 'a disposition to act favourably or unfavourably to an object, person, institution, or event'. Garrett et al. (2003) add that 'attitude is at least an evaluative stance that is sufficiently stable to allow it to be identified and in some sense measured'. These definitions seem to suggest that attitudes are linked to behaviour since they allow feelings of like or dislike, positive or negative, and that their degree of stability enables the establishment of measurement scales. Allport (1935: 810) prefers to define attitude as:

A mental or neutral state of readiness, organised through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related.

For Allport (1982) attitude is thus an internal state of mind (mental or neutral state of readiness) that influences a person's reactions to objects or

situations. As such, attitudes cannot be directly observed nor accurately measured the way physical traits such as height, weight and church attendance can be (Baker, 1992: 10-11). Gauging attitudes may not be easy, since they are an internal mental state and the researcher may need to rely on participants' self-reported data and inferences from behaviour to define their attitudes. In this process, validity may become questionable.

Fasold (1984: 147-148) examines attitudes from the behaviourist perspective, and states that they are found 'in the responses people make to social situations'. He notes that a researcher adopting this method is not compelled to rely on self-reports or indirect inferences of the mentalist approach. It is only necessary to observe how respondents behave in specific situations, and analyse their overt behaviour. Yet, Agheysi & Fishman (1970: 138) warn that attitudes of this sort cannot be used to predict other behaviour because they rely on the stimulus situation and context of observation. Fasold (1984:148) contends that the behaviourist approach regards attitudes as single units, unlike the mentalist that considers attitude to be organized in terms of other components. Garrett (2010: 23) explains that attitudes are a function of three components: cognitive, affective and behavioural. The cognitive component is related to thought and beliefs about the world. Baker (1992) gives the example of the Irish language and explains that a favourable attitude to the Irish language might entail a stated belief about the importance of continuity of the indigenous language, its value in the transmission of the Irish culture and use in immersion bilingual education (1992: 12). The affective construct concerns feelings of like or dislike, love or hate towards an attitude object, and the action or behavioural component of attitudes concerns a readiness for action. People with favourable attitudes to Irish might state their willingness to send their children to a bilingual school or enrol themselves onto bilingual adult language classes.

However, since attitudes are 'psychological constructs' (Garrett, 2010: 20) it is important not to assume that overtly stated attitudes are always congruent with deep-seated covert ideological beliefs. Such beliefs, conscious or unconscious, may be linked to speakers' perceptions of languages, politics,

economy and considerations of power, and lead to language change, maintenance or shift in multi-lingual contexts (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994; Garrett et al., 2003). A combination of data collection methods is thus necessary to enable comparison between reported and observed attitudes. Baker (1992: 16-19) acknowledges that people's expressed attitudes might not always reflect the real opinions of the group investigated, and that participants may shape their attitudes to appear more desirable for their audience in interviews or questionnaires. The researcher's own presence and the aim of the research may equally influence respondents to behave in a certain way and express a particular attitude that may not be found in practice. Additionally, the pressures inflicted by society, family members, peer groups or culture are believed to be reasons for such linguistic attitudes. Nevertheless, a shift in attitude may not be surprising given that attitudes are not static or permanent, but rather fluid in time and space from a poststructuralist perspective. Similarly, language attitudes may change with time, contexts, and circumstances.

a. Measuring attitudes

Three principal approaches are used to investigate attitudes: societal treatment studies, direct approach and indirect approach (Garrett, 2010). Societal treatment studies involve determining participants' attitudes from various sources within the public domain such as the discourse of government or educational policy documents, media scripts, employment advertisements, television programmes among others. The researcher aims to infer attitudes from numerous types of observed behaviours and sources (Garrett, 2010: 52). The direct approach includes asking participants direct and explicit questions about their language attitudes and preferences, through questionnaires, surveys and/or interviews. The indirect approach uses more subtle, often covert, techniques that aim to elicit participants' language attitudes without asking them direct questions or making them feel self-conscious or embarrassed. The most commonly used form of this method is the matched guise technique (MGT) in which participants listen to audio-recordings and rate speakers in terms of various personality traits

(Garrett et al., 2003: 51-52) In this study, a combination of direct and indirect approaches are used. These are discussed in further detail in methodology (chapter 4).

b. Attitudes to Arabic

In Lebanon, for example, foreign language education such as French and/or English is highly regarded in Lebanese society, despite efforts to promote the use of Arabic as the unifying language among Arabs and the Arab nations (Esseili, 2017; Diab, 2006; Shaaban & Ghaith, 2003). This is because language learning that individuals or speech communities decide to invest in may not be solely associated with instrumental or extrinsic values, but may also be related to the identity that the speaker or learner wishes to construct, and the communities he/she wishes to be integrated with (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004a). Attitudes to Arabic (MSA and its linguistic varieties) are relatively negative, according to Sinno's (2008) study of Lebanese university students' attitudes to English learning. She argues that respondents suffer from an "Arab identity inferiority complex" (p.158), exacerbated by the socio-political and economic context. This feeling fuels students' motivation to learn a global powerful language such as English, to help them escape the limitations of the local workplace and embrace the opportunities of career development and employment available through expanding their linguistic repertoire. This echoes Bourdieu's (1991) notion of language and symbolic power which suggests a disparity in the value ascribed to each linguistic code on the linguistic market, with some enjoying more symbolic capital and power than others. Similarly, Bani-Khaled (2014: 170) explains in his research that university students' feelings towards MSA in Jordan are generally apathetic, because MSA could not be perceived as a viable mother tongue. Feelings of inferiority, shame and submission to foreign cultures are stated as main reasons for boycotting the use of MSA and replacing it with local vernaculars and English. Conversely, in his study of language attitude in Morocco, Bentahila (1983) charts the rise of Standard Arabic at the expense of French, which, prior to the process of Arabisation, had exerted a strong grip on society. He attributes this attitude shift to the rise of the

national and satellite channels in Arabic languages and varieties, as well as the increasing number of programmes produced or dubbed in Arabic.

2.2.4.2. Factors influencing language attitudes

In his socio-educational model, Gardner (1985) distinguishes between two main orientations to language attitudes: the instrumental and the integrative orientation. He also explains that attitudes to second language learning are related to motivation – ‘the extent to which the individual strives to learn the language because of a desire to do so and the satisfaction experienced in this activity’ (1985: 10). Hence, instrumental attitude to language learning is related to the practical reasons why a person is motivated to learn a language such as for career development, self-advancement and status. A person may wish to learn CA/MSA because he/she will thereby acquire an advantage over others when competing for a job promotion in a country where Arabic is spoken, or because of the respect he/she might receive from others as a result of learning the language. Integrative attitude to language learning has a social and interpersonal dimension, and is mostly related to a desire to communicate and identify with the target language community (Gardner, 1985; 2001). Such an attitude is linked to ‘the need for affiliation’ (Baker, 1992: 32). Accordingly, one might decide to learn LA in London to better understand Lebanese lifestyle and cultural values and express in-group solidarity with the Lebanese community. Positive attitudes towards languages (or varieties) are often seen to foster in-group unity and collective identity, whereas negative attitudes signal tensions and conflicts between the various social groups. Masgoret and Gardner (2003: 126) suggest that an integrative attitude to language learning may relate to an individual’s openness or willingness to identify with another language community, and a lack of ethnocentrism.

Furthermore, Gardner et al. (2004) emphasize the importance of the ‘social milieu’⁶ because it affects how successfully a language is learnt. It is central to the formation of integrative motivation, notably in the case of the HL

⁶ The social milieu depends on the learners’ experiences, family and culture.

learner. Gardner and Lambert (1972) propose that integratively motivated learners are more highly driven and hence more successful than those instrumentally oriented because they will have 'more positive feelings towards the community that speaks the language' (Gardner 1985: 82-83). However, Gardner's model has been criticised over the years for its inconsistencies and failure to account for other variables that impact motivation in language learning. Baker (1992: 35-6) argues that research into second language learning has found only a small proportion of success attributable to an integrative orientation. Prompted by contemporary discussions about the global spread of English and World English varieties, researchers (Ushioda, 2006; Yashima, 2002) question the applicability of integrative orientation to a specific target group of speakers. Yashima (2002) proposes the concept of 'international posture', which broadens the external reference group from a specific geographical and ethnolinguistic community to a non-specified global community of English language users. Drawing on developments in the psychological theory of 'possible selves', Dörnyei (2009) comments on the multi-faceted nature of an integrative motivation and introduces a new conceptualisation of motivation, the 'L2 Motivational Self System'. According to this theory, the notion of integrativeness is better understood as an internal process of identification with the person's self-concept, rather than identification with an external reference group (Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2009). To complement the psychological concepts of motivation in language learning and identity, Norton (2013) introduces the sociological construct of 'investment' to signal 'the socially and historically constructed relationship of learners to the target language and their often ambivalent desire to learn and practice it' (p.6). When learners 'invest' in language learning, they do so with the understanding that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources, which will also improve the value of their cultural capital, their identity and their desires for the futures. Hence, an investment in language learning is also an investment in the learner's personal identity. Moreover, the construct of investment regards the learner as a social being with a complex and contradictory identity that changes across time and space. As such, Norton questions whether learners can be simply classified as motivated or unmotivated with a unique and coherent

identity. She argues that the relations of power in different learning contexts can position the learners in unequal status and produce varying learning outcomes. With the rise of the new globalised economy, Duchêne and Heller (2012) frame their discussions of language ideologies around the notions of 'pride' and 'profit'. While the trope of pride associates linguistic and cultural heritage with rights, identity and preservation, that of profit treats cultural and linguistic resources as a source of economic gain (added value) to be exploited in the globalised market.

In this study, both types of attitudes are significant in the specific context of HL learning and maintenance, given the need to assess the attitudes of Lebanese immigrant participants towards both forms of Arabic (LA and MSA), speakers of Arabic, and most importantly the way participants self-position and self-identify themselves as a result of their learning motivations. As such, a Lebanese parent may express a positive attitude to transmit and preserve the use of LA among his/her children for integrative purposes such as the need to affiliate and identify with the Lebanese community in London. Alternatively, the learner may be motivated to invest (time and effort) in the development of both LA and MSA, to enhance his/her linguistic skills as a bilingual, biliterate and bicultural speaker, increasing the value of his/her cultural capital on the professional market.

Whilst many factors are believed to affect language attitudes and contribute to the successful development and maintenance of HLs in an immigrant context, others are deemed to accelerate language shift and loss. Some of these factors are discussed below.

a. Negative attitudes towards HLs

Bourdieu (1977) suggests that 'the value ascribed to a speech cannot be understood apart from the person who speaks it, and the person who speaks it cannot be understood apart from larger networks of social relationships' (in Norton, 2013: 48). These attitudes towards languages and their speech communities may result in 'stereotypical views' that portray certain

languages, language varieties and their speech communities as romantic, loving, intelligent or hard-working and others as rude, lazy, harsh and worthless. Consequently, if negative attitudes towards HLs or speech communities are entrenched, LS or even attrition may follow. Kroskrity (2000: 13) warns that when ideologies become 'dominant' and 'successfully naturalised' by a speech community, a reluctance to speak HLs may arise. Speakers of these languages may feel intimidated and ashamed to use them overtly. Fishman (1991) argues that reversing language shift requires overturning the negative and resistant attitudes to threatened languages, among both dominant language speakers and minority language speakers. HL speakers need to be encouraged and motivated to use their HLs, publically and without fear of prejudice, alongside the dominant language of the society. Such linguistic behaviour may be achievable when members of the dominant society withhold any negative attitudes towards HLs and their speakers.

b. Status of a language or linguistic code

The status given to certain codes or the power attached to a group of speakers is also a reflection of linguistic attitudes, for example the attitudes towards H and L varieties in diglossic situations (section 2.2.1 and 2.2.2) or in bilingual/multilingual ones. Ferguson (1996: 29) argues that in diglossic situations, the H variety is given more prestige and value than the L, because it is considered the official, standard and 'best' way of speaking. Speakers of the H variety are highly respected in terms of status. Ryan, Giles and Sebastian (1982: 3) also note that speakers may have one attitude towards a standard variety generally advanced by a society's elite and reinforced through social institutions, and quite another towards a non-standard variety that may be viewed as a corrupted form of language usage.

It is worth noting that both overt prestige (public prestige often associated with the standard form of a language) and covert prestige (prestige secretly attached to vernaculars or non-standard speech varieties) can affect language attitudes in a number of different ways. In his study of social

stratification that focusses on the pronunciation of postvocalic /r/ in New York, Labov (1966) finds that hypercorrection (i.e. the overuse of prestigious and standard language forms) was most common in lower middle class, as speakers were aware of which speech form to use in careful communication to improve overt prestige and appear to belong to the higher middle class. However, people continue to use vernaculars with 'covert prestige' to express group identity and solidarity, despite being unaware of, or denying, using such forms (Holmes, 2013: 412).

Accordingly, it can be assumed that MSA is associated with overt prestige owing to its high status, and LA with covert prestige when considered within the Arabic continuum of language varieties. However, it also appears that in a majority-minority context such as London, LA may be associated with covert prestige given its association with in-group solidarity and cohesion (e.g. Ryan, 1979), links to strong ethnic values and emotional attachment to Lebanon and Lebanese cultural heritage.

c. The vitality of ethnolinguistic groups

The vitality of ethnolinguistic groups, which can be measured using the ethnolinguistic vitality theory (EVT) to assess the group's Status, Demographic, Institutional support and Control factors, is said to influence language maintenance, language shift and language attitudes (Giles et al., 1977). Ethnic groups with low EV are more likely to have unfavourable attitudes towards HLM and go through language assimilation, whereas groups with high EV are likely to maintain their HL and their distinctive cultural traits in multilingual settings (Bourhis et al., 1981). Additionally, Dörnyei et al. (2006) state that the increased visibility of a language variety (wider domains of use), and more contact with its speakers can contribute to positive language attitudes. Baker (1992: 110) argues that when a minority language becomes a more integral part of institutional life (e.g. the use of Welsh in law courts, banks, local government, shops) and through education (e.g. language classes, schools), attitudes to it may change. He adds that school is often regarded as the most influential institution associated with

attitude change. Shohamy (2004) investigates the effects of teaching spoken Arabic on school students' attitudes and motivation in Israel, a country that has been in a state of war with Arabs since 1948. They found that students who studied Arabic in Israel had more positive attitudes towards the target language, its people and its culture than those who did not. The learning itself (engagement with the target culture) was thus found to play an important role in the formation of these attitudes.

d. Popular culture and media

Factors such as participation in cultural activities, peer groups, popular culture and mass media can also influence language attitudes, language learning and literacy practices (Choi and Yi, 2012). These findings are evident in Lebanon where the youth tend to favour the English pop culture (73%) as opposed to French (30%) due to the wide diffusion of TV shows and pop music diffused in English (Shaaban & Ghaith, 1999). The development of technology and wide spread use of mass media have been found particularly valuable for HL development, HL literacy practices and ethno-cultural maintenance. Among these, are television programmes in the HL (Cho & Krashen, 2000), cartoons on video or DVD from the heritage culture (Nesteruk, 2010), pop songs and audiobooks in the HL (DeCapua & Wintergerst, 2009), video tapes for educational purposes, the Internet (Park & Sarkar, 2007; Hashimoto & Lee, 2011; Lee, 2006) and social networking and Skype - a telecommunications application software which provides free video and voice calling service via the Internet – (Şenyürekli & Detzner, 2009). In their study of HL families, Szecsi & Szilagyi (2012: 12) posit that 'virtual environments have the potential to foster intrinsic motivation of using the language'.

Whilst media technologies can help parents support their children's HL maintenance and cultural identity, these should not be considered a replacement to their own involvement and scaffolding management (Szecsi and Szilagyi, 2012). Over the years, the use of internet-based communication applications and social networking sites have become well-

established in the lives of teenagers (Boyd & Ellison, 2008) and an important social context for their self-development. Despite their well-known benefits, including new opportunities for social group participation and self-expression, they are also noted to affect teenagers' behaviours and attitudes (Pelling & White, 2008) and their self-esteem (Ehrenberg, Jukes, White & Walsh, 2008).

e. Language ideologies

Another important factor affecting language attitudes are language ideologies and beliefs. The concept of language ideologies has been widely analysed in the literature (Woolard, 1998; Bloomaert, 1999; Bourdieu, 1993). Ideologies may be defined as:

Socioculturally motivated ideas, perceptions and expectations of language, manifested in all sorts of language use (Bloomaert 1999: 1).

Woolard (1998: 9) notes that language ideologies are not simply ideas about forms of talking, but that they also link language to questions of identity, power, social utility and morality. She argues that language ideologies reflect people's explicit or implicit views about language through language use and language policies, power and value of a language in a given society (Kroskrity, 2010). These beliefs can be unconsciously adopted, making them more powerful as drivers of practice (Sallabank, 2013: 63). In this sense, ideologies can be seen as enduring outlooks learnt in childhood, embedded in the individual's life and not easily altered. Furthermore, ideologies are also subject to social and political factors, which make them 'the tool, property, or practice of dominant social groups' (Woolard, 1998: 7). This interpretation suggests that language ideologies contribute to the creation of power struggles between social groups, and to 'linguistic and social inequality' (McCarthy, 2011). As a result, some local languages or vernaculars may suffer marginalisation, and their promotion, acceptance and use in public (through language policies) may equally be thwarted. Conversely, other languages, such as English, have gained political power and economic value as a result of its role in international organisations, academic publications

and its function of conferring upward social mobility in a number of non-English speaking countries (Curdtt-Christiansen, 2016). Bourdieu (1991) posits that the ideologies and attitudes of a speech community can act as major drivers for language practices and language policies. They can influence the status, maintenance or loss of HLs in multilingual societies.

Within the same discourse of language ideologies and attitudes, I find it appropriate to make reference to Spolsky's tripartite definition of 'language policy' (2004, 2012), made up of three independent but inter-related components. The first relates to the actual language practices of a speech community, such as the variety spoken, the variants used with various interlocutors for certain communicative functions, the rules agreed to conduct speech and silence and the expression and concealment of identity. The second component is made up of the values assigned to each language variety or variant and beliefs about the importance of these values. According to Ager (2001), ideologies encompass beliefs and values. They are 'the shared, fundamental and axiomatic beliefs of specific social groups' (Van Dijk, 2008: 65). These ideologies are also described as a force that 'organize[s] and control[s] the social representations of groups and their members' (Van Dijk, 2008: 78–9). As such, language ideologies can exert a powerful influence over political and social institutions, through official and unofficial language policies, language attitudes and language practices. Attitudes are understood as 'overt manifestations of implicit ideologies' (Sallabank, 2013: 64) and 'the socially shared, ideologically based opinions (normative beliefs) about specific social issues' (Van Dijk, 2008: 65). The third component refers to 'language planning' or 'language management' and represents 'the explicit and observable efforts by someone or some group that has or claims to have authority over the participants in the domain, to modify their language practices and beliefs (Spolsky, 2007: 4). In this context, Sallabank (2013: 206) argues that in language planning 'the management of language attitudes is a pre-requisite for the success of other measures'. This is because publicly-funded policies require the support of a majority of a language community. This is particularly pertinent to HLs, because attitudes can determine whether or not they survive (Garrett, 2010).

Consequently, securing community support and positive attitudes towards HLs, from non-speakers as much as their speakers, contributes to effective language policies. Spolsky (2004: 222) argues that 'the real language policy of a community is more likely to be found in its practices than in its management' and that "...Unless the management is consistent with the language practices and beliefs, and with the other contextual forces that are in play, the explicit policy written in the constitution and laws is likely to have no more effect on how people speak than the activities of generations of school teachers vainly urging the choice of correct language" (Spolsky 2004: 222).

In the case of Lebanese immigrants in London, parents' and children's attitudes towards Arabic may be influenced by the political situation in the Middle East and by the global impact of terrorism, which might negatively affect Arabic's use and practice in public. Additionally, the ideologies and attitudes of the dominant speech communities in the UK towards Arabic languages and Arabic-speakers may pose an impediment to its maintenance, if resentment arises between members of the speech communities, or if the dominant language ideology portrays HLs as less valuable than English in socioeconomic, cultural and political terms. Bourdieu (1991: 18-19) notes that the uneven distribution of 'linguistic capital' in the market may result in a battlefield for all participants given the different social and symbolic values of languages. As a result of these societal language attitudes, speakers of prestigious majority languages with more valuable linguistic capital will be more empowered relative to those who speak HLs. Consequently, speakers of two or more languages are constantly assessing the value of their linguistic capital, according to the 'linguistic market' conditions, and will seek to maximise their symbolic capital (linguistic and cultural) by modifying accordingly their linguistic behaviour and practices.

Additionally, the home environment and the attitudes of parents towards their own HL are thought to influence children's attitudes from early years, and contribute to the learning, maintenance or loss of the HL (Garcia, 2003).

Positive parental attitudes to HL can lead to increased levels of parental engagement and produce more successful maintenance outcomes among children (Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). These maintenance efforts are described by Fishman (1966: 21) as 'vibrant lifeways'. They provide minority groups with strong ethnic identities, cultural and linguistic heritage and family cohesion, which would be lost without maintenance efforts (Wei, 2012; Blackledge & Creese, 2010).

In a study of Latino immigrant parents, Farruggio (2010) notes that parents viewed Spanish as 'a marker for ethnic identity' and its intergenerational transmission is 'a tool to preserve Latino cultures and values and family unity' (p.8-11). Park and Sarkar's (2007) study of Korean parents in Montreal Canada, reveals parents' positive attitudes towards the maintenance of their Korean language. They associated it with cultural identity preservation, and believed its maintenance would provide their children with the added benefits of bilingualism and bi-literacy. The crucial role of the family and the input pattern from parents can affect children's language attitudes, output, and determine the shift to or maintenance of the HL (Tannenbaum & Howie, 2002; Melo-Pfeifer, 2015; Spolsky, 2012).

However, Kulick (1994) notes that second-generation children do not always hold the same attitudes as their parents (but third and fourth generations may regret what has been lost (Crystal, 2000)). They prefer to use the dominant language of the country, in which they are more proficient than in their HL. In some cases, this has led to generational conflicts (Baker, 1992), aggravated by 'popular culture' and 'peer group pressure' (section 2.2.4.2 iv) from the host society, whose members share common experiences, lifestyles and also a common lingua franca that acts as a unifying force (Curd-Christiansen, 2016).

Having examined the importance of language attitudes and motivations in the context of language use and behaviour, the following section will discuss the process of HL maintenance (HLM) and language shift (LS) in immigrant contexts.

2.2.5 Language shift (LS) and language maintenance (LM)

The study of LS or LM is inextricably linked to other areas of sociolinguistics, such as language contact, bilingualism and multilingualism, CS and translanguaging, language change, language behaviour, language planning, and sometimes language death, attrition and endangerment. However, LS and LM only emerged as a significant field of inquiry in the mid twentieth century when Fishman in 1964 (referred to in Fishman, 1989: 233) proposed a definition and advanced suggestions for its development.

2.2.5.1 Defining heritage language maintenance (HLM) and language shift (LS)

Both HLM and LS are often the result either of migration (individual or collective, voluntary or forced) or socio-political and economic changes when an indigenous population becomes a minority in a particular territory. In consequence, HLs are at times maintained, and others lost, leading to situations of bilingualism or rather multilingual environments in the former scenario, or dominance of the majority language in the latter. Pauwels (2016: 19-21) explains that if LS can be defined as the process that leads to a gradual replacement of a minority or HL (L1) by a majority language (L2) in all spheres of usage, then LM can be defined as the continued use or retention of L1, a minority or HL in one or more spheres of language use despite contact with the mainstream language. Although the process of LS is understood to occur progressively over at least a generation, diminishing the functions and domains of usage of the L1, there have been cases of swift LS within one or two generations, leading to language loss and, in extreme cases, to 'linguicide' (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000) or language death. Such a rapid rate of shift is likely to take place in migrant settings where the dominant language may rapidly displace the HL in a number of settings, such as in the Dutch migrant community in Australia where English displaced Dutch in one generation. In other instances, the process of LS may take longer and be spread over several generations. This scenario, explains Pauwels (2016), is more likely to occur in territorial minority settings particularly as a result of political developments. Most Aboriginal people in

Australia, Maori people in New Zealand, and many American Indian people in the USA have lost their HLs over four or five generations as a result of political domination.

On the other hand, HLM has also been observed in many communities worldwide where speakers make use of their multilingual repertoires for all their communicative exchanges. Extreme cases of LM have also been noted when majority members of a community move into another linguistic territory but continue to use their HL in all functions and contexts. These scenarios describe linguistic enclaves or *Sprachinseln* (e.g. Amish communities in parts of the United States and Canada), where the community is self-sufficient and makes minimal contact with the majority community. Holmes (2013: 61) details how Ukrainians in Canada who live on farms in rural areas have maintained their HL better than those living in towns. However, LM can also be applied to situations where L1 continues to be used in some, though not all contexts, by various generations of speakers over an extended period of time (Pauwels, 2016: 21). In Australia, for instance, Arabic was found to be one of the best maintained HLs among Arab-Australians (Clyne, 2003: 54) notably among Muslims. The religious value they attribute to Arabic appears to be one of the key factors in its intergenerational maintenance; the promotion of religious values and culture is another factor.

2.2.5.2 Factors affecting heritage language maintenance (HLM) and language shift (LS)

The aim of HL learning principally differs from foreign language learning in its emphasis on the maintenance and transmission of the HL, HC, and ethnic identity across the generations. HLM is thus significant not only to the survival of HLs but also to the social and ethnic identities of immigrant families. For some groups (such as Greeks and Poles) the HL is considered a 'core value' (Smolicz, 1981) that is interconnected with ethnic identity, which leads to a strong desire to maintain it in an immigrant context. Consequently, any attempt to stigmatise or threaten these HLs may be considered a direct attack on the ethnic identity of those who use them as an essential means of communication, identification and cultural connection with

their heritage, and to whom intergenerational transmission of this linguistic and cultural capital is paramount to their survival as distinct communities.

However, the process of HLM or LS may pose a challenge to immigrant parents and minority communities who wish to retain their HLs and pass on their linguistic and cultural capital to future generations. They may face constant pressure from the majority language and culture to integrate and assimilate into the host society. These factors, such as the socio-economic, legal and political status of the majority society, and its ideologies and attitudes towards HLs, operate at the societal level and play a significant role in promoting or hindering HLM and multicultural diversity. The majority society has the power and resources to ensure a power balance (or imbalance) between the dominant group and HL groups (Gal and Woolard, 2001). Additionally, there are many other variables that affect speakers at the individual and collective level to different degrees. Several models have been used to investigate these factors in HLM and LS namely, Kloss' model of clear-cut and ambivalent factors, Giles, Bourhis and Taylor's (1977) objective and subjective ethnolinguistic vitality, and Smolicz' (1981) core value theory. These models, which will be described in more detail below, explore the factors that can promote HLM or LS in ethnic minorities communities at the group level. There are, however, also other factors that operate at the family and individual level contributing to the maintenance or loss of HLs. Yet, in most language contact situations it may become difficult to separate factors at each level because of the continuous and multidirectional ways these factors interact with, and influence, each other.

a. Individual factors

Speaker-related variables including generation or birthplace, age, gender, type of marriage, and proficiency in the majority language are noted to affect the process of HLM and LS. Attitudes towards the HL (section 2.2.4), the role of extended family members, frequent return to the home country, and FLPs also appear to influence this process. FLP will be discussed in detail because it constitutes the theoretical framework of this study.

Generation

As part of his language behaviour investigation among migrants in Australia, Clyne (1991; 2003) distinguishes between intra-generational shift which occurs within the same generation, and inter-generational shift which occurs between the second and subsequent generations. He notes that the degree of LS in the second generation is more common, and is usually higher than in the first. Members of the second generation are more likely to acquire the dominant language through schooling, and become more dominant in it than members of the first generation, who are generally more reliant on the HL. Fishman (1972) summarises the stages of LS among immigrant populations. He explains how first-generation immigrants, who left their homes and settled in the host country, continue to speak their HL whilst learning the dominant language of the host society. Second-generation immigrants, who are born in the host country and have at least one foreign-born parent, grow up bilingually but become more fluent in the dominant language of the host country. Third generation, who are locally-born of locally-born parents, and of at least one foreign-born grandparent, are monolingual in the dominant language of the host country, with little or no ability in the HL of their grandparents. Speaker generation is thus an important variable that can the process of HLM and LS. Although proficiency in the HL is found to be higher among speakers of earlier generations (Zentella, 1997), Fishman's model of three generation LS may not apply to all ethnic communities in the diaspora. Paulston (1994) found a four generation shift among Greeks in Pittsburgh, whilst Batibo (2005) suggested a five generation LS in many African contexts.

Age

Similar to the notion of generation, Clyne (1991) also finds that age affects the linguistic behaviour of HL speakers in migrant settings. The oldest age groups among first-generation speakers tend to rely more on their HL, possibly because of their limited proficiency in the dominant language and/or because of their limited exposure to it. They therefore have a higher level of maintenance of the HL and lower level of shift towards the dominant language. This pattern is reversed among second-generation speakers, who

tend to display higher level of LS and lower level of HLM. Pauwels (2016: 85-86) adds that if the second-generation speakers grow up in a family environment that relies on the HL, its use may recede during adolescence and adulthood, but increase again if there is a demand to care for elderly parents or relatives.

Moreover, birth order is argued to affect the process of HLM and LS among siblings (Zentella, 1997; Shin, 2002; Krashen, 1998; Polinsky, 2010). In families where the HL is spoken by parents at home, the eldest child is more likely to become fluent in the HL before starting formal schooling in the dominant language of the host country. But subsequent children are likely to become more exposed to the dominant language, given that the eldest child attending school will be more exposed to the majority language, and will bring it back into the domestic domain and use it in communication with siblings.

Gender

There is evidence of gender variation in language use and behaviour in different ethnic minority communities. Despite interethnic differences, first-generation women tend to use the HL more than men in their daily communication at home and shift less to the majority language possibly because of their perceived role and status in the minority and host communities (Portes & Hao, 1998; Clyne, 1991; Fishman, 1991; Holmes, 1996). In some societies, women are still perceived to be the main carers for children (and the elderly) while men are the breadwinners of the family. Women who stay at home to rear their children consequently tend to have less exposure to the dominant language and more use of the HL. The mothers in these families play a fundamental role in setting the FLP, and in securing intergenerational transmission of the HL, cultural values and ethnic identity (Okita, 2002; Velázquez, 2013). Yet, Pauwels (2016) and Labov (1990; 2001) contend that in some cases women have led the change to the dominant language or more prestigious forms in order to break out of a restrictive gender-based role associated with the minority culture. As Holmes (1996: 167) maintains: 'the higher status language may be perceived as a

means of escaping from the rather restricting confines of the females' role in the more traditional society'.

Working men tend to have more access to the dominant language, use it more frequently than women, and sometimes bring it into the home environment. In some ethnic communities, however, fathers act as guardians of the HL and culture, and play an active role in parenting and setting the family language policy. In New Zealand, for example, Al-Sahafi (2015) argues that Muslim Arab fathers' involvement in Arabic language maintenance among their children contributes to HLM and the safeguarding of religious and cultural values. Similarly, Korean immigrant fathers in New Zealand play a key role in determining HL use in their families (Kim & Starks, 2010). Greek and Italian fathers in Australia actively encourage the use of their HLs in the home domain (Pauwels, 2016).

Type of marriage

The maintenance of a language can also be influenced by a marriage type. In exogamous marriages, one partner belongs to the dominant ethnolinguistic group and the other to the minority group, or both parents belongs to two different minority groups within the dominant society. In the first scenario, LS towards the dominant language is more likely to occur, since offspring have a higher chance of exposure to the dominant language in the home domain. Partners often use the dominant language in their interactions with one other and for communication with children. In the second scenario, the language with the greater socio-economic prestige and status is likely to have the better chance of survival, and of being adopted as the home language in interactions with children. In two studies of Anglo-Dutch marriages in Australia, Clyne (1982) and Pauwels (1985) observe that second-generation children demonstrate 99% and 100% LS to English respectively. The same pattern has been observed in other ethnic communities such as in Oklahoma in the USA. Where a Cherokee speaker has married outside the Cherokee community, the children are often monolingual in English. However, in endogamous marriages where both partners continue to use their HL at home, children show higher level of HLM

and use. In their studies of Turkish immigrants in France and the Netherlands, Yagmur & Akinci (2003) and Yagmur (2009) conclude that the high endogamy rates among Turkish immigrants contribute to the maintenance of Turkish language among second-generation children acquiring Turkish as their first language in the home domain. Ethnic groups which discourage exogamous marriages such as the Greek, the Chinese, and the Arabs thus contribute to HLM and delay the process of LS to the dominant language.

Proficiency in the majority language

Low levels of proficiency in the dominant language and fluency in the HL are both potential contributory factors to HLM in immigrant contexts. Clyne (2003) observes that Turkish immigrants in Australia with limited proficiency in English maintain their Turkish better within the Turkish community than those who are more proficient speakers of the dominant language. He explains that:

In families where the parental generation has a limited knowledge of English, home use of the language in the second generation is a matter of need. Where the parents have a high competence in English it is a matter of will (Clyne: 2003: 37).

Similarly, Jee (2018) reports that a combination of high proficiency in the HL among Korean-Australians, the support provided by the Korean community to maintain Korean identity and the opportunities in Australia for exposure and use the HL all contribute to the maintenance of Korean language and identity.

Attitudes towards the HL

The significance of motivations and attitudes in the process of HLM and LS was explored in detail in section 2.2.4. The influence of parental attitudes towards their children's HLM and LS regularly affect children's HL learning and literacy development, as well as development of a strong ethnic identity (Schüpbach, 2009; Melo-Pfeifer, 2015). In the Sikh community in Sydney, Naidoo (2007) found that parents' positive attitudes towards their HL and

their belief that Punjabi was a strong marker of group identity, were among the principal factors that contributed to HLM. Similarly, in their study of Korean families in the US, Park and Sarkar (2007) found that parents' positive attitudes towards their HL, if echoed by their children, led to the successful maintenance of Korean despite pressures to assimilate to the dominant language and culture. In Australia, Jee (2018) found that Korean parents' positive attitudes towards other Koreans, the HL and culture, combined with a relatively positive social attitude towards multiculturalism may have influenced Korean-Australians' positive attitudes towards high retention of the HL and identity. Motivation to learn the HL is also an important factor that affects HLM and shift. HL speakers demonstrate strong intrinsic and instrumental motivation to learn their HL (Noels, 2005; Jee, 2018). Studies of Korean-Americans have shown that the main motivation for speakers to learn their HL was to communicate with their Korean family, displaying high integrative motivation (Shin et al., 2016; Jee, 2011).

The role of extended family members

The presence of extended family members, particularly grandparents, plays an important role in the process of HLM and LS (Braun, 2012; Carreira, 2004; Melo-Pfeifer, 2015). Many grandparents, who have limited proficiency in the dominant language or feel uncomfortable using it, may regularly care for their grandchildren. They ensure their grandchildren's exposure to the HL and HC, and, in some cases, help them develop literacy skills (Carreira & Kagan, 2011). Grandparents are recognised as sources of 'funds of knowledge' within communities, defined by Molls (1992: 133) as 'historically accumulated and culturally developed bodies of knowledge and skills essential for household or individual functioning and well being'. Ishiwaza (2004) argues that living with non-English speaking grandparents influences grandchildren's HL use in multigenerational households, and prevents three-generational LS (Fishman, 1972). She further notes that the role a grandmother plays in transmitting the HL to grandchildren is more effective than a grandfather's, since women in specific communities tend to assume the caregiving role in grandparenthood. Ruby (2012) also highlights in her study the important part grandmothers play in maintaining the Bangla

language among their grandchildren, and in developing their cultural knowledge in informal and formal learning contexts. Similarly, Liu (2008) reports on the important role of grandparents in providing increased exposure to the HL and cultivating a positive attitude to language learning among grandchildren. Pauwels (2016) also highlights the critical role grandparents play in ensuring continued use and maintenance of the HL. She explains that children and adolescents tend to make an effort to use the HL with their grandparents, because of their grandparents' limited knowledge of the dominant language, and/or because of their respected status in the family. Family seems to be the 'cornerstone' of Korean HL speakers maintenance of the Korean language in Australia (Pauwels, 2005). This example is particularly relevant to the Lebanese community in London, where respect for older members of the community, and specifically grandparents, is regarded a cultural matter of utmost importance. Consequently, the use of the HL with older members may be seen as a matter of necessity rather than choice. Likewise, the presence of other family members such as uncles and aunts, or visitors arriving from the home country, including cousins or younger relatives and friends, may equally encourage the use of the HL among the younger generation, albeit in the short-term. Holmes (2013: 65) posits that where the normal structure of a family includes members of the extended family such as grandparents, unmarried uncles and aunts living under the same roof as the nuclear family, there is inevitable sustained exposure to and use of the HL at home.

Frequent return to home countries

The maintenance of strong links with the countries of origin encourages HLM among immigrant communities in the diaspora. Regular visits from new migrants arriving from the home country ensures ongoing use of the HL at home, and increases the younger generation's exposure to the HL. Similarly, regular trips home only reinforce speakers' contact with the HL, leading to greater fluency and confidence, and expanding their HL domains and range of interlocutors. Greek migrants, for example, consider a trip back to Greece essential for themselves and their children at some point in their lives. Clearly this provides a very strong incentive to maintain fluency in Greek,

argues Holmes (2013: 65). Similarly, Lebanese migrants in the diaspora often return to Lebanon to spend time with their families or take up some family responsibilities. Moreover, it is common practice for the younger generation to go to Lebanon with the intention of finding a good Lebanese spouse and starting a new family. This frequency of contact with the homeland should keep the motivation to maintain fluency in Arabic (notably LA) strong.

Family language policy (FLP)

Many scholars argue that parents' language use at home contributes significantly to children's HLM or LS (Pauwels, 2016; Spolsky, 2012; Curdt-Christiansen, 2013a). Parents' decisions regarding which language(s) to speak at home, and what is required should they decide to transmit the HL and HC to their children are studied within the theoretical framework of FLP and will be discussed in section 2.2.6.

b. Group factors

There is variation in the maintenance of HL among ethnic communities in the diaspora, despite similarity of environment and conditions. Interethnic and intergroup differences are related to factors that influence the linguistic behaviour at group level, as opposed to socio-demographic factors that operate at the individual and family level (discussed in the previous section 2.2.5.2 i). On the group level, the size and geographical distribution of an ethnic group, the language policy of the host country towards HLM, and the proximity/distance of the HL to/from the majority language are important (Kipp, Clyne & Pauwels, 1995).

A number of models have been developed to increase understanding of how group factors can enhance the maintenance or loss of HLs in ethnic communities. Kloss' (1966) clear-cut and ambivalent factors, Giles et al's (1977) ethnolinguistic vitality and Smolicz' (1981) core value models will be explored given their relevance to the Lebanese immigrant context in London.

Kloss' clear-cut and ambivalent factors

In his study of German-American language maintenance efforts, Kloss (1966) identifies two main group factors that affect the processes of HLM and LS. Clear-cut factors substantially promote HLM, while the ambivalent factors can increase either maintenance or shift.

The clear-cut factors include the group's point of immigration into the new territory, the existence of linguistic enclaves within that territory, membership of a denomination with religious schools, and the group's pre-emigration experience with HLM (Kloss, 1966).

The clear-cut factor most relevant to the Lebanese community groups in London is membership of a denomination with parochial schools. Many complementary schools aimed at transmitting Arabic language and culture, and developing Arabic literacy among Lebanese children, are religious institutions attached to church schools or Mosque schools. In addition to their linguistic and cultural aspect, some schools such as the Mosque schools dedicate several hours a week to Quranic studies and the promotion of Islamic values.

In addition, pre-emigration experience of bilingualism and language maintenance benefit the Lebanese minority group in their new environment. Prior to arriving in the UK, Lebanese immigrant parents are already aware through schooling, and possibly through university studies, of the power of global languages such as English and/or French on Lebanese society, particularly in terms of academic and socio-economic status. They may thus be better equipped than those without such exposure to deal with the challenges associated with HL learning and HLM in their new environment.

The ambivalent factors include the numerical strength of a group, linguistic and cultural similarity to the majority group, the attitude of the majority towards the minority language and/or minority group.

Strength in numbers is a maintenance factor for many ethnic groups because it increases the use of their HL across more domains and with more interlocutors, especially if they live in geographically dense networks. Additionally, they may be able to attract more institutional support to establish their educational institutions and transmit their HL and HC to future generations. However, larger groups can also be geographically more dispersed, with less interaction among members of the community, and unable to avoid interaction with the dominant group. In London, members of the Lebanese community are concentrated in geographical areas within close proximity of one another, enjoying regular contact with each other. Their numerical strength may thus be a maintenance factor as they benefit from the establishment of various community schools and religious institutions, and engage in a variety of Lebanese cultural activities and gatherings.

The second ambivalent factor relates to cultural and linguistic similarity to the dominant group. When the HL and HC of the minority group is quite similar to the language and culture of the dominant society (for example Dutch in Australia), maintenance of a distinct linguistic and cultural identity can be more difficult to achieve than for a group that is linguistically and culturally distant. However, this factor can also be a maintenance factor given that less time is required to acquire the dominant language, and more time can be devoted to HLM. In the case of Lebanese immigrants in London, the linguistic and cultural distance from the dominant group is a maintenance factor (chapters 5 and 6). Such distance enhances the group's individuality, and promotes more cohesion among its members who devote effort to maintain their HL and HC.

Negative attitudes among the majority towards the minority language and/or group may result in assimilation towards the dominant group and lead to language death in some extreme cases. However in other instances, members of the minority group become more determined to resist these attitudes and devote greater effort to preserving their linguistic and cultural identity (Baker, 1992). Despite some stereotypical views in the media

portraying Arabs as terrorists and extremist Islamists, Lebanese immigrants appear to have positive attitudes towards their own language(s) and culture, and to make substantial efforts to maintain both (chapter 6).

Ethnolinguistic vitality (EV)

The theory of EV brings together Tajfel's theory of intergroup relations and Giles' speech accommodation model (Giles, 1973). Giles et al. (1977) define the EV of a group as: '...that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup relations' (p.308), and rank some key variables that shape a group's vitality as low, medium or high. In this model, linguistic groups with high EV are more likely to survive as viable, distinctive and collective groups in intergroup contexts. Groups with low EV have a lesser chance of operating as viable, distinctive and collective entities, and are more likely to undergo language assimilation. These 'group variables' are described by Yagmur and Akinci (2003) as interrelated both on the individual and on the group level, and are classified as follows: 1. The group's status. 2. The group's demography. 3. The group's institutional support from the wider community (p.1). Each of these factors is further subdivided and considered all together, they form the notion of EV.

However, in a subsequent revision, Giles and colleagues (1981) recognize the significance of a group's subjective assessment of its EV relative to other languages in the community, and conclude that both objective and subjective EV are critical when determining the socio-linguistic behaviour of a group. Myers-Scotton (2006) proposes both a sociological aspect when referring to a group's objective EV, and a psychological aspect when discussing its subjective EV. She relates the subjective EV of a group to the attitude they have towards their own language compared with other languages in the community.

1. The group status is made up of four components:
 - a. Economic status: the group's economic role within and outside the mainstream community. Apple and Muysken (1987) emphasise the prominence of economic status in studies of HLM and LS. Groups who wish

to improve their low economic status tend to shift to the dominant language of the society. Wei (1982) provides the example of Chinese Americans of a lower economic status who have shifted to English and assimilated to the American culture. Similarly, Gal (1979) describes shift towards German among a small Hungarian-speaking enclave in Austria, to improve their economic and social status. Speaking Hungarian was associated with peasant life, whereas knowledge of German was linked to the world of work and economic advancement. Conversely, a group with significant control over its economic prospects has high EV and is more likely to initiate, sustain and implement its language policies (Bourhis, 2001).

b. Social status is closely linked to economic status and refers to the group's self-esteem and the esteem it is held in by the wider community. Low self-esteem may often suppress a group's ability to initiate, and successfully sustain its language policies, whereas high self-esteem fosters the reverse (Yagmur, 2011).

c. Socio-historical status: the history of the ethnolinguistic group affects the group's ability to initiate, maintain and successfully implement its language policies in the wider community. Linguistic groups with a history of successfully maintaining themselves as distinct and collective entity have high EV. Greek migrants resist language shift because they take great pride in Greek culture and philosophy, and the impact of these on Western society (Holmes, 2013). However, groups whose history lacks such prestigious and successful outcomes often have a diminished social and cultural identity and lower EV (Bourhis, 2001; Giles et al., 1977).

d. Language status: the history, status, prestige, and developmental stage of a language can play a critical role in maintaining a group's EV, as well as its ability to sustain and successfully implement its language policies in contact situations.

Where all such conditions are unfavourable, a group is most likely to have low EV and may fail to implement successful language policies since languages with limited functional space and low status are less likely to be seen as worth sustaining (Bourhis, 2001; Ndlovu, 2015). Conversely, a group with favourable language history, status, prestige and level of development is

more likely to have high EV, and to initiate and successfully implement its language policies. Consequently, languages such as English or French with high language status have a better chance of survival than lower status languages (Giles et al., 1977). This linguistic determinant is particularly relevant to the Lebanese ethnolinguistic group because of Arabic's diglossic nature, and Arabic's position as a HL in the UK. If one considers MSA as the High variety because of its historical status as the lingua franca in the Arab world and because of its religious dimension, then LA may represent the Low variety spoken natively by Lebanese. However, in an immigrant context such as the UK, Arabic in its duality does not enjoy the same status as in Lebanon, because it exists in competition with English, the dominant language. Second-generation (and subsequent generations of) Lebanese-British will likely not resist language shift towards English, if they are well assimilated linguistically and culturally into their new environment. They may have nostalgic feelings towards LA, the ancestral language, and/or towards MSA, but may not be prepared to invest maintenance efforts in one or both varieties of Arabic. Conversely, if LA and/or MSA are inextricably linked to a sense of national, ethnic, and religious identity, and are associated with 'core values' (Smolicz, 1981) intrinsic to Lebanese families and Lebanese culture, shift towards English is less likely.

2. The group's demography:

The relative number of speakers of an ethnolinguistic group, and their geographical distribution compared with speakers of the dominant language, is significant. Clyne (1982) notes in his study of two Maltese ethnolinguistic groups, that the larger group managed to maintain its HL better than the smaller group which shifted to English. Members of an ethnolinguistic community concentrated in a specific location may be able to interact with each other more regularly, establish a sense of in-group solidarity and thus, maintain the use of the HL and HC. Additionally, Yagmur (2009) notes that the group's birth rate, the rate of mixed marriages, and immigration and emigration patterns are also demographic determinants that can shape the process of LM and LS process. In the Netherlands, Turkish is maintained in younger generations because of the high rate of endogamy marriages

among Turk immigrants who wish to maintain Turkish norms and values, and the constant flow of newcomers arriving through family formation (Yagmur, 2009; Yagmur et al., 2015).

3. Institutional support:

Institutional support refers to the formal and informal support an ethnolinguistic group receives from the dominant society. Formal support concerns the degree of representation and involvement in decision-making a group has at the strategic level. It also refers to the level of governmental recognition and assistance given to the group's HL in its use across areas such as mass media, education, and government services (see also section 2.2.4.2 iii). Informal support relates to the ethnolinguistic group's ability to use its own institutions to preserve its HL, culture, and religion. It is argued that the more formal and informal representation of the group in various institutions of the country, and the more space and recognition is given to its language, the higher EV it has (Bourhis, 2001; Giles et al., 1977; Ndlovu, 2015).

In the UK, the accessibility of mass media in both LA and MSA through terrestrial and satellite broadcasting is a major factor in processes of HLM and LS among Lebanese immigrants in London. Access to the Internet and social media has significantly expanded the domains of use of Arabic and increased its visibility in the immigrant environment.

Moreover, complementary schools and religious institutions that aim to transmit the HL, culture and religious values to members of the Lebanese community, are widely available to members of the Lebanese community in London. Lebanese parents seem to rely heavily upon these institutions to maintain their HL and HC, and preserve their collective identity in the diaspora.

The core value theory

The core value theory has considerably influenced studies on HLM and LS. Developed by Smolicz (1981) and Smolicz and colleagues (Smolicz, & Secombe, 1985), it is designed to improve the understanding of key factors affecting interethnic differences in HLM and LS of minority cultures in an ethnically plural society. Australia offers a model of such a plural society with its many European ethnic groups, but Smolicz (1981) argues that this model is not limited to any one country. The idea of core value has proved of interest to many researchers in a number of other contexts (Baker & Prys Jones, 1998; Clyne, 1991; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1986).

According to Smolicz and Secombe (1985: 11) the term core value refers to:

‘Those values that are regarded as forming the most fundamental components or heartland of a group’s culture, and act as identifying values which are symbolic of the group and its membership’.

A language is considered an essential marker of one’s ethnic identity (Fishman, 1989). When the HL is regarded as a ‘core value’ (Smolicz et al., 2001) it becomes interconnected with ethnic identity, and this enhances the desire to maintain it. Consequently, any attempt to stigmatise or threaten the HL may be considered a direct attack on the ethnic identity of those who use it as an essential means of communication, identification and cultural connection with their past heritage, and to whom intergenerational transmission of this linguistic and cultural capital is paramount to their survival as distinct communities, as evidenced by Greek and Latvian minority groups in Australia (Smolicz et al., 2001). Conversely, Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985: 239-40) note that feelings of ethnic identity can survive total language loss. Dorian (1999: 31) comments, ‘Because it is only one of an almost infinite variety of potential identity markers, [a language] is easily replaced by others that are just as effective. In this respect the ancestral language is functionally expendable’. Furthermore, Bankston and Henry (1998) note in their study of Louisiana French, that strong ethnic identification may not always correlate positively with intergenerational transmission of the HL, notably if it is associated with low status.

Language is regarded as a 'core value' by Greek and Latvian minority groups in Australia (Smolicz et al., 2001), and maintenance of these languages is seen crucial to the survival of the groups as distinct social and cultural entities. This is because in a language-oriented culture, the language is not simply a medium of communication and self-expression, but also a symbol of ethnic identity and a defining value which acts as a prerequisite for 'authentic' group membership (Smolicz, 1981:88). The Korean community in Australia also regard their HL as a core value and high retention of Korean proficiency and Korean identity among Korean-Australians is reported (Shin et al., 2016; Jee, 2018). By contrast, shift towards English has been swifter and more evident among the Dutch community in Australia (Pauwels, 2005), whose members did not view their HL as a core value, strictly connected to their survival as an ethnic group.

Although the main focus of the core value model is the ethno-specific language, other components of culture such as religious beliefs, family structure, love for the homeland, costumes and customs may also be considered as core values that promote cultural maintenance in ethnic groups. These core values can be comparable to language in their significance (Smolicz & Radzik, 2004; Smolicz et al., 2001).

The Chinese family in its collectivist form, as opposed to the individualist Anglo-Australian family model, is the bedrock of Chinese cultural survival in Australia. Similarly, in many Arab societies the family is seen as a core value that guarantees the transmission and preservation of cultural and religious values (Al-Sahafi, 2015; 2016).

Smolicz (1991) also notes that in many cases it is possible to identify two or three aspects of core value among ethnic groups that further strengthen their cultural survival as a distinctive group. Arabic, for example, is a core value for many Arabic-speaking communities in New Zealand, because its linguistic and cultural value is inextricably linked to other core values, namely religion and ethnic consciousness (Al-Sahafi, 2015). For Muslims, Arabic is the holy language in which God chose to reveal the Quran. Ensuring cross-

generational maintenance of Arabic is an act of obligation, helping Muslims better identify with the Muslim community and foster a unifying in-group identity. Similarly in Australia, the Greek-Australian community successfully maintained its unique identity, because of the triad of core values attached to the language, collectivist family structure, and reliance upon the Greek Orthodox Church (Smolicz, 2001). The Italian language has a core value in Italian culture, but the importance of family as a cultural value exceeds that of ethnic language, notably among rural Southern Italians (Smolicz, 1999). When language is closely intertwined with other core values, 'the match between attitudes and actual maintenance becomes even higher' (Gogonas, 2011: 2).

2.2.6 Theoretical framework

The motivation to focus on Family Language Policy (FLP) as the main theoretical framework in this study is because it highlights the vital role that the family domain plays in the intergenerational maintenance (or loss) of HLs and ethnic identity. It highlights the complexities and dynamics of familial interactions in migration contexts, and the continuous interplay between the wider sociocultural environment at the macro-level and the family at the micro-level.

2.2.6.1 Defining Family Language Policy (FLP)

FLP brings together the field of language planning and policy and studies of child language acquisition in its approach to understand HLM and LS in multilingual and transnational families and communities (Wei, 2012; King & Fogle, 2013; Schwartz & Verschik, 2013).

Language planning and policy occur at every level of society, from government and international level (top-down planning) to family and individual one (bottom-up or grass-root planning). Top-down language planning aims to influence people's linguistic practices through regulatory policies that officialise and standardise certain languages while proscribing the use of others. Such policies are described as 'agents of assimilation, if not also by some ... as acts of genocide' (Romaine, 2002b: 194).

FLP is labelled as explicit and overt (Schiffman, 1996), as well as implicit and covert, planning of language use and literacy practices within the home and among family members, but always with attention to wider contexts (King & Fogle, 2017; King et al., 2008; Curdt-Christiansen, 2013). FLP is made up of three independent but linked components, and includes analysis of language beliefs and ideologies of members of the speech community, of language practices, and of efforts to modify or influence those practices through language intervention, planning or management (Spolsky, 2004, 2012: 5). In this approach, FLP is 'rarely a neutral, uncontested state of affairs' (Garrett, 2011: 56). Rather, it is a dynamic system that is constantly influenced by top-down language policies and the language-in-education policies devised to regulate peoples' linguistic choices and practices, such as the successful cases of promoting French in Quebec and Hebrew in Israel (Spolsky, 2012). These policies have a bearing on parental decisions and thus potentially impact continuity for intergenerational transmission and resistance to LS (Curd-Christiansen, 2013). FLP is hence formed and implemented in interaction with wider political, social, and economic forces (Lanza & Wei, 2016) that give priority to social prestige, educational empowerment and socio-economic gains (Canagarajah, 2011; Curdt-Christiansen, 2012a; 2016; King & Fogle, 2013).

While top-down policies may have strong influence on FLPs, parental ideologies and attitudes towards language (or language varieties') use often have a significant bearing on FLPs. Language ideologies (section 2.2.4.2 v) are believed to play a crucial role in parenting practices and developmental outcomes for children, since they are the driving force in language practices and planning (Curd-Christiansen, 2009; 2013). They are 'the mediating link between language use and social organisation' (King, 2000: 169). Hence, FLPs are perceived as the parents' responsibility when deciding to raise bilingual children, 'reflecting broader societal attitudes and ideologies about both language(s) and parenting' (King, Fogle & Logan-Terry, 2008: 907). However, more than one language ideology is often at work in a given community (Spolsky, 2004; Shohamy, 2006) and the family sphere can

become a crucible for such ideological conflicts, as has been seen in work on LS and revitalisation (Fogle, 2012).

Spolsky (2012) argues that the intimate home domain is the most influential context in HLM or loss, since this is often where minority language practices and policies arise and are implemented. Spolsky adds that this micro-level of family planning, a 'domain' within a sociolinguistic ecology, has its own variety of language policy, shaped by the beliefs and ideas about language choice of, and influenced by, all other domains. Consequently, patterns of home language use and language practices of HL speakers are more important in determining intergenerational language maintenance than national policies that confer status on that language (Nettle and Romaine, 2000).

Fishman (2001) explains that language transmission in the home is the most important factor in the vitality of a language, and minority languages can only survive and flourish if transmitted in 'the realm of intimacy - home, family, neighbourhood, friendship, immediate community'. In fact, Tse (2001a) maintains that:

Parents are in many ways gatekeepers to the HL: whether parents speak to their children in the native language; the attitudes parents hold about maintenance of the language; whether opportunities are sought out for the child to be exposed to or to formally study the language; and whether parents provide reading materials in the home or model uses of literacy (...); all may have an impact on whether and to what extent the language is retained by children (p.37).

Similarly, De Houwer (1999: 83) points out that the best chance for active bilingualism is often present in families where parents are invested in their own role in the child's acquisition process. Failure to adopt proactive measures to maintain HLs among the future generations may lead to the irreversible loss of these languages and cultures.

Although FLP for most families may be 'invisible' (Pakir, 2003) and not deliberately planned, growing interest in this field focusses more on 'explicit and overt planning within the home among family members' (King et al.,

2008). In her study of multilingual families in Singapore, Curdt-Christiansen (2016) reports that parents with high expectations of their children's linguistic ability feel responsible for raising bilingual children and, hence, develop FLPs which they think will lead to a certain outcome (De Houwer, 1999; Schwartz & Verschik, 2013), unlike parents with weak or no 'impact beliefs' (De Houwer, 1999: 89) who perceive themselves as having no control whatsoever over their children's linguistic development. Canagarajah (2008) highlights how many community members regard the decline in Tamil proficiency among the younger generation in the diaspora as a result of family negligence and insufficient FLP to transmit the HL. Essentially, FLPs have the ability to shape children's development; they connect in significant ways with children's formal school success, and combined, determine whether a particular language will be maintained (King et al., 2008: 916). As Fishman (1991; 2001) argued for more than a decade, the bedrock for language maintenance is intergenerational transmission promoted by effective FLPs. He stresses that 'often multilingualism begins in the family and depends upon it for encouragement if not protection' (Fishman, 1965: 76). He underlines the critical role that extended family members, such as grandparents and older relatives, play to bolster HLM efforts. However, children are also seen as active and creative participants in the establishment of FLPs (Luykx, 2005; Lanza, 2007). They often exercise their agency in socialising their parents into their own language practices and behaviours, thus contributing to their parents' language development and the (re)formulation of FLPs and family practices (Luykx, 2003; Gyogi, 2015; Fogle & King, 2013; Palviainen and Boyd, 2013; Schwartz & Yagmur, 2018).

2.2.6.2 Bilingual strategies in FLP

Some parents, who may be influenced by the monolingual ideology of the dominant society, may decide against rearing their children bilingually and invest in promoting the use of the majority language. However, the decision to rear children bilingually is the most commonly observed FLP among

parents invested in their children's language education. There is an increase in the provision and takeup of dual language programmes (or immersion educational programmes) in the United States and elsewhere. This is a response to parents' decision to have their children educated bilingually (in the majority language and the minority language) rather than the monolingual educational approach adopted in schools (Montague, 2000). Yet, such decisions are not static but vary according to families' changing circumstances and perceived effectiveness of these policies. Caldas (2006) who with his wife decided to rear their older child bilingually at home, recognised that he had to alter his FLP after his child started English mainstream school some years later. The impact of the wider community's attitudes, social pressures and mainly peer pressure groups are portrayed as the most poisonous external environment to bilingual FLPs, which may encroach and render the initially formulated family policies unproductive, particularly during adolescence (Gafaranga, 2010). Spolsky (2008) maintains that the family may become a site of conflict and negotiations between parents' ideologies and language management and children's actual language practices. Jeon (2008) reports shifts in FLPs among Korean parents in USA due to changing circumstances in family life over the years. She maintains that 'while many Korean parents with young children hold assimilationist ideologies and speak to their children in English only, they shift to a more pluralist position and support their children's desire to learn Korean once the children are in college' (p.66). Fogle and King (2013) argue that older children have greater agentive capabilities. Tannenbaum (2012: 64) also underlines the dynamic nature of FLPs, which may change in response to changes in external and internal influences, just like other contexts of language policy or any other policy.

Despite social pressures that may intervene and prevent successful implementation of bilingual FLPs, parents can still strategically use the language socialisation theory (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986) to shape their children's language development and nurture a sense of belonging to a community. Language socialisation is the process by which 'novices' are socialised by more 'expert' members of a community, through language, into

their linguistic and socio-cultural knowledge, ways of thinking, behaving and feelings (Duff, 2010). Language socialisation allows novices to become active, competent members of their community through ‘the use of language’ and to ‘use language’ (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986: 163). In this framework, family members may be regarded as the driving force in ‘children’s language socialization within the context of both minority and majority languages’. Parents can contribute, through language socialisation and FLPs, either to their children’s bilingual development and hence, HLM, or loss of the HL (Fishman, 1991). Additionally, ‘ethnic socialisation’ by grandparents can positively impact the implementation of bilingual FLPs adopted by ethnic families (Ruby, 2012; Kenner et al, 2007). By assuming the role of custodians of the HL and culture, grandparents may make conscious efforts to transmit these valuable heritages to their grandchildren, and moderate the home language environment in favour of the HL and ethno-cultural identity. However, language socialisation is an interactional and bi-directional process (Duranti et al., 2012) whereby ‘experts’ socialise newcomers, and are also socialised by newcomers, into their linguistic and socio-cultural knowledge, perspectives, and prior experiences. Hence, children are seen as ‘active and creative social agents’ (Lanza, 2007: 47) who bring their own experiences, language practices and language ideologies, into the processes of language socialisation and FLP (Duranti et al., 2012; Fogle & King, 2013; Luykx, 2005). Both parents and children are ‘key players in one’s another language socialisation, shifting their roles across contexts’ (Song, 2007: 25). Overall, language socialisation provides a space to examine ‘the local social, political and cultural contexts in which language is learned and used, on historical aspects of language and culture learning, on contestation and change across timescales, and on the cultural content of linguistic structures and practices’ (Duff & Talmy, 2011: 96).

2.2.6.3 Commonly adopted strategies in FLP

In multilingual families, parents have adopted various approaches and educational options as part of their FLPs. However, given the flexibility of FLPs, parents may have to re-evaluate and re-adjust their decisions to

accommodate the family's changing needs (Caldas, 2006; Fogle, 2012). Some of the most commonly adopted strategies are reviewed next.

One parent one language (OPOL) FLP

This strategy involves each parent speaking a single language to their child, usually the parent's mother language, with the ultimate aim of helping children achieve bilingualism. In some contexts such as exogamous marriages, parents may have different native languages, with one parent speaking the dominant language of the wider community and the other partner speaking the HL (De Houwer, 1999; Takeushi, 2006). In other families, each parent may speak a different minority language in the home, creating a trilingual environment, with the third language being the majority language used outside the home. Romaine (1999) defines this situation as the 'double non-dominant home language'. Although the OPOL FLP may be successful in producing bilingual children when used consistently, the common outcome is passive bilingualism where children can understand the languages (the HL(s) and the dominant one) but mostly speak the majority language of the society in which they live (Romaine, 1995). This outcome is attributed to insufficient exposure to the minority home language(s), lack of quality interaction with children in the chosen language(s) (i.e. child-centeredness of the interaction), and limited opportunities to speak them (Caldas, 2006). In addition, inconsistency in implementing FLPs is identified as a major reason for less than optimal outcomes in children's bilingual development.

Minority Language at Home (or the hot-house policy)

This approach involves both parents speaking the HL to the child, to maximise HL use at home. Outside the home, the child acquires the other language(s) formally or informally. Grosjean (2009) argues that this strategy is the best for helping children become bilingual, and it may be more beneficial than the OPOL strategy because the child receives much more input in it than if only one parent uses it. Similarly, De Houwer (2009) claims a success rate of 96% for this strategy, and adds that children of families who adopt this FLP become bilingual.

Code-Switching policy

CS between the majority-minority languages at home is repeatedly reported to be a common behaviour among families wishing to adopt bilingual language policies (Grosjean, 2009; Baker, 2006; Poplack, 1980). Although viewed with mixed feelings among parents (see section 2.2.3) with some denying its practice, it is reported to be a more flexible approach to rearing bilingual children than the OPOL strategy. De Houwer (2009; 2015) and Schwartz (2008) argue that by encouraging children to actively move and balance between their languages, they become more likely to have a harmonious bilingual development, and hence, more chances of HLM.

Educational options for bilingual FLP

An ethnic group who secures the use of the HL in domains such as school or places of worship may increase the chances of HLM. Developmental maintenance programmes or HL programmes are aimed at children coming usually from language minority homes, and offer education through the medium of two languages, a HL and a dominant language. The majority of these programmes uses the HL as the main medium of instruction in early years, then gradually increase input in the majority language. In Canada, HL programmes use the minority language in school partly to promote daily use of HLs of ethnic groups such as Canadian Ukrainians and Canadian Germans. Similarly in Wales, bilingual education programmes are available across the educational system to encourage the maintenance of Welsh (Baker, 1996). This type of program is described as a 'strong' form of bilingual education (Baker, 2011). Its structure overlaps with the two-way immersion programmes which aim to develop children's proficiency in the dominant language as well as their HL. The ultimate objective of both types of programmes is to develop children's bilingual and biliteracy skills and increase cross-cultural competence. Nonetheless, in situations where parents relinquish complete responsibility of HLM to the schools, which cannot provide phatic or intimate language, or the amount of HL used in the home, it may become more difficult to ensure HLM.

While bilingual schooling might seem the best option to support parents' decision to rear their children bilingually, it is not always available. Consequently, parents may resort to local monolingual schools where the majority language is the official language of education. Such an environment presents a number of challenges to parents who wish their children to maintain bilingualism and biliteracy in the HL as well as the dominant one. Children can feel under extreme pressure from peers, educators and teachers to develop fluency in the majority language and literacy, and adopt the culture of the dominant group since language is closely linked with culture. As a result, children from HLs and cultures may suffer assimilation and lack of academic development (Caldas, 2006).

An alternative to majority language schooling is the option to expose children to the HL through home education and parental support. The earlier the child develops language skills in the L1 (HL) and the stronger his skills in L1 are, the more chances he/she has to develop his L2 linguistic and literacy skills. Researchers have proved the validity of interdependency between first and second language development (Schwartz, 2014; Akoğlu & Yağmur, 2016), arguing that bilingual education of language-minority children from immigrant backgrounds promotes rather than hinders their majority language acquisition and leads to additive bilingualism (Curdts-Christiansen, 2013; King & Logan-Terry, 2008; Cummins, 2005, 2008).

Other schooling options available to parents wishing to support their children's HL learning are community or supplementary language programs that typically provide language instruction and literacy in the HL, as well as cultural knowledge of ethnic communities (Fishman, 2001). Although it may prove complicated for children to develop in the minority language after they begin to attend school in the majority language (Dopke, 1992), the community context can play a vital role in determining the success of bilingual FLP, notably with regard to literacy (Clyne, 1991; Peyton et al., 2001). This option can allow children to gain exposure to the HL, participate in a myriad of cultural activities, and, most importantly, socialise with peer children of similar ethnic and cultural background, strengthening their bonds

with members of the HL community. In addition to transmitting the HL, community schools also meet the social and cultural needs of children with immigrant background (Creese et al., 2008; Francis et al., 2008). In their study of supplementary schools in the UK, Blackledge & Creese (2010) note that these play a key role in the identity development of both parents and students, inasmuch as they provide a safe social environment where individuals are allowed to express their multiple identities with others in a similar situation.

However, Pauwels (2016: 96) argues that there is huge variation in the quantity and quality of students' exposure to the HL in such programs, leading to mixed results in terms of LM.

In the UK, Arabic Saturday schools may seem an appealing option to many Lebanese parents wishing to invest in their children's HL education and biliteracy development. These schools are typically attached to religious institutions (Christian and Muslim schools alike), and are often run by Lebanese native speakers, who may or may not hold professional qualifications in Arabic language teaching. The value of these educational institutions in transmitting Arabic and socialising children into language and culture use will be examined in chapters 5 and 6.

2.3 Language and identity

The term identity was first introduced into social science in the United States in the 1960s, and since then it has been used in a variety of ways, and to refer to numerous discrete concepts (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000). Since one of the aims of this study is to examine how Lebanese immigrants perceive, construct and negotiate their multiple identities in the host society, this section of the literature review explores the concept of identity, and its relationship with HL, religion, culture, and ethnicity in the immigrant context.

2.3.1 Defining identity

The concept of identity has been researched extensively in social sciences,

but defining and theorising it remains a complex issue given its complex, multidimensional and multidisciplinary nature (Riley, 2007). For Joseph (2006: 486), identity is 'very simply who you are'. However, he adds that it is not simple to define identity because who you are comprises many features. Norton (2000b) views identity as the way a person understands his/her 'relationship to the world, how this relationship is constructed in time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future' (p.5). Norton (2006: 25) further proposes a socio-cultural conception of identity which comprises five main characteristics:

- Identity as dynamic and constantly changing across time and place
- Identity as complex, contradictory and multifaceted
- Identity as something that constructs, and is constructed by, language
- Identity construction as influenced by larger social processes of power
- Identity theory linked to classroom practice

In her argument, Norton acknowledges not only the complexity and fluidity of identity formation (shifting away from the essentialist paradigm that views identity as whole, static and fixed from birth), but also the crucial influence of society, and the need to link theory to classroom practice. She therefore advances a broader theory of identity, focussing more on its socio-cultural nature, rather than the origin of the self.

From a poststructuralist approach to identity, Weedon emphasises the significant role that language plays in constructing our sense of ourselves, our subjectivity:

Language is the place where actual and possible forms of social organisation and their likely social and political consequences are defined and contested. Yet it is also the place where our sense of ourselves, our subjectivity, is constructed (Weedon, 1997: 21).

In this approach, the self (i.e. the subject) is depicted as dynamic and changing over time and space, unlike the humanist views of the individual dominant in Western philosophy that emphasise that every person has an essential, unique, and coherent core (Norton, 2013: 4). Block (2007: 867)

also focusses on the *process* of identification and views identity ‘not as something fixed for life, but as fragmented and contested in nature’, which can serve as a site of struggle and negotiation of difference and ambivalence (Palviainen & Bergroth, 2018).

Similarly in theorising cultural identity, Hall (1997) focusses on identity as ‘in-process, becoming’ (1997: 226) rather than being, and points to the continuous development of the self in specific historical and cultural contexts. Identity is thus both a process and a product that can be discursively (co)constructed and constantly negotiated by individuals (and groups) in different contexts and across time, and as such this process is ‘multilayered’ (Norton, 2000).

Omoniyi and White (2006: 18) propose ‘moments of identification’ to refer to a ‘hierarchy of identities’. They suggest that identity is a complex and flexible construct of many facets. Different aspects of identity may become more salient than others and of varying degrees of importance, depending on the speakers’ desired goals, and at different moments in their social interactions. Individuals can thus assume multiple identities and move between these identity categories, as they deem suitable, in different social contexts.

Davies and Harré (1990: 7) underline the important construct of ‘positioning’ in identity construction, and argue that while identities or positions are often imposed by social structures or ascribed by others, they can equally be negotiated by agents who wish to position themselves. Essentially for Davies and Harré (1990), as for other poststructuralist theorists, identities are ever changing, complex, and dynamic across linguistic and social contexts (Darvin & Norton, 2015).

2.3.2 Factors influencing identity formation

The concept of identity or self-conceptualisation has two main aspects: the personal and the collective (or social). Personal identity relates to the key characteristics, beliefs and traits specific to the individual, while collective

identity according to Tajfel's social identity theory is defined as 'that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his [sic.] membership in a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership' (Tajfel, 1981: 255).

Different factors are believed to influence the formation of personal and collective identity. Gender, age, social class, nationality, ethnicity and race are commonly cited in the literature as key elements (Suleiman, 2011; Omoniyi & White, 2006; Fought, 2006). Lakoff (2006) cites race, gender and sexual preference as components of major identity whereas aspects such as musical preference, style of dress and food preferences as possible parts of minor identity.

In the context of immigration, the construct of ethnic and cultural identity is particularly significant when immigrants move to a new society. Phinney (2003) maintains that 'ethnic identity is a dynamic, multidimensional construct that refers to one's identity, or sense of self as a member of an ethnic group' (p. 63). She adds that:

'Ethnic identity is not a fixed categorization, but rather is a fluid and dynamic understanding of self and ethnic background. Ethnic identity is constructed and modified as individuals become aware of their ethnicity, with in the large (sociocultural) setting' (p. 63).

As such one can claim an ethnic identity through belonging to a social group that shares a common ancestral heritage, language, culture and values. This construct of identity is similar to the cultural identity defined by Norton as:

'The relationship between an individual and members of a particular ethnic group (such as Mexican and Japanese) who are considered to share common history, a common language, similar ways of understanding the world' (Norton, 2006: 2).

Religion is identified as another component of identity. In the 14th century, religious identity was especially prominent in Europe's rural areas where people introduced themselves as either Jews or Christians (Joseph, 2004: 172-173). In the case of Arabic speakers, language and religion are often closely interlinked because of the sacred relationship of Arabic and Islam.

Consequently, individuals or groups may identify themselves more in terms of their religious identity than their national or ethnic one.

However, since the process of identification is flexible and multi-layered (Omoniyi & White, 2006), identity categories cannot be limited to a fixed set of components. Each individual may emphasise different components of identity, and these vary from one individual to another, from one group to another, and in every social interaction. However, one widely accepted key influence on identity is that of language which forms an essential part of one's ethnic and social identity, as well as one's national identity (Suleiman, 2011; 2006). Who we are relates closely to the language(s) we speak.

Fought (2006) argues that language is a vital aspect of identity, but one which varies according to the individual and the context. He notes that the process of identity formation is linked to the context in which it has been constructed, and to the views and attitudes held by others in society. Hence the importance of language socialisation, which recognises that language learning is fundamentally a social process where members of a particular group socialise newcomers into a broad range of language use and cultural practices.

Schieffelin and Ochs (1986) argue that through language socialisation and interaction with other members of a particular community, individuals can effectively develop and negotiate their identities as members of that community and develop their linguistic and cultural competencies and agency. Duff (2007) also discusses the importance of language socialisation in identity development and language learning. She notes the significant influence that older members of a community can exert in developing younger people's sense of membership of that community, and in socialising them into the socio-cultural norms specific to that community. Additionally, the role of parents is argued to influence the process of identity formation among children in the diaspora, and to promote their sense of belonging to a particular ethnic identity.

Joseph (2006) highlights the importance of the individual's self-conceptualisation as an active member of a particular group or groups. He argues that the value each person ascribes to his/her identification with a group is unique to his/her experiences, and affects his/her social identity development. Joseph's understanding of identity fits well within the scope of this study, which is concerned with the process of self-identification and positioning, as a result of the participants' personal experiences in the host society. For instance, speakers who self-identify with the HL community, and position themselves as HL speakers in the dominant society, are likely to associate their HL with a 'core value' (see 2.2.5.2), and be motivated to use it in their social interactions. For them, the HL may be the most salient marker of their ethnic and cultural identity, granting them access to their cultural heritage in the diaspora, and allowing them to participate as members of that distinct community to which they feel some kind of familial and emotional attachment. This motivation is deeply valued (Kramsch, 2006), and can be seen as a key characteristic that distinguishes a HLL from a foreign language learner, who is typically motivated to learn the language for personal or professional reasons, or simply to connect with another cultural community.

2.3.3 Identity formation in heritage language communities

In the previous sections (2.3.1 and 2.3.2), I have argued that language is a key instrument in the process of a socially constructed identity. However Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004b: 21) argue that in multilingual contexts, notably when there is migration, conflict, social inequalities or unequal power distribution, the process of identity construction can become particularly challenging for HL speakers. This is because HL speakers who are raised in a home where a HL is spoken, find themselves constantly constructing, positioning and negotiating their identities within the community (communities) in which they wish to participate or indeed with themselves, in terms of their multiple languages and cultures. These identities, at times, become loci of power struggle in which languages of world power are assigned more 'cultural capital' (a term coined by Bourdieu (1991: 14-15) to

refer to a form of power as asset or profit in different societies) than HLs and exert 'symbolic domination' (Gal, 1998: 114) – when HL speakers 'accept the centralized state's often negative evaluation of their language ..., while accepting the authority of a dominant, state-supported language that they often do not speak very well'.

Phinney et al. (2001) highlight four further approaches to identity formation in HL contexts: integration, assimilation, separation and marginalisation.

Integration is the process by which an individual maintains a strong ethnic identity while also identifying with his/her new society. According to Rubin et al. (2011: 498-499), integration resembles the concept of acculturation (Berry, 1997) whereby immigrants maintain their native cultural identity whilst making regular contact with the host nationals and engaging with their culture. Rubin et al. (2011: 498-499) refer to acculturation as 'the process of cultural and psychological change that results following meeting between cultures'. Additionally they add that successful integration, the simultaneous retention of the ethno-cultural identity and adaptation to the new culture, can be particularly beneficial for immigrants, offering them many advantages, such as improved work performance, high self-esteem and psychological satisfaction. Phinney et al. (2001: 502) also suggest that integration is the most adaptive form of acculturation and the most conducive to immigrants' wellbeing. Similarly, in their study of Hispanic immigrant students in Florida, Portes and Rumbaut (1990) report that a bicultural orientation is conducive to improved academic performance and more ambitious future plans.

Assimilation refers to a person who gives up his/her ethnic identity and identifies with the new culture. Immigrants who adopt this strategy reject their original cultural identity or fail to keep regular contacts with people of their own culture. Such orientation may be the outcome of strong assimilative pressures exerted by a new society, and may cause various adaptation problems among immigrants if they encounter rejection and discrimination (Phinney et al., 2001).

Separation refers to the maintenance of one's ethnic identity without any identification with the identity of the host society. Finally, *marginalisation* refers to an individual who does not identify with either culture but acquires a new identity. However, Schwartz et al. (2010) maintain that the prospect that an individual will develop a cultural sense of self without drawing on either the heritage or receiving cultural contexts is likely to be low.

In this study, the concepts of integration and separation are evident in the narratives and observations of many Lebanese informants. The informants explain that successful integration into British society allows greater participation in the new environment, and opens up economic opportunities for them and their future generations without compromising their original ethnic and cultural identity. They can be both Lebanese and British, embracing a bicultural identity that is well suited to the new environment. This bicultural identity is also described as 'in-between' and varies according to the context and people involved in the interactions (see 6.3.1.4).

However, the strategy of separation is also evident in my observations of some Lebanese families (see 5.2.3 families 1 and 3). Adopting a separate identity seems the best way to maintain the family's ethnic and cultural identity, and resist the pressures of assimilation imposed by the host society. Adopting a British cultural identity may lead to the erosion of Lebanese identity and culture, a consequence some families do not wish to entertain.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has identified and introduced some of the key sociolinguistic terms and concepts that will be used in this thesis. As discussed, Ferguson's (1996) framework of diglossia refers to two related language varieties (High and Low) within the same speech community existing in functional distribution. Fishman's (1967) extended notion of classic diglossia includes bilingual and multilingual situations where two or more unrelated linguistic codes may exist side by side. This study acknowledges both notions of diglossia as significant concepts in the field of sociolinguistics and explores

the linguistic attitudes of Lebanese families in London towards both varieties of Arabic (MSA and LA) and English, rather than redefines the concepts of diglossia and multilingualism. Additionally, this study distinguishes between Arabic language (MSA), the official variety with high status and overt prestige, and Arabic dialect (LA), associated with low prestige (when considered within the Arabic continuum) and covert prestige (when used as a HL to express in-group solidarity and cohesion). The distinction between formal language and spoken dialect is particularly relevant to this study, because of the potential impact these notions may have on Lebanese parents' and children's linguistic behaviour, attitude formation and FLP.

I have examined here the concepts of CS and CM to better understand how Lebanese parents and children use their different linguistic repertoires in various domains and with different interlocutors, and how such linguistic behaviour can impact FLP, HLM and LS. In HL situations, CS occurs between the HL(s) and the dominant language to facilitate communication between first and second-generation speakers. However, attitudes towards CS are mixed (Wei and Dewaele, 2014; Garcia, 2009). Some studies show that CS is perceived as linguistic incompetence and an act of laziness (Bentahila, 1983; Gafaranga, 2007; Lawson-Sako and Sachdev, 2004), while others maintain that speakers hold it in high esteem (Wei and Garcia, 2014). This study regards CS or 'translanguaging' (the mixing of two or more languages within the same conversation) as the most flexible linguistic practice enabling the speaker to use creatively all the linguistic resources available at his/her disposal.

In this chapter, I have also explored the importance of language attitude in the understanding of language practices and behaviour as discussed in Gardner's (1985) socio-educational model, which distinguishes principally between the instrumental and integrative components of language attitudes. This is particularly relevant to my study, because I will adopt it to explain parents' motivations in maintaining intergenerational transmission of Arabic (LA and MSA) to their second-generation children, or preference for a shift to English, to assimilate to the dominant society. This model is also valuable to

explore children's personal motivations pertaining to HL learning, and bilingual and biliteracy development.

Additionally, the chapter examines some key factors influencing language attitudes, including negative attitudes towards certain linguistic codes and speech communities, the ethnolinguistic vitality of an ethnic minority, pop culture, mass media and cultural participation. These factors are key to this study, given their significant impact on both Lebanese parents' and children's FLPs, literacy practices and identity practices. Such factors reveal the responses of Lebanese families in London to wider societal attitudes and language ideologies, and how these affect HLM and LS. I have also addressed Bourdieu's (1991) ideology of 'linguistic capital' and 'symbolic power' in light of its significant influence on participants' linguistic practices and behaviour, notably in a HL context, where English enjoys more prestige, power and privilege than Arabic.

Throughout this chapter, I have described the terms HL, HLM and LS, and discussed some of the key individual and collective factors affecting these processes, because these recur repeatedly in the following chapters and provide the backbone of this study. I have also discussed the theoretical framework of FLP (King et al., 2008; King and Fogle, 2017; Curdt-Christiansen, 2013) and the critical role of the family in HLM and LS (Spolsky, 2012; Fishman, 2001). I have argued that FLPs are not neutral but rather influenced by top-down language policies and the language-in-education programmes devised to regulate peoples' linguistic choices and practices. These can contribute to parental decisions to ensure continuity for intergenerational transmission of the HL and HC, or instead lead to assimilation to the dominant language and culture. However, this study also recognises children's agency in (re)negotiating and (re)shaping FLPs and practices (Gyogi, 2015; Luykx, 2005; Fogle & King, 2013), and argues for a more dynamic and multi-directional approach when examining language socialisation, FLPs and literacy practices (Duranti et al. 2012; King and Fogle, 2013).

Finally, I have discussed the relationship between language and identity as identity practices are one of the foci of this study. I have examined how factors such as ethnicity, culture and religion can influence the formation of personal and collective identity (Joseph, 2004; Suleiman, 2011; Norton, 2013). I have also explored the different approaches to identity formation in HL contexts (Phinney et al. 2001), suggesting the benefits of acculturation (Berry, 1997; Rubin et al. 2011), in which members of minority groups successfully manage to integrate into the new society whilst maintaining their strong ethno-cultural identity.

Chapter 3: Lebanon's socio-linguistic background and the status of Arabic in the UK.

The focus of this study is Lebanese immigrant families who left their homes mostly during the Lebanese civil war and later Israeli attacks on Lebanon in 2006, settling with their second-generation children predominantly in London. It is thus vital to understand the historical, political and sociolinguistic background of Lebanon, their country of origin, to better comprehend the language attitudes and practices of the parents who participated in this research study, and the impact these may have on their children's linguistic attitudes and behaviours in the host society, and on their perceptions of their own identity.

Chapter three provides a brief description of the historical, political, and sociolinguistic situation of Lebanon, and examines the sociolinguistic situation of Lebanese immigrant families settled in London, as well as the status of Arabic in its duality in the UK.

3.1 Lebanon's historical and political background

Lebanon is a small, strategically located state in the Middle East covering an area of 10,452 km² and encompassing just over six million people⁷, excluding the 1.5 million Syrian refugees who sought safety in Lebanon fleeing the war in their country, and the thousands of foreign workers currently residing in the country (National News Agency, 2017). It is bordered by Syria to the north and east, by Israel to the south, and the Mediterranean Sea to the west. Over the centuries, Lebanon has endured multiple invasions, wars and struggles that have shaped and continue to shape its socio-political, multilingual and multicultural character. It has been ruled by various empires and colonial occupiers including the Phoenicians, Assyrians, Persians, the Roman Empire, Arabs, Egyptians, the Ottoman Empire and the French. In 1943, Lebanon ultimately secured its independence from the

⁷ In addition to that figure, the number of Palestinian refugees is estimated to be 300,000 and that of Syrian refugees to be over one million (UNHCR, 2015).

French mandate (1920-1943), ending more than 23 years of colonial occupation. Yet post independence, the nation's turmoil and instability persisted, due to several political conflicts that turned Lebanon into one of the region's most violent war zones. The Lebanese civil war raged from 1975 to 1990, leaving thousands of civilians dead, displaced, or forced to flee their homeland.

During the 1948 and 1967 Palestine-Israel wars, an exodus of Palestinian refugees sought refuge over the border in Southern Lebanon. In 1970, The Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), backed by pan-Arabist and Muslim Lebanese groups, moved its headquarters into Beirut, creating a state within a state. It embarked on military offensives from Lebanese soil on Israel and Israeli institutions elsewhere in the world. In response, Israel raided Lebanon in 1973 and attacked many PLO targets in Beirut and Sidon (Bowyer & Horowitz, 2005), leaving hundreds of Lebanese civilians as well as Palestinians dead. Syria and foreign powers also became involved in this war, fighting alongside the different factions. In 1978, infuriated by the PLO's attack on their country, Israeli forces invaded Lebanon as far as the Litani River (*Operation Litani*), and occupied much of its territory, killing around 2000 mostly Lebanese and Palestinian people, and displacing as many as 250,000 (Tucker & Roberts, 2010). The PLO retreated north of the Litani River continuing their fight against Israel, whilst Israel (backed by the United States of America) intensified its military operations in Lebanon using cluster bombs and heavy weapons together with its principal ally, the South Lebanon Army (SLA), a Christian-led militia group. These confrontations served only to intensify the religious rivalry between Christian militia allies backed by Israel, and Muslim groups, namely the Shia Muslim militant groups, who wanted to put an end to the Israeli occupation of Lebanon. Hezbollah (a strongly Shia Islamist political party based in Lebanon and supported by Iran) was born of this conflict. In 1982, president-elect Bachir Gemayel, a senior member of the Phalange party (a predominantly Christian Lebanese party also known in Arabic as *{ḥizb il-katā'ib}*), and a high-ranking commander of the Lebanese Forces militia group supported militarily and politically by Israel, was assassinated soon after taking office. In retaliation,

Christian-led militia close to the Phalange party carried out a widespread massacre of Palestinian camps with Israeli-backing. Thousands of civilians, mostly Palestinians and Lebanese Shiites, were killed. Meanwhile, Syrian presence in Lebanon, dating back to 1976 and initially designed to limit Palestinian guerrilla presence in Lebanon, developed into an occupational force, and served to intensify the internal conflicts between Lebanese Christians and Lebanese Muslims. This period was marked by multiple explosions and a number of assassinations, and by Lebanon's division into two opposing factions, one predominantly Muslim in West Beirut led by prime minister Selim Hoss, and the other Christian in East Beirut led by President Michel Aoun who declared a War of Liberation *{ḥarb il- taḥrīr}* to oust the Syrians from Lebanon. In 1990, the Syrian airforce drove President Aoun out of Lebanon. He was granted asylum in France, where he remained in exile until 2005.

Although the Lebanese civil war ended in 1990, the Syrian occupation persisted, with increasing internal strife. After the horrific assassination of the anti-Syrian Prime Minister Rafic Hariri in February 2005, pressure mounted for the complete withdrawal of Syrian troops, with mass demonstrations on the streets of Beirut, rallying in Martyrs' square on March 7. Under pressure at home and abroad, the Lebanese pro-Syrian government led by President Emile Lahoud since 1998, resigned, and Syrian troops finally withdrew from Lebanon in April 2005. Israel had also withdrawn from Lebanon⁸ in May of 2000 following Hezbollah's persistent attacks on Israeli military troops on occupied Lebanese soil. However, in July 2006, Israel launched the Second Lebanese War (also known in Lebanon as *{ḥarb tammūz}* meaning The July War) in retaliation for Hezbollah's sustained cross-border attacks. This war is believed to have killed more than 1,000 Lebanese civilians, of whom 30% were children under the age of 13 years (UNICEF, 2006). It also displaced around a million people, and severely damaged Lebanon's civil infrastructure (Lebanon Higher Relief Council, 2007). In August 2006, The United Nations called for a resolution to end

⁸ Israel withdrew from Lebanese territory other than from the Shebaa farm region, which remains a disputed strip of land between the Lebanese-Syrian border and the Israeli-occupied Golan heights.

hostilities, requesting the disarmament of Hezbollah, withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon, deployment of the Lebanese Armed Forces, and extension of the United Nations Interim Force In Lebanon (UNIFIL) mandate in the South to prevent further hostile activities. Both the Lebanese and Israeli governments approved the United Nations Security Council's resolution.

Lebanon remained divided internally into two main factions: the opposition (known as March 8 Alliance⁹), and the coalition (known as March 14 Alliance¹⁰). With concomitant levels of political instability, social anxiety, religious discrimination, and economic turmoil, many Lebanese felt forced to emigrate. Abdelhady (2011) notes that Lebanese migrant communities have historical roots across the globe, and constitute the largest group of migrants from the Middle East (Hourani & Shehadi, 1992). Early waves of Lebanese migration date from the mid 19th century when many Lebanese (mainly Lebanese Christians) fled their country, escaping persecution from the Ottoman Empire. They mainly emigrated to the United States of America and South American countries, namely Brazil and Argentina but also to Australia and Canada.

The onset of the Lebanese civil war (1975-1990) provoked another significant wave of emigration, forcing approximately one million Lebanese (Fersan, 2010), 40% of Lebanon's population (Labaki, 1992: 609), to flee political and religious repression and economic hardship, and seek refuge in host countries. Although during the first half of this period (1975 to mid 1980s), emigration was much higher among Lebanese Christians than Lebanese Muslims and Druzes (a ratio of almost 6:1 (U.S. country studies, 2003)), this situation was reversed during the period 1984-1990 and in subsequent years. Consequently, the religious breakdown of emigration

⁹ The March 8 alliance is led mainly by Hezbollah and the Free Patriotic Movement of President General Michel Aoun. Its members are accused of supporting Syria and Iran.

¹⁰ The March 14 alliance is a coalition of many formerly warring political parties. Enemies during the Lebanese civil war (1975-1990), they were later united in opposition to the Syrian regime. The coalition is led by Saad Hariri, son of the assassinated former prime Minister Rafic Hariri. Members of this coalition are condemned as puppets of Saudi-Arabia and the USA.

statistics of the period 1975-2011 is 46% Christians and 54% Muslims (Lebanese Information Center Lebanon, 2013).

The subsequent failure of the peace accords in 1990, as well as various political factions in Lebanon, the Israeli attack on Lebanon in 2006, economic depression, and high unemployment rates are all crucial factors that have led (and continue to lead) to substantial waves of Lebanese migration. In the absence of official statistics, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) describes the number of 100,000 persons per year emigrating in the latter 1990s as conservative (UNDP, 2004). Other sources (Abdul-Karim, 1992; AIKantar, 2016) estimate the Lebanese diaspora worldwide to comprise between eleven to thirteen million Lebanese people born in Lebanon or of Lebanese descent. These figures significantly exceed the approximate number of 3.7 million Lebanese people living in Lebanon today, forming probably the highest ratio in the world of expatriates to the resident nationals (al Khroury, 2004: 21).

3.2 Lebanon's sociolinguistic setting

As a consequence of its political history, Lebanon's population is characterised by its diversity - of ethnicities, cultures, religions and languages.

Ethnically, the population is predominantly Arab¹¹ with a sizeable 4% Armenian minority and less than 1% Kurds (CIA, 2013). According to the Lebanese Constitution (1997), 'Lebanon is Arab in its identity and affiliation (p.224), and Arabic is the official national language (p.227)'. However, since the creation of modern Lebanon with its current borders, not all Lebanese

¹¹ According to Lebanese nationalist ideology, the Lebanese people are not pure Arabs. They are descendants of the Phoenician people and their nation is independent from the pan-Arab nation. They also believe that their language, Lebanese Arabic, is a Semitic language with Phoenician roots. Lebanese Christians - mainly Maronites - were among the first Lebanese intellectuals to formulate Lebanese nationalism in order to confront the Arabism that had come into existence in Syria and Lebanon at the end of the nineteenth century (Firro, 2004: 1). They wanted to distance themselves from a dominantly Muslim region (Salibi, 1988: 44).

like to identify with the Arab identity (Esseili, 2017). Religiously, Lebanon is a mosaic of eighteen officially recognized confessional groups¹² all striving to achieve a balance of power and representation. However, the two principal religions are Islam and Christianity.

Linguistically, issues of language learning and language use in Lebanon tend to be very complex and sensitive, as they are closely related to issues of socio-economic, political, cultural and religious nature, and impact identity formation at both the individual and collective level. The interplay of Lebanese Arabic (LA), Armenian, French, English and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) is widespread in Lebanese society. Educational language policies that advocate Arabic-French-English trilingualism and people's translingual practices where 'all three languages are meshed together' (Bou Ayash, 2013: 98) give rise to 'societal trilingualism' whereby society as a whole is functionally trilingual, even where individuals may be bi- or monolingual (Zakharia, 2010: 162). Bassiouney (2009) highlights how language use in the Middle East can signal not only national identity but also religious affiliation, cultural heritage, social status, and intellectual development.

During the 400 years of Ottoman rule (1516-1918), the Arabic language was 'the most prestigious and cultivated language of science and learning' (Joseph, 2004: 210). Turks borrowed a large number of words from Arabic and Farsi and adopted the Arabic alphabet. With the rise of Turkish nationalism at the end of the 18th century and the introduction of reforms known as *Tanzimat*, the use of Arabic loan words in the Turkish language became a contentious issue, and provoked alienation among Arab Muslims. Lebanese intellectuals, driven by nationalist ideology, used Arabic as a national language to oppose Ottoman Turkification policies (Suleiman, 2003; 2006). Meanwhile, in the 18th and 19th centuries, French Catholic and American Protestant missionaries arrived in Lebanon. They established the

¹² The eighteen confessional groups are: Alawite, Armenian Catholic, Armenian Orthodox, Assyrian Church of the East, Chaldean Catholic, Copts, Druze, Greek Catholic, Greek Orthodox, Isma'ili, Jewish, Latin Catholic, Maronite, Protestant, Sunni, Shi'a, Syriac Catholic and Syriac Orthodox.

most influential and enduring educational institutions, the still-prestigious Université Saint-Joseph (USJ) and the Syrian Protestant College, known today as the American University of Beirut (AUB). Additionally a number of private primary and secondary schools adopted French and/or English as the main language(s) of instruction, while standard Arabic (MSA) was taught as a language subject. For the French, the expansion of French Catholic missionaries in the region with a greater concentration of Christian Maronites served not only to spread the Catholic faith, but also to promote the status of the French language and culture, and bolster France's political interests in the region. The Catholic institutions did so by promoting students' fluency in French as well as their knowledge of French history (Verdeil, 2006: 29). In contrast with the French Jesuits, the American Protestant missions were founded in areas with Druze concentrations (Shaaban & Ghaith, 2003). Under the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM). American schools initially adopted Arabic as their principal medium of instruction, for they believed it a practical strategy to predominantly achieve their theological aims. At the AUB, subjects like philosophy, natural sciences and medicine were taught in Arabic, and the use of English was 'optional and students' knowledge of it was superficial and insufficient to undertake studies of sciences and literature in that language' (Jeha, 2004: 110). The period was described as 'triumph of Arabic over English' (Glass & Reuschel, 1992: 93). However in 1882, the language policy changed in these missionary educational establishments. Arabic was replaced by English as the medium of instruction. The reason for such a change seems to relate to the high status of English, perceived as the language of progress and modernity. It was being used by American lecturers and professors who had replaced the native teachers who had taught the science courses in Arabic at AUB (Jeha, 2004: 122). Additionally, the profusion of western textbooks and English material designed to advance English culture and civilization, and enable students to embrace the 'modern world' through the English language contributed to the gradual 'triumph of English over Arabic' (Glass & Reuschel, 1992: 93). Anderson (2011: 39, 47-8) argues that implicit in this language policy was a denial of the intellectual value and historical

importance of Arabs and their culture, as part of a strategy carefully adopted by educators to spread their English language and religious beliefs.

With the collapse of the Ottoman Empire at the end of WWI, Lebanon was placed under the French mandate, and the French language, already in use through the Jesuit missions, became more influential in Lebanon and was made an official language along with Arabic. The teaching of Arabic and French languages in all schools (private and public) was compulsory, with French as the medium of instruction for mathematics, sciences and social studies at all levels of education (Shaaban & Ghaith, 1999). The number of French foreign schools amounted to 80% of the total in Lebanon (Basha & Bahous, 2011: 1321), and even private American and British schools which used English as the principal language of instruction had to teach French (Jarrar et al., 1988). Proficiency in French became a necessity for all those aspiring to academic and professional success in Lebanon during that period.

After Lebanon gained independence from France in 1943, Arabic became the only official language in Lebanon, but 'the French language and culture ... remained very much part of the Lebanese identity' (Bourhis, 1982: 45). In fact, Lebanon is one of the 58 member states¹³ of the International Organisation of the Francophonie. However, attitudes towards French created divisions among Lebanese citizens. Through Arabic and French bilingualism, Lebanese Christian elites were able to pursue a dual identity that serves as a bridge connecting the East and West. In contrast, working-class Muslims rejected the French/Arab identity and embraced Arabic and Arab identity (Bourhis, 1982: 45). They perceived Lebanon as an integral part of the Arab world, and the promotion of French at the expense of Arabic, as 'a form of linguistic imperialism' (Shaaban & Ghaith, 2002: 561). In 1946, to resolve this conflict, the Lebanese government introduced English alongside French as one of the two compulsory foreign languages in secondary education. The number of schools teaching English as the second

¹³ The organization comprises a total of 84 members: 54 are full state members, 4 are associate members and 26 are observers (Francophonie.org, 2018).

foreign language started to increase (Atiyeh, 1970). However, it was not until the 1970s, when English was becoming an important means of communication worldwide, that there was a noticeable upsurge in the number of students learning English, and many schools introduced a trilingual educational system with English as the third language. The new status of English, and its detachment from Lebanon's French colonial heritage, made it an appealing option for many, especially Lebanese Muslims (Shaaban, 2005: 104) who felt that the French system and its Jesuit institutions favoured Lebanese Christians, especially the Maronite elite groups, who adopted French as a key marker of their religious and political identity and developed a strong affiliation to France, a country they still regard as their 'protector' in a predominantly Muslim Arab region (Diab, 2000: 179). In addition, for many Lebanese (Christians and Muslims alike) English became perceived as a more 'secular' and more liberal alternative to the constraints of traditional church hierarchy (Hourani, 1991: 306). Furthermore, with the emergence of English as a global language of business, technology, trade, and communication, improved fluency in English became a priority in Lebanon (Shaaban & Ghaith, 2002). As a result, the new Plan for Educational Reform, approved by the Lebanese council of Ministers, was introduced in 1994, and demanded that all Lebanese schools be trilingual from the primary years upwards. Thus, in addition to Arabic (MSA), schools should teach either French or English as a first 'foreign' language and the other as a second 'foreign' language. As such, students are taught the humanities and social sciences in Arabic, natural sciences and mathematics in a foreign language (either French or English), and a second foreign language (French or English) as a language subject (Esseili, 2014). According to the Lebanese Ministry of Education, the number of Lebanese schools offering French as a first foreign language decreased from 62.5% in 1999-2000 to 55.8% in 2005-2006, whereas schools offering English as a first foreign language increased from 19.7% to 21.6% for the same period. Moreover, schools providing both French and English education increased from 17.8% to 22.6% in 2005-2006 (Basha & Bahous, 2011: 1322).

Irrespective of the language in education choice, the status of Arabic (MSA and LA), and foreign languages (namely French and English) in Lebanon are connected with 'the incessant Lebanese quest to define their identity in a way that sets them apart from the other, be it their Muslim/Christian next-door neighbour or their Arab neighbours' (Esseili, 2017: 13). Arabic (MSA), the national language of Lebanon and the prestigious language of the Holy Quran and the anchor of Islamic culture and civilization, is reserved for formal and religious use, whilst LA is used for daily communication. French remains the language of culture, despite studies indicating its decline at the start of the 21st century (Joseph, 2004; Abou et al., 1996; Shaaban & Ghaith, 2003), while English is associated with 'modern-ness' (Zakharia, 2010) and is being used for various 'interpersonal, instrumental, innovative, and regulative functions' (Esseili, 2017: 15).

Attitudes towards English and/or French in Lebanon are mostly very favourable (Esseili, 2011) since the use of foreign languages allows speakers to express a multicultural and multilingual identity that differentiates them from non-Lebanese, and reflects their openness to the West. Many Lebanese public figures and language activists warn against the overuse of foreign languages, given the potential detriment to the mother language. The campaign *{fi'l 'amir}* or 'The Imperative', launched in 2010 by language advocate Suzanne Talhouk, aims to inspire pride among Lebanese youth for their Arabic language and culture, and to resist the hegemonic assimilative forces of English. Similarly, some prominent Lebanese journalists and TV presenters, such as George Kerdahi, the first host of the Arabic version of 'Who wants to be a Millionaire', uses his stardom to promote the use of Arabic in his shows. However, frequent code switching and code-mixing between Arabic, French, English and other languages constitute an increasingly common linguistic strategy of many Lebanese both in the private and public domains (Shaaban & Ghaith, 1999).

3.3 Lebanese immigrants in Great Britain

The Lebanese immigrants who arrived in the UK settled mainly in its capital, London¹⁴ (and predominantly in northern and western boroughs of London), although other regions such as South East England, Birmingham, Liverpool and Manchester also became home to a significant population of Lebanese and other Arabic-speaking communities. With the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982, and Israel's Second Lebanon War in July 2006¹⁵, the number of Lebanese immigrants in the UK dramatically increased.

Following the Arab Spring and the Syrian civil war in 2011, Lebanese migration to various destination countries, including the UK, has likely risen as a result of the socio-political and economic pressures caused by the influx of Syrian refugees¹⁶ into Lebanon, and the general instability of the region (De Bel-Air, 2017). Additionally, with great importance attributed to high-standard education, Lebanese families and the youth have always welcomed the opportunities to migrate abroad in pursuit of academic excellence (Fersan, 2010). This is consistent with the profile of highly-educated Lebanese parents who participated in this study (70% hold a university degree).

The UK Census does not allow ethnic Lebanese to register themselves as such, and there are thus no reliable figures of the number of Lebanese born and Lebanese-British citizens living in the UK. However, with the introduction of the new category of 'Arab' under the ethnic profiling category, and based on the number of people who took part in the 2011 UK census, the number of British-Arabs is estimated to be between 366,769 to 404,207 (NABA, 2013). McRoy, estimating the number of British-Arabs to be closer to 500,000 argues that Arabs may be regarded as the longest-resident non-

¹⁴ Lebanese in London reside mainly in Edgware Road, Bayswater, Kensington and Westbourne Grove (http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/specials/177_food/page7.shtml).

¹⁵ The conflict caused the death of more than a thousand Lebanese civilians, 30% of whom were children under the age of 13 years (UNICEF, 2006) and displaced over a million people (Lebanese Higher Relief Council, 2007).

¹⁶ According to the UNHCR, there were over 1 million Syrian refugees who had been officially registered in Lebanon in 2016 (UNHCR organisation, 2016).

European ethnic group in the British Isles (that is, apart from Black slaves) (McRoy, n.d.).

Although many Lebanese immigrants may (or may not) recognize themselves as 'Arabs', based on Lebanon's membership of the Arab league¹⁷, and Arabic being the official language among all these countries, I estimate (based on informal discussions with senior personnel of the Lebanese consulate in London and official consular registrations of Lebanese living in London) that their number ranges between 25,000 to 35,000.

From a socio-economic perspective, the results of this study point that Lebanese immigrant parents in London are relatively affluent, middle class, and highly educated with more than 70% of parents claiming to hold a university degree at Bachelor's level or above. Whilst a large number has established private businesses in various sectors, including banking, commerce, trading, manufacturing industries and the food industry, many others are professionals working as artists, interpreters, translators, journalists, doctors of medicine, language teachers, lawyers and engineers. Arabic newspapers such as Asharq Al-Awsat, Al-Hayat, Al-Quds, Al-Ahram and Al-Arab are some of the widely available Arabic newspapers printed in the UK, and designed to play a leading role in Arab journalism. Additionally, a number of Arabic broadcasting corporations (BBC Arabic, Aljazeera, and the Middle East Broadcasting Center) are also prominent in London, and keep Arabic-speaking communities informed about events in their countries of origin. The biggest Lebanese festival in Europe is celebrated every summer in London and brings together members of the Lebanese community and other communities through music, food, folklore, art and dance.

¹⁷ The Arab league (formally the League of Arab States) was founded in Cairo in 1945. It consists of 22 member states: Algeria, Bahrain, Comoros, Djibouti, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Oman, Qatar, Palestine, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Somalia, Syria, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, and Yemen.

Additionally, some Lebanese complementary schools are well established in London¹⁸ to assist parents with teaching Arabic literacy (MSA) and providing religious education to their children, developing social networks with fellow Lebanese immigrants, and promoting Lebanese culture and identity. Some of these schools are attached to religious institutions such as 'Our Lady of Lebanon'¹⁹ and 'Al-Ahliyya School of Arabic'²⁰ where Arabic (MSA) is normally introduced from the start of the children's school career, at the age of four. However LA is widely used in classroom interaction between teachers and children to facilitate the comprehension of tasks, which increases children's fluency in LA. There are other secular Lebanese schools in London teaching Arabic literacy – MSA and/ or LA. Run by professional educators, these schools provide an enjoyable educational environment for students of Lebanese and other Arabic-speaking heritage. They include the Lebanese Arabic School at David Game College, The School of Lebanon, and the London Arabic School.

Places of worship also enable members of various Lebanese religious denominations to come together, worship, celebrate religious rituals, and socialise with others in the immigrant community.

3.4 Lebanese Arabic (LA) as a heritage language (HL) in the UK

Scholars define the terms 'heritage language' (HL) and heritage language learner (HLL) in various ways, with different emphases on proficiency, frequency of use, contact with a community that speaks that language, status of that community, and self-identification with that community (Campbell & Christian, 2003; Carreira, 2004). HLL implies that the learner has a familial or cultural connection to the language but may (or may not) be fully fluent or

¹⁸ The exact number of Lebanese language schools in London is unknown.

¹⁹ This school is attached to the Lebanese Maronite Christian church in London. Language classes are held every Saturday morning for children aged between 3-16 years. Language educators are volunteers from the Lebanese community, but many of whom do not necessarily hold an official language teaching certificate.

²⁰ Al-ahliyya School was founded in 1987 by Mrs Inam Serfan to teach MSA to Arab children. It also teaches optional Quranic studies.

literate in it prior to formal education, common among immigrant families after the first-generation (Campbell & Christian, 2003). Non-HLLs are regarded as foreign language learners (FLL) who want to acquire linguistic proficiency in the HL but may not be connected to its cultural identity (Lee, 2002).

Valdés (2000) defines an HL as the language learnt at home or in familial contexts as a child, and a minority language in society. As a result of growing up with the dominant language, the HL speaker becomes more competent in the latter and feels more comfortable to communicate in that language.

Yet, in diglossic situations (chapter 2) the distinction between two linguistic codes adds a new dimension to HL. When this occurs, HL may become associated with HL literacy and its wider cultural associations, as in Arabic where HL may refer to MSA and LA (Othman, 2011). Bassiouney (2009) argues that native speakers of Arabic do not usually differentiate between the standard language and dialects by name, and thus Arabic is the accepted name for both. Thus, were Lebanese asked what language they speak in their daily lives, they (almost all) would reply 'Arabic' and not LA although it is the latter they use in daily communication.

Nevertheless, based on Valdés' (2000, 2001) interpretation of HL, I will refer in this study to LA as the HL, since it is the native language of Lebanese parents and that which children may (or may not) learn at home, as opposed to MSA which may (or may not) be learnt through formal education, or English as the dominant language in the host society. HL speakers refer to the Lebanese parents who arrived in the UK during the Lebanese civil war (1974-1990) as well as those who arrived in subsequent years. Their children are regarded as second-generation Lebanese-British, born in the UK or who arrived during childhood.

In the UK, Arabic²¹ (MSA) is considered ‘a priority language’ for the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, and the second language most needed for cultural, educational and diplomatic reasons (British Council, 2013). Arabic (MSA) is an official language of the United Nations, International Criminal Court, African Union and Arab League. As it has gained geopolitical and economic significance, it has become instrumentally more valuable as a linguistic resource for those who speak it (Al-Batal, 2007). Despite substantial endeavours and efforts to promote Arabic as one of the ‘future languages’ strategically essential to the UK, its teaching as a HL or foreign language is still marginalized relative to other modern languages²² (Gough, 2014). Additionally, with growing Islamophobia in the West, and the media’s negative representation of Arabic, its status in the UK is demoted yet further.

However, Arabic (in its varieties) is also valuable for those individuals, families and communities who use it as a means of daily communication, a binding force and a means of cultural transmission for the future generation (Ricento, 2005). For them, this ‘priority language’ is their HL enabling valuable link to their family, cultural heritage, and nation of origin (Valdés, 2001; Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003). HL learning is thus closely entwined with identity construction, which in turn is fortified by the identification and association with heritage communities (Carreira, 2004; He, 2010).

Arabic, as a pluricentric language (Clyne & Kipp, 1999), is spoken by large HL communities in the diaspora. For these heritage speakers, the status, power, support and value accorded to Arabic (languages and varieties) in the host country are not on a par with those of the dominant language(s). Thus, attitudes and motivation toward the HL evolve differently among speakers. There are those who would like to maintain it and identify with the HL community, while others would like to assimilate to the dominant language, and thereby distance themselves from the HL community. In their

²¹ Arabic was first offered as a GCSE subject in 2002. The number of entries has risen by 82% in 2012, making it the eighth most popular language at GCSE and the tenth at A-Level (Tinsley & Board, 2012).

²² The modern languages most commonly taught in UK schools are French, German and Spanish.

investigation of Christian Lebanese immigrants in the United States, Dweik (1992) and Sawaie (1992) conclude that Arabic was not effectively transmitted from one generation to the next, because there were less positive attitudes towards Arabic, and less functional need for it. However in more recent research, Rouchdy (2002: 142) argues that there has been a revival in the use of Arabic and the 'pan-Arab' identity among Arab-Americans, due to major social changes that favour language and ethnicity maintenance among Arabic-speaking minorities. In Canada, Dweik et al. (2014) and Dweik et al. (2015) report that Canadian-Arabs have positive attitudes towards Arabic maintenance and the Arab ethnic identity. In Australia, Clyne and Kipp (1999) and Cruickshank (2008) note that Arabic is maintained in a number of key domains and a sense of 'shared Arabness' (Clyne and Kipp, 1999: 331-332) is achieved among Arab immigrants. In New Zealand, Al-Sahafi (2015) and Al-Sahafi & Barkhuizen (2008) report that Arabic is maintained among Arab immigrants by means of language maintenance strategies that families adopt to help their children acquire and use Arabic. In the UK, Jamaï (2008) and Bichani (2015) conclude that LS to English is taking place among some Arabic-speaking communities, whereas Gomaa (2011) and Othman (2011) point to Arabic maintenance and a strong sense of 'Arabness' among British-Arabs. In sum, Al-Sahafi (2018: 101) maintains that the process of Arabic maintenance in the diaspora is complex and subject to a wide range of macro and micro-level factors. The level of institutional support, number of speakers, policies in the immigrant country, major events in the homeland and the world, diglossia, pluricentricity and the relationship between language and ethnic, national and religious identity all seem to influence the position of Arabic and its maintenance as a HL.

3.5 Concluding remarks

This chapter has discussed the historical, political and sociolinguistic background of Lebanon, the country of origin of Lebanese parent immigrants residing in the UK with their second-generation Lebanese-British children. It has detailed the numerous invasions and wars that occurred on Lebanese soil, and their consequences on the Lebanese people's linguistic, cultural

and religious identity. It has also explored the key events that led to Lebanese immigration in the UK, and provided a brief description of their socio-economic and educational status, as well as the status of Arabic (in its dual varieties) as a HL in the host society. Finally, it has reviewed the findings of other studies that have focused on the process of inter-generational transmission of Arabic among Arabic-speaking communities living in the diaspora, and highlighted the key factors that have stimulated successful maintenance of Arabic and those that have led to its loss.

Chapter 4: Methodology and methods

This chapter describes the methodology and methods used to address the study's research questions. These explore the language attitudes and behaviours of Lebanese immigrant families in London, as well as their perceptions of their various identities and how these are constructed in the host society. A combination of data collection methods is utilized, namely questionnaires, interviews with Lebanese parents and children, observations of children and parents, and field notes. I also devote sections of the chapter to the participants, the design of each method, the pilot study, the limitations of the methodology, the role of the researcher, issues related to research ethics, and my analysis of data. Finally, I provide a profile of the participants in this chapter to ensure a clear understanding of who the Lebanese parents and their children are.

4.1 Research questions and aims

The principal research questions of this study are:

1. What are the Family Language Policies (FLPs) and language practices of Lebanese parents (first-generation born in Lebanon) and Lebanese-British children (second-generation born in the UK) in various domains?
2. What is the state of children's proficiency in Arabic in terms of oracy (LA) and literacy (MSA)?
3. What are the attitudes of Lebanese parents and Lebanese-British children towards Arabic (MSA and LA) and English?
4. What are the identity practices of Lebanese parents and Lebanese-British children?

The study highlights the language attitudes of parents and children of Lebanese origin towards the use of both varieties of Arabic (LA and MSA) in London as well as towards English, the majority language. It also analyses the language practices of these Lebanese families and examines how children respond to their parents' FLPs. This indicates the extent of HLM or loss taking place in the Lebanese community, as well as the degree of

proficiency (or lack thereof) in one or both varieties of Arabic. Finally, this research explores how Lebanese parents and children construct and negotiate their various identities, and reveals the key factors influencing the process of identity formation and language use in the diaspora.

4.2 Research approach and design

The choice of research methods depends on the nature and subject of investigation, and the researcher's epistemological and ontological stance. Ontology refers to the nature of knowledge (the way things are), whereas epistemology is the relationship between the inquirer and the known (the way we know things). Together they determine our knowledge of the world and how we acquire that.

In this study, I embrace a principally social constructivist and interpretivist perspective. The ultimate aim of this research is to understand how language practices and behaviour are formed, and how different kinds of identity are constructed, negotiated and shaped. The findings will be based on the participants' views and experiences, typically forged in socio-cultural discussions and interactions with others. As such, these subjective meanings are 'not simply imprinted on individuals but are formed through interaction with others (hence social constructivism), and through historical and cultural norms that operate in individuals' lives' (Creswell, 2009: 8). Unlike the positivist view, also known as the *scientific method* (Creswell, 2009: 6), which assumes that knowledge can be acquired through observable and measurable facts, I seek inductively to generate a theory based on the meanings others have about the world. My interpretivist stance enables me to enter the field and interact with the participants more freely, gaining thereby deeper insight and a comprehensive understanding of their subjective experiences, practices and behaviour. This position challenges the positivist stance that seeks to maintain a distance between the researcher and the participants and emotional neutrality to sustain the findings' assumed objectivity.

Although language and identity practices are best revealed through ethnographic methods that offer significant information about people's daily practices and real-life behaviour, quantitative methods are also employed to collect an extensive amount of data and broaden the scope of research.

This mixed-method approach uses techniques that are usually associated with a qualitative approach such as participant observation, field notes, and interviews, and techniques adopted in a quantitative approach such as questionnaires. It is worth noting that ethnography, which is also consistent with grounded theory (GT) used predominantly during the data analysis process (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), is the main strategy of inquiry informing qualitative research methods. The rationale for adopting a mixed-method approach is to allow for a greater degree of triangulation, enabling me to cross check the findings generated from one source with those of another, and provide a more detailed analysis. Ultimately this approach should enhance the overall richness of the findings, and increase their validity, reliability and trustworthiness.

Cohen et al. (2000: 254) define triangulation as 'an attempt to map out, or explain more fully, the richness and complexity of human behaviour by studying it from more than one standpoint'. In fact, the four methods used in this study are interlinked as they all examine language attitudes, practices and identity practices of Lebanese immigrant families in London. By combining several research methods in the study of the same phenomenon, I aim to overcome any problems, weaknesses and biases associated with the use of a single method, and to be able to compare and contrast what respondents report with how they actually behave.

Quantitative data was accumulated by means of questionnaires distributed to parents and their children (aged 8 to 16 years). The use of questionnaires is a direct approach widely employed in the studies of language attitudes (Garrett, 2010; Baker, 1992). Respondents deliver self-reported data without necessarily interacting with the researcher, thereby limiting the impact of the interviewer and maximising the consistency and reliability of the results

(Dörnyei & Taguchi, 2010: 6). The questionnaires featured a wide range of questions to gather detailed information about the respondents' sociolinguistic background, economic status and level of education, linguistic attitudes and practices, as well as key factors influencing their language behaviour, and perceptions of different types of identity (see 4.4.1). The questionnaires were designed in both English (coded Eng) and MSA (coded Ar) to provide respondents a degree of flexibility in their language choice. Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS version 24) and Microsoft Excel computer packages were used to analyse the data gathered.

Qualitative techniques are defined as:

'an array of interpretive techniques which seek to describe, decode, translate and otherwise come to terms with the meaning, not the frequency, of certain more or less naturally occurring phenomena in the social world' (Van Maanen, 1983: 9).

Silverman (2006: 34) argues that qualitative methods might be favoured if the researcher is concerned with 'exploring people's life histories or everyday behaviour'. They allow investigation of phenomena 'in their natural settings, and provide 'enactment' of social behaviour in its own social setting ... They are of particular value where behaviours and interactions need to be understood in 'real world' contexts' (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003: 34). They secure 'rich descriptions of the social world' (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008: 16).

The qualitative element of this study was thus designed to collect rich and comprehensive data through the use of semi-structured interviews, participant observation, and field notes.

Interviews allowed me to interact with the participants, asking them direct questions about their language attitudes and practices, and their perceptions of different types of identities. They, in turn, could then provide explicit and more detailed interpretations in their answers. Participant observation and field notes enabled me to infer participants' attitudes through observed behaviour, and compare and contrast reported data with their actual

behaviour. Many researchers (Spolsky, 2000; Dörnyei, 2001; Li, 2006) reinforce the benefits of qualitative research when investigating language attitudes and motivation, and identity practices. Baker (1992) queries the validity of a quantitative approach to attitudes, motivation and ideology studies, arguing that respondents may conceal their attitudes in a questionnaire or a survey, while longer discussions with them reveal their views and better expose their attitudes. Spolsky (2000) calls for triangulation of data.

Qualitative data was gathered using an audio-recording device, transcribed according to the conventions of conversation analysis, accurately translated into English, coded according to emerging themes, and analysed using the grounded theory (GT) approach.

4.2.1 Ethnography

This study is informed by ethnographic research. It is based on 'studying an intact cultural group in a natural setting over a prolonged period of time by collecting, primarily, observational and interview data' (Creswell, 2009: 13).

Hamersley (2014: 1-2) identifies five main features for ethnographic research:

1. People's behaviour is studied in everyday contexts, rather than under conditions created by the researcher, such as in experiments.
2. Data are gathered from a range of sources, but observations or relatively informal conversations are the most regularly used ones.
3. The approach to data collection is 'unstructured', in the sense that it does not involve following through a detailed plan set up at the beginning, nor are the categories used for interpreting what people say and do entirely pre-given or fixed. This does not mean the research is unsystematic, simply that initially the data are collected in as raw a form, and on as wide a front, as is feasible.

4. The focus is usually a small number of cases, perhaps a single setting or group of people, of relatively small scale. Indeed, in life history research the focus may even be a single individual.

5. The analysis of the data involves interpretation of the meanings and functions of human actions and mainly takes the form of verbal descriptions and explanations, with quantification and statistical analysis playing a subordinate role at most.

In this study, I was able to participate in the daily activities of a small number of participants, and to observe their linguistic practices and behaviour in regular settings, specifically at home, in the neighborhood, and places of worship. As such, the data gathered was taken from the 'real world' and not from artificially established experiments. Yet, my mere presence might have impacted the 'natural' linguistic behaviour and practices of the participants in the field. Labov (1972: 209) refers to this as the observer's paradox and explains:

The aim of linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can only obtain these data by systematic observation.

To counter this when carrying out systematic observations, I built a good rapport with the participants, joining them in social activities – namely, playing with the children in the park, eating with them, going to Arabic schools with the children on Saturdays, attending cultural and religious events, and celebrating family occasions with them. My intensive interaction with them allowed me to develop a friendly and honest relationship with both parents and children. Over time, the participants have grown accustomed to my presence (and that of my equipment: note book, pens, audio-recording device, and smart phone), but they could not have possibly been behaving totally naturally in my presence. However, I went over and beyond in mitigating the unnaturalness of the situation as much as possible.

My interviews and observations were semi-structured. Although I had a pre-planned interview guide with a list of basic questions, the interviews were unstructured, allowing unforeseen and unpredicted topics to come up.

Participants were thereby able to discuss their viewpoints and provide different explanations and interpretations to their answers. Similarly, observations did not follow a rigid structure and I posed questions and recorded field notes according to the areas raised. My aim was to observe, with the minimum possible disruption, the natural linguistic behaviour of the participants.

The analysis of the qualitative data was based on the experiences related by the participants, the theories and themes that emerged during the course of data coding and analysis, inspired by GT, and on my reflexive understanding of how participants engaged with their socio-cultural context.

Having briefly discussed the research approach and justified the methodologies and methods used, the following section focusses on describing the participants who took part in this study, and discussing how each research tool was designed and employed to collect the relevant data, together with an assessment of its main merits and limitations.

4.3 Participants in this study

I chose the study's participants - Lebanese parents and their children – by means of a two-stage selection. Those asked to respond to my questionnaire fulfilled the following criteria:

Criteria for parents (first-generation Lebanese immigrants):

- Parents born in Lebanon and living in the UK with their children
- Parents representing a variety of religions and varying levels of observance
- Willingness to take part in this research study

Criteria for children (second-generation Lebanese-British):

- Children born in the UK or who moved to the UK during childhood
- Children aged 8 -16 years
- A mix of girls and boys
- Children willing to participate in the study

Snowball sampling, arguably the most common sampling method used in qualitative research, was applied to select the parent participants in this study. Initially, I informally selected, via email and telephone calls, ten parent participants who fulfilled the criteria cited above from my own circle of friends. My insider status provided me access to a network of Lebanese participants and encourage them to participate in my study (see 4.4.2.1 ii and 4.5). Then, participants were asked to refer their own friends, most of whom were unknown to me before the start of this research. The main rationale for choosing the snowball sampling method was to take advantage of the extended social networks of the selected respondents, and provide me with access to a wider set of potential participants (Thomson, 1997). Additionally, the 'informal' nature of this method, its cost effectiveness, and simplicity offered me several practical advantages, over other potential methods. Nevertheless, the possibility of the sampling not being largely heterogeneous (from diverse social networks), bias-free and totally representative may constitute one of main drawbacks of this technique.

A total of 85 parents completed the questionnaire. Children amounted to 125 participants.

The second stage of selection concerned the interview and observation sampling. After careful analysis of the questionnaire answers, and in order to investigate them in greater detail, I selected those parents and children who clearly indicated their willingness to participate in the next stage of the study, but who also reported diverse language attitudes, behaviour and identity practices. Interviewing and observing children requires both their and their parents' direct consent. Participants were also reassured that the data provided would be treated with complete confidentiality and anonymity. Some parents agreed to their children taking part in the interview process, but did not want me observing their children at home nor recording their conversations. Three groups of parents (each consisting of six individuals), and a total of sixteen children (although one child dropped out halfway through the conversation) were interviewed. Interviews with parents lasted approximately ninety minutes each, whereas interviews with children were

much shorter, lasting around twenty minutes each. Nineteen interviews in total were carried out for this research.

Observations were carried out at the participants' homes and in places where the researcher was able to participate in some activities and events to observe the families concerned, and record their actual behaviour rather than relying solely on what they reported.

4.4 Discussion of research techniques

This section focusses mainly on quantitative data provided by parents and children in the questionnaires, and on qualitative data generated from ethnographic methods such as interviews, participant observation and field notes.

4.4.1 Quantitative data

This section focusses on how quantitative data was generated mainly through the use of questionnaires distributed to Lebanese parents and children. It explains how the questionnaires were designed and piloted, and highlights their key advantages and drawbacks.

4.4.1.1 Questionnaires

Questionnaires generate large amounts of data cost-effectively and in a relatively short period of time, with the opportunity for participants to provide anonymous feedback. Although there are two types of questionnaires, one being oral and the other written, in this research study I have opted for the latter format to gather valuable information about the participants, and provide them more anonymity when answering the questions. With an oral questionnaire, the participants can become very conscious of the researcher's presence and intervention, and thus provide skewed answers that do not necessarily reflect their authentic views and attitudes, thereby undermining the objectives of this study.

My questions were mostly closed-ended with a number of options, Likert scale items asking respondents to indicate their level of agreement or disagreement with various statements, and frequency-related questions. A limited number of open-ended questions were included to allow respondents the chance to provide their personal opinions, interpretations, and feedback. This type of question was included to lead to 'a greater level of discovery' (Gillham, 2000: 5).

4.4.1.2 Design of the questionnaires

Aware that questionnaire design can be problematic and lead to incongruity of various sorts (Low, 1999; Clark & Schober, 1992), I made every attempt to design well-structured, unambiguous, and unbiased questions that would motivate participants to state their opinions and preferences honestly, without questioning the appropriateness of their reactions. The wording of the questions (in both English and MSA) was simple and coherent so that every participant could understand and answer the questions unequivocally. Kidder and Judd (1986) suggest that 'terms must be simple and comprehensible even to the least educated respondents', and Foddy (1993: 50) adds that 'brevity, simplicity and concreteness' should be the overriding principles to when making requests for information.

In this study, the questions were designed to collect personal information about the respondents, their language practices with different people, language preferences for different occasions (such as reading, writing letters, sending emails and text messaging, watching TV programs, speaking to family members and friends). The questions also explore language proficiency (in reading, writing, understanding and speaking LA, MSA and English), language attitudes namely attitudes towards LA, MSA, English and multilingualism, FLP, and perceptions of identity.

The questionnaire distributed to parents (appendix 8) contained multiple-choice questions to record data on the following:

- Parents' background: age, gender, country of origin, data of arrival to the UK, reason for emigrating to the UK, educational level, employment type, number and age of children.
- Reported language use at home, in the neighbourhood, in places of worship at work.
- Language use with different interlocutors: partner, children, extended family members, friends and acquaintances.
- Language use for different activities: when chatting online with family friends and members, sending emails and text messages, watching TV programs and movies, and listening to music on the radio and to CDs.
- Proficiency in LA, MSA, English and other languages. A five-point Likert scale was used so that participants could self-report their proficiency level in four areas: speaking, reading, comprehension and writing, for each of the languages.
- Language attitudes towards LA, MSA and English: respondents were asked to rate their agreement or disagreement on different statements using a five-point Likert scale.
- Factors influencing family language practices (sending children to Arabic school, frequent return to Lebanon, socializing with other Lebanese, participation in religious and cultural activities, frequent visits to the UK form grandparents and close family members).
- Parents' opinions about their children's language use and preferences when doing various activities (watching entertainment TV channels and movies, listening to the radio and CDs, chatting online, texting, sending emails, and reading), speaking with different interlocutors (friends, family members, parents, siblings, members of the Lebanese community), and in different places (home, school, and neighbourhood).
- Identities perceived by participants in various places (home, neighbourhood, in places of worship), and identities that others perceive the participants to have in different places.

At the end of the questionnaire, participants were given the opportunity to write down any additional comments or feedback they wished to share, and

to explain their answers in more detail. The reason why open-ended questions were not fully adopted in this study was that they could be time-consuming, necessitate a greater level of skill to formulate written answers, and prove difficult to analyse.

The same format was used in the questionnaire distributed to children (appendix 7). Closed-ended questions were used to collect data about children's language background, language practices in different places (at home, at school, in the neighbourhood, places of worship, and on holiday). Questions also explored language practices with different interlocutors (siblings, parents, grandparents, cousins, Lebanese-British friends, and Lebanese friends in Lebanon), and when doing different activities (watching TV channels, movies, listening to radio, CDs, sending text messages, emails, chatting online, and reading), as well as issues of identity practices. Questions related to proficiency in language use (reading, writing, speaking and understanding each of LA, MSA and English), attitudes towards LA, MSA and English and family language practices were asked using a five-point Likert scale enabling participants to express their level of agreement or disagreement about different statements.

4.4.1.3 Pilot questionnaires

A pilot study is an important methodological tool designed to 'pre-test a research instrument' (Baker, 1994: 182-3). The key objectives are to test, on a smaller scale, the appropriateness of the research questions and instruments devised for the study, assess the feasibility of the project in terms of objectives, timescale and resources, determine the sampling size of the participants and alert the researcher to any potential problems so that corrective action can be taken before embarking on the (larger) project.

The parental questionnaire was first piloted with five Lebanese parents, and the children's questionnaire with six children. The aim of both pilot questionnaires was to ensure the questions were clearly understood by participants, gauge the time taken to complete the entire questionnaire, alert

me to any sensitive issues from the wording a particular question, and help me detect any errors. Both questionnaires were administered by hand, in a coffee shop chosen by parent participants, a venue they deemed convenient and quiet to perform this type of activity. I explained to the participants the objectives of my research, and reassured them that all data provided would be treated in strict confidentiality, and that there was no right or wrong answer to any specific question, and that all answers were perfectly acceptable for the purpose of the study.

Some parent respondents felt that the questions about the family's full home address, parents' date of birth, and religious affiliation were too sensitive and would discourage respondents from completing the questionnaire. In light of this feedback and Foddy's (1993) recommendations, I deleted several questions and amended a number of others. In the final version, respondents were asked for their year of birth (rather than full date of birth), the first part of the postcode (rather than full address), and I took out any reference to participants' individual religious affiliation. Children also reported that the question regarding language for different activities should include 'chat online'. They reported that online chatting with friends and family members is increasingly becoming a principal aspect of their daily language behaviour. This activity was added into the final version of the question related to language use in different activities. Children found some open-ended questions rather boring and demanding, as too much detail was demanded of them, as in the question that asked them to describe how they feel about the various languages they speak. Consequently, some questions were later amended or removed and the number of open-ended questions was reduced to just one. This question was optional, and was placed at the end of the questionnaire. Respondents were provided with sufficient space to write down any additional comments or feedback.

As anticipated, many difficulties were encountered in the pilot questionnaire design. Initially, the parents were not keen to have their children answering the questionnaire without them present. They were anxious about my research objectives and felt that their children might say or write something

at odds with my beliefs and thereby project a controversial impression about them as Lebanese parents. This is defined in the literature as social desirability bias, which drives respondents to mask their honest opinions and instead provide answers that please the researcher (Dörnyei & Taguchi, 2010: 8). However, after explaining to the participants the objectives of the research and reassuring them that all answers would be acceptable, even if not necessarily compatible with my personal views as a linguist or as a member of the Lebanese community in London, I eventually managed to establish good rapport with the participants and gain their trust. Consequently, parents consented to their children answering the questionnaire without them present or interfering in the process, enabling the generation of data to be more valid and reliable.

The second obstacle was securing access to male parent participants who were willing to take part in the pilot questionnaire study. Culturally, Lebanese mothers are the main caretakers of the children, and make decisions relating to their children's education, choice of social networks, participation in cultural and religious activities, and language use at home. I had to rely on the mothers' reported answers about their partners' language use and behaviour with children, rather than first-hand answers from the fathers. My observations and interviews with parents offered other methods within this study to reduce the limitations inherent in the use of questionnaires.

4.4.1.4 Distribution and collection of questionnaires

After reviewing and modifying the pilot questionnaire, I personally distributed by hand (rather than remotely to guarantee a better response) the final version of the parent questionnaire to twenty parents selected for the purpose of this study (4.3). Each questionnaire contained a self-addressed envelope, to avoid any cost to the participants and encourage speed of response. The remaining questionnaires (each containing a self-addressed envelope) were distributed by those parent participants who had volunteered to pass on the questionnaires to other Lebanese friends.

I personally administered the children's questionnaire in three different venues. Parents who had given consent for their children to participate in this study were asked to choose a convenient location and timing for their children to fill in the questionnaire in my presence. One venue was the school hall of Our Lady of Lebanon, the Lebanese Maronite Catholic School in Southall (postcode UB1), on Saturday (at 1:30 pm) at the end of school hours. The other venue was the church hall at St George's Antiochian Orthodox Church, in Redhill Street (postcode NW1), on Sunday after mass at 12 p.m., and the last venue was a Lebanese restaurant, Beit el Zaytoun in Park Royal (postcode NW10) on Sunday at 10 a.m.

In each venue, I explained to the children the purpose of the research and issues of confidentiality. They were then asked to give their written consent before completing the questionnaire. The children were allowed to seek clarification, ask questions or make additional comments throughout the process. In some questions, participants were able to choose more than one option. Therefore, at times, the total percentage was higher than 100%.

4.4.1.5 Advantages and disadvantages of questionnaires

One of the key benefits when using a questionnaire as a means of data collection in this study is its ability to reach a large number of participants, and gather a large sample of data in a relatively short period of time. Several questions were specifically designed so that participants could report on various aspects of language use, language attitudes, and language behaviour. The questionnaire was designed to highlight participants' attitudes towards different language varieties such as LA, MSA, English and French, and towards speakers of those languages. The data collected provides information about the perceived status of each language variety, how it is used, and in which domain. Additionally, the questionnaires were formulated to reveal how parents and children perceive different types of identity in a variety of contexts.

Although respondents did not have the opportunity to justify their answers or provide further explanation, the questionnaires offered a good opportunity for respondents to report openly and anonymously their personal opinions on issues of language use and identity practices, free from the influence of peers or the researcher. As such, the reported data can reveal more honest and authentic views than those expressed in interviews.

Nevertheless, respondents do sometimes demonstrate social desirability bias, as defined in 4.4.1.3, which is characteristic of questionnaires and can threaten the validity of the research.

Another potential disadvantage is that the large scale of information collected typically requires an extensive period of data entry, making the entire process time consuming.

4.4.2 Qualitative data

The following section explores the various methods and types of qualitative data generated from participant observation, field notes, and interviews conducted with parents and children. The design of each method, its merits, and shortcomings are also discussed below.

4.4.2.1 Participant observation

Participant observation is an essential part of the methodology used in anthropology, sociolinguistics and ethnographic research, and involves detailed study of participants' behaviour in a naturalistic setting. Canagarajah (2006: 155) observes that:

'ethnographers expect to live for an extensive period of time in the community they are studying in order to capture first-hand its language patterns and attitudes. As much as possible, they try not to alter the 'natural flow' of life and social relationships of the community, but understand how language works in everyday life'.

a. *Structure of participant observation*

Observations were conducted on a regular basis over a period of fifteen weeks, in a variety of locations including families' homes, public places (parks, restaurants, coffee shops, shopping centres), places of worship, Arabic schools. I used them to gain a real-life and authentic understanding of how parents and children used their various languages in different places and with different interlocutors, and how they constructed their identities at home, in the neighbourhood, in places of worship, and when interacting with different members of the community. Fraenkel et al. (2011) argue that whilst interviews help researchers find out about participants' attitudes and beliefs, observations help them find out what participants actually do. They are more beneficial to gain 'deeper insights and understanding of behaviour' (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002: 13). This means of data collection remains the method of choice for many researchers (Fogle & King, 2013; Velázquez, 2013), because it enables them to 'experience how language relationships are lived out by members of the community' (Canagarajah, 2006: 156) and observe actual practices more closely than quantitative researchers (Hammersley, 1993).

The observations in this study were unstructured in form, and were recorded through a small audio-recording device with an inbuilt-microphone, and field notes. Although I wanted to focus on specific issues during the observation, especially those that could not be defined or investigated by means of the questionnaires, their form was unstructured because I chose not to adhere to a specific set of observational checklists, or a particular scheme or plan. I felt that following structured observations might cause me to miss out on some important issues that could arise as the 'natural' course of events unfolded. I wanted to get deep insights into all the aspects language choice and identity construction I was observing and capture all the nuances of the field. Although arranged observations over a fifteen-week period would generate a large amount of recorded data, making the process of data analysis rather lengthy and time-consuming, I filtered and screened the data into categories relevant (and irrelevant) to my research, rather than fully analysing all the information collected.

Audio recordings played a crucial role in this study since they captured large amounts of data and finer details, such as prosody and register, crucial to the data analysis. Given that the data was multilingual, it required translation into English. Audio recordings facilitated this as I could replay the data many times until the meanings became clear and well-defined. Audio was also less intrusive than the use of video recordings, which would have exposed the participants' identities and compromised their anonymity. Although some participants were initially suspicious and intimidated by the presence of the audio recorder, they soon accepted its presence and ceased to pay it any attention, increasingly involved in the interaction and discussions underway.

Not all the data captured on the small audio-recording device was entirely transcribed. After listening several times to each recorded session, repeated and salient themes began to emerge. I selected what I deemed most significant to my research study, transcribed it, and then translated it into English. The data was transcribed according to conversation analysis conventions and analysed using the GT method (chapter 6). These transcriptions provided a clear picture of how parents actually used their languages at home with their children, family members, and friends, and how children behaved when they were not being 'actively' watched. They revealed how LA formed an integral part of the parents' language practices and their FLP, and how CS or CM was the children's most natural language behaviour.

b. Position of the researcher

The researcher's decision to position him - or herself - as an insider or outsider has been much discussed, as it is believed to influence both the process of data gathering and data analysis (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009; Blackledge & Creese, 2010). Each position has both advantages and disadvantages. Blackledge and Creese (2010) explain that an insider stance enables the researcher 'to use their intimate knowledge of the contexts in order to gain access and make insightful observations', whilst those who opt for an outsider position tend to be 'perceived as 'neutral' and can stand apart

from the politics of the local' (p.87), not compromising the objectivity of the study. In their discussion of the insider-outsider debate, Dwyer and Buckle (2009: 58) claim that 'the insider role status frequently allows researchers more rapid and more complete acceptance by their participants. Therefore, participants are typically more open with researchers so that there may be a greater depth to the data gathered'. However, despite the benefits of this shared status 'it can also impede the research process as it progresses' (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009: 58). Participants may not be sufficiently explicit about their personal experiences given their assumption of similarity to the researcher, while the researcher may be influenced by his/her personal experience as a member of that group, and fail to distinguish between his/her own personal experience and that of the participants' in both the collection and analysis of data. Rather than conceiving of the insider-outsider status of the researcher as a dichotomy, Acker (2000) suggests that researchers try to find a creative way to be both. Dwyer and Buckle (2009: 62) reinforce this, urging that 'surely the time has come to abandon these constructed dichotomies and embrace and explore the complexity and richness of the space between entrenched perspectives'.

In this study, my position vis-à-vis the participants was not static, but rather shifted, performing different functions at different times, attempting to benefit from both positions. Drawing from a contemporary perspective on insider/outsider status, Merriam et al. (2001: 416) argue that 'in the course of a study, not only will the researcher experience moments of being both insider and outsider, but that these positions are relative to the cultural norms of both the researcher and the participants'. I became increasingly aware of the need to shift reactively depending on the topic being discussed.

As a member of the Lebanese community in London and thus familiar with Lebanese culture and lifestyle, and a mother sharing similar immigration experiences to other parent participants, and a linguist recognised by other members of the community, I was able to position myself as an insider. Consequently, I managed to gain access to other members of the Lebanese community, be invited into their homes, observe their children, play and

converse with them. I was also invited to attend social, religious and national events with them, able to discuss specific issues related to Lebanon and the Arab world, ask sensitive questions specific to Lebanese and Arab cultures, and communicate in the same language(s) spoken by parents and children. Participants saw me not only as a Lebanese immigrant mother, but also pursuing an academic career in the UK, and interested in getting an authentic and truthful understanding of issues that concern my ethnic and cultural background. Children saw me as a family friend and a bilingual speaker living in London.

As an outsider, I managed to position myself as a professional researcher working with a strict schedule, adhering to fixed observation times to achieve my research objectives. I remained focused on the key issues I wanted to observe and explore with the participants, aiming to elicit more detailed explanations of their experiences (see also reflective practice in 4.5).

4.4.2.2 Field notes

I took field notes during and after the participant-observation, to record general and specific information about the research sites, the participants, the interactions that were taking place, the ideas that were arising, and potential problems. These proved an invaluable asset, giving additional information I would use in my future work and add to my research archive. I also recorded my personal thoughts, impressions, opinions and criticisms about what I had observed, and about the impact(s) my presence might have had on the participants in specific situations. The process of writing, analysing and re-analysing my own field notes helped me reflect on my role as a researcher, and increased my awareness of the themes that were emerging during the observations. I also used the field notes I recorded during and after the observations as prompts to ask participants more questions about specific issues, and seek clarification of any ambiguity when analysing the data.

Most of my field notes were written after the observations took place, in order

to cause minimal interruption to the participants and not distort the natural flow of conversations and activities. Those made during the observations were very concise and limited to the use of key words related to the principal research themes to help me remember significant moments and behaviour that took place during the observations. My primary focus was to observe the participants' behaviour and not to be distracted by taking detailed field notes.

4.4.2.3 Advantages and disadvantages of participant observation

The principal merit of participant observation is how it provides an understanding of participants' personal views of complex issues such as actual language behaviour and identity practices. Participant observation gives the researcher the opportunity both to interact with the participants, and observe them at first hand in 'real-life' situations, how they use their languages in different contexts, and how they construct their multiple identities. The information gathered is consequently rich, detailed and more in-depth than the findings reported in questionnaires.

Additionally, in this study, observations allowed me to return to the research field as many times as necessary, until I was completely satisfied that the data collected was saturated, and I had sufficiently refined the subjects of investigation until I could extract the maximum relevant information. They thus provided a degree of flexibility in collecting and analysing the data that the questionnaire does not offer.

Nevertheless, participant observation also has drawbacks. It can be intrusive on participants' lives, particularly when families and children are involved, and I was often compelled to respect the constraints and conditions imposed by the participants. In this study, I repeatedly revised the schedule and location of the observations at the participants' request. At other times, I had to cut short observations or leave abruptly, just as interesting conversations and linguistic practices were unfolding. Such limitations made the observational process protracted and time-consuming.

4.4.2.4 Interviews

As in most ethnographic research, I used interviews to explore in greater detail participants' language use, language beliefs, language attitudes, language behaviour, and identity practices, as well as to access their emic perspectives on their different experiences and practices. Ely et al. (1991: 58) argue that 'interviews are at the heart of doing ethnography because they seek the words of the people we are studying, the richer the better, so that we can understand their situations with increasing clarity'. According to Dörnyei (2007: 140) a 'good' qualitative interview has two key features: '(a) it flows naturally, and (b) it is rich in detail'.

In linguistics, many researchers (Farruggio 2010; Guardado, 2010; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009) adopt this method because it facilitates the collection of in-depth knowledge of participants' reported thoughts, beliefs and behaviour within their natural contexts. Cohen et al. (2007: 29) add that interviewing is 'a valuable method for exploring the construction and negotiation of meanings in a natural setting'. In addition to verbal responses, the researcher can observe non-verbal information such as social cues, intonation, and body language, which may be invaluable when analyzing the data, and equally respondents can ask for clarification thereby limiting potential misunderstanding. According to Byrne (in Silverman, 2006: 114):

'interviewing is particularly useful as a research method for accessing ... things that cannot necessarily be observed'.

Interviews in this study were done on a one-to-one basis with children, and (other than six one-to-one interviews) largely in focus groups with parents, which took the form of semi-structured interviews.

a. Focus Group interviews with parents

Focus group interviews with parents offered a key and valuable method of data collection in this study, because the informality of the setting meant that data generated from group interactions might not otherwise be collected using other research methods (Stewart et al., 2007). Through the interactions

between the various members, the researcher can gain deep insights into the multiple ways meanings are constructed within a group context.

Structure

Focus group interviews with parents were semi-structured inasmuch as the interviewer acted as a moderator and facilitator, trying to steer the conversations in a collaborative and exploratory way (Richards, 2009: 184), rather than sticking to a rigid set of predetermined questions, as in a structured interview. The aim was to give interviewees the chance to elaborate on their answers, express their own opinions and feelings, and respond to one another's ideas. However, the interviews had a degree of structure as I designed and provided an interview guide containing a set of topics and open-ended questions that I wished to explore during the interviews. As Berg (2007: 39) contends, the main advantage of such a checklist is that it 'allows for in-depth probing whilst permitting the interviewer to keep the interview within the parameter traced out by the aim of the study'. Consequently, I was able to cover the main issues raised during the analysis of the questionnaires and observation data, whilst simultaneously allowing new and unforeseen ideas to emerge and be explored, hence broadening the scope of the research (focus).

Selection of participants and venue

Interviewees for this study were Lebanese parents aged between 30 and 65 years old and settled in the UK with their families. Having already completed the parental questionnaire, these participants were willing to devote more time to this study, and share their views of their language practices and behaviour in interviews. On that basis, I initially attempted to select an appropriate and representative sample of Lebanese immigrant parents in London. I wanted to include male and female parents, Christian Lebanese and Muslim Lebanese, religiously observant and not, parents who spoke LA at home and those who did not, parents who adapted to British life with their children and those who kept an isolationist Lebanese lifestyle, those who sent their children to Arabic schools on Saturday and those who did not, those who wanted to keep their HL and those who seemed less inclined to

do so.

Unfortunately, I was not able to achieve the level of diversity among the parents as I had hoped. Some dropped out of the process following the initial interview, and some male parents who felt uncomfortable taking part in the female-dominated focus groups stopped coming. I was, however, able to observe fathers' linguistic behaviour at home and watch how they negotiated FLP with their children. Additionally, those who had mentioned in the questionnaire that they were not observant of their religion but keen to participate in the interview process, refused to share their views overtly with other participants for fear that other interviewees with differing religious values would be hostile and disrespectful. As a result, I had to accept that my interviewees might not be fully representative of parents in London's Lebanese immigrant community. Given the circumstances, I had to be realistic and conduct interviews with those who best fulfilled the criteria of my study.

The venue was chosen by the participants, where they felt most comfortable. All focus group interviews took place either in the interviewees' homes, or in school halls attached to the Lebanese Saturday schools. Each focus group interview lasted between 150 and 180 minutes including a twenty-minute break, with a total of six female interviewees in each group. A total of three focus group interviews (eighteen female interviewees) and six one-to-one interviews were conducted. The individual interviews with parents were much shorter lasting between thirty to forty-five minutes each, and took place in quiet corners of coffee shops selected by interviewees. In total, four male interviews and two female interviews took place. One-to-one interviews were conducted because some participants who showed interest in taking part in this study were unable to attend the focus group interviews on the dates and times chosen, or because these participants were keen to share their experiences and viewpoints privately with me rather than in a collective group. The fathers tended to request private interviews because they felt uncomfortable discussing personal beliefs, ideologies and family matters in a group and in front of female participants.

Interview procedure

The semi-structured focus group started with me explaining to the participants the main objectives of the interview, without explicitly informing them of my intention to discover their language attitudes, beliefs and perceptions about language use, language practices and identity construction. I proceeded to initiate a general discussion with the participants, giving them the opportunity to select the language in which they wished the interview to be conducted. Most interviewees chose LA as their preferred language since it was their native language and the one they felt most comfortable using to fully express their attitudes, opinions and views. The main rationale for starting with a general discussion rather than tackling more specific themes, was to establish an appropriate atmosphere, ease any tension in the room, build a rapport with participants and gain their trust ahead of the main conversation. Then, we explored questions relating to the themes that had emerged during the observations and questionnaire analysis, such as parents' attitudes and feelings towards HL use, perceptions of their role in shaping the attitudes of their children towards HL learning, and of how their children respond to their linguistic efforts and FLP. The answers offered triggers to stimulate further discussion on the challenges associated with HL practices amongst second-generation Lebanese-British children, issues of bilingualism, issues of integration in British society, the perceived value of LA and MSA, and how different kinds of identity are viewed by Lebanese parents and children in London.

During the discussions, I acted as a moderator to encourage all participants to express their views and to challenge one another's ideas in a flexible and interactive way, intervening where necessary and steering the conversation in the right direction. Additionally, and most importantly, I repeatedly conveyed to the interviewees the significant value they were adding to my research study, and thanked them for their important contribution. It was vital to sustain this balance of power throughout the process, to keep the interviewees engaged and maintain the best possible dynamic between myself and the interviewees

The interview guide that was designed, contained a number of diverse questions that were grouped under the following themes:

- Family language policy:
 - Language use at home with children, partner, family members
 - Language use in the neighbourhood, at work, in places of worship.
- Parents' language preferences:
 - When watching TV, listening to radio and CDs
 - When reading and writing emails
 - Chatting online and texting
- Parents' attitudes:
 - Towards LA and MSA
 - English
 - Code-switching
 - Multilingualism
- The role of religion
- Parents' perceptions of identity:
 - Ethno linguistic
 - National
 - Religious
- The key factors that influence HLM among their children

Table 4.1 Questions for semi-structured interviews with parents

- | |
|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can you tell me a bit about yourself? • What languages do you speak? • What languages do your children speak? • How do you use your languages when doing various activities? • How do you think your children use their languages? • What do you think of your children's proficiency level in the languages they speak? • How do you think LA can help your children in this country? |
|--|

- Do you think it is necessary for your children to learn MSA? Why?
- Would you like to see your children maintain LA?
- What key factors do you think can help you maintain LA among your children?
- What key factors do you think do not allow you to maintain LA among your children?
- How do you perceive yourself as someone living in the UK?
- How do you think others perceive you?
- How do you think your children perceive themselves in the UK?
- How do you describe the role of religion in your life? Does it play a role in your identity?

b. Interviews with children

Fifteen one-to-one interviews were conducted with seven male and eight female Lebanese-British children aged 8-16 years. Each interview lasted between 30 and 60 minutes.

At the beginning of each interview, I introduced myself to the interviewee, explained the general aims of the interview (to explore issues of language use and identity practices), as well as issues of confidentiality. Children were asked to give their informed consent to participate in the interview and to have it audio-recorded. Interviewees were able to select the language in which they preferred the interview to be conducted, and they all selected LA. I reassured them that they could stop the process at any time, discontinue it, or ask for clarification whenever necessary during the exchanges.

The interviews with children took place in locations chosen by their parents, that the children were familiar with, such as local parks, coffee shops, interviewees' homes, and Arabic schools' halls.

Questions were deliberately open-ended to encourage children to express their views and engage more actively in the discussions. Questions were

designed to suit the age of each category, so questions for younger children (8-11) were more simplistic and specific than those aimed at 12-14 and 14-16-year-olds. An example of the 8-11-year-olds category would typically ask: "Can you tell me what language, or languages if more than one, you speak at home with your mum?" whereas questions for 14-16-year-olds category would ask: "Can you explain to me how you use your languages at home?"

Although all children chose LA as the preferred language for the interviews, CS between LA and English was a common practice among all the child interviewees. The atmosphere of the interviews was informal and relaxed, encouraging the interviewees to exhibit their natural linguistic behaviour, and freely express their opinions in my presence, as I was evidently also a bilingual speaker. Older children were more talkative and keen to provide detailed explanations about how and why they behave as they do in different contexts and with different interlocutors, and what key factors they considered most conducive to Arabic language maintenance in London. Younger ones were, however, equally pleased to be given the chance to speak freely about their attitudes to Arabic language learning in community schools, and about their feelings regarding the perceptions in the wider society of their ethnic identities. Some interviewees were so interested in the subject and keen to answer all the questions that their interviews lasted over one hour. Consequently, these interviews generated rich and detailed information

During the interviews, I noted down important details about the interviewees such as their age, gender, school year, number of siblings, and any information that could add value to the recorded data (such as facial expressions when describing attitudes to different types of identity, and to language learning).

The interviews were all audio-recorded (on a small tape recorder with an inbuilt microphone) but not video-recorded as originally intended because parents refused to allow video-recordings of their children. They considered video-recording intrusive, compromising of their children's anonymity and

putting them under unnecessary pressure. Some authors argue that video-recordings offer a richer representation of the interview situation than tape (Kvale, 1996). However, the audio-recorder was eventually used to record all the discussions and non-verbal cues, to facilitate the process of data analysis.

After the interviews and during the data analysis process, I listened three times to the audio-recordings to identify the emergence of the salient themes. I transcribed the most interesting segments of the interviews according to the conventions listed in appendix 2, translated them into English, and then colour-coded into themes and sub-themes to facilitate the process of data analysis.

Table 4.2 Questions for semi-structured interviews with children

- | |
|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What language or languages do you speak at home? • How do you use your languages at home? • What languages do you speak in the neighbourhood? • How would you describe your proficiency level in LA? • How would you describe your proficiency level in MSA? • How would you describe your proficiency level in English? • What do you think of LA? MSA? • What do you think of learning languages in general? • What languages do you use when playing with your friends? watching TV? chatting online? reading? listening to music? • How do you see yourself as someone living in the UK? • How do you think others see you? • Do you think learning Arabic is important for you? Why? • What languages do you speak with your grandparents? uncles and aunties? cousins in Lebanon? |
|---|

c. Merits and drawbacks of interviews

The principal advantage of using focus group and one-to-one interviews in this study was to examine closely, and from several different perspectives, the complex socio-cultural and ideological issues of language use by, and identity practices of, Lebanese immigrant families in London. The medium allowed respondents to reveal spontaneously, and without forethought, sensitive information that would not potentially arise from the questionnaires. Participants were able to challenge or endorse others' viewpoints in an amicable way. The outcome was rich, comprehensive and detailed data that supported and complemented the data generated from the questionnaires and observations, allowing me to form an accurate understanding of the participants' linguistic behaviour and identity practices.

Additionally, my presence as the interviewer ensured that questions that had gone unanswered in the questionnaires were addressed and clarified in the interview. As such, interviewees were able to answer these questions appropriately and more confidently, enabling the formulation of accurate and valid conclusions.

My pilot interview with five London-based mothers of Lebanese origin proved an excellent opportunity to test the structure and format of the questions, as well as my skills as a moderator, and the feasibility of using this research method. After the pilot interview, the participants were asked to comment on the questions for clarification or improvement. As a result of the feedback received, the order of the questions was changed, some questions were deleted, and the wording of some questions was altered to encourage more description and explanations during the interview. The final interview guide was a much-improved version of the pilot. Having secured the participants' consents to video-record the pilot interview only, and self-reflecting on my skills as interviewer, I was careful in the later group interviews not to lead the discussions (learning from my mistake in the pilot interviews), but rather allow the participants more opportunity to contribute, and influence the direction of the discussion, which elicited additional information.

I conducted a similar a pilot interview with three children, one from each age group. The questions were tested for their ordering, appropriateness, and ability to explore the various issues. Some questions were later modified in response to feedback, and others added to ensure that the research issues were explored from different angles.

Just as other methods of data collection have drawbacks, so too do focus group interviews. Potential distraction from the main research focus is a particularly critical issue. Intra-group dynamics and social pressure can also become problematic, difficult to manage, and lead to skewed responses that do not accurately reflect the true opinion of each participant. In this study, some participants were more opinionated than others, and attempted to lead the group to exert their authority and power. Initially they would attempt to direct the flow of conversation, intimidate others who had conflicting viewpoints, and even use sarcasm to silence them. With my experience of moderating focus group interviews, I used my position to assert my authority and steer the conversations in the appropriate direction, encouraging those who were less talkative to share their opinions and air their views publicly. I reminded the participants that the crucial aim of these interviews was to gain better understanding of their personal experiences and the multiple ways they behaved, and not to pass judgment, validate certain views or criticise others.

Another problem associated with the interviews is the amount of time and effort they require. Substantial time was devoted to preparing and designing the questions and the interview guide, administering the interview, and transcribing, and analyzing the data. The data collected was in LA, and I then had to transcribe the relevant segments and translate them accurately into English. This added another task and layer of difficulty to the process.

In the one-to-one interviews it proved challenging for younger children to elaborate and express their views. Their answers were rather short, even at times consisting of just a few words. I had to keep probing questions and find different ways to generate the necessary information, which could be

counter-productive. The overriding aim of these interviews was to engage the interviewees so that would provide in-depth explanations, rather than answer in the fewest words possible.

The most critical limitation of interviews is the Observer's Paradox (4.2.1). My presence in this study may have affected the interviewees' responses, notably the younger ones, keen to provide answers pleasing to me, or to project a positive image of themselves or their families. Additionally, interviews, like questionnaires, collect self-report data, which is similarly subject to social desirability. However, all answers were further explored and reviewed, and, as such, provided valuable material for analysis.

4.5 The researcher's role, reflexivity, and issues of power

Although I have briefly discussed insider status (in section 4.4.2.1 ii), I proceed here to address the issues of reflective practice and power relations inherent in qualitative research. The researcher's presence in ethnographic fieldwork influences participants' behaviour and the research process (Labov, 1972; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Dwyer & Buckle, 2009), creating its own challenges and complexities. Coffey (1999: 23) explains that these occur because 'fieldwork involves the enactment of social roles and relationships, which places the self at the heart of the enterprise'. In fact, Gee (2014: 170) argues that 'socially-situated identities are mutually co-constructed in interviews, just as much as they are in everyday conversations'. Thus, the interviewer and the interviewee are both part of the interview and, through language use, together co-construct various different socially-situated identities. Factors such as the researcher's ethnic identity, gender, age, beliefs, status and language use may all affect the behaviour observed (Baker, 1992: 19). It is thus important to explain the various roles I have assumed in this study, and how they might have influenced, but not distorted, my data collection and my interpretation of the findings.

In the course of this study, I have assumed a variety of identities: some I constructed myself, and others were attributed to me. As such, I am a

Lebanese (ethnic identity) married woman (gender; marital status) who has been living with my own family in London for twenty years. I am also a mother, linguist and researcher (professional status) pursuing a PhD degree in sociolinguistics. I speak Arabic (LA and MSA), French and English, and am interested in investigating the language attitudes, linguistic behaviour, FLP, and identity practices of Lebanese immigrant families in London.

Several factors contributed to my securing access to the participants in this study and communicating with them effectively (4.4.2.1. ii). In the course of the interviews and observations, I was an insider because of my Lebanese ethnic and cultural background, my natural fluency in LA, and my respectable level of Arabic literacy (MSA). Additionally, because of my educational background, I am fluent in French and English, further facilitating communication with some multilingual participants who wished to express themselves in languages other than LA.

As a woman and a mother, I was better able to secure access to participants' houses and share in (their) cultural-specific experiences. I believe that my gender played a pivotal role given the nature of my social research. On Lebanese Mother's day, I was invited to celebrate a traditional Lebanese brunch with other mothers, and engage in meaningful discussions with those who were present. As a result of this social gathering, additional mothers agreed to participate in my focus group discussions, and invited me into their homes to observe their children's linguistic behaviour and practices. Had I not been female, I would likely have been less able to conduct my observations at the participants' homes or explore openly with them sensitive issues related to identity practices.

Unlike my ethnic, cultural and linguistic identities, my religious identity created a degree of controversy. Some observant Muslim families initially declined my invitation to participate in this study, and refused to grant me access to their homes or have their children take part in my study. They viewed my religious identity as a threat to their linguistic beliefs and values, and considered me an outsider with whom they did not wish to share

sensitive information. However, my outsider status (to Lebanese Muslim communities), helped me gain access to some Muslim families who were keen to share their sociolinguistic experiences as Lebanese mothers living in the diaspora with an outsider. They viewed my professional status as a researcher, as well as my gender and ethnic background as a Lebanese mother, as much more important than my religious identity. As such, they were able to reveal their genuine attitudes - towards Lebanese complementary schools and Arabic teaching in London, the dominant society's attitude towards Arabic and speakers of Arabic, the challenges Lebanese mothers face to maintain the use of LA amongst their children, the lack of support from mainstream English schools, and the role religion plays in their lives and that of their children.

On the other hand, my presence as a researcher in the field conducting a sociolinguistic study among Lebanese immigrant families might have influenced, to an extent, participants' linguistic choices and their answers. However, in ethnographic research, the researcher's reflexivity and positionality need not necessarily compromise the objectivity and rigour of the findings, but can act rather as a vital and integral instrument to the research process. Reflexivity has been described as:

'A process by which ethnographers reveal their self-perceptions, methodological setbacks and mental states, often includes broad general critiques of the field. Reflexivity enables ethnographers to see their research within historical and structural constraints that result from asymmetrical power distributions' (Heath & Street, 2008: 123).

As part of my reflexive practice, which formed a central part of this research process, I used field notes and memos to critically self-reflect on my own roles as data collector (moderator, interviewer, observer) and data analyst, and to reflect on the multiple challenges and realities of conducting ethnographic research. Therefore, reflexivity encompassed two related elements: prospective and retrospective reflexivity (Edge, 2011). Prospective reflexivity concerns the effect of the researcher on the research, and retrospective reflexivity concerns the effect of the research on the

researcher. Cole and Masny (2012) describe this process as being mutually shaping 'in which one may affect and be affected' (p.1). During fieldwork, I actively interacted with participants, engaged in many activities with them, and discussed their personal views about various socio-political, historical and religious issues. This type of observation and interaction was part of my reflexive process described by Schön (1983) as 'reflection-in-action'. I equally selected the parts of the interviews I wanted to transcribe, and those I wanted to discharge. I also analysed and interpreted participants' personal experiences using my own words. Therefore, on one hand, I was influencing the outcomes of this study, whilst being shaped by my own beliefs, attitudes, and socio-cultural background. On the other hand, this on-going process of retrospective reflexivity and reflection-on-action (Schön, 1983) has affected my personal experience in this research field, and allowed me to gain deeper understanding of my reflective practice, ultimately impacting my whole development as a human being.

In addition to reflexivity, I was mindful that social interactions with participants would unavoidably entail ideological and ethical challenges, and that the researcher's subjectivity is inevitable. I tried to address these problems in my research through a triangulation of methods (see 4.2) to increase the reliability of the findings, gain a broader understanding of the issues investigated, and reduce the influence of the researcher's perspective.

Additionally, I tried to address issues of power distribution in terms of perceived status and authority, to create a conducive environment for participants to behave in a natural way, so that issues of language preferences and identity practices would be honestly conveyed. During the focus group interviews and the one-to-one interviews, I attempted to empower my participants by interacting and building a rapport with them, encouraging them to explain, justify and challenge one another's views, and constantly praising their generous contributions. Establishing mutual trust and respect between the participants and myself, from the beginning, was

essential to generate accurate and sound data. As Lincoln and Guba (2000) point out, building and maintaining trust is essential to any qualitative inquiry.

I also deliberately adopted a neutral position during the interviews and observations, not showing support for any particular individual or argument. I clearly explained from the outset that I did not intend to pass judgment against on any particular attitude or linguistic behaviour, but rather that I was interested in observing and understanding the various behaviours and attitudes of the families based on the participants' understandings. I reassured the participants that all opinions were valid, acceptable, and strictly confidential.

4.6 Ethical considerations

There are inevitably ethical considerations associated with my research, and I was conscious of these throughout both the data collection and analysis. Grix (2010: 121) argues that:

'Ethical considerations ought to be greater for those conducting qualitative research, given the direct contact researchers have with people, their personal lives and the issues of confidentiality that arise out of this'.

I was aware that I was discussing sensitive issues with participants, and that children under the age of 18 were participating in this study. I strove to conduct my research in absolute compliance with the ethical procedures stipulated by SOAS University and its Doctoral School.

From the outset, I was as transparent as possible with all the participants. Creswell (2009: 88-89) maintains that 'researchers need to convey the purpose of the study to the participants. Deception occurs when participants understand one purpose but the researcher has a different purpose in mind'. Therefore, prior to the data collection, I informed all participants through a Participant Information letter written in English and MSA about the general aims of my research, the different methods of data collection, the nature of the participants' involvement, and my intention to record the data (through an

audio-recorder device and personal field notes). I asked parent participants to sign a consent form to take part in my study, or provide audio-recorded consent. The consent form was designed to acknowledge that participants' rights would be protected during data collection. Participants were also reminded that they did not have to answer any questions that made them feel uncomfortable, and that they were able to withdraw from the process at any time. Some of the participants in this study were affiliated with some Lebanese political or religious factions, and were in direct conflict with other participants. To avoid any aggressive confrontation between them, or any tension and offence to anyone, I assured every participant that all discussions in which they were involved would focus exclusively on issues of language and identity. All participants thus agreed to take part in this study with the intention of helping me, a member of their Lebanese community, achieve my academic research objectives. As such, the collaboration between me, as researcher, and the participants was a reciprocal relationship based on mutual benefit, respect and power balance (Creswell, 2009: 90).

Participants were also assured that all data collected would be treated with strict professionalism, confidentiality, and impartiality. I used pseudonyms in the place of respondents' real names in my data analysis and transcripts, to protect the identity of the participants. All data recorded was saved on an external drive which belonged to me alone, stored in a secure locked location in my house, and used solely for the academic purposes of the present study.

To allow me to work with children, I obtained an up to date Disclosing and Barring Service²³ (DBS) form, which I presented to the parents before initiating any contact with their children. Furthermore, informed consent from parents was obtained (orally recorded or given in writing) to enable their children to participate in the study, in addition to the children's personal consent.

• ²³ This form was previously known as the Criminal Record Bureau (CRB).

Children were interviewed in the presence of an adult they knew personally, and parents were comfortable having me around their children. The interviews were conducted in the child's preferred language, and questionnaire and interview questions were formulated in a way to suit the appropriate age of child participants. Children were also given the reassurance that they could discuss any matters of concern with me at any time during or after the interview.

4.7 Data analysis

This study includes data collected from questionnaires, interviews, observations and field notes. Consequently, both quantitative and qualitative methods were used to summarize the findings. The quantitative data analysis applied to the parents and children questionnaires, and the ethnographic data analysis was used to interpret the information generated from interviews, observations and field notes.

4.7.1. Quantitative data analysis

I used quantitative analysis - numerical methods (actual number of participants) and relative percentages - in this study to describe the data collected in the parent and children questionnaires. My aim was to gather descriptive statistics to summarize key features of the sample, and compare different data sets using visual representations such as graphs, pie charts and tables. The data was then entered into spreadsheets, and analyzed using Microsoft Excel and SPSS computer packages. The main advantages of using SPSS are its ability to produce output in both report and table formats, handle missing data effectively, and operate through Microsoft Windows and Apple Macintosh versions.

4.7.2. Qualitative data analysis

My ethnographic research explores the linguistic behaviour of Lebanese

immigrant families in London, and how they construct and negotiate their identities. To provide in-depth insights, I used the grounded theory (GT) method (see 4.7.2.2.) to analyse the focus group interviews with parents, the one-to-one interviews with parents and children, and the observation, and field note data.

4.7.2.1 Transcription

Kvale (1996: 165) defines transcripts thus: "[t]ranscripts are not copies or representations of some original reality, they are interpretative constructions that are useful tools for given purposes. Transcripts are decontextualised conversations, they are abstractions, as topographical maps are abstractions from the original landscape from which they are derived". Transcription is thus the act of transforming spoken data into written form, and it serves a specific purpose in qualitative research. Duff (2008) contends that transcription has its own theory and can be viewed as an early phase of analysis. Some researchers choose to adopt the approach of conversation analysis (CA) where extensive and detailed transcriptions are done; others adopt the approach of (Critical) Discourse Analysis (CDA or DA) which takes account of the broader social context in which conversation takes place, and is therefore less concerned with a fine detailed analysis of transcripts.

In my study, the transcripts were less detailed than those used in CA, but sufficiently thorough to include the explicit content of the speech, general intonation patterns, pauses, overlapping speech, laughter, and translated segments to provide a better understanding of how participants in this study create through language and interaction 'specific situated meanings' (Gee, 2014: 25). Transcripts were largely based on Gumperz and Berenz's conventions (1993) but modified to suit the purposes of my research (appendix 2). In the absence of a single system to transliterate and transcribe the variety of spoken Arabic dialects in Roman alphabet, I have adopted the same conventions used by the Library of Congress transliteration scheme (Library of Congress, 2012) to transcribe LA

(appendix 4).

After listening to each interview three times, a number of particular themes emerged and consistently recurred. I concluded that these were the salient themes in the interactions that were most connected and relevant to my research questions. I therefore started transcribing them using Express Scribe transcription software. I eliminated those themes (and thereby saved time and effort in transcription) that were not directly related to my research focus. Dörnyei (2007) claims that a one-hour interview may take up to six or seven hours to transcribe. With around 25 hours of interview recordings and 35 hours of observational data recorded over 15 weeks, I had a total of 60 hours of audio recordings.

Following the original transcriptions of data segments in LA, I translated them into English, as faithfully as possible, grouped them into meaningful codes, and themes, and colour-coded them. Table 4.3 shows how GT analysis was applied.

4.7.2.2 Grounded Theory (GT)

a. Introduction

GT was developed in the 1960s by two sociologists, Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss (1967), as a reaction to existing theories that dominated social research. GT offers a practical and flexible approach to interpreting complex social phenomena (Charmaz, 2003), such as issues of language behaviour and identity practices, which constitute the main focus of this study. It is both a method and a theory in the process of data collection and data analysis, because it uses the participants 'as a source of knowledge' in the topic being studied, to enable hypotheses-generating rather than hypotheses-testing, based on the participants' personal experiences (Auerbach and Silverstein, 2003: 7). GT focusses on participants' perspectives and provides them with opportunities to articulate their thoughts about issues they consider important, allowing them to reflect on these

issues of concern to gain understanding and acquire new insights (Glaser, 1998: 32).

The aim of using GT in this study is to enter participants' lives and acquire deep understanding of the complex and various ways they use their languages and construct their identities. This approach allowed me to explore 'research participants' lives from the inside [which] often gives a researcher otherwise unobtainable views' (Charmaz, 2006: 14).

As a method, GT offers a framework on how to identify, refine and integrate categories together to produce a systematic representation of participants' experiences and understandings of the phenomena under investigation. As a theory, it is the end-product that provides a descriptive framework through which to understand the phenomena under investigation.

The main advantage of GT is its flexibility and ability to generate new understandings and explanations, providing a space for new, contextualised theories to emerge directly from the data, rather than having definite preconceptions and theoretical frameworks forced onto new data (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003). Data in GT is subject to rigorous analysis and examination that allows a theory to emerge.

b. Approaches in GT

To expand on the initial foundation of the GT method, researchers have used many different approaches and strategies that rely on familiarization, coding based on emergent themes, the constant comparative analysis, theoretical sampling and saturation, memo-writing, and theory building (Easterby-Smith et al., 2002; Bryant, & Charmaz, 2007; Hammersley, & Atkinson, 2007; Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Familiarization

The researcher begins by re-listening to the original recordings and re-reading the data transcripts, also drawing on unrecorded information written

on field notes and memos. The additional information provided from these cues, such as the relationship between the researcher and the interviewees, the atmosphere in the room between participants, and the degree of conviction with which participants provide their own explanations to specific issues of the phenomenon helps the researcher develop a broader understanding of the descriptive concepts that seem to occur, and actively engage with the detailed analysis of the data. In my study, the process of familiarization has been of great benefit to me, because it helped me build a relationship of trust and respect between the participants and myself. Consequently, the data generated was rich and detailed, reflecting participants' genuine experiences and views.

Coding based on the emergent themes

This process begins with open coding (Strauss and Corbin, 1998), which involves creating largely descriptive labels to segments of the data that share key characteristics with one another, rather than assigning codes derived from pre-existing theoretical formulations. These codes are then grouped together in a way to give rise to categories or concepts, and arranged in a meaningful way to reflect different properties, linkages and meanings within the category. This is known as axial coding.

Constant comparative analysis

In GT, the coding process takes place alongside data collection. As the researcher identifies similarities among emerging categories, he/she then identifies differences within a category to identify any emerging subcategories, and then returns to the field to collect more data until all aspects of the phenomenon have been examined. In this study, I started by examining the reported questionnaire data for emerging categories and key ideas. I then analysed the observational data to establish comparisons and contrasts with the questionnaires' analysis. At the same time, the analysis of questionnaires and observational data served as a basis for the interview process, to ask further questions, make comparisons, and explore the emerging themes in more depth. The recorded interviews were then transcribed, further analysed and compared with all the other analyses to

explore in greater depth the emerging categories and subcategories until theoretical sampling was achieved. Frequent returns back and forth to the field were necessary until theoretical saturation was achieved.

Theoretical sampling and saturation

This entails the collection of further data based on the emerging themes from earlier stages of analysis, and checking for the development of new categories. This process of continuously examining previous stages of the research continues, until new instances of variation and refinement for existing categories become saturated. Unlike open coding, which is concerned with identifying a wide range of descriptive categories, theoretical sampling aims to refine increasingly analytic categories.

Memo-writing

Throughout the process of data collection and data analysis, the researcher records in writing important details about the data (such as justification of labels, definition of categories and sub-categories, and linkage between them) and the phenomena to build theories. Memos also provide information about the research process such as changes of direction in the analysis; these can be long or short, hand-written or recorded. Memoing is argued to 'capture these fresh theoretical musings and gives us analytical space to reflect and to work out these ideas' (Locke, 2001: 51).

In this study, my memos were partly recorded on my digital recorder and partly in my notes. They were used during the stages of data collection, coding and data analysis. During observations, memos served great purpose, as I was able to observe at first hand the 'naturally' occurring linguistic behaviour of participants, and record straight after the verbal and non-verbal cues (feelings, body language, facial expressions) regarding various properties and aspects associated with the emerging themes. I then started using the Nvivo program to create and store more memos, to facilitate the process of data analysis. Memos enabled me to capture ideas as they emerged in their actual contexts, reflect upon their meanings, and connect them to the emerging concepts and sub-themes.

Theory building

The data collected is used to build contextualized theories that have emerged directly during the research process. GT requires the researcher's involvement and interaction with the data, leading to the construction of theory rather than just mere description of the data. According to Glaser (1978: 3), 'there is much value in the conceptualisation and conceptual ordering of research data'. Similarly, Strauss and Corbin (1998) place great emphasis on theory development when using GT. In this study, the various answers and information provided by respondents allowed me to generate the codes and key themes (or categories) for analysis and group them into theoretical constructs consistent with the theoretical framework of FLP. These codes and categories are described in table (4.3).

Table 4.3: Theoretical framework derived from data analysis

Codes (open-coding)	Emerging themes/categories (axial coding)	Theoretical constructs (consistent with the FLP framework)
Families' social, economic and educational status in London	Family Background	
Parents' language use at home with children	Parents' language practices at home	Language practices at family level
Parents' language use at home with each other and family members		
Parent's language use in the neighbourhood	Parents' language practices in the wider society	

Parents' language use at work		
Parents' language use in religious places		
Children's language use at home with parents/grandparents	Children's language practices at home	
Children's language practices at home with siblings		
Children's language practices in the neighbourhood	Children's language practices in the wider society	
Children's language use in religious places		
Frequent return to Lebanon	Language maintenance efforts	Language management strategies at family level
Attachment to family and Lebanese culture		
Attachment to religion		
Lebanese/Arab social networks		
Role of media/ICT in language/literacy development	Literacy skills analysis	Literacy management strategies at family level
Children's reading/writing preferences		

LA as an important marker of ethnic and cultural identity	Interconnection between language and identity	Language beliefs, ideologies and attitudes at family level
Arabic as a marker of religious identity		
Attachment to Lebanon/Frequent return		
Parent's' attitudes to LA maintenance	Parents' language attitudes to Arabic	
Parents' Attitudes to MSA		
Parents' attitudes to Multilingualism/CS		
Children's attitudes to LA development	Children's language attitudes to Arabic	
Children's attitudes to MSA development		
Children's attitudes to multilingualism/CS		

c. Limitations of GT

A number of criticisms have been made of GT. Some scholars (Myers, 2009) have warned that the extensive and laborious process of coding in GT and generation of rich detailed data, might distract novice researchers at this level, and they might not spot the emerging themes from the data.

Others have criticized the high potential of methodological error involved with GT, such as the risk of doing purposeful sampling²⁴, selected at the onset of

²⁴ Patton (2002: 230) describes purposeful sampling as follows:

the study for pre-set reasons, rather than theoretical sampling whereby 'the analyst jointly collects, codes, and analyses data and decides what data to collect next, and where to find them in order to develop a theory as it emerges' (Glaser, 1978: 36). Moreover, Glaser (1992) warns researchers against using one single source of data such as interviews, and suggests using a combination of both observations and interviews as part of the data collection process, to reduce the limitations inherent in any research technique.

Additionally, GT has been criticized for being too rigid, uncompromising and interfering with the process of discovery. Glaser (1992) rejects the detailed analytic procedures proposed by Strauss and Corbin (1998) for theoretical sampling and coding (open, axial and selective coding). Glaser argues that Strauss and Corbin's approach to coding introduces preconceptions into the analysis that are not compatible with the spirit of GT. As Glaser (1992: 123) puts it:

If you torture the data enough it will give up! ... Forcing by preconception constantly derails it from relevance'. He calls for a more open approach in which the theory emerges from the data, 'almost without human intervention' (Easterby-Smith et al., 2002: 125).

Yet another criticism of GT concerns its positivist epistemological root and its failure to address questions of reflexivity effectively (Dey, 1999). The fact that new theories are expected to emerge from the data implies that the researcher has limited input in the research process. However, critics argue that whatever emerges from the data through observation depends on the observer's stance within it. Similarly, data analysis is theoretically informed because it is guided by the researcher's questions. Social constructionist versions of GT (e.g. Charmaz, 2006) attempt to develop reflexive GT by encouraging researchers to carefully document the different processes of the research, in order to display explicitly how their own assumptions and beliefs,

"... selecting information-rich cases for study in depth. Information-rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the inquiry, thus the term purposeful sampling. Studying information-rich cases yields insights and in-depth understanding rather than empirical generalizations."

analytical analyses, interpretations of context, and sampling decisions have shaped the outcome of the research.

d. The use of computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS)

I analysed the data in this study using NVivo (V11 for Mac OS) program to store transcripts and data, and conduct the coding process. The speed when sorting out masses of data and identifying patterns between data sets, is arguably one of the key advantages offered by CADQAS. Moreover, the ability to transmit transcripts and memos electronically allows the researcher to share data with other colleagues much quicker and easier, facilitating team research.

However, Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) warn that CAQDAS could generate problems if instances of a given code are taken out of the context of their original meaning, and presented as disconnected excerpts.

In the present study, the analysis of coded transcripts and field notes generated eight code families: Family background, Family Language Policy, Language practices in the wider society, Language attitudes and beliefs, Language and identity, Role of technology, Parents' maintenance efforts, and Social networks.

These codes provided a framework for understanding the various linguistic practices of these participants, the various ways they constructed their multi-layered and complex identities, and the beliefs underpinning these practices and behaviour. A detailed discussion of the analysis is given in the following chapter.

4.8 Conclusion

In this chapter I have described the main methods and methodologies used in this study. By combining the use of questionnaires, interviews, observations and field notes, I was able to explore the complexities of the issues investigated. Each method was discussed in detail, along with its own advantages and drawbacks. Questionnaires were used because of their ability to capture large amounts of reported data, whereas interviews, observations and field notes provided detailed and in-depth information about participants' linguistic behaviour, attitudes, and identity practices. This mixed-method approach allowed me to collect different types of data to compare, contrast, and validate the findings, and formulate more reliable and definite conclusions (triangulation). I have also discussed the issue of the researcher's roles and reflexivity, and the ethical considerations involved. Finally, I have explained the data analysis process and the GT approach adopted for the analysis of qualitative data, together with its merits and limitations.

Chapter 5: Data analysis and discussion of language practices and language proficiency

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the data collected from questionnaires, participant observation, interviews and field notes. It also discusses the backgrounds of the participants interviewed and the families observed. Questionnaire responses are used as a means to structure the discussion, and evidence from observations and interviews is included either to challenge or substantiate the self-reported data.

The structure of this chapter is: section 5.2 presents a description of the participants' backgrounds; 5.3 examines language use in different domains and with various interlocutors; 5.4 discusses participants' language choice for media and information and communication technology (ICT) and the impact of these on Arabic maintenance among Lebanese immigrant families in London; and 5.5 investigates children's proficiency in Arabic (LA and MSA) and English through their self-reports and as observed by the researcher.

5.2 Backgrounds of participants

5.2.1 Description of children's backgrounds

The first eight questions of the children questionnaire (table 5.1) gathered key information regarding their background, including age, gender, country of birth, visits to the home country, origin of both parents, first language learnt at home, and participation in religion. These variables are likely to influence children's language practices and attitudes, as well as their identity practices. Table 5.1 provides the child participants' background data.

Table 5.1: Children's backgrounds

The numbers between brackets in the table below refer to the number of participants. These are also shown as a percentage of the total number of participants where (N)=125

Age	8-11 53% (66)	12-15 35% (44)	16-25 12% (15)
Gender	Female 60% (75)	Male 40% (50)	
Country of birth	UK 84% (105)	Lebanon 12% (15)	Other 6% (5)
Return to Lebanon at least once a year	Agree 91% (114)	Disagree 1% (1)	Nor Agree Nor Disagree 8% (10)
Both Parents of Lebanese origin	Yes 89% (111)	No 11% (14)	0% (0)
Regular Participation in Religion (at least 1 to 2 times a month)	Agree 93% (116)	Disagree 3% (4)	Nor agree nor disagree 4% (5)
First language learnt at home	90% Lebanese Arabic (LA) (112)	6% English (8)	4% Other (5)

The table above demonstrates that the predominant majority of children (84% or 104 children) were born in the UK, 12% (15) born in the Lebanon, and 6% (7) born in countries outside the UK and the Lebanon namely Syria, United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Qatar. 88% (or 110) are

under the age of 16 and only 12% (15) are aged 16 or over. As such, most child participants are school-aged children who still live at home with their parents. The age variable will be used in the interviews to explore its relationship with children's linguistic behaviour and preferences. Fishman (1968) notes that younger members of a linguistic minority are more disposed to linguistic and cultural shift than older ones, and Baker (1992) contends that age can affect, both directly and indirectly, attitudes to language learning and language use.

An overwhelming majority of child participants (91% or 114) claim to visit Lebanon at least once a year, which offers a clear indication of an enduring connection with the family's country of origin. It also signals that these families are likely to be of medium to high socio-economic status, as frequent travelling to Lebanon is expensive.

As shown above, for 89% (111) both parents are Lebanese, whereas 11% (14) claim to have at least one non-Lebanese parent. The high percentage of endogamy may possibly justify why 90% (113) of respondents state that LA is the first language they learned at home, with only 6% (7) claiming to have learned English first. These figures are important, as a high rate of endogamy and the learning of the HL natively at home, are believed to contribute among other factors to HLM inter-generationally (Pauwels, 2005). Clyne (1982) points in his study of Anglo-Dutch marriages in Australia, that shift towards English among second-generation children reaches circa 99%. Intergenerational transmission of the HL in mixed marriages becomes more challenging. Additionally, in the immigrant context, the domain of HL use is considered to influence its maintenance or shift (Clyne & Kipp, 1999; Clyne & Kipp, 2006; Clyne, 2003). Fishman (2001a) argues that the 'home' environment is the most critical locus for the transmission and maintenance of the HL and culture. Once HL use at home ceases, all other domains are rendered particularly vulnerable (Fishman, 2000a).

The table also reveals that 93% of participants (or 92 participants) participate at least once or twice a month in religious rituals with only 3% don't. Religion

appears to occupy an important role in participants' lives regardless of the denomination they belong to. This data will be revisited when examining respondents' self-perceived identities, and the relationship between religious identity and respondents' language use and preferences (chapter 6).

5.2.2 Description of parents' backgrounds

The first ten questions of the parent questionnaire focused on their personal background, socio-economic status, returns to the country of origin, level of participation in religious rituals, and about their children's attendance of Arabic complementary schools in London. These characteristics evidently impact parents' (and their children's) linguistic behaviour, attitudes and identity practices.

Table 5.2 Parents' backgrounds

The numbers between brackets in the table below refer to the number of participants. These are also shown as a percentage of the total number of participants where (N)=85

Age	20-30 4% (3)	31-40 39% (33)	41-50 46% (39)	51-60 11% (9)	61-70 0% (0)	Over 70 0% (0)
Gender	Female 89% (76)	Male 11% (9)				
Country of birth	Lebanon 88% (75)	UK 2% (2)	Other 10% (8)			

Years of residency in the UK	0-5 years 3% (2)	6-11 years 12% (10)	11-15 years 29% (25)	16 and over 56% (48)		
Highest Educational level	Primary school 0% (0)	Senior school 7% (6)	College degree/ Apprenticeship 23% (20)	Bachelor's University degree 62% (52)	Master's/ PhD University degree 8% (7)	
Profession	Homemakers 30% (26)	Full-time employee 18% (15)	Business owner 14% (12)	Professional 19% (16)	Part-time Self-employed 18% (15)	Trade industry 1% (1)
Return to Lebanon at least once a year	Agree strongly 63% (54)	Agree mostly 23% (19)	Neither agree nor disagree 8% (7)	Disagree mostly 1% (1)	Disagree strongly 5% (4)	
Participation in religious rituals once or twice a month	Agree strongly 51% (43)	Agree Mostly 24% (21)	Neither agree nor disagree 12% (10)	Disagree mostly 6% (5)	Disagree strongly 7% (6)	

Is the family's social network mainly Lebanese	Agree strongly 54% (46)	Agree Mostly 25% (21)	Nor agree nor disagree 13% (11)	Disagree mostly 5% (4)	Disagree strongly 3% (3)	
I send my children to Lebanese complementary school to learn MSA and socialise with other Lebanese peers their age	Agree strongly 65% (55)	Agree Mostly 14% (12)	Nor agree nor disagree 4% (3)	Disagree mostly 3% (3)	Disagree strongly 14% (12)	

Table 5.2 shows that 89% of parents (76) are female and 11% (9) male. Lebanese mothers were more responsive than fathers to my questionnaire, and this may reflect the more involved role of Lebanese mothers in their children's upbringing. They were hence more able to answer the types of questions pertaining to FLPs and children's language behaviour. Equally, as revealed in the questionnaire, Lebanese fathers are the principal breadwinners in all the families surveyed and hence, had less time than mothers to take part in this study.

88% of respondents (75) were born in the Lebanon with only 2% (2) born in the UK and 10% (8) born in other countries including Syria, United Arab Emirates, Palestine and Iraq. These figures suggest that LA is the native language of most parent respondents. The longer time respondents spent in

their country of origin, the more resistant to language and cultural shift they are likely to be.

70% (59) of Lebanese parents hold a University degree or above, and 23% (20) have an apprenticeship qualification or college degree. The educational attainment of respondents is reflected in the high rate of employment and the type of professions occupied by these respondents. 70% (59) of total respondents are in employment with 30% (25) being homemakers rearing their children. This higher percentage of working mothers reflects the modern nature of Lebanese society where women are expected to engage in all sorts of employment professions. This is further confirmed by the fact that majority participants claim to hold white-collar positions.

High educational attainment coupled with a high employment rate suggests that the socio-economic status of Lebanese parents is relatively raised. This is confirmed by the interviews conducted with parents who personally describe their socio-economic status as being above average, and by the researcher's observations that took place at some of the families' homes. Unlike other Arabic-speaking communities in the UK whose poor social mobility within the host community is believed to lead to their social marginalisation and shift towards English (Jamai, 2008; Ferguson, 2013), the Lebanese community seems to take pride in its ethnic heritage and achievements in the host country. This could possibly be a motivating reason for intergenerational transmission of the HL and culture, and integration into British society.

An overwhelming majority of respondents (85% or 73) have been in the UK for many years, with a minimum residency of 11 years. Only 3% (2) are relatively newcomers, living in the UK for less than 5 years. Length of residency in the host society is another important factor argued to impact language use and maintenance of the HL. Length of time in the UK, coupled with the socio-economic figures mentioned earlier, gives an impression of most Lebanese parents having adapted and integrated into British society. However these families maintain a very strong emotional attachment to their

country of origin, with 86% (73) claiming to return back to Lebanon at least once a year. Notwithstanding their integration into the host society, these families seem to have sustained their relationship with Lebanon and extended family members.

Religion is a core value for Lebanese parents living in London. 75% (64) state that they participate as a family in religious practices and rituals at least once or twice a month. This confirms the children's responses with 93% (116) claiming the same. The relationship between religious identity and language use will be further examined in this study (chapter 6) to better understand the impact it may have on attitudes towards Arabic and its maintenance among second-generation Lebanese children.

Another factor thought to influence language attitude and HLM is the process of language socialisation defined as 'an interactional display (covert or overt) to a novice of expected ways of thinking, feeling and acting (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986: 2). Hence, through language socialisation novices acquire appropriate language use and socio-cultural knowledge. This paradigm views both linguistic and socio-cultural acquisition as inseparable. To this end, parents were asked to state their opinions with regard to the family's social networks. 79% (67) claim to socialise mainly with other Lebanese families in comparison with 8% (7) who do not. The high percentage rate of mainly Lebanese networks may suggest that these parents form a closely-knit, high-density group (Milroy, 1987a) whose members share the same language, socio-cultural norms and expectations. This determinant will be further examined when analysing the possible impact that the social networks may have on identity, HLM or LS.

Finally, a majority of 79% (67) of respondents send their children to Lebanese complementary schools in London to learn Arabic literacy (MSA) and develop their social networks with Lebanese peers, and strengthen their ties with the Lebanese community and culture. This data suggests that most Lebanese parents value Arabic learning for their children, and make efforts to socialise their children, through the medium of Lebanese community

schools, into Lebanese language and culture. 17% (15) do not send their children to Lebanese complementary school either because they are not interested in teaching Arabic literacy (MSA) to their children, or because they do not believe in the effectiveness of Lebanese complementary schools.

5.2.3 Profiles of the families observed

Although my intention was to observe Lebanese families from diverse socio-economic, religious, and educational backgrounds to provide a more accurate and comprehensive picture of Lebanese immigrant families in London, I secured agreement from a rather narrower segment of the population. Given this, the results should be interpreted in context and not generalized to all Lebanese immigrants. All families and participants have been assigned pseudonyms in this study to ensure anonymity.

Family 1: The Khayr family

The father Amer is of Lebanese origin, educated in Lebanon up to senior school and then moved to the UK in 1984 to study engineering. After training and working as an engineer for few years, he decides to set up his own company in London. He returned in 1998 to Lebanon to marry his wife with whom he has been living in the UK for nearly 20 years. Together they have two boys Mario (16 years) and Peter (15), and a girl called Maria (11 years old). The family benefits from a good socio-economic status. Although both parents are fluent speakers of English, LA is the preferred language used at home in communication between partners, with children, family members and when in the company of other Lebanese friends. The parents' emotional attachment to the homeland, and their 'dream' to return back to Lebanon to spend quality time with their beloved ones, once their children are all grown up and no longer need support, is a major factor in their maintenance of LA at home. The family returns to Lebanon at least once a year, and grandparents (paternal and maternal) visit the family in the UK every year, staying two to three months, to spend time with their grandchildren. During my home visits, I noted that grandparents spoke in LA with their grandchildren all the time and engaged in various activities with them (such

as cooking, story telling, singing, watching LA programmes on TV and exchanging opinions about current affairs). These social interactions in LA provided the children with increased opportunities to be socialised into LA and Lebanese culture. Developing proficiency in LA is deemed necessary and is linked to an 'authentic' Lebanese identity. The parents in this family also value MSA and are keen to transmit it to their children given its perceived instrumental value. Arabic, in its duality, has a core value (Smolicz, 1981) and its inter-generational transmission is seen vital.

The mother Youmna was born and educated in Lebanon. She holds a postgraduate University degree in linguistics and speaks five languages - Lebanese Arabic (LA), Fusha Arabic (MSA), French, English and Italian. She moved to the UK after marrying her husband in 1998, and settled in London because of her husband's work and the wide availability of schools and amenities in the area. All three children were born in London. The mother works part-time and seems to be the decision-maker with regards to her children's education and social activities. At home, I noted that the mother spoke LA with her children most of the time, and used English occasionally, mainly when she needed to explain important LA terms or reinforce key ideas, to ensure that the children had fully grasped them. Both parents repeatedly remind their children to use LA at home, as part of the FLP adopted to develop children's proficiency in LA, and promote the maintenance of LA, Lebanese culture and ethnic identity.

The parents do not seem to be devout Christian practitioners, who take part on a weekly basis in religious ceremonies and celebrations. The mother admits that when her children were younger, she used to make more effort to take them to the Lebanese church every Sunday, to mix with similar-aged Lebanese children, and learn more about the Christian values and traditions. Nevertheless, through discussions with parents and grandparents, it became apparent that Christian beliefs remain highly valued in this family and religion has a core value. It plays a vital role in their national and cultural identity in the diaspora. On important days in the Christian calendar, such as Christmas day, Good Friday and Easter Sunday, the entire family attends Mass at the

Lebanese church in London, and celebrates afterwards with other Lebanese families. Children do not seem to value religious practices as their parents do, but rather enjoy the social aspect of meeting and mixing with Lebanese peers before and after the religious rituals.

English appears to be the most dominant and preferred language in communication at home among siblings. It is used more often than LA, and children are exposed to it much more than LA, through the proliferation of English mass media, at school, in the community, and with peers. Even when communicating with Lebanese peers at home, in the neighbourhood, and in the religious domain children often speak English amongst themselves, except when they need to distance themselves from other non-Lebanese friends, or make a specific ethnic or cultural reference. LA appears to be skilfully used by Lebanese children as an 'secret code', whenever they need to signal disapproval or distance themselves from other non Arabic-speakers, or whenever they want to show group solidarity and cohesion with their Lebanese peers. In communication with parents and grandparents, children use LA most of the time but code-switch to English when discussing issues specific to British life or need to explain specific terms. I also noted that parents' proficiency in English did not affect children's use of LA in this family. LA appears to have a functional role in the home domain, and children respect this demarcation between English and LA for family communication.

In terms of MSA literacy development, children have been attending Arabic complementary classes since the age of four. Mario sat the Arabic GCSE exams at the age of 15, and successfully scored 'A*'. Peter (15 years) is in the process of sitting his Arabic GCSE exams. However, the mother details her great disappointment in the educational system of the UK, which she criticises as 'lacking support for HL speakers'. She explains how her son's English school failed to support his Arabic learning at school. She adds that schools in the UK do not value Arabic the same way they do other European languages such as French, German and Spanish.

Despite the wide proliferation of Lebanese and Arabic satellite channels, the family demonstrates a preference for English in the domain of media use. During my visits, family members were watching TV programmes in English together, namely the 'Apprentice' and 'Britain's got talent'. However, when grandparents from Lebanon were present, I noted that Lebanese TV channels were switched on, and all family members watched Lebanese entertainment programmes together.

I also noted that the Khayr family socialise mainly with other Lebanese families over the weekends, and during school breaks. On two occasions, I was invited for lunch to celebrate one of the children's birthdays and Maria's Holy Communion. Most guests were Lebanese families, with similar age-group children living in London, and who shared similar socio-cultural values. When questioned about their motivations to socialise with Lebanese families, the parents explained that although they are well integrated into British society, and occasionally participated in social activities with non-Lebanese speakers, the HL and cultural values remain the main factors for their preference to socialise with other Lebanese families. Dense networks of Lebanese, and the proximity of families living close to each other, seem to favour the maintenance of LA and reinforce their ethno-cultural identity. The parents appear very strongly attached to their Lebanese heritage. They value their LA, culture, and traditions and lead a typical Lebanese lifestyle. This was very evident to me, as I could clearly detect upon entering the family home, the beautiful display of paintings depicting Lebanese iconic sites such as the famous Statue of the Virgin Mary of Harissa known as 'Our Lady of Lebanon' (an international pilgrimage site visited by Christians and Muslims), and another painting of the 'Old Beirut' prior to its reconstruction after the Civil war. Additionally, throughout my visits, I could hear the well-known songs of Fayrouz, a celebrated Lebanese singer, playing in the kitchen. The food prepared for family mealtimes was equally a culinary testimony of authentic Lebanese cuisine made of an assortment of dishes. Lebanese coffee was always freshly presented to me upon arrival, a traditional gesture of Lebanese hospitality.

Children also value their Lebanese identity, but seem more open than their parents to adopt a fluid identity, which varies along a continuum of 'Lebanese-British'. Maria, the youngest child, explains that she feels totally Lebanese amongst her friends and families in Lebanon, but 'more Lebanese than British' among her British friends in the UK. The boys describe themselves as more 'British than Lebanese' among British friends, but more Lebanese in Lebanon. On a number of occasions, I saw the boys playing video games at home with their friends from the mainstream school. Although they spoke English with them, Mario and Peter spoke LA with their sister and mother. They seemed confident to embrace both Lebanese and British identities, and shift between the two as required. It seems that the family's emotional attachment to Lebanon and family members there strengthens their Lebanese identity in the diaspora. Parents and children take 'pride' in their Lebanese identity, which acts as a driving force for the maintenance of their linguistic and ethno-cultural heritages. The motivation to maintain the HL and ethnic identity relates to the concepts of 'pride' and 'profit' advanced by Duchêne and Heller (2012). 'Pride' associates linguistic and cultural heritage with identity and maintenance, while 'profit' views these as a source of economic capital.

Family 2: The Khoury family

The father George was born in Lebanon to a Christian family. He migrated to the UK in 1990, and settled in London to stay with other Lebanese friends who had migrated few years before him. George has a business degree. He learned French and English at school, but considers himself to be more fluent in English than French. LA is indisputably his first language, which he feels most comfortable using with family and friends. George is self-employed and his family's financial situation appears to be 'above average'. In 2000, he returned to Lebanon to marry his Lebanese wife Souha who is highly educated and a fluent speaker of Arabic, French and English. She works part-time as a linguist in London, and they have three daughters: Nida (aged 13), Hala (11 years) and Heba (8 years). The family returns to Lebanon once a year for the entire summer staying with their families. The

Lebanese grandparents also visit the family in London every year to spend valuable time with their grandchildren.

The family mostly speaks LA at home in interactions between parents, with children, and other family members. Both parents value LA, and are motivated to maintain it inter-generationally. They clearly stated this, explaining that children who speak LA have more meaningful conversations and deeper connections with their grandparents and other family members in Lebanon, and can better maintain their ethnic and cultural identities in the diaspora. Additionally, the mother is committed to develop her children's literacy skills in MSA. She sends her three children to a Lebanese School in London on Saturday, and invests time and effort helping her children with their Arabic homework. Moreover, the mother uses her own Arabic teaching resources at home to develop her children's Arabic literacy skills, because she is disappointed by the curriculum and teaching methods adopted at her children's complementary school. She acknowledges that learning Arabic in the UK is very challenging for her and her children. She has weekly battles with her children about attending Lebanese school and doing their Arabic homework. However, she is convinced that in the long term, children will benefit enormously academically, economically and socially from acquiring MSA. The parents see bilingual and biliteracy development in Arabic and English as sources of linguistic capital, in line with Bourdieu (1991) and Duchêne & Heller's (2012) notion of 'pride' and 'profit'. English is seen as an important linguistic asset for both parents and children to integrate into British society, and for academic and career purposes. MSA is regarded an important linguistic resource which can offer academic and career advantages, whilst LA is deemed essential to maintain strong family bonds and attachment to the homeland. It is also a critical marker of ethno-cultural identity.

As for children's language use at home with one another, I noted that LA was used most of the time, with occasional use of English. However, it was clear that the mother made considerable efforts to regulate her children's language use, by continuously asking them to speak LA and reprimanding their use of

English. The mother's FLP was clear in her repetition of the children's English sentences in LA and positive 'praising' for their use of LA. During my visits, children confidently conducted meaningful conversations in LA with me, and expressed their attitudes towards LA, MSA, and English, and towards MSA teaching at the complementary school in London. They also spoke LA with their parents most of the time, and code-switched occasionally to English mainly when seeking help with their schoolwork. It was evident that the Khoury children had very positive attitudes towards LA and were very attached to Lebanon, and their ethno-cultural identity.

As part of the FLP, the mother tried to expose her children to Lebanese and Arabic TV programmes. On three visits to the family, I noted that children were watching Lebanese entertainment programmes on TV whilst I was talking to their mother in the kitchen, and ran in and out of the kitchen to update her with information about the programme. Additionally, the mother played Lebanese and Arabic music in the kitchen, to increase her children's attachment to LA. Children were also observed on a number of occasions, using communication technologies to talk to their grandmother in Lebanon, and telling her about their school day. The affordability and availability of online applications such as Skype, FaceTime and WhatsApp increase children's exposure to LA, strengthen the emotional bonds with their family members in Lebanon, and improve their proficiency in LA. Children were also seen on many occasions sending text messages to Lebanese family members and friends, using Romanised Arabic (RA). This online platform of communication seems to have expanded the domains of use of LA, and increased children's use of LA.

I noted that the Khoury family socialised mainly with other Lebanese families who had children of similar age. Nevertheless, the mother appeared to be engaged with members of British society, and to take responsibility in humanitarian activities. On one occasion, the mother organised a Macmillan charity event. I noted that some of the invitees were non-Lebanese mothers with whom she seemed well acquainted. On another occasion, Souha organised a coffee morning in her house to raise money for the Syrian

refugees in Lebanon. A big number of mothers from the local school and gym club attended. Souha seemed comfortable mixing with all her Lebanese and non-Lebanese guests. She spoke both LA and English, served Lebanese sweets and desserts, and Lebanese coffee and English tea. This mixture of ethnic and non-ethnic social networks suggests that the family is positively integrated into British life, whilst remaining loyal to their ethno-cultural identity. Parents seemed keen to keep their children exposed to LA and Lebanese socio-cultural and religious values, which were described as distant from those of the West. As practising Christians, parents attended weekly Masses in the Lebanese Church in London, and participated regularly in most religious celebrations. In so doing, parents told me that they were hoping to set a good example for their children to follow, so that they would appreciate their Christian values and transmit them in turn to their own children. Children also seemed to value their participation in religious practices, and viewed religion as an opportunity to socialise with other members who shared similar religious values, and ethno-cultural experiences in the diaspora. This became particularly manifest when Hala shared her excitement with me about her preparations for the Holy Communion at the Lebanese church, and proudly recited in MSA her prayers and hymns. The entire family seemed to take great pride in their religious practices. The display of religious ornaments in reception rooms of the house were another clear indication of the important role religion played in the lives of the Khoury family. The prayers recited by the entire family before mealtime also demonstrated the salience of the religious identity.

Family 3: The Mohsen Family

Salim (the father) was born in Lebanon to a Muslim family. He migrated to the UK in 1992 as a result of the devastating Lebanese war, and settled in London because some Lebanese acquaintances had offered him a job at their Lebanese restaurant. Salim returned back to Lebanon once he had become a full British citizen and married his wife Fadia. They have two boys and a girl: Ali (16), Mustafa (14) and Aysha (10). The father completed senior school education in Lebanon, but did not have the opportunity to pursue

tertiary studies. The father owns a shop in London, and the family's financial situation can be described as 'average'. As a family, they return every year to visit their parents and relatives in their Lebanese village. Salim longs to settle permanently in Lebanon once his youngest child has completed his school education in the UK, should the political and financial situation in Lebanon allow it. The father describes himself as a keen Muslim who proudly values his religious identity.

Fadia (the wife) is a university graduate and holds a degree in Arabic literature. She is very proud of her ethnic and religious heritages, and describes herself as a devoted Lebanese Muslim, who leads a typical Lebanese lifestyle at home. Fadia wears the hijab, and as a family, they attend prayers every Friday in the Lebanese Mosque, pray daily, and observe all their religious obligations, namely during the holy month of Ramadan when the parents and the older brother fast, pray and endeavour to do acts of Goodness. The mother is not engaged in any paid work, focussing on her children's upbringing and education. She seems aware of the pressures ethnic families face in the diaspora to transmit their language, culture and religion. She is determined to transmit Arabic in its duality to her children and develop their sense of ethnic and religious identity. On several occasions, I noted that the mother was helping her daughter Aysha with her Arabic literacy homework, and insisting on completing it to a very high standard. It was very clear that Arabic played an important role in the Mohsen family and that the mother made considerable efforts, time, and resources to transmit it to her children and improve their literacy skills. Additionally, Fadia sends her children to a Lebanese School in London every Saturday, to learn Arabic and Quranic studies. She seemed very pleased with the school's curriculum and teaching methods, and described her children's abilities in Arabic literacy to be excellent. Ali (16 years) sat the Arabic GCSE at the age of 14, and was awarded an A*. Mustafa (14 years) was preparing to sit for his Arabic GCSE exams, and Aysha (10) seemed even more devoted to Arabic learning than her brothers. She was very keen to read to me a chapter from her favourite book {*al-amīr al-saghīr*} The Little Prince. She confidently answered some comprehension questions I had

asked her about the passage. She also expressed her wish to study languages at university and to work in a global organisation.

As part of the FLP adopted in the Mohsen family, parents speak primarily LA with each other and with their children. On two occasions, I noted that the father was watching Arabic news on the Lebanese TV channel Al-Manar, and discussing his political views about the Syrian war and its impacts on Lebanon with his children, particularly his 16-year-old son Ali, who seemed very knowledgeable about Lebanese politics and the political situation in the Arab world. Ali tried to explain to me in LA the situation in his Lebanese village, which is overcrowded with thousands of Syrian refugees, most of whom were young children begging on the streets. Ali had an excellent command of LA and was CS to MSA when explaining key political terms to me. On other occasions, I saw the entire family watching together Lebanese entertainment programmes, listening to Lebanese and Arabic music, and engaging in reading suras and verses from the holy Quran. Additionally, the mother is also involved in literacy activities with her children. She reads stories to her daughter in MSA, and encourages her boys to read Arabic newspapers and books. Parents in this family seem aware of the hegemonic forces of English, and of the assimilative ideologies that place value on English as a global language, whilst devaluing other HLs. Yet, they value their ethno-linguistic and religious identities and are motivated to maintain the transmission of Arabic in its duality for their children. The parents refuse to speak English at home with their children, and insist on keeping the home environment as Arabic-dominated. They consider proficiency in LA necessary to promote a true sense of Lebanese identity. LA has a core value (Smolicz, 1981) that is associated with more cohesive and closer relationships with grandparents and family members in Lebanon, and emotional attachment to Lebanese roots and culture, similar to Tannenbaum's (2012; 2005) findings. The influence of Internet and communication technologies, namely Skype and Viber applications, also seem to play a crucial role in increasing children's use of LA, as well as strengthening the bonds with family members and relatives in Lebanon.

The children speak LA with their parents and amongst themselves most of the time, although some switching to English takes place occasionally, notably when discussing issues specific to life in Britain. However, when discussing religious issues related to the Quran, the children converge to their parents' language choice and switch between MSA with LA. MSA seems to have a core value for all family members. It is associated with religious identity and a sense of 'shared Arabness' (Al-Sahafi, 2018). As devout Muslims, parents and children describe themselves as honoured and blessed to have Arabic as their native language, and are strongly motivated to maintain it (in its dual varieties) inter-generationally for both integrative and instrumental reasons.

In terms of the family's social networking, parents appear to socialise with other Lebanese families, regardless of their religious affiliation. It is evident that parents felt more comfortable socialising with Lebanese and Arab families than with non-Arab ones, because of the shared Arabic language and cultural values. As such, parents seem to be 'invested' (Norton's (2013) construct of investment) in developing their children's social networks of Lebanese and Arabs, and in helping them preserve their HL and culture and contest the strong forces of assimilation in the host society. On one occasion when I was invited for lunch at the family's home to celebrate Mustafa's success in his GCSE exams, I noted that all the invitees were Lebanese parents and children who spoke LA with each other. Occasionally, children code-switched to English but quickly resumed their conversations in LA. The food was typically Lebanese, the writing on the cake was in MSA – {*mabrūk*} congratulations, and Lebanese music was playing loudly in the garden. The atmosphere was entirely Lebanese. It appears that this family is focussed on maintaining close ties with their ethnic and religious social networks and thereby distances itself from non-Arabs, and thus has not entirely integrated into British life. It is plausible that this separatist approach is deemed key to preserving the family's ethno-cultural and religious identities.

5.3 Patterns of language use in various domains

Language learning, maintenance and shift in immigrant communities are significantly influenced by patterns of language use with various interlocutors and in different domains (Holmes, 2013; Pavlenko, 2006; Fishman, 1972; 2000a; Yagmur, 2009). I will explore such patterns among Lebanese immigrant families in London in the following sections and analyse what they reveal about their socio-linguistic situation and its relationship to the dominant society. Table 5.3 provides a detailed description of all participants (parents, children and schoolteachers) who took part in the interviews, focus group discussions and observations.

Table 5.3 Profile of all participants

Name	Gender	Age	Research Method	Date	Place
Souha (wife of George)	F	30-45	FG&Obs	04/11/16	FG: A participants' home Obs: Home
				04/11/16	
				11/11/16	
				18/11/16	
				19/11/16:FG	
				25/11/16	
				02/12/16	
				09/12/16	
				16/12/16	
				25/12/16	
				06/01/17	
				13/01/17	
				20/01/17	
				27/01/17	
				03/02/17	
				10/02/17	
				17/02/17	
George (husband of Souha)	M	45-65	Obs	04/11/16	Home
				04/11/16	
				11/11/16	
				18/11/16	
				25/11/16	
				02/12/17	

				09/12/17 16/12/17 25/12/17 06/01/17 13/01/17 20/01/17 27/01/17 03/02/17 10/02/17 17/02/17	
Nida	F	13	Obs	04/11/16 04/11/16 11/11/16 18/11/16 25/11/16 02/12/16 09/12/16 16/12/16 25/12/16 06/01/17 13/01/17 20/01/17 27/01/17 03/02/17 10/02/17 17/02/17	Home
Hala	F	11	Obs	04/11/16 04/11/16 11/11/16 18/11/16 25/11/16 02/12/16 09/12/16 16/12/16 25/12/16 06/01/17 13/01/17 20/01/17 27/01/17 03/02/17 10/02/17 17/02/17	Home
Heba	F	8	Obs	04/11/16	Home

				04/11/16 11/11/16 18/11/16 25/11/16 02/12/16 09/12/16 16/12/16 25/12/16 06/01/17 13/01/17 20/01/17 27/01/17 03/02/17 10/02/17 17/02/17	
Maryam (wife of Said)	F	45-65	FG& Ind. Int	FG: 19/11/16 Ind.Int: 18/12/16 05/03/17	FG: At a participants' home Ind.Int: Home
Said (husband of Maryam)	M	45-65	Ind.Int	18/12/16 05/03/17	Home
Jad	M	14	Ind.Int	14/01/17 28/01/18	Local park
Faten	F	16	Ind.Int	11/11/16 27/11/16	Coffee shop
Amal	F	30-45	FG	19/11/16	At a participant's home
Yasmina	F	16	Ind.Int	25/11/16 10/12/16	Coffee shop
Amani	F	30-45	FG	19/11/16	At a participant's home
Roula	F	12	Ind.Int	11/11/16 27/11/16	Local Park
Najwa	F	30-45	FG	19/11/16	At a participant's home

	Reem	F	15	Ind.Int	18/11/16 08/01/17	Home
Lili		F	30-45	FG	19/11/16	At a participant's home
	Joseph	M	16	Ind.Int	21/01/17 04/02/17	Local park
Mina (wife of Tony)		F	30-45	Ind.Int	11/11/16 27/12/16 04/02/17	Home
Tony (husband of Mina)		M	45-65	Ind.Int	11/11/16 27/12/16 04/02/17	Home
Dima		F	30-45	FG	03/12/16	Arabic School Hall
	Omar	M	14	Ind.Int	21/01/17 04/02/17	Home
Lana		F	30-45	FG	03/12/16	Arabic School Hall
	Talal	M	15	Ind.Int	28/01/17 11/02/17	Arabic School Hall
Zaynab		F	30-45	FG		Arabic School Hall
	Ahmad	M	13	Ind.Int	16/12/16 08/01/17	Home
Samar		F	30-45	FG	03/12/16	Arabic School Hall
	Tala	F	14	Ind.Int	12/11/16 03/12/16	Arabic School Hall
Johnny		M	45-65	Ind.Int.	09/12/16 09/01/17	Coffee shop

	Liyana	F	15	Ind. Int.	25/11/16 10/12/16	Coffee Shop
	Rania	F	30-45	FG	03/12/16	Arabic School Hall
	Yumna	F	30-45	FG&Obs	FG:03/12/16Obs: 05/11/16 12/11/16 19/11/16 26/11/16 03/12/16 10/12/16 17/12/16 23/12/16 07/01/17 14/01/17 21/01/17 28/01/17 04/02/17 11/02/17 18/02/17	Arabic School Hall
	Amer	M	45-65	Obs	05/11/16 12/11/16 19/11/16 26/11/16 03/12/16 10/12/16 17/12/16 23/12/16 07/01/17 14/01/17 21/01/17 28/01/17 04/02/17 11/02/17 18/02/17	Home

Mario	M	16	Obs	05/11/16 12/11/16 19/11/16 26/11/16 03/12/16 10/12/16 17/12/16 23/12/16 07/01/17 14/01/17 21/01/17 28/01/17 04/02/17 11/02/17 18/02/17	Home
Peter	M	15	Obs	05/11/16 12/11/16 19/11/16 26/11/16 03/12/16 10/12/16 17/12/16 23/12/16 07/01/17 14/01/17 21/01/17 28/01/17 04/02/17 11/02/17 18/02/17	Home
Maria	F	11	Obs	05/11/16 12/11/16 19/11/16 26/11/16 03/12/16 10/12/16 17/12/16 23/12/16 07/01/17 14/01/17 21/01/17	Home

				28/01/17 04/02/17 11/02/17 18/02/17	
Fadia	F	30-45	FG&Obs	FG:10/12/16 Obs: 06/11/16 13/11/16 20/11/16 27/11/16 04/12/16 11/12/16 18/12/16 27/12/16 08/01/17 15/01/17 22/01/17 29/01/17 05/02/17 12/02/17 19/02/17	Arabic School Hall
Salim	M	45-65	Obs	06/11/16 13/11/16 20/11/16 27/11/16 04/12/16 11/12/16 18/12/16 27/12/16 08/01/17 15/01/17 22/01/17 29/01/17 05/02/17 12/02/17 19/02/17	Home

Ali	M	16	Ind.Int &Obs	06/11/16 13/11/16 20/11/16 27/11/16 04/12/16 11/12/16 18/12/16 27/12/16 08/01/17 15/01/17 22/01/17 29/01/17 05/02/17 12/02/17 19/02/17	Home
Mustafa	M	14	Obs	06/11/16 13/11/16 20/11/16 27/11/16 04/12/16 11/12/16 18/12/16 27/12/16 08/01/17 15/01/17 22/01/17 29/01/17 05/02/17 12/02/17 19/02/17	Home
Aysha	F	10	Ind.Int& Obs	06/11/16 13/11/16 20/11/16 27/11/16 04/12/16 11/12/16 18/12/16	Home

					27/12/16 08/01/17 15/01/17 22/01/17 29/01/17 05/02/17 12/02/17 19/02/17	
Muneera		F	45-65	FG	10/12/16	Arabic School Hall
Maha		F	45-65	FG	10/12/16	Arabic School Hall
	Samir	M	15	Ind.Int.	14/01/17 28/01/17	Local Park
Souhad		F	30-45	FG	10/12/16	Arabic School Hall
	Rayyan	M	10	Ind.Int.	16/12/16 08/01/17	Home
Rana		F	30-45	FG	10/12/16	Arabic School Hall
Marina		F	45-65	FG	10/12/16	Arabic School Hall
Teresa (Arabic schoolteacher)		F	45-65	Ind.Int	22/01/17 12/02/17	Arabic School
Souraya (Arabic schoolteacher)		F	45-65	Ind.Int	04/02/17 25/02/18	Arabic School

Legend

Children are directly indented below their parent(s)

FG: focus group

Ind. Int: Individual interview

Obs: observation

F: Female

M: Male

5.3.1 Children's patterns of language use in the home domain

The data concerning patterns of language use and language preferences at home in interaction between parents and children, between siblings, between extended family members and children, and when communicating with other Lebanese friends originated from the children's questionnaires, and from the interviews conducted with parents and their children. Observation data is more extended and reveal language use by children at home, in the neighbourhood, friendship, school and religious domains.

Table 5.4 Children's patterns of language at home with various interlocutors

N=125 (N is the number of respondents)	LA all the time	LA most of the time	Equally LA and English	English all the time	English most of the time	N/A
With mother	32% (40)	24% (30)	25% (31)	4% (5)	12% (15)	3% (4)
With father	33% (42)	23% (29)	25% (31)	1% (1)	17% (21)	1% (1)
With siblings	7% (9)	13% (16)	32% (40)	18% (22)	27% (34)	3% (4)
With extended family members	47% (59)	35% (44)	10% (12)	1% (1)	5% (6)	2% (3)
With Lebanese and Arabic- speaking friends	17% (21)	21% (26)	36% (45)	2% (2)	22% (28)	2% (3)

5.3.1.1 Preference for LA when communicating with parents and grandparents

Questionnaire data in table 5.4 indicates marked differences in the linguistic practices in the home domain. The language(s) chosen depend(s) on the

interlocutor's generation as well as the topic of conversation, and on the interlocutor's proficiency level in both English and LA. When interacting with parents, LA is reported to be most commonly used by children (56% or 70), with only a minority of 17% (21) claiming to use English more than LA. However, 25% of children (31) report using English and LA equally in conversation with parents.

In interactions at home with extended family members namely grandparents, 82% of respondents (102) claim that LA is the most preferred and most frequently used, compared with 6% (7) who claim to use English all or most of the time. Additionally, switching between English and LA does not seem to be a common practice, with only 11% (14) reporting using both languages equally. Overall, more children prefer to use LA in communication with their parents and extended family members, notably grandparents, as stated in the questionnaire.

The following interview and observational data substantiate the questionnaire findings and indicate that children use mostly LA at home in interactions with their parents, and most particularly with their grandparents, considered the custodians of the HL and culture. LA is associated with the Lebanese national identity, and children try to use it the majority of the time at home to increase their proficiency, and to preserve their Lebanese ethnic and cultural roots. Observations indicate that in families where parents adopt the use of LA-only at home as part of their FLP, children are motivated to use it to show respect to their parents, obey their rules, and avoid criticism. In other families, children seem motivated to use LA with their parents because of a personal desire to improve fluency in their HL, and their emotional connection with it. Equally, parents' (and grandparents') lack of proficiency in English can sometimes cause children to speak LA with them. During my visits to participants' homes, some grandparents asked their grandchildren to switch to the Arabic channels for them, because they could not understand some English TV programmes. On one occasion, a grandmother asked her grand daughter to explain the content of a medical letter written to her in English by her doctor. Children were proud to act as skilled interpreters and

language brokers (Orellana, 2009) for their grandparents, and thus keen to speak LA. Jad (14 year-old boy) explains that failure to speak LA with grandparents can be a genuine source of embarrassment and disapproval. Grandparents are seen as the main gatekeepers of Lebanese ethnic and cultural heritage, who strive to ensure successful transmission of this valuable heritage through the use of LA with grandchildren and other family members.

Jad (3): For sure I speak Arabic// I mean it is very rude and disrespectful to speak English with my grandparents, ... because they do not understand it very well, and also, .. They get upset if we do not speak Arabic with them//... We are Lebanese, ... so it is very rude not to speak Arabic at home among ourselves// ... my grandparents tell us that if we do not speak our language, we will forget it, and forget our Lebanese traditions and customs// ... This will make them extremely sad, and it is bad for all of us//

Ahmad (13 year-old boy) explains that he uses LA most of the time when addressing his parents, because it is associated with the family's national identity. He enjoys speaking LA at home as it offers a nurturing environment for his linguistic progress (for a complete transcription see appendix 9).

Ahmad (1): [...] my parents prefer me to speak Arabic, and also I like to speak Arabic too// ... At home I feel it's better for me to speak Arabic// ... I speak English at school all day// ... So when I come home, I love to speak Arabic, because it's my national language, and my parents', and my ancestors'// ... we are all Lebanese not English// ... If we don't speak our language, we lose it, .. And then, .. We lose everything Lebanese//

Yasmina (16 year-old girl) also uses LA most of the time (90%) when talking to her parents, because she believes that 'home' is the only place she can safely speak and practise LA, the native language of the entire family. Her parents have been speaking LA at home to her and her siblings since they were born. It feels natural and appropriate to have family conversations in LA. She adds that her parents are determined to reinforce the FLP of LA use at home, because they want their children to become confident bilinguals who can speak LA proficiently with friends and family members when they go to Lebanon. Yasmina associates LA with her ethnic and national identity, and

argues that as Lebanese abroad, they must preserve their HL in the diaspora the same way other ethnic communities in the UK maintain their own HLs.

Yasmina (2): [...] my parents prefer to speak Arabic at home, it is our native language//... They feel more comfortable and happier when they speak Arabic// ... they encourage use all the time to speak Arabic, ... so we can speak two languages fluently, ... and be able to speak Arabic fluently when we go back to Lebanon, and speak it easily with our cousins, and our grandparents, and our friends// ... We are Lebanese, we must speak Arabic fluently, the same way Chinese speak Chinese and English here//

Observations also confirm that the majority of children mostly speak LA at home with their parents but they code-switch between English and LA, notably when they need to explain to their parents particular ideas or expressions with which they are unfamiliar, or cannot express fluently, in LA. These facts are in line with those reported in the children's and parents' questionnaires and correspond with the findings of a study conducted by Yagmur (2009), who concludes that most of his respondents from Turkish background speak Turkish at home with their parents.

Jad explains that although he confidently speaks LA at home with his parents and they adopt a strict LA policy (given its ethno-cultural association), CS is inevitable at times with both his parents and siblings. Since English is the dominant language of the wider society, and it is used in most domains outside the home environment, it is natural to carry on using it at home alongside LA. He states that CS is often triggered by the topic of conversation - issues related to British lifestyle or English school - or when he struggles to find the appropriate words in LA.

Jad (3): I speak Arabic mostly//... Yes, I use English, but not all the time// ... My parents do not want us to speak English at home, and especially mum// ... She goes crazy if we spoke English at home//

I: So why do you switch to English when talking to your parents?

Jad: ... I am so used to using English outside the house// So I just carry on using it when I get home, unconsciously// ... and sometimes I do not find the exact word in Arabic, so I am forced to use the English word instead// ... Then I carry on in Arabic

I: What about when talking to your brother and sister what do you mostly use?

*Jad: We also speak Arabic, but sometimes we speak English, when we are talking about **English stuff**, such as the teachers at the **English school**, .. Or watching **English TV**, or doing **English homework**, .. Or when we have English friends playing with us at home// ... I mean anything related to English life//*

5.3.1.2 Preference for English in communication with siblings and peers

When interacting with siblings at home, 50% of children (69) report in the questionnaire that English is their preferred and most commonly used linguistic code, yet a significant 32% (40) report switching equally between English and LA with siblings, 7% (9) more than do so in interactions with parents. A minority of 20% (25) claims to use LA all the time or most of the time in interactions with siblings, demonstrating that they feel more comfortable speaking their HL than English at home.

In interactions with Lebanese friends and Arabic-speakers at home, LA is used more than English with 14% (17) more respondents using LA than English most or all of the time. This contrasts starkly with the interactions among siblings where English is 25% more used than LA most or all of the time. However, CS between English and LA is also reported to be a common linguistic behaviour in interaction with Lebanese and Arabic-speaking friends with 36% (45) claiming to do so. This implies that these respondents are bilingual speakers of both languages, albeit their varying degrees of proficiency in LA and English.

Observation and field notes also reveal that when siblings interact with each other at home, English is more frequently used than LA, with CS also a common linguistic practice. Children use English most of the time when they are interacting with their friends at school, and hence find it easier to carry on doing so when interacting with their peers at home, especially when not being directly observed by parents. Observation and field notes also suggest that older children (14-16 years) speak LA more consistently with their younger siblings, as they gain more confidence and develop their bilingual skills. They play an important source of socialisation for younger siblings,

and influence FLPs in favour of HL use and HLM. Ahmad (13 years, excerpt 1) and Yasmina (16 years, excerpt 2) explain:

Ahmad (1): ... I also speak Arabic with them (siblings), but sometimes I use some English// ... because it is easier for me to say some specific words in English// ... but if I know them in Arabic, I say them in Arabic, no problem at all//

Yasmina (2): I speak Arabic with them (siblings), but they answer me most of the time in English or half-half//

I: What do you mean half-half?

Yasmina: I mean, ... they start the sentence in Arabic and then, they switch to English unconsciously, ... may be because they are used to speak English all the time at school// ... it becomes easier to carry on speaking English at home with me// But also, may be, ... their Arabic is good but, .. May be not as good as mine [laugh] But with time I am sure it will improve//... Because the older they get, the better they become at speaking Arabic fluently//

5.3.2 Children's patterns of language use outside the home domain

Interlocutor's age influences children's language choice

The questionnaire shows that 22% of children (27) use English most of the time when interacting with Lebanese and Arabic-speaking friends, and 21% (26) use LA most of the time. 36% (45) code-switch between English and Arabic. These findings suggest that children are confident users of both LA and English, and that these languages may be used for different purposes. Interview and observation data also reveal that outside the home domain, such as in the neighbourhood, most children speak LA with Lebanese or Arabic-speakers from the older generation when visiting shops, restaurants, and commercial companies run by Lebanese or Arabic-speakers. Showing respect to, and kinship with, the more senior members of the community seems to be a key factor motivating children's use of the HL. During one visit to a Lebanese family, I noted that the children spoke LA to their mother's friend Imm-Salim throughout my stay. On a separate occasion, when I was visiting a Lebanese shop, I observed that many children spoke LA with the shop owner Abu-Hamid, an older man who took great pride in his Lebanese

origin. Children's use of the HL with other members of the community is not purely motivated by communicative needs, but is equally used 'as a symbol of social identification' to flag a shared Lebanese identity.

When addressing people from the younger generation, observational data suggests that children use mostly English with some CS to LA, notably when making ethnic and cultural references such as when referring to Lebanese ethnic products or using ritualistic expressions. Children either converge to the speaker's chosen language to express a common ethnic identity, or converge to English if they feel that the interlocutor is uncomfortable using LA, because of his/her limited fluency. At times, children use LA when talking to Lebanese peers or Arabic-speaking friends of similar age, mainly to affirm their Lebanese identity, show solidarity with other Arabic speakers, or distance themselves from other non-Arabic speakers. LA seems to be a 'secret language' Lebanese children use, when they want to exclude others from their in-group conversations and social networks. During my visit to a Lebanese school in London, I noted that most children spoke English in the playground with each other, but they code-switched to LA in the presence of a teacher or a parent, or when making specific cultural and religious references. Observations suggest that regardless of children's varying degrees of proficiency in LA, they use their multilingual repertoires as a natural linguistic behaviour.

The examples below demonstrate how children use their languages with different interlocutors, outside the home environment, and how CS can be triggered by the interlocutor's age, perceived identity, LA proficiency, and topic of conversation. In all interviews, respondents use the broader term of Arabic to imply LA, and Fusha to refer to MSA. Ahmad (13 years) explains that, although he prefers to use LA in communication with his siblings and other Lebanese friends at school, he mostly uses English to accommodate his friends' preferences. However, he often switches to LA when communicating with his Lebanese and other Arabic-speaking peers, notably when they need to distance themselves from 'others', or show solidarity among their group.

Ahmad (1): I speak English when we are playing with our friends but sometimes, .. I switch to Arabic// ... when I want to say something that I do not want others to understand, I use Arabic// ... It is like, .. Like as if it is our secret language we use at school among ourselves, and our Arab friends// ... We have our own secret language, others do not understand// it is so cool//

Ahmad explains that in the neighbourhood his language choice depends on the interlocutor's age. With older members of the community, he uses LA as a sign of respect and to flag his Lebanese identity, whereas with younger members he uses a mixture of English and LA, the latter when making reference to specific Lebanese foods or to ritualistic expressions.

Ahmad (1): If the shopkeeper is older than me, I speak Arabic// ... I guess it is more respectful, and also to show him that I am Lebanese like him// ... But if the person helping me is young, .. I speak mainly in English with some Arabic, .. Because he may not know a lot of Arabic like me [laugh]

I: What would you usually say in Arabic to a young person helping you?

*Ahmad: Names of Lebanese foods like, .. **Where can I find {hummus}** <chick peas> or, .. **Please I need two kilos of {kafta}** <special type of Lebanese meat minced with parsley, onion and spices> or, .. **Can I have one {man'ūshi bza'tar}** <a type of Lebanese bread baked with olive oil and thyme> or, ... **Hi {kifak}** <hello, how are you> or, ... **Ok {bshūfak}** <Ok I will see you>// I mean just simple words, every Lebanese person uses and understands//>*

Yasmina explains that she too is a confident speaker of both LA and English. However, she finds that CS is often the most natural linguistic behaviour among Lebanese friends her age.

Yasmina (2): I swear I am comfortable speaking both Arabic and English// ... it depends whom I am talking to// ... If I am talking to Lebanese friends who do not speak Arabic well, we all speak English together// ... But if I am talking to children who speak Arabic fluently, like my aunt Amal's children, we all speak Arabic// ... And Most of the time we use English and LA together// [laugh] like Lebanese do in Lebanon// ... this is our way of talking//

Observational data suggests that MSA is mostly used by children inside churches and mosques when praying, reciting religious hymns, performing religious rituals, or listening to sermons delivered by priests or sheikhs. However, the value of MSA for religious purposes seems to vary between Lebanese Muslim families and Lebanese Christian families (see 6.2.2). MSA occupies a formal and sacred role among Lebanese Muslims and is widely

used inside the Mosque, whereas among Lebanese Christians, MSA appears to hold a sentimental value for parents, because it is the language they have always used to perform their religious rituals. Moreover, CS between MSA and LA inside the church, and between the priest and members of the congregation appears to be a perfectly acceptable and appropriate linguistic behaviour. Outside places of worship, children use a mixture of LA and English between themselves and their friends, and mainly LA with parents and older family relatives and friends. Interviews also indicate similar findings as shown in the excerpts below:

Ahmad (1): Inside the mosque, when we are reciting the Holy Quran all together, .. I use the Fusha naturally// ... Arabic is the holy language of all Muslims// ... But outside the mosque, when I talk to my friends, .. I mostly speak the colloquial Arabic, and some English//

Yasmina explains that during the mass the priest and members of the congregation use both LA and MSA to perform religious rituals. Moreover, English subtitling of the entire mass is projected onto a big screen so that members with limited (or no) ability in MSA can participate in the service. In contrast with Ahmad's claims about the religious role of MSA, Yasmina describes how, for Lebanese Christians, the choice of Arabic as a language to perform religious practices is purely related to inter-generational language preference and not to any religious aspect.

Yasmina (2): During the mass, the priest prays in Fusha// We try to memorise the prayers, and the hymns in fusha like the {abānā il-lathī fil-samawāt} <Our father who aren't in heaven>, and {assalāmu 'alayki yā maryam} <Hail Mary>, and {ta'āla baynanā} <come among us>// ... But also the priest uses LA with us// ... like when he explains the sermon// ... and some hymns are in LA like {nshalla il-amḥa lli nzar'it bi'lūbna} <the seed that has been planted inside our hearts>// ... We use Arabic during mass, not because our Christian religion tells us to? No//... Not like Muslims// ... But because our parents prefer to use Arabic// ... They are used to praying in Arabic in Lebanon// ... So here we all pray in Arabic together//
I: And outside the church?

Yasmina: Outside the church, when we go to the church hall to gather on Sunday, I speak Arabic mostly with my friends and cousins// ... I feel more comfortable speaking Arabic with them// ... I love speaking my language// I feel comfortable speaking it with people who understand it// ... But frankly,

we all end up speaking English and LA together// So not only LA, or only English, .. It is a mixture of both// ... That is how we talk//

Yasmina's statement 'we end up speaking English and LA, ... a mixture of both together' points to her flexible and creative use of her multilingual repertoires with her peers to fulfil distinctive communicative needs. Such linguistic behaviour can be interpreted from the internal perspective of translanguaging (García & Wei, 2014; Otheguy et al., 2015; Vogel & García, 2017; García, 2009), which perceives individuals' languaging repertoires as being unique to them and not belonging to any named language system. By bringing together different aspects of her personal experience, environment and beliefs, Yasmina creates her own social space to use her languages, notwithstanding the socially and politically constructed boundaries of named languages. This behaviour is being encouraged in educational settings to support the use of HLs and HL communities.

5.3.3 Parents' patterns of language use and FLPs

The data related to parents' FLPs and patterns of language use according to domain and interlocutors, is generated from the parents' questionnaire answers, interviews and observations of parents and children. Table 5.5 reveals parents' reported answers in the questionnaire.

Table 5.5 Parents' patterns of language use in various domains

N=85	LA use all the time	LA use most of the time	Equally LA and English	English use all the time	English use most of the time	N/A
At home with children	33% (28)	27% (23)	30% (25)	3% (3)	7% (6)	0% (0)

At home with each other	71% (61)	18% (15)	5% (4)	2% (2)	4% (3)	0% (0)
At home with extended family members	59% (50)	24% (21)	5% (4)	4% (3)	2% (2)	6% (5)
At work	8% (7)	8% (7)	11% (9)	29% (24)	9% (8)	35% (30)
In places of worship	31% (26)	22% (19)	14% (12)	15% (13)	4% (3)	14% (12)
In the neighbourhood	14% (12)	33% (28)	22% (19)	13% (11)	9% (8)	9% (7)

5.3.3.1 Language use in the home domain

a. Prevalence of LA in communication with children

Parents' questionnaire data complements the data reported by children regarding patterns of language use at home. 60% of parents (51) report using LA all or most of the time in communication with their children, compared with 56% of children (70) who report using LA all or most of the time with their parents. Similarly, 30% of parents (25) report using equally English and LA, compared with the children's reported figures of 25% (31). These figures from both questionnaires reinforce the prevalence of LA use at home in communication between parents and children. However, CS is also reported to be part of the linguistic behaviour of approximately 28% of all respondents, an indication of the bilingual character of the home environment.

Observational data also indicates that LA is the language predominantly used at home when communicating with children. Parents try to use the 'hot house' policy (LA-use only), as the FLP to maintain their HL and HC. They seem cognisant that the responsibility to transmit, develop, and maintain

their HL is an integral part of their 'good' parenting practices, as shown in King and Fogle's (2013) study, rather than part of the wider society's responsibility portrayed as hostile to HL learning and cultural diversity. However, in practice, this policy is not always maintained. Parents constantly adjust their FLPs to accommodate their children's needs, and adopt more flexible bilingual strategies such as CS and translanguaging (see field notes appendix 10). The extracts below are taken from interviews with Amani, a mother of three children, and Najwa, a mother of four, who express their determination to reinforce the FLP of LA use at home:

(8) I: Which language(s) do you use when conversing with your children?

Amani: Of course I use Arabic, because I feel most comfortable when I use it// Not when I speak English for sure// ... Arabic is my mother language

I: So you never use English with your children?

Amani: I hardly use English at home// ... Sometimes I may say general words in English//

I: Like what?

*Amani: ... Like **freezer**, .. **Mobile**,.. **GP**, ... **Alarm**, or just simple words//*

I: What about the kids, what languages to they use with you and with their dad?

Amani: My kids mostly use Arabic with my husband and me, because we try to make them speak it at home as much as possible// ... We want them to become fully fluent in speaking Arabic, and in reading and writing Fusha too// ... They are Lebanese, so they must speak Arabic very fluently//

I: What if the kids reply in English? What do you do?

Amani: I ask them to repeat the words in Arabic, and if they are stuck and need some help, I help them a bit// ... That's my role as a good Lebanese mother, .. to help my kids speak our mother language // ... It is very important to our family's unity// If our kids do not speak our language, we are not acting as good role models in front of them// ... It is not easy, .. But we must help them//

I: What about if they mix both English and LA? How do you feel then?

Amani: Listen, I perfectly do not mind if they do that, .. But I just want them to speak more Arabic at home// ... If they speak 60% Arabic and 40% English, then I am very happy, .. But not 90% English and 10% Arabic// Then no, .. it is not acceptable to me//

In Amani's extract, the ideology of mother tongue is expressed with great confidence and conviction. Amani confers primacy on Arabic stating that 'it's her mother language' and she feels 'most comfortable when she speaks it at home'. Her choice of Arabic as her mother tongue implies a strong sense of belonging and emotional attachment to Lebanon, her homeland and country

of origin, and her close identification with the Lebanese community and the Arabic language and culture. For Amani, the use of Arabic at home is not merely a choice of a linguistic system; it is an ideological belief that associates language with identity formation (Norton, 2013; Phinney et al., 2001). As such, Amani reiterates in the interview her strategy of repeating the words in LA when children answer in English. She explains that by consistently using LA-only at home (as part of her FLP) and maintaining good language habits, her children will have improved opportunities for HLM and a feeling of belongingness to Lebanon and the Lebanese cultural values. Her actions are based on the belief that HL maintenance is essentially related to parental use and family language management strategies (Kondo, 1998; Portes & Hao, 1998; Cho & Krashen, 2000; Okita, 2002). However, Amani subsequently explains her acceptance of CS as a FLP to support her children's bilingual and bicultural development. Her statement 'I perfectly don't mind if they do that' (meaning CS) may be a reflection of her belief that both LA and English form an integral part of her children's life and hybrid identities in the UK. Whilst she may be strongly attached to her HL and ethnic identity and tries to promote a sense of 'Lebaneseness' at home, based on her belief that HL use contributes to nationalist identity formation (Bucholtz & Hall, 2003), she also recognises the need to adjust her FLPs in order to accommodate her children's multilingual and multicultural identities. Najwa, another mother who is a multilingual speaker of English, French and Arabic explains how she tries to implement the rule of LA-only at home as part of her FLP. She values multilingualism and argues that by focusing on promoting LA use at home, her children will have a better chance of developing their productive and receptive skills in LA, since they are socialised into English from various sources outside the home environment:

(9) I: So Najwa what language(s) do you and your husband speak at home with your children?

Najwa: We both speak Arabic with them all the time//

I: So you never use English?

Najwa: No, we are very strict about speaking Arabic at home// ... We are desperate for them to become bilingual in Arabic and English, .. Just like all the kids in Lebanon// ... They all speak Arabic, French and English, .. So we want our kids to do the same//

I: What do they speak with you?

Najwa: Honestly, they try to reply sometimes in English, and they pretend they do not how to say the words in Arabic, .. But I soon remind them to use Arabic// ... I really become crazy if they speak to me in English only// ... Because, .. Outside the house, they have plenty opportunities to speak English, .. Like at school, .. With teachers,.. With friends, .. On the {TÉLÉPHONE} <mobile phone>, .. On the {TÉLÉVISION} <TV>// ... Basically they are bombarded with English here// ... That's why my husband and I are determined to implement our Arabic rules at home// ... It is a challenge to all of us, yes, yes indeed, .. But we never give up, because we want our kids to become fluent bilinguals in Arabic and English//

I: How would you describe your abilities in English?

Najwa: Listen, I can perfectly read, and write, and speak English, but I choose not to use it at home, because I want my kids to become perfectly bilingual, .. Just like other Lebanese children, and like my husband and me// ... We were brought up in Lebanon, and we speak three languages perfectly well// ... I do not mind them mixing Arabic and English when talking to me, as long as they use Arabic more than English// ... Languages are such a great asset to have nowadays//not just for business, but also for education, communication, and to adapt to other cultures//

The above comments demonstrate parents' determination to control their children's language choice at home, and enforce a monolingual interactional context in LA. Parents want their children to achieve active bilingualism in LA and English, and consider 'good' parenting to entail the implementation of effective FLPs that ensure successful transmission of the HL and HC. Parents are equally aware that this process can be very challenging and complex, but are convinced that the long-term benefits of bilingualism will accrue emotional, academic and economic benefits to their children. Comparable studies of HL speakers report similar findings concerning parents' determination to control their children's language choice at home as a means to maintain their HL (Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009; King, Fogle & Logan-Terry, 2008; Guardado, 2002).

b. The use of CS is triggered by the topic of conversation

Observations suggests that although parents try to promote the FLP of LA-only at home, some inevitably CS to English when interacting with their children, mainly when trying to ensure that children have fully understood the idea they are trying to transmit, reinforce certain key points, or explain an important issue to children, which is often related to school work or school

behaviour. The relationship between conversation topic and its impact on language choice is repeatedly mentioned (Fishman, 2000b; Baker, 2006; Bhatia & Ritchie, 2013). English appears to be the linguistic code most appropriate to use when discussing unemotive issues, and LA when discussing emotional ones. Additionally, some parents reluctantly switch to English, when children use their own agency to (re)negotiate and (re)shape FLPs. Parents then accommodate by speaking the children's chosen language. However, the switch to English is only temporary, before parents reassert their authority and resume their conversations with their children in LA. Interviews reinforce this, highlighting children's agency in negotiating language choice and FLP, similar to the findings in other studies (Gyogi, 2015; Luykx, 2005; Fogle & King, 2013).

Below are extracts from Lili's interview, a mother of two daughters, and from Tony's interview, a Lebanese father married to Mina, of Polish heritage.

(10) I: What do you speak at home with your daughters?

Lili: I speak mostly Arabic//

I: What about English? Do you ever use it?

Lili: Quite frankly yes I do use it sometimes, .. Mostly when I am too tired and, .. Cannot be bothered to argue with the girls when they start talking to me in English//

I: Then what do you do?

Lili: I just start speaking back in English unwillingly, .. Without even thinking about it, .. I hate it, .. I really do, .. But after a long day at work, one must have a lot of energy and determination to stick to his policies at home// ... Sometimes I do, but some other times, .. I sadly do not, and the kids win//

The father explains how his children cleverly exercise their agency in the process of re-negotiating and re-shaping FLPs, whilst the mother describes how she definitively asserts her own authority to implement the FLP of 'One Parent One Policy' (OPOL) with her children. Tony observes how the process of transmitting the HL(s) at home to children can be very challenging and time-consuming, but Mina maintains her conviction that by adopting a consistent FLP at home and devoting considerable amount of time and efforts, children will undoubtedly develop their multilingual and multicultural skills, and foster stronger bonds with families in Poland and Lebanon.

(11) I: So Tony what language(s) do you speak at home with your kids?
Tony: I try to speak Arabic most of the time, but dear sister sometimes?
...You know, kids are so smart// ... they know very well how to manipulate us, ... They know exactly how to get what they want, and make us do what they want//

I: So what do you do then?

Tony: I start speaking English, but when Mina hears me, she reminds me to speak Arabic with them// ... then, I become more assertive, and I ask them to speak with me only in Arabic// ... It is not an easy process, I swear in the name of Allah// ... it requires a lot of time, and efforts and stubbornness//

I: What about you Mina? What language do you speak to them at home?

Mina: I am a very stubborn person// ... I refuse to answer them in English// Polish only// [laugh] or Arabic, but not English//

Tony: [interrupting] unlike me// ... I am much softer than her// [laugh]... But she is determined to teach them Polish// ... She is very proud of her language, and roots, and culture// ... But she also wants them to speak Arabic too//

I: Why do you want your kids to speak Arabic Mina?

Mina: So that they can communicate fluently with Tony's parents, and their cousins in Lebanon, and understand the Lebanese culture, .. Like the sense of hospitality, .. And generosity, .. And family values// They must learn to respect both Lebanese and Polish cultures and traditions// It is very important

Tony: [interrupting] ... Mina understands Arabic// .. She takes private tuitions, can you believe it? ... She tries to set a good example for our children, and more, she wants to be able to communicate with my parents, and wants the kids to build strong bonds with their grandparents from Lebanon and Poland//

Another parent explains why, unintentionally, she code-switches to English:

(12) Dima: I never intend to switch to English but when I do that, .. It is usually to explain something really important to the children, and ensure that they have fully understood it//

I: What do you mean by important things? Can you give me an example please?

Dima: Yes// ... Like when I need to explain a piece of **Science or Maths homework** to my daughter, I use English, .. Because it is something related to her schoolwork//... If I use English, she will surely understand the topic more// ... Also, when we are talking about teachers' comments we use English, to ensure that the children understand the importance of those comments, and act upon them//

I: Are there any other instances where you or your husband may use English at home with them?

Dima: ... Actually when we are discussing topics that are related to British life, .. And British culture, .. Then we may use English//

I: Why?

Dima: I do not really know? [laugh]... It just feels more appropriate to use English when talking about life in the UK// ... May be because we feel more

detached from these issues// ... We feel English is best used for matters, that are not directly connected to our culture

I: What about when discussing issues related to Lebanon?

Dima: Then most certainly we use Arabic// ... Because Arabic is a very expressive and emotionally loaded language// ... We are usually very involved, and immerse ourselves in the discussions when we speak Arabic//

c. LA is the natural linguistic code for communication among partners

For communication between partners, questionnaire data reveal that 89% (76) of parents use LA all or most of the time. This is a strong indication of the prevalence of LA use at home in communications between partners, highlighting how LA is the native language Lebanese parents feel most comfortable using at home with one another, given that they acquired it from a young age in Lebanon. Only 5% (4) code switch between English and LA equally, possibly for specific reasons and in particular situations. Only 2% (2) report using English all the time and only 4% (3) use English most of the time amongst themselves, which may relate to the very low rate of exogamous marriages among Lebanese parents.

My observations provide a similar picture of the linguistic practices and FLPs adopted by Lebanese parents at home. Some parents use LA-only at home with each other, and in communication with their family members because it enables them to have more authentic and meaningful communication. During one of my visits, a wife was telling her husband about the electricity power-cut her mother was facing in her village. She spoke consistently in LA expressing her anger at, and disappointment with, the Lebanese government. In the interviews, participants describe LA as the most instinctive way to express themselves and truthfully connect with other Lebanese. A mother who has been living in the UK for 15 years, explains²⁵:

*(4) Maryam: It is unnatural for me to speak to him (her husband) in English// It juts does not work// ... I cannot express myself fully, and say what I really want to say in English// ... Not because my English is not good? Not at all, I have a **Postgraduate Certificate in Education** from a reputable UK university// ... But I choose to speak Arabic, because it is my mother*

²⁵ Transcription and translation of all excerpts used in this thesis are attached in appendix 9.

language// The most natural way to express myself, and truly connect with others// ... Glory to Allah, Arabic for me, is more expressive than any other language in the world//

Saïd, a father, states that he speaks LA to his wife because it makes him feel more connected to his Lebanese roots, traditions and cultural heritage. As such, LA has an emotional and nostalgic core value, which enables speakers to establish social, ethnic, and cultural link to their homeland.

(5) I: What language do you speak at home with your wife?

Saïd: I mean, how possible can I speak at home other than Arabic with Maryam (his wife)? ... Even if I order my brain to speak English, it will not allow me, .. Arabic is my most dominant language, not just from a language point of view, but emotionally too// ... I cannot wait to get home so I can speak Arabic// ... Ah how I feel relieved when I speak Arabic// I mean, ... this makes me feel happy//

I: Why?

Saïd: I just feel very emotional about Arabic// ... When I speak it, I feel closer to my Lebanese roots, my village, my parents, and my entire neighbourhood// ... It brings me joy and a sense of comfort when I speak it// ... I feel warmth in my heart when I hear or speak Arabic//

d. LA use with extended family members

In communication with family members, the questionnaire results show that 83% of parent respondents (71) and 82% of children respondents (102) use LA all or most the time when communicating with their extended family members. These figures suggest the prevalence of LA in communication with family members, who are mostly native speakers of LA. The use of CS is rarely reported by parents when communicating with family members (5% use both languages equally), which implies that extended family members may not be bilingual speakers of both English and LA, or that English is not perceived as the appropriate language to use among Lebanese family members. A minority of 4% (3) use English all the time. These are likely to be family members who do not speak LA, and hence use English to facilitate communication with each other.

Observational data also suggests that LA is the only language deemed appropriate for intimate family discussions, and capable of enhancing family

cohesion. This is consistent with other studies that describe the preference of HLs in fostering healthy family communications and stronger ethnic identities (Farruggio, 2010; Guardado, 2002; 2010). Souha (a mother) explains why it would be inconceivable to speak English with her parents when they visit her in London. Her father, who is strongly attached to his HL and culture, might feel disrespected if his daughter spoke to him in English. He believes that speaking LA among family members creates healthier, stronger and enduring family relationships.

(6) I: *What language do you speak with your mum and dad when they visit you here in London?*

Souha: *[laugh] Of course Arabic// My dad comes from a village in the North of Lebanon near the mountains// He speaks Arabic with a heavy accent from his village// ... Do you think he will be happy if I speak to him in English// No way// ... He would feel really upset and insulted if I did// Even if I say some words to my kids in English, he reprimands me//*

I: *Why?*

Souha: *Because he is very proud of his Lebanese heritage and language// He thinks the West is trying to destroy our language, and culture, and traditions, .. They invade our homes with English// ... He truly believes it is a political game// ... he wants to preserve our language, and pass it to our children, so they can pass it to their children in turn//*

I: *So if you spoke English how would he feel?*

Souha: *He would disown me [laugh]// ... No I mean he would feel really ashamed of me// ... He always repeats to me this Lebanese saying "He who denies his origin, has no principle in life"// ... So if I ever spoke English to him or mum, he would consider it as a big treason, as if I was abandoning my authentic Lebanese roots// ... He regards this as disrespectful and shameful//*

Amal (another Lebanese mother) explains why she feels most comfortable speaking LA with her parents. She argues that LA is an expressive and meaningful language, specific to Lebanese culture and way of life. No other language can function the same way, not even the other varieties of Arabic.

(7) Amal: *Our language is so rich, so expressive, and so specific to us Lebanese// There is no other language in the world like it// ... No other language can deliver the same functions as our Arabic// ... Not even other Arabic dialects, .. Because each nation, each people, have their own expressions that are related to their own culture and traditions// ... So when I am talking with my parents, we just cannot use English to express our Lebanese emotions and expressions, .. We must use Arabic, and more specifically Lebanese, to deliver our messages properly//*

Although the overwhelming data from the questionnaires, interviews and observations indicates that LA is the language most frequently used at home by parents when interacting with partners and family members, two fathers were seen speaking English with their wives of non-Lebanese origins. However, in one of these families, the Polish wife was learning LA with her Lebanese neighbour, to facilitate communications with her parents-in-law and strengthen familial bonds with them. Lebanese parents in this study value LA, and perceive it as indispensable to strong inter-generational familial ties and attachment to Lebanese cultural values.

Observations also suggest that regular visits to and from extended family members positively influence children's use of LA and strengthen their bonds with Lebanon, Lebanese families, and Lebanese ethno-cultural identity. Parents also articulate this view. One parent explains that her children's LA proficiency improves significantly whenever grandparents or relatives visit them for extended periods in London. She argues that 'grandparents' visits' are the most effective factor that influences children's maintenance of LA and Lebanese cultural traditions.

(13) Lana (a mother of three): Whenever we have relatives from Lebanon staying with us, my children switch to Arabic all the time// ... They speak it without any pressure or hassle// ... May be because they are happy to see their relatives, .. And feel closer to them when they all speak Arabic// ... I swear to God the Great that my heart grows bigger when I hear them speaking Arabic, without having to put pressure on them, .. Or remind them constantly to switch to Arabic//

Another mother explains the positive influence of returning to Lebanon on children's fluency and confidence in speaking LA. She reports that her children switch completely to LA as soon as they arrive in Lebanon and start spending time with family members there.

(14) Zaynab (a mother of three): The minute we land to Beirut airport, and my kids see their cousins, and my brothers and sisters, they forget all about English// ... Amazing they even speak Arabic with the same accent as their relatives, .. As if they lived there all their lives, and never left to England [laugh]

Some parents report that even short holidays in Arabic-speaking countries can improve children's spoken Arabic. The wider environment plays a vital source of socialisation for children, both linguistically and culturally.

(15) *Samar: My sister lives in Dubai with her husband and their three children, .. Whenever we visit them there, my children switch to Arabic// ... They speak it so fluently there// ... I believe when they are relaxed, .. No homework, .. No school pressure, .. Surrounded by loving cousins and family members, .. Then automatically they speak Arabic// ... Not because the cousins do not learn English at school, .. But because we all speak Arabic, .. Everybody else in the neighbourhood speaks Arabic, .. And everything around them is in Arabic, .. TV channels in Arabic, music in Arabic, prayers in Arabic, .. Road signs in Arabic, .. Restaurant menus in Arabic, .. Leaflets in the mall in Arabic// ... So they feel they need to be part of all this// They want to fit in this Arabic environment//*

An interview with Tala (Samar's 14 year-old daughter) confirms her mother's opinion. Samar's and Tala's attitudes towards Arabic seem to be informed by the language ideologies of the dominant society, which attribute different values to languages, thus, shaping linguistic practices (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994).

(16) *So when you are on holiday in Dubai, what language do you speak most of the time?*

Tala: I use Arabic for sure, and sometimes, .. I include some Fusha words if we are playing with other Arabic-speaking children//

I: So do you use Arabic more often when you are on holiday?

Tala: Yes for sure, because everyone else around me speaks Arabic// ... so I feel I want to speak it too// [...] I feel proud, and happy to speak it//

I: So do you feel more confident speaking Arabic when you are in Lebanon or another Arabic speaking country than in the UK?

Tala: Definitely? ... I think holidays in Arabic-speaking countries, are the best way to improve my Arabic, because then, .. I am surrounded by people speaking it all the time// ... I feel I want to speak Arabic, and soon after, .. I notice how much my Arabic has improved// ... In England, I do not feel comfortable speaking Arabic outside the home environment// I do not know why?

5.3.3.2 Parents' patterns of language use outside the home domain

The questionnaire results reveal that LA is the language code most frequently used by parents in the neighbourhood, with 47% (40) using it all or

most of the time, double those who use English (22% or 19). The preference for using the HL in the neighbourhood implies that there is a reasonable concentration of Lebanese living in the same area, enabling them to use their HL outside the home environment. 22% (19) use both English and LA in the neighbourhood, which reflects parents' bilingual proficiencies, and their integration into the host society. As for language use in religious places, LA is the language most used by parents when communicating with other members of their denomination, with 55% (47) preferring LA and 19% (16) using English. 14% (12) report using both English and LA, which implies that these parents are confident users of both languages, and translanguaging is part of their language behaviour. The value associated with using MSA for religious purposes is explored in more depth in section 6.3.

The data from table 5.4 also suggests that a majority of 38% of respondents (32) uses English all or most of the time in the work domain. However, 16% (14) use LA all or most of the time, and 11% (9) who use equally LA and English. These patterns of language use imply that the type of positions occupied by these respondents may require and support the use of both LA and English, and that employees may use LA for in-group communications.

Interviews with two parents explain their choice of language(s) in the work, neighbourhood and religion domains. Dima, who works part-time in an estate agency in London, speaks mostly English at work, whereas Lana, who works in an Arab embassy in London, uses mainly LA. In the neighbourhood, both Dima and Lana speak LA with fellow Lebanese and Arab speakers because of the perceived connection between HL and ethnic identity. The ideology of 'shared Arabness' is evident in these discourses; it acts as a motivating factor which bonds Arabic-speakers together and enables them to flag their common Arab heritage in public. Additionally, CS between MSA and LA is used for religious purposes, because of the inherent value ascribed to MSA.

(17) *Dima: I use English at work all the time, because my colleagues, my clients, and my employers, only speak English// ... No room for me to speak Arabic// ... I can only speak English at my workplace//*
 I: What about in the neighbourhood?

Dima: *Thank god I live in an area where a lot of Lebanese reside// ... We have Lebanese butchers, Lebanese coffee shops, and one big Lebanese supermarket// ... So I mostly use Arabic, because we are all Lebanese, or Arabs who understand each other's Arabic// ... There is no need at all to speak English in our neighbourhood [laugh] ... as if we are all living in Lebanon//*

I: *What about when in places of worship? What language do you use mostly?*

Dima: *... Frankly I use a mixture of Fusha and Lebanese// ... Fusha when we pray and recite religious hymns, .. And Lebanese when interacting with other members of my congregation//*

(18) *What language(s) do you use at your workplace?*

Lana: *I use both Arabic and English/ /[...] When I am talking to my colleagues, we speak in Arabic although my Arabic is different to theirs, .. But we can easily understand each other? ... No problem at all? ... They even try to copy my Lebanese accent// [laugh] ... they love it//... They tell me it is very beautiful and classy//*

I: *What about English? When do you speak it?*

Lana: *Mostly when communicating with non-Arabic speaking people, .. Like when people ask me for help when applying for visas, .. Or, ... just when they ask me any general questions// ... They do not all speak Arabic, .. Then I speak English with them//*

I: *And in your neighbourhood?*

Lana: *Of course I speak Arabic with other Lebanese, .. And English with English speakers// ... So if I am shopping at the Lebanese supermarket, I speak Arabic with the staff// ... They are mostly Lebanese, or, .. Egyptians, or, .. Syrians, but they all understand my Arabic// ... We speak Arabic together// ... We all have the same ethnic and cultural origin// ... We find it much more comfortable, and more natural, to speak Arabic with each other// ... But if the staffs are foreigners, .. Then we use English so they can understand us//*

I: *And in places of worship?*

Lana: *[...] Inside the mosque, we all pray in Fusha of course, because it is the language of the holy Quran// And outside it, .. When we all go to have coffee, .. Or talk among each other, .. We speak Lebanese, or any other Arabic dialect// [laugh]... It is only natural for us to speak our own native language, regardless if it is LA, .. Or Syrian Arabic, .. Or Iraqi Arabic//... The main point is, .. We all speak Arabic our national language// ... We all feel more authentic when we speak Arabic//*

5.3.4 Concluding remarks

This section presents the analysis of data from questionnaires, interviews and observations pertaining to parents' language practices and FLPs, and children's language practices in different domains and with different interlocutors. Triangulation indicates that, as part of the FLP parents adopt to

develop their children's bilingual skills, LA is the linguistic code most often used at home in communications between parents and children, and grandparents (or other extended family members) and children. Parents and children attach strong emotional and sentimental value to LA, and its transmission is seen as paramount to the maintenance of the Lebanese ethnic and cultural identity in the diaspora. Therefore, LA occupies an important functional role in the lives of both first and second-generation Lebanese speakers, with the home-family domain being the most conducive to HL and HC maintenance, in line with Fishman's findings (2013; 1991b). However, the domain of FLP is not 'static and unidirectional' (Fogle & King, 2013: 1), but rather dynamic and subject to modifications and negotiations. By trying to maintain LA at home and influencing children's language practices, parents constantly negotiate and adapt their FLPs to accommodate children's needs. Children are also active and creative social agents in this process and play a significant role in (re)shaping their parents' practices and FLPs (Lanza, 2007; Luykx, 2003; 2005). They often exercise their agency and socialise their parents into their own communicative needs, perspectives, and experiences. This process can, therefore, be seen as bi-directional (Duff, 2007: 311) and as a dynamic network of mutual family influences (Luykx, 2003: 41).

In communication with siblings and other Lebanese friends at home, children most often use English and code-switch frequently between English and LA for a number of reasons, including to manage a topic of conversation better (Gumperz, 1992), retrieve missing words, or make specific social and cultural references. Such linguistic behaviour among children of similar age and ethnic background also occurs in the neighbourhood and religious domains, especially when making ethnic and cultural references. Moreover, children code-switch to signal shared ethnicity and in-group association with the interlocutor. They either converge to LA to express a common ethnic identity, or converge to English if they feel that the interlocutor lacks proficiency in LA. On occasion, children use LA as a 'secret language' with their peers when they want to exclude other speakers from their in-group conversations and social networks. This behaviour emphasises that language and identity are

inseparable (Joseph, 2004), and that speakers have the ability, through language choice, to negotiate and create 'a sense of self within and across different points in time' (Norton, 2000: 5). However, when communicating with members of the older generation, children use predominantly LA to indicate respect and affection, and flag a common Lebanese identity. Age of the interlocutor is thus an important factor in children's language choice, which can either favour LA maintenance or LS to English.

Conversely, parents use LA most often in the neighbourhood and a combination of MSA and LA in the religious domain, whereas the consistent use of English is reserved for interactions at work with non-Lebanese and non-Arabs. These findings indicate that preferences in language choice and language use in most domains vary from first-generation to second-generation Lebanese speakers and across the individual families. Whilst most Lebanese parents are intrinsically motivated to speak LA for intra-group communication, to stay connected with the homeland and to maintain their HL and culture, their second-generation children appear to have different motivations for speaking the HL. These motivations stem from their desire to communicate with parents, family members, and older members of the community who have no or limited ability in English. Thus, unless the second-generation children become intrinsically motivated to speak LA in more domains to maintain their HL in the diaspora, there is a greater chance of LS towards English by the third generation, as Fishman (1966) advances in his three-generational model of LS.

Having examined FLPs and participants' language choice in various domains and with various interlocutors, the next section (5.4) explores participants' linguistic use for media, reading, and Information and Communication Technologies (ICT).

5.4. Participants' language use for media, reading, and Internet and communications technology (ICT).

The factors affecting the use and maintenance of the HL are not confined to linguistic ones, but also extend to different forms of social institutions. The mass media is considered a social institution which plays a significant part in the transmission of the HL and HC (Koustoulas-Makrakis, 1995; Christakis, 2009). To this end, I will examine the availability of local Arabic broadcast audio-visual media, printed media, and use of ICT in the following sections. Section 5.4.1 explores children's language use for broadcast media - watching TV, listening to the radio and music, their preferences for printed media such as when reading for a variety of purposes, and when using ICT to send text messages, using social media and communication applications. Section 5.4.2 reveals parents' language use for broadcast media, reading, and ICT.

5.4.1 Children's language use for audio-visual media, reading, and ICT.

5.4.1.1 English preference for audio-visual media use

In the questionnaire, children were asked to report their language use when watching TV channels, DVD movies, listening to the radio, CDs and online music. They were also asked to indicate their language use when reading novels and books for recreation, sending text messages or using social media and other ICT applications. Children could tick more than one option. The responses are presented in Table 5.6.

Table 5.6 Children's language use²⁶ for media, reading, and ICT.

N=125	Lebanese Arabic (LA)	Fusha Arabic	English	French	Other (specify)	N/A
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²⁶ In tables 5.6 and 5.7 participants were encouraged to tick as many boxes as they felt were relevant to them. The total percentage may thus exceed 100%.

		(MSA)				
Watching TV	37% (46)	0%	86% (107)	1% (1)	0%	7% (9)
Watching DVDs	24% (30)	1% (1)	83% (104)	1% (1)	0%	7% (9)
Listening to the radio	33% (41)	1% (1)	81% (101)	2% (2)	1% (1)	4% (5)
Listening to CD or online music	42% (52)	1% (1)	82% (102)	2% (2)	1% (1)	4% (5)
Reading books for recreation	5% (6)	1% (1)	91% (114)	1% (1)	1% (1)	1% (1)
Sending text messages	50% (62)	3% (4)	77% (96)	1% (1)	0%	1% (1)
ICT use such as Whatssap, Skype and Facetime	80% (100)	5% (6)	10% (13)	2% (2)	3% (4)	0%

The data above indicates clearly that English is the language majority children use when watching TV entertainment programmes (86% or 107), DVDs (83% or 104), listening to the radio (81% or 101) and listening to CDs (82% or 102).

Nonetheless, 37% of children (46) also use LA to watch TV programmes, 24% (30) to watch DVDs, 33% (41) to listen to the radio and 42% (52) to listen to CDs and online music. These figures indicate the number of satellite channels broadcasting in Arabic (LA and MSA) and the widespread

availability and accessibility of Lebanese and Arabic music. It is important to note that LA used in audio-visual media is more accessible than MSA used in print media. Parents may have acted as gatekeepers and decision-makers in the selection of TV programmes, movies and music, choosing Arabic language media because of its perceived influence in transmitting valuable linguistic and cultural capital, and keeping families informed of Lebanese current affairs. TV or videos in HL are noted to provide an important source of linguistic input for HL development (Kang, 2015).

Additionally, some children seem to have chosen both LA and English for their broadcast media use, which reflects their bilingual skills and ability to process information in multiple languages.

Observational data complements the questionnaire's findings. During my family visits, I observed children watching cartoons and educational programmes in English. Parents seemed happy for their children to watch specific TV shows in English, so long as they were deemed appropriate and not contradictory to the family's values. Parents accept that their children's environment is inevitably English-centric, and hence their children are drawn to English programmes. However, parents seemed to select the programmes to which children could be exposed and limit screen time. In an interview, a mother stated that she banned her children from watching the animated series of 'Southpark' and 'Sponge Bob', because she found their content to be very inappropriate and corrupting. Omar (14 years) and Rayyan (10 years) explain their preference for English when watching entertainment TV programmes or DVDs, as well as when listening to the radio, CDs, and online music. They indicate that TV programmes and DVD films in English are more varied, more fun to watch, and more relevant to their British lifestyle and interests. They find it easier to connect with the English sense of humour than with the Lebanese one. In terms of their music language choice, they claim to be more familiar with English lyrics because they are played more often on the radio, and in public spaces in the UK. Nevertheless, they maintain that they love listening to Lebanese songs because of their emotional associations with Lebanon.

Omar (19): [...] English programmes are usually, nicer and more fun, and more entertaining// They are not just sad programmes like on Arabic TV// We can watch **sport** programmes, drama, **art**, and music, anything really// Arabic programmes are boring, and their sense of humour is not what I find humorous at all

I: So do you ever watch Arabic TV channels?

Omar: Yes of course, when we watch TV with mum and dad as a family, or grandmother and grandfather, we usually watch Arabic programmes// ... But when I am watching with my brother and sister alone, then we watch English channels// ... We like it more//

I: Do you watch Arabic DVDs?

Omar: No// ... I only watch DVDs in English, because not so many DVDs are produced in Arabic anyway// ... Most movies on DVD are produced in English, and translated in Arabic or other languages.

I: What about when listening to the radio? Or CDs and online music? What do you prefer then?

Omar: Also I prefer English, .. Because I know more English songs than Arabic ones//

I: Do you listen to Arabic music at all?

Omar: Yes, .. Mostly when we have friends and guests over//... Mum plays her favourite Arabic CDs, .. Especially *Fairuz*, and *Magida il-Roumi*,.. So we all end up listening to them [laugh]... I love some of them// ... mostly the songs that are sung in Lebanese not Fusha Arabic, like *Wael Kfoury*, *Nancy Ajram*, and *Joseph Atiyyeh*// ... They are much easier to understand and memorise// ... I feel I can connect more with these songs than with the ones sung in Arabic Fusha//

Rayyan (10 years) also states his use of English broadcast media and when listening to music, but he also watches certain entertainment programmes in LA when his grandparents are visiting, and listens to Lebanese music when his parents play it at home. This denotes, at least, passive exposure to LA media:

(20) Rayyan: I prefer English// ... I feel that there are more choices available on the English TV channels, .. They are more fun to watch// ... there is not so much screaming like on the Arabic channels// ... You do not see everyone crying, .. Or sad, .. Or children out of school like the ones we see on Arabic channels//

I: And with your parents? Do you watch any Arabic TV?

Rayyan: Yes I watch Arabic programmes, mostly when my grandparents are here with us// ... They like Lebanese channels more than English// ... My grandfather likes to watch the news every night, and my grand mother loves watching other programmes, like the funny one {*khallik bil bayt*} <stay at home>, and {*mafi mitlu*} <nothing like it>//

I: So you end up watching the same programmes as your grandparents?

Rayyan: Yes [laugh] ... but I am happy too, because I love sitting with them, and being next to them// ... It makes them happy and makes me even happier to see them happy//

I: And for radio and music? What do you prefer?

Rayyan: Again I prefer to listen to English music, because I know some of the songs, and I like the lyrics more// ... It is easier for me to understand// ... But sometimes, .. I like listening to Lebanese songs, .. Like when we have friends around, .. Or when my parents put their music on at home// ... It is nice from time to time//

However, as indicated in table 5.5, there is intra-generational variation regarding language use for media, with some children preferring LA. When I was visiting two families, children were watching Lebanese entertainment programmes on TV namely 'The Voice Kids' in Arabic, and {*Lahun Wou Bass*}. Children seemed to enjoy watching these programmes and actively connect with their subject matter. They were even motivated to vote for their favourite Arab singer, and called their friends and encouraged them to take action too. On another occasion, children were watching a drama series {*Al-Haybi*} with their parents, and eagerly described the events of the past episodes to me. These programmes were broadcast in LA, and the children found them easily accessible. Additionally, the mother was playing Arabic (Lebanese and other spoken varieties) music in the kitchen, and children's coming and going would mean at least a passive exposure to Arabic music.

Faten (16 years) expresses her preference for Arabic when TV watching entertainment programmes such as talk shows, drama series, comedy, and reality shows, which are usually broadcasted in LA. She describes Lebanese programmes as more relevant to her culture, values, and lifestyle than English programmes. She also states her preference for watching the news in MSA. Additionally, Faten conveys her love of Arabic music (spoken Arabic varieties) that she listens to on her phone or portable computer, describing its emotional and nostalgic content. She claims that her active exposure to, and enjoyment of, Arabic TV programmes and Arabic music have improved her abilities in both Fusha Arabic (MSA) and LA. She also explains that technological advances allow her to download and store her favourite Arabic songs on her mobile phone, that she can listen to while walking to and from school and on her computer at home.

(21) *Faten: I prefer Arabic programmes//... Because I am Lebanese and I would like to know what goes on in my country of origin// .. I like to stay connected with everything happening there, and in the Arab world//*

I: So what type of TV programmes do you like watching?

Faten: ... I like to watch everything like news, .. Social programmes such as the programme Zavin presents, .. Fun programmes like {Khalīk bil bayt}, and especially the one with Zahi {Aḥmar bil khaṭ il-‘arīd}, <Red in bold line> and {Amar il-layl}, <The Moon at Night>, .. Or the ones they show during the month of Ramadan//... I really like such programmes which reveal the social and political injustice in the Arab world// ... It really makes me want to act, and help all those vulnerable people out there//

I: Do you like Arabic music?

Faten: Oh yes indeed// ... Arabic music is my favourite, because the songs are loaded with sensations and emotions// ... They are very powerful you know// ... That’s why I save my favourite ones on my iPhone, and I listen to them every day, on my way to school, and on my way back home// ... The advancement of technology has enabled me to stay in touch with all new songs in Arabic, and at a very reasonable price too [laugh]... So instead of buying new CDs all the times, I just download my favourite music online onto my iPhone, and listen to them as many times as I want, .. this is brilliant//

I: What about at home, do you listen to Arabic music?

Faten: Yes when my mum is cooking in the kitchen, she is always playing the Arabic music loudly//... It is always her Arabic CDs, .. so we all get to hear her music// [laugh]... Probably, that’s where I got my love for Arabic music, from my mum [laugh// ... Also when I am studying in my bedroom, I play my songs that I saved onto my computer// ... They are all stored there, so I listen to them in the background, because they make me feel happy, .. they evoke nice and sweet memories//...memories of my sweet Lebanon//

5.4.1.2 English preference for general reading purposes

Print media can also highlight language use patterns. Questionnaire figures in table 5.5 show that 91% (114) of respondents use English to Arabic when reading books for recreation against 1% (1) who prefers Arabic Fusha (MSA). Respondents may feel more competent and have superior ability in reading and understanding English than MSA. Children may also prefer English books to Arabic because they relate better to their wider interests and hobbies in the host society than books written primarily for native speakers of Arabic. Another contributing factor to the relatively minimal uptake of Arabic books could be their reduced availability and unaffordability

in London. Arabic books are generally more expensive to acquire than English books²⁷.

Interviews with children and field notes confirm that English is the language most preferred for reading books and novels for recreation, based on their relative literacy skills in English and MSA. The paucity or absence of interesting and entertaining literature available in MSA, and aimed specifically at speakers of Arabic as a HL rather than at native speakers, appears to me one of the principal reasons why respondents prefer English for general reading purposes. These findings mirror those reported in Chumak-Horbatsch's (1999) study of Ukrainian students in Canada, whose preference for leisure reading in English rather than their HL was a serious cause of concern as it contributed to the start of LS in the literacy domain. Nevertheless, some respondents prefer MSA when reading the Quran and other religious texts, because of its sacred status. Additionally, when reading online news, or blogs pertaining to Lebanon and the Arab world, some respondents state their preference for MSA, because it is the language that allows them to remain informed about social and political developments in Lebanon and the wider Arab world. During a visit to one family, their son Ali (16 years) was reading online news on his laptop, and informing his mother about the developments in Lebanese electoral law, that allowed non-resident Lebanese to cast their vote, for the first time, from their country of residence. Roula (12 years), explains her preference for English when reading for general purposes:

(22) Roula: I prefer English//... Because my Arabic is not that good, .. So I do not understand everything if I read Arabic books// ... I like to read books that are appropriate to my age, my hobbies, and my interests// ... That's why I read English books// ... Arabic books suitable for my age and my abilities do not exist// ... It is a shame really//

Samir (15 years) states his preference for MSA when reading the Quran or online blogs:

²⁷ The cost of shipping and distributing the book can be three times the cost of the book (Maklad, (n.d)).

(23) Samir: *I prefer English, when reading anything related to **Science** or **technology** or **Computer**// ... I read the Quran in Arabic// It is the language God chose to reveal his teachings to all Muslims in the world// ... As a faithful Muslim, I must read the Quran in Arabic, ... I am lucky and honoured to have Arabic as my native language//*

I: Do you read anything else in Arabic?

*Samir: Yes, sometimes I read news and blogs in Arabic on **the internet**// ... I like to know what goes on in the Arab world politically and in the society// ... Thank god there is **social media** which allows us to stay in touch with everything that goes on around us//*

5.4.1.3 The proliferation and reduced cost of ICT increases LA use

Questionnaire results point that 77% (96) use English when sending text messages to family and friends, compared with 50% (62) who use LA. The questionnaire's data does not indicate what respondents mean by writing messages in LA. It may refer to the use of Arabic script to convey words and expressions spoken in LA, or rather the use of Roman script to convey Lebanese words and expressions. This may explain why some respondents chose both options, English and Arabic.

Observational data also reveals that children use English when texting English-speaking friends, but when texting friends and family members in Lebanon or other parts of the world, they use RA. The acceptance of using RA informally seems to strengthen children's communication with Lebanese family members and friends, and improve their understanding of LA. Interviews indicate similar results. However, a few respondents volunteer that it is more appropriate to write messages in MSA (rather than LA) when addressing older people or those with high education status, given its prestige and formality. The extracts below with Joseph (16 years) and Reem (15 years) reveal their views about language use for text messaging.

(24) *I: What language do you prefer when sending text messages to friends and families?*

*Joseph: Here I use English mostly, but when I send **text messages** to my friends and cousins in Lebanon, I use Arabic//*

I: What do you mean by Arabic? Do you write in Arabic letters?

Joseph: No, I write Lebanese words, but in English letters like this// [typing on the mobile phone the Lebanese word {KIFAK} <how are you> in roman letters]

I: So how do you write the Arabic sounds that cannot be written in English letters?

Joseph: [laugh] ... I use the specific Lebanese chat letters, .. So if I want to write a word with the 'hamza' letter I use the number 2, .. and when I need to write the letter "ayn" I use the number 3, .. and for the letter 'h' I use the number 7, .. It is very easy//... Even my grand mother knows how to use these symbols to chat with us [laugh]

Reem (15 years) states her preference for MSA when sending text messages to Lebanese relatives and friends:

(25) I: What language do you prefer for sending text messages?

Reem: When I text message my friends and relatives in Lebanon I use Arabic//

I: Which Arabic?

Reem: I mean I write in Lebanese with the special Lebanese chat symbols//

I: Do you ever write in Arabic letters?

Reem: Yes, sometimes I write in proper Arabic when I send text messages to my other Arabic-speaking friends, or people in Lebanon who are older than me, or highly educated// ... It sounds better when you write in proper Arabic, .. Not like the Lebanese chat style, if you are addressing someone formally/

In terms of ICT use, questionnaire data point to an overwhelming preference for LA among children, when using communication applications such as WhatsApp, Skype and Facetime. The advances in the field of media technologies have revolutionised the way people connect with their families and friends in their countries of origin and elsewhere in the diaspora, at minimal or no cost. These help members of the community maintain their heritages, and may have positively contributed to the increased use and maintenance of LA among the majority of respondents. 80% (100) claim to prefer LA, compared with 10% (13) who prefer English, when using telecommunication applications with family members and relatives.

Interviews and field notes also indicate that children regularly use ICT applications such as WhatsApp, Facetime and Skype to speak to their grandparents and relatives in Lebanon, notably over dinner when all members of the family are gathered together and share their experiences of

the day. Family mealtimes have been noted in other studies as important multiparty interactional sites, which impact language socialisation (Blum-Kulka, 2002) and HLM (Pitton, 2013; Said & Hua, 2017). LA seems to be the natural linguistic choice for online communication with Lebanese family members. Being relatively cheap and accessible, these communication methods have undoubtedly contributed to children's increased use of LA and the maintenance of strong familial connections.

During my home visits, I witnessed many children using online technology to communicate with their relatives in Lebanon. In one instance, children were using Facetime with their grandmother to tell her about academic commendations they had received at school. They were speaking LA throughout the conversation, and explained to her the purpose of my visit. In return, the grandmother was praising her grandchildren for their school achievements, but reminding them that they should achieve similar results at the Arabic school. She repeatedly stressed the importance of speaking LA, because they were Lebanese. In other family visits, I noted that children code-switched when they spoke with their cousins in Lebanon online, but LA was more frequently used than English. Parents were seen to constantly remind their children to use LA when chatting online to their cousins in Lebanon, as part of their FLP.

Omar explains the vital role of media technologies in strengthening communications with his grandparents in Lebanon:

*Omar (19): We use **WhatsApp** all the time at home, to speak to our grandparents in Lebanon// We call them every day when we return back form school// ... It is free, .. Usually when we are all waiting for mum to serve us dinner// ...We tell them about our day, .. what we did, .. and they tell us about their day// ... It is so nice// As if we all lived in one country*

I: What language do you use?

Omar: Of course Arabic// my grandparents get upset if we use English with them

Similarly, Rayyan explains that LA is his mother language and he uses it all the time when talking online to his relatives in Lebanon. Faten (21) maintains

that the reduced cost of using ICT on a regular basis has increased her attachment to Lebanon, her family members, and LA.

*Rayyan (20): We use **Facetime** every day with my aunties and cousins// ... We call them when we are all eating dinner together, so we can discuss our day together// ... It's amazing because we can see them, and talk to them for free, .. We never miss out on anything happening there//*

I: What language to you use with them?

Rayyan: Of course we speak in Arabic//.. They don't feel comfortable speaking with us in English//... and we are happy to speak Arabic with them//.. Arabic is our mother language... not English//>

*Faten (21): I use **WhatsApp** and **Facetime** all the time// ... I can communicate with my cousins for hours on the weekend, and during **weekdays**// ... We speak to each other after we return from school// ... All in Arabic, because we can all express our feelings better in Arabic// ... We are constantly talking and discussing many issues// ... Sometimes when we open the **Facetime application**, we watch the same **TV** programme and we discuss the events of the programme together// ... as if we all live together in Lebanon under the same roof//*

5.4.2 Parent s' language use for media, reading and ICT

The following sections analyse parents' use when watching TV news, entertainment programmes, listening to the radio or music, and their preferences when reading, sending text messages and communicating online.

5.4.2.1 Preference for Arabic for audio-visual media use

Table 5.7 Parents' language use for media, reading and ICT

N=85	Lebanese Arabic (LA)	Fusha Arabic (MSA)	English	French	Other (specify)	N/A
Watching news on TV	59% (50)	17% (15)	62% (53)	4% (3)	0%	5% (4)
Watching	58% (49)	12% (10)	68%	5% (4)	1% (1)	6%

entertainment programmes on TV			(58)			(5)
Listening to Radio/CD music	77% (65)	12% (10)	55% (47)	16% (14)	0%	5% (4)
Sending text messages	40% (34)	12% (10)	76% (65)	12% (10)	0%	3% (3)
Reading books for recreation	23% (20)	28% (24)	75% (64)	8% (7)	0%	3% (3)
Reading newspapers/online news	29% (25)	28% (24)	75% (64)	4% (3)	0%	4% (3)
Reading in relation to work	13% (11)	11% (9)	79% (67)	4% (3)	0%	8% (7)
ICT use such as WhatsApp, Skype and Facetime	88% (75)	6% (5)	2% (2)	4% (3)	0%	0%

The questionnaire data from table 5.7 shows that 76% of respondents (65) use Arabic (LA or MSA) to watch TV news, which demonstrates parents' knowledge of MSA and their strong attachment to Lebanon and its politics. Yet 62% (53) also use English to access TV news, an indication of respondents' competence in English as well and their integration into British society, since the language used to broadcast TV news requires a degree of competence in English. A very small minority likes watching French TV (4% for news (3) and 5% (4) for entertainment programmes), which indicates that these parents are likely to be at least bilingual.

70% (59) choose Arabic (mostly LA) TV programmes, which reflects parents' attachment to their country of origin and the perceived relevance of these programmes to their interests and culture, compared with those in English. Yet 68% (58) also choose English to watch entertainment programmes, implying that they are well integrated in, and adapted to, the host society's culture.

The data also suggests that 89% of respondents (75) choose Arabic namely LA (77% or 65), to listen to the radio or to CD music. This again portrays their attachment and connection to Lebanon and their HL, and the prevalence of LA in this field of media, compared with 55% (47) who prefer English. Music is a constitutive part of culture and hence, plays an important role in shaping and strengthening social identities (Rice, 2013). This may justify why most parents prefer Arabic music to English.

Observations of, and interviews with parents, also confirm the reported data. Most parents appear to watch LA entertainment programmes whereas MSA is mainly used to access the news. One mother (Dima) states her preference for LA when watching TV programmes because she finds them more relevant to her interests as a Lebanese mother, whilst her children prefer watching TV programmes in English. Another mother (Zaynab) argues that her and her husband's preference for Arabic TV programmes have had a positive influence on their children's choice of Arabic for media use. As a consequence, her children's ability in both varieties of Arabic has improved, as has their acceptance and appreciation of Lebanese socio-cultural and religious values.

(26) Dima: *I mostly watch Lebanese satellite channels like LBCI, OTV, Al Manar, and MTV//... Because I like the Lebanese programmes a lot more than the English programmes// ... I just find them more fun and more interesting// ... They are more related to my lifestyle, and my interests as a Lebanese mother// For example, I love cooking Lebanese food, so I watch cooking programmes on Lebanese TV channels// ... I also love watching the Lebanese cultural programmes on TV, so I can stay aware of what goes on there in Lebanon// ... I also love the programmes, like {amīr il- llayl} <the prince of night> and {Bāb il-ḥāra} <The village's gate>// ... I absolutely adore these programmes//*

I: Do you watch Arabic programmes with your children

Dima: Yes sometimes// ... but whenever I put the Lebanese channels, kids want to change them to English//... But there are some Lebanese programmes they like to watch, .. So we watch them altogether and with my husband, as a family, like {Bāb il-ḥāra}, and {Mafi mitlu}, and {Shakīkatān} <two sisters>// ... Mostly it's the programmes that relate to our lives as Lebanese, and Arabs// ... About our societies, our traditions, the problems our children face, and so on// ... These programmes are an opportunity to be with our children, and discuss the cultural dimension of these programmes// ... It is a good way to tell them about our important Lebanese and cultural values//

Zaynab a mother of three children (aged 13, 11 and 9) highlights the effective role Arabic (MSA and LA) media use plays in strengthening her children's ethno-cultural identity in London. Zaynab considers TV viewing an important source of language input which promotes HL and HC development among her children, echoing Kang's (2015) findings.

(27) Zaynab: It is normal for me to prefer Arabic TV programmes, because firstly Arabic is my mother language// ... I speak it, and I understand it, and I connect with it and with all its cultural values, a lot more than I do with English//

I: So what types of programmes do you watch?

Zaynab: When I am alone at home, I watch soap programmes// .. Drama series, .. and cooking programmes// ... But when my husband comes back home, we watch mostly news on Al-Manar and OTV// ... My husband loves politics a lot, and he likes to remain up to date with everything that goes on in Lebanon// ... He does not like to miss a thing//

I: What about with your children? What channels and programmes do you mostly watch?

Zaynab: My children also love watching Arabic programmes with us// ... So when we are all sitting together as a family, and watching the TV, we often watch fun entertaining programmes, like {Bāb il-ḥāra}, and {Mafi mitlu}, and {Khallik bil bayt}//... Kids adore them// ... They wait every week to watch these episodes// ... And if for any reason they miss one episode, they download it from YouTube, so they can watch it again whenever they can//

I: Do you think your preference for Arabic channels can influence your children's choice of media?

Zaynab: Ah of course// ... Children are influenced a lot by their parents// ... My children see us watching Arabic TV all the time, .. Especially when my parents visit us from Lebanon// ... Then the TV is always on// ... My parents do not understand English, so Arabic channels are the only option// ... So I guess my kids got used to watching TV programmes in Arabic// ... And as a result, my children's Arabic has improved a lot// ... My son Ahmad watches a lot of cartoons on MBC3// ... They are all in Fusha// ... If you compare his Fusha, with any Lebanese child his age at the Lebanese school, you will see that his Arabic, is much better than the Arabic of his Lebanese friends,

because we watch a lot of TV programmes in Lebanese and Fusha// ... I cannot tell you how much this exposure to Arabic TV programmes, has helped my children improve their Arabic// ... During the Holy month of Ramadan, we all get together, and watch special cultural and religious programmes broadcasted specifically in Ramadan// ... They are mostly in Fusha//... These types of programmes, have greatly advanced my children's understanding of Fusha, and of our Lebanese cultural and ethical values//>

In sharp contrast to the above statements, an important issue emerged from a discussion with a mother who justifies her preference for English when watching TV programmes. She argued that Lebanese TV programmes lacked originality, cultural and educational values, and could be disturbing for children to watch. Similarly, during one visit, a father was watching English news on the BBC channel, and then switched to Al-Manar, a Lebanese TV channel, to watch news related to Lebanon and the Arab world. It appears that Lebanese parents are not just motivated to remain connected to their homeland and its socio-political developments, but they are equally keen to be informed of current affairs in the UK and worldwide. Such attachment to both the homeland and country of residence conveys the fluidity of their identity practices and their adaptation to the host society.

(28) Lili: I mostly watch English programmes// Quite frankly, .. I feel that most Lebanese programmes are boring// ... They are mostly a replica of English or French programmes, like "The Voice" or "Dance with the Stars"// ... Why bother watching them if I can watch the original version in English or French// I: What about your kids? Do they watch Arabic TV channels?

Lili: Very very rarely// ... We only do so when my mum visits us// ... But apart from that, my husband and I prefer English channels// ... They are more informative and educational than the Arabic ones//... Even their cultural content is better, .. At least they do not broadcast violence like children being abused, or killed, .. Or forced to work//... If you open any TV channel now in Arabic,.. I bet you,.. You will find pictures of children from all parts of the Arab world crying, screaming, dying, or out of school//... These pictures are very disturbing// ... I do not want my children to see them, and have nightmares about them// ... What 's the point in that//

5.4.2.2 English preference for all genres of reading

Questionnaire data (table 5.7) also shows that the majority of respondents use English for various types of reading. 75% of parents (64) use English when reading recreational books, 79% (67) when reading in relation to work,

and 75% (64) when reading newspapers and online news. This indicates respondents' high literacy in English, a fact also confirmed in table 5.2 where 80% of respondents (68) claim to hold university degrees. In the Lebanese educational system, English and/or French are the main language(s) of instruction in private schools and universities, in addition to Arabic. Preference for English reading may well have been established from a young age and developed into a *habitus*²⁸ (Bourdieu, 1992) that has persisted in the diaspora. Moreover, the results imply that the majority of Lebanese parents are well integrated into British society, are motivated to remain cognizant of events in the adopted society they live in, and have good careers, where English is commonly used for oral and written communications. A minority of 11% (9) uses MSA for reading and writing at work, which suggests that either participants (for the most part) have a preference for English, despite being biliterate, or they may have jobs in English-speaking sector.

Consistent with questionnaire responses, observational data suggests that the majority of parents prefer English for all reading purposes, possibly because of the education they received in Lebanon, where English and/or French is/are the main language(s) of instruction in schools and universities. The wide availability of print media in English and its affordability may also contribute to parent's preference for English. The lack of publications in Arabic adds to respondents' preference for English. With regard to children, their preference for English seems to be motivated by their greater literacy in English than in Arabic. Interviews reinforce these conclusions, as articulated in the following excerpts:

(29) I: What language do you prefer when reading recreational books or in relation to your work?

Samar: I mostly read English books//

I: Why?

Samar: Because I developed this love for reading in English since I was three years old// ... My parents used to read to me at home Disney stories in English, .. And at school we used to have mostly English books in the library//... and at university, I mainly read English books in relation to my

²⁸ According to Bourdieu (1992: 12) a *habitus* is "a set of dispositions which incline agents to act and react in certain ways ... The dispositions which constitute the *habitus* are inculcated, structured, durable, generative and transposable".

medical field//... So when I came to the UK, I did not change my habits// I kept reading in English//

I: Do you ever read Arabic books?

Samar: Of course// I love reading for Goubran, and May Ziade, and Amin Maalouf in Arabic// ... If a friend recommends to me a good book in Arabic, I buy it straight away//... But how often do we get Arab authors publishing decent books// ... Yes, .. You tell me// ... Arab writers are not very supported in our societies// ... Arabs do not appreciate books// ... We are not a nation that loves reading// That's why, for every 10 books in English, I read 1 or 2 books in Arabic for the entire year// ... Shame// ... But that is our sad reality//

I: What about your kids? What do they prefer?

Samar: [laugh] Of course English//... They are more confident in reading and understanding English books// ... But Arabic, .. they cannot read books in Arabic alone// They will struggle// ... They will not understand the content if we do not help them//

I: Do you read to them in Arabic?

Samar: Actually, no// ... I used to when they were little, .. But now I don't anymore//

Johnny, a practicing doctor in London states his preference for English when reading both professionally and recreationally:

(30) Johnny: I mostly read in English//... Because I need to stay up to date with the publications that occur in the medical field//... Most, if not all of these publications, happen in the West, and are written in English// ... I have to read them in English//... Otherwise, I would have to wait for them to get translated into Arabic, .. And this may take a very long time// by which time, .. The information will become out of date//... There are new advances in the medical field on a continuous basis//

I: What about in relation to recreational books?

Johnny: Actually, I also read in English// ... When I used to live in Lebanon, I used to read from time to time, some books in Arabic, but even then, .. Most of my readings were in English//... I guess it has to do with the **educational system** I received in Lebanon, and my early reading preference from school//

I: What about your kids? What do they prefer?

Johnny: English for sure// ... They are surrounded by English publications everywhere// On the Internet, at school, in the street, everywhere// ... But Arabic, .. Unless you read a book with them at home, and explain the content to them in LA, or English, .. They will never be able to read these books alone, and enjoy them//... They may be able to read, but not understand and enjoy// ... After all, enjoyment is the whole point of reading//

Questionnaire results nevertheless show that 57% of parents (48) use Arabic (29% (25) LA and 28% (23) MSA) for reading newspapers and online news. These imply that Lebanese respondents in Britain like to maintain strong connections with the political and economical developments that take place

in Lebanon, their country of origin, whilst remaining informed of the internal states of the host society. The results also indicate the availability of newspapers in London printed in Arabic, as well as the availability of online Lebanese sites that publish news in Arabic. During a visit to London, I was struck by the number of shops selling Arabic newspapers. The most frequently bought, according to Mr Majid (Lebanese owner of a newspaper shop), are Al-Hayat, Asharq Al-Awsat, Al-Quds Al-Arabi, Al-Ahram Al-Duwali, and Al-Akhbar.

Amal (a mother) explains that her love and passion for MSA books far exceed her love for English books, because the Arabic language is more poetic, emotive and richer than any other language. She adds that her older daughter has started to develop a passion for MSA novels when not reading for academic purposes. Amal adds that reading the news in MSA enables her to stay abreast of all the political developments in Lebanon and the Arab world, and distinguish between the views of various political parties. She believes that English news is biased and politically aligned with the policy of the West, and hence not trustworthy.

(31) I: What language do you prefer for all your reading purposes?

Amal: I surely prefer Arabic// ... Because the Arabic language is a lot more expressive, and more emotional than any other language// ... Definitely more than English// ... When I read Goubran, or Michael Neame, or Amin Maalouf or my favourite Elias Khoury or Alexandre Najjar, .. I just feel transported to a whole new world// ... I feel and connect with every single word in Arabic// ... I don't have this connection with the English language// ... I just find it less rich, less exciting than Arabic// ... English does not turn my emotions on//

I: What about your kids' preferences for reading?

Amal: If they read in relation to school, it's English//... But if they read for leisure, my daughter who is 17 years, has just started reading Arabic books that I have selected for her, .. She is falling in love with {Sakhrat Tanios} for Amin Maalouf <Tanios' Rock>// ... If she does not understand a word, she asks me, and I explain it to her// ... She also uses Google translate on the tablet between her hands// ... She is really enjoying reading Arabic novels now// ... I guess it's my influence on her [laugh]

I: What about reading news? What language do you prefer?

Amal: For me, it is Arabic indeed// I am more concerned about what goes on in Lebanon and the Middle East, than about England, or Europe, or America//... When I read Arabic newspapers, I can access different political views, and formulate my own opinion about things// ... But when I read English newspapers, even if it is something related to the situations in the

Middles East, .. I just feel it is all biased// ... I do not feel I can get an honest opinion// ... They all write their own stories that please Israel, and America, and Britain//... They do not say the truth as it is// ... So I just don't bother// ... I just read Arabic newspapers//

I: And your children? What do they prefer?

Amal: Listen, my son who is 14 years, reads English news on his telephone, but he does not read much Arabic//... But my daughter who is 17years, she loves to read Arabic news, to understand what goes on in her country of origin// ... She likes politics, .. And she feels it is very necessary to read Arabic newspapers, to understand exactly what's happening there// ... But also, .. She reads English news, because, .. She likes to remain aware of what goes on here too//

5.4.2.3 Preference for LA for ICT use

a. Use of Romanised Arabic (RA) when sending text messages

Questionnaire data shows that 76% of parents (65) use English when sending messages to friends and family members. 40% (34) also use LA in the context of informal written communications, compared with 12% (10) who use MSA. It is unclear whether respondents refer to English to suggest their use of English words and script, or their use of LA words in the Roman alphabet, a linguistic code known as Romanized Arabic (RA) or *Arabizi* (Ghanem, 2011). According to Yaghan (2008) and Attwa (2012), the word *Arabizi* originated from mixing the words “Arabic” and “Inglizi” (meaning English), and developed in response to the prevalence of western technology, namely Internet Relay Chat (IRC), text messaging (SMS) and emails, all of which initially required the use of the Latin alphabet (Allehaiby, 2013: 53). The use of Arabizi is becoming increasingly evident in many, if not all, Arab countries and notably among the youth generation (Attwa, 2012).

Observational data echoes the impression that RA or Arabizi is widely used by parents to text Lebanese friends and family in Lebanon. The use of this code is increasingly acceptable in the domain of digital technologies, especially for text messaging. However, when writing formal letters or sending emails, MSA is still considered more appropriate and expected than RA. Similarly, children seem to use RA to send messages to their Lebanese friends and family in Lebanon, or write using a mixture of English and RA.

However, when messaging friends from the mainstream schools, English is used. The following interview extracts with Maryam and Lana reflect similar findings.

(32) Maryam: *I use Lebanese words but I write them in English//... Because that's the new fashion now, you use Lebanese words, but you don't write them in Fusha Arabic, you write them in English letters// ... It is trendier in Lebanon to write this way than in proper Arabic//... The young generation thinks you are old-fashioned if you write in Arabic letters//*

I: What about English? Do you send messages in English?

Mariam: *Yes, but not to my friends and family in Lebanon//... It's more comfortable for me to express myself in Arabic, and for them to write back to me in Arabic// ... But when I have to send **text messages** to someone here in London, .. Like the school, or an English person, then for sure I write the words in proper English//*

I: What about your kids?

Mariam: *My kids write Lebanese words in English letters, but they can also write in Fusha Arabic if they want// ... Yesterday, my ten year old son took my phone, and sent a **text message**, to my nephew in Lebanon, using Arabizi and wrote to him*

{shta2tillak ktir noni 7abibi 2aymta baddak tiji la 3anna?}

< I miss you a lot my dear Noni, when are you going to visit us?>

*So you see, .. He uses Lebanese words but writes them in English letters, that are specific to Lebanese chatting, just like I do when I send text messages to my mum or my sisters// ... I am very happy and proud of him, .. Because he is trying to express himself in Lebanese [...] Thanks to these advancements in technology and **text messaging**, my children can now stay in touch with my family, and their friends in Lebanon// This technology is amazing, it is really helping all those who live outside Lebanon, stay close to their beloved ones in Lebanon, and at affordable costs//*

(33) *I: What language do you prefer for text messaging your friends?*

Lana: *[...] I use Lebanese words like {Mar7aba} <Hello> but I write them in Roman letters, not in formal Arabic, .. like Fusha Arabic I mean//*

I: Why do you prefer texting in Lebanese?

Lana: *I do not know// I just feel it is more natural for me// ... I can express my words better in my own native language, and my friends in Lebanon will understand it better// ... Why use English if we can now write what we say in Lebanese// ... Years ago, we could not write in Lebanese// ... We had to use Arabic words and write them in Fusha Arabic// ... But now it is perfectly acceptable to write in LA// How lovely is that// I wish we could write LA when sending formal messages as well// ... That would make our lives much easier// But sadly, .. it is still not acceptable in our Arab societies// ... **Text messaging** is informal, so it's acceptable to use LA// ... but for **emails** and writing letters, no it's not acceptable to write in LA// ... We are forced to write in proper Arabic, I mean Fusha Arabic//*

I: What about your kids' preference for text messages?

*Lana: My kids have their own mobile phones now// ... So I see them sending **text messages** to my parents and my brother and his children in LA// ... But when they **text** their friends at school they write in English// Even sometimes they write the **message** half in English and half in LA, if they are **chatting** to their friends in Lebanon// ... They mix the two languages together [laugh]>*

b. Predominance of LA in ICT use

With regards to the use of media technologies and online chat applications such as WhatsApp, Skype and Facetime, questionnaire data reveal that an overwhelming majority of 94% (80) use LA when chatting with family members, relatives and friends in Lebanon, in comparison with 25% (21) who use English and 4% (3) who use French. These findings are similar to those reported by children who also show a preference for LA when using ICT applications to communicate with family members in Lebanon. LA seems to be the most preferred variety used informally among family members, and significantly used by parents and children alike in this domain. The relatively reduced cost of using such applications only increases exposure to the HL and culture thus contributing both to the maintenance of LA and to the strengthening of familial bonds. These results mirror Bissoonauth's (2018) findings which conclude that regular interactions via digital technologies with grandparents and family members residing in India contribute to the maintenance of the Indian HLs among Indian-Australian children.

In interviews parents emphasise during the interviews, the primordial role that media and communication technologies have played in increasing their children's exposure to Arabic and Lebanese culture, and thus improving their linguistic skills. Dima (excerpt 26) and Zaynab (excerpt 27) explain that as result of chatting frequently with family and friends in Lebanon, over a long period of time and at no significant cost, their children's use of LA and understanding of Lebanese traditions have greatly improved. Online communication seems to reduce the distance between families in Lebanon and the diaspora, and increase children's attachment to the homeland and ethnic culture. Dima and Zaynab, both mothers, elaborate further:

Dima (26): We use WhatsApp every day to call my mum and dad in Lebanon// ... My kids speak to them when they are having dinner, for at least 30 minutes every day// ... It's a brilliant way to stay connected with them, and tell them about our day// ... It certainly keeps us connected with the family in Lebanon, and helps our children hear, and speak Arabic more often// ... we cannot live in the diaspora anymore without these applications// ... it made our life easier and that of our parents' in Lebanon//

*Zaynab (27): ... My kids and I **Skype** my parents and in-laws every single day// ... We all speak Arabic together// ... These **applications** are free and became part of our lives here// ... They keep us connected with our beloved ones in our beloved country of origin// ... Thank God for such advancements// Without them, we would have felt the bitterness of living in the diaspora a lot worse//*

5.4.3 Concluding remarks

In section 5.4 I have discussed the data gathered from interviews, questionnaires and observations pertaining to participants' linguistic use for media, reading, and ICT. Triangulation indicates that most Lebanese parents prefer Arabic (LA) for watching entertainment programmes, TV news (MSA), listening to music (LA and other spoken varieties), and using media technologies to chat with family members in Lebanon and elsewhere in the diaspora (LA). Parents use RA when sending text messages to their friends and family members in Lebanon and elsewhere in the diaspora. In terms of more general reading, parents prefer English because it is the main language of literacy they had acquired during their school years in Lebanon, rather than because of a lack of proficiency in Arabic literacy.

Children, diverge from their parents in their language use for media despite being socialised, through mass media, into both LA and English. Some use English when watching TV programmes arguing that these are more entertaining and wide-ranging than those broadcast in Arabic (namely LA). Others prefer to watch Lebanese TV programmes, because they are related to their Lebanese cultural and religious values. They also deem TV watching to be a great social opportunity for family members to unite and enjoy their time together. Where music is concerned, the majority of children prefer English arguing that the songs and lyrics relate more to their lifestyle in the

UK. Similarly, children unanimously prefer English for all reading purposes since their literacy skills in English far exceed those in MSA. Although these data do not prove definitively that LS towards English in the literacy domain is at a critical stage and totally established, as in the case of Ukrainian-Canadian children (Chumak-Horbatsch, 1999), it does however indicate that some shift is beginning to take place among Lebanese-British children living in London. Other factors will be examined (chapter 6) to provide a more detailed picture of the sociolinguistic situation of Lebanese immigrants families in London.

When it comes to sending text messages, the acceptability of RA has encouraged children to use LA more often across multiple domains and with greater number of interlocutors, and allowed them to express profound emotions with people who share similar linguistic and cultural identity. Dewaele (2004, cited in Pavlenko, 2006: 259) reports that bilingual speakers commonly experience greater emotional intensity when expressing love or anger in the first language compared to their second language. However, he adds that this situation might change after a period of socialisation (Dewaele, 2004: 127). Additionally, in the domain of media technologies such as when chatting online to family members and friends in Lebanon, LA appears to be mostly maintained. The availability and reduced cost of using such technologies has created a vital platform contributing to the maintenance of LA, Lebanese culture and ethnic identity among Lebanese families in London, comparable to the findings reported in Bissoonauth's (2018) and Szecsi and Szilagyi (2012) studies.

5.5 Children's proficiency in Arabic and English

The degree of competence in a language is argued to give a suitable indication of its degree of use and maintenance. Clyne (2003: 46) underlines the significance of literacy skills, which can contribute in part to LS, if resources in the HL become inaccessible and the market value decreases. Given this, children are asked in the questionnaire to report on their competence level in all areas of MSA, their speaking and comprehension

ability in spoken LA and in all areas of English, to give a comprehensive picture of their linguistic abilities and draw a comparison between their reported competence in English and the dual varieties of Arabic. This evaluation can demonstrate children's language preference and their degree of bilingual and biliteracy development (or lack thereof) in both Arabic and English, as well as the degree of maintenance of Arabic or shift to English. Interview, observation and field note data are then used to compare and contrast between reported and observed data.

Table 5.8 Children's reported competence in Arabic (LA and MSA) and English

N=125	Fluent	Good ability	Fair ability	Some ability	No ability	N/A
Speaking LA	60% (75)	26% (33)	11% (14)	2% (2)	0%	1% (1)
Understanding LA	71% (89)	21% (26)	6% (8)	0%	0%	2% (2)
Reading MSA	36% (45)	28% (35)	24% (30)	7% (9)	2% (2)	3% (4)
Understanding MSA	38% (48)	27% (34)	16% (20)	10% (13)	1% (1)	8% (10)
Writing MSA	26% (33)	24% (30)	33% (41)	9% (11)	3% (4)	5% (6)
Speaking MSA	30% (38)	25% (31)	21% (26)	18% (23)	2% (2)	4% (5)
Reading English	90% (113)	6% (8)	2% (2)	0%	0%	2% (2)
Understanding English	88% (110)	5% (6)	2% (3)	1% (1)	1% (1)	3% (4)
Writing English	87% (109)	6% (8)	1% (1)	1% (1)	0%	5% (6)
Speaking English	87% (109)	6% (8)	2% (3)	2% (2)	1% (1)	2% (2)

5.5.1. Bilingual and biliteracy skills analysis

5.5.1.1 Increased number of interlocutors and wider domains of use contribute to proficiency and maintenance of LA

Questionnaire data in table 5.8 shows that most respondents report having high competence level in speaking and understanding LA. Although understanding LA scores higher than speaking (92% (115) compared with 86% (108)), these figures nevertheless suggest that respondents have sufficient exposure to LA in more than one domain, and are confident bilingual speakers of both LA and English. The data in these tables complement the data in section 5.3 relating to children's language use in different domains, which demonstrates that most respondents speak LA at home with their parents, grandparents, and relatives arriving from Lebanon, as well as with older members of the community in the neighbourhood and the domain of social gathering.

The reported data implies that LA is maintained among second-generation Lebanese children, although English is more used in conversations with siblings and friends of similar age. This offers an example of additive bilingualism where children have developed good competence in the majority language in addition to the HL, and can successfully switch between their linguistic repertoires to fulfil a variety of communicative needs and cope with a diverse range of social contexts, whilst still maintaining their own ethnic and cultural identities. However, questionnaire data may not necessarily represent the true linguistic reality of respondents; these responses may have well been over-inflated to portray a positive image of respondents and their families, and of their attitudes towards their HL and country of origin. To this end interviews with, and observations of, children took place to provide a more accurate and comprehensive appraisal of the situation.

Observation data confirms those reported in the questionnaires with regard to proficiency level in LA. Results indicate that LA is maintained and developed among Lebanese children, with varying degrees of fluency among

the respondents. In all families observed, children could understand and speak LA when spoken to, follow instructions, and ask questions. In some families, children were able to participate in casual conversations, retell the events of some Lebanese TV series, and give their personal opinions about specific issues - the benefits of learning MSA, the impact of the Syrian crisis in Lebanon, and the controversy of Brexit. Children's oral ability in LA fulfils Wei's (1994) conditions for 'average' and 'above average' language ability in the HL. CS between LA and English appears to be a natural linguistic behaviour among all respondents, who adeptly use their linguistic repertoires to fulfil various linguistic needs, cope with different social contexts, and express multiple identities. In contrast with earlier studies (Bentahila, 1983; Lawson-Sako and Sachdev, 2004; Holmes, 2013) where CS is portrayed as the defective use of a language by bilingual speakers, threatening HLM and leading to LS, the findings of this study demonstrate that CS is positively accepted by HL speakers and their families. CS is believed to promote maintenance of the HL and enhance children's bilingual communicative competence, in line with studies conducted on other ethnic communities in multilingual societies (Gardner-Chloros, 2009; Wei & Garcia, 2014; Kharkhurin & Wei, 2015; Wei & Wu, 2009).

5.5.1.2 Limited use of, and exposure to MSA, contributes to English literacy shift

In terms of reported competence across all four areas of MSA, respondents claim to have better competence in reading (64% (80) have fluent or good ability) and understanding (65% (82) fluent or good ability) than in writing (50% or 63) and speaking (55% or 69). A minority of 9% (11) claim to have some or no ability in reading MSA, 11% (14) in understanding, 12% (15) in writing and 20% (25) in speaking. These figures suggest that circa 75% of respondents (94) have at least fair ability in all four areas of MSA, implying at least some literacy in MSA. In comparison, figures related to spoken LA reveal that most respondents have a higher competency level in speaking (86% (108) fluent or good ability) and understanding LA (92% (115) fluent or good) than all areas of MSA. This is predictable given that LA is the variety

reportedly most spoken at home with parents and family members, used in the neighbourhood and social domains and to which most respondents are exposed from a young age when compared with MSA. The importance of using the HL more frequently and in a wider number of contexts has been highlighted in other studies as the most crucial factor in predicting HL proficiency, maintenance or loss (Albirini, 2013; Schmid, 2007; Schmid & Köpke, 2007).

To better understand the linguistic abilities of Lebanese children in MSA, I interviewed two complementary Lebanese schoolteachers. One teacher suggests that the questionnaire figures may have been overstated, notably in the speaking and comprehension areas. She explains that children are emotionally attached to their country of origin and ethnic values, and appreciate the value of MSA. This explains why they may have overstated their responses, in a bid to project a better representation of themselves. The teacher explains that younger children in her school (8-11 years), have limited proficiency in all areas of MSA, because they are mostly exposed to it in complementary schools for only a limited period of two to three hours a week. This is not sufficient to develop high literacy level in MSA, particularly given the absence of any formal support from mainstream schools. However, as children become older (14-16 years), the teacher argues that they gain increased exposure to MSA and develop more proficiency in all four areas, albeit that the reading, comprehension and writing components are always more developed than the speaking part, since MSA is rarely the variety of spoken Arabic. Teresa, a GCSE teacher in a Lebanese complementary school in London explains:

(34) Teresa: Quite frankly, the results in our school here have been brilliant for the past few years//... Most of our students achieve an A or A star grade in their official GCSE Arabic examinations// ... And these exams are not set by us// they are formal exams set by British exams boards, such as Edexcel// .. so the standards are high// ... Our students compete with other Arabic teaching schools here in Britain, and achieve excellent grades// ... These grades lead me to believe, that as our students grow and gain more exposure to Fusha Arabic through TV programmes, acquaintance with other Arabic speakers, and tourism in Arabic speaking countries, they become more fluent in Arabic Fusha, and their abilities improve significantly in all

areas, but mostly in reading and writing// ... Speaking remains the most difficult part for all students, probably because at home they speak LA and not Fusha of course// ... But when we compare students between 14 and 16 years, with the younger ones aged between 8-12 years, you see a big disparity in their level// ... The younger ones can hardly read Fusha even if the text is marked, and they can barely write one or two sentences if they have not prepared for it// ... If you read them a story in Fusha Arabic, most students will not understand it unless you explain it to them in LA// ... But interestingly, they can write Arabic better than they can read it or understand it// I think that when children are younger, they are not motivated to learn Arabic in this country// ... They just come to school to see their friends, and play, and mainly because their parents want them to learn Arabic// not because they want to learn Arabic// ... They do not understand the great value of learning Arabic// ... But as they mature and become older, they start to realise the great importance of developing high competence in Arabic, and understand all the benefits and academic advantages Arabic can give them// ... After all, Arabic is one of the most important languages in today's age// ... We always emphasise this point to our students// ... So yes, I agree that most students have high competence in MSA, but not from a young age// You cannot compare their MSA level with their English for example, because they learn English at school every single day// Arabic, only on Saturday// ... So not enough to develop full competence, like Lebanese children in Lebanon//

A separate interview with Souraya, a classroom teacher for children aged 11-12 years, from another Lebanese complementary school in London claims that children who learn Quranic studies have better competence in MSA than those who do not, even from a younger age. Yet, she believes, in stark contrast to Teresa's opinion, that the majority of children in her Arabic school have 'above average' ability in all areas of Arabic literacy, largely as a result of the triangular efforts and support provided by the Arabic complementary school, parents, and students themselves. She argues that parents' active involvement in their children's literacy activities in Arabic considerably enhances children's Arabic development. Her view is echoed in Curdt-Christiansen and La Morgia's (2018) comparative study of three ethnic minority groups in the UK, which confirm that conscious planning of FLP and literacy practices can provide or alter the linguistic environments and socio-cultural conditions for children's multilingual and biliteracy development. Other studies (Schwartz et al., 2013; Curdt-Christiansen, 2013; Kang, 2015) also conclude that parental engagement in heritage literacy practices promotes children's multilingual development. Souraya clarifies:

(35) Souraya: Our students here have very good abilities in all areas of Fusha Arabic// This is because we take our Arabic teaching very seriously, from when children join our school, from a young age// ...Children come to school on Saturday all day from 9 am until 4 pm, just like a normal day at the English school// ... We teach them four hours of Fusha Arabic, and two hours of Quranic studies, but they are not compulsory for everyone// But those who do learn Quranic studies have better competence in Arabic than those who do not, even from a young age// ... Here at our school, our students achieve excellent grades in the GCSE and A level Arabic examinations// No one gets below B here// ... Needless to say that those parents who support their children's Arabic learning at home, such as read Arabic books to their children, encourage their children to read to them and explain the content of the story, help them with their Arabic homework, discuss topics related to our Arab societies and culture, outperform their counterparts who are just contented to attend Saturday school// ... because any learning requires efforts from the student, the parents and the school// These are the three main pillars of sound learning//

I: Following the questionnaires I distributed to some Lebanese children in London, most children reported very high proficiency level in MSA. Do you agree with these statements?

Souraya: I am not surprised at all// If I showed you some of the written work done by our 11 and 12-year-old students, or if you listened to some of them read, you can conclude for yourself that our children are very competent in Arabic Fusha// ... So yes, I agree with the children's reported answers// I am not sure about other children, but I am very confident about the answers reported by our students// Our boys and girls students, have very good abilities in Fusha//

I: In your opinion do most students develop high proficiency in all areas of Fusha Arabic?

Souraya: Listen, of course the speaking component is not as advanced as writing and reading// This is because Arabic has two varieties, one reserved for reading and writing purposes, and another one for oral communications// At home for instance, these students speak different Arabic dialects like Syrian Arabic, and Lebanese Arabic, and Palestinian Arabic, but no one speaks Fusha Arabic at home all the time// ... they may mix the colloquial Arabic and the Fusha Arabic together, but they do not use Fusha all the time//... This is why, I believe that their abilities in speaking remain behind, when compared with their abilities in reading and writing// ... Let me add something too, that even in Lebanon, most children do not speak Fusha Arabic fluently//... It is like asking most children here in Britain to speak Shakespearean English// I doubt they can//

Observation data and field notes suggest that most respondents have higher literacy level in reading and writing MSA than in speaking and oral comprehension. This is consistent with the diglossic nature of Arabic, where two varieties fulfil compartmentalised functions. The variety that most

respondents are exposed to at home, and speak to fulfil their everyday communication needs is different to MSA acquired in complementary schools, and used mainly for reading, writing and in the religious domain. During a family visit, the mother was watching a documentary TV programme in MSA, about the situation of the Syrian refugees in Lebanon. When I asked the children (aged 10 and 13 years) to explain to me what the presenter was saying, they replied that they could only interpret the pictures but not the accurate meaning of what they heard. Children seem to find it more difficult to understand TV programmes broadcast in MSA, but fully understood those in LA. By contrast, in another family, the daughter (16 years) was observed reading Arabic news on her laptop and informing her parents. In this example, the daughter faced no challenge whatsoever reading and understanding MSA, fulfilling Wei's (1994) criteria for 'above average' literacy ability.

Triangulation indicates that the figures reported in the questionnaire pertaining to proficiency in MSA literacy are overinflated in the reading, speaking and comprehension components than the writing component, whereas the reported proficiency in LA oracy appears to be justified and reasonable. This became particularly evident when I asked six participants (3 boys and 3 girls) to read and explain the meaning of a short passage²⁹, taken from their own Arabic books used at one of the Lebanese complementary school, and to describe in writing using less than 40 words (for 8-12 years old) and 80 words (for 14-16 years old) 'their best friend'. Two children (one boy and one girl) aged between 9 and 10 years were not able to read a new passage from their Arabic book without help, nor able to understand the content without receiving multiple cues. One male respondent aged 11 years who attended Quranic studies at the Lebanese Arabic school, and whose parents seemed to be practising Lebanese Muslims, was able to read the content of the passage in MSA faster than the

²⁹ The reading passages were taken from the books used by one of the Lebanese Arabic complementary schools in London. The books were written by KAmal el Shartouni and Elias el Haddad, and published by Dar el Mashreq as part of the series developed for Arabic learners of all levels. 8-12 years were asked to read a passage from the primary textbook part 1. 14 to 16 years were asked to read a passage from their senior textbook part 1. The passages used are attached in appendix 6.

other two, but also required prompts and assistance to understand the content. As for the writing component all respondents were successfully able to use their own words to describe their best friend, notwithstanding a number of grammatical errors. The other three respondents (2 girls and one boy) aged 14-16 years appeared more confident in reading the chosen Arabic text, yet the comprehension element proved to be more challenging, and they would have failed to grasp some words without my assistance including explanations of their meaning in common LA terms. Writing was clearly more advanced than the other components, as all three respondents managed to write more than 80 words to describe their best friend showing a good command of MSA. However, a formal assessment of children's literacy in MSA is required to best reflect children's accurate level of literacy development (or lack thereof). Due to the constraints of the current study, this evaluation could not be pursued but could form the basis of a future study.

Consequently, I argue, based on schoolteachers' opinions, questionnaire findings, informal testing and personal observations that most children who attend Arabic complementary schools have 'average' literacy development in MSA, despite their limited exposure to this variety in the UK. Older children (14-16 years) invested in developing their skills in MSA and preparing to take the official Arabic exams for GCSE³⁰, have 'above average' literacy skills in reading and writing than their younger counterparts. However, when it comes to speaking, children of all ages have more advanced skills in LA than MSA. This is not surprising given that LA is the language children acquire natively at home, and learn to speak long before they learn how to read and write in MSA. Additionally, observations confirm the school teacher's viewpoint that in families where parents are actively involved in Arabic literacy activities with their children, support them with their Arabic homework and projects, and provide them with additional linguistic input (TV viewing of MSA programmes, reading in MSA, discussing books read in MSA, socialising

³⁰ The acronym GCSE stands for General Certificate of Secondary Education. It is an academic qualification generally taken in a number of subjects in Secondary Education (end of year 11) in the UK.

with other Arabic-speakers), the children achieve advanced linguistic and literacy skills in both LA and MSA even from a young age. These findings have been similarly reported in other studies on multilingual families (Schwartz et al., 2013; Schwartz, 2008; Curdt-Christiansen, 2013; Curdt-Christiansen and La Morgia, 2018). They demonstrated that parents' language management, through their involvement in HL literacy activities with their children and their provision of rich literacy resources, strongly influence children's multilingual and multiliteracy development.

5.5.1.3 Children's increased proficiency in English

Questionnaire figures show that at least 93% of respondents (116) report fluent or good ability across all areas of English, the dominant language that all respondents study at school. When compared with the reported proficiency in LA oracy, English seems to score 7% higher in the speaking area and only 1% higher in the comprehension part, which indicates that most respondents have a very high level of competence in both LA and English oracy, an example of additive bilingualism, where respondents have managed to successfully develop their abilities in English, whilst maintaining their oracy skills in the HL.

However, when English literacy level is compared with that of MSA, the data suggests a sharp contrast between the languages. 32% more respondents (40) report to have fluent or good ability in reading English than in reading MSA, and 43% (54) more respondents claim to have fluent to good competence in writing English than in MSA. It appears that participants' literacy in English is more developed than their literacy in MSA, and that they are more dominant and comfortable reading and writing in English than in MSA. One possible explanation for this discrepancy between English and MSA literacy rate is the diglossic nature of Arabic that could negatively affect children's competence. Unlike LA that is learnt casually at home, achieving fluency in MSA literacy requires children to invest more efforts, determination, and time. It also depends on the availability of good educational resources in the host society and governmental support which

promotes the teaching of HLs and treats HL speakers as an important national resource for the entire nation (Kondo-Brown, 2006).

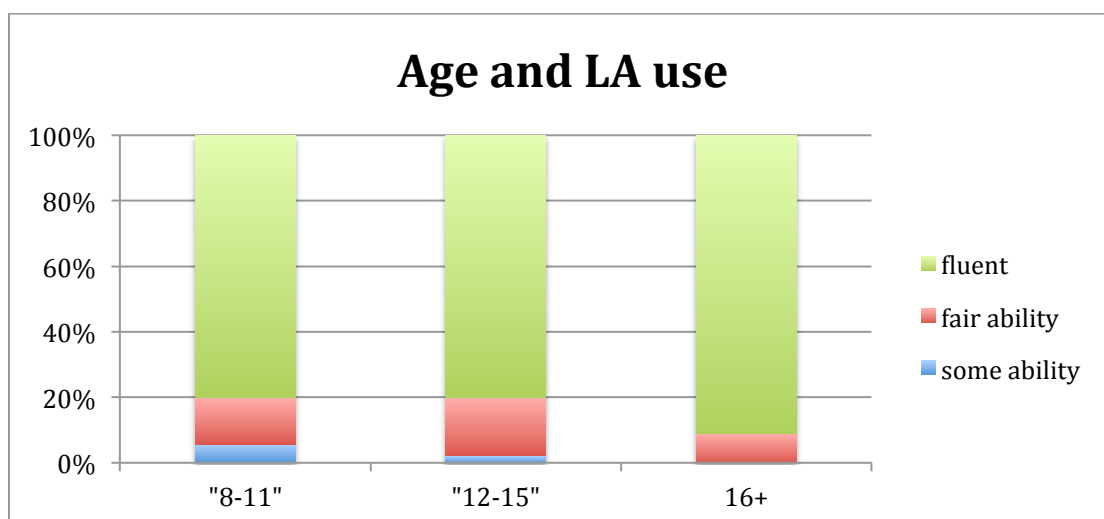
Observations also suggest that children's literacy in the dominant language is more advanced than their literacy in MSA. This may not be surprising given that English is the majority language in mainstream schools, and to which respondents are exposed across most domains. However, a high proficiency level in English may not necessarily lead to oracy LS, contrary to studies that have suggested such an outcome (Slavik, 2001). Consistent and continuous use of LA at home and in other domains, coupled with effective FLPs and parents' 'impact beliefs' about raising bilingual children (De Houwer, 1999) and strong attachment to the ethno-cultural identity, can act as strong maintenance factors among Lebanese families in London, as suggested by Fishman (1991, 2000).

5.5.2 Impact of personal attributes on children's use of LA

Individual attributes such as age and gender are believed to affect language attitudes, language ability and language maintenance (Shin 2002; Rohani et al., 2012; Zentella, 1997). 'Youth culture' or 'peer group' culture during the teenage period are often highly influential, and can negatively affect attitudes towards HLs and cultures (Baker, 1992: 68). In turn, these unfavourable attitudes can adversely affect the use of the HL, and lead to LS towards the majority language of the host society. Given this, the relationship between age, gender and LA use is analysed in the following section.

5.5.2.1 Positive correlation between age and proficiency in LA use

Table 5.9 Children's age and LA use



The questionnaire findings in table 5.9 show that 80% of children (100) across all age groups have fluent ability in LA. This fluency increases to 90% (113) in the age group '16 plus', whereas the percentage of those reporting to have 'fair ability' drops from 19% (24) in the age group '12-15' to 9% (11) in the age group '16 plus'. The percentage of those who claim to have 'some ability' reduces to 0% for the age group '16 plus'. These results imply that as children grow older and become more exposed to LA, they gain more confidence in using their HL and consequently, their competence level increases. Unlike Baker's study (1992), which suggests that during adolescence, notably between 14-15 years, the age variable negatively influences attitudes to Welsh, which in turn negatively affects language ability, this study indicates that language ability in LA increases with age. Several factors may be argued to contribute to this increased fluency in LA, including children's frequent and regular use of the HL at home and in the neighbourhood, their attachment to the Lebanese culture, the core value attached to family values and religion, and regular involvement in social, religious and cultural activities of Lebanese networks. Additionally, older children in this study may be less anxious to demonstrate their bilingual ability in public and more confident to live with their multiple identities than their younger counterparts.

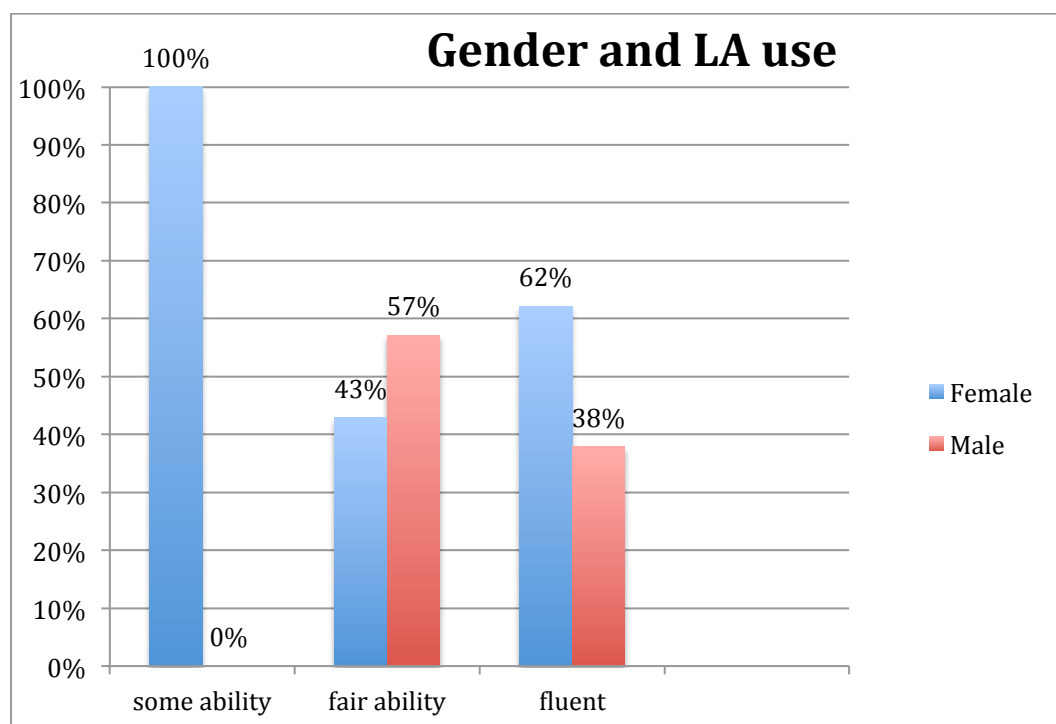
Observation data equally suggests that the age variable impacts children's fluency in LA, with older children (14-16 years) being more fluent speakers of

LA than younger ones (8-11 years). Other studies focusing on HL use among immigrant children show that younger children generally have a lower proficiency in the HL than older siblings (Namei, 2012; Zentella, 1997). This is not surprising considering that younger children in the family may be exposed earlier to the dominant language of the host society, when their older siblings start attending school, and bring the dominant language into the home environment. Additionally, siblings may prefer to use English when communicating with each other, making it harder to maintain HL use at home (Guardado, 2002). However, in some cases, older children who are proud of their Lebanese heritage and confident speakers of LA, consciously assume the role of HL agents with their siblings, reinforcing their parents' FLP. These findings are similarly reported in Little's (2017) and Gregory's (2001) studies, highlighting the important role older siblings can provide as language and literacy teachers.

There are similar findings concerning literacy skills in MSA. Older children aged between 14-16 years appear to have greater competence in MSA than younger counterparts, because of their increased exposure to this variety, and the greater efforts and commitment to developing their literacy skills. Additionally, children who are more engaged in Quranic religious studies seem to have higher literacy competence in MSA even from a young age than those who are not, because of the central value Arabic (MSA namely) plays in the lives of Muslims. This strong connection between religious identity and ethnic identity which often leads to maintenance of the HL, is well documented in the literature (Rouchdy, 2002; Clyne & Kipp, 1999; Fishman, 1991; Smolicz, 1981), and will be explored furthermore in chapter 6.

5.5.2.2 Girls' increased use of LA compared to boys

Table 5.10 Gender and LA use



Questionnaire results in table 5.10 point that 24% (30) more girls appear to have more fluency in LA than boys of a similar age, with 62% (78) of girls claiming to be fluent speakers of LA compared with 38% (47) of boys. 57% (71) of boys claim to have ‘fair ability’ in LA compared with 43%(54) of girls. Several factors may explain this discrepancy in LA use between the two genders. It may well be that girls wanting to project a better image of their linguistic abilities have overinflated their answers, whereas boys provided more realistic and honest responses. Alternatively, girls in this sample study may identify more with their Lebanese identity and cultural heritage than boys, and accordingly consider themselves as the future transmitters of the HL and culture, possibly replicating the role embodied by their own mothers (and/or grandmothers) at home. The centrality of the mother in guaranteeing intergenerational transmission of the HL is well noted (Velázquez, 2013; Okita, 2002). The findings in this study contradict Al-Sahafi’s findings (2015), which underline the key role Arab Muslim immigrant fathers in New Zealand assume in regulating the FLPs and transmitting the HL and culture. Clyne and Kipp (1999: 137-216) also note in their studies of three pluricentric languages in Australia, that even in families with Muslim Arab fathers and non-Muslim, non-Arab mothers, the children and the mothers had also

learned to speak Arabic well. This emphasises the significance of the father's authority in some Arabic-speaking families in enforcing the HL.

There are a number of studies reporting that females are more likely to maintain the HL than males (Makoni, 2012; Zentella, 1997; Portes & Hao, 1998), although I believe that motivation more than gender may influence language learning and proficiency, as Cohen and Dörnyei (2002: 172) put it: 'Motivation is often seen as the key learner variable because without it, nothing happens'. Nevertheless, the role assumed by some women in regulating the FLPs and planning their children's activities and social networks can play a fundamental role in the maintenance of the HL and ethnic identity in heritage families. Zentella (1997) concludes in her study of bilingual Puerto Rican neighbourhood in New York, that language choice is influenced by gender and social networks and that these networks act as a support system for its members.

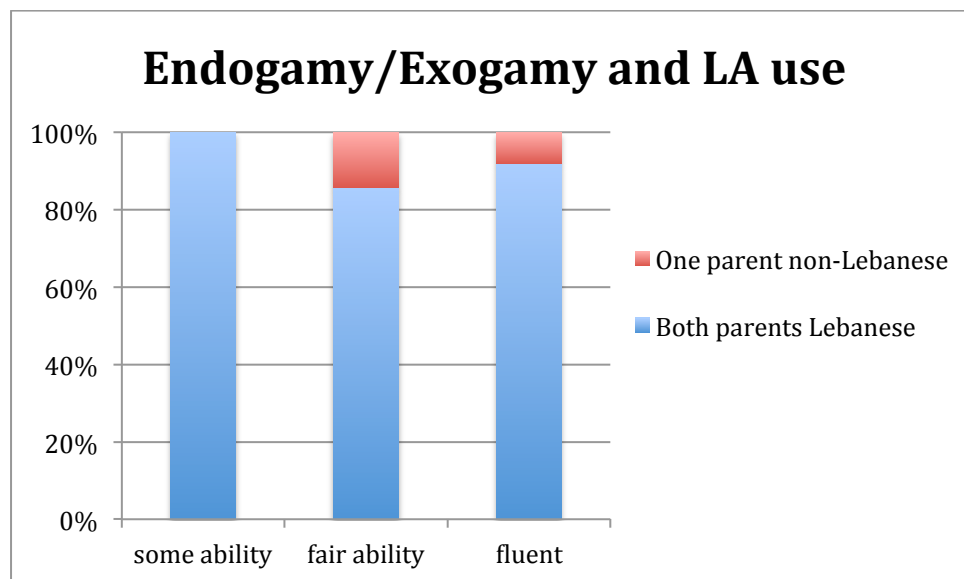
In this study, strong positive attitudes towards the HL and ethnic identity (see chapter 6) may have positively affected the girls' perceived competence in LA. Yet, since the ratio of girls to boys in the entire sample study is 3 to 2, these figures cannot be interpreted in isolation nor should they lend themselves to generalisation. An even sample of girls and boys needs to be considered to provide more consistent data, and possibly enable generalisation.

Observation findings diverge from the questionnaire data, as they indicate no correlation between gender and proficiency in language use. In some families, girls appeared to be more confident speakers of LA than boys of similar age group, but in other families the opposite was observed. Factors such as the degree of parental support, parents' determination to transmit the HL and develop children's literacy in MSA, consistent use of FLP, and the family's involvement in ethnic social networks, seem to have more impact on increasing children's proficiency in LA and literacy skills in MSA than the actual gender (sex) construct *per se*.

5.5.2.3 Endogamy favours LA maintenance

Marital patterns - whether both parents belong to the same ethnic background or not - are claimed to impact children's patterns of language use and affect among other factors the process of HLM or shift (Pauwels, 2005; Clyne, 2003; Baker, 2001). Table 5.10 presents the questionnaire results reported by children pertaining to the relationship between marital patterns and their use of LA.

Table 5.10 Type of marriage and children's use of LA



The findings above show that 92% (115) of children reporting to have 'fluent ability' in LA have both parents of Lebanese origin. Similarly, 85% (106) of those who have 'fair ability' in LA have both parents Lebanese. These results imply that children who have both parents Lebanese have superior competence in LA, than those in families of mixed marriages. These findings echo other studies (Clyne & Kipp, 1997) which assert that language maintenance in endogamous marriages tend to be higher than in exogamous marriages. The fact that the non-English speaking parent lacks the opportunity to speak the HL at home is believed to accelerate LS towards the dominant language. In the case of Lebanese immigrants, the high rate of intra-ethnic marriages contributes to the high rate of LA fluency and consistent use at home in communications between children and parents. However, this individual factor needs to be analysed in the wider context

thought to influence children's language behaviour and the process of shift and maintenance, including attitudes towards the dual varieties of Arabic and towards the construct of identity in the diaspora. These will be examined in chapter 6 (to assess their overall impact on children's linguistic behaviour).

Interview responses confirm that proficiency in LA can be affected by the parents' ethnic background. Children who reported in the questionnaire to have 'fluent' and 'fair' ability in using LA come predominantly from endogamous marriages (92% and 85% respectively) where both parents are of Lebanese origin. This factor is highlighted in other studies as playing a key role in affecting the process of HLM and LS (Holmes, 2013; Fishman, 1991; Baker, 2001). Observation data also confirm the above findings. In families where both parents are Lebanese, children appear to have improved ability in LA, due to their increased exposure to it at home through communications between parents, parents and children, grandparents and parents, grandparents and children, media and digital technology use, and the family's Lebanese-dominated social networks. In exogamous cases, and specifically when the mother is non-Lebanese, children show limited ability in speaking LA with their father and more fluency in speaking English and the mother's HL. These findings are in line with those reported by Pauwels (1980), which confirm that endogamous families have a greater chance of maintaining their HLMs than exogamous families. Yagmur and Akinci (2003) also propose in-group marriages as a possible factor that contribute to the maintenance of the Turkish language among the Turkish community in France.

5.5.3 Conclusion

Section 5.5 has examined the findings pertaining to Lebanese children's language proficiency in LA oracy and MSA literacy, and discussed the key factors that may have influenced their bilingual and biliteracy development (or lack thereof).

The results suggest that although LA is maintained among second-generation Lebanese-British children in the family domain, a shift in literacy towards English is actually taking place. Chumak-Horbatsch (1999) also notes a shift in literacy towards English among Ukrainian children in Toronto, whereas Lawson and Sachdev (2004) report a shift towards English in both literacy and oracy among second-generation immigrant children, and attribute the availability and quality of literature in L1 to be factors that affect HLM.

Additionally, results show that there is a positive correlation between age and proficiency in using Arabic (in its duality), with older children (14-16 years) having more developed ability in both LA and MSA than younger ones (8-11 years). As for gender, results from interviews and observations show no correlation between gender and proficiency in using LA, which contradict the data reported in the questionnaires. The researcher argues that children's motivation to learn LA, coupled with strong positive attitudes towards the HL (chapter 6) and language socialisation through frequent involvement with members of their heritage community, through mass media, religion and Arabic complementary schools may have contributed to increased proficiency in LA, rather than the actual gender construct *per se*. Additionally, children who come from endogamous families have more developed skills in LA than those from exogamous families, consistent with the findings of other studies (Pauwels, 1980; Yagmur & Akinici, 2003; Holmes, 2013).

Chapter 6: Data analysis and discussion of findings for language attitudes and identity practices

6.1 Introduction

This chapter examines participants' attitudes towards LA and MSA as well as towards English and bilingualism. It also explores the relationship between the Arabic language, religion and identity practices of parents and children.

6.2 Participants' attitudes towards Arabic and English

Ideologies, beliefs and attitudes towards language are believed to influence the linguistic behaviour of individuals (Ajzen & Fishbein, 2005). Many researchers working on HLM and shift in multilingual settings agree that attitudes of individuals and group members of ethnic minorities towards their own HLs can contribute, either consciously or unconsciously, to the patterns of HL use and thus impact LS and LM (Baker, 1992a; Blackledge, 2008; Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Montrul, 2012). Parents' positive attitudes towards their HL are noted as significant sources of motivation for children's HL use and HLM (Fishman, 2001; Hashimoto & Lee, 2011; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009; Curdt-Christiansen, 2016; 2009). Negative attitudes held by speakers of majority languages and assimilated by HL speakers, are proven to lead to an unwillingness to speak the HLs and cause LS (Kroskrity, 2000: 13). Language attitudes and ideologies are also investigated in the context of language endangerment and revitalisation because of their perceived association with the vitality of a language and a community's language practices (Sallabank, 2013). Wurm (2002: 11) contends:

One of the most important factors for the maintenance and reinvigoration of a threatened language is the attitude of the speakers towards their own language and the importance which they attach to it as major symbol of their identity.

Given this, I included questions related to the status, value, aesthetic, importance of Arabic in its duality, and language difficulty in the questionnaire to assess the attitudes of Lebanese parents and children towards their own language, and investigate the extent of language maintenance or shift. Frameworks such as Smolicz's core value theory (1981), Giles' objective and subjective ethnolinguistic vitality (Giles & Taylor, 1977) and Bourdieu's notion of linguistic marketplace value (1991) are models that highlight language attitudes as significant factors that can lead to language change, LM or LS in a community.

Motivation, described as the learner's orientation with regard to the goal of learning a second language (Crookes & Schmidt, 1991), is also an important aspect in HLM. Baker (1992: 32) identifies two components of language attitudes: an integrative orientation and an instrumental orientation. An integrative attitude to a language is mostly social and interpersonal in orientation, and may be driven by the need for affiliation to, or identification with, a language community and its cultural activities. Instrumental orientation, in contrast, is mostly self-oriented and individualistic, and associated with utilitarian motivations, such as the need to learn a language for achievement, status, self-actualisation or the need to preserve a HL for basic survival and security. Although both types of motivation (integrative and instrumental) can affect the success (or failure) of HLM (Noels, 2005), many studies have reported that the main motivation for HL learners to learn their HL was to communicate with family members and relatives, thus showing integrative rather than instrumental motivation (Jee, 2011; 2018; Shin, 2016).

Fishman (1991: 49) argues that attitudes can be assessed by collecting self-reported data about them or through observation. The following sections 6.2.1 and 6.2.2 discuss the attitudes of children towards both varieties of Arabic (LA and MSA) and English. They are obtained from the self-reported answers in the questionnaire and interviews, and from field notes collected during observations. Sections 6.2.3 and 6.2.4 address parents' attitudes towards Arabic and English.

6.2.1 Children's attitudes towards LA

In order to assess children's attitudes towards LA, they were asked in the questionnaire to rate several statements on a five-point scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Table 6.1 shows children's reported responses.

Table 6.1 Children's attitudes towards LA

N=125	Agree strongly (AS)	Agree mostly (AM)	Neither agree nor disagree (NAND)	Disagree mostly (DM)	Disagree strongly (DS)	N/A
LA is part of my Lebanese identity	61% (76)	27% (34)	10% (12)	1% (1)	0%	2% (2)
LA is important to communicate with family members	77% (96)	18% (23)	3% (4)	0%	0%	2% (2)
LA is important to integrate in the Lebanese community	32% (40)	23% (29)	34% (43)	6% (7)	2% (2)	3% (4)
LA is important for my religion	34% (42)	8% (10)	23% (29)	28% (35)	3% (4)	4% (5)
I like speaking LA	51% (64)	27% (34)	13% (16)	6% (7)	0%	3% (4)
If I have children I would like	39% (49)	30% (38)	16% (20)	5% (6)	1% (1)	9% (11)

them to learn LA						
LA is beautiful	36% (45)	26% (33)	27% (34)	6% (7)	0%	5% (6)
LA is my most dominant language	18% (23)	21% (26)	32% (40)	22% (28)	2% (2)	5% (6)

Positive attitudes towards LA

The figures in table 6.1 show that an overwhelming 95% (119) of respondents are motivated to learn and use LA for integrative reasons, mainly to communicate with family members and relatives. 88% (110) claim to associate LA with their Lebanese identity, an indication of their attachment to Lebanese ethnic and cultural heritage, and to the important role LA plays in their lives in the diaspora. This self-reported data appears to indicate that children view LA as a 'core value' and central to their ethno-cultural identity in a multicultural context. This finding is in line with the literature that describes HL and ethnic identity as closely linked (Farruggio, 2010; Guardado, 2010; Park and Sarkar, 2007; Rouchdy, 2002). Joseph (2004) argues that language and identity are 'ultimately inseparable' (p.8). The construction and negotiation of identity through language is discussed further in section 6.3.

55% (69) claim that LA is important for intra-group communication and integration in the Lebanese community, reinforcing the integrative value ascribed to LA. Children report that they need to learn the HL to facilitate communication with other members of Lebanese society, and strengthen their ethnic belonging.

The findings suggest a sentimental attachment to LA, with the vast majority of respondents (69% or 87) claiming that they would love to teach their own children LA and wish to see them speaking it.

42% (52) of respondents claim to value LA because it is important for their religious practices, in comparison with 31% (39) who do not and 4% (5) who preferred not to answer this question at all. Traditionally Arabic (meaning MSA) is the language associated with religion, and especially with Islam. 23% (29) of respondents chose the option of 'neither agree nor disagree'. This might be because some children did not completely understand the wording of the question, or that they associated religion with MSA rather than LA. In the religious domain, LA seems to occupy a less important role in terms of communicative, symbolic and ethno-cultural functions.

With regard to the question of affective appeal, 78% (98) claim to love speaking LA and 62% (78) consider it a beautiful language. These are clear indications of the positive attitudes children hold with regards to the aesthetic nature of LA. Possible reasons for LA's appeal among children include their proficiency in speaking and understanding LA, the abundance of TV programmes and songs in LA, and a shared belief among Lebanese that LA is the most accessible and beautiful language of all Arabic languages.

Yasmina (16 years) explains the importance of acquiring fluency in LA in order to facilitate communication with family members and relatives, strengthen familial bonds, and communicate more profoundly with Lebanese native speakers. The valorization of the heritage identity motivates Yasmina to maintain LA and transmit it to her own children. Failure to do so is described as a missed opportunity and could lead to a loss of connection with, and belonging to, the heritage roots. She reports:

(36) Yasmina: LA it is very important to me and my family// Firstly, it is the main language I use to communicate with my grandparents in Lebanon, and with my cousins, uncles, and auntie, and all the family there// ... They don't all speak good English, some do but some learnt French at school, so their English is broken// ... For this main reason, I feel it is very important to be

fluent in LA, so I can express myself better when I am in Lebanon, and also, I think it is a real shame for any Lebanese not to speak the native language, because then communications with native Lebanese people may break// ... Besides, all kids speak minimum two or three languages in Lebanon, so why should we not be able to speak two or even three languages here in London //... Personally, I will do anything in the future to teach my own children Arabic// I want them to be able to speak it with all my family, and friends, and people from my village in Lebanon// ... I feel that speaking the native language with family members makes the bond between children and parents, cousins, grandparents much stronger// Even the discussions become more interesting and deeper if everybody is fluent speaker of Arabic//

Joseph (16 years) concurs with Yasmina. It is inconceivable to him not to speak LA with his parents, grandparents, and other family members, because he feels he can only express his true feelings and emotions in LA. He describes LA as a beautiful language that he must pass on to his own children in the future, so they can communicate well with family members and better understand the Lebanese culture. LA, ethnic identity, and cultural identity seem to be inextricably connected. Joseph does not ascribe any religious value to LA, other than to use it with other Lebanese people in places of worship. MSA is rather the variety widely used in Lebanese churches, but does not play the same essential role in Christianity as it does in Islam.

(37) Joseph: Oh I love speaking LA because I feel it is my mother language, and my parents' too// So it is only natural to use it when I talk to them, and to my grandparents, and my uncles and aunties in Lebanon// ... I feel odd if I spoke English with my family// ... I feel I cannot express well my emotions in English, the way I do in LA// ... Some words do not translate in English// ... You just need to say them in LA, like when you need to express your love for someone or show your anger, automatically without thinking, I use LA//

I: How would you describe it as a language?

*Joseph: I would say it is the most expressive language in the world//.... It is very beautiful and musical// It also sounds modern, not like Fusha or ... Latin for example// Latin is a dead language// LA reminds me of my sweet, tender and loving grandmother// ... When I speak it I feel happy, perhaps because my grandmother used to sing to me in LA as a baby// ... So for me, I associate LA with happy memories, and with the most important person in my life my grandmother, may God give her good health// ... The lullaby she used to sing to me {*hal şışan shū hīlwin*} <How beautiful are these ducks> remains stuck in my mind// when I sing it loud to myself, I feel very relieved [laugh]*

I: Would you like to teach your own children in the future LA?

Joseph: Absolutely// I wish to marry a Lebanese girl who speaks Arabic and understands the Lebanese culture// ... Together we will, God willing speak Arabic with our children,.. It is very very important for me that my children speak Arabic fluently so they can communicate with my parents and understand very well our Lebanese traditions// ... We cannot be true Lebanese and not speak Arabic//

I: Do you think LA has any religious dimension?

Joseph: No, we use LA to communicate with other Lebanese// It is our national language// ... But we do not necessarily use it to read the Bible or pray in the Lebanese church// ... I go with my parents to the Lebanese church in London// The priest reads the Bible in Fusha and delivers the sermon in some Fusha and some LA//... We sing the hymns in Fusha,.. We pray in the mass in Fusha// ... But we talk to each other inside church and outside it in LA// ... Fusha is more important than LA for mass, because during mass most of the prayers are in Fusha not LA// Yet, Fusha is not totally necessary// ... I pray in English but I also chant some hymns I have learnt in LA//... Anyone can go to the Lebanese church and pray in the language he /she feels comfortable using// Arabic is not the only language God accepts//... Not like Muslims, they must pray in Arabic// We can pray in any language we want//

My observations reinforce the sense of children's positive attitudes towards LA for multiple reasons including communicative, symbolic, integrative, cultural and identity purposes. Children seem aware of the need to speak and maintain LA, in order to preserve healthy and strong communication with family members and relatives, as well as with other Lebanese living in the diaspora. Children show motivation and determination to transmit LA to their own children in the future, thereby protecting it from loss, because of its intimate association with their ethno-cultural identity. If these positive attitudes towards LA remain stable, and are accompanied by effective maintenance efforts, LA may be maintained into the third generation.

6.2.2 Children's attitudes towards MSA and English

Table 6.2 Children's attitudes towards MSA and English (Questionnaire responses)

N=125	Agree strongly	Agree mostly	Neither agree nor	Disagree mostly	Disagree strongly	N/A
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			disagree			
To speak only English in the UK is all that is needed	7% (9)	10% (12)	21% (26)	26% (33)	29% (36)	7% (9)
It is important to learn Arabic (MSA) and English in the UK	57% (71)	28% (35)	7% (9)	2% (3)	2% (2)	4% (5)
Knowing both Arabic (MSA) and English gives people access to more job opportunities	61% (76)	20% (25)	10% (13)	5% (6)	0%	4% (5)
Knowing Arabic (MSA) and English make people more clever	30% (37)	30% (37)	22% (28)	11% (14)	3% (4)	4% (5)
Being able to read and write in both Arabic (MSA) and English is important	39% (49)	40% (50)	12% (15)	2% (3)	2% (2)	5% (6)
I would like to take GCSE	29% (36)	32% (40)	22% (28)	9% (11)	5% (6)	3% (4)

exams in Arabic (MSA)						
I would like to be considered bilingual and biliterate in Arabic and English	40% (50)	37% (46)	19% (24)	3% (4)	0%	1% (1)
Learning both Arabic (MSA) and English is confusing	3% (4)	6% (7)	20% (25)	35% (44)	30% (38)	6% (7)
Arabic (MSA) is important for my religion	28% (35)	13% (16)	24% (30)	21% (26)	10% (13)	4% (5)
I find it easy to learn Arabic (MSA)	2% (2)	10% (13)	43% (54)	29% (36)	13% (16)	3% (4)
Knowing Arabic (MSA) and English gives me an academic advantage	31% (39)	31% (39)	23% (29)	11% (14)	2% (2)	2% (2)

Favourable attitudes to MSA

The findings in table 6.2 illustrate that the majority of respondents perceive Arabic (MSA) to be very important and to have instrumental value, with 81% (101) deeming it important for career opportunities and 85% (106) stating the importance of learning both Arabic (MSA) and English in the UK. Only 17%

(21) agree that speaking only English in the UK is sufficient, while 10% (11) find learning both Arabic (MSA) and English confusing.

In terms of the relationship between language and religion, 31% (39) disagree that there is a connection between Arabic (MSA) and religion while 24% (30) 'neither agree nor disagree'. 41% (51) claim that Arabic is associated with religion as MSA enables them to participate actively in religious rituals and celebrations. One possible explanation for the divided opinion might be that not all respondents are devout and consequently MSA does not have the sacred status it may hold for others, given its connection with the Quran and the religion of Islam. Lebanon is one of very few countries in the Middle East where people belong to a variety of faiths, and not exclusively to Islam. For some respondents, MSA may be part of their national, language, ethnic and cultural identities rather than having any religious connotation.

A majority of 77% (96) wishes to be considered bilingual and biliterate in Arabic and English, indicating a positive attitude towards both Arabic and English. Indeed 61% (76) consider taking the official Arabic (MSA) GCSE examinations in the UK, and 62% (78) believe learning both Arabic (MSA) and English gives them an academic advantage over monolingual speakers of English.

Although most respondents claim that it is important to learn Arabic (MSA), these figures alone do not reveal whether there is a correlation between positive attitudes and high literacy levels, and to intergenerational maintenance. I have explored this issue further in the interviews.

42% (52) of respondents do not find MSA an easy language to learn possibly because the teaching methods used in Arabic complementary schools are not perceived as innovative and modern as those used in the teaching of European languages in UK schools. However 43% (54) 'neither agree nor to disagree' with MSA being an easy language to learn, possibly because although they recognize MSA's importance for career opportunities and/or for

religious purposes, and despite my guarantee of anonymity, they feel unable to volunteer their true opinions.

Both tables 6.1 and 6.2 reveal that the vast majority of respondents (85% - 95%) place high value on both varieties of Arabic. Positive attitudes towards LA convey the respondents' strong emotional attachment to their family, country of origin, and ethno-cultural heritage. Additionally, LA has an affective aesthetic appeal to children, which may increase their motivation to speak it and to transmit it intergenerationally. Positive attitudes towards MSA indicate rather its instrumental value in enhancing career opportunities, academic prospects and improving life more generally in the UK. A smaller percentage of respondents (41% or 51) claim to have positive attitudes towards MSA because of its perceived religious association.

Observations suggest that most children appreciate the instrumental value of MSA, despite believing it to be as more difficult to master than LA or other European languages. Children make considerable effort in developing literacy skills in MSA, and aspire to achieve academic and economic benefits. They regularly attend Arabic complementary schools, have additional private tuitions in MSA as required, and use online technology to further their literacy.

Omar (14 years) describes the importance of learning MSA, given its potential benefits to his career prospects. He would also love to teach his children LA for its communicative purposes. He claims that bilingual children are cleverer than monolingual ones, because their brains are trained to process information in at least two languages simultaneously. He also states that bilingual children have more friends than monolingual ones, because they can use Arabic to socialise with Lebanese-Arab friends who have limited or no ability in English, and English to participate in other social networks.

(38) I: Do you like to learn Fusha Arabic?

Omar: Honestly I prefer learning LA because it is my mother language, and it is so much easier to speak it than Fusha//... But I know that Fusha is very important too, and that is why I go to the Lebanese school every Saturday//>

I: Why is Fusha important to you?

Omar: Because it opens up new job opportunities for me when I am older// ... If I know how to read and write in Arabic, I can get a job anywhere in the Arab world and not just in Europe// ... My dad works in a legal firm, and his company sends him to Dubai, Qatar, Saudi Arabia all the time because he knows how to read, write and speak Arabic// ... So yes, Arabic is very important in today's world//

I: How would you describe Fusha Arabic in few words?

Omar: Very useful and important but very hard to master//... If I compare Fusha with LA or English, .. I feel Fusha is a lot harder// ... But this does not stop me from learning it, .. I am very determined to learn it, and I will take GCSE in Arabic next year, God willing// ... It will be worth it later on//

I: Would like to teach your own children Arabic in the future?

Omar: [laugh] LA definitely, it is our mother language// ... We speak it at home, and when we return to Lebanon, so of course I would like my children to learn it, so they know how to communicate with all Lebanese people// ... As for Fusha, again I would like to teach it to my children, because it is an important language for one to learn// [...] Because if they can speak two languages and write two languages, they will be more clever than their friends who only speak and write one language// [...] also they will have a lot more friends// .. because they can use Arabic to make friends with Lebanese or Arabs who can't or don't like to speak English, and English to make friends with the rest//

Faten (16 years) feels that learning MSA is vital because of its religious dimension and association with Islam. She views MSA as the lingua franca that bonds all Arabic speakers together, enhances career opportunities, and reinforces the Arab ethnic and religious identity among all Arabic speakers both living in the diaspora, and in their countries of origin. She also expresses her desire to teach her own children both varieties of Arabic for a number of reasons including the maintenance of their ethnic and religious identities. She explains:

(39) I: Do you think it is important to learn Fusha Arabic?

Faten: Of course it is// It is the most important language in the world to me// ... As a Lebanese and as a Muslim, .. I attach great value to Fusha// ... I speak LA fluently at home, but I also go to Arabic school on Saturday to develop my proficiency level in Fusha//

I: Why is Fusha important for you to learn?

Faten: Firstly, we must learn Fusha to be able to read and understand the Quran// ... Allah chose Arabic as the language for all Muslims in the world// ... It is my duty to learn this sacred language// ... Besides, it is such a

beautiful language, very rich and varied, .. Not like for example French which I find really boring// ... Also, Arabic is the common language Arabs use to communicate with each other, .. If I know how to speak Arabic well, I can speak it anywhere in the Arab world, and with people who are highly educated// ... And after all, if I truly want to read and understand Arabic books, TV news, road signs, anything written in Arabic, I must have good standards in Fusha// ... LA alone is not sufficient//

I: Would you like to transmit Arabic to your children?

Faten: God willing, of course I will teach my kids Arabic// ... every Muslim mother dreams of teaching her children Arabic// ... This is our duty as Muslims to teach our children our language so they can read the Quran and understand all the verses// ... Also, I would like them to be able to communicate with all Arabs not just Lebanese, .. Fusha helps all Arabs wherever they are in the world, to communicate well with each other, and feel the bond between them// ... And also, being able to read and write Arabic, opens up many job opportunities//

I: What about LA? Would you like to teach it to your children?

Faten: Oh LA goes without saying// ... Of course I want them to speak LA so they can communicate with my family and withal the relatives in Lebanon// ... LA is easier than Fusha, so I do not think it will be a problem for them to learn it// ... But Fusha requires more efforts and more time to develop fluency// ... Both LA and MSA are very important for me as a Lebanese and as a Muslim girl// ... I hope to transmit both of them to my children so they can use them both for different reasons//

Unlike the previous respondents who express positive attitudes towards LA and MSA, and who all express their motivations to teach Arabic to their children in the future, I noted during my observations that several participants perceived MSA as less valuable than English and other European languages. Children consider the teaching methods used in Arabic complementary schools in London as old-fashioned and unstimulating in comparison with the more modern and interactive approaches in European language teaching in UK mainstream schools. Additionally, children's negative attitudes towards acquiring MSA literacy may be influenced by wider society's unfavourable view of Arabic and Arabic-speakers. The diglossic nature of Arabic seems to be another contributing factor to the negativity towards MSA. LA is deemed easier to learn than MSA, and more relevant to family relationships and attachment to the homeland. Such attitudes towards MSA, if unchanged, may well result in literacy shift to English and possibly, assimilation to British society, as exemplified in the following interview excerpts.

Roula (12 years) explains her personal opinion:

(40) I: Do you think it is useful to learn Fusha Arabic?

Roula: Actually, no it is not very **useful**// ... We live in England? The whole world speaks English// ... I do not see the need to learn Arabic// ... I mean if one does not speak Arabic, and does not write it, one can still travel **anywhere in the world, and read any publication in the scientific, medical, engineering, and communication field**// ... So frankly one is **not missing out on anything**//

I: In your opinion, is it necessary to be bilingual in the **UK**?

Roula: Ahhh, .. Frankly it is not necessary// It may be useful to speak two languages but not necessary// ... anyhow, if I had the choice I would rather learn **French or Spanish**// ... **They are a lot more useful than Arabic**// ... **because they are European languages**// ... I mean there are more people in the world who use **Spanish and French** than Arabic// ... **Spanish is spoken in all parts of Latin America**// ... And especially they are **more modern** than Arabic// ... When I compare the way we are taught **French** at school here, which is very **interactive and engaging**, with the **old-fashioned and boring** way used to teach us Arabic in the Arabic school, I **realize why I love learning French or Spanish a lot more than Arabic**// ... Also most people in the **West** think that Arabic is the language of Muslims, **terrorists and troublemakers**// ... that is why I prefer to distance myself from this language, so I do not get mistaken for a **terrorist** or a **backward person**//

I: What about LA? Do you like speaking it?

Roula: I **do not mind speaking Lebanese**// ... It is a lot easier than Fusha// ... We use it at home, and in Lebanon when we talk to our friends and family members// ... But Fusha is a lot harder because we do not use it daily// ... It is only used in books// ... And it is **over complicated**// ... So many words in LA have **totally** different equivalents in Fusha// ... Like **{nāfidha}** <MSA term meaning window> and **{shubbāk}** <LA term for window// ... Why can't we say **{shubbāk}** all the time// ... Why do we have to learn both terms, and use one when speaking informally, and one when writing// ... This is what I mean by **over complicated**// ... In English for example, there is just one term 'window' which we use when writing and speaking// ... **Simple, .. Easy, and to the point**//

Observations indicate that almost all children hold positive attitudes towards learning English. They consider it much easier to learn than MSA or any other European language, and vital for their lives in the UK. Developing high proficiency in English is seen as fundamental to academic, professional and social success. In general, children acknowledge the value of bilingualism and multilingualism, which may implicitly reflect parents' aspirations and expectations for their children's bilingual attainment, in line with other findings (Lao, 2004; Park & Sarkar, 2007). Some children value the learning of one (or more) European language(s) in addition to English, discounting the usefulness of Arabic. Others value the learning of both Arabic (LA and MSA)

and English. In the interviews, children report that, as per Lebanese culture and traditions, language learning is expected of them, and developing multilingual ability is closely linked to academic attainment.

6.2.3 Parents' attitudes towards LA

Parents' attitudes are significant to HL learning, maintenance or loss as they can contribute to children's success in HL learning, maintenance or loss (Garcia, 2003). Positive attitudes result in increased levels of parental engagement that can produce more successful maintenance outcomes among children (Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). Tables 6.3 and 6.4 detail parents' attitudes towards the learning of LA and MSA as well as towards the dominant language.

Table 6.3 Parents' attitudes towards LA

N=85	Agree strongly (AS)	Agree mostly (AM)	Neither agree nor disagree (NAND)	Disagree mostly (DM)	Disagree strongly (DS)	N/A
It is important for my children to speak LA because it is part of their ethnic and cultural identity	84% (72)	12% (10)	4% (3)	0%	0%	0%
LA is the natural language I use to communicate with other Lebanese speakers	82% (70)	17% (14)	1% (1)	0%	0%	0%
It is important for my children to	73% (62)	21% (18)	5% (4)	1% (1)	0%	0%

<p> speak LA to keep strong ties with Lebanon and the Lebanese culture </p>						
<p> It is important for my children to speak LA to identify with other members of the Lebanese community </p>	<p> 62% (53) </p>	<p> 30% (25) </p>	<p> 5% (4) </p>	<p> 1% (1) </p>	<p> 1% (1) </p>	<p> 1% (1) </p>
<p> It is important for my children to speak LA to communicate meaningfully with family members </p>	<p> 82% (70) </p>	<p> 16% (13) </p>	<p> 1% (1) </p>	<p> 1% (1) </p>	<p> 0% </p>	<p> 0% </p>
<p> LA is important for religion </p>	<p> 28% (24) </p>	<p> 28% (24) </p>	<p> 35% (30) </p>	<p> 2% (1) </p>	<p> 2% (2) </p>	<p> 5% (4) </p>
<p> LA is beautiful </p>	<p> 64% (54) </p>	<p> 30% (26) </p>	<p> 4% (3) </p>	<p> 1% (1) </p>	<p> 1% (1) </p>	<p> 0% </p>
<p> LA is my most dominant language </p>	<p> 52% (44) </p>	<p> 23% (20) </p>	<p> 16% (14) </p>	<p> 5% (4) </p>	<p> 4% (3) </p>	<p> 0% </p>
<p> Children who speak LA and English have more friends than those who speak only one language </p>	<p> 29% (25) </p>	<p> 12% (10) </p>	<p> 20% (25) </p>	<p> 30% (17) </p>	<p> 8% (7) </p>	<p> 1% (1) </p>

Parents are integratively motivated to transmit LA to their children

These findings show that 96% (82) of parent respondents consider LA an integral part of their children's ethnic and cultural identity, and not simply a language. 99% (84) of parents regard LA as their native and natural language used in communication with fellow speakers, and 75% (64) regard it as their most dominant language, despite years spent in the UK. The majority of respondents claim that it is important for their children to speak LA because of its integrative value associated with it: 94% (80) regard LA as vital to strengthening ties with Lebanon and the Lebanese culture, while 98% (83) think LA crucial in enabling children to have meaningful and genuine conversation with family members, and 92% (78) see LA as important for their children's integration into, and identification with, the Lebanese community. As for religion, 56% (48) regard LA to be important for participation in religious rituals and ceremonies, while 35% (30) chose the option of 'neither agree nor disagree'. Although religion is an important element of Lebanese parents' lives, LA is not viewed as essential to the practice thereof. This can be explained by the sacred role of MSA in the religious domain. In terms of its aesthetic appeal, 94% (80) of parents consider LA a beautiful language, reinforcing the overwhelmingly positive attitude.

41% (35) of participants believe that speaking LA and English extends their children's friendship networks and enables them to socialise with more than just one ethnic community, but an almost equal number disagree. This finding may imply that LA is not considered essential in the friendship domain because young children may prefer to speak English more than LA in their communication with friends. As such, the ability to speak (or not) the HL does not prevent children from socialising and building friendships with peers.

In the interviews, parents expressed similarly highly positive attitudes towards LA and its transmission to their children living in the UK, given its integrative value. They echoed the views expressed in the questionnaire.

Souhad, a mother of three, states that it is of utmost importance to both her and her husband to teach their children LA. This will help them communicate meaningfully with family members and relatives in Lebanon, sustaining kinship and family ties as well as attachment to Lebanon and the Lebanese culture and traditions. She fears that were her children to lose their ancestor's language, they will also lose their connection to, and love for, Lebanon and their true sense of Lebanese identity. Additionally, Souhad explains that lack of fluency in LA, may cause children to suffer a sense of embarrassment and guilt when surrounded by Lebanese speakers in Lebanon.

(41) I: Do you consider LA important for your children to learn?

Souhad: Oh indeed it is// It is a must, not an option// ... My parents, brothers, sisters and in-laws live in Lebanon, .. We visit them every year// ... if children don't speak LA fluently in Lebanon, they will feel ashamed and embarrassed of themselves// If my children stopped speaking Arabic, their communications with family members, and relatives, and friends there would also stop// ... That would be a great loss that I am not willing to accept// ... That's why, my husband and I make a lot of efforts to maintain Arabic at home with our children, .. We are first and foremost Lebanese, and so are our children// So they must be fluent speakers of Arabic, not just mediocre speakers// Arabic is the language of our grandparents and great grandparents, .. We must teach it to our children, .. And they in turn must transmit it to their own children in the future, so they can have a true sense of Lebanese identity//

Saïd, a father of two, concurs. He insists on the vital role that Lebanese grandparents play in the lives of children. This is only possible through children learning to speak LA.

(42) Saïd: Yes of course it is very important// I want my children to be able to communicate with their grandparents in Lebanon, and their cousins, and uncles, and aunties// ... I do not want my kids to think that English is their native language, because it is not// We are Lebanese not British// We live here for the time being but one day, god willing, .. We will return to our village in Lebanon// We have our family home there, .. I want my children to be able to converse with every Lebanese speaker there, to be able to understand every single word their grandmother and grandfather say to them// ... This is precious to me// ... My parents are so affectionate, .. every word they say to my children is full of love, affection and emotion//... My kids would never be able to understand these beautiful sensations, and appreciate their value and full meaning, if they did not speak Arabic fluently//

Observational data also indicates that parents consider LA to have a vital role as a marker of ethnic and cultural identity. Lebanese parents are very determined to encourage LA use at home to ensure their children connect better with the Lebanese culture and traditions, and develop a strong sense of identity through the use of the HL. In interviews, parents also state their desire to maintain LA and Lebanese culture, in part because the cultural and religious values of the dominant society are distinctively different from theirs.

(43) *Amani (mother of two): I want my children to speak Arabic fluently, not just to communicate with me, my husband, their grandparents, and their cousins in Lebanon// ... But most importantly, I want my children to realise that Arabic is part of our Lebanese culture and identity// They are Lebanese, and they must speak Arabic as well as they speak English// ... They must know and respect that our culture is different to the British culture//*

I: Do you think if they spoke English only, they would not feel Lebanese?

Amani: No// ... Because the language is not just words and knowledge// ... The language transmits the culture, .. The traditions, .. The emotions, .. The way people live their lives// ... That's how I see it// When my mum 'cajoles' my children, .. She uses typical Lebanese terms like {tu'brūni} <the literal translation is 'May you bury me' but this typical Lebanese expression actually means my beloved>, and {ḥayāt albi intu} <the literal translation is 'you are the love of my heart'>, and {yūni intu} <the literal translation is you are my eyes, meaning my beloved>// ... These terms have absolutely no meanings in English// No one would ever understand their true meanings, and feel their impacts if they did not understand LA//

Tony, a father of two whose wife is Polish, explains that speaking LA allows their children to develop a positive sense of belonging to the Lebanese community in London. He clarifies:

(44) *I: Why do you want your kids to speak LA?*

Tony: Mainly to communicate with my parents and family in Lebanon// ... But also, I want them to feel part of the Lebanese community here in London// ... I want them to have Lebanese friends and understand the Lebanese culture and Lebanese traditions// ... Our culture is totally different from the European ones// ... When they understand LA and feel part of the Lebanese community, they can understand everything about Lebanon and Lebanese culture, like the sense of humour, the concepts of family, marriage, sexual relations, respect for grandparents, generosity, how we deal with issues of death, social responsibilities, and how we live our religion//

Amal, a mother of three, considers LA a beautiful language. She feels it is much easier to learn than MSA, as children are exposed to it more in a

variety of domains. She explains that once children develop fluency in LA, they can use it to communicate with Arabs across the world. She argues that LA facilitates the learning of MSA.

(45) Amal: *I think our Arabic, I mean LA is such a beautiful and musical language// ... It is much easier to learn than the Fusha// ... Because our children are more used to hearing it at home, in the neighbourhood, and everywhere in Lebanon more than the Fusha// ... Fusha is ... more difficult to learn, but it is very important too but for other reasons//*

I: Why do you want your children to learn LA?

Amal: Firstly because we are all Lebanese, it is our native language just like English is the native language spoken by English people// ... Also, if they develop fluency in LA they can use it when they speak with other Arabs anywhere in the world// ... Most Arabs now understand our Lebanese dialect because of the proliferation of Lebanese TV programmes, and the celebrity achieved by Lebanese singers and actors// ... Our dialect is the nicest in the Arab world, a lot softer and more musical than the rest of the Arabic dialects// [laughs] ... And finally, once they know Lebanese they can easily learn Fusha// ... The process becomes a lot easier because the two varieties are not miles apart, .. they are part of the same family// ... They can transfer their knowledge of Lebanese to Fusha// ... It is like Spanish and Portuguese, .. Once you learn one you can easily learn the other//

6.2.4 Parents' attitudes towards MSA and English

To assess parents' attitudes towards MSA and towards bilingualism, they were asked to rate statements ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree on a five point scale. Table 6.4 displays the opinions stated in the questionnaire.

Table 6.4 Parents' attitudes towards MSA and English

N=85	Agree strongly (AS)	Agree mostly (AM)	Neither agree nor disagree (NAND)	Disagree mostly (DM)	Disagree strongly (DS)	N/A
It is important for my children to learn both	72% (61)	27% (23)	1% (1)	0%	0%	0%

MSA and English						
Both MSA and English should be maintained by Lebanese families	63% (53)	28% (24)	5% (4)	1% (1)	2% (2)	1% (1)
English is all that is needed for life in the UK	7% (6)	28% (24)	16% (14)	25% (21)	24% (20)	0%
Children who are literate in both MSA and English have access to more job opportunities	36% (31)	29% (25)	20% (17)	11% (9)	4% (3)	0%
Children who are literate in both MSA and English do better at school than those who are literate only in English	30% (25)	36% (31)	26% (22)	5% (4)	3% (2)	0%
I want my children to	62% (53)	29% (25)	9% (7)	0%	0%	0%

develop literacy skills in MSA and English						
Learning MSA and English is not difficult	36% (31)	40% (34)	10% (8)	10% (8)	3% (3)	1% (1)
Schools in the UK should support the teaching of Heritage languages	53% (45)	24% (20)	17% (14)	3% (3)	1% (1)	2% (2)
MSA is important for religion	26% (22)	23% (20)	25% (21)	14% (12)	10% (8)	3% (2)

Parents value their children's biliteracy development in MSA and English

The questionnaire findings in table 5.14 show that 99% (84) of parents deem it necessary to teach their children both MSA and English. 91% (77) believe that Lebanese parents should transmit MSA for their children because of all its added benefits. For these parents, MSA has high instrumental value as 66% (56) state that children who are biliterate in both MSA and English outperform those who are literate in English only. 65% (56) report that being literate in both MSA and English offers children access to greater job opportunities in the future, and 91% (78) of parents wish their children to develop their literacy skills in both MSA and English.

35% (30) of parents agree that English alone is sufficient for their children's lives in the UK. These parents may be influenced by broader societal attitudes in the UK, which tend to promote the supremacy of English and consider HLs to have significantly less capital value. However, 49% (41) of parents disagree with the statement that English alone is sufficient for life in the UK, likely implying that they value bilingualism and biliteracy development for their children. Moreover, 76% (65) believe that learning both Arabic and English is not a difficult process, possibly because parents as children in Lebanon were exposed to a multilingual environment, and particularly in the Lebanese education system (Shaaban & Ghaith, 2002; Shaaban, 2005; Sinno, 2008).

77% (65) agree with the statement that schools in the UK should support the teaching of heritage languages. The interviews shed more light on the potential reasons for this view; Lebanese parents value bilingualism and biliteracy development for their children, and would like to receive official support from local educational institutions in recognising the Arabic language as a valuable language in the UK, and assisting parents with their maintenance efforts.

49% (42) agree that Arabic (MSA) is important for their religious practices whereas 24% (20) disagree, and 25% (21) neither agree nor disagree. The division in opinions reflects Lebanese parents' diverse views of the role of language and religion, and their multi-denominational backgrounds. Those who value Arabic as a sacred language may regard their religious identity as closely associated with their national, ethnic and cultural identity. Maintaining MSA is synonymous with sustaining their religious practices and their group's identity in the diaspora. Those who are less devout may not consider MSA to have a 'core value' in this specific domain. Those who are undecided in this matter may have preferred not to reveal their genuine opinions in a questionnaire type survey, and may have preferred to elaborate more on this potentially contentious or sensitive question in a personal interview.

In the interviews, parents comment on MSA's great cultural and literary value. They report that developing fluency in LA is insufficient for children to access the vast amount of knowledge and literary heritage in Arabic. Parents are aware of the diglossic nature of Arabic and argue that both varieties of Arabic are necessary for different and discrete purposes. Yet, MSA is deemed more prestigious than spoken LA, as it can be both written and spoken, as well as its function as a lingua franca in the Arab World. This corresponds to Rouchdy's view (2002: 143-44) that MSA represents an expression of identity and a unifying force among Arabs whether in the homeland or in diaspora. Amal (a mother of three) explains:

(46) Amal: ... I want them to be able to read and write proper Arabic// ... It is not enough to speak Lebanese// ... Lebanese is very important to communicate with other Lebanese and family members, but Fusha is essential to access anything written// ... I want them to be able to read all the great books written in Arabic by famous Arab authors like Goubran khalīl Goubran, mkhāyil n'aymi, māy zyādi, najīb maḥfūz and many others// ... Arabic is a great language// ... And most importantly Arabic is necessary because all Arabs use Fusha as the common language for communication, and not the spoken variety// ... Fusha is more prestigious for sure than any spoken dialect, not because you can read it and write it, but you can also speak it with all Arabs// ... If children do not learn Fusha properly, they will not be able to work in the Arab world// ... It is an essential language especially nowadays with all the development that is happening in the Arab world// ... Even non-Arabs are learning Arabic nowadays for business purposes//

Amani (a mother of two) expresses a similar opinion when asked about teaching MSA to her children. She describes MSA as an essential language in the 21st century, although more difficult to learn than LA, because there are differences in the field of syntax and lexicon between the two. Field notes suggest that parents perceive MSA as of greater more value in the West, because of its increased political, strategic and business importance.

(47) Amani: Obviously Lebanese is much easier for children to learn, because it is our native language// ... We speak it at home with them since they were born, and when we go to Lebanon they hear it everywhere// Whereas Fusha is a lot more difficult than LA// ... It is like learning a new language, because the word order is different, the terms can be different, and the grammar is a lot more complicated like the dual and the plural for example// ... In Lebanese we just use one plural// ... Despite that, I send my

kids to the Lebanese school in London, because I want them to learn Arabic properly so they can read and write it// ... If they travel anywhere, they can read Arabic and understand it// ... Arabic now is as important as French or German, because of all the opportunities in the Arab world// ... Even here, if you apply to a job, and you have Arabic on your CV, you have a much better chance of getting the job than someone who only speaks English// I mean Arabic is not seen as backwards anymore// ... Nowadays, I think Arabic is highly valued from a political, strategic, and business point of view// ... In the UK, the home office is constantly seeking to recruit people who speak Arabic for political and strategic reasons// ... Organisations are employing people who speak Arabic to expand their business to the Arab world//

Other interviewees make reference to the religious dimension of MSA. Lebanese Muslim parents highlight the importance of Arabic being the language of the holy Quran and a unifying language as it is used by Muslims, irrespective of their native dialect, across the world to recite their prayers. Souhad (a mother of three) comments:

(48) Souhad: For me Fusha is very important// I want my children to be able to read and understand the holy Quran when they pray// I want them to appreciate the value of the Fusha language, because it is the language God almighty has chosen for the Holy Quran to be written// ... All Muslims around the world use Arabic to pray, .. Regardless of what language they speak at home// ... They go to schools, to learn Arabic// ... The Sheikh in the mosque uses Arabic when he delivers the sermon// ... Arabic is extremely important for us as Muslims and Lebanese, because we use it for anything related to reading and writing//

Lebanese Christian parents describe MSA as a 'favoured' language to say their prayers rather than a 'necessary' one. It has a nostalgic value that enables them to feel more fulfilled and satisfied when performing religious rituals. They deem other languages less capable of having the same effect on them. Lili (a mother of two) inserts:

(49): It is vital for my children to learn Fusha so they can communicate with other Arabs, and so they can read and write as well// ... But when it comes to religion, no// ... Fusha is not that important for us as Christians// ... Christians can pray in any language they like, as long as it allows them to connect with God// ... We are not like Muslims// ... We do not pray in Arabic because we have to, .. Or because our Bible dictates it// ... We pray in Fusha because it is the closest to our native language, and we understand it best when we listen to the priest's sermon in the church// ... For me, I pray in Arabic, because it is the language I have been using since my childhood for anything

related to my religious practices// ... I memorised all my prayers in Arabic, so I get stronger emotions when I recite them in Arabic, and happier and more fulfilled// ... Praying in Arabic makes me feel more connected to my roots and my country// ... I would never feel for example the true impact of ‘ana il-umm il-ḥazīna’ <I am the sad mother> or ‘al-masīḥ qāma min bayn il-amwāt’ < Christ has risen> if they were not sang in fayrūz’s voice in Arabic ... No other language in the world makes me have sense these feelings, or has that much impact on me when I pray, as much as Arabic does//

MSA is not, however, ubiquitously revered. I noted during my observations that some parents view the learning of one or more European language(s) such as French or Spanish as having more ‘market value’ than the learning of MSA, since all major scientific, technological and computer advances appear to take place in the West, and news of these are published in English or European languages. MSA is even viewed by some as the language of ‘Arab backwardness’:

(50) I: Do you think it is important for your children to learn Fusha Arabic?

Johnny (a medical doctor): Honestly no// ... I want them to speak Lebanese so they can communicate with my family in Lebanon, but not necessarily to read and write Fusha// ... I value languages, but I prefer my children to master French or Spanish in addition to English, rather than mastering Fusha for instance// ... This is because for me, Arabic is not the language used in medical and scientific breakthrough// ... All major scientific, medical, technological, computer developments take place in the West, and are published in English or another European language//... Not Arabic// ... Arabic is nowadays seen as an archaic, old-fashioned language// The language of terrorism, barbarism, .. and violence// ... The language of Arab backwardness// ... I would rather teach my children a futuristic language, .. One that they can use to access major developments in all fields//

Another interviewee argues that MSA is not the native language of any Arab. He considers achieving fluency in LA to be more useful and necessary for children living in the diaspora than learning MSA, given the former’s communicative and ethno-cultural value.

(51) Tony: I prefer my children to develop fluency in Lebanese rather than Fusha because Lebanese allows them to communicate with their grandparents, aunties, uncles and friends in Lebanon// ... It allows them to understand the Lebanese culture and value the Lebanese identity// ... Fusha is not used for oral communication// ...It is only used for writing and reading purposes// ... Even among Arabs, Fusha is not actually the language

spoken// They all speak their own native dialects, because not all Arabs are educated and literate in Fusha language//

Almost all parents in the observations and interviews seem to value English and multilingualism. Speaking multiple languages in Lebanon appears to correlate with high level of academic attainment, access to greater employment opportunities and openness to the West. That is why parents are committed to make considerable efforts to transmit Arabic (LA and MSA) to their children, and encourage them to learn English as well as other European languages to a high standard (excerpt 9). English is deemed the most important language worldwide for communication, education, business, scientific developments and digital technologies (excerpt 50). Parents are concerned that their children should not be disadvantaged in terms of language learning in the UK, given that the educational system promotes the learning of at least three languages namely Arabic, French and English. In my observations, parents were constantly underlining in their discourses with children, the importance of developing multilingual and biliteracy skills in increasingly mobile and global world, not only for communicative and socio-cultural purposes, but also for academic and career advantage. They consider multilingual education a resource that can provide children with increased and improved opportunities. Parents are invested in nurturing their children's language and literacy development by offering them various forms of support, such as educational (parents' personal knowledge of language(s), and extra-curricular tuitions in Arabic and/or European language(s)), time, and materials (accessibility to various forms of learning resources such as books, magazines, satellite TV, Internet and communication technologies, and even trips to Lebanon and Europe). In this study, parents' strong agentive role in language management (a vital component of FLP) fosters a conducive environment for children's bilingual and biliteracy development, consistent with the findings of other studies on multilingual families (Curd-Christiansen and Wang, 2018; Curdt-Christiansen and Riches, 2010).

6.2.5 Conclusion

The Lebanese parents and children of this study hold positive attitudes towards both LA and MSA. Participants are emotionally attached to their country of origin and their cultural heritage, and value intergenerational transmission of LA so their children communicate meaningfully with family members and relatives, and fellow members of the diaspora. These attitudes demonstrate high integrative orientation, and should thus lead to more successful maintenance outcomes among children (Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). Simultaneously, parents value MSA and are motivated to invest (Norton, 2013) in developing their children's Arabic literacy skills to maximize the academic and socio-economic value of their linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991). Parents also consider MSA more prestigious than LA because of its association with cultural and literary knowledge, and its status as the lingua franca among all Arabs, and its consequent sense of 'shared Arabness' (Al-Sahafi, 2018) among diverse Arabic-speaking immigrant groups. Some parents also value the religious dimension of MSA and its importance in reinforcing their ethnic and religious identity in the diaspora. Children, influenced by their parents' positive attitudes and motivations, are both integratively and instrumentally motivated to learn Arabic (LA and MSA), and invest time and effort to develop their bilingual and biliteracy skills. Nevertheless, oracy skills in LA remain more developed than literacy skills in MSA because of greater opportunity to use LA across more domains and with more interlocutors, as well as its strong emotional value and association with ethnic and cultural identity.

Parents and children alike consider English vital to their lives in the UK and the modern world. Parents expect their children to achieve high oral and literacy proficiency in the dominant language, since language development is associated with academic attainment in Lebanese culture. Parents, inspired by their personal positive experiences of multilingualism in Lebanon and by their high aspirations and expectations for their children, are invested in developing their children's bilingual and biliteracy skills in both Arabic and English. Children in turn, are well integrated into British society. They recognize that while English is indispensable for communication with

members of the wider community and academic and professional success, LA remains vital to their ethno-cultural identity and family relationships, and MSA is important for instrumental reasons.

6.3 Language, religion and identity

Language and identity are ‘ultimately inseparable’ and identity is constructed and negotiated through language (Joseph, 2004: 13). Drawing on poststructuralist theories of identity, Christine Weedon (1987/1997) argues that:

Language is the place where actual and possible forms of social organisation and their likely social and political consequences are defined and contested. Yet it is also the place where our sense of ourselves, our subjectivity, is constructed (1997: 21).

For Weedon, the concept of ‘subject’ or ‘subjectivity’ is understood to be constructed in and through language. Every time speakers use language to speak, read or write, they are not just exchanging information with members of the target community, they are also engaged in identity construction and negotiation (Norton, 2013: 4). According to Ivanič (1998), identity is a plural and dynamic notion because:

It captures the idea of people identifying simultaneously with a variety of social groups. One or more of these identities may be foregrounded at different times; they are sometimes contradictory, sometimes interrelated: people’s diverse identities constitute the richness and dilemmas of their sense of self (p.11).

In multilingual and immigrant settings, the relationship between language and identity becomes even more complex because of the multiple identities that speakers may have to construct and negotiate through their social interactions within different ethnic networks. The close interplay between religion and language is widely noted to affect the process of language choice, LM and LS, and identity formation in immigration contexts (Fishman et al., 1966; Omoniyi & Fishman, 2006). Spolsky (2009) considers religion as a ‘domain’ governed by its own language practice, beliefs and management. This domain can incorporate various ethnic and linguistic practices from the

homelands and act as a valuable buffer to strengthen ethnic identity and maintain it inter-generationally (King, 2003; Foner & Alba, 2008). However, religion offers a universal system of beliefs and practices and can act as a bridge providing immigrants with access to new forms of social networks and facilitating their adaptation into the host society (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006). To better understand how Lebanese parents and children negotiate and construct their multiple identities in a 'super-diverse' society (Vertovec, 2007), I have detailed the families' complex social networks. The term 'super-diversity' is used to refer to the increased diversity of migrations as well as to the diversity among these minority ethnic groups. Vertovec (2007) argues that super-diversity in Britain

is distinguished by a dynamic interplay of variables among an increased number of new, small and scattered, multiple-origin, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified immigrants who have arrived over the last decade (p.1024).

In his definition, Vertovec warns against interpreting super-diversity in a one-dimensional manner. He calls for the recognition of multi-variable migration patterns and characteristics that underline super-diversity. However, the rise of super-diversity has created new forms of inequalities, challenges, racism and xenophobic attitudes. Makoni (2012: 193) criticises the notion of super-diversity arguing that 'it contains a sense of social romanticism creating an illusion of equality in a highly asymmetrical world, particularly in contexts characterized by a search for homogenization'. Czaika and de Haas (2014) challenge the idea of super-diversity in terms of the intensity, diversity and direction of migration. They argue that global migration has increasingly originated from a range of origin countries with a negligible number from destination countries (many of which small countries in Western Europe). As such, the notion of super-diversity reflects the asymmetrical nature of globalisation processes and may be based on 'a Eurocentric worldview' (Czaika & de Haas, 2014).

Questionnaire results complemented by interview and observation data, pertaining to issues of identity, religion and language use are analysed in the following sections.

Table 6.5 Participants' perceptions of ethnic identity (Questionnaires results)

What ethnic identity do you consider yourself to be in general	Lebanese	More Lebanese than British	Equally Lebanese and British	More British than Lebanese	British	Arab	Muslim	N / A
Children participants N=125	25% (31)	14% (17)	30% (38)	20% (25)	5% (6)	3% (4)	3% (4)	0%
Parent participants N=85	41% (35)	17% (14)	31% (26)	3% (3)	1% (1)	4% (3)	3% (3)	0%

6.3.1 The connection between language and identity

Table 6.5 shows that 25% (31) of children prefer to identify with an exclusively Lebanese identity, implying strong attachment to their ethno-cultural identity and their country of origin, and a lack of integration into the dominant society. A minority of 5% (6) identifies with a solely British identity, which may entail language and cultural shift to English and rejection of the Lebanese ethno-cultural and linguistic heritages.

Although five times (20% or 25) more children adopt an exclusive Lebanese identity than a British one, the overwhelming majority - 64% (80) - consider their identity to be shifting along a continuum between Lebanese and British. They regard identity to be multi-faceted and fluid rather than permanent, in line with other studies that present a similar concept of identity (Norton, 2013; Edwards, 2011; Block, 2007; Omoniyi & White, 2006). The figures also imply that most children are well integrated in British society. A minority of just 3 % (4) has an affinity with the Arab identity and another 3% (4) identifies themselves as Muslim, which implies that most Lebanese children feel greater affiliation for their national identity (Lebanese/ British) than the ethnic (Arab) or religious (Muslim).

The results also reveal that 41% (35) of parents perceive their Lebanese identity to be permanent and unchanging. They value this and consider it the most important and most dominant over any other identity. A significant number (31% or 26), however, self-identify as a combination of Lebanese and British, highlighting their identity's fluid and changing nature according to domain. 17% (14) feel more Lebanese than British, yet they recognize the dynamic aspect of identity and embrace both identities, as does the minority of 3% (3) who sees their identity as more British than Lebanese. In total, 51% (43) of parent participants engage with both the Lebanese and British identities, reflecting their sense of integration within British society, as well as their ongoing attachment to their country of origin and cultural heritage. Their identities represent a fluid, constantly shifting fusion of the two. 4% (3) view their identity as linked to the Arab nation and 3% (3) identify with the Muslim. The religious dimension of Arabic as being the language of the Quran and Muslims, as well as being the lingua franca among all Arabs may explain the affiliation with these perceived identities. Only 1% (1) perceives their identity as British, a reflection of their possible assimilation to British society and complete detachment from their Lebanese origin and HL, possibly because of the negative attitudes held by the majority society towards speakers of Arabic generally.

Questionnaire responses cannot offer a comprehensive and detailed understanding of how participants define themselves in terms of identity, nor how they interpret the relationship between language, religion and identity. Interviews with, and observations of, children and parents capture their diverse experiences and allow the opportunity to share their personal stories, enabling triangulation and lending credibility to the data. Some participants describe identity as rather fixed and unchanging over time and space, whilst others view it as multi-layered, complex and fluid. Some emphasise the importance of language in constructing identity, whilst others reject any sense of a relationship between language and identity. Some define themselves in terms of religious identity, and others prefer to associate themselves with the national, ethnic and language identities. These contrasts are evident from the interview excerpts in the following sections.

6.3.1.1 The ability to speak LA reinforces Lebanese identity

Saīd, a father of two, considers his indisputably Lebanese identity unchanging regardless of years spent in the UK. This robust attachment to his homeland, HL and culture shapes the formation of his identity, which is conceptualized as a matter of essence and nativeness rather than as dynamic and changing over time (Palviainen & Bergroth, 2018).

(52) Saīd: I have been living here for over 15 years, but I am still totally Lebanese// ... My identity never changes no matter what happens// ... I was born Lebanese and will remain Lebanese until I die// ... Nothing and no one can make me change my Lebanese identity// ... My Lebanese identity is everything that I am//>

Maryam, Saīd's wife, concurs that being Lebanese transcends any other form of identity. She argues that one can hold multiple national identities, but the dominant and genuine form of identity remains the one inseparable from the linguistic and cultural background. The cultural differences between her own ethnic culture and that of the dominant (British) society are key to her asserting her Lebanese identity.

(53) Maryam: *It is true I hold the British passport, but I can never consider myself British// ... Not because I do not look British, .. But most importantly because our culture is Lebanese, and it is very different to the British culture// ... I raise my children as Lebanese// ... We live a typical Lebanese lifestyle// We speak Arabic at home, we eat Lebanese food, all our friends are Lebanese, and we watch everything Lebanese on TV// ... For me, my Lebanese identity comes before any other identity or nationality// ... I cannot separate being Lebanese from speaking Arabic, actually Lebanese Arabic, from thinking, behaving and living a Lebanese way// ... Language and our way of living are what create our identity, and indicate who we really are in society// ... Not the passport we hold//*

A number of children, who may predictably be influenced by their parents' beliefs, also express similar opinions and emphasise their exclusively Lebanese identity. The ability to speak the HL reinforces their sense of national identity, as per Fishman (2001b). Reem (15 years) argues that her emotional attachment to Lebanon and the family motivates her to flag and reinforce her Lebanese identity in the diaspora. Her ability to speak LA fluently and socialise with other Lebanese families make the connection with her Lebanese self stronger and more enduring.

(54) Reem: *... I am 100% Lebanese// My parents come from Lebanon and so do my grandparents, and my great grandparents// My entire family is Lebanese// ... We speak Arabic at home, and we socialise mostly with Lebanese families here in London// ... My mum cooks Lebanese food// ... So my entire lifestyle is Lebanese// ... I am so attached to my country Lebanon, and I return there every year//*

I: Do you think speaking Arabic reinforces your Lebanese identity?

Reem: Ah of course// Because I can speak Arabic fluently, I can discuss any topic and in depth with my Lebanese family and friends// ... For me speaking Arabic allows me to feel like a true Lebanese// ... Other children I know speak very limited Arabic, .. So they will not be able to converse easily and confidently with other Lebanese, and because of that, .. They may not regard themselves as real Lebanese//

6.3.1.2 Negative societal attitudes towards Arabic leads to detachment from Lebanese identity

Observational notes suggest that the dominant society's negative attitudes towards speakers of Arabic can drive children to distance themselves from members of their Lebanese community and other Arabic-speaking communities, and instead embrace an exclusively British identity so as to be

more accepted into the host society. Speaking Arabic may be associated with Islam and perceived as a threat by others, and consequently some children abstain from using Arabic outside their homes and from identifying as Lebanese or Arabs. This highlights the significant influence exerted by society's language ideologies and attitudes on linguistic, cultural and ethnic diversity. They can reinforce a rich multi-lingual and multi-cultural environment, but equally can lead to linguistic and cultural assimilation or death (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994; Grenoble & Whaley, 2006; Kroskrity, 2004).

(55) Roula (12 years): *I never speak Arabic at school or on the street// ... People here think that Arabic is the language of Muslims, and terrorism, and backwardness// ... I am scared to speak Arabic here in public, or in my English school// ... I do not want my friends to hate me, or, .. Feel ashamed about me if they heard me speaking Arabic// ... So I just use English// ... At home, I speak Arabic with my parents because it is safe// ... But when I have friends around, I switch to English// Even my parents speak English when I have my friends around// ... It is just safer this way//*

Joseph (16 years) expresses a similar view. His emotional attachment to Lebanon, his cultural identity and HL is indisputable, and yet, he explains, in public if he senses that his peers hold negative attitudes towards Arabic-speakers, he becomes eager to detach himself from any Lebanese connection, stops speaking LA even in intra-group communication, and embraces a British identity to perfectly 'fit in'. He comments:

Joseph (72): *And sometimes, I only speak English even among my Lebanese peers, mostly when I sense that the other friends have bad attitudes towards Arabic and Arabs// ... Then I prefer not to flag my Lebanese identity// ... I just promote my British part// ... I just do not like to be seen at school as a terrorist,.. or a bad Muslim//... Because here Arabs are seen all as Muslims, and not good people//>*

Parents seem more confident than their children in confronting negative societal language ideologies and attitudes. They are, however, aware that mainstream schools in the UK do not value multiculturalism, nor do they actively encourage HL speakers to maintain their precious languages and share their cultural experiences with others at school. Families in this study

echo Tinsley and Board's (2016) findings that schools in the UK do not actively facilitate HL learning. In one of the interviews, a mother expresses her frustration with the lack of support she receives from her children's school with regards to Arabic learning, and feels that Arabic in the UK remains marginalized, compared with European languages. She argues that parents' efforts alone cannot promote multilingual and multicultural development in society, and that mainstream schools that wield significant influence should support language learning as they do other subjects. Another mother explains that while parents are emotionally mature and are able to deal with stereotypical representations of all Arabic-speakers as violent terrorists, their children may be less confident and less equipped to endure such unfavourable attitudes. Lana describes her own experience with her next-door neighbour who initially decided to keep her distance from her and her family, because they were Lebanese and spoke LA. Lana adds that she invited her neighbour and her children into her house, but her invitations were repeatedly declined. Eventually, the relationships between the two neighbouring families changed, and they have learned to appreciate one another's cultural and linguistic differences and embrace what they have in common. Lana explains that, although hurtful, her neighbour's attitudes never made her consider giving up speaking LA to her children at home or in the neighbourhood. Indeed, she became more determined to transmit her language and cultural heritages to her children, convinced of the benefits of rearing multilingual and multicultural children.

6.3.1.3 Lebanese Cultural identity as a core value

Some child participants dispute the view that speaking the HL is closely intertwined with national and ethnic identity. They claim to feel Lebanese without necessarily speaking LA, so long they can identify with the Lebanese culture and traditions. To them, cultural identity seems more important than linguistic. It has a core value (Smolicz, 1981) that enables them to belong to a cultural group and share similar values, regardless of whether or not they speak the group's HL. This view is shared by Hoffman (1991) who states that

proficiency in a language does not necessarily imply knowledge of the culture of the language and vice versa. Samir (15 years) holds this opinion.

(56) Samir: My cousin speaks very limited Arabic because his mother is not Lebanese, she is British// ... But when you ask him about his identity, he automatically tells you he is Lebanese not English, .. Because he adores Lebanon, the family there, Lebanese traditions and Lebanese culture// ... Language has nothing to do with identity// You can speak English but not necessarily be English// ...What is most important is how close you feel to a country and its culture// Culture is more important than language in my opinion//

Parents appear more convinced of the close relationship between language and culture. They view the HL as a conduit to transmit and convey their valuable cultural heritage and ensure a strong bond between language identity and ethno-cultural identity. In the interview, Maryam (excerpt 53) states: *'I cannot separate being Lebanese from speaking Arabic, actually Lebanese Arabic, from thinking, behaving and living a Lebanese way'*. She explains that she can only use LA to transmit cultural heritage with all the relevant nuances and emphasis on values. For her, language and culture are inseparable, in line with Brown (1994: 165) who suggests that:

Language is a part of a culture and a culture is a part of a language, the two are intricately interwoven so that one cannot separate the two without losing the significance of either language or culture.

Similarly, Tony explains how his mother speaks LA with his children particularly when she wants to explain specific aspects of Lebanese tradition and culture that do not exist in British culture. He gives the example of {*mighli*} [a type of Lebanese pudding typically prepared at home and offered to guests when they visit the family to congratulate them on the arrival of their new-born baby]. Tony adds that his non-Lebanese wife is learning LA to better appreciate Lebanese culture and traditions, and develop a positive sense of attachemnet to Lebanese identity. To these parents, language functions as both a means of communication and a carrier of culture (Wei, 2005: 56).

6.3.1.4 The emergence of a dual Lebanese-British identity

Some parents view identity as more complex, multi-layered that change according to the domains of use, and the interlocutors engaged in the social interactions. Samar and Lili (both mothers) see their identities as a fusion of both British and Lebanese, and seem to have successfully integrated into the host society without neglecting their valued ethnic heritage explain:

(57) Samar: *If you had asked me about my identity 20 years ago, I would have told me I am 100% Lebanese, that's it// ... But now that I have been living and working here for over 20 years, and that my children were born here, and go to school here, I feel I am Lebanese of course, but also British to some extent// ... Like when I am with mums from the English school, I feel more British than Lebanese, because I behave like them// ... I queue, I pay for my own coffee, I wait for my turn to speak, .. But when I am with my Lebanese friends, I feel more Lebanese, we speak Arabic, we share the same culture and ethos, and have the same beliefs regarding education, family, marriage, sex// ... So my identity is a mixture of Lebanese and British, .. It changes with the contexts and the people present and involved in the communication// ... That is why, it is impossible for one's identity not to change with time, and the societies he/she lives in//*

Lili also conceives of identity as multifaceted, not solely defined by national, cultural or ethnic parameters. She views her gender as key to her identity, in part because of the limitations it imposed on her younger years in Lebanon.

(58) Lili: *I don't believe that you are born with just one identity// ... We all have many aspects to our identity, not just limited to our national or cultural or ethnic identity// ... I feel mostly Lebanese when I am in Lebanon, or surrounded by Lebanese people in London// ... But I also feel British, when I am discussing my children's school progress with their teachers, or buying clothes in Oxford Street, or in the train// ... In other contexts, like when at work, or when surrounded by men, .. Or engaged in a debate about gender equality and human rights, .. I feel my 'female' identity prevails// ... Because of the prejudiced belief in the Arab world that women are not equal to men, I feel the urge to highlight my identity as an accomplished woman at every opportunity// ... I feel so strongly about my 'woman' identity, .. Because it has shaped and continues to shape my entire outlook on life// ... Growing up in Lebanon, where women were not encouraged to occupy high positions deemed 'masculine' such as in politics, engineering or banking, I could not work in the field I specialised in at university// ... But when I came to live here in the UK, .. I was offered a post based on my qualifications and not on my gender as a woman or man, .. And now thank god, I am very successful and happy, and extremely proud of my gender identity//*

Children tend to embrace a more fluid identity, in this case British and Lebanese, than many adults. They use this to accommodate their interlocutors not just linguistically, but in terms of the identities negotiated, consistent with the framework of Communication Accommodation Theory (Sachdev et al., 2012) inasmuch as speakers' choice of language is affected by the perceptions they have of their interlocutors. On some occasions, children spoke LA to me and with each other, indicating common ethnic identity. In other instances, they spoke English signalling their adaptation to British society and their desire to express a British self. Talal (15 years) exemplifies such behaviour.

(59) Talal: I feel that I am half Lebanese and half British// ... My parents are Lebanese and I adore Lebanon//... So part of me is Lebanese because of my strong attachment to my country of origin Lebanon, and to my grandparents who live there and whom I absolutely adore// ... But also I was born in London, I go to school here, and I have many English friends// ... That is why I consider myself British too//

I: In public places, what do you consider yourself?

ṭalāl: It depends whom I am with, and whom I am talking to// ... So if I am in a shopping centre, or at the cinema, or playing football, .. And I am with English people, .. I consider myself British and I also act and speak like them// ... But when I am with Lebanese friends, or with my family at home, I see myself Lebanese of course//

Liyana (15 years) feels similarly about her dual Lebanese-British identity, but rejects any connection with an Arab identity. Although LA is intrinsic to her Lebanese identity, it does not inspire in her an Arab ethnic identity, which she sees as closely linked to the Muslim religious identity. Such a view that combines the Islamic religion and Arab ethnicity is widely reported in the literature (Ennaji, 2010; 1999). Liyana's affiliation to the Phoenician identity and denial of any link between Lebanese people and Arabs reflects contradicting views that impact the diverse religious and sectarian identities constructed by the Lebanese in their homeland and the diaspora.

(60) Liyana: I see myself as both Lebanese and British// ... Lebanese because my parents come from Lebanon, and my ancestors too, and I return to Lebanon every year// ... British because I was born here, I live here, go to school here and have many English friends// ... I also speak both Arabic and

English so I do not have any barrier from connecting with both communities// ... Language facilitates my social interactions with others//

I: What about an Arab identity? Do you think Arabic plays a part in that?

Liyana: I speak Arabic but I am not Arab// ... Lebanese people are not Arabs// ... We are Phoenicians by origin, we are a race completely different to the Arab race// ... I do not like at all to be associated with Arabs// ... Arabs are mostly Muslims, but Lebanese can be Muslims, Christians, Druze, anything really// ... Lebanese have a totally different culture and way of life to Arabs// ... I see myself more British than Arab, and prefer people to consider me British than Arab//

Najwa, a mother of two, feels Lebanese identity to derive from its unique civilization, history and culture, superior to the Arab identity. However, integration and participation in various spheres of British life has encouraged in her an openness to British culture, and the construction of a dual Lebanese-British identity.

(61) Najwa: There is absolutely no connection what so ever with being Lebanese and being Arab, apart from Arabic, the common formal language we share// ... First of all, the Lebanese ethnicity is different from the Arab one, from a religion and cultural point of view// ... Secondly, we have a great history and civilisation that existed long before the Arab one// ... We are a lot more advanced and civilised than them// ... We have nothing to do with them apart from that we speak Arabic// ... Here in England, Lebanese are well integrated in the British society, and participate in different domains of life// ... That is why I see myself as both British and Lebanese, but I cannot consider myself as Lebanese and Arab// ... I have more in common with British people than with Arabs//

6.3.1.5 A rich and complex multicultural identity

Not all parents refute relationship between the Lebanese and Arab identity. There are some parents who embrace the views of Arab nationalism, underlining the pluricentricity of Arabic (Abdel-Jawad, 1992) to forge a pan-Arab identity in the diaspora. They link the Lebanese and ethnic Arab identity, both associated with strong family ties and shared cultural values, echoing Nagel's (2002) findings. There are also participants who perceive their identities as multilayered, fluctuating between Lebanese, Arab and British, without any reference to the religious identity.

(62) *Amal*: ... When I am with my Lebanese friends in public, I see myself Lebanese// ... When I am at my children's school or, .. At work, I see myself British// ... And when I am with my Syrian and Palestinian friends, I see myself as Arab//

I: Do you think the Arabic language plays any part in forming an Arab identity?

Amal: Certainly no doubt about it// ... When I am with my Arab friends, we all speak Arabic// ... This common language unites us all, and facilitates our communications, and our understanding of each other's behaviour// ... We can all speak English, but it is Arabic that allows us to have true and intimate conversations// ... No English// ... For me, language is undeniably linked to my identity and culture// ... To me being Lebanese is similar to being Arab// ... Historically we are just one nation known as the 'Great Syria'// ... Colonials decided to draw artificial geographical borders to suit their own interests, and protect the interests of Israel//... As Arabs, we all share one common language, culture and traditions, regardless of the religion each one belongs to//... We all have similar values regarding family relations, marriage, sex, and children// ... Being Arab is just an extension of my Lebanese identity// ... This part of my identity allows me to socialise and get along with immigrants from other Arab countries, who have similar experiences and values as me//

This idea of a multi-layered identity is also evident among some children. They relate to British and Lebanese identities, as well as Arab. The pluricentricity of Arabic seems to contribute to the creation of a dual Lebanese-Arab identity, and to promote a comprehensive understanding of the Lebanese and Arab cultural values. The ability to speak Arabic with Lebanese and other Arabic-speaking communities reinforces their ethnic and cultural identities. Such an impression echoes Lee's (2002) study of Korean-Americans which concludes that proficiency in the HL allows participants to strongly develop a sense of bicultural identification. Faten (16 years) expresses her view:

(63) *Faten*: I see myself firstly as a Lebanese very proud of my identity, because my origin is from Lebanon// ... But I also see myself in some circumstances as British, such as when I am with my friends at school, .. or talking to my teachers and headteacher//... But this part of my identity is the least visible, .. Because I feel more Lebanese than British in general, .. and in most aspects of my life// ... Yet, I sometimes feel Arab when I am praying with other Arabs in the mosque, or in the Arabic school, or, .. When talking to Arab friends//

I: Do you think speaking Arabic contributes to your Lebanese and Arab identities?

Faten: Of course// ... Speaking Arabic allows me to connect better not just with Lebanese but with Arabs too// ... Arabic helps me understand better their views, attitudes and opinions about many things// ... They also can

understand me better// ... Like, if I did not speak Arabic, I would not be able understand and feel the connection with the Lebanese and Arab culture and values//

6.3.2 The Arabic language and religious identity

Religion plays an important factor in identity construction and in the process of HL maintenance or shift (May, 2001, 2003; Tannenbaum, 2005; Al-Sahafi, 2016; Clyne & Kipp, 1999). Some ethnic minorities attach to religion the same 'core value' as they do to their HLs (Smolicz & Radzik, 2004; Smolicz et al., 2001). In Lebanon, the issue of religious, ethnic and linguistic identities has long been complex and sensitive, functioning as a divisive rather than a unifying force among its people. I am therefore devoting several sections to the relationship between language and religion, to better understand the diverse ways identities are constructed and contested among the study's participants.

6.3.2.1 Religion is intrinsic to Lebanese identity

Christian parents emphasise the importance of their national and religious identities, but do not value the sacred dimension of Arabic (MSA), more typically esteemed by Muslims. They consider religion an important cultural component, which allows them to feel part of a community that shares similar beliefs and practices. This attachment to religion was particularly evident during my home visits to Lebanese families. Religious symbols and holy books were clearly displayed in their homes. In some families, parents were watching religious programmes on Arabic TV satellite channels. The concept of religion in Lebanese culture, is a collective practice, rather than individualistic as it is in the West. Lebanese parents of different faiths judge the worth of the Arabic language (MSA) in different ways. Lebanese Christian parents value Arabic's cultural, communicative and economic benefits, as the principal motives for teaching it to their children in the diaspora. Muslim parents, however, value Arabic (MSA) for its most sacred dimension, in addition to its communicative and instrumental values.

(65) Lili: *I am proud to be a Lebanese Christian// ... For me, my religion is very important because it is part of who I am, part of my values and the traditions I was brought up in// ... For us Lebanese, religion allows us to stay close to our environment, members of our community, and people who respect the same values and traditions as us// ... Religion represents collective practices in our Eastern societies, .. It is not a matter of individual choice like in the West//*

I: Is Arabic important for your religion?

Lili: Listen, I want my children to learn Arabic so they can communicate with their grandparents, and appreciate our Lebanese values and traditions// ... Arabic is our native language in Lebanon// ... Also Fusha Arabic offers them job opportunities in the future, .. And allows them to communicate with all Arabic speakers// ... But Arabic has nothing to do with religion// For us Christians, we do not value Arabic as a sanctified or 'imposed' language, like Muslims do// ... We can pray in any language we feel comfortable with, whether it is Italian, English, or Arabic, it does not matter// ... But Muslims must pray in Arabic and recite the Quran in Arabic// ... For them a good Muslim must pray in Arabic regardless of their origin and mother language// ... For us no, .. We pray in the language that we feel connect us best with God// ... To me it is Arabic, because it is my native language// ... But to other Christians, it can be Italian or French or English//

Children also seem to relate to their religious identity. Observations indicate that children participate with their families in religious practices, and are proud of their religious affiliations. Some girls wear {*hijāb*} the head scarf as a commitment to their Muslim faith, and others wear the cross necklace as a symbol of their Christian faith. Children seem to understand that in Lebanese culture, one is born Muslim or Christian, and cannot change this predetermined part of identity. However, this religious identity does not exist in contradiction to other identities such as the ethnic or cultural. In the interviews, children relate how they choose to identify themselves as Lebanese or British to non-Lebanese, but as Lebanese Christian or Lebanese Muslim to other Lebanese or Arabs. Religious affiliation remains an important aspect of Lebanese culture, and children seem to be socialised into these practices and beliefs from a young age. Nevertheless, religion does not seem to act as a divisive issue among Lebanese participants in this study. Their national identity seems to act as a positive force pulling Lebanese together regardless of religious and political beliefs.

6.3.2.2 Arabic reinforces the Muslim identity

Parents and children highlight the importance of religion as well as the central role of Arabic (LA and MSA) in their lives in the diaspora. Maintaining Arabic among children is seen as essential to the preservation of the religious, cultural, national and ethnic identities. The relationship between linguistic identity and religious identity appears to be closely interwoven.

Zaynab, a mother of three, describes the pivotal role Arabic (LA and MSA) plays in forming her Muslim religious as well as her Lebanese and Arab identities. Both Arabic and religion are both associated with core values and their maintenance is mutually symbiotic.

(64) Zaynab: ... For us Muslims, religion is part of our identity, and the community we belong to// ... We are born with our religion// We do not choose it// ... It is an inseparable part of us, just like our nationality and ethnicity//

I: Do you see Arabic as part of your religious identity?

Zaynab: Yes sure, without any doubt// The classical Arabic is the language of the holy Quran// ... I send my children to the Arabic school, so they can read and understand the Quran, and recite their prayers with understanding, not like a parrot// ... We cannot separate Arabic from our identity as Muslims, or our identity as Lebanese and Arabs// ... All Muslims around the world respect Arabic, and are desperate to learn it// ... Additionally, as Lebanese and Arab, Arabic is the only language that unites us// ... So our children must maintain both spoken Arabic and Fusha Arabic, not just so they can communicate with everyone who speaks Arabic, but also for their religious practices// ... If they lose Arabic, they lose all their identity// ... God forbid, this would be really catastrophic for us and for them//

Ahmad and Lana also note the importance of Arabic (MSA) for the practice of Islam, and Faten highlights the motivation of Muslim parents in transmitting Arabic (MSA) intergenerationally for the maintenance of their religious and ethnic identities.

Ahmad (67): Arabic is important for Muslims because it is the sacred language of the holy Quran

Lana (18): ... we all pray in Fusha of course, because it is the language of the holy Quran

Faten (39): ... every Muslim mother dreams of teaching her children Arabic// ... This is our duty as Muslims to teach our children our language so they can read the Quran and understand all the verses// ... Fusha helps all Arabs wherever they are in the world, to communicate well with each other, and feel the bond between them//

6.3.2.3 Connection between Arabic, and national, ethnic and religious identities

Some children do agree with their parents' views, associating language and religion. They state that the Arabic language (MSA) reinforces the Muslim identity and the practice of Islam, and has a symbolic significance particularly for Muslim Arabs. The influence of Islam on the intergenerational transmission of Arabic is well documented in the literature (Fishman, 1991; Clyne & Kipp, 1999; Rouchdy, 2002). Yet children also associate the Lebanese identity with the Arab one, and claim that both identities enhance one another. As such, the religious, national, ethnic and linguistic identities appear closely connected. Clyne (2003) argues that when language is associated with other core values such as religion, its use for particular purposes becomes necessary and its maintenance more likely.

(66) Faten: I see myself as Lebanese and Muslim//... But also for me being Lebanese equals being Arab because we all come from the same geographical area, .. and we share the same culture, history, and the same language// ... We cannot separate them from each other//

I: What about Arabic and your religious identity? Is there any link between them?

Faten: Yes, Arabic is part of my religious, ethnic and national identity// ... Arabic is definitely important for my religion, .. Because we recite the Quran in Arabic, and pray in Arabic// ... If I did not understand Arabic I would not understand the teachings of the Quran, and the sermon of the Sheikh in the mosque// ... But also Arabic is important for me because I am Lebanese, and I use it all the times in Lebanon and with my family and friends here, and when I travel to Arab countries, and I speak with other Arabs// ... It is a very important part of my identity// ... Language is the most salient part of one's identity//

6.3.2.4 Separation of the Arab and the Muslim identity

Other children separate the Muslim identity from the Arab identity, although not the Muslim identity from the Arabic language. The stereotypical views

which wrongly equate the religion of Islam with the Arab ethnicity (Eid, 2007; Ameri & Arida, 2012) are also rejected by some Lebanese-British children.

(67) Ahmad: ... the Arab identity is not necessarily linked to Muslims or Islamic religion// ... I am a Lebanese-Arab Muslim, .. But I have nothing in common with a Pakistani or Afghani Muslim, apart from a common religion// ... But culturally and linguistically we are totally different// ... I have more in common with a Syrian Christian or a Lebanese Druze than a Malay Muslim// ... The Arab identity is different to the Muslim identity// ... People here think all Muslims are Arabs// ... No, this is very wrong// Arab Muslims are a minority in the world, but Asian Muslims are the majority// ... People should stop linking the religion of Islam with the Arab identity// ... Because Arabs can be Christians, Druze, Muslims, .. Jews, or even atheists//

6.3.2.5 Arabic as a core value regardless of religious identity

Most children value the communicative value of Arabic (LA) and its importance in family and intra-group communications. They are highly motivated to learn it and maintain it regardless of their religious affiliation. While religion is described as a collection of belief systems related to spirituality, Arabic on its part has a core value which reinforces family bonds and attachment to the homeland, in line with Smolicz's (1981) theory.

(68) Joseph: Religion is a personal matter of faith// It has nothing to do with the Arabic language or the Arab identity, or Lebanese identity// ... I am a Lebanese Christian and I learnt Arabic because it is my mother tongue// ... It is very important for me because it allows me to communicate with my family here, and my cousins and friends in Lebanon// ... So Arabic is not only important for Muslims, it is also very important for Christians// ... It is the mother language of all Lebanese

Reem (54) explains: For me speaking Arabic allows me to feel like a true Lebanese

Omar (73) underlines the importance of Arabic for intra-group communications:

Arabic is very important for me .. Because I do not like to feel left out, when I am with other Lebanese or Arabic speaking friends// ... I want to ... feel part of their group

6.3.3 Arabic, religion and selection of social networks

Parents seem to hold a number of different views regarding the role religion and language play in their socialization process. For some, religion holds a key place in their social networks, while for others, LA, cultural values and ethnic origin are more significant.

6.3.3.1 The significance of HL and religion in social networks

Tony notes the importance of religion and the HL in his choice of social networks. He explains that he feels more relaxed to socialise with people who share similar linguistic and religious background.

(69) I: How do you choose your friends? On what basis?

Tony: Honestly, I prefer to mix with friends who are Lebanese Christians//... I just feel more comfortable with them// ... Because we have the same views, and habits, and attitudes to things, and ... of course we speak the same native language with each other// ... We are different to Lebanese Muslims or Arab Muslims// ... Our entire viewpoint on life is different// ... Just like we are very different to British, and Europeans// ... culturally and from a language view// ... That is why I have a lot more Lebanese friends than British// ... Language is also very important to me when choosing my close friends// ... Language is as important as religion// ... I feel more relaxed and happy, when I speak Arabic with my friends// I can say anything to them in Arabic without thinking about it//

Some children also express their preference to socialise with friends of similar religious and ethnic background, because their beliefs, values and practices are more likely to be accepted and respected. One boy (Jad, 14 years) reports that when he is with his friends from the Lebanese church, he feels he can discuss anything openly, without fear of being misunderstood or criticized. With his school friends, by contrast, he feels that he must be more cautious about what he says, in order not to offend those of a different faith or ethnic background.

6.3.3.2 HL and cultural identity are more important in social networks than religion

A number of parents, however, downplay the impact of religion in the diaspora, and prefer to highlight the significance of the HL, cultural values

and ethnic background for their social networks. The host society is seen as more tolerant, liberal and multicultural and the environment consequently less overtly religious.

(70) Maryam: Religion helps a bit but not much, .. Especially here in the diaspora// ... To me personally, .. The mother language and cultural values are more important than anything else//... My best friend is from a different religion, .. but we have the same mother language, cultural values, and same outlook on life// ... I am closer to her than to any other person from my own religious denomination// ... Also, the origin plays a big role// ... If someone is from Lebanon, or Syria, or the Middle East, they are more likely to have the same values and traditions as me, than someone who only has the same religious beliefs, but speaks a different language// ... Also in the diaspora, I feel that people are more relaxed about religion, than when they are in their country of origin// ... Possibly because here in England, the society is more tolerant, and people are more multicultural, and less religious than in our countries of origin//>

Similarly, observational data suggest that some children, who seem influenced by their parents' attitudes, attach more value to ethnic and cultural identities than to religion in their choice of social networks. Arabic (spoken) appears to occupy an essential place in their socialisation process, because it functions as a marker of in-group solidarity with other Arabic-speaking peers, as the most fundamental component of their identity. Interviews corroborate this view.

(73) Omar: I mostly socialise with friends who are Arabs// ... My parents believe Arabs share the same language, culture, and family values, just like us Lebanese// ... Non-Arabs tend to have different opinions about things, .. That sometimes contradict our values// ... So most of my friends are Lebanese and Arabs, but I also have some friends who are British, and Africans// ... I play football with them, and go to the park with them, .. But I am not allowed to go to their house for a sleepover// ... But with ṭārik, and kaReem, and bilāl [Lebanese friends], I can do whatever I want// ... I can have sleepovers, go to the cinema with them, ride our bikes together, .. Anything really// ... My parents are good friends with their parents, so we all know each other very well//>

I: Do you think religion can influence your choice of friends?

Omar: No// ... I do not choose my friends because they are Christians, or Muslims// ... I care more if they are nice, loyal, and fun to be with, .. And respect my values and my parents//... Religion has nothing to do with choosing friends//>

Those children who do not feel comfortable adopting a bicultural Lebanese-British identity, underline the value of their Lebanese identity for their social networks. It is this Lebanese ethnic identity that provides them with an increased sense of belonging among their Lebanese and Arabic-speaking networks. Children argue that cultural differences can be alienating and create a sense of 'us' and 'them'.

(74) *Yasmina: I feel I belong to my Lebanese and Arab circle of friends//... Because I don't need to 'fake' any part of my Lebanese values and identity//... When I am with my English speaking friends, .. I feel they don't accept some parts of my culture, like when I say I don't have a boyfriend, .. or I don't sleep outside the house//... They laugh at me, .. And tell me I am too stupid, I am losing out, and they treat me as an outside//... They treat me different to others// ... This upsets me, and makes me feel like I want to stay away from them// ... That's why I prefer to socialise with people who have the same values and principles as me// ... I feel safer with them, .. And I am freer to express my true opinions and feelings// ... Instead of faking and lying so others can accept me//*

6.3.3.3 Preference for multiethnic and multicultural social networks

Those parents who seem to embrace a more fluid identity, reject the influence of religion, ethnic background and HL on their social networks. The ability to adjust and adapt to different cultures is seen as a positive to embrace multicultural diversity and construct multiple identities. Lili (a mother of two) explains:

(71) *Lili: I never choose my friends based on their religion, or skin colour, .. Or ethnicity, .. Or even their nationality// ... I purely choose them according to their personal values and character// I have friends who are British, French, Brazilians, just like I have friends who are Lebanese and Syrians and Jordanians// ... I am at ease with all of them// I adapt to and accept people from any culture// ... I feel happy with both my British side and my Lebanese self// ... To me, multicultural diversity is a great asset in life, .. And as human beings, we must all embrace it and celebrate it//*

Children do not view religious or ethnic identity as key to their choice of social networks and interactions with others. Personal interests and hobbies seem more important than religion in forging strong friendships.

(72) Joseph: *I never choose my friends based on their religion, or national identity, or race// ... I have many friends, some are Arabs, some British, and Polish, some are Christians, and some Muslims// ... For me the personality of my friends, and sharing the same hobbies and interests with them is more important to me than the religion they have//*

A number of children who regard their identity as flexible, and are well integrated and adapted to the host society, seem to mix with English-speaking friends during the week, and with Lebanese friends at weekends. Being bi-cultural and bi-lingual speakers of both English and Arabic enables children to positively extend their social networks of friends. In the interview, Liyana (15 years) explains her view:

Liyana (75): Religion does not matter at all with choosing friends// ... At school, I mix mostly with English-speaking friends// ... I feel at ease with their culture and the English language// ... On the weekend, I mix more with my Lebanese friends, in the Lebanese school, in the community, and when they visit me at home// ... Because I speak Arabic and English I have more friends than others// ... Thank god I feel that I am very lucky//

6.3.4 Concluding remarks

Questionnaire data complements the interview and field notes data, and combined allow participants to voice their personal experiences and opinions regarding the construction of identity, language and religion. The majority of participants describe their identities as being multi-layered and changing over time, according to circumstances and contexts. Some parents highlight their dual Lebanese-British identity, suggesting good integration and adaptation to the host society's culture, whilst retaining their ethno-cultural identity. A greater number of children relate to the dual Lebanese-British identity, implying that they are more integrated than their parents to British society. This may not be surprising given that all the children were born, educated, and spend most of their time in the UK. By contrast, parents were born, schooled, and have spent (and continue to spend) considerable periods in Lebanon. Of those participants who relate more to the dual Lebanese-Arab identity, many view the Arabic language (in its varieties) and

the ethno-cultural and familial Arab values the principal factors in fostering this sense of dual identity in the diaspora. The pluricentricity of the Arabic language seems to create a sense of 'shared Arabness' among diverse Arabic-speaking immigrants, and allows them to form co-ethnic social networks regardless of their country of origin, religion, political affiliation or race, echoing Al-Sahafi's (2018: 101) findings.

As for the role of religion, parents acknowledge its crucial role in their lives as Lebanese nationals, and its impact on identity formation. Lebanese Muslim parents highlight the importance of the Arabic language (notably MSA) in transmitting the religious values of Islam. To them, the Muslim identity is closely connected to their Lebanese and Arab identities, and the Arabic language (in its duality) plays an essential part in combining religious, national and ethnic identities. Lebanese Christians parents also emphasise the key role religion plays in their lives, but perceive Arabic (namely LA) to be essential for its communicative values, its ability to strengthen bonds with other Lebanese members in the diaspora as well as with family members in Lebanon, and preserve the Lebanese cultural heritage. Children value their religious beliefs and practices, but regard religion as less significant in their choices of social networks than their parents.

Some participants express an essentialist perception of identity and consider their Lebanese identity permanent and unalterable. They reject any connection with the Arab identity, but deem Arabic (MSA and LA) valuable because of its emotional, communicative, and instrumental value. Children are less prepared than their parents to relate to this unchanging notion of identity. They feel well integrated into British society and are able to construct, negotiate and assume multiple identities. A small minority of children rejects any connection with the Lebanese identity and prefers to adopt an exclusive British identity, suggesting a complete assimilation to the host society and total detachment from their Lebanese heritage. These children seem influenced by broader societal attitudes that associate the Arabic language and the Arab ethnic identity with terrorism and Islam. This rejection of heritage identity and lack of emotional motivation to maintain the

HL, mirror the findings of Gogonas and Kirsch's (2016) in their study of Greek families in Luxembourg.

Chapter 7: Discussion of key findings and conclusions

In this chapter, I answer the research questions formulated at the outset:

1. What are the Family Language Policies (FLPs) and language practices of Lebanese parents and Lebanese-British children in various domains?
2. What is the state of children's proficiency in Arabic in terms of oracy (LA) and literacy (MSA)?
3. What are the attitudes of Lebanese parents and Lebanese-British children towards Arabic (MSA and LA)?
4. What are the identity practices of Lebanese parents and Lebanese-British children?

I also discuss the key findings that emerged from the data analysis process, drawing on parallels and contrasts with the literature. I conclude by outlining the main contributions of the study, its limitations, and possibilities for future research.

7.1 Main findings

7.1.1 Prevalence of LA in the home domain

This study has revealed both similarities and differences in patterns of language use among Lebanese parents and their children. Parents use predominantly LA at home in communication with each other, with children, and with extended family members. They associate the use of LA with their country of origin, to which they attach substantial emotional value. LA is the parents' strongly preferred language to maximize understating among family members, reinforce stronger family cohesion, and ensure transmission of the ethno-cultural heritage. Maintenance of the HL is an integral part of FLP, not solely from a linguistic perspective, but also from an emotional and psychological standpoint, as argued by Wong-Fillmore (2000) and

Tannenbaum (2012). Parents and grandparents see themselves as the principal agents in transmitting their valuable linguistic and cultural heritage. 'Good parenting' entails successful transmission of LA and Lebanese culture to preserve the unity of the family. Parents thus invest considerable effort to make the home environment conducive to LA use, because they recognise that their decision to speak LA with their children at home can positively affect their children's use of the HL and might aid the preservation of Lebanese culture in the diaspora. Such findings, that highlight the importance of parental decisions in using the HL at home, are reported in many studies on ethnic minority speakers (Canagarajah, 2008; Yagmur, 2009; Hamid, 2011; Park and Sarkar, 2007; Tannenbaum, 2012; Pauwels et al., 2007). Children also use LA most frequently in interaction with parents, grandparents and other family members at home. Familial bonds are extremely important in Lebanese culture, and the use of LA is considered the most appropriate means to strengthen these family ties and their ethno-cultural identity in the diaspora. Children highly revere grandparents and extended family members (uncles and aunts), who play a pivotal role in providing exposure to the HL and Lebanese cultural values. Other studies attest to the use of the HL with parents, grandparents and extended family members promoting HLM and ethnic identity (Ruby, 2012; Tannenbaum & Howie, 2002; Tannenbaum & Cohen, 2016; Guardado, 2010; Farruggio, 2010; Hashimoto & Lee, 2011; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). Additionally, regular visits to Lebanon and Arabic-speaking countries positively increases children's confidence and ability to speak LA, as well as their emotional attachment to the homeland, HL and HC. Pauwels (2005) confirms that extended family members and visitors from the home county provide an important source of HL and HC socialisation and foster maintenance of the HL and ethnic identity.

Code-switching (CS) is a linguistic practice used by parents and children alike at home. Parents employ it largely to explain or reinforce specific ideas and expressions, or to discuss issues related to British life. Occasionally, they will switch to English when children exercise their own agency in (re)shaping and (re)negotiating FLPs. Similar behaviours have been reported

in studies conducted on other HL speakers (Gyogi, 2015; Fogle & King, 2013; Fogle, 2012; Gafaranga, 2010). In contrast with research reporting negative parental attitudes towards children's use of CS, this study shows that Lebanese parents view CS favourably, as part of their flexible approach to FLP, which encourages children to use their multilingual repertoires and enhance their linguistic competence. Such positive attitudes towards CS in language contact situations are believed to enhance children's bilingual communicative competence and lead to the maintenance of the HL and ethnic identity (Gardner-Chloros, 2009; Canagarajah, 2011; Wei & Garcia, 2014; Kharkhurin & Wei, 2015; Wei & Wu, 2009).

Children, meanwhile, use mostly English when communicating with each other at home. This demonstrates children's dominance in, and preference for, English and points to a divergence from parents' language behaviour, in keeping with previous studies on immigrant communities (Hamid, 2011; Harris, 2006). Like their parents, children also CS between LA and English often to compensate for their lack of knowledge or ability to retrieve specific terms in LA. At times, CS is not motivated by specific situational or metaphorical reasons, as posited by Blom and Gumperz (1972), but rather reflects typical linguistic behaviour of Lebanese speakers, in line with Myers-Scotton (1993) who describes CS as the normal, 'unmarked' variety of certain speech communities.

7.1.2 Intergenerational differences in language choice outside the home domain

In the neighbourhood domain, LA is also the language most preferred and mostly used by parents when interacting with children, family members, and other Lebanese and Arabic speakers. English is reserved for communication with members of the wider society. However, children's use of LA in the neighbourhood is dictated by the interlocutor's generation. LA is mostly used when addressing people from the older generation to show respect, solidarity and a common Lebanese identity. However, when interacting with people from the younger generation and with similar Lebanese or Arab background,

children use their agency and background knowledge to assess the level of linguistic proficiency of the addressee prior to choosing their language(s). If they deem that the person has limited ability in speaking LA or consider their own speaking ability in LA to be inferior, English is used with intermittent CS to LA, mostly when making ethnic and cultural references. However, if children wish to articulate a common linguistic and ethnic identity and show solidarity with their interlocutor(s), they code-switch to LA. The children's linguistic behaviour in this study conforms to the 'communication accommodation theory' (Giles et al., 1987), a strategy used by speakers either to converge to their interlocutors (signalling in-group solidarity and sameness) or to diverge (signalling out-group and distinctiveness).

In the religious domain, which Fishman (1985 cited in Clyne & Kipp, 1999) describes as significant in maintaining the HL, Lebanese children and parents use MSA when performing religious rituals and prayers, and listening to sermons in churches or mosques. However, the sacred value of MSA is not appreciated equally by Lebanese Muslim families and Lebanese Christian families (see 6.2 and 6.3). Outside holy places, parents switch to LA when communicating with other members of the community, whereas children speak mainly English, with some CS to LA when speaking with friends, and mainly LA when addressing parents and older members of their religious community, exhibiting similar linguistic behaviour to that in the neighbourhood.

In conclusion, LA use is prevalent among Lebanese parents and Lebanese-British children, with all of them understanding it extremely well and most children speaking it proficiently. LA is predominantly used in the home domain in everyday communication between parents, grandparents, family members and children. It is also spoken in the neighbourhood with older members of Lebanese communities, especially when making ethnic and cultural references, as well as in religious and socio-cultural domains. LA is associated with a strong emotional attachment to Lebanon and Lebanese ethno-cultural identity. CS is also a prominent linguistic behaviour used by children in identity negotiation, and encouraged by Lebanese parents to

assist their children's multilingual development. Mainly due to their education and acculturation processes, Lebanese children seem to gravitate towards the use of English in most domains, signalling the possibility of LS. However, the home environment remains subject to functional distribution of languages, where LA serves for family and intra-group communication and English for out-group communication. This functional distribution of LA and English, coupled with high proficiency level in LA, indicates that intergenerational transmission of LA to second-generation Lebanese-British children is taking place. However, HLM in this study should not be understood as a form of 'double monolingualism' (Heller, 2007) where children have achieved 'perfect' or 'native-like' use of LA. It refers to children's abilities to understand LA and use it alongside English in their everyday interactions, as explained by Grosjean (2010).

7.1.3 Children's high proficiency in LA and limited literacy in MSA

The results show that most children are socialised from a young age into LA use and have generally good oral ability, albeit with varying degrees of fluency. Early exposure to this variety at home, as part of the FLP parents adopt, its frequent use in communication with parents, grandparents and other family members (section 5.3.1.1), frequent visitors arriving from Lebanon, and regular visits to Lebanon, all contribute to children's linguistic competence in LA. Additionally, exposure to LA outside the home domain, such as in the neighbourhood, religious and social domains extends children's use of, and proficiency in, LA. Older children have more developed competence in the HL than younger ones (8-11 years), similar to Zentella's (1997) findings. This is predictable since older siblings who have started mainstream education bring English into the home environment, exposing their younger siblings to the dominant language at an early age. Their role as active and creative socialising agents is recognised in the process of HLM and LS, with some cases leading to younger children's bilingual and biliteracy development (Obied, 2009) and thus HLM, and other cases to LS (Caldas, 2006). However, these FLPs and family practices are not static;

they change over time to accommodate the changing needs of children and families (Caldas, 2012).

Mass media and digital technologies are also significant socialising sources that promote the maintenance of LA and ethno-cultural identity. These offer Lebanese families the opportunity to remain linguistically and culturally connected with their country of origin and its various socio-political developments. While most parents in this study prefer LA for audio-visual media use, most children prefer English. This linguistic preference indicates children's integration into British society, and their identification with British socio-cultural identity. In the absence of effective maintenance initiatives, the influential impact of mass media (and notably audio-visual media) could accelerate LS to English and contribute to LA loss by the third generation. Not all children surveyed, however, prefer English. Some choose LA when watching certain types of entertainment TV programmes with their family members or listening to music. In these families, regular exposure to audio-visual media increases children's proficiency in LA and their attachment to Lebanese socio-cultural values. Children consider the collective act of watching TV programmes in LA as a valuable opportunity to bring family members together, and that it strengthens the connection with their heritage. Additionally, widespread access to, and reduced cost of using, the Internet and media technologies increase children's exposure to, and proficiency in, LA. These tools, which are used to stay connected with friends and families living in Lebanon and elsewhere in the diaspora, positively safeguard LA and ethno-cultural values, and prevent shift to the host society's dominant language and culture, as per Bissoonauh's study (2018). Endogamy is yet another significant factor that impacts children's use of, and proficiency in, LA. In families where both parents are invested in maintaining LA and Lebanese identity, children have 'fluent' and 'fair' ability due to increased exposure to LA at home (through communication with parents and other family members, mass media, and the family's social networks). This factor has been shown to play a key role in the process of HLM and LS in other studies (Holmes, 2013; Fishman, 1991; Baker, 2001; Pauwels, 1980).

The results indicate that although Lebanese parents are invested in developing their children's literacy skills in MSA, and value both varieties of Arabic for integrative and instrumental reasons (see 6.2), most children have limited literacy in MSA. Limited exposure to MSA, namely in Arabic complementary schools and in religious worship, as well as a lack of support from mainstream schools, are the main factors contributing to this literacy imbalance between MSA and English. However, as children grow older (14 - 16 years) their literacy skills in MSA become more developed given increased exposure to this variety, and greater motivations and personal effort to developing their biliteracy skills. Formal examinations in the UK, which recognise children's achievement in MSA, motivate Lebanese parents and children to invest in biliteracy development. Children who are more engaged in Quranic religious studies have higher proficiency in MSA, even from a younger age, than those who are not, given the central value Arabic (MSA) plays in the lives of Muslims. Such a strong relationship between religious identity and ethnic identity leading to the maintenance of the ethnic group's HL is well documented in the literature (Rouchdy, 2002; Clyne & Kipp, 1999; Fishman, 1991; Smolicz, 1981).

The results reveal that children's literacy skills in English, the dominant language, are well developed and more advanced than their literacy in MSA. This is predictable given that all children are educated in mainstream schools where English is the majority language across most domains, educational support for HLs outside the home is lacking at all levels of the education system in English dominant societies (Piller & Gerber, 2018), and HL education is primarily regarded as a parental responsibility (Nicholas, 2015). Children's preference for English for audio-visual and print media limits the domains where MSA is used and further impacts proficiency. However, high proficiency in English may not necessarily lead to LS in oral usage, in contrast to studies that suggest this (Slavik, 2001). The home environment, flexible FLP and practices, emotional attachment to LA, and positive attitudes of parents and children (see 6.2) towards the HL, ethno-cultural identity and country of origin, all encourage intergenerational transmission of LA and ethnic identity among Lebanese families in London.

7.1.4 Integrative and Instrumental attitudes towards Arabic

Most Lebanese parents and children in this study hold very positive attitudes towards Arabic, with each variety occupying a high value for reasons specific to its functions. Strong positive attitudes towards LA are mainly due to its communicative function. Mills (2005) notes that in his study positive attitudes towards the HL generated more positive attitudes towards its maintenance. Similarly, Rouchdy (2002) notes that in her study the communicative need for Arabic contributed to its maintenance among Arab-Americans in Detroit. By contrast, Dweik (1992) and Sawaie (1992) attribute the shift to English among Lebanese-Americans to attitudinal changes towards Arabic as well as a change in Arabic's functional language use. Parents in this study value LA's transmission to future generations, in order to maintain deep and meaningful communication with family members and relatives, strengthen ethnic and cultural ties with Lebanon, and identify with other Lebanese in the diaspora. Most significantly, LA has a 'core value' (Smolicz, 1981) and is seen as an important carrier of national, ethnic and cultural identity, consistent with the literature highlighting the distinctive role of HLs in flagging one's ethnic, cultural and religious identity (Fishman, 2001b; Edwards, 2009; Clyne & Kipp, 1999).

LA has an emotional aesthetic appeal to children, who describe it as 'beautiful', 'musical', 'rich' and 'the most expressive' language variety. They also consider it 'easier', and more 'enjoyable' to learn than MSA. Children in this study were born in the UK, and thus have learned LA at home as their earliest language. To them, LA is not simply an essential language for family and intra group communication, but it also has positive childhood associations. Joseph (excerpt 37) comments: *'When I speak it [LA] I feel happy ... I associate LA with happy memories, and with the most important person in my life my grandmother'*. Such connections with happy memories and beloved family members create the basis for positive attitudes towards LA, and promote its maintenance among the second-generation Lebanese.

Parents' emotional attachment to LA also seems to influence children's attitudes and to positively contribute to their communicative ability and

language choice. In contrast to studies that have reported inconsistency between symbolic attachment to the HL and limited communicative ability (Edwards, 2011), the findings of this study reveal a congruence between parents' and children's positive attitudes to LA and speakers' high communicative proficiency (see 6.2.1). Children use LA in daily communication with parents at home, for intra-group communication in the neighbourhood, in the religious domain, and with family members in the homeland. Frequent visits to and from the homeland, the availability of mass media in Arabic (LA and MSA), the widespread and reduced cost of using media technologies, and regular contact between Lebanese speakers given dense ethnic social networks, reinforce the use of LA among Lebanese parents and children in London. Thus, strong integrative attitudes to LA, coupled with high oracy skills, correlate with healthy transmission and maintenance of LA among second-generation Lebanese-British children. As Fishman (2001b: 223) explains, without positive attitudes, practical efforts to maintain the language are unlikely to take off. The children in this study appear particularly motivated to speak LA with their own future children to ensure sustained intergenerational transmission of the HL and culture, and maintenance of strong familial bonds. They are aware that preserving the HL safeguards their ethno-cultural identity in the diaspora. Unlike Daher's (1992: 27) results which suggest that the Lebanese in Cleveland do not regret the loss of Arabic and thus make little effort to preserve it, Lebanese parents and children in this study regard inability to speak and maintain LA as a source of humiliation and embarrassment. Yasmina (excerpt 36) comments: *'it is a real shame for any Lebanese not to speak the native language'*. Palm et al. (2018) report similar findings among Somali speakers in Sweden who deem limited competence in the HL to be 'culturally inauthentic' (Jaffe, 2012).

These positive attitudes to LA, if they remain unchanged over time and are accompanied by concrete maintenance efforts, may promote LA maintenance among the third generation, and prove Fishman's (1991) model of three generation LS to be invalid among this particular ethnic community. This would need to be reinforced by maintenance efforts centered around notions of investment in HL learning and identity construction (Norton, 2013),

Bourdieu's (1986) concept of different forms of 'capital', and the notion of integrativeness (Gardner and Lambert, 1959).

The majority of parents and children highly esteem the cultural, literary and economic value of MSA. Fluency in MSA provides access to Arabic culture and literary heritage, as well as increasing career opportunities. MSA is seen as an important language not solely as a lingua franca for the Arab world, echoing Rouchdy's (2002) view that MSA is a symbol of identity that acts as a unifying force among Arabs (see section 5.6.4), but also because it is becoming increasingly respected in the West for its political, strategic and economic significance. Children, who recognise the economic power of MSA in today's globalised world, are instrumentally motivated to learn it. Omar (excerpt 38) explains that Arabic is becoming a very important language because many organisations are seeking to expand their businesses to the Arab world. Children also associate learning MSA with academic advantage. Older children (14-16 years), in particular, devote considerable effort and commitment to developing their bilingual and biliteracy skills, investing in HL learning (Norton, 2013) and accumulating cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Moreover, some parents and children admire the religious dimension of MSA, and its central role in religious worship. Lebanese Muslim families highlight the significance of MSA as the language of the holy Quran, and as a unifying language for all Muslims. This sacred feature of Arabic (MSA) inspires children's enthusiasm to acquire it. Unlike some communities where negative social attitudes in the wider society have bred negative attitudes towards Arabic (language and varieties), the parents of this study consider Arabic (MSA) as a valuable linguistic capital. Walbridge (1992: 76) concludes in her study of Arabic language maintenance among Shi'a Lebanese in Dearborn, Michigan, that Islam plays a crucial role in the preservation of the Arabic language because religion more than any other factor appears to be the strongest element of group identity. By contrast, Dweik (1992: 117), who investigated the language situation among the Christian Lebanese in Buffalo, New York, reports that 'Arabic was abandoned because it had no religious ... value to these Lebanese. The Bible was neither originally written nor recited in Arabic'. However, Sawaie (1992: 88) notes that in America, religion is a

factor in preserving the Arabic language for Muslims and Christians alike, exemplifying the Arab Christians who built Eastern rite churches using Arabic. Sawaie (1992) warns that there is not always a clear distinction between the attitudes of Christian and Muslim immigrant groups to Arabic language maintenance. Lebanese Christian families in this study portray MSA as a 'favoured' rather than an 'essential' language in terms of its association with religion. Parents use MSA when praying because it allows them a closer connection than any other language with God. MSA is the closest religious language to parents' native language (LA) and the one traditionally regarded in their homeland as most suitable for religious practices. These findings challenge Gal's (1979) observations about language choice for religion, but confirm those reported by Sallabank (2013: 82) in her study, where Guernesiais was not regarded of sufficiently high status for talking to god.

Children find MSA more difficult to learn than LA because its morphology and syntax are different and more complex. Additionally, Arabic (MSA) teaching methods in complementary schools are considered old-fashioned and uninspiring, particularly in comparison with the more contemporary and innovative approach to the teaching of English and second languages adopted in mainstream schools. Such attitudes seem to influence children's motivation to learn MSA and affect their literacy skills, which remain limited compared with their competence in LA and English literacy (6.2.2). These findings echo Gardner and Lambert (1972) who propose that integratively motivated learners are likely to be more highly motivated and hence more successful than the instrumentally oriented. Equally, Smolicz, Nical, and Secombe (2000 cited in Garcia, 2003: 28) conclude in their study that respondents have positive attitudes towards L1 oracy, but less than positive attitudes towards literacy activities in L1, with a preference for English literacy. Most children recognize the value of bilingualism and biliteracy development. Some are, however, negatively influenced by the unfavourable attitudes against speakers of Arabic held by the dominant society, and hence motivated to develop their bilingual skills in English and other European languages deemed to have greater linguistic capital (symbolic and economic)

than MSA in the global linguistic market. Such negative attitudes and ideologies towards MSA seem to be underpinned by the national language policy, which began promoting English supremacy and encouraging assimilation in the 1930s (Phillipson, 1992: 137-45) as a symbol of national identity, and a public 'monolingual mindset' (Clyne, 2005) which treats multilingualism with suspicion. If also adopted by Lebanese parents and children, these attitudes may lead to the loss of Arabic (in its duality) and ethno-cultural identity, with assimilation to English and a British identity, as argued by Kroskrity (2000b).

7.1.5 Positive attitudes towards English and bilingualism

Almost all parents and children in this study hold positive attitudes towards English. Given their own personal experiences with language learning in Lebanon, parents value multilingualism and regard it as a healthy indication of acculturation and openness to other cultures. Both the parents and children studied believe that in order to fully participate in British life, engage with members of the majority society, and succeed academically and professionally proficiency in English is essential. However, some also consider it important to learn another European language in addition to English, and discount the usefulness of Arabic (MSA) for life in the UK (see 6.2.4). Others value both Arabic (MSA and LA) and English, suggesting a strong desire to adapt to, and integrate into, the host society while still preserving their own HL and ethno-cultural identity. Nevertheless, bilingual education in Arabic and English is deemed a challenge, notably when children question their parents' decisions and resist their efforts to transmit the Arabic language(s) and ethno-cultural values, all of which creates friction among family members. Blackledge and Creese (2010: 166) observe that 'heritage may become a site at which identities are contested, rather than imposed unproblematically'. Additionally, children's lack of motivation and limited literacy skills in MSA are attributed to the dearth of national support for HLs, and the language in education policy which favours certain global higher-status languages and treats HLs as a 'problem' rather than a source of national 'resource' (Ruíz, 1984). Despite numerous studies that advocate

the benefits of multilingualism and multi-cultural diversity - increasing cultural tolerance and respect among community members (Auer & Wei, 2007) - a dominant ideology of monolingualism, encouraging the hegemony of English and assimilation to British society, seems to prevail in the UK. HL teaching and HLM are largely the responsibility of parents and ethnic communities, with little support from the government and educational institutions. This approach to multilingualism often leads to a power imbalance and leaves ethnic community members in a dilemma. They are forced to choose between retaining their HL and ethnic identity, asserting their rights and contesting 'linguistic imperialism' (Phillipson, 2012: 214), and granting access to the dominant language to enjoy its 'symbolic power' (Bourdieu, 1991). Tinsley and Board (2016) observe that British schools do not actively encourage HL speakers to maintain their valuable languages and share their cultural experiences with others at school. Schwartz and Palviainen (2016) and Schwartz and Yagmur (2018) propose a new concept of educational partnership where children, parents and teachers form a joint community of practice and co-construct the best grounds for bilingual education.

In this study, Lebanese parents and children show positive attitudes towards Arabic (LA and MSA) and their ethnic identity, and are integratively and instrumentally motivated to maintain both Arabic varieties. Although both types of attitudes should ensure the maintenance of Arabic (in its duality) so long as these attitudes remain positive over time, and are reinforced by effective FLPs and maintenance efforts, the results point rather to a shift towards English literacy already underway among second-generation Lebanese-British (see 6.2.2). As a result, it may seem likely that stronger integrative attitudes towards LA are more effective in ensuring HLM than instrumental attitudes towards MSA, in line with the conclusions of Gardner and Lambert (1959)³¹.

³¹ Although Gardner and Lambert's (1959) framework is over sixty years old, its principles still apply.

7.1.6 The role of Arabic and Arabness in the construction of identity

The majority of parent and children participants view the construct of identity as fluid, multi-layered and changing with time, domains, and circumstances. Some prioritise their dual Lebanese-British identity, implying their simultaneous adaptation to the host society's culture and retention of their ethno-cultural identity. However, a greater proportion of children relate to this mixed identity, indicating that they are more integrated into and open to British culture than their parents. Language strengthens the bond with the British self, and these children are socialized from a young age, mainly through education, into English language and culture, promoting thereby a synchronicity and integration of both Lebanese and British identities. Some participants even prioritise their dual Lebanese-Arab identity. The pluricentricity of the Arabic language creates a sense of 'shared Arabness' (Al-Sahafi, 2018: 101) and allows Lebanese speakers to form co-ethnic social networks with other Arabic speakers in London, irrespective of country of origin, religion, political affiliation or race. This echoes Al-Sahafi (2018) and Nagel (2002), both of whom conclude that Arabic operates as an important identity marker that brings different Arabic immigrant communities together. Those parents who strongly relate to this dual Lebanese-Arab identity seem to detach themselves from the British identity because of the perceived cultural, religious and social distance between the British and Lebanese-Arab identity. Children are more capable of navigating between the Lebanese-Arab and British selves. Their attachment to their ethnic identity and participation in ethnic social networks does not preclude them from participating in British social networks and constructing a British identity. Their ability to speak Arabic (LA) and English as well as their knowledge of both Lebanese and British cultures enables them to embrace multiple identities and engage with Lebanese-Arab ethnic communities and the dominant society alike.

Not all parents identify with such fluidity of identity. Some express their permanent and unitary view of identity, and consider their national Lebanese identity to be the most dominant and important, transcending all others. They

refute any connection with the pan-Arab identity, and value LA because of its emotional, communicative, and integrative functions. To them, the HL reinforces their sense of 'Lebaneseness', as per Fishman's arguments (2001b). Additionally, parents hugely value their Lebanese cultural identity, and consider the relationship between language and culture to be deeply rooted, in line with Brown (1994). To these parents, language functions as both a means of communication and a carrier of culture (Wei, 2005: 56). This strong connection between HL identity and ethno-cultural identity, and their perceived distance from the dominant culture and Arab culture, promotes an unchangeable Lebanese identity.

A small minority of children prefers to distance itself from the Lebanese identity and adopt an exclusive British identity, suggesting a complete assimilation to the host society. These children appear to be influenced by broader societal attitudes that associate the Arabic language and the Arab ethnic identity with terrorism and Islam. This rejection of heritage identity and lack of emotional motivation to maintain the HL, mirror Gogonas and Kirsch's (2016) conclusions regarding Greek families in Luxembourg.

7.1.7 The impact of Arabic and religion on identity

Several of those studied recognize the impact of religion and Arabic on identity formation and selection of social networks. Lebanese Muslim parents highlight the importance of Arabic (notably MSA) in maintaining their religion, and regard its instrumental and communicative values as vital for intergenerational transmission. For them, the Muslim identity is connected to their Lebanese-Arab identity, and the Arabic language (in its duality) plays an essential part in building their religious, national and ethnic identities. Conforming to Smolicz's core value theory (Smolicz, 1981), religion and the HL are both associated with core values in group identity, and combined should lead to the maintenance of Arabic (in its duality) among its speakers. Rouchdy (2002) and Clyne (2003) both identify this role played by Arabic among immigrant Arab Muslim families in the United States and Australia. Retention of the ethno-religious identity is strongly associated with the

intergenerational transmission of Arabic. Lebanese Christian parents do not, however, consider Arabic (MSA) essential to their religion to the same extent Lebanese Muslims do. Christianity is perceived as a universal religion that unites people from different nationalities, ethnic backgrounds and cultures, which can be celebrated in a multitude of languages, not only Arabic, as is the case of Islam.

Children show less interest in, and commitment to, religious practices than their parents. Unlike Muslim children who desire to learn Arabic (MSA) to consolidate their religious beliefs, Christian children do not consider Arabic (MSA) to have a key role in the transmission of religious values and beliefs. They note, rather, the communicative power of LA in facilitating participation in church services and parish activities, as well as maintaining healthy and strong relations with other members of the religious community, notably older ones. English is preferred to, and more frequently used than, Arabic (MSA) in religious participation. Perera (2016) and Muslim and Brown (2016) reached similar conclusions about second-generation Sri-Lankan Australians and Indonesian Australians respectively, showing a shift towards English and away from religion.

Parents in this study do not perceive religion as a key part of their identity, preferring to highlight the significance of the HL, and the cultural and ethnic constituents of their identities. The multicultural, multi-ethnic and pluralistic character of the host society promote a more secular milieu that does not support a religious identity. To these participants, Arabic in its duality is vital for its communicative and instrumental values, but not for its religious dimension. Child participants in this study are conscious of the stereotypical view in the West that tends to associate the Arabic language with the Muslim identity and the Arab ethnic identity. In a desire to be better accepted in the host society, they prefer to avoid any religious identity.

7.2 Main contributions of the study

a. This study provides an in-depth and detailed exploration of FLPs, patterns of language use, language abilities, language attitudes and identity practices of first-generation Lebanese immigrant parents and their second-generation children. By giving a voice to both Lebanese parents and Lebanese-British children, this study is able to identify similarities and differences between the two generations and thus, provides more in-depth analysis and fills in a gap in the emerging field of FLP. Furthermore, by using a combination of data collection sources (questionnaires, interviews and participant observation), a certain degree of triangulation is possible, thereby, increasing the reliability and validity of the findings.

b. This study makes a valuable contribution to the literature on HLs and HL learning, HLM and LS, FLP, bilingualism/multilingualism, and language and identity. In addition, this study is particularly beneficial to all Arabic-speaking communities in the UK, who have relatively received less attention in research in comparison with other ethnic communities.

c. While previous studies in the UK have focussed on Arabic-speaking minorities from different countries of origin (Othman (2011); Bishani (2015)) and from mainly working-class and Muslim populations (Jamai (2008); Ferguson (2013)), this study focusses on Lebanese families who share a common national background but not necessarily a common religious or ethnic heritage. These families live in London, and are predominantly from an 'average' socio-economic status. This study complements previous sociolinguistic studies on Arabic-speaking communities in the UK, and highlights the diversity and heterogeneity of these ethnic communities in terms of their religious affiliations, language beliefs, FLPs and practices, ethnic affiliation, socio-economic status, and previous experiences with multilingualism.

d. This study has examined parents' and children's attitudes towards both varieties of Arabic and their impact on LM and LS. Unlike language

revitalisation studies, which tend to focus mainly on parents' (and grandparents') contributions (Sallabank, 2013; 2018), this study employs the innovative measures, which are adopted in the relatively new field of FLP. It interviews children and acknowledges their valuable contributions. My findings show that LA is maintained among Lebanese-British children, and they are strongly attached to their HL and ethnic identity, contrary to other HL studies which show evidence of LS by the second-generation (Jamai, 2008; Clyne, 1982; Pauwels, 1985). However, literacy shift to English is starting to take place despite parents' investment in biliteracy development and the wide-ranging availability of Arabic complementary schools in London. These results support the existing theories that higher integrative attitudes lead to more successful maintenance outcomes than instrumental attitudes (Gardner & Lambert, 1972; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009; Shin et al., 2016).

e. With regard to MSA, this study has also revealed how Lebanese families do not constitute a homogenous Arabic-speaking community in terms of their motivations to learn MSA and the manner in which different identities are constructed and contested. Christian families value MSA and want to transmit it to their children principally for academic and economic reasons, whereas Muslim families also put emphasis on its religious value and importance for fostering a Muslim identity. However, even among families of the same denomination, there are differences in terms of identity practices. Some consider MSA as vital to foster a pan-Arab identity, which transcends all other forms of ethnic, religious and national identity. Others note the core value of LA in strengthening their national and cultural identity within the diaspora, and differentiate themselves from other Arabic-speaking communities.

f. This study also offers an educational focus. It sheds some light on the important role Lebanese and Arabic complementary schools play in providing children an important source of socialisation with other members of their ethnic/religious community, thus strengthening their sense of ethnic/religious belonging, as well as transmitting the educational and socio-cultural knowledge. Although most children do not appreciate the teaching

approaches and resources used in these schools, parents do value both the educational and socio-cultural and religious contribution these establishments make.

g. This study has examined the role of FLP in the process of HLM or LS. Although most Lebanese parents and grandparents are invested in maintaining LA at home, and make the home environment as conducive to LA use as possible, the 'hot house' policy (exclusive use of the HL) is rarely maintained in practice. In reality, parents support the use of CS as a resource to develop their children's bilingual skills, and adopt flexible FLPs that evolve over time to accommodate children's needs. As such, this study challenges the 'hot house' strategy as an effective policy to promote maintenance of the HL and ethnic identity in multilingual families, and supports current theories that advocate a more flexible, dynamic and multi-directional approach to FLP (Curdtt-Christiansen, 2013; 2016; Schwartz & Verschik, 2013; Caldas, 2012).

7.3 Limitations of the study

a. It was not possible to gain access to a greater number of families to enable observations of Lebanese families from a wider range of diverse religious backgrounds. This limited the scope of the study and the amount of data collected for detailed analysis.

b. Due to time and participants' constraints, it was not possible to dedicate more substantial periods of time to family observations. This prevented the collection of more in-depth data pertaining to language use at home and outside (neighbourhood, religious places, community halls, schools), and with various interlocutors.

c. Due to families' refusal to be video-recorded, I was not able to capture the extra-linguistic cues and finer details related to spontaneous language use, explicit and implicit application of FLP, children's agency in negotiating FLPs and their responses.

d. Most parent participants in this study were women. Fathers were less keen to participate and share their views and experiences. This prevented comparison and contrast between men's and women's language decisions, language practices and identity practices.

e. Although children were informally tested to enable comparison between 'self-reported' and 'actual' proficiency level in MSA, it would have been more accurate, time and resources allowing, to carry out a widely recognised test to accurately measure children's literacy development in MSA.

f. Given the crucial role of complementary schools where children are socialised into linguistic, social and cultural aspects of language use, it would have complemented this study to observe how children use their languages in these establishments, how teachers respond to practices such as CS and translanguaging in the classrooms, the educational approaches used to teach MSA in the UK, and how children negotiate and enact their identities in presence of teachers and peers.

g. The findings of this study cannot be generalized to all Lebanese immigrant families living in the UK or elsewhere in the diaspora. The numbers of families observed, and children and teachers interviewed were limited. However, I have tried to include Lebanese participants from diverse backgrounds and circumstances, and I have used different data collection methods. It is thus possible to claim that these findings can be considered reliable and thus have a broader application.

7.4 Future research

a. This sociolinguistic study examined language practices and language attitudes of first and second-generation Lebanese immigrants (8-16 years) in London. Therefore, there is scope for further research to be carried out on a longitudinal basis, to learn about children's language practices after they

leave 'home' to pursue higher education or occupational careers. It would equally be interesting to observe language practices and identity practices of third-generation Lebanese-British, to verify whether Fishman's three-generational shift model would apply, and if integrative attitudes towards LA would remain positive over time.

b. This study looked into literacy practices and levels of proficiency of Lebanese-British children. It would be useful to conduct a study using specialist educational instruments and techniques to formally assess children's biliteracy skills and success rate in the official Arabic GCSE and Advanced level exams. It would also be of value to compare the teaching resources and approaches used in various Arabic complementary schools and assess their effectiveness (or lack thereof) in developing children's literacy skills in MSA. The results could be used by Arabic complementary schools in the UK to develop best educational practices to help ethnic families maintain Arabic literacy intergenerationally.

c. It would also be useful to conduct a comparative study of Lebanese Christian families and Lebanese Muslim families, for whom the religious value of Arabic (MSA) is vital, and assess what crucial factors lead to more maintenance success in these families, and what factors most impact children's literacy development over time.

d. It would equally be interesting to conduct a comparative study of Lebanese families living in London and those living in other European capital cities, to examine whether different patterns of language practices and FLPs are adopted, and how they impact HLM and LS, biliteracy development, and identity practices. Similarly, comparing the linguistic practices and FLP of Lebanese families to different ethnic minority groups in London would make an additional contribution to the field.

e. There is scope to conduct further research examining the influence of gender on language behaviour, language attitudes, language proficiency, and identity practices of ethnic minority groups in the UK.

To conclude, this study has suggested new directions to examine issues of language practices, language attitudes, literacy development, and identity practices among Lebanese and other Arabic-speaking communities living in the UK and elsewhere in the diaspora. It has offered a comprehensive representation of Lebanese parents' and children's linguistic practices and attitudes and the diverse ways they construct and negotiate their identities. Despite its limitations, I strongly believe that it constitutes a valuable source for further sociolinguistic studies.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Participant information sheet and consent form (English)



Introduction

The purpose of this form is to provide you with information so you can decide whether to participate in this study. Any questions you may have will be answered by the researcher or by the other contact persons provided below. Once you are familiar with the information on the form and have asked any questions you may have, you can decide whether or not to participate. If you agree, please either sign this form or else provide verbal consent

Research title: A Sociolinguistic Study of Language Practices and Language attitudes of Lebanese families in London.

Purpose of the research

As part of my PhD research at SOAS University, I would like to investigate the language practices and language attitudes of Lebanese parents and children. This will involve filling in questionnaires by parents and children, conducting interviews with parents, children and school teachers at different Arabic complementary schools in London, and observing some families at home, in public places and places of worship. Your opinion and insights will be extremely valuable to this study.

Do I have to take part?

It is entirely your choice whether you agree to take part in this research or you do not. If you decide to take part you will be asked to sign a consent form or give a verbal consent. You may withdraw at any time without giving a reason, and you may also refuse to answer specific questions you are uncomfortable with. Your participation will not cause you, or your family members, any harm whatsoever. It will help me gain a clear understanding of language practices and attitudes, and give you the opportunity to voice your opinions and share your experiences with others involved in multilingual practices.

All information given will be kept completely confidential and will only be used for the purposes of the research study stated above. Your name and surname will not appear in any document such as the thesis coming out of this research. Instead, pseudonyms will be used. All data collected will be held securely or deleted once the research is finished. You may also request from me to see the final published results of the study.

Name of researcher

Signature

Zeina Eid

Telephone: 0044 7713844921

Email Address: zeinaeid@hotmail.co.uk

Alternative contact: Dr Julia Sallabank

Contact email: js72@soas.ac.uk

Research Participant Declaration

I confirm that I have read and understood the above information relating to the research project. I freely consent to my information being used in the manner and for the purposes described, and I waive my copyright and other intellectual property rights as indicated. I understand that I may withdraw my consent to participate in the project, and that I should contact the project coordinator if I wish to do so.

Participant Name:

Signature:

Date:

Researcher Name: Zeina Eld

Signature:

Date:

PLEASE KEEP THIS FORM FOR FUTURE REFERENCE.

نسخة عن المعلومات للمشاركين (Arabic)



المقدمة

ان الغرض من هذه الاستمارة هو تزويدكم بالمعلومات لتقرروا عم اذا كنتم ترغبون المشاركة بهذه الدراسة ام لا. ان الباحثة أو الشخص المذكور اسمها أدناه ستتمكن من الاجابة على كل الأسئلة التي قد تودون الاستفسار عنها. وبعد ذلك, يمكنكم أن تقرروا عما اذا اذا كنتم ترغبون بالمشاركة او لا. اذا وافقتم, الرجاء التوقيع على هذه الاستمارة او تزويدي بموافقتكم الشفهية.

عنوان البحث: دراسة سوسiolغوية حول الممارسات اللغوية والمواقف اللغوية الخاصة بالأهل والأولاد اللبنانيين المقيمين في لندن.

غرض البحث

كجزء من البحث الذي اجره لشهادة الدكتوراه في جامعة سواس, لندن (SOAS) اود ان استفسر عن الممارسات اللغوية والمواقف اللغوية الخاصة بالآباء والأولاد اللبنانيين. سيشمل ذلك ملئ استمارة من قبل الأهل والأولاد, واجراء مقابلات مع الأهل والأولاد ومدرسين في مختلف المدارس التكميلية العربية في لندن, ومراقبة بعض العائلات في بيوتهم والأماكن العامة وأماكن الصلاة. سيكون رأيكم ومفهومكم للأمور قيما "جدا" لهذه الدراسة.

هل يتوجب علي المشاركة؟

انت وحدك تقرر عما اذا كنت ترغب بالمشاركة في هذه الدراسة او لا. اذا قررت المشاركة سيطلب منك توقيع استمارة او الاقرار بموافقتك شفهيًا". يمكنك ان تنسحب متى شئت من دون ابداء اي سبب, ويمكنك ان ترفض الاجابة على اسئلة معينة لا تشعر بالراحة تجاهها. ان مشاركتك لن تسبب لك او لأي عضو من اسرتك أي ضرر بأي شكل من الأشكال. ستساعدني مشاركتك ان افهم بشكل اوضح الممارسات اللغوية والمواقف اللغوية, وستعطيك الفرصة للتعبير عن ارائك والمشاركة بخبرتك مع الذين تهتمهم الممارسات المتعددة اللغات.

سيتم الاحتفاظ بجميع المعلومات المقدمة بسرية تامة وسيتم استخدامها فقط لأغراض البحث المذكورة أعلاه. لن يظهر اسمك او شهرتك في اي مستند مثل الاطروحة الناتجة عن هذا البحث. بدلا من ذلك, سيتم استخدام اسماء مستعارة للحفاظ على سرية المعلومات. تحفظ كل المعلومات التي تم جمعها بشكل أمين أو يتم اتلفها بعد انتهاء البحث. ويمكنك ان تطلب مني الاطلاع على نتائج الدراسة النهائية المنشورة.

اسم الباحثة: زينة عيد

التوقيع:

الهاتف الخليوي: ٠٠٤٤٧٧١٣٨٤٤٩٢١

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تصريح المشترك بالبحث

أؤكد اني قرأت المعلومات الخاصة بمشروع البحث وفهمتها, و امنح موافقتي الحرة بان تستخدم معلوماتي بالطريقة الموضحة ولأسباب هذا البحث. كما انني اتنازل عن حقوق الطبع والنشر وحقوق الملكية الفكرية الأخرى كما هو محدد. اني افهم بانه يمكنني سحب موافقتي على المشاركة بهذا المشروع, وانه يمكنني الاتصال بمنسق هذا المشروع اذا كنت أرغب القيام بذلك.

اسم المشارك(ة):

التوقيع:

التاريخ:

اسم الباحثة: زينة عيد

التوقيع:

التاريخ:

الرجاء الاحتفاظ بهذه الاستمارة للرجوع اليها في المستقبل

Appendix 2

List of conventions used in the transcription process, and inspired by Gumperz and Berenz (1993: 121)

?	final rise
,	slight rise as in listing intonation (e.g., more is expected)
..	pauses of less than .5 seconds
...	pauses greater than .5 seconds
//	final fall
[...]	omitted text
[<i>laugh</i>]	nonlexical phenomena, both vocal and non vocal, that interrupt the lexical stretch
<translate>	translated segments
(...)	explanation
{ <i>LA</i> }	<i>Lebanese Arabic</i>
{ <i>MSA</i> }	<i>Modern Standard Arabic</i>
Eng	English
{ <i>FR</i> }	<i>FRENCH</i>
<u>underline</u>	extra emphasis
<u>dashed underline</u>	<u>code-switching</u>
I:	Interviewer

Appendix 3

List of abbreviations

AR	Arabic
CS	Code Switching
CM	Code Mixing
ENG	English
FLP	Family Language Policy
GT	Grounded Theory
HC	Heritage Culture
HL	Heritage Language
HLM	Heritage Language Maintenance
I	Interviewer
LA	Lebanese Arabic
LS	Language Shift
LM	Language Maintenance
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic
OPOL	One Parent One Language
RA	Romanised Arabic

Appendix 4

Transliteration scheme of the Library of Congress

(Library of Congress, 2012)

ا	ā	ذ	dh	ظ	ẓ	ن	n
ب	b	ر	r	ع	‘	ه	h
ت	t	ز	z	غ	gh	و	w/ū
ث	th	س	s	ف	f	ي	y/ī
ج	j	ش	sh	ق	q		
ح	ḥ	ص	ṣ	ك	k	ة	a/i
خ	kh	ض	ḍ	ل	l	ء	’
د	d	ط	ṭ	م	m	ى	a

Vowels and Diphthongs

(fatḥa)	a	ا (fatḥa)	ā	و (fatḥa)	aw
(dammah)	u	و (dammah)	ū	ي (fatḥa)	ay
(kassrah)	i	ي (kassrah)	ī		

Appendix 5

Transcription and Data analysis extract

The following is a sample showing how the conventions of transcription and colour coding have been applied using grounded theory (GT). The discussion takes place between the interviewer and four Lebanese ladies: Najat, Samar, Christina and Nathalie (pseudonyms). The interviewer started by asking the ladies how they have been keeping since the last time they all met. What followed was part of the conversation that unfolded. Grounded analysis was used in this type of conversational data to highlight features and characteristics of the emerging theme, notably the close connection between language choice and identity formation.

Extract 22

Najāt: bintī ilā ‘am tis‘ul ‘iddit asābi’// wū laḥad halla’, ba’id mā shāfa ḥakīm mukhtaṣṣ// .. wallahi raḥ jinn an// .. mā ba’rif shu baddi a’mul//

<Najat: My daughter has been coughing for weeks// And until now, she hasn’t been seen by a specialist// .. I swear I am going crazy// .. I don’t know what to do//>

Samar: Ih, Ih,.. ana mā būtha’ bil sīstām il ṭubbi hawn// .. ‘atūl bākhud wlādī ‘ala libnān iza baddi istishāra ṭubbiyyi// wlik ḥatta ana, bshūf ḥikma bass bi libnān// Ma bḥiss bi’amān hawn ... li’annun ktīr kislanīn// bikhallūki tinṭri wa’it tawīl ‘abil ma yḥawwlūki ‘ala ḥakīm mukhtaṣṣ//... bitshūfi il GP, wu huwwi bijarrib kaza shaghli ‘abil ma yḥawwlik ‘ala ḥakīm mukhtaṣṣ// baynama bi libnān, bitrūḥi dughri ‘ind ḥakīm mukhtaṣṣ

<Samar: Yes, Yes, .. I don’t trust the medical system here// .. I always take my children to Lebanon if I need medical advice// And even me, I consult doctors only in Lebanon// I don’t feel safe here ... because they

are very lazy// They make you wait for a long time before they refer you to a specialist doctor// ... you see the GP, and he tries several things before he refers you to a specialist// **Whereas in Lebanon, you go directly to a specialist doctor// >**

Najāt: wallahil ‘azīm, ana ṭalla‘ūli ḍagħṭi bi hal balad bisabab ṭarṭ’itun wu taṣarrufātun//.. mish tāy’itun ba’a

<Najat: I swear to God, they caused my blood pressure to increase in this country because of their attitudes and behavior// .. I can’t stand them >

Samar: wlik ḥatta law riḥti private hawn, baddik referral//.. shu hal habal?... bi libnān, yaḷḷā dughri bass ūṣal, brūḥ ‘ind ashtar ḥikma wu ba’mul check up ‘ām ‘ala ṣuḥḥit il salāmi

<Samar: Even if you went private here, you need a referral// .. How stupid? ... **In Lebanon as soon as I arrive, I go straight away to see the best doctors** and I do a general check up even if don’t need it>

Kristīnā: bi hal balad, innās ma ‘inda mashā’ir la għayra wu khṣūṣan iza shāfūki mish inkliziyyi// bass talfin lal RECEPTIONNISTE ta a’mul maw’ad ma’ il GP, bta’rif min lahiṭti inni għarṭbi ... dughri bit’illi sorry ma ‘anna maw’ad// .. bass khalli jārṭi il-yāhūdiyyi yalli btiḥki inklizi ktīr mnīḥ talfinla, waḥyātik dughri bta’ṭiya maw’ad//

<Christina: In this country, people have no feelings for others, especially if they see us non-British// When I call the receptionist for an appointment to see my GP, she knows from my accent that I am a foreigner.. She straight away tells me, sorry, no appointment today// .. But let my neighbor **who is Jewish and speaks perfect English** call her, .. I swear she would straight away give her an appointment//>

Natālī: Th, Th, ana bwāfi' ma' kristīna// .. li'annu hatta bil madrasi bass rūḥ ta shūf il m'allmi, aw uṭlub inni iḥki ma'ā, .. yā bitnaṭṭirni ktīr, ya btuṭlub minni inni irja' shūfa ba'dān// .. bass khalli shi wāḥdi inklīziyyi sha'ra tuṭlub tshūfa, **automatically** bitshūfa ... hinni mit'aṣbīn bi hal balad// mujarrad innu naḥna libnāniyyi wu mish inklīz, bi āmlūna ka'annu muwāṭnīn tāni aw tālit daraji//

<Nathalie: Yes, yes, I agree with you Christina// .. because even at school when I go to see a teacher, or ask to speak to her, .. she either makes me wait a long time or asks me to come back and see her later// .. **But let a blond English lady** ask to see her, automatically she is seen ... **They are racist in this country**// Just **because we are Lebanese and not British**, **they treat us** like second or third class citizens// >

Appendix 6

a. Arabic text used for reading to test informally children participants aged

10-11 years(Al-Haddad & Al-Shartouny, 2010: 104)

رَافِقَ نَزِيهِ رِفَاقَ صَفِّهِ فِي نَزْهَةٍ إِلَى الشَّلْجِ.
تَجَمَّعُوا فِي مَلْعَبِ الْمَدْرَسَةِ، صَعَدُوا بِالْبَاصِ
وَأَنْطَلَقُوا بَاكِرًا إِلَى الْجَبَلِ الْعَالِي.

كَانَ الطَّقْسُ بَارِدًا جِدًّا وَكَانَ الشَّلْجُ يَتَساقَطُ
فِي كُلِّ مَكَانٍ. لَعِبُوا بِالشَّلْجِ وَشَعَرُوا بِالصَّقِيعِ
فِي أَجْسَادِهِمْ.

عِنْدَ الْمَسَاءِ عَادُوا إِلَى الْمَدْرَسَةِ مَسْرُورِينَ.



الحوار:

١- إلى أين رافق نزيه

رافق صفه؟

٢- أين تجمّعوا؟ بم

صعدوا؟

٣- إلى أين أنطلقوا؟

٤- كيف كان الطقس؟

٥- أين عادوا؟

Appendix 6

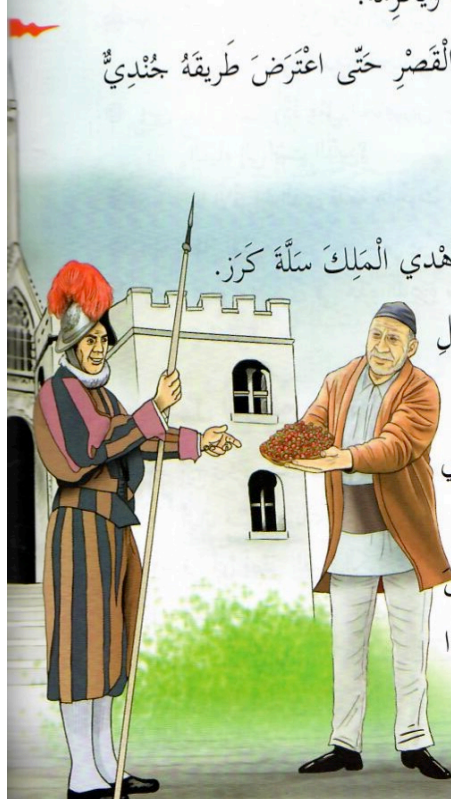
- b. Arabic text selected for reading for children participants aged 14-16 years (Al-Haddad and Al-Shartouny, 2015: 124)

١ - القِرَاءَةُ فَهْمًا وَتَحْلِيلًا
الْوَحْدَةُ الْخَامِسَةُ

❖ كَرَزٌ فِي الشِّتَاءِ ❖

كَانَ يَوْسُفُ مُزَارِعًا نَشِيطًا، يَهْتَمُّ بِأَشْجَارِهِ الْمُثْمِرَةِ اهْتِمَامًا بَالِغًا. وَقَدْ اسْتَطَاعَ بِذَكَائِهِ وَمُتَابَرَتِهِ أَنْ يَجْعَلَ شَجَرَةَ الْكَرَزِ عِنْدَهُ تُثْمِرُ مَرَّتَيْنِ فِي السَّنَةِ: مَرَّةً فِي فَصْلِ الشِّتَاءِ وَمَرَّةً أُخْرَى فِي فَصْلِ الصَّيْفِ. وَلَمَّا كَانَ الْكَرَزُ فِي فَصْلِ الشِّتَاءِ نَادِرًا جِدًّا فَكَّرَ يَوْسُفُ فِي أَنْ يُهْدِيَ الْمَلِكَ سَلَّةَ كَرَزٍ فَيَرْضَى عَنْهُ وَيُكْرِمَهُ. وَلَكِنْ مَا إِنَّ وَصَلَ إِلَى مَدْخَلِ الْقَصْرِ حَتَّى اعْتَرَضَ طَرِيقَهُ جُنْدِيٌّ عَابِسٌ وَقَالَ لَهُ غَاضِبًا:

- مَنْ أَنْتَ؟ وَمَاذَا تَفْعَلُ هُنَا؟
- أَنَا يَوْسُفُ بْنُ حَيْدَرَ، جِئْتُ أُهْدِي الْمَلِكَ سَلَّةَ كَرَزٍ.
- يَا لِلْعَجَبِ!! كَرَزٌ فِي فَصْلِ الشِّتَاءِ!! أَلَسْتَ خَرُومِيَّيْهَا الرَّجُلُ؟
- تَعَالِ، وَانْظُرْ. إِنَّهَا ثَمَرَةٌ تَعْبِي وَاعْتِنَائِي وَجْهِي.
فَكَرَّ الْجُنْدِيُّ قَلِيلًا ثُمَّ قَالَ لِيَوْسُفَ: «سَأَسْمَحُ لَكَ بِالْمُرُورِ إِذَا وَعَدْتَنِي بِإِعْطَائِي نِصْفَ الْمُكَافَأَةِ».



Appendix 7a

Children's questionnaire (ENG)

Please note LA refers to Lebanese Arabic or AL-Darija, and MSA refers to Modern Standard Arabic or Al-Fusha

A little bit about you

1. What's your age?
2. What's your gender?
3. What is your country of birth?
4. Please rate your proficiency in the following languages, choosing a score from 1 to 5 where 1 = No ability at all, 2= some ability (use simple words and set phrases), 3= Fair ability (talk about familiar topics), 4= good ability (hold conversations about daily things for 3-5 minutes) and 5 = Fluent ability (talk about complex matters) in each category.

	Speaking	Understanding	Reading	Writing
LA				
MSA				
English				
French				
Other (please specify)				

5. Which of these languages did you learn **first**?
6. What ethnic identity do you consider yourself to be? Tick (x) one of the options

Lebanese

British

Equally Lebanese and British

More Lebanese than British

More British than Lebanese

Arab

Other

7. What ethnic identity do you think most other people consider you to be? Tick (x) one of the options.

Lebanese

British

Equally Lebanese and British

More Lebanese than British

More British than Lebanese

Arab

Other

Communication preferences

8. Please indicate which of the following language(s): LA, MSA, English, French, or Other (specify) You use with the following people, and how often you use it/them by choosing: all the time, most of the time, half the time, sometimes or never.

Example: At home with my mother, I use LA most of the time.

At home with your mother?

At home with you father?

At home with your siblings (brothers/sisters)?

At home with extended family members (such as grandparents, aunties and uncles)?

When socializing with friends out of school?

When chatting online with Lebanese friends and family members?

When speaking on the telephone with Lebanese friends or family?

When having a conversation with Lebanese children?

When talking on the phone to your grandparents?

P.S: For questions 9 and 10 you may choose more than one language if it is relevant to you.

9. Which of the following language(s): LA, MSA, English, French, other (specify) do You use when listening and watching the following entertainment channels:

Listening to music on the radio

Listening to CDs

Watching entertainment programs/ films on TV

Watching DVDs

10. Which of the following language(s): LA, MSA, English, French, other (specify) do you use when You read or write on the following occasions?

Sending text (SMS) messages or emails to Lebanese friends and family

When reading novels or books for recreation

When reading printed newspapers / online news

When using social media (FaceBook / Twitter)

11. Please rate the following statements regarding LA if you agree or disagree by choosing one of the following: Agree strongly (AS), Agree mostly (AM), Neither agree nor disagree (NAND), Disagree mostly (DM), or Disagree strongly (DS)

LA is important because it is part of my Lebanese identity

LA is important because it allows me to communicate with family members

LA is important to be accepted in the Lebanese community

Speaking LA gives me an academic advantage

LA is beautiful

LA is my most dominant language

I can express my emotions better when I use LA

Speaking LA gives me access to more job opportunities

LA is important for my religion

I like speaking LA

If I have children, I would like them to speak LA

12. Here are some statements about attitudes to LA, MSA and English. Please indicate if You agree or disagree by choosing one of the following: Agree strongly (AS), Agree mostly (AM), Neither agree nor disagree (NAND), Disagree mostly (DM) or Disagree strongly (DS)

It is important to speak LA and English
 To speak only English in the UK is all that is needed
 Knowing LA and English make people more clever
 Learning both LA and English is confusing
 Speaking both LA and English helps people get promotions at work
 I would like to be considered bilingual in LA and English
 Being able to read and write in both MSA and English is important
 People who speak both LA and English have more friends than those who speak one language
 I would like to take GCSE exams in MSA
 I prefer to speak another European language than LA

The ways children use languages

13. In conversation, please indicate by (✓) if You mix various languages on the following occasions, and state those languages between parentheses. If you do not mix languages in conversation, please put an (×) at the end of the question.

*Example 1: I mix the following languages (**LA and MSA**) when talking to older people from Lebanon ✓*

Example 2: I mix the following languages (...) when speaking to my siblings ×

I mix the following languages (.....) when speaking to my parents
 I mix the following languages (.....) when speaking to my siblings/ cousins
 I mix the following languages (.....) when speaking to other children of Arabic background
 I mix the following languages (.....) when speaking to my grandparents

14. Here are some statements about family language practices. Please rate the statements if you agree or disagree by choosing one of the following: Agree strongly (AS), Agree mostly (AM), Neither agree nor disagree (NAND), Disagree mostly (DM) or Disagree strongly (DS).

As a family we regularly watch TV programs and sitcoms in LA
 As a family we regularly socialize with other Lebanese families

As a family we participate regularly in Lebanese religious and cultural rituals
I go to Lebanese school on Saturday to learn MSA and develop fluency in LA
I return to Lebanon at least once a year
Extended family members (grandparents, uncles and aunties) visit us regularly in the UK

End of Questionnaire

Thank you very much for completing this questionnaire. Feel free to write any additional comments in this section.

If you would like to be interviewed to discuss these questions in more detail, please write down clearly your name, surname, and parents' email address to arrange a convenient date and location. Alternatively, you can ask you mum or dad to email me on the following email address: zeinaeid@hotmail.co.uk stating your request to be interviewed.

Appendix 7b

Children's questionnaire (AR)

استبيان خاص بالأولاد

يرجى الملاحظة ان مختصر LA يشير الى اللغة العربية اللبنانية او اللغة الدارجة, ومصطلح MSA يشير الى اللغة العربية المعاصرة او اللغة الفصحى

بعض المعلومات عنك

1. السنّ

2. الجنس

3. البلد الذي ولدت فيه

4. يرجى تقييم قدرتك في اللغات التالية، واختيار في كل فئة درجة من 1 إلى 5 بحيث يعني الرقم 1 = لا توجد مقدرة على الإطلاق ، والرقم 2 = القليل من المقدرة (استخدم كلمات بسيطة وعبارات محددة)، والرقم 3 = مقدرة مقبولة (التحدّث عن مواضيع مألوفة)، والرقم 4 = مقدرة جيدة (عقد محادثات حول أمور يومية لمدة تتراوح بين 3 و5 دقائق) والرقم 5 = طلاقة في اللغة (التحدّث عن مسائل معقدة).

الكتابة	القراءة	الفهم	التحدّث	
				LA
				MSA
				الإنكليزية
				الفرنسية
				لغات أخرى (يرجى)

				التحديد
--	--	--	--	---------

5. أي من هذه اللغات تعلمت أولاً؟

6. إلى أي هوية إثنية تنتمي برأيك؟ ضع علامة (x) بقرب أحد الخيارات

لبناني

بريطاني

لبناني وبريطاني بالتساوي

أقرب إلى لبناني منه إلى بريطاني

أقرب إلى بريطاني منه إلى لبناني

عربي

آخر

7. ما هي الهوية الإثنية التي ينسبها إليك معظم الأشخاص الآخرين برأيك؟ ضع علامة (x) بقرب أحد الخيارات.

لبناني

بريطاني

لبناني وبريطاني بالتساوي

أقرب إلى لبناني منه إلى بريطاني

أقرب إلى بريطاني منه إلى لبناني

عربي

آخر

لغة/لغات التواصل المفضلة

8. يرجى الإشارة إلى اللغة (اللغات) التالية: LA، أو MSA، أو الإنكليزية، أو الفرنسية، أو لغة أخرى (يرجى تحديدها) التي تستخدمها مع الأشخاص التالي ذكرهم، ومعدل استخدامها عن طريق اختيار ما يلي: دائماً، في معظم الأوقات، نصف الوقت، أحياناً أو أبداً.

مثلاً: عندما أكون في المنزل مع والدتي، أستخدم LA في معظم الأوقات.

في المنزل مع والدتك؟

في المنزل مع والدك؟

في المنزل مع الأشقاء (الإخوة/الأخوات)؟

في المنزل مع أفراد الأسرة الموسعة (مثل الأجداد، والعمات/الخالات والأعمام/الأخوال)؟

خلال معايشرة الأصدقاء خارج المدرسة؟

خلال الدردشة عبر الإنترنت مع أصدقاء لبنانيين وأفراد من الأسرة لبنانيين؟

لدى التحدث عبر الهاتف مع أصدقاء أو أفراد من الأسرة لبنانيين؟

لدى إجراء محادثة مع أولاد لبنانيين؟

لدى التحدث إلى أجدادك عبر الهاتف؟

ملاحظة: للسؤال ٩ و ١٠ يمكنكم اختيار أكثر من لغة واحدة اذا انطبق ذلك على ممارساتكم

9. أي لغة (لغات) من اللغات التالية: LA، MSA، الإنكليزية، الفرنسية، لغة أخرى (يرجى التحديد)) تستعمل عند الاستماع إلى القنوات الترفيهية التالية ومشاهدتها:

الاستماع إلى الموسيقى على الراديو

الاستماع إلى الأقراص المدمجة (sCD)

مشاهدة البرامج/الأفلام الترفيهية على التلفزيون

مشاهدة أقراص الفيديو الرقمية

10. أي لغة (لغات) من اللغات التالية: LA، MSA، الإنكليزية، الفرنسية، لغة أخرى (يرجى التحديد)) تستعمل عند القراءة أو الكتابة في المناسبات التالية؟

إرسال رسائل نصية قصيرة (SMS) أو رسائل عبر البريد الإلكتروني إلى أصدقاء وأفراد من الأسرة لبنانيين

عند قراءة الروايات أو الكتب الترفيهية

عند قراءة الصحف المطبوعة / الأخبار عبر الإنترنت

عند استخدام وسائل التواصل الاجتماعي (فايسبوك/تويتر)

11. يرجى تقييم البيانات التالية بخصوص LA إذا كنت توافق أو لا توافق عن طريق اختيار أحد الخيارات التالية: أوافق بشدة، أو أوافق في الغالب، أو لا أوافق ولا أرفض، أو أرفض في الغالب، أو أرفض بشدة.

LA مهمة لأنها جزء من هويتي اللبنانية

LA مهمة لأنها تتيح لي التواصل مع أفراد الأسرة

LA مهمة لكي يجري قبولي في المجتمع اللبناني

التحدث بلغة LA يمنحني ميزة أكاديمية

LA لغة جميلة

LA هي لغتي الأكثر استخدامًا

يمكنني التعبير عن مشاعري على نحو أفضل عندما أستخدم لغة LA

التحدث بلغة LA يتيح لي المزيد من فرص العمل

LA مهمة في ديانتني

أحب التحدث بلغة LA

إذا كان لدي أولاد، أود منهم أن يتحدثوا LA

12. وفيما يلي بعض البيانات حول مواقف تجاه LA، MSA والإنكليزية. يرجى الإشارة إلى ما إذا كنت توافق أو ترفض عن طريق اختيار أحد العبارات التالية: أوافق بشدة، أو أوافق في الغالب، أو لا أوافق ولا أرفض، أو أرفض في الغالب، أو أرفض بشدة.

من المهم التحدث بلغة LA وباللغة الإنكليزية

التحدث باللغة الإنكليزية فقط في المملكة المتحدة هو كل ما هو مطلوب

معرفة لغة LA واللغة الإنكليزية تجعل الناس أكثر ذكاءً

تعلم كل من LA والإنكليزية مربك

التحدث باللغتين LA والإنكليزية يساعد الناس في الحصول على ترقيات في العمل

أود أن أُعْتَبَر ثنائي اللغة في لغة LA واللغة الإنكليزية

القدرة على القراءة والكتابة في كل من MSA والإنكليزية أمر مهم

لدى الأشخاص الذين يتكلمون كل من LA واللغة الإنكليزية أصدقاء أكثر من أولئك الذين يتحدثون لغة واحدة

أود أن أخضع لامتحانات GCSE الرسمية في لغة MSA

أفضل التحدث بلغة أوروبية أخرى على التحدث بلغة LA

الطرق التي يستخدم بها الأولاد اللغات

13. في المحادثة، يرجى وضع علامة (✓) إذا كنت تخط لغات مختلفة في المناسبات التالية، وحدد تلك اللغات بين قوسين. وإذا كنت لا تخط اللغات في المحادثة، فيرجى وضع علامة (x) في نهاية السؤال.

المثال 1: أقوم بخلط اللغات التالية (LA و MSA) عند التحدث إلى أشخاص أكبر سنًا من لبنان

المثال 2: أقوم بخلط اللغات التالية (...) عند التحدث إلى إخوتي

أقوم بخلط اللغات التالية (...) عند التحدث إلى والديّ

أقوم بخلط اللغات التالية (...) عند التحدث إلى إخوتي أو أخواتي/ أقربائي

أقوم بخلط اللغات التالية (...) عند التحدث إلى أولاد آخرين من خلفية عربية

أقوم بخلط اللغات التالية (...) عند التحدث إلى أجدادي

14. فيما يلي بعض البيانات حول ممارسات اللغة ضمن الأسرة. يرجى تقييم البيانات في حالة الموافقة أو الرفض باختيار إحدى العبارات التالية: أوافق بشدة، أو أوافق في الغالب، أو لا أوافق ولا أرفض، أو لا أوافق في الغالب، أو لا أوافق بشدة.

في الأسرة، نشاهد بانتظام البرامج التلفزيونية والمسلسلات الكوميدية بلغة LA

في الأسرة، نقيم علاقات اجتماعية منتظمة مع عائلات لبنانية أخرى

في الأسرة، نشارك بانتظام في الطقوس الدينية والثقافية اللبنانية
أذهب إلى المدرسة اللبنانية يوم السبت لتعلم MSA وتطوير الطلاقة بلغة LA
أعود إلى لبنان مرة واحدة في السنة على الأقل
يزورنا أفراد الأسرة الموسعة (الأجداد والأعمام/الأخوال والعمات/الخالات) بانتظام في
المملكة المتحدة

نهاية الاستبيان

شكرا جزيلا لمساعدتك في ملئ هذا الاستبيان. لا تتردد في كتابة اية تعليقات اضافية في هذا
القسم.

إذا كنت ترغب في أن تُجرى معك مقابلة لمناقشة هذه الأسئلة بمزيد من التفصيل، يرجى كتابة
اسمك وشهرتك وعنوان البريد الإلكتروني لوالديك بشكل واضح لترتيب موعد ومكان
مناسبين. وبدلاً من ذلك، يمكنك أن تطلب من والدتك أو والدك مراسلتي عبر البريد الإلكتروني
على العنوان التالي: zeinaeid@hotmail.co.uk مشيراً إلى طلبك إجراء مقابلة معك.

Appendix 8a

Parents' questionnaire (ENG)

Please note that LA refers to Lebanese Arabic (Al-Darija), and MSA refers to Fusha Arabic (Al-fusha)

A little bit about you

1. Please select your age bracket by ticking (✓) the best answer

20-30:

30-40:

40-50:

50 and over:

2. Please select your gender ticking (✓) the best answer

Female:

Male:

3. What are the ages of your children

Child 1

Child 2

Child 3

Child 4

Child 5

4. What is your country of birth?

5. Which year did you settle in the UK?

6. What is the main reason(s) that you emigrated to the UK? Please tick (✓) to all that apply or add any additional notes.

Fleeing the Lebanese civil war

Studying

Career/ financial opportunities

Reuniting with partner and/or family

Other (please specify)

7. Please enter the first part of your UK postcode. This will not pinpoint exactly where you live, however it will give an overall idea of which regions have been covered by this survey.

8. What was your main reason for choosing to settle in your current location? Tick (✓) one of the following reasons or add you own:

To live closer to Lebanese friends and/or family

Good schools / amenities in my area

Good transportation links

Work / business opportunities

Other (please specify)

9. What language(s) do you speak? Please list all languages you use or have used including dialects.

10. How strong are your skills in each language? Choose a score from 1 to 5 (1= Not at all; and 5= Very well)

	Speaking	Reading	Writing	Understanding
LA				
MSA				
English				
French				
Other				

11. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

12. What is your occupation or profession?

13. What ethnic identity do you consider yourself to be?

14. What ethnic identity do you think most other people consider you to be?

Communication preferences

To understand how you prefer to use different languages at different times and with different people throughout the day, please select the options that applies most of the time.

15. Which language(s) do you use and how frequent do you use each language when you speak with the following people?

LA MSA English French Other (specify)

	All the time	Most of the time	Equally	Sometimes	Rarely
At home with your children					
At home with your partner					
At home with extended family members					
At work with colleagues					
When socialising with friends in UK					
When chatting on the internet with friends and family members					
When speaking on the telephone with friends or					

family					
When speaking on the telephone with friends or family					

16. Which language(s) do you use when doing the following activities?

P.S: you may choose more than one language if it is relevant to your practices

Listening to music/ the radio / CDs

Listening or watching news on radio or TV

Sending text (SMS) messages or email with friends and family

Writing or reading in relation to your work

When reading novels or books for recreation

When reading newspapers / online news and current affairs

When using social media (FaceBook / Twitter)

17. Please rate the following statements regarding LA if you agree or disagree by choosing one of the following: *Agree strongly (AS); Agree mostly (AM); Neither agree nor disagree (NAND); Disagree mostly (DM) or Disagree strongly (DS)*

LA is important because it is part of my ethnic and cultural identity

LA is important because it is the natural language I use to communicate with other Lebanese speakers

LA is useful to access news and TV programs

LA is useful for my children to learn because it helps them identify with the Lebanese community in London

LA is important for my children to speak because it helps them communicate with family members in Lebanon

LA is important for my children to speak because it helps them strengthen their ties with Lebanon and the Lebanese culture

LA is important for my children to speak as it gives them an academic advantage

LA is important for social status

LA is beautiful

LA is my most dominant language

LA is musical

LA is prestigious

LA gives the speaker access to more job opportunities

LA is important because it allows the speaker to access the Arabic literature and cultural heritage

LA is harsh

LA is poetic

LA is important for religion

LA is easy to learn

LA is most important to learn

LA is most comfortable for my kids to use

18. Here are some statements about attitudes to LA, MSA and English. Please indicate if you agree or disagree by choosing one of the following: *Agree strongly (AS)*; *Agree mostly (AM)*; *Neither agree nor disagree (NAND)*; *Disagree mostly (DM)* or *Disagree strongly (DS)*

It is important to be able to speak LA and English

To speak only English in the UK is all that is needed

Knowing LA and English make people more clever

Children get confused when learning LA and English

Speaking both LA and English is not difficult

All schools in the UK should support the teaching of heritage languages

I feel sorry for Lebanese children who do not speak both LA and English

Speaking LA and English gives people more problems

Speaking LA in the UK is seen to be associated with Islam

Speaking both LA and English is for older people

Speaking both LA and English helps people get promotions at work

Both English and LA should be maintained by Lebanese families

Being able to read and write in both MSA and English is important

Being able to read and write two or more languages is necessary in today's competitive job market

People who speak both LA and English have more friends than those who speak only one language

I would like my children to develop their literacy skills in MSA and English

The ways your children use languages

19. In conversation, please underline Yes or No if you and your child/children mix various languages on the following occasions. If your answer is 'yes', please specify what languages (e.g. *I mix LA and English; or LA and MSA; or LA and French when speaking to my children*)

I mix languages when speaking to my children	Yes
No	
My children mix languages when speaking to me/my partner	Yes
No	
My children mix languages when speaking to siblings/cousins	Yes
No	
My children mix languages when speaking to other children of	Yes
No	
Arabic background	
My children mix languages when speaking to their grandparents	Yes
No	

20. Please think of your children's' preferences and rate the statements according to whether you agree or disagree by choosing one of the following: *Agree strongly (AS); Agree mostly (AM); Neither agree nor disagree (NAND); Disagree mostly (DM) or Disagree strongly (DS)*

My children watch TV programs in English more than LA

TV programs in English are easier for my children to understand

TV programs in English are more interesting for my children

My children connect more with TV programs in English because they relate to their sense of Britishness

My children listen to English music more than LA music

My children read only English books and newspapers

My children sometimes read MSA books

My children chat online with their grandparents in LA

21. Here are some statements about family language practices. Please rate the statements if you agree or disagree by choosing one of the following: *Agree strongly (AS); Agree mostly (AM); Neither agree nor disagree (NAND); Disagree mostly (DM) or Disagree strongly (DS)*

As a family we regularly watch TV programs and sitcoms in LA

As a family we regularly socialize with other Lebanese families

As a family we participate regularly in Lebanese religious and cultural rituals

I send my children to Lebanese school on Saturday to learn MSA and develop fluency in LA

I read books to my children in MSA and explain their contents in LA

I read books to my children in English and discuss their contents in LA

I encourage my kids to chat frequently with family members in Lebanon through the Internet

I encourage my children to send text messages to friends and family members using LA in any script

As a family we return to Lebanon at least once a year

As a family we lead the Lebanese way of life

My partner and I feel very strongly towards LA and the Lebanese cultural heritage

Extended family members (grandparents, uncles and aunties) visit us regularly in the UK

I send my children to activity clubs whilst in Lebanon to mix with Lebanese peers

I send my children to immersion classes in MSA while in Lebanon to develop proficiency level in MSA

I limit my children's outings with non-Lebanese peers in the UK

I regularly send my children to stay with extended family members in Lebanon

22. What are you doing at home to help your child maintain LA and/or MSA? Please explain

Thank you very much for your kind participation in this study.

If you would like to take part in individual or group interviews to further discuss these matters, please do not hesitate to email me on zeinaeid@hotmail.co.uk to arrange a convenient time and location. Also, if you are happy to give permission for you child (children) to complete the 'children questionnaire', please tick ☐ the box below and indicate your preferences for a place and time where they may be able to do so.

☐ I give permission for my child (children) to complete the 'children questionnaire' in presence of the researcher.

The most convenient venue, day and time for me are:

I am happy for the researcher to contact me on the following email address or phone number to discuss the details of the chosen venue, date, and time.

Appendix 8b

Parents' Questionnaire (AR)

استبيان خاص بالوالدين

يرجى الملاحظة أن مختصر *LA* يشير إلى اللغة العربية اللبنازية أو اللغة الدارجة. ومصطلح *MSA* يشير إلى اللغة العربية المعاصرة أو اللغة الفصحى.

القليل من المعلومات عنك

1. يرجى تحديد فئة السنّ عن طريق وضع علامة (x) بقرب أفضل إجابة

20 - 30:

30 - 40:

40 - 50:

50 وما فوق:

2. يرجى تحديد الجنس عن طريق وضع علامة (x) بقرب أفضل إجابة

أنثى:

ذكر:

3. سنّ الأولاد

الولد 1

الولد 2

الولد 3

الولد 4

الولد 5

4. البلد الذي ولدت فيه

5. السنة التي استقررت فيها في المملكة المتحدة

6. ما السبب الرئيسي أو الأسباب الرئيسية التي جعلتك تهجر إلى المملكة المتحدة؟ يرجى وضع علامة (□) بقرب كل ما ينطبق أو إضافة أي ملاحظات إضافية.

الفرار من الحرب الأهلية اللبنانية

الدراسة

المهنة / الفرص المالية

لَمْ الشمل مع شريك و / أو الأسرة

غير ذلك (يرجى التحديد)

7. يرجى إدخال الجزء الأول من الرمز البريدي الخاص بك في المملكة المتحدة. هذا لن يحدد بدقة المكان الذي تعيش فيه، ولكنه سيعطي فكرة عامة عن المناطق التي شملها هذا الاستطلاع.

8. ما هو السبب الرئيسي لاختيارك الاستقرار في موقعك الحالي؟ ضع علامة (□) بقرب أحد الأسباب التالية أو أضف سببك الخاص:

للسكن في مكان أقرب إلى أصدقاء و / أو أفراد من الأسرة لبنانيين

المدارس الجيدة / وسائل الراحة في منطقتي

شبكات نقل جيدة

فرص العمل / الأشغال

غير ذلك (يرجى التحديد)

9. ما اللغة (اللغات) التي تتحدثها؟ يرجى ذكر جميع اللغات التي تستخدمها أو استخدمتها بما في ذلك اللهجات.

10. ما قوة مهاراتك في كل لغة؟ اختر درجة تقييم من 1 إلى 5 (1 = لا على الإطلاق ، و 5 = جيد جدًا)

التحدّث	القراءة	الكتابة	الفهم
			LA
			MSA
			الإنكليزية
			الفرنسية
			لغات أخرى

11. ما هو أعلى مستوى تعليمي أكملته؟

12. ما هو عملك أو مهنتك؟

13. ما هي الهوية الإثنية التي تنتمي إليها برأيك؟

14. ما هي الهوية الإثنية التي ينسبها إليك معظم الأشخاص الآخرين برأيك؟

لغة/لغات التواصل المفضّلة

لفهم كيف تفضّل استخدام لغات مختلفة في أوقات مختلفة ومع أشخاص مختلفين طوال اليوم، يرجى اختيار العبارات التي تنطبق في معظم الأوقات.

15. ما اللغة (اللغات) التي تستخدمها ومدى تكرار استخدامك لكل لغة عند التحدث مع الأشخاص التاليين؟

نادرًا	أحيانًا	بالتساوي	في معظم الأوقات	دائمًا	
					في المنزل مع أولادك
					في المنزل مع شريكك
					في المنزل مع أفراد من الأسرة الموسعة
					في العمل مع زملاء
					خلال التواصل الاجتماعي مع أصدقاء في المملكة المتحدة
					خلال الدردشة عبر الإنترنت مع أصدقاء وأفراد من الأسرة
					لدى التحدث عبر الهاتف مع أصدقاء أو أفراد من الأسرة
					لدى التحدث عبر الهاتف مع أصدقاء أو أفراد من الأسرة

16. أي لغة (لغات) تستخدم لدى القيام بالأنشطة التالية؟

ملاحظة: يمكنكم اختيار أكثر من لغة إذا كان ذلك ينطبق على ممارساتكم

الاستماع إلى الموسيقى / الراديو / الأقراص المدمجة (CDs)
الاستماع إلى الأخبار على الراديو أو التلفزيون أو مشاهدتها
إرسال رسائل نصية قصيرة (SMS) أو بريد إلكتروني إلى الأصدقاء والعائلة
الكتابة أو القراءة فيما يتعلق بعملك
عند قراءة الروايات أو الكتب الترفيهية
عند قراءة الصحف / الأخبار عبر الإنترنت والشؤون الحالية
عند استخدام وسائل التواصل الاجتماعي (فايسبوك/تويتر)

17. يرجى تقييم البيانات التالية بخصوص لغة LA إذا كنت توافق أو ترفض عن طريق اختيار إحدى العبارات التالية: أوافق بشدة، أو أوافق في الغالب، أو لا أوافق ولا أرفض، أو أرفض في الغالب، أو أرفض بشدة.

LA مهمة لأنها جزء من هويتي الإثنية والثقافية
LA مهمة لأنها اللغة الطبيعية التي أستخدمها للتواصل مع متحدثين لبنانيين آخرين
LA مفيدة للاطلاع على الأخبار والبرامج التلفزيونية
LA مفيدة لكي يتعلمها أولادي لأنها تساعد على الشعور بوجود رابط مع الجالية اللبنانية في لندن

LA مهمة لكي يتعلمها أولادي، لأنها تساعد على التواصل مع أفراد العائلة في لبنان
LA مهمة لكي يتحدثها أولادي لأنها تساعد على تعزيز روابطهم مع لبنان والثقافة اللبنانية
LA مهمة لكي يتحدثها أولادي للتحدث لأنها تمنحهم ميزة أكاديمية
LA مهمة من أجل المكانة الاجتماعية

LA لغة جميلة

LA هي لغتي الأكثر استخدامًا

LA هي لغة موسيقية

LA هي لغة مرموقة

LA تتيح للمتحدث الوصول إلى المزيد من فرص العمل
LA مهمة لأنها تتيح للمتحدث الاطلاع على الأدب العربي والإرث الثقافي العربي
LA لغة قاسية
LA هي لغة شعرية
LA هي لغة مهمة للديانة
LA سهلة التعلم
LA هي اللغة الأهم للتعلم
LA هي اللغة التي يشعر أولادي بالراحة الأكبر في استخدامها

18. وفيما يلي بعض العبارات حول المواقف تجاه لغات LA، MSA والإنكليزية. ويرجى التوضيح ما إذا كنت توافق أو ترفض عن طريق اختيار إحدى العبارات التالية: أوافق بشدة، أو أوافق في الغالب، أو لا أوافق ولا أرفض، أو أرفض في الغالب، أو لا أرفض بشدة.

من المهم أن تكون قادراً على التحدث بلغة LA وباللغة الإنكليزية
لا أحتاج إلا إلى التحدث باللغة الإنكليزية في المملكة المتحدة
معرفة اللغة LA واللغة الإنكليزية تجعل الناس أكثر ذكاءً
تختلط الأمور على الأولاد عندما يتعلمون لغة LA واللغة الإنكليزية
ليس من الصعب التحدث بكلّ من اللغة LA واللغة الإنكليزية
ينبغي لجميع المدارس في المملكة المتحدة أن تدعم تدريس اللغات التراثية
أشعر بالأسف تجاه الأولاد اللبنانيين الذين لا يتحدثون كل من لغة LA واللغة الإنكليزية
التحدث بلغة LA واللغة الإنكليزية يتسبب بمزيد من المشاكل للناس
التحدث بلغة LA في المملكة المتحدة يبدو مرتبطاً بالديانة الإسلامية
التحدث بلغتي LA والإنكليزية هو خاص بالكبار في السن
التحدث بلغتي LA والإنكليزية يساعد الناس في الحصول على الترقية في العمل
ينبغي للعائلات اللبنانية المحافظة على اللغة الإنكليزية ولغة LA
القدرة على القراءة والكتابة في كل من لغة MSA واللغة الإنكليزية أمر مهم
القدرة على القراءة والكتابة في كل من لغة MSA واللغة الإنكليزية أمر ضروري في سوق العمل التنافسي اليوم

الأشخاص الذين يتكلمون كلاً من لغة LA واللغة الإنكليزية لديهم أصدقاء أكثر من أولئك الذين يتحدثون بلغة واحدة

أودّ أن يطرّور أولادي مهاراتهم في اللغة العربية الفصحى و في اللغة الإنكليزية

الطرق التي يستخدم بها أولادك اللغات

19. في المحادثة، يرجى تسطير نعم أو لا إذا كنت وولدك / أولادك تخلطون لغات مختلفة في المناسبات التالية. إذا كانت إجابتك "نعم"، يرجى تحديد اللغات (على سبيل المثال، أخط لغة LA واللغة الإنكليزية؛ أو لغة LA ولغة MSA ؛ أو لغة LA والفرنسية عند التحدث إلى أولادي)

أخط اللغات عند أتحدث إلى أولادي	نعم/ لا
يخط أولادي اللغات لدى التحدث إلي / إلى شريكي	نعم/ لا
يخط أولادي اللغات عند التحدث إلى الأشقاء / الأقرباء	نعم/ لا
يخط أولادي اللغات عند التحدث إلى أولاد آخرين من خلفية عربية	نعم/ لا
يخط أولادي اللغات عند التحدث إلى أجدادهم	نعم/ لا

20 يُرجى التفكير في ما يفضّله أولادك وتقييم البيانات وفقاً لما إذا كنت توافق أو ترفض عن طريق اختيار إحدى العبارات التالية: أوافق بشدة، أو أوافق في الغالب، لا أوافق ولا أرفض، أرفض في الغالب، أو أرفض بشدة.

يشاهد أولادي البرامج التلفزيونية باللغة الإنكليزية أكثر ممّا يشاهدونها بلغة LA
يسهل على أولادي أكثر فهم البرامج التلفزيونية باللغة الإنكليزية
يهتم أولادي أكثر للبرامج التلفزيونية باللغة الإنكليزية
يشعر أولادي بصلة أكبر مع البرامج التلفزيونية باللغة الإنكليزية لأنها تتعلق بشعورهم بكونهم بريطانيين

يستمتع أولادي إلى الموسيقى الإنكليزية أكثر ممّا يستمعون إلى موسيقى بلغة LA
لا يقرأ أولادي إلاّ الكتب والصحف الإنكليزية
يقرأ أولادي أحياناً كتباً بلغة MSA

يُدرّش أولادي على الإنترنت مع أجدادهم بلغة LA

21. فيما يلي بعض البيانات حول الممارسات اللغوية في الأسرة. يرجى تقييم البيانات في حال كنت توافق أو ترفض عن طريق اختيار إحدى العبارات التالية: أوافق بشدة، أو أوافق في الغالب، أو لا أوافق ولا أرفض، أو أرفض في الغالب، أو أرفض بشدة.

في الأسرة، نشاهد بانتظام البرامج التلفزيونية والمسلسلات الكوميدية بلغة LA في الأسرة، نقيم بانتظام علاقات اجتماعية مع عائلات لبنانية أخرى نشارك كأسرة بانتظام في الطقوس الدينية والثقافية اللبنانية أرسل أولادي إلى المدرسة اللبنانية يوم السبت لتعلم لغة MSA وتطوير الطلاقة بلغة LA أقرأ الكتب لأولادي بلغة MSA وأشرح محتوياتها بلغة LA أقرأ الكتب لأولادي باللغة الإنكليزية ونناقش محتوياتها بلغة LA أشجع أولادي على الدردشة بشكل متكرر مع أفراد العائلة في لبنان من خلال الإنترنت أشجع أولادي على إرسال رسائل نصية إلى الأصدقاء وأفراد العائلة باستخدام لغة LA بأي خط

نعود كأسرة إلى لبنان مرة واحدة في السنة على الأقل نحن كأسرة نقود أسلوب الحياة اللبناني أشعر وشريكي بحماس تجاه لغة LA والتراث الثقافي اللبناني يزورنا أفراد الأسرة الموسعة (الأجداد والأعمام/الأخوال والعمات/الخالات) بانتظام في المملكة المتحدة

أرسل أولادي إلى أندية تتضمن نشاطات عندما نكون في لبنان للاختلاط مع أقرانهم اللبنانيين أرسل أولادي إلى دروس يجري التحدث فيها بلغة MSA حصرياً عندما نكون في لبنان لتطوير مستوى الكفاءة في لغة MSA

أحدّ من المرات التي يخرج فيها أولادي مع أقران غير لبنانيين في المملكة المتحدة أرسل أولادي بانتظام للبقاء مع أفراد العائلة الموسعة في لبنان

22. ماذا تفعل في المنزل لمساعدة ولدك على المحافظة على لغة LA و / أو لغة MSA؟

يرجى التوضيح

نشكر لكم مشاركتكم الكريمة في هذه الدراسة. وإذا كنتم ترغبون في المشاركة في مقابلات فردية أو جماعية لمواصلة مناقشة هذه الأمور، فلا تترددوا في مراسلتي عبر البريد الإلكتروني على zeinaeid@hotmail.co.uk لترتيب وقت ومكان مناسبين. وأيضاً، إذا لم يكن لديكم مانع من منح الإذن لولدكم (أولادكم) بإكمال "استبيان الأولاد"، يرجى وضع علامة (x) في المربع أدناه والإشارة إلى المكان والوقت اللذين تفضلونهما من أجل ذلك.

□ أمانح ولدي (أولادي) الإذن بإكمال "استبيان الأولاد"

المكان واليوم والوقت الأكثر ملاءمة بالنسبة إلي:

لا مانع لديّ أن يتصل بي الباحث على عنوان البريد الإلكتروني التالي أو رقم الهاتف التالي

لمناقشة تفاصيل ما تمّ اختياره من مكان ووقت وتاريخ.

Appendix 9

Transcription and translation of excerpts

Interview excerpts used in Chapter 5

5.3 Patterns of language use in various domains

5.3.1 Children's interview excerpts

Interview (1)

Interview with Ahmad (13 year-old boy) at his home in London

I: shu btiḥki ma' immak wu bayyak bilbayt?

<What do you speak at home with your mum and dad?>

Ahmad: ana biḥki 'arabi ma' immi wu bayyi aktar il-aw'āt, .. bas marrāt bista'mul shuwayyit inkīlīzi, bas baddi fassir shi ma ba'rfu bil'arabi//

<I speak Arabic with my mum and dad most of the time, .. but sometimes I use some English, when I need to explain something I do not know in Arabic//>

I: ayya 'arabi btu'sud?

<Which Arabic do you mean?>

Ahmad: akīd il-'arabi il-libnāni [haha] ... akīd mush il-fusha//

<Of course LA [laugh] ... surely not Fusha//>

I: laysh btista'mul il-'arabi il-libnāni aktar min il-inklizi bas tiḥki ma' ahlak?

<Why do you use more LA more than English when you speak to your parents?>

Ahmad: li'annu ahli bifaḍlu yiḥku 'arabi, wu kamān li'annu ana bḥibb iḥki 'arabi// .. bilbayt bḥiss innu aḥla iḥki 'arabi// ... biḥki inklizi bilmadrassi kil in-nḥār// ... fabas irja' 'al bayt, bḥibb iḥki 'arabi, li'annu haydi lughit waṭani, wu lughit ahli, wu jdūdi// ... bu'ṣud naḥna libnāniyyi mish inklīz// ... iza ma mniḥki lughitna, bnikhṣara, wu ba'dān, .. bnikhṣar kill shi libnāni//

< Ahmad: Because my parents prefer me to speak Arabic, and also because I like to speak Arabic too// ... At home I feel it's better for me to speak Arabic// ... I speak English at school all day// ... So when I come home, I love to speak Arabic, because it's my national language, and my parents', and my ancestors'// ... I mean we are all Lebanese not English// ... If we don't speak our language, we lose it, .. and then, .. we lose everything Lebanese//>

I: wu ma' khayyak wu ikhtak, shu btiḥki?

<And with your brother and sister? What do you speak?>

Ahmad: kamān biḥki 'arabi ma'un, bas marrāt bista'mul shuwayyit inklizi//... li'annu ahwan inni 'ūl kam kilmi bilinklizi// ... bas izā ba'rifun bil'arabi, b'ūlun bil'arabi, , mā fi mishkli abadan//

<I also speak Arabic with them, but sometimes I use some English// ... because it is easier for me to say some specific words in English// ... but if I know them in Arabic, I say them in Arabic, no problem at all//>

I: wu bil madrassi? shu btiḥki ma' khayyak wu ikhtak?

<And at school? What do you speak with your brother and sister?>

Ahmad: biḥki bilinklizi bas nkūn 'am nil'ab ma' aṣḥābna bas aw'āt, ... bin'ul 'al 'arabi//

<I speak English when we are playing with our friends but sometimes, .. I switch to Arabic//>

I: laysh?

<Why?>

Ahmad: [haha] ... bas baddi 'ul shi wu ma baddi il-ghayr yifhamu, bista'mul il-'arabi// .. ya'ni mitl, ... mitl ka'anna lughitna il-sirriyyi bnista'mila bayn ba'dna, wu bayn aṣḥābna il-'arab// ... 'inna lughitna il-sirriyyi taba'na, il-ghayr ma byifhama// shi bi 'a'id

<[laugh] ... when I want to say something that I do not want others to understand, I use Arabic// ... It is like, .. like as if it is our secret language we use at school among ourselves, and our Arab friends//... We have our own secret language, others do not understand// It is so cool>

I: wu bas tkūn 'am til'ab ma' aṣḥābak il-libnāniyyi yalli min 'umrak shu btiḥki?

<What about when you are playing with Lebanese friends your age, what do you speak?>

Ahmad: ana biḥki 'arabi aktar, bas kamān biḥki inklizi 'aw'āt, li'annu fi 'indi aṣḥāb libnāniyyi bifaḍḍlū yiḥku inklizi//

<I speak more Arabic, but I also use English sometimes, because some of my Lebanese friends prefer to speak English//>

I: wu inta shu bitfaḍḍil?

< And you? What do you prefer?

Ahmad: ana bfaddil il-'arabi akīd, li'anni shāṭir fī, wu bhibb iḥkī// ... bilnisbi ili il-'arabi hayyin, mish ṣu'ib abadan// ili 'am biḥkī min wa'it ma khlu'it// ... ktīr ṭabī'i inni iḥki 'arabi//.. ya'ni bu'sud innu il-'arabi lughti il-umm// mish il-inklīzi//

< I prefer Arabic of course, because I am very good at it, and I love speaking it// ... It is easy for me, not difficult at all// I have been speaking it since I was born// ... It is very natural for me to speak Arabic// ... I mean it is my mother language// English is not//>

I: wu bil jiri? shu btiḥki? mathalan bas trūḥ tishtiri min maḥal libnāni?

<And in the neighbourhood? What do you speak? Let's say when you go shopping in a Lebanese shop?>

Ahmad: iza kān saḥib il-dukkān akbar minni, biḥki 'arabi// ... iḥtiranman ilu, wu kamān tafarji inni libnāni mitlu// ...bas iza il-zalami yalli 'am yisā'idni shāb, .. biḥki ma'ū bilinklizi aktar shi wu shuwayyit 'arabi, .. li'annu yimkin ma bya'rif ktīr 'arabi mitli [haha]

<If the shopkeeper is older than me, I speak Arabic? ... I guess it is more respectful, and also to show him that I am Lebanese like him// ... But if the person helping me is young, .. I speak mainly in English with some Arabic, .. because he may not know a lot of Arabic like me [laugh]>

I: shu mumkin t'illu bil 'arabi la hal shāb yalli 'am ysā'dak?

<What would you usually say in Arabic to this young person helping you?>

Ahmad: asāmī akil libnāni mitil, ... **where can I find** ḥummuṣ? aw, ... **please I need two kilos of** kafta, aw, .. **can I have one** man'ushi bza'tar, aw, .. marḥaba, aw, ... **OK** bshūfak, ya'nī kalimāt basīṭa, kill wāḥad libnāni byista'mila wu byifhama//

<Names of Lebanese foods like, .. **where can I find** {hummos} <chick peas> or, .. **please I need two kilos of** {kafta} <special type of Lebanese meat minced with parsley, onion and spices> or, .. **can I have one** {man'ūshi bza'tar} <a type of Lebanese bread baked with olive oil and thyme> or, ... **Hi** {kifak} <hello, how are you> or, ... **Ok** {bshūfak} <Ok I will see you>? I mean just simple words, every Lebanese person uses and understands//>

I: wu bil matariḥ il-dinniḡi shu aktar shi btista'mil?

<And in religious places what do you mainly speak?>

Ahmad: juwwāt il-masjid, bas nkūn 'am nṣalli il-qur'ān il-kaReem ma' ba'id, ... bnista'mul il-fuṣṣa tab'an? ... il-'arabi lughit kil il-muslimīn// ... bas barrāt il-masjid, bas kūn 'am biḥki ma' aṣḥābi, .. bista'mil aktar shi il-'arabi il-dārij, wu shuwayyit inklizi//

<Inside the mosque, when we are reciting the Holy Quran all together, .. I use the Fusha naturally? ... Arabic is the holy language of all Muslims// ... But outside the mosque, when I talk to my friends, .. I mostly speak the colloquial Arabic, and some English//>

Interview (2)

Interview with Yasmina (16 year-old girl) in a local coffee shop

I: shu btiḥki ma' ahlik bil bayt?

<What language(s) do you use at home with your parents?>

Yasmina: 'arabi akīd

<Arabic for sure>

I: ayya 'arabi?

<Which Arabic?>

Yasmina: ... il-'arabi il-libnāni akīd//

< Lebanese Arabic for sure//>

I: ya'nī addaysh btiḥki libnāni?

<So how often do you speak LA?>

Yasmina: ... mish kill il-wa'it, bass ya'nī 90% min il-wa'it ta'riban//

<... Not all the time, ... but I mean 90% of the time approximately//>

I: wu shu btista'mli bā'it il-wa'it?

<What do you use the rest of the time?>

Yasmina: bista'mul inkīlīzi//

<I use English//>

I: lashu btista'mli il-inkīlizi?

<What do you use English for?>

Yasmina: ... aktar shi bas baddi ishrah shi laahli, fabirtāḥ aktar ista'mul il-inkīlizi//

<... Mostly when I need to explain something to my parents, ... so I feel more comfortable using English//>

I: ya'ni btista'mli inkīlīzi wu 'arabi bas tkūni 'am tiḥki ma' ahlik?

<So you use English and Arabic when you are talking to your parents?>

Yasmina: ... 'Th marrāt bnā'iil baynatun, ... bas bjarrib 'ad ma fiyyi iḥki 'arabi, li'annu bhibb ḥassin ḥakyi bil 'arabi// il-inklīzi ba'irfu mniḥ, mish biḥāji iḥki bil bayt, bas il-'arabi, ... fiyyi bas iḥkī bil bayt//

<... Yes sometimes I switch between them, ... but I try to speak Arabic as much as I can, because I love to improve my speaking in Arabic? English I know it well, so no need to speak it at home, but Arabic, ... I can only speak it at home//>

I: shu btiḥki ma' khayyik il-aṣḥar wu ikhtik?

<What do you speak with your younger brother and sister?>

Yasmina: ana biḥki 'arabi ma'un, bass hinnī bijāwbūni aktar shi bil inklīzi aw nuṣ nuṣ//

<I speak Arabic with them, but they answer me most of the time in English or half-half//>

I: shu aṣḍik nuṣ nuṣ?

<What do you mean half half?>

Yasmina: bu'ṣud, ... hinni biballshu il-jimli bil'arabi wu ba'dān, byin'lu 'al-inklīzi, bala ma yḥissu, .. yimkin li'annu m'awwadīn yiḥku inklīzi kill ilwa'it bilmadrassi// ... bissīr ahwan ykaffu yista'mlu il-inklīzi bil bayt ma't// bas kamān, yimkin, ...il-'arabi taba'un mniḥ bas, yimkin mish mniḥ 'ad il-'arabi taba't [haha] ... bas ma' ilwa'it ana akidi innu byithassan// li'annu kill ma kubru, kill ma sāru yiḥku 'arabi aḥsan//

<I mean, ... they start the sentence in Arabic and then, they switch to English unconsciously, ... may be because they are used to speak English all the time at school// ... it becomes easier to carry on speaking English at home with me// But also, may be, ... their Arabic is good but, .. may be not as good as mine [laugh] But with time I am sure it will improve// Because the older they get, the better they become at speaking Arabic fluently//>

I: ya'nī btu'şdi innu ikhwātik il aṣghar minnik byiḥku ma'ik bil inkīlīzi aktar min il-'arabi?

<So you mean that our younger siblings speak to you more in English than Arabic?>

Yasmina: 'ih fīki t'ūli hayk, bas ma' ahilna killna bniḥki 'arabi aktar il-aw'āt//

<Yes you may say so, but with our parents we all speak Arabic most of the time//>

I: laysh

<Why>

Yasmina: li'annu ahilna bifaḍlu yiḥku 'arabu bilbayt, haydi lughitna il-aṣliyyi// byirtāḥu aktar, wu byunbustū aktar, bas yiḥku 'arabi// .. bas kamān, bishaj'ūna kill il-wa'it niḥki 'arabi, ... tanṣīr niḥki lughtayn ktīr mnīḥ, ... wu biṣīr fīna niḥki 'arabi bisuhūli bas nirja' 'ala libnān, wu niḥki bisuhūli ma' wlād ammna, wu wlād khālitna, wu tita wu jiddu, wu aṣḥabna// ... nahna libnāniyyi, wlāzim niḥki 'arabi bisuhūli, mitil ma il-Chinese byiḥku chines{ī} wu inkīlīzi hūn//

< Because our parents prefer to speak Arabic at home, it is our native language// They feel more comfortable and happier when they speak Arabic// ... But also they encourage use all the time to speak Arabic, ... so we can speak two languages fluently, ... and be able to speak Arabic fluently when

we go back to Lebanon, and speak it easily with our cousins (from the dad's side and from the mother's side), and our grandparents, and our friends// ... We are Lebanese, we must speak Arabic fluently, the same way **Chinese** speak **Chinese** (**Chinese**+{ʔ}) and English here//>

I: bas inti wu ikhwātik shu bitfaḍlu?

<But you and your siblings what do you prefer?>

Yasmina: ya'nī nahna ma 'inna mishkli niḥki 'arabi, t'awwadna// ... ilna 'am niḥki 'arabi min wa'it ma khli'na, wu biṣarāḥa, ... mniḥki 'arabi ktīr mnīḥ// ... t'awwadna// [haha] ... ya'ni nahna libnāniyyi, wu ktīr mhim la'ilna, innu niḥki 'arabi mnīḥ//

<I mean we do not have problem speaking Arabic, we are used to it// ... we have been speaking it since we were born, and honestly, ... we speak it very well// ... We are used to it// [laugh] ... I mean we are Lebanese, and it is very important for us to speak Arabic fluently//>

I: wu bilmadrasi? shu btiḥki ma' ikhwātik?

< And at school? What do you speak with your siblings?>

Yasmina: mniḥki 'arabi bayn ba'ḍna aktar shi, li'annu, .. fīna n'ūl shu ma badna, ḥatta il-shi il-mish mniḥ 'an ghayrna, bala ma hinni yifhamu, .. fina nitza'ran shway zghīri [haha]

< we speak Arabic among ourselves most of the time, because, .. we can say anything we want, even bad things about the others, without them understanding, ... we can be cheeky a little bit [laugh]>

I: wu ma' aṣḥābik il-libnāniyyi? shu btista'mli aktar shi?

<and with your Lebanese friends? What do you use mostly?>

Yasmina: ana bista'mil il-'arabi, bas aw'āt, aṣḥābi byiḥku ma'ī bilinklīzi, li'annun byirtāhu aktar yiḥkū inklīzi, .. hatta law kānu libnāniyyi//

<I use Arabic, but sometimes, my friends speak to me in English, because they feel more comfortable speaking English, .. even if they were Lebanese//>

I: intj ayya lugha btirtāhi tiḥki aktar shi?

<Which language do you feel most comfortable speaking?>

Yasmina: walla ana birtāḥ iḥki il-tnayn il-'arabi wil-inklīzi// ... ḥasab ma' mīn 'am biḥki// Izā 'am biḥki ma' aṣḥāb libnāniyyi mā bya'rfu yiḥku 'arabi mniḥ, mniḥki kilna inklīzi ma' ba'ḍna// ... bas iza kinit 'am biḥki ma' wlād byiḥku 'arabi bishūli, mitil wlād khāliti amāl, bniḥkī killna 'arabi// ... wu aktar il-aw'āt mniḥki inklīzi wu 'arabi ma' ba'ḍ? [haha] mitil ma il-libnāniyyi byiḥku bi libnān// ...haydi ṭar'itna bil ḥaki//

< I swear I am comfortable speaking both Arabic and English//... it depends whom I am talking to// ... If I am talking to Lebanese friends who do not speak Arabic well, we all speak English together// ... But if I am talking to children who speak Arabic fluently, like my aunt Amal's children, we all speak Arabic// ... And Most of the time we use English and LA together? [laugh] like Lebanese do in Lebanon// ... this is our way of talking//>

I: wu bas trūḥi tishtiri ghrāḍ min dikkān libnāni? ayya lugha btiḥki ma' saḥib il-dukkan?

< And when you go shopping in a Lebanese store? What language do you speak with the shopkeeper?>

Yasmina: biḥkī ‘arabi, li’annu ṣāḥib ildikkān raḥ ykūn min ‘umir ahli, ... wu raḥ yitwa”a’ inni iḥki ma’ū bil’arabi// ... ya’ni iḥtirām ilū, lāzim iḥki ma’ū bil’arabi, li’annu tnaynātna libnāniyyi//

<I speak Arabic, because the shopkeeper will be my parents’ age, .. and he will expect me to speak with him in Arabic// ... I mean to show him respect, I must speak Arabic with him, because we are both Lebanese//>

I: wu idha kān yallī ‘am ysa’dik shāb?

< And if the person serving you is young?>

Yasmina: ... ḥasab, .. iza il-shakḥiṣ bil maḥall ma biḥib yiḥkī ‘arabi, biḥki ma’ū bil inkilīzi// ... bas iza huwwi byiḥkī ma’ī bil’arabi, akīd bjawbu bil’arabi//

<... It depends, .. If the person in the shop does not like to speak Arabic, I speak English with him// ... but if he speaks with me in Arabic, of course I will answer him in Arabic//>

I: wu bas ṭṣalli? ayya lugha aw lughāt btista’mli?

< And when you pray? Which language or languages do you use?>

Yasmina: bil ‘iddās, il-khūri biṣalli bilfuṣḥa// minjarrib niḥfaḥ ilṣala, wu il-tarātīl bilfuṣḥa mitil il **{abānā il-lathī fil-samawāt}**, aw **{assalāmu ‘alayki yā Maryam}**, aw **{ta’āla baynanā}**// ... bas kamān il-khūri byista’mul il-‘arabi ma’na// .. mitil bas yifassir il-wa’ḥa// ... wu fi kam tirtīli bil dārij mitil inshalla il-‘amḥa lli nzar’it bi’lūbna// ... mnista’mul il-‘arabi bil’iddās, mish li’annu dyānatna il-massiḥiyyi btujburna// la’// mish mitil il-islām// ... bas li’annu ahilna bifaḍlu yista’mli il-‘arabi// m’awwadīn yṣallu bil’arabi bi libnān// wu minshān hayk, minṣalli killna bil’arabi//

<During the mass, the priest prays in Fusha// We try to memorise the prayers, and the hymns in fisha like the **{abānā il-lathī filthamawāt}** <Our

father who aren't in heaven>, and {**assalāmu ‘alaykī yā Maryam**} <Hail Mary>, and {**ta‘āla baynanā**} <come among us>// ... But also the priest uses LA with us// ... like when he explains the sermon// ... and some hymns are in LA like {inshalla il-amḥa lli nzar'it bi'lūbna} <the seed that has been planted inside our hearts>// ... We use Arabic during mass, not because our Christian religion tells us to// No// Not like the Muslims// ... But because our parents prefer to use Arabic// They are used to praying in Arabic in Lebanon// ... So here we all pray in Arabic together//>

I: wu barrāt il-knīssi?

<And outside the church?>

Yasmina: barrāt il-knīssi, bas nrūḥ killna ‘ala ṣālīt il-knīssi tanijtimi‘ yawm il-aḥad, biḥki ‘arabi aktar shi, ma‘ aṣḥābi wu ‘rāybīni// ... birtāḥ aktar iḥki ‘arabi ma‘un// ... ana bḥibb iḥki lughti// birtāḥ iḥkiya bas ykūn fi nās ma‘i btifhama// ... bas biṣarāḥa, killna mniḥki inkīlīzi wu ‘arabi ma‘ ba‘ḍna// ya’nī mish killu ‘arabi, walā killu inkīlīzi, ... khalīṭa bayn il-tnayn// hayk naḥna bniḥki

< But outside the church, when we go to the church hall to gather on Sunday, I speak Arabic mostly with my friends and cousins// ... I feel more comfortable speaking Arabic with them//... I love speaking my language// I feel comfortable speaking it with people who understand it// ... But frankly, we all end up speaking English and LA together// So not only LA, or only English, .. It is a mixture of both// That is how we talk//>

Interview (3)

Interview with Jad (14 year old boy) in the local public park close to Jad's home

I: shu btiḥki ma‘ ahlak bilbayt?

<What language(s) do you use when you speak to your parents at home?>

Jād: biḥki ‘arabi aktar shi

< I speak Arabic mostly>

I: ayya ‘arabi? fīk ṭḥadidli **please**?

<Which Arabic? Can you **please** specify?>

Jad: il-‘arabi il-libnāni akīd [haha]

<LA for sure [laugh]>

I: btista‘mul il-inklīzi marrāt>

<do you use English sometimes?>

Jad: ʾTh, bista‘mul inklīzī, bas mish kill il-waʾit// ... ahli ma baddun yāna nihki inklīzi bilbayt, wu bil-akhaṣṣ il-māma// ... bitjinn iza ḥkīna inklīzi bilbayt//

<Yes, I use English, but not all the time// ... My parents do not want us to speak English at home, and especially mum// ... She goes crazy if we spoke English at home//>

I: laysh?

<Why?>

Jad: liʾannu hiyyi biṭḥiss bima innu naḥna libnāniyyi, lāzim nkūn ktīr shāṭrīn bilʾarabi, ... tabass nirjaʾ ʾala libnān, niʾdar nihki ʾarabi bisuhūli maʾ kill aṣḥābna, wu ʾmūmitna, wu khālātna, wu khṣuṣan maʾ tita wu jiddu//

<Because she feels that since we are Lebanese, we must very good at speaking Arabic, So when we return to Lebanon, we can speak Arabic

fluently with all our friends, and our uncles, and aunties, and especially with our grandparents//>

I: wu bayyak?

<and your dad?>

Jad: huwwi kamān baddu yāna niḥki ‘arabi bilbayt// ... bass ya’nī huwwi mish ktīr btifru’ ma’u iza ḥkīna inklīzi shuwayyi// ... akīd mish mitil il-māma [haha]

<He also wants us to speak Arabic at home// ... But he does not mind so much if we spoke a bit of English// ... Surely not like mum [laugh]>

I: laysh btista’mul il-inklīzi bass biḥki ma’ ahlak?

<Why do you use English when you speak to your parents?>

Jad: ... li’annu marrāt, .. bkūn ktīr m’awwad ista’mul il-inklīzi barrāt il-bayt// wu bass irja’ ‘al-bayt bkaffi iḥki bil-inklīzi balā ma ḥiss// ... wu marrāt mā blā’i il-kilmi il-mazbūta bil’arabi, fa biḍḍarr ’ista’mul il-kilmi il-inklīziyyi maḥalla// ... bass ba’dān bkaffi bil’arabi//

<... Because sometimes, .. I am so used to using English outside the house// So I just carry on using it when I get home, unconsciously// ... and sometimes I do not find the exact word in Arabic, so I am forced to use the English word instead// ... Then I carry on in Arabic

I: wu ma’ ikhwātak shu btiḥki?

<And with your siblings, what do you use?>

Jad: kaman bniḥki ‘arabi, bass marrāt bniḥki inklīzi, lamma nkūn ‘am niḥki ‘an English stuff, mitil il-asātdhi bil English school, .. aw ‘am niḥdar il English

TV, aw ‘am na‘mul il English homework, .. aw bass ykūn ‘inna aṣḥāb inkīlīz ‘am yil‘abu ma‘na bilbayt// ... ya‘ni kill shi khaṣṣu bil-ḥayāt il-inkīlīziyyi//

<We also speak Arabic, but sometimes we speak English, when we are talking about English stuff, such as the teachers at the English school, .. or watching English TV, or doing English homework, .. or when we have English friends playing with us at home// ... I mean anything related to English life//>

I: Wu bass tiḥki ma‘ sittak wu jiddak lamma yzūrūk hawn bi-lundun? shu btista‘mul?

< and when you speak to your grandparents when they visit you here in London? What do you use?>

Jad: akīd biḥki ‘arabi? ya‘ni ‘ayb wu ‘illit iḥtirām iḥki ma‘ tīta wu jiddu bil-inkīlīzi, .. li‘annu hinna ma byifhamu inkīlīzi ktīr mnīḥ, wu kamān, ...byiz‘alu iza ma mnīḥki ma‘un ‘arabi//

<For sure I speak Arabic? I mean it is very rude and disrespectful to speak English with my grandparents, .. because they do not understand it very well, and also, .. they get upset if we do not speak Arabic with them//>

I: laysh?

<Why?>

Jad: ṭabī‘i// naḥna libnāniyyi, wu hinna libnāniyyi, ya‘ni ‘ayb ktīr ma niḥki ‘arabi bil-bayt bayn ba‘ḍna// ... tita wu jiddu bi‘ūlūlna innu iza ma ḥkīna lughitna, mninsiya, wu mninsa ta‘ālīdna wu ‘ādātna il-libnāniyyi// .. hal shi ktīr ktīr biza‘ilun, wu mish mnīḥ la ‘ilna killna//

< it is normal// We are Lebanese, and they are Lebanese, so it is very rude not to speak Arabic at home among ourselves// ... my grandparents tell us

that if we do not speak our language, we will forget it, and forget our Lebanese traditions and customs// .. this will make them extremely sad, and it is bad for all of us//>

I: wu bass ykūn 'indak aṣḥāb libnāniyyi? shu btiḥku ma' ba'd?

<and when you have Lebanese friends? What to you speak?

Jad: bjarrib iḥki 'arabi aktar shi, wu khṣuṣan iza kānit il-māma mawjūdi ḥaddna// .. bass kamān bniḥki inkilīzi// ... ya'ni biṣarāḥa bnista'mul il-tnayn, il-inkilīzi wil-'arabi// ... bnukhlutun ma' ba'dun// ... bass iza aṣḥābi ma byirtāḥu yiḥku 'arabi, li'annu biḥissu yimkin innun mish shāṭrīn ktīr bil-'arabi, ... mniḥki bil-inkilīzi// ... ḥasab

<I try to speak Arabic, and especially if mum is present next to us// .. but also we speak English// ... so honestly, we use both languages, English and Arabic// ... we mix them together// ... but if our friends do not feel comfortable speaking Arabic, because they may feel not very good at speaking it, ... we speak English// ... it depends>

5.3.2 Parent's interview excerpts

Interview (4)

Excerpt from Maryam's Interview

Maryam: shi mich ṭabi'ii iḥki ma'u (jawza) bil-inkilīzi// ma btuzbat// ... ma bi'dir 'abbir 'an nafsi **kulliyan**, wu 'ūl shu baddi 'ūl 'an jadd bil-inkilīzi// ... mish li'annu il-inkilīzi taba't mish mniḥ// la' abadan, ana 'indi **Postgraduate Certificate in Education** min jām'a mhimmi bi-inkaltra// ... bass ana bna't inni iḥki 'arabi, li'anna lughti il-umm// il-lugha il-aktar shi ṭabi'iyyi ta 'abbir 'an nafsi, wu ta itwaṣal 'an jadd ma' il-ghayr// ... ṣubḥān alla, il-'arabi bil-nissbi ili, il-lugha yalli fi il-waḥad y'abbir fiya aktar min kill lughāt il-'ālam//

< It is unnatural for me to speak to him (her husband) in English// It juts does not work// ... I cannot express myself fully, and say what I really want to say in English// ... Not because my English is not good// Not at all, I have a **Postgraduate Certificate in Education** from a reputable UK university// ... But I choose to speak Arabic, because it is my mother language// The most natural way to express myself, and truly connect with others// ... Glory to Allah, Arabic for me, is more expressive than any other language in the world//>

Interview (5)

Excerpt from Saïd's Interview (Saïd is Maryam's husband)

I: ayya lugha btiḥki ma' martak?

<Which language do you speak with your wife?>

Saïd: ya'ni, kīf ma'ūl innī iḥki bil-bayt ghayr il-'arabi ma' Maryam (zawjtū)// ... ḥatta law baddi u'dghat ala dmāghi innu yiḥki bil-inklīzi mā bikhallīni, .. il-'arabi lughti il-'a'wa, mish bass min il-nāḥyi il-lughawiyyi, bass min il-nāḥyi il-'āṭifiyyi kamān// ... ana mā bṣaddik aya sā'a būṣal 'al bayt, ta iḥki 'arabi// ... khay shu birtāḥ bass iḥki 'arabi// bu'ṣud, innu hal shī bikhallīni mabsūt//

<I mean, how possible can I speak at home other than Arabic with Maryam (his wife)// ... Even if I order my brain to speak English, it will not allow me, .. Arabic is my most dominant language, not just from a language point of view, but emotionally too// ... I cannot wait to get home so I can speak Arabic// ... Ah how I feel relieved when I speak Arabic// I mean, ... this makes me feel happy//>

I: laysh?

<Why?>

Saïd: bħiss bi 'āṭfi 'awiyyi tijāh il-'arabi// ... bass ihkī, bħiss a'rab la judhūri il-libnāniyyi, la ḡay'ti, la ahlī, la kill il-jīri// ... bħiss bi-bast wu bi naw' min il-rāḡa bass ihkī// ... albi byimla bil-dafa bass isma' aw i'ḡki 'arabi//

<I just feel very emotional about Arabic// ... When I speak it, I feel closer to my Lebanese roots, my village, my parents, and my entire neighbourhood// ... It brings me joy and a sense of comfort when I speak it// ... I feel warmth in my heart when I hear or speak Arabic//>

Interview (6)

Excerpt of Souha's Interview

I: I: ayya lugha btiḡki ma' immik wu bayyik bass yzūrūki hawn bi-lundun?

<What language do you speak with your mum and dad when they visit you here in London?>

Souha: [haha] akīd 'arabi// bayyi min ḡay'a min shmāl lubnān ḡadd il-jbāl// byiḡkī 'arabi ma' lahji awiyyi min ḡay'tu// ... 'awlik bikūn mabsūt iza ḡkītu bil-inklīzi// wala mumkin//...byiz'al ktīr wu biḡiss bi-ihāni iza ḡkītu bil-inklīzi//// ḡatta iza b'ūl kam kilmi bil-inklīzi, bi'ayyit 'layyi

< [laugh] Of course Arabic// My dad comes from a village in the North of Lebanon near the mountains// He speaks Arabic with a heavy accent from his village// ... Do you think he will be happy if I speak to him in English// No way// ... He would feel really upset and insulted if I did// Even if I say some words to my kids in English, he reprimands me//>

I: laysh?

<Why?>

Souha: li'annu huwwi ktīr fakhūr bi turāthu il-libnāni wu lughtu// huwwi byi'ti'id innu il-gharb 'am yḥāwil ydammir lughitna, wu tha'āfitna, wu ta'ālīdna, .. byighzūlna byūtna bil-inklīzi// ... 'an jadd huwwi byi'ti'id inna li'bi siyāsiyyi// ... huwwi baddu yḥafiz 'ala lughitna, wu yin'ila la wlādna, ta hinni bi dawrun yin'luwa la wlādun //

<Because he is very proud of his Lebanese heritage and language// He thinks the West is trying to destroy our language, and culture, and traditions, .. they invade our homes with English// ... He truly believes it is a political game// ... he wants to preserve our language, and pass it to our children, so they can pass it to their children in turn//>

I: lakān iza ḥkīti inklīzi kīf biḥiss?

<So if you spoke English how would he feel?>

Souha: ... byinkirni [haha] ... la' bu'ṣud iktīr byikhjal minni// ... 'alatūl bi 'īdli hal matal il-libnāni "man nakar aṣlahu falā aṣla lahu"// ... ya'ni iza shi marra ḥkītu huwwi aw il-māma bil-inklīzi, byi'tibira khiyāni kbīri, ka'annu tkhallayt 'an juzūri il-libnāniyyi il-aṣliyyi// ... byi'tibir hal shi illit iḥtirām wu shi bi khajjil//

< He would disown me [laugh] ... No I mean he would feel really ashamed of me//... He always repeats to me this Lebanese saying "He who denies his origin, has no principle in life"// ... So if I ever spoke English to him or mum, he would consider it as a big treason, as if I was abandoning my authentic Lebanese roots// ... He regards this as disrespectful and shameful//>

Interview (7)

Excerpt of Amal's interview

Amal: lughitna ktīr ghaniyyi, ktīr mu'abbira, wu ktīr khāṣṣa fīna il-libnāniyyi// ma fi lugha bil-'ālam mitla// ... ma fi lugha fiya til'ab il-adwār yalli btil'aba il-

lugha il-'arabiyyi// ... wala ḥatta ghayr lahjāt il-'arabi, ... li'annu kill balad, kill sha'ib 'indun ta'ābirun il-khāṣṣa bi tha'āfitun wu ta'ālīdun// fa bass kūn 'am biḥki ma' ahli, mustahīl ykūn fīna nista'mul il-inklīzi ta n'abbir 'an aḥāsīsna il-libnāniyyi wu ta'ābirna, lāzim nista'mul il-'arabi, wu bil-akhaṣṣ il-libnāni ta nwaṣṣil rasāyilna mazbūṭ//

< Our language is so rich, so expressive, and so specific to us Lebanese// There is no other language in the world like it// ... No other language can deliver the same functions as our Arabic? ... Not even other Arabic dialects, .. because each nation, each people, have their own expressions that are related to their own culture and traditions// ... So when I am talking with my parents, we just cannot use English to express our Lebanese emotions and expressions, .. We must use Arabic, and more specifically Lebanese, to deliver our messages properly//>

Interview (8)

Extract from the interview with Amani

I: ayya lugha btista'mlī bass biḥaddathi ma' wlādik?

<Which language do you use when conversing with your children?>

Amani: akīd bista'mul il-'arabi, li'annu birtāh aktar shi bass iḥkī// mish bass ista'mul il-inklīzi akīd// ... il-'arabi lughtī il-umm//

<Of course I choose Arabic, because I feel most comfortable when I use it// Not when I speak English for sure// ... Arabic is my mother language//>

I: fa'ithan mā btista'mlī il-inklīzi abadan ma' wlādik?

<So you never use English with your children?>

Amani: anja' bista'mul il-inklīzi bil-bayt// ...marrāt yimkin bmarri' kalimāt 'āmmi bil-inklīzi//

<I hardly use English at home// ... Sometimes I may say general words in English//>

I: mitil shu?

<Like what?>

Amani: mitil **freezer**, .. **mobile**, .. **GP**, ... **Alarm**, aw bass kalimāt bassīṭa//

<.... Like freezer, .. mobile,.. GP, ... Alarm, or just simple words//>

I: wil-wlād, ayya lugha byiḥku ma'ki wu ma' bayyun?

<What about the kids? What language do they speak with you and their dad?>

Amani: wlādi byista'mlu il-'arabi ma'ī wu ma' jawzi wu, li'annu naḥna minjarrib 'add ma fīna nkhalliyun yiḥku bil-bayt 'arabi// ... badna yāhun yṣīru yiḥku 'arabi ktīr mnīḥ, wu yu'ru wu yiktubu il-'arabi il-fuṣḥa kamān// ... hinni libnāniyyi, ḍarūri yiḥku 'arabi bisuhūli//

< My kids mostly use Arabic with my husband and me, because we try to make them speak it at home as much as possible// ... We want them to become fully fluent in speaking Arabic, and in reading and writing Fusha too// ... They are Lebanese, so they must speak Arabic very fluently//>

I: wu iza jāwabūki bil-inklīzi? shū bta'mli?

<What if they reply in English? What do you do?>

Amani: butlub minnun y'īdu il-kalimāt bil-'arabi, wu iza 'alla'u 'ala kilmi wu baddun musā'adi, bsā'idun shway// ... hayda dawri kaimm libnāniyyi mnīha, ... inni sā'id wlādi yiḥku lughitna il-umm// ... shi ktīr mhimmi lawiḥdit 'aylitna// ... iza wlādna ma byiḥkū lughitna, minkūn naḥna ma 'am nil'ab il-adwār il-ṣāliḥa iddāmun// ... hal shi mish hayyin, .. bass ḍarūri nsā'idun//

<I ask them to repeat the words in Arabic, and if they are stuck and need some help, I help them a bit// ... That's my role as a good Lebanese mother, .. to help my kids speak our mother language // ... It is very important to our family's unity// If our kids do not speak our language, we are not acting as good role models in front of them// ... It is not easy, .. but we must help them//>

I: wu iza khalatū il-inklīzi ma' il-'arabi? shū bikūn shu'ūrik wa'ta?

<What about if they mix both English and LA? How do you feel then?>

Amani: layki, ana abadan ma bmāni' iza 'imlu hal shi, ... ana bass baddi yāhun yiḥku 'arabi aktar min il-inklīzi bil-bayt// ... iza ḥikyū 60% 'arabi wu 40% inklīzi, bkūn ktīr mabsūṭa, ..bass mish 90% inklīzi wu 10% 'arabi// sātā la', ... mish masmuḥ bil-nissbi lā ili//

<Listen, I perfectly do not mind if they do that, .. but I just want them to speak more Arabic at home// ... If they speak 60% Arabic and 40% English, then I am very happy, .. but not 90% English and 10% Arabic// Then no, .. it is not acceptable to me//>

Interview (9)

Extract from the interview with Najwa

I: Najwa ayya lugha aw lughāt btiḥki bil-bayt inti wu jawzik ma' il-wlād?

<Najwa, which language(s) do you and your husband speak at home with your children?>

Najwa: tnaynātna bniḥki ‘arabi ma‘un kill il-wa‘it

<We both speak Arabic with them all the time>

I: ayya ‘arabi?

<Which Arabic?>

Najwa: akīd il- ‘arabi il-libnāni [haha[... mish ma‘ūl titwa‘a‘i innu niḥki il-‘arabi il-fuṣḥa bil-bayt ma‘ wlādna//

<Of course Lebanese Arabic [laugh] ... you cannot expect us to speak Fusha at home with our children//>

I: fa ma btista‘mli il-inklīzi abadan?

<So you never use English?>

Najwa: la’, naḥna ktīr muṣirrīn ‘ala ḥaki il-‘arabi bil-bayt// ... naḥna mista’tlīn ta yṣīru il-wlād yiḥku ‘arabi wu inklīzi bisuhūli, ... mitil ma kill il-wlād bi libnān byiḥku//... ‘arabi, wu faransi, wu inklīzi, .. fa baddna wlādna yṣīru mitlun//

< No, we are very strict about speaking Arabic at home// ... We are desperate for them to become bilingual in Arabic and English, .. just like all the kids in Lebanon// ... They all speak Arabic, and French, and English, .. so we want our kids to do the same//>

I: wu hinni shu byiḥku ma‘kun?

<What do they speak with you?>

Najwa: biṣarāḥa, bijarrbu marrāt yjāwbu bil-inklīzi, wu bya'mlu ḥālun innu ma bya'rfū il-kalimāt bil-'arabi, ... bass dukhri bzakkirun yista'mlū il-a'rabi// ... wa 'illa bjinn 'alayun iza ḥikyu bass inklīzi ma'i// ... li'annu, .. barrāt il-bayt, fi furaṣ alla ta yiḥku inklīzi, .. mitil bil-madrassi, .. ma' il-asātzi, .. ma' aṣḥābun, 'al TÉLÉPHONE, .. 'al TÉLÉVISION// ... ya'ni bitdal tshatti 'alayun bil-inklīzi hun// ... minshān hayk ana wu jawzi muṣirrīn nṭabbi' 'arārāt il-ḥaki il-'arabi bil-bayt taba'na// ... hal shi taḥaddi la ilna killna, 'ih, 'ih, akīd, ... bass mā mnistaslim abadan , li'annu badna wlādna yiḥku 'arabi wu inklīzi bisuhūli//

<Honestly, they try to reply sometimes in English, and they pretend they do not how to say the words in Arabic, .. but I soon remind them to use Arabic// ... I really become crazy if they speak to me in English only// ... Because, .. outside the house, they have plenty opportunities to speak English, .. like at school, .. with teachers,.. with friends, .. on the {TÉLÉPHONE} <mobile phone>, .. on the {TÉLÉVISION} <TV>// ... Basically they are bombarded with English here// ... That's why my husband and I are determined to implement our Arabic rules at home// ... It is a challenge to all of us, yes, yes indeed, .. but we never give up, because we want our kids to become fluent bilinguals in Arabic and English//>

I: kīf fīki tūṣfīli kafa'ātik bil-inklīzi?

<How would you describe your abilities in English?>

Najwa: layki, ana bu'ra, wu biktub, wu biḥki inklīzi ktīr mnīḥ, bass ana shakhṣiyyan 'arrarit mā ista'mlu bil-bayt, li'annu baddi wlādi yiṭla'ū yiḥku lughtayn ktīr mnīḥ, ... mitil ghayr wlād libnāniyyi, wu mitli ana wu jawzi// ... naḥna rbīna bi libnān, wu mniḥki tlāt lughāt ktīr mnīḥ// ... ma 'iniī mishkli yukhlṭu il-'arabi wil-inklīzi sawa bass ykūnu 'am yiḥkū ma'i, ṭālma 'am yista'mlu il-'arabi aktar min il-inklīzi// ... il-lughāt bi hal iyyām maksab kbīr//mish bass bi majālāt il-shughul, bass bi majālāt il-'ilim, wil ta'āṭi ma' il-ghayr, wu lal insijām ma' tha'āfāt il-ghayr//

<Listen, I can perfectly read, and write, and speak English, but I choose not to use it at home, because I want my kids to become perfectly bilingual, .. just like other Lebanese children, and like my husband and me// ... We were brought up in Lebanon, and we speak three languages perfectly well// ... I do not mind them mixing Arabic and English when talking to me, as long as they use Arabic more than English// ... Languages are such a great asset to have nowadays//not just for business, but also for education, communication, and to adapt to other cultures//>

Interview (10)

Extract from the interview with Lili

I: shu btiḥki bil-bayt ma' banātik?

<What do you speak at home with your daughters?>

Lili: ana biḥki 'arabi aktar shi//

<I speak mostly Arabic //>

I: wil inkīzi? btista'mlī shi marra?

<What about English? Do you ever use it?>

Lili: biṣarāḥa mbala bista'mlū marrāt, ... aktar shi bass kūn ktīr ta'bāni wu, ... ma ili jlādi itshāra' ma' il-banāt bass yballshu yiḥku ma' bil-inkīzi//

< Quite frankly yes I do use it sometimes, .. mostly when I am too tired and, .. cannot be bothered to argue with the girls when they start talking to me in English//>

I: shu bta'mli fa'izan?

<Then what do you do?>

Lili: ballish jāwibun bil-inklīzi ghaṣbin 'anni, ... bala ma fakkir bil shi, ... bikrah hal shi,.. 'anjad, ... bass ba'id nhār ṭawīl bil-shughil, il-wāḥad ma bi'ūd 'indu ktīr jlādi, wu iṣrār ta yṭabbi' siyāsātū bil-bayt// .. marrāt bi'dar, bass marrāt, ... lasū' il-ḥaṣ ma bi'dar, wil-wlād byirbaḥu//

<I just start speaking back in English unwillingly, .. without even thinking about it, .. I hate it, .. I really do, .. But after a long day at work, one must have a lot of energy and determination to stick to his policies at home// ... Sometimes I do, but some other times, .. I sadly do not, and the kids win//>

Interview (11)

Interview with Tony and Mina, a Lebanese and Polish couple with two daughters.

I: Tony shu btiḥiki bil-bayt ma' bannātak?

<Tony, What do you speak at home with your daughters?>

Tony: bjarrib iḥki 'arabi aktar il aw'āt, bass ya ikhti marrāt,

<I try to speak Arabic most of the time, but my sister sometimes, ...

I: shu biṣīr?

<What happens?>

Tony: [haha] bta'rfi, il-wlād ktīr zkāya// ... bya'rfu ktīr mniḥ kīf yista'mlūna, ... bya'rfu **tamāman** kīf yiḥṣalu 'alli baddun yi, wi ykhalūna na'mul mitil ma hinni baddun//

<[laugh] You know, kids are so smart// ... they know very well how to manipulate us, ... They know exactly how to get what they want, and make us do what they want//>

I: shu bta'mul fa'idhan?

<What do you do then?>

Tony: ballish iḥki inklīzi, bass lamma tisma'ni Mina, bitzakirni innu iḥki 'arabi ma'un// ... sā'ita binwi aktar, wu buṭlub minnun yiḥku ma'i bass bil-'arabi// mish 'Amaliyyi hayni walla il-aẓīm// ... badda wa'it ktīr, wu jhūd, wu 'nād//

<I start speaking English, but when Mina hears me, she reminds me to speak Arabic with them// ... then, I become more assertive, and I ask them to speak with me only in Arabic? ... It is not an easy process I swear in the name of Allah// ... it requires a lot of time, and efforts and stubbornness//>

I: What about you Mina? What language do you speak with them at home?

Mina: I am a very stubborn person// ... I refuse to answer them in English// Polish only [laugh] or Arabic, but not English//

Tony: ['āṭa'na] mish mitli ana// ... ana aṭra biktīr minna [haha]... bass hiyyi muṣirra t'allimun pūlandi/ ... hiyyi ktīr fakhūra bi lughita, wu judhūra, wu tha'āfita// ... bass kamān badda yahun yiḥku 'arabi//

< [interrupting] unlike me// ... I am much softer than her [laugh]... But she is determined to teach them Polish// ... She is very proud of her language, and roots, and culture// ... But she also wants them to speak Arabic too//>

I: Why do you want your kids to speak Arabic Mina?

Mina: So that they can communicate fluently with Tony's parents, and their cousins in Lebanon, and understand the Lebanese culture, .. like the sense

of hospitality, .. and generosity, .. and family values? They must learn to respect both Lebanese and Polish cultures and traditions? It is very important

Tony: [ʔaṭā'nā] ... bta'rḥi? Mina btifham 'arabi// ... btākhud drūs khṣūṣiyyi, bitṣad'i// ... bitjarrib tkūn matal mniḥ la wlādna, wu aktar, badda ti'dar titfāham ma' ahli, wu badda il-wlād yibnu 'ila'āt awiyyi ma' sittun wu jiddun min libnān, wu pūlanda //

<[interrupting] ... You know? Mina understands Arabic// .. She takes private tuitions, can you believe it// ... She tries to set a good example for our children, and more, she wants to be able to communicate with my parents, and wants the kids to build strong bonds with their grandparents from Lebanon, and Poland//>

I: lakān Tony inta shu btiḥki ma' Mina?

<So Tony, what language do you speak with Mina?>

Tony: aktar shi, inkīzi, wu khṣuṣan bass niḥki 'an 'uṣaṣ btiṭ'alla' bi madāris il-wlād, ... aw drūsun// ... bass kamāna biḥki shwayyit 'arabi ma'a, ta'awwila thi'ata bass tiḥki 'arabi// ... hiyyi bithib tiḥki 'arabi, waḥyāt alla [haha]

<Mostly English, and especially if we are talking about things related to our children's schooling, .. or their tuitions// ... But I also use some Arabic with her, to help boost her confidence when speaking Arabic// ... She loves speaking Arabic, I swear to God [laugh]>

Interview (12) and (17)

Extract of the interview with Dima

I: laysh wu aymata btin'ili lal-inkīzi bass tkūni 'am tiḥki ma' wlādik?

<Why and when do you switch to English when talking to your kids?>

Dima: wala marra bikūn ‘aṣḍi ‘in’ul ‘al-inklīzi bass lamma yṣīr hayk, ...
'ādatan bikūn baddi fassir shi ktīr mhimmm lal-wlād, wu it'akkad innun fihmu
yallī baddi 'ūlu ktīr mnīh//

<I never intend to switch to English but when I do that, .. it is usually to
explain something really important to the children, and ensure that they have
fully understood it//>

I: shu btu'ṣdi bi shi ktīr mhimmm? fikki ta'tīni shi matal 'milī ma'rūf?

<What do you mean by important things? Can you give me an example
please?>

Dima: 'ih// .. mitil bass baddi fassīr labinti shi khaṣṣu bifarḍ il-Maths aw il-
Science, bista'mul il-inklīzi, ... li'annu hayda il-shi m'alla' bil-maddrassi
taba'a// ... iza bista'mul il-inklīzi, akīd raḥ tifham il-mawḍū' aktar// ... wu
kamān, bass nkūn 'am niḥki 'an ta'lī'āt il-asātzi, bnista'mul il-inklīzi, ta itakkad
innu il-wlād fihmu ahamiyyat hal-ta'lī'āt, wu bya'mlu mitil ma maṭlūb minnun//

Dima: Yes// ... Like when I need to explain a piece of Science or Maths
homework to my daughter, I use English, .. because it is something related to
her schoolwork//... If I use English, she will surely understand the topic
more// ... Also, when we are talking about teachers' comments, we use
English, to ensure that the children understand the importance of those
comments, and act upon them//>

I: fī ghayr marrāt btista'mli inti aw jawzik il-inklīzi bil-bayt ma'un?

<Are there any other instances where you or your husband may use English
at home with them?>

Dima: ... bil-wā'i' bass nkūn 'am niḥkī 'an mwādī' khaṣṣa bil-ḥayāt bi
britānya, ... wu 'an il-ḥaḍāra il-inklīziyyi, .. sā'ita bnista'mul il-inklīzi//

<... Actually when we are discussing topics that are related to British life, .. and British culture, .. then we may use English//>

I: laysh?

<Why?>

Dima: ... ma ba'rif bil-ḥa'ī'a [haha]... mḥiss azbaṭ innu nista'mul il-inklīzi bass nkūn 'am niḥkī 'an il-ḥayāt bi inkaltrā// ... yimkin li'annu minḥiss bi bu'd akbar tijāh hal 'mūr// ... minḥiss innu il-inklīzi azbaṭ yin'āz lal-'uṣaṣ, yalli mā khaṣṣā dughrī biḥaḍaritna //

<... I do not really know [laugh]... It just feels more appropriate to use English when talking about life in the UK// ... May be because we feel more detached from these issues// ... We feel English is best used for matters, that are not directly connected to our culture//>

I: wu bass tkūnu 'am tiḥku 'an 'umūr khaṣṣa bi libnān?

<What about when discussing issues related to Lebanon?>

Dima: sā'itā bikil ta'kīd mnista'mul il-'arabi// ... li'annu il-'arabi lugha ktīr btismaḥ il-ta'bīr 'an il-aḥāssis wil-'awāṭif// ... naḥna 'ādatan minshārik ktīr, wu minghūṣ bil-muḥādashāt bass nkūn 'am niḥki bil-'arabi//

<Then most certainly we use Arabic// ... Because Arabic is a very expressive and emotionally loaded language// ... We are usually very involved, and immerse ourselves in the discussions when we speak Arabic//>

I: bil-shughil ayya lugha aw lughāt btiḥki?

<What language(s) do you speak at work?>

Dima: biḥki inklīzi kill il-wa'it, li'annu zumalā'i bil shughil, wul-zbūnāt, wul mudara taba'i bass byiḥku inklīzi// ... ma fi furṣa ili ta iḥki 'arabi// ... bass fiyyi iḥki inklīzi//

<I use English at work all the time, because my colleagues, my clients, and my employers, only speak English// ... No room for me to speak Arabic// ... I can only speak English at my workplace//>

I: wu bass tkūni bil-jīri? shu btiḥki?

<What about in the neighbourhood? what do you speak?>

Dima: kattir kayr alla inni 'āyshi bi maṭraḥ fiyyu ktīr libnāniyyi// .. 'inna laḥḥāmi libnāniyyi, maḥallat **coffee shops** libnāniyyi, wu supermarket kbīri libnāniyyi// ... bista'mul il-'arabi aktar shi, li'annu killna libnāniyyi, aw 'arab bnifham il-lahjāt il-'arabiyyi taba' ba'ḍna// ... mish miḍṭarrīn abadan niḥki inklīzi bil jīri 'anna [haha] ... ka'anna 'āyshīn killna bi libnān//

<Thank god I live in an area where a lot of Lebanese reside//... We have Lebanese butchers, Lebanese **coffee shops**, and one big Lebanese supermarket// ... So I mostly use Arabic, because we are all Lebanese, or Arabs who understand each other's Arabic// ... There is no need at all to speak English in our neighbourhood [laugh] ... as if we are all living in Lebanon//>

I: wu bi-amākin in ṣāla? shu btiḥki aktar shi?

<What about when in places of worship? What language do you use mostly?>

Dima: ... biṣarāḥa bista'mul il-'arabi il-libnānī il-dārij wil-fuṣḥa// ... il-fuṣḥa bass nṣalli wu nghanni il-taratīl il-dīniyyi, ... wil libnānī bass kūn 'am biḥki ma' ahl il-ra'iyyi taba'i

<... Frankly I use a mixture of Fusha and Lebanese// ... Fusha when we pray and recite religious hymns, .. and Lebanese when interacting with other members of my congregation//>

Interview (13) and (18)

Extracts of the interview with Lana

I: aymta bitlāḥzi wlādik biṣīru yiḥku ‘arabi aktar shi?

<When do you most notice your kids start speaking Arabic?>

Lana: bass ykūn ‘anna ‘rayibna min libnān ‘anna, wlādī biṣīru yiḥku ‘arabi kill il-wa’it// byiḥkū balla ay ḍaghiṭ aw mshakil// ... yimkin li’annu bikūnu mabsūṭīn bass yshūfu ‘raybīnun, ... wu biḥissu ‘a’rab la’ilun bass yiḥku ‘arabi// ... walla il-‘aḏīm byikbar ‘albi bass isma’un ‘am yiḥku ‘arabi, bala ma ijbirun, ... wala zakkirun kill il-wa’it yiḥku ‘arabi//

<Whenever we have relatives from Lebanon staying with us, my children switch to Arabic all the time// ... They speak it without any pressure or hassle? ... May be because they are happy to see their relatives, .. and feel closer to them when they all speak Arabic// ... I swear to God the Great that my heart grow bigger when I hear them speaking Arabic, without having to put pressure on them, .. or remind them constantly to switch to Arabic//>

I: wu inti? ayya lugha aw lughāt btista’mli bil-shughil?

<What language(s) do you use at your workplace?>

Lana: bista’mul il-tnayn il-‘arabi wil-inklīzi

<I use both Arabic and English>

I: aymata btista'mlī kill wiḥdi?

<When do you use each?>

Lana: bass kūn 'am iḥki ma' zumalā'i bil-shughil, mniḥki 'arabi law innu il-
'arabi taba'i mghayyar 'an taba'un, ... bass mnifham 'ala ba'ḍna bishūli// ...
ma fi mishkli abadan// ... hinni bijarrbu ḥatta innun y'alldu lahijti il-libnāniyyi
[haha] ... bishūfūwa ktīr ḥilwi wu mrattabi//

<When I am talking to my colleagues, we speak in Arabic although my Arabic is different to theirs, .. but we can easily understand each other// ... No problem at all? ... They even try to copy my Lebanese accent [laugh] ... they love it//... They tell me it is very beautiful and classy//>

I: wil-inklīzi? aymata btista'mli?

<What about English? When do you speak it?>

Lana: aktar shi bass kūn 'am iḥki ma' nās mish 'arab, ... mitil bass yuṭlubu il-
nās minni musā'adi bass y'abbu ṭalabāt il-ṡisa, ... aw, ... yis'alūni as'ili 'āmi//
... mish killun byiḥku 'arabi, ... sā'ita biḥki ma'un bil-inklīzi//

< Mostly when communicating with non-Arabic speaking people, .. like when people ask me for help when applying for visas, .. or, ... just when asking me any general questions// ...They do not all speak Arabic, .. then I speak English with them//>

I: wu shu btiḥki ma' il-mudara taba'ik?

<What about when you communicate with your employers?>

Lana: il-mudara taba'i 'arab/// fa bista'mul shuwayit fuṣṣa wu shuwayit libnānī
aktar shi// ... bass marrāt bista'mul il-inklīzi kamān// ... ya'ni ḥasab 'an shū
'am niḥki//

<They are Arabs// So we speak a mixture of Fusha and Lebanese mostly// ... but sometimes I use English as well// ... it depends what we are talking about really//>

I: wu bil-jīri taba'ik shu btiḥki?

<And in your neighbourhood what do you speak?>

Lana: akīd biḥki 'arabi ma' il-libnāniyyi, ... wu inklīzi ma' il-inklīz// ...fa iza 'am bishtiri min il-**supermarket** il-libnāniyyi, biḥki 'arabi ma' il-mwazfīn// ... li'annu aktariyyitun libnāniyyi, aw, .. mṣārwi, aw... sūriyyi, bass killun byifhamu il-'arabi taba'i// ... mniḥki 'arabi ma' ba'ḍna//... killna min nafs il-'iri wu nafs il-ḥaḍāra// ...aryahilna biktīr, wu ṭabī'i ilna aktar niḥki 'arabi ma' ba'ḍna// ... bass iza kānu il-muwazafīn ghuraba, ... sā'ita bniḥki inklīzi ta yifhamu 'layna//

<Of course I speak Arabic with other Lebanese, .. and English with English speakers// ... So if I am shopping at the Lebanese supermarket, I speak Arabic with the staff// ... Because they are mostly Lebanese, or .. Egyptians, or ..Syrians, but they all understand my Arabic// ... We speak Arabic together// ... We all have the same ethnic and cultural origin// ... We find it much more comfortable, and more natural, to speak Arabic with each other// ... But if the staffs are foreigners, .. then we use English so they can understand us//>

I: wu bi amākin il-ṣala?

<And in places of worship?>

Lana: kamān bista'mul il-'arabi// ... juwwāt il-masjid, minṣalli bil-fuṣṣa ṭab'an, li'ana lughit il-qurān il-kaReem// wu barrāt il-masjid, ... bass nrūḥ nishrab 'ahwi, .. aw niḥki ma' ba'id, ... mniḥki il-'arabi libnāni, aw ḥayalla lahji 'arabiyyi tānyi [haha] ... ktīr ṭabī'i ilna niḥki lughitna il-umm, bighaḍḍ il-naẓar

iza kãn il-'arabi libnāni, aw sūri, .. aw 'īrā'i//... il-muhimm innu, mniḥki killna 'arabi, lughit blādna// ... killna minḥiss bi aṣāli aktar lamma niḥki 'arabi//

<Again I use Arabic// ... Inside the mosque, we all pray in Fusha of course, because it is the language of the holy Quran// and outside it, .. when we all go to have coffee, .. or talk among each other, .. we speak Lebanese, or any other Arabic dialect [laugh]... It is only natural for us to speak our own native language, regardless if it is LA, .. or Syrian Arabic, .. or Iraqi Arabic//... The main point is, .. we all speak Arabic our national language// ... We all feel more authentic when we speak Arabic//>

Interview (14)

Interview with Zaynab

Zaynab: wlik il-d'ī'a lli minghuṭ 'fiya 'ala maṭār bayrūt, wu bishūfu wlādi 'raybinun, wu ikhwāti wu khayyāti, byinsu il-inklīzi kulliyan// ... gharīb biṣīru yiḥku 'arabi ḥatta bi nafs il-lahji taba' 'raybinun, ... ka'annu tūl hayātun 'āyshīn hunīk, wu ma fallu abadan 'ala inkaltra [haha]

< The minute we land to Beirut airport, and my kids see their cousins, and my brothers and sisters, they forget all about English// ... Amazing they even speak Arabic with the same accent as their relatives, .. As if they lived there all their lives, and never left to England [laugh]>

Interview (15)

Extract of interview with Samar, mother of two daughters

Samar: ikhti 'āyshi bi dubay ma' jawza wu wlādun il-tlāti, ... bass nzūrun hunīk, wlādi biṣīru yiḥku 'arabi// ... wu bikill suhūli hunīk// ... yimkin li'annu bass ykūnu mirtāḥīn, ... ma fi frūḍāt, ... ma fi daghiṭ il-maddrassi, ... wu mḥāwṭīn il-mḥibīn min il-'rayib wu afrād il-'āyli, ... sā'ita automatically biṣīru yiḥku 'arabi// ... mish li'annu 'raybīnun ma byit'allamu inklīzi bil-

madrassi, .. bass li'annu kill wāḥad bil-jīri ḥwālayun byiḥki 'arabi, ... wu kill shi ḥwālayun bil-'arabi, il-mḥaṭṭāt 'al- **TV** bil-'arabi, il-mūsī'a bil-'arabi, il-ṣala bil-'arabi, ... ishārāt il-ṭarī' bil-'arabi, ... il-**menu** bil-maṭā'im bil-'arabi, ... il-manshūrāt bil-**mall** bil-'arabi// ... ya'ni biḥissu lāzim ykūnu jizi' min hal shi killu// baddun yinsijmu bi hal mujtama' il-'arabi//

<My sister lives in Dubai with her husband and their three children, .. Whenever we visit them there, my children switch to Arabic// ... They speak it so fluently there// ... I believe when they are relaxed, .. no homework, .. no school pressure, .. surrounded by loving cousins and family members, .. then **automatically** they speak Arabic// ... Not because the cousins do not learn English at school, .. but because we all speak Arabic, .. everybody else in the neighbourhood speaks Arabic, .. and everything around them is in Arabic, .. **TV** channels in Arabic, music in Arabic, prayers in Arabic, .. road signs in Arabic, .. restaurant **menus** in Arabic, .. leaflets in the **mall** in Arabic// ... So they feel they need to be part of all this// They want to fit in this Arabic environment//>

Interview (16)

Interview with Tala (Samar's daughter)

I: bass tkūnī bī furṣa bī dubay, ayya lugha btiḥki aktar il-aw'āt?

<So when you are on holiday in Dubai, what language do you speak most of the time?>

Tala: akīd biḥkī 'arabi, wu marrāt, ... bista'mul kam kilmi fusha, iza kinna 'am nil'ab ma' wlād 'arab//

<I use Arabic for sure, and sometimes, .. I include some Fusha words, if we are playing with other Arabic-speaking children//>

I: ya'nī btiḥki 'arabi aktar bass tkūnī bī furṣa?

<So do you use Arabic more often when you are on holiday?>

Tala: 'ih akīd, li'annu kill wāḥad ḥwālayyī byihkī 'arabi// ... bhiss innu ana baddī ihkī 'arabi kamānā// ... bhiss baddī ihkī 'arabi, izā kill shi ḥawlī bil-'arabi// ... bshūf ḥālī wu bunbussiṭ bass ihkī 'arabi//

Yes for sure, because everyone else around me speaks Arabic// ... so I feel I want to speak it too// ... I feel I want to speak Arabic, if everything around me is Arabic// ... I feel proud, and happy to speak it//>

I: ya'nī biḥissī innik wāth'ā binaksik aktar bass tiḥkī 'arabi lammā tkūnī bī libnān aw bī balad 'arabi aktar min lammā tkūnī hūn bī inkaltrā?

<So do you feel more confident speaking Arabic when you are in Lebanon or another Arabic speaking country than in the UK?>

Tala: akīd// ... bī nazarī afdal ṭarī'a ta ḥassin lughti bil-'arabi, hiyyi inni rūh furṣa 'ala balad 'arabi, li'annu hūnīk, .. kill il-nās ḥaddi btiḥki 'arabi kill il-wa'it// ... bhiss baddī ihki 'arabi, wu bisur'a bhiss addaysh ṭhassanit lughti bil-'arabi// ... bī inkītārā, ma birtāḥ ihkī 'arabi barrāt il-bayt// ma ba'rif laysh?//

<Definitely// ... I think holidays in Arabic-speaking countries, are the best way to improve my Arabic, because then, .. I am surrounded by people speaking it all the time// ... I feel I want to speak Arabic, and soon after, .. I notice how much my Arabic has improved// ... In the UK, I do not feel comfortable speaking Arabic outside the home environment// I do not know why?>

5.4 Participants' language use for media, reading and ICT

5.4.1 Interview Excerpts of Children Participants

Excerpt (19) from the Interview with Omar (14 year-old boy) done at his home

I: ayya lugha bitfaḍḍil bass tkūn ‘am tiḥḍar baramij tassliyi ‘al TV?

<What language do you prefer when you are watching entertainment programs on TV?>

Omar: bfaḍḍil il-inklīzi//

<I prefer English//>

I: laysh?

<Why?>

Omar: li’annu il-baramij il-inklīzyyi ‘ādatan, aḥla wu aḥdam, wu bitsallī aktar// Mish bass barāmij bitza‘‘il mitil taba‘ il-TV il-‘arabi// fīnā nuḥḍar baramij **sport**, drāmā, **art**, wu mūsī‘a, ḥayallā shi biṣarāḥa// Il-baramij il-‘arabiyyi bitzahi’, wu rūḥ il-nikti taba‘un mā bshūfa biḍḍaḥik abadan//

<Because English programs are usually, nicer and more fun, and more entertaining// They are not just sad programs like on Arabic TV. We can watch **sport** programs, drama, **art**, and music, anything really// Arabic programs are boring, and their sense of humour is not what I find humorous at all//>

I: lakāna btiḥḍar barāmij ‘arabi ‘al TV marrāt?

<So do you watch Arabic TV channels sometimes?>

Omar: ‘īh akīd, bass nuḥḍar TV ma‘ il-māma wil-bāba ka‘ayli, aw ma‘ tīta wu jiddu, mniḥḍar ‘ādatan il-baramij il-‘arabi// ... bass lamma kūn ‘am iḥḍar il-TV

ma' khayyi wu ikhti wahdna, mniḥḍar il-kanālīt il-inklīziyyi// ... minḥibba aktar//

<Yes of course, when we watch TV with mum and dad as a family, or grandmother and grandfather, we usually watch Arabic programs// ... But when I am watching with my brother and sister alone, then we watch English channels// ... We like it more//>

I: btiḥḍar DVDs bil-'arabi?

<Do you watch Arabic DVDs?>

Omar: la'// ... ana biḥḍar DVDs bil-inklīzi bass, li'annu mā fī ktīr DVDs bil-arabī bi kill il-aḥwāl// ... aktar il movies 'al DVDs bil-inklīzi, wu mtarjami 'al 'arabi aw lugha tānyi//

<No// ... I only watch DVDs in English, because not so many DVDs are produced in Arabic anyway// ... Most movies on DVD are produced in English, and translated in Arabic or other languages>

I: wu bass titsamma' 'al rādyū?Aw 'al **CD** wil musī'a 'al internet? Ayya lugha bitfaḍḍi?

<And when listening to the radio? Or to **CD** and online music?What language do you prefer?>

Omar: kamānā bfaḍḍil il-inklīzi, .. li'annu ba'rīf aghānī bil-inklīzi aktar min il-'arabi//

<Also I prefer English, .. Because I know more English songs than Arabic ones//>

I: Btitsamma' 'al musī'a il-'arabiyyi?

<Do you listen to Arabic music?>

Omar: 'Th, .. aktar shi bass ykūn 'annā aṣḥāb wu ɖyūf// ... il-māmā biṭḥuṭ il-CDs il-'arabi taba'ā, ... khāṣatan fayrūz, wu mājida il-rūmi// ... ya'nī minṣīr killnā 'am nitsamma' 'alayun [haha]... bḥibb kam wiḥdi//

<Yes, .. mostly when we have friends and guests over//... Mum plays her favourite Arabic CDs, .. especially Fayrouz, and Magida El Roumi,.. So we all end up listening to them [laugh]... I love some of them//>

I: ayyāhun?

<Which ones?>

Omar: aktar shi bḥibb il-aghānī yallī bil-libnānī mish il-fuṣḥa, mitil wā'il kfūrī, nānsī 'ajram, wu jūzīf 'aṭiyyi// ... ahwan bikīr tā ifhamun wu uḥfazun// ... bḥiss fiyyī insijim aktar bi hal-aghānī aktar min il-aghānī yallī bil-fuṣḥa//

<I love mostly the songs that are sung in Lebanese not Fusha Arabic, like Wael Kfoury, Nancy Ajram, and Joseph Attieh// ...They are much easier to understand and memorise// ... I feel I can connect more with these songs than with the ones sung in Arabic Fusha//>

I: btista'mul shi telephone wu chat applications 'al internet?

<Do you use any online telephone and chat applications?>

Omar: akīd// ... mnista'mul **WhatsApp** kill il-wa'it bil-bayt, ta niḥkī ma' tītā wu jiddū bī libnān// Mniḥkiyun kill yawm bass nirja' min il-maddrassi// ... bibalāsh, .. 'ādatan minkhabbirun 'an nhārnā, .. shu 'milnā, .. wu bikhabbrūnā hinnī 'an nhārun// ... ktīr ḥilū// ka'nnū 'āyshīn killnā fard balad//

<Of course// ... We use il-**WhatsApp** all the time at home, to speak to our grandparents in Lebanon// We call them every day when we return back form

school// ... It is free, .. Usually when we are all waiting for mum to serve us dinner// ...We tell them about our day, .. what we did, .. and they tell us about their day// ... It is so nice// As if we all lived in one country//>

I: wu ayya lugha btista'mul?

<What language do you use?>

Omar: akīd il-'arabi// tītā wu jiddū byiz'alū ktīr izā mā ḥkīnā 'arabi ma'un//

<Of course Arabic// my grandparents get upset if we use English with them>

Excerpt from the Interview (20) with Rayyan (10 year-old boy), done at his home

I: ayya lugha bitfaḍḍil aktar shi ta tuḥḍar barāmij 'al TV wu flūmat DVD?

<Which language is your favourite for watching TV programs and DVD films?>

Rayyan: bfaḍḍil il-inklīzi//

<I prefer English//>

I: laysh?fīk tfassirlī aktar?

<Why? Can you explain to me more?>

Rayyan: ... bḥiss fī khayārāt aktar 'al kanālāt il-inklīzi, wu kamān, .. bisallū aktar//

<... I feel that there are more choices available on the English TV channels, and also, .. They are more fun to watch//>

I: laysh bisallū aktar?

<Why are they more fun/?>

Rayyan: li'annū mā fī ktīr ṣarīkh mitil il-kanālāt il-'arabi// ... mā bitshūfī kill wāḥād 'am yibkī, .. aw za'lān, .. aw wlād barrāt il-maddrassi mitil mā minshūf 'al kanālāt il-'arabi//

<Because there is not so much screaming like on the Arabic channels// ... You do not see everyone crying, .. Or sad, .. Or children out of school like the ones we see on Arabic channels//>

I: ya'nī btiḥḍar shi birnāmij bil-'arabi 'al **TV** ma' ahlak?

<So do you watch any Arabic programs on **TV** with your parents?>

Rayyan: 'Th biḥḍar il-baraāmij il-'arabi, aktar shi bass ykūnū tītā wu jiddū 'annā hūn// ... hinnī biḥibbū il-**kanālāt** il'libnāniyyi aktar min il-inklīzi// ... jiddī biḥibb yiḥḍar al-akhbār kill layli, wil tītā biḥibb tiḥḍar ghayr barāmij, mitil hawdī yallī biḍaḥkū khallīk bil bayt wu mā fī mitlū//

<Yes I watch Arabic programmes, mostly when my grandparents are here with us// ... They like Lebanese channels more than English// ... My grandfather likes to watch the news every night, and my grand mother loves watching other programmes, like the funny one {Khallik bil bayt} <stay at home>, and {Ma Fi Mitlou} <nothing like it>//

I: ya'nī bitṣīr tiḥḍar zāt il-baramij taba' jiddak wu sittak?

<So you end up watching the same programs as your grandparents?>

Rayyan: 'Th [haha] ... bass ana bkūn mabsūt kamān, li'annu ana bħibb ktīr 'u'ud ma'un, wu kūn ḥaddun// ... hal shi byubsutūn wu byubsutnī ana aktar bass shūfun mabssūtīn//

<Yes [laugh] ... but I am happy too, because I love sitting with them, and being next to them// ... It makes them happy and makes me even happier to see them happy//>

I: wu lal rādyu wul mūsī'a? bitfaḍḍil?

<And for radio and music? What do you prefer?>

Rayyan: kamān ana bfaḍḍil il-mūsī'a il-inklīziyyi, li'nnū ba'rif il-aghānī, wu bħibb il-kalimāt taba'ā// ... ahwan illī ifhamā// ... bass marrāt, .. bħibb itsamma' 'ala aghānī libnāniyyi, .. mitil bass ykūn 'annā aṣḥābnā, .. aw bass ahlī yḥuṭṭū il-mūsī'ā taba'un bil-bayt// ... ḥilwī min wa'it lal tānī//

Again I prefer to listen to English music, because I know some of the songs, and I like the lyrics more// ... It is easier for me to understand// ... But sometimes, .. I like listening to Lebanese songs, .. Like when we have friends around, .. Or when my parents put their music on at home// ... It is nice from time to time//>

I: btista'mul telephone aw chat applications 'al internet?

<Do you use any online telephone or chat applications?>

Rayyan: 'Th akīd// ... mnista'mul Facetime kill yawm ma' khālātī wu 'arayibnā// ... mniḥkiyun bass nkūn 'am nit'ashā killnā sawā, ta nkhabbir ba'ḍnā 'an nhārnā// ... shi bijannin li'annu fīna nshūfun, wu niḥki ma'un bi balāsh, .. ma minfawwit khabriyyi 'alayana biṣṣīr hawnīk//

<Oh yes indeed// ... We use Facetime every day with my aunties and cousins// ... We call them when we are all eating dinner together, so we can

discuss our day together// ... It's amazing because we can see them, and talk to them for free, .. We never miss out on anything happening there//>

I: wu ayya lugha btista'mil?

<what language to do use?>

Rayyan: akīd mniḥkī bil 'arabi// ṭabī'ī//.. hinnī mā byirtāḥū yiḥkū inkliṣi ma'nā//... wu naḥnā mnunbussit niḥkī 'arabi ma'un//... il-'arabi lughitnā il-umm ... mich il-inkliṣi//

<Of course we speak in Arabic//.. They don't feel comfortable speaking with us in English//... and we are happy to speak Arabic with them//.. Arabic is our mother language... not English//>

Excerpt from the Interview (21) with Faten (16 year-old girl) done at a local coffee shop of her choice

I: ayya lugha bitfaḍlī bass tiḥḍarī barāmij 'al TV?

<Which language do you prefer when watching TV programs?>

Faten: ana bfaḍḍil il-barāmij yallī bil 'arabi//

<I prefer Arabic programs//>

I: laysh?

<Why?>

Faten: li'annī libnāniyyi wu bḥibb a'rif shu 'am biṣīr bī waṭanī// .. bḥibb ḍallnī 'ala 'ilim billī 'am yṣīr hunīk, wu bil-'ālam il-'arabi//

<Because I am Lebanese and I would like to know what goes on in my country of origin// .. I like to stay connected with everything happening there, and in the Arab world//>

I: ya'nī ayya barāmij bithibbī btiḥḍarī 'al TV?

<So what type of TV programs do you like watching?>

Faten: ... bḥibb iḥḍar kill shi miytil il-akhbār, ... il-barāmij il-ijtimā'iyyah mitil il-birnāmij yalli bī aḍḍmū zāwīn, ... barāmij mahḍūmah mitil khallīk bil bayt, wu kḥṣuṣan bḥibb birnāmij zāhī wihbī aḥmar bil khaṭṭ il-'arīḍ, wu amar il-layl, ... wil barāmij yallī bi admūwā bi shahir ramaḍan// ... ktīr bḥib hal barāmij yallī bitfarjī il-ẓulm il-ijtimā'ī wil siyāsī bil 'ālam il-'arabi// ... bitkhallīnī ṣīr baddī a'mul shi, wu sā'id kill hall-nās il-q'īfah hawnīk//

<... I like to watch everything like news, .. Social programs such as the program 'Zaven' presents,.. fun programs like {Khallik bil bayt} <Stay at home>, and especially the one with 'Zahī' {Aḥmar bil kaṭl il-'arīḍ}, <Red in bold line> and 'amar il-layl', <The Moon at Night>, .. or the ones they show during the month of Ramadan//... I really like such programs which reveal the social and political injustice in the Arab world// ... It really makes me want to act, and help all those vulnerable people out there//>

I: tayyib lal rādyū? Ayya lugha bitfaḍḍilī?

<What about the radio? What language do you prefer?>

Faten: bil wā'ī' mā bitsamma' 'al rādyū, .. bfaḍḍil itsama' 'al-CDyāt, aw il-mūsī'a yallī msayyvitā 'al iphone taba'ī, wu 'al computer//

<Actually I do not like listening to the radio, .. I prefer listening to CDs, or music saved on my iPhone, and my computer//>

I: bithibbī il-mūsī'a il-'arabiyyi?

<Do you like Arabic music?>

Faten: 'Th akīd// ... il-mūsī'a il-'arabi aḥla shi bil nissbi lā ilī, li'annu il-aghānī killā milyānah bil aḥāsīs wil mashā'ir// ... ktīr awiyyah bta'rfah// ...min shān hayk ana bsayyiv il-aghānī yallī bḥibbā aktar shi 'ala il-iphone taba'tī, wu bitsamma' alayā kill yawm, ana wrāyḥah 'al madrassi, wu ana wrāj'a 'al bayt// taṭawwur il-tiknūlūjiā bikhallīnā nḍal 'ala tawaṣul ma' kill il-aghānī il-'arabi il-jdīdah, wu bi as'ār ma'ūlah kamān [haha]... fa badal min innu nishtirī 'ala ṭūl CDyāt jdīdi, bnazzil 'al iphone taba'tī il-aghānī yallī bḥibbā aktar shi, wu bitsamma' 'alayā add mā baddī, shi bijannnin//

<Oh yes indeed// ... Arabic music is my favourite, because the songs are loaded with sensations and emotions// ... They are very powerful you know// ... That's why I save my favourite ones on my iPhone, and I listen to them every day, on my way to school, and on my way back home// ... The advancement of technology has enabled me to stay in touch with all new songs in Arabic, and at a very reasonable price too [laugh]... So instead of buying new CDs all the times, I just download my favourite music online onto my iPhone, and listen to them as many times as I want, .. This is brilliant//>

I: wu bil-bayt, btitsamma'tī 'ala mūsī'a 'arabi?

<What about at home, do you listen to Arabic music?>

Faten: 'Th, bass tkūn il-māmā 'am ṭutbukh bil-maṭbakh, 'ala ṭūl bitdawwir il-mūsī'a il-'arabi 'al 'ālī// ... biṭḥuṭ 'aṭūl CDyatā il-'arabi, ... fa mnisma' killnā mūsī'itah// [haha]... yimkin min shān hayk ana bḥibb il-mūsī'a il-'arabi, min wara il-māmā [haha]// ... wu kamān bass kūn 'am bidruss bī 'ūdītī, bitsamma' 'ala il-aghānī yallī sayyaytā 'ala il-computer taba'tī// ... killā mssayvitā 'alay, fa bitsamma' 'alayā, li'annu bikhallīnī ḥiss mabsūtah ... bitzakkirnī bi zikrayāt ḥilwah wu maḥdūmah//zikrayāt waṭanī libnān il-ḥilū//

<Yes when my mum is cooking in the kitchen, she is always playing the Arabic music loudly//... It is always her Arabic **CDs**, .. so we all get to hear her music// [laugh]... Probably, that's where I got my love for Arabic music, from my mum [laugh// ... Also when I am studying in my bedroom, I play my songs that I **saved** onto my computer// ... They are all **stored** there, so I listen to them in the background, because they make me feel happy, .. they evoke nice and sweet memories//memories of my sweet country Lebanon//>

I: wu btista'mlī **telephone** wu online **chat applications**?

<Do you use **telephone** and online **chat applications**?>

Faten: 'Th ṭab'an// ... bista'mul **WhatsApp** wu **Facetime** kill il-aw'āt// ... biḥkī ma' 'raybīnī la sā'āt 'al **weekend**, wu khilāl il-usbū'//... mniḥkī ma' ba'ḍnā bass nirja' min il-madrassi// ... mniḥkī bil-'arabi kill shi li'annu fīnā nkhabbir 'an mashā'irnā aḥsan bil-'arabi// ... 'ala ṭūl 'am niḥkī wu nā'ish mawāḍī' ktīrah// ... marrāt bass niftaḥ **il-Facetime application**, mniḥḍar zāt il birnāmij 'al **TV** ta nā'ish ḥawāḍith il-progrām ma' ba'ḍnā// ... ka'nnū 'āyshīn killnā bī libnān taḥit sa'if wāḥad//

<Oh yes indeed// ... I use **WhatsApp** and **Facetime** all the time// ... I can communicate with my cousins for hours on the weekend, and during **weekdays**// ... We speak to each other after we return from school// ... All in Arabic, because we can all express our feelings better in Arabic// ... We are constantly talking and discussing many issues// ... Sometimes when we open the **Facetime application**, we watch the same **TV** program and we discuss the events of the program together// ... as if we all live together in Lebanon under the same roof//>

Excerpt (22) from the Interview with Roula (12 year-old girl) done in the local park

(22) I: ayya lugha bitfaḍḍlī bass tkūnī am' tu'rj kutub lil-tarfīh?

<What language do you prefer when reading books for recreation?>

s: ana bfaḍḍil il-inklīzi//

<I prefer English//>

l: laysh?

<Why?>

Roula: li'annu il-'arabi taba't mish ktīr mnīḥ, .. fa mā bifham kill shi izā 'rīt kutub bil-'arabi//

<Because my Arabic is not that good, .. So I do not understand everything if I read Arabic books //>

l: wu izā 'rīti kutub 'ṣīrah lal-wlād?

<What about if your read short storybooks for children?>

Roula: kint 'u'riyun lammā kint aṣghar// ... il-māmā kānit tu'ralī uṣaṣ 'aṣīrah 'abil mā rūḥ 'al nawm, wu tfassirī yāhun bi kalimāt 'arabi hayynah// ... kint ktīr ḥibbun, .. 'an jadd// ... bass halla', battalit walad// .. bḥibb 'u'rā kutub kharij 'umrī, wu munāssbah la hiwāyātī, wu ihtimāmātī// ... minshān hayk bu'rā kutub inklīziyyi// ... il-kutub il-'arabiyyi kharij 'umrī wu 'udurātī mish mawjūdah// ... ya'nī shi bi za'il//

<I used to read them when I was younger// ... Mum used to read short stories to me before bedtime, and explain them to me in simple Arabic words// ... I loved them, .. Really//... But now, I am not a child anymore// ... I like to read books that are appropriate to my age, my hobbies, and my interests// ... That's why I read English books// ... Arabic books suitable for my age and my abilities do not exist// ... It is a shame really//>

Excerpt (23) from the interview with Samir (15 year-old boy) done in the local public park

(23) I: ayya lugha biḥibb aktar shi lal-'rāyyi?

<What language do you like most for reading?>

Samir: ana bfaḍḍil il-inklīzi, bass kūn 'am bu'rā shi khaṣṣū bil Science aw il-technology aw il-computer!!

<I prefer English, when reading anything related to Science or technology or Computer!!>

I: wil-'arabi? Btu'rā shi bil-'arabi/?

<What about Arabic? Do you read anything in Arabic?>

Samir: 'Th akīd, ... bu'rā il-qur'ān bil-'arabi// haydi il-lugha yallī khtārā allah ta ybashir bi ta'ālimū la kull il-muslimīn bil- 'ālam// ... kamuslim mu'min, lāzim u'rā il-qur'ān bil-'arabi, ... ana maḥzūz wu ilī fakhir innu tkūn il-lugha il-'arabiyyi lughtī il-umm!!

<Yes of course, .. I read the Quran in Arabic// It is the language God chose to reveal his teachings to all Muslims in the world// ... As a faithful Muslim, I must read the Quran in Arabic, ... I am lucky and honoured to have Arabic as my native language!!>

I: btu'rā shi ghayrū bil-'arabi?

<Do you read anything else in Arabic?>

Samir: 'Th, marrāt bu'rā il-akhbār wil-blogs 'an il-internet bil-'arabi// ... bḥibb a'rif shu 'am biṣīr bil-'ālam il-'arabi bil-siyāsah wu bil-mujtama'// ... kattir

khayr allah yallī fī hal social media taḍall ‘ala tawaṣul bi kill shi ‘am yṣīr ḥawalaynā//

<Yes, sometimes I read news and blogs in Arabic on the internet// ... I like to know what goes on in the Arab world politically and in the society// ... Thank god there is social media which allows us to stay in touch with everything that goes on around us//>

Excerpt (24) from the interview with Joseph (16 year-old boy) done in the neighbourhood’s public park

(24) I: ayya lugha bitfaḍḍil bass tib‘at text messages la aṣḥābak wu afrād ‘ayltak?

<What language do you prefer when sending text messages to friends and you family members?>

Joseph: hawn bista‘mul il-inklīzi aktar shi, bass lammā baddī ib‘at text messages la aṣḥābī wu ‘rābīnī bī libnān, bista‘mul il-‘arabi//

<Here I use English mostly, but when I send text messages to my friends and cousins in Lebanon, I use Arabic//>

I: shu aṣḍak bil-‘arabi? btiktub bil-aḥruf il-‘arabiyyi?

<What do you mean by Arabic? Do you write in Arabic letters?>

Joseph: la’, biktub kalimāt libnāniyyi, bass bil-aḥruf il-inklīziyyi// [‘am yuṭba’ ‘al mobile kalimat kīfak il-lubnāniyyah bil-aḥruf il-rūmaniyyah]

<No, I write Lebanese words, but in English letters like this// [typing on the mobile phone the Lebanese word {KIFAK} <how are you> in roman letters]

I: fa kīf btiktub il-aḥruf il-‘arabiyyi yallī mā btinkatab bil-inklīzi?

<So how do you write the Arabic letters that cannot be written in English letters?>

Joseph: [haha] bista'mul aḥruf il-**chat** il-libnāniyyi, ... fa aatalan izā baddī iktub kilmat fiyā 'hamzah' bista'mul il-ra'im 2, .. wu bass baddī iktub ḥarf il-'ayn' bista'mul il-ra'im 3, .. wu bass baddī iktub ḥarf il-'ḥ' bista'mul il-ra'im 7, .. ktīr hayyin// ... ḥatta il-tīta bta'rif tista'mul hal-**symbols** bass ta'mul **chat** ma'na [haha]

<[laugh] ... I use the specific Lebanese chat letters, .. So if I want to write a word with the 'hamza' letter I use the number 2, .. and when I need to write the letter 'ayn' I use the number 3, .. and for the letter 'ḥ' I use the number 7, .. It is very easy//... Even my grand mother knows how to use these **symbols** to **chat** with us [laugh]>

Excerpt (25) from the interview with Reem (15-year-old girl) done at her home

(25) I: ayya lugha btista'mlī bass tib'atī **text messages**?

<What language do you prefer for sending **text messages**?>

Reem: bass ib'at text messages la aṣḥābī wu 'rāybī bī libnān bista'mul il-'arabi//

<When I text message my friends and relatives in Lebanon I use Arabic//>

I: ayya 'arabi?

<Which Arabic?>

Reem: ya'nī biktub bil-libnānī ma' il-chat symbols il-libnāniyyi//

<I mean I write in Lebanese with the special Lebanese chat symbols//>

I: btiktbī bil-aḥruf il-‘arabiyyi marrāt?

<Do you sometimes write in Arabic letters?>

Reem: ʾTh, marrāt biktub bil-‘arabi il-mazbūt bass ib‘at text messages la aṣḥābī yallī byihkū ‘arabi, aw la nās bī libnān izā kānū akbar minnī, aw mtha’afīn ktīr// ... afḍal iktub bil-‘arabi il-mazbūt, ... mish mitil ṭarī‘at il-chat il-libnāniyyi, izā kint ‘am biktub la ḥadan rassmī//

Yes, sometimes I write in proper Arabic when I send text messages to my other Arabic-speaking friends, or people in Lebanon who are older than me, or highly educated// ... It sounds better when you write in proper Arabic, .. Not like the Lebanese chat style, if you are addressing someone formally//

5.4.2. Interview Excerpts of Parent Participants

Excerpt (26) from the Interview with Dima, done at her home

(26) I: fikj t’ūlīlī please ayya kanālāt btiḥḍarj ‘al TV aktar il-‘aw’āt?

<Can you please tell me what TV channels do you watch most often?>

Dima: ana buḥḍar aktar shi il-kanālāt il-faḍā’iyyah il-libnāniyyeh mitil il-LBCI, wil-OTV, wil-Manār, wil-MTV//

<I mostly watch Lebanese satellite channels like LBCI, OTV, Al Manar, and MTV//>

I: laysh?

<Why?>

Dima: li'annu bħibb il-barāmij il-libnāniyyi aktar biktīr min il-barāmij il-inklīziyyi// ... blā'iyun bi sallū aktar wu bi himmūnī aktar// .. ya'nī byitnāssabu aktar ma' namaṭ ḥayātī, wu ihtimāmāti ka umm libnāniyyi// Matalan, ana ktīr bħibb il-tabikh il-libnānī, fa buḥḍar barāmij il-tabsh 'al kanālāt il-libnāniyyi// ... wu bħibb kamān iḥḍar il-barāmij il-tha'āfiyyah il-libnāniyyi, ta ḍall a'rif shu 'am bi ṣīr bī hawnīk bi libnān// ... wu kamān bħibb iḥḍar il-barāmij mitil, amar il-layl, wu bāb il-ḥārrah// ... bmūt fiyun hal barāmij//

<Because I like the Lebanese programs a lot more than the English programs// ... I just find them more fun and more interesting// ... They are more related to my lifestyle, and my interests as a Lebanese mother// For example, I love cooking Lebanese food, so I watch cooking programs on Lebanese TV channels// ... I also love watching the Lebanese cultural programs on TV, so I can stay aware of what goes on there in Lebanon// .. I also love the programs, like 'Amar il- llayl'< the moon at night>, and "Baab il- ḥarah" <The village's door>// ... I absolutely adore these programs//>

I: Btuḥḍarj barāmij 'arabiyyi ma' wlādik?

<Do you watch Arabic programs with your children?>

Dima: 'Th marrāt// ... bass lammā ḥuṭṭ il-kanālāt il-libnāniyyi, il-wlād biṣīr baddun yghayrūwa lal-inklīzī// ... bass fī ba'iq il-barāmij il-libnāniyyi biḥibbū yiḥḍaruwā, ... fa mniḥḍarā killnā ma' ba'iq wu ma' jawzī, ka'āylah, mitil bāb il-ḥarah, wu mā fī mitlū, wu shaqīqatān// ... aktar shi il-barāmij yallī bti't'alla' bi ḥayātnā ka libnāniyyi, wu 'arab// ... il-khaṣṣā bi mujtama'ātnā, wu ta'ālīdnā, wil mashākil yallī bi wājhuwā wlādnā, wu hayk 'uṣaṣ// ... ya'nī haydī il-barāmij furṣah ta nu'un ma' wlādnā, wu nā'ish ma'un il-nāḥyyah il-thaāfiyyha taba' hal barāmij// ... haydī ṭarī'a mniḥah ta nkhabbirun 'an iiyamnā il-libnāniyyi wil-tha'āfiyyah il-mhimmah//

<Yes sometimes// ... but whenever I put the Lebanese channels, kids want to change them to English//... But there are some Lebanese programs they like to watch, .. So we watch them altogether and with my husband, as a family, like 'Baab il-ḥarha' <The village's door>. and 'Mā fi mitlū' <Nothing like it>, and 'Shakikatān' <two sisters>// ... Mostly it's the programs that relate to our lives as Lebanese, and Arabs// ... About our societies, our traditions, the problems our children face, and so on// ... These programs are an opportunity to be with our children, and discuss the cultural dimension of these programs// ... It is a good way to tell them about our important Lebanese and cultural values//>

I: biḥissj innu wlādik byinsijmū aktar ma' il-barāmij il-inklīziyyi?

<Do you feel your children connect more with the English programs?>

Dima: bi'ti'id innun bi lā'uwun a'rab la ihtimāmātun wu hiwāyatun bi brīṭānyā// ... ibnī matalan, biḥibb yiḥḍar 'the apprentice', wu 'air crash investigation'// ... hal barāmij bti'jibū aktar min il-barāmij il-libnāniyyi//

< ... I think they find them more relevant to their interests and hobbies in Britain// ... My son for example, he likes to watch "the Apprentice", and "Air Crash investigations"// ,, He finds these programs more interesting than the Lebanese ones//>

I: wu shu btista'mlj bass tiḥkū 'al tilifūn aw ta'mlū chat 'al internet?

<What do you use when talking on the telephone or chatting online?>

Dima: mnista'mul kill yawm il-WhatsApp ta ntalfin la imī wu bayyī bi libnān// ... wlādī byiḥkū ma'un bass ykūnū 'am yit'ashū, bil aljlah shi tlātīn d't'a, kill yam// ... ya'nī tarī'a bi't'a'id tā yḍallū 'ala tawasul ma'un, win khabbirun 'an shu 'milnā bil-nḥār// ... ya'ni hal tarī'a bitkhalīnā nḍall mitwaṣlīm ma' il-ahil bi libnān, wu bitsā'id wlādnā yisma'ū wu yihkū 'arabi aktar// ... mā fīnā n'tish bil

ghirbah ba'a bala hal applications// ... sahhalit il-ṭshah ilnā wu la ahilnā bi libnān//

<We use WhatsApp every day to call my mum and dad in Lebanon// ... My kids speak to them when they are having dinner, for at least 30 minutes every day// ... It's a brilliant way to stay connected with them, and tell them about our day// ... It certainly keeps us connected with the family in Lebanon, and helps our children hear, and speak Arabic more often// ... we cannot live in the diaspora anymore without these applications// ... it made our life easier and that of our parents' in Lebanon//>

Excerpt (27) with the interview with Zaynab, a mother of three children aged 13, 11 and 9:

(27) I: Ayya kanālāt bitfaḍḍli tiḥdari bil-bayt?

<What channels do you prefer watching at home?>

Zaynab: 'i akid bḥibb iḥdar il-kanālāt il-'arabi//

<Ah for sure I love watching Arabic channels//>

I: laysh?

<Why?>

Zaynab: tabīṭī bil nissbī la ilī, li'annu il-'arabi lughtī il-umm// ... biḥkiyā, wu bifhamā, wu binsijim ma'ā wu ma' kill 'iyamā il-tha'āfiyyah, aktar bi ktīr mi il-inklīzi//

<It is normal for me to prefer Arabic programs, because firstly Arabic is my mother language// ... I speak it, and I understand it, and I connect with it and with all its cultural values, a lot more than I do with English//>

I: ya'nī ayya naw' barāmij btiḥḍarī?

<So what types of programs do you watch?>

Zaynab: bass kūn waḥdi bil-bayt biḥḍar il-musalsalāt// ... musalsalāt il-drāmā, ... wu barāmij il-ṭabikh// ... bass lammā yirja' jawzī min il-shughil, mniḥḍar aktart il-aw'āt il-akhbār 'al MTV wil-OTV// ... jawzī biḥibb il-siyāssīah ktīr, wu biḥibb ytābi' kill shi 'am yṣīr bi libnān// ... mā biḥibb yfawwit shi 'lay//

<When I am alone at home, I watch soap programs// .. Drama series, .. and cooking programs// ... But when my husband comes back home, we watch mostly news on 'Al-Manar' and "OTV"// ... My husband loves politics a lot, and he likes to remain up to date with everything that goes on in Lebanon// ... He does not like to miss a thing//>

I: wu wlādik? ayya kanalāt wu barāmij byuḥḍarū aktar shi?

<What about with your children? What channels and programs do they mostly watch?>

Zaynab: Wlādī kamān biḥibbū yuḥḍarū il-barāmij il-'arabiyyi ma'nā// ...fa bass nkūn killnā ka'ayli ā'dīn 'am nuḥḍar il-tilfisyūn, mnuḥḍar aktar il-aw'āt il-barāmij il-musalliyyah il-mahdūmah mitil bāb il-ḥārrah, wu mā fī mitlū, wu khallīk bil-bayt// Il-wlād bimūtū fiyun// Byintruwun mnātrah kill jum'a ta yuḥḍarū il-ḥal'āt// ... wu izā la shi sabab affūlun shi ḥal'a, bi nazzluwa min il-YouTube, ta yuḥḍaruwa bass yu'darū//

<My children also love watching Arabic programs with us// ... So when we are all sitting together as a family, and watching the TV, we often watch fun entertaining programs, like 'Baab il-ḥarah' <The village's door>, and 'Mā fi mitlū' <Nothing like it>, and 'Khallīk bil bayt' <Stay at home>// ... Kids adore them// ... They wait every week to watch these episodes// ... And if for any reason they miss one episode, they download it from YouTube, so they can watch it again whenever they can//>

I: Btī'tī'dī innu li'annik bitfaḍḍlī il-kanalāt il-'arabi, hal shi bi'athir 'ala ikhtiyarāt wlādik la kanalāt il-**TV**?

<Do you think your preference for Arabic channels can influence your children's choices for **TV** channels?>

Zaynab: 'i tab'an// ... il-wlād byit'atharū ktīr bi ahlun// ... wlādī bishūfūnā 'am nuḥḍar il-tilfizyūn il-'arabi kill ilwa'it, .. wu khṣūṣan bass yijū ahlī la 'innā min libnān// ... il-tilfizyūn bidall dāyir ala ṭūl// Ahlī mā byifhamū inkīzi, fa mā fī illā il-kanalāt il-'arabi // ... ana bi'tī'id innu wlādī t'awwadū yuḥḍarū il-barāmij il-'arabi 'al tilfizyūn// ... wu bil-tālī ṭhassanit lughitun il-'arabiyyi ktīr// ... ibnī Ahmad byuḥḍar ktīr il-**cartoon** 'ala il-MBC3// ... killun bil-fuṣḥa// ... izā bit'ārnī il-fuṣḥa taba'ū, ma' il-fuṣḥa taba' ḥayallā walad libnāniyyi min 'umrū bil-madrassi il-libnāniyyi, bitlā'iyā aḥsan bi ktīr min il-'arabi taba' aṣḥābū, li'annu naḥnā mnuḥḍar ktīr il-barāmij il-tilfizyūniyyah yallī bil-libnānī wu bil-fuṣḥa// ... Mā fiyyī illik addaysh hal ta'arruḍ la hal barāmij il-'arabiyyi sāadit ta ṭhassin il-'arabi taba' wlādī// ... wa'it shahir ramadān il-mubārak, killnā sawa mnu'ud ma' ba'ḍnā wu mnuḥḍar il-barāmij il-tha'āfiyyah wil-diyāniyyah yallī byu'rḍuwa khiṣṣan bi shahir ramadan// ... aktariyyitā bil-fuṣḥa// ... hal naw' min il-barāmij ktīr sā'adit wlādi yṣīrū yifhamū il-fuṣḥa aktar, wil 'iyam il-tha'āfiyyah wil-dīniyyah taba'nā//

<Ah of course// ... Children are influenced a lot by their parents// ... My children see us watching Arabic TV all the time, .. Especially when my parents visit us from Lebanon// ... Then the TV is always on// ... My parents do not understand English, so Arabic channels are the only option// ... So I guess my kids got used to watching TV programs in Arabic// ... And as a result, my children's Arabic has improved a lot// ... My son Ahmad watches a lot of cartoons on MBC3// ... They are all in Fusha// ... If you compare his Fusha, with any Lebanese child his age at the Lebanese school, you will see that his Arabic, is much better than the Arabic of his Lebanese friends, because we watch a lot of TV programs in Lebanese and Fusha// ... I cannot tell you how much this exposure to Arabic TV programs, has helped my

children improve their Arabic// ... During the Holy month of Ramdan, we all get together, and watch special cultural and religious programs broadcasted specifically in Ramadan// ... They are mostly in Fusha//... These types of programs, have greatly advanced my children's understanding of Fusha, and of our Lebanese cultural and ethical values//>

I: wu bass tiḥkī ma' ahlik 'al tilifūn, ayya lugha btista'mlī?

<And what language do you use when you speak on the telephone to your parents?>

Zaynab:

'arabi akīd//... ana wu wlādī wu bayt ḥmāyī bniḥkī 'al **Skype** kill yawm// ... killnā mniḥkī 'arabi ma' ba'id// Hal **applications** bi balāsh wu ṣārit jizi' min ḥayātnā hawn// ... bitkhallīnā nḍall 'ala tawaṣul ma' il-aḥibbah bi waṭanā il-ghālī// kattir khayr allah la hal ta'addum// Min dūnun, kinnā ḥassayna bi mrūrit il-ghirbah aktar bi ktīr//

<Arabic of course// ... My kids and I **Skype** my parents and in-laws every single day// ... We all speak Arabic together// ... These **applications** are free and became part of our lives here// ... They keep us connected with our beloved ones in our beloved country of origin// ... Thank God for such advancements// Without them, we would have felt the bitterness of living in the diaspora a lot worse//>

Excerpt (28) from the interview with Lili

(28) I: ayya kanalāt btiḥḍarī 'al TV aktar shi bil-bayt?

<What channels and TV programs do you mostly watch at home?>

Lili: biḥḍar aktar shi il-barāmij il-inklīziyyi//

<I mostly watch English programs//>

I: laysh?

<Why?>

Lili: biṣarāḥah, .. bḥiss innu aktariyyat il-barāmij il-libnāniyyi bitzahhi// ... hinnī aktar shi barāmij man'ūlah 'an il-barāmij il-inklīziyyi wil frinsāwiyyah, mitil 'The voice' or 'Dance with the Stars'// ... la shu uḥḍarun izā fiyyī uḥḍar il-aṣliyyīn bil-inklīzi aw il-frinsāwī//

<Quite frankly, .. I feel that most Lebanese programs are boring// ... They are mostly a replica of English or French programs, like "The voice" or "Dance with the Stars"// ... Why bother watching them if I can watch the original version in English or French//>

I: wil wldād? Byuḥḍarū barāmij 'arabiyyi 'al TV?

<What about your kids? Do they watch Arabic programs on TV?>

Lili: ktīr ktīr 'alī// ...mniḥḍar 'arabi bass lammā ytiḥ il-māmā la 'innā// ... bass ghayr hayk, ana wu jawzī minfaḍil il-kanalāt il-inklīziyyi// ... tha'āfiyyah aktar wu fiyya ma'lūmāt aktar min il-barāmij il-'arabiyyi// ... ḥatta il-maḍmūn il-tha'āfi taba'ā aḥsan, .. bil alīli mā byu'rḍū il-'unf mitil wlād 'am yit'arraḍū lal isā'a, aw 'am yin'atalū, .. aw majbūrīn yishtighlū// ... izā ftaḥtī ḥayalla kanāl 'arabi, bshārtik, .. bitshūfi ṣuwar wlād min kill il-bildān il-'arabiyyi 'am tibkī, aw ṭṣarrikh, aw 'am bitmūt, .. aw jabrīnun 'al shughul// ... hal ṣuwar ktīr miz'iji// ... mā baddī wlādī yshūfuwa, wu yṣīr ya'mlū kwābjss bil-layl bisababā// .. shu il-nafi' min hal shi//

<Very very rarely// ... We only do so when my mum visits us// ... But apart from that, my husband and I prefer English channels// ... They are more informative and educational than the Arabic ones//... Even their cultural content is better, .. at least they do not broadcast violence like children being

abused, or killed, .. or forced to work//... If you open any TV channel now in Arabic,.. I bet you,.. you will find pictures of children from all parts of the Arab world crying, screaming, dying, or out of school//... These pictures are very disturbing// ... I do not want my children to see them, and have nightmares about them// ... What 's the point in that//>

Excerpt (29) from the interview with Samar

(29) I: ayya lugha bitfaḍḍlī bass tu'rī kutub tarfīhiyyi aw btit'alla' bil-shughil?

<What language do you prefer when reading recreational books or in relation to your work?>

Samar: bi'rā aktar shi kutub inkīziyyi//

<I mostly read English books//>

I: laysh?

<Why?>

Samar: li'annu nammayt ḥubb il-muṭāla'a bil-inkīzi min wa'it mā kān 'umrī tlāt snīn// ... ahlī kānū yu'rūlī bil-bayt kutub Disney bil-inkīzi, wu bil madrassi kān 'annā bil maktabi aktar shi kutub bil inkīzi// ... wu bil jāma'a, kint u'rā aktar shi kutub inkīziyyi khaṣṣa bil majāl il-ṭubbī taba'tī// ... fa lammā jīt 'al UK, mā ghayyarit 'ādātī// Dallayt u'rā bil inkīzi//

<Because I developed this love for reading in English since I was three years old// ... My parents used to read to me at home Disney stories in English, .. And at school we used to have mostly English books in the library//... and at university, I mainly read English books in relation to my medical field//... So when I came to the UK, I did not change my habits// I kept reading in English//

I: btu'rī marrāt kutub bil-'arabi?

<Do you read sometimes Arabic books?>

Samar: akīd// bħibb u'rā bil 'arabi la Goubran, wu māy zyādi, wu amīn ma'lūf// ... iza ḥadan min aṣḥābi naṣaḥni bi shi ktāb bil-'arabi, dughri bishtri// ... bass kill addaysh 'il-kuttāb il-'arab byuṣḍru kutub ma'būli// ... 'Th, ..// inti ūlīli// ... il-kuttāb il-'arab mish mad'ūmīn bi uwwi bi mujtama'ātna// ... il-'arab mā bi addrū il-kutub// ... naḥna manna ummi biṭḥib il-muṭāla'a// ... min shān hayk, la kill 'ashir kutub bil-inklīzi, bu'rā ktāb aw ktābayn bil-'arabi kill il-sini// ... shi mussif// ... bass haydā huwwī wā'i'nā il-biḥazzin//

<Of course// I love reading for Goubran, and May Ziadé, and Ameen Maalouf in Arabic// ... If a friend recommends to me a good book in Arabic, I buy it straight away//... But how often do we get Arab authors publishing decent books// ... Yes, .. You tell me// ... Arab writers are not very supported in our societies// ... Arabs do not appreciate books// ... We are not a nation that loves reading// That's why, for every 10 books in English, I read 1 or 2 books in Arabic for the entire year// ... Shame// ... But that is our sad reality//>

I: wu wlādik? shu bifaḍḍlū?

<What about your kids/? What do they prefer?>

Samar: [haha] akīd il-inklīzi// ... bħirtāḥū aktar yu'rū wu yifhamū il-kutub yallī bil inklīzi// ... bass bil-'arabi, ... mā byi'darū yu'rū kutub waḥḍun// ... byistaṣ'bū// ... mā byifhamū il-maḍmūn izā mā sā'adnāhun

<[laugh] Of course English//... They are more confident in reading and understanding English books// ... But Arabic, .. they cannot read books in Arabic alone// They will struggle// ... They will not understand the content if we do not help them//>

I: btu'rīlun kutub bil-'arabi?

<Do you read to them Arabic books?>

Samar: bil-wā'i' la'// ... kint lammā kānū ṣkhār, .. bass halla' battalit//

<Actually, no// ... I used to when they were little, .. But now I don't anymore//>

Excerpt (30) from the interview with Johnny (a practising doctor in London) done in a coffee shop close to his work

(30) I: doctor Johnny, ayya lugha bitfaḍil bass tu'rā kutub tarfīhiyyi aw ila 'ilā'a bi shughlak?

<Dr Johnny, What language do you prefer when reading for leisure and in relation to your work?>

Johnny: aktar shi bu'rā bil inkīzi//

<I mostly read in English//>

I: laysh?

<Why/?>

Johnny: li'annu lāzam dall up to date ma' kill il-manshūrāt yallī 'am tuṣdur bil-ḥa'il il-ṭubbī// ... wu aktariyyatā, izā mish killā, btuṣdur bil-gharib, wu maktūbī bil-inkīzi// ... ya'nī lāzim u'riyun bil-inkīzi// ... wa'allā, biḍṭar untur ta ḥatta titarjam lal 'arabi, ... wu hal shi yimkin yākhud wa'it ktīr ṭawīl// Bī hal wa'it, bitkūn il-ma'lūmāt khulṣit 'īmatā// ... fī taṭawwurat jdīdi bitṣīr dāyman bil-ḥa'il il-ṭubbī//

<Because I need to stay up to date with the publications that occur in the medical field//... Most, if not all of these publications, happen in the West,

and are written in English// ... I have to read them in English//... Otherwise, I would have to wait for them to get translated into Arabic, .. And this may take a very long time// by which time, .. The information will become out of date//... There are new advances in the medical field on a continuous basis//>

I: wu bass tu'rā il-kutub il-tarfīhiyyi?

<What about in relation to recreational books?>

Johnny: bilwā'i', bu'rā kamān bil-inklīzi// ... bass kint 'āyish bī libnān, kint u'rā min wa'it la wa'it kam ktāb 'arabi, bass ḥatta bi wa'tā, ... aktariyyat qirā'ātī kānit bil inklīzi// ... yimkin khaṣṣū hal shi bil **educational system** yallī tla'āytu bi libnān, wu bi tafḍīli lal 'rāyi bil-inklīzi min awwal iyyāmi bil maddrassi//

<Actually, I also read in English// ... When I used to live in Lebanon, I used to read from to time, some books in Arabic, but even then, .. most of my readings were in English//... I guess it has to do with the **educational system** I received in Lebanon, and my early reading preference from school//>

I: wil wlād? ayya lugha bi faḍḍlū lal 'rāyi?

<What about your kids? What language do they prefer for reading?

Johnny: ṭab'an il-inklīzi// ... hinnī mḥāwṭīn bil-manshūrāt il-inklīziyyi wayn mā kān// 'al internet, bil-madrassi, bil-shawāri', wayn mā kān// ... bass il-'arabi, .. ghayr mā tu'rī ktāb ma'un bil bayt, wu tfassrīlun il-maḍmūn bil-libnānī, aw bil-inklīzi, .. mā byu'darū Abadan yu'rū hal kutub waḥḍun, wu yunbustū fiyun// ... yimkin yu'darū yu'rūwun, bass mish yifhamu'wun wu yunbustū fiyun// ... after all, ahamma shi bil-qirā'a hiyyi innu il-wāḥad yḥiss bi lizzi//

<English for sure// ... They are surrounded by English publications everywhere// On the Internet, at school, in the street, everywhere// ... But

Arabic, .. Unless you read a book with them at home, and explain the content to them in LA, or English, .. They will never be able to read these books alone, and enjoy them//... They may be able to read, but not understand and enjoy// ... After all, enjoyment is the whole point of reading//>

Excerpt (31) from the interview with Amal

(31) I: ayya lugha bitfaḍḍilī la jamī‘ qira’ātik?

<What language do you prefer for all your reading purposes?>

Amal: Akīd bfaḍḍil il-‘arabi//

<I surely prefer Arabic//>

I: laysh?

<Why?>

Amal: li’annu il-‘arabi lugha mu‘abbira aktar, wu biḥāki il-mashā’ir aktar min ayya lugha tānyi// ... akīd akīd aktar min il-inklīzi// ... bass u’rā la jigbrān, aw mkhāyil n’aymī, aw amīn ma’lūf, aw lyāss il-khūrī yallī bmūt fī, aw iskandar najjār, ... bḥiss ḥālī ruḥt ‘ala dinyi jdīdi// ... bḥiss ma’ kill kilmi bil-‘arabi wu binsijim ma’ā// ... mā blā’ī hal insijām ma’ il-lugha il-inklīziyyi// ... blā’iya mish ghaniyyi wu mu‘abbira add il-‘arabi// ... il-inklīzi mā biḥarrikī mashā’ri//

<Because the Arabic language is a lot more expressive, and more emotional than any other language// ... Definitely more than English// ... When I read Goubran, or Michael Neaimé, or Ameen Maalouf, or my favourite Elias Khoury, or Alexander Najjar,.. I just feel transported to a whole new world// ... I feel and connect with every single word in Arabic// ... I don’t have this connection with the English language// ... I just find it less rich, less exciting than Arabic// ... English does not turn my emotions on//>

I: wu wlādik? shu bifaḍlū lal qirā'a?

<What about your kids' preferences for reading?>

Amal: izā 'am yu'rū shi khaṣṣū bil madrassi, inkīzi// ... bass izā 'am yu'rū lal-tassliyi, bintj yallī 'umrā saba'tashar sinni, ballashit tu'rā kutub bil-'arabi na'aytillā yāhun, .. maghrūmi bi ṣakhrit ṭānyus lā amīn ma'lūf// ... iza fī shi kilmi ma btifhama, btis'alni, wu bfassirla 'laya// ... wu kamān btista'mul Google lal tarjami 'ala il-shāshi yallī bayn idaya// ... ktīr 'am tiltazz bi 'rāyit il-uṣaṣ il-'arabiyyi halla'// ... yimkin hayda maf'ūlī 'laya [haha]

<If they read in relation to school, it's English//... But if they read for leisure, my daughter who is 17 years, has just started reading Arabic books that I have selected for her,.. She is falling in love with "ṣakhrit Tānyus" for Amin Maalouf (Tanios' Rock)// ... If she does not understand a word, she asks me, and I explain it to her// ... She also uses Google translate on the tablet between her hands// ... She is really enjoying reading Arabic novels now// ... I guess it's my influence on her [laugh]>

I: shu bass tu'rī il-akhbār? Ayya lugha bitfaḍlī?

<What about reading news? What language do you prefer?>

Amal: bil nissbī ilī il-'arabi akīd// Ana bihimnī aktar a'rif shu 'am yṣīr bi libnān wu bil shar' il-awsaṭ, min mā a'rif shu 'am yṣīr bi inkaltrā, aw bi ūrūbā, aw bi amīrkā// ... bass u'rā jarāyid 'arabiyyi, fiyyī a'rif mukhtalaf wujhāt il-naẓr il-siyāsiyyi, wu kawwin ra't il-shakhṣī lal umūr// ... bass lammā u'rā jarāyid inkīziyyi, ḥatta law kānit bti'talla' bil awḍā' bil shar' il-awsaṭ, .. bhiss innun killun minhāzīn// ... mā bhiss innī bi'dar uḥṣal 'ala ra't ṣarīḥ// ... killun byiktubū uṣaṣun ta yubsuṭū isra'īl, wu amīrkā, wu brīṭānyā// ... mā bi'ulu il-ḥa't'a mitil mā hiyyi// ... Fa mā bit'azzab// ... bu'rā bass il-jarāyid il-'arabiyyi//

<For me, it is Arabic indeed// I am more concerned about what goes on in Lebanon and the Middle East, than about England, or Europe, or America//... When I read Arabic newspapers, I can access different political views, and formulate my own opinion about things// ... But when I read English newspapers, even if it is something related to the situations in the Middle East, .. I just feel it is all biased// ... I do not feel I can get an honest opinion// ... They all write their own stories that please Israel, and America, and Britain//... They do not say the truth as it is// ... So I just don't bother// ... I just read Arabic newspapers//

I: wu wlādik/? shu bifaḍḍlū?

<And your children? What do they prefer?>

Amal: shūfī, ibnī yallī ṣār 'umrū arba'ta'shar sinnī, byu'rā il-akhbār bil inkīzi, 'ala talifūnū, bass mā byu'rā ktīr 'arabi// ... bass bintī yallī 'umrā tmānta'shar sinnī, biḥibb tu'rā il-akhbār il-'arabiyyi, ta tifham shu 'am yṣīr mazbūṭ bi baladā// ... biḥibb il-siyāssi, .. wu biḥiss innu ḍarūrī tu'rā il-jarāyid il-'arabiyyi ta tifham bil zabṭ shu 'am bi ṣīr hunīk// ... bass kamān, .. btu'rā il-akhbār il-inkīziyyi, li'annu, .. biḥibb tdall ta'rif shu 'am bī ṣīr hawn kamān//

<Listen, my son who is 14 years, reads English news on his telephone, but he does not read much Arabic//... But my daughter who is 17years, she loves to read Arabic news, to understand what goes on in her country of origin// ... She likes politics, .. And she feels it is very necessary to read Arabic newspapers, to understand exactly what's happening there// ... But also, .. She reads English news, because, .. She likes to remain aware of what goes on here too//>

Excerpt (32) from the interview with Maryam, done at her home

(32) I: ayya lugha btista'mlī aktar shi bass tib'atj **text messages** la aṣḥābik wu afrād il-'ayli?

<What language do you use mostly when text messaging your friends and family members?>

: Bista'mil kalimāt libnāniyyi bass biktibā bil inkīlīzi//

<I use Lebanese words but I write them in English//>

I: laysh?

<Why?>

Maryam: li'annu haydī il-mūḍa halla', btista'mlī kalimāt libnāniyyi, bass mā btiktbiyā bil 'arabi, btiktbiyā bil-aḥruf il-inkīlīziyyi// ... bi libnān haydī il-ṭarī'a dārji aktar minmā tiktbi bil 'arabi// ... il-jīl il-jdīd bifakkir innik raj'iyyi izā katabti bil aḥruf il-'arabiyyi//

<Because that's the new fashion now, you use Lebanese words, but you don't write them in Arabic, you write them in English letters// ... It is trendier in Lebanon to write this way than in proper Arabic//... The young generation thinks you are old-fashioned if you write in Arabic letters//>

I: btib'ati shi text messages bil inkīlīzi?

<Do you send text messages in English?>

Maryam: 'Th, bass mish la aṣḥābī wu 'āyiltī bī libnān// ... aṣḥāb ilī 'abbir 'an ḥālī bil 'arabi, wu hinnī yriddū 'lāyīt bil 'arabi// ... bass lammā ib'at text messages la ḥadan hawn bī lundun, ... mitil il-madrassi, aw shakhiṣ inkīlīzi, sā'itā akīd biktub il-kalimāt bil inkīlīzi il-mazbūṭ//

<Yes, but not to my friends and family in Lebanon//... It's more comfortable for me to express myself in Arabic, and for them to write back to me in Arabic// ... But when I have to send text messages to someone here in

London,.. Like the school, or an English person, then for sure I write the words in proper English//>

I: wil wlād?

<What about your kids?>

Maryam: wlādī byiktbū kalimāt libnāniyyi bil aḥruf il-inklīziyyi, bass kamān byu'drū yiktbū bil 'arabi il-fuṣṣa izā baddun// ...mbārī', ibnī yallī 'umrū 'ashir snīn, akhad tilifūnī, wu ba'at text message la ibin ukhtī bī libnān wu sta'mal kalimāt libnāniyyi bil aḥruf il-inklīziyyi, wu katablū {shta2tillak ktir Noni 7abibi, 2aymta baddak tiji la 3anna?}... Fa shiftī, byista'mil il-kalimāt il-libnāniyyi bass byiktibā bil-aḥruf il-inklīziyyi il-khāṣṣa bil chatting il-libnānī, mitil ma ana ba'mul bass ib'at **text messages** la immī aw khayyātī bi libnān// ... ana ktīr fakhūrah fī, ... li'annu 'am bi jarrib y'abbir 'an 'ālū bil-libnānī, ḥatta law katab bil-inklīzi mā bi athir, ... ṭāl ma 'am yista'mul kalimāt 'arabi, mish il-murādif taba'ā bil inkīzi// ... bifaḍil hal naw' min il-tiknūlūgyā will **text messaging** ṣār wlādī fiyun ydallū 'ala tawaṣul ma' 'ayltī, wu aṣḥābun bi libnān// ... hal tiknūlūgya 'aẓīmah, 'an jadd 'am bitsā'id kill yalli 'āyshīn barrāt libnān, yḍallu 'rāb min yalli bi ḥibbuwun bi libnān, wu bi kilfī ma'būli//

<My kids write Lebanese words in English letters, but they can also write in Fusha Arabic if they want// ... Yesterday, my ten year old son took my phone, and sent a **text message**, to my nephew in Lebanon, using Lebanese words in special English letters, and wrote to him {shta'tillak ktir nūnī ḥabībī aymta baddak tiji la'innā?}{shta2tillak ktir noni 7abibi2aymta baddak tiji la 3anna?}

< I miss you a lot my dear Noni, when are you going to visit us?>...

So you see, .. He uses Lebanese words but writes them in the English letters, that are specific to Lebanese chatting, just like I do when I send text messages to my mum or my sisters// ... I am very happy and proud of him, .. Because he is trying to express himself in Lebanese, even if he writes in English it doesn't matter, .. As long as he uses Arabic words, not the

equivalent ones in English// ... Thanks to this type of technology and **text messaging**, my children can now stay in touch with my family, and their friends in Lebanon// This technology is amazing, it is really helping all those who live outside Lebanon, stay close to their beloved ones in Lebanon, and at affordable costs//>

Excerpt (33) from the interview with Lana

(33) I: ayya lugha bitfaḍlī bass tib'atī text messages la aṣḥābik?

<What language do you prefer for text messaging your friends?>

Lana: ana bfaḍḍil il-inklīzi//

< I prefer writing in English//>

I: btu'ṣdī innik btiktbī kalimāt bil inklīzi aw kalimāt libnāniyyi bil aḥruf il-rūmāniyyi?

<Do you mean you write English words or Lebanese words in Roman letters?>

Lana: āh la', bu'ṣud bista'mul kalimāt libnāniyyi mitil marḥabā {mar7aba} bass biktibā bil aḥruf il-rūmāniyyi, mish bil 'arabi il-maẓbūt, ... mitil il 'arabi il-fuṣḥa aṣḍi//

<Ah no, I mean I use Lebanese words like 'Mar7aba' (Hello) but I write them in Roman letters, not in formal Arabic, .. like Fusha Arabic I mean//>

I: lasy bitfaḍlī tib'atī text messages bil libnānī?

<Why do you prefer sending text messages in Lebanese?>

Lana: mā ba‘rif// Bħiss hal shi ṭabī‘ī aktar la ilī// ... fiyyī ‘abbir aktar ‘an il-kalimāt yallī baddī ūlā bi lughtī il-umm, wu aṣḥābī bi libnān byifhamuwa aktar// ... laysh nista‘mil il-inklīzi izā fīnā niktub shu badnā n’ūl bil-libnānī// ... min zamān, mā kān fīnā niktub bil-libnānī// ... kinnā mīdṭarrin nista‘mul kalimāt ‘arabi wu niktibā bil fuṣḥa// ... bass halla’ ṣār ktīr ma‘būl niktub bil-libnānī// shu ḥilū hal shi// Ya rayt fīnā kamān niktub bil libnānī bass nib‘āt rassāyil rassmiyyi// ... kān hal shi bi sahhil ḥayatnā aktar bi ktīr// Bass la sū’ il-ḥaz, .. hal shi ba‘dū mish ma‘būl bi mujtama‘ātna il-‘arabiyyi// ... il-**text messaging** mish rassmī, min shān hayk ma‘būl nista‘mil il-libnānī// ... bass lal **emails** wil rassāyil il-kitābiyyi, la’ mish ma‘būl niktub bil-libnānī// Majbūrīn niktub bil-‘arabi il-mazbūt, aṣḍī bil ‘arabi il-fuṣḥa//

< I do not know// I just feel it is more natural for me// ... I can express my words better in my own native language, and my friends in Lebanon will understand it better// ... Why use English if we can now write what we say in Lebanese// ... Years ago, we could not write in Lebanese// ... We had to use Arabic words and write them in Fusha Arabic// ... But now it is perfectly acceptable to write in LA// How lovely is that// I wish we could write LA when sending formal messages as well// ... That would make our lives much easier// But sadly, .. it is still not acceptable in our Arab societies// ... **Text messaging** is informal, so it’s acceptable to use LA// ... but for **emails** and writing letters, no it’s not acceptable to write in LA// ... We are forced to write in proper Arabic, I mean Fusha Arabic//>

I: wu wlādik? Ayya lugha bi faḍlū bass yib‘atū **text messages**?

<What about your kids’ preference for **text messages**?>

Lana: wlādī halla’ ṣār ‘indun mūbaylāt taba‘un// ... bshūfun ‘am yib‘atū **text messages** la ahlī wu khayyī wu wlādū bil libnānī// ... bass lammā yib‘atū **messages** la aṣḥābun bil madrassi byiktbū bil inklīzi// Wu ḥatta marrāt byiktbū il **message** nuṣṣū bil-inklīzi wu nuṣṣū bil-libnānī, izā kānū ‘am ya‘mlū **chatting** ma’ aṣḥābun bi libnān// ... byukhlutū il-lughtayn ma’ ba‘idā [haha]

<My kids have their own mobile phones now// ... So I see them sending text messages to my parents and my brother and his children in LA// ... But when they text their friends at school they write in English// Even sometimes they write the message half in English and half in LA, if they are chatting to their friends in Lebanon// ... They mix the two languages together [laugh]>

5.5 Children's proficiency in both Arabic (LA and MSA) and English

Excerpt (34) from the Interview with Teresa, an Arabic GCSE schoolteacher at a Lebanese Complementary School in London

(34) I: shu ra'yik bi maharāt il-talamīz bil-lugha il-'arabiyyi il-fuṣḥa?

<What do you think of the students' ability in the Fusha Arabic language?>

Teresa: biṣarāḥa, il-natāij bī madrasitna ilā kaza sinnah 'am tkūn 'azīmah// Mu'zam tlāmīznā 'am yjībū A aw A star bil imtiḥānāt il-'arabi il-rassmiyyah taba' il-GSCE// ... wu hal imtiḥānāt mish naḥnā min ḥuttā// Haydah imtiḥānāt rassmiyyah biḥuttā majālis il-imtiḥānāt il-barīṭāniyyah mitil il-Edexcel// Ya'nī il-mustawayāt 'ālyah// ... tlāmīznā 'am yitnāfasū mā' ghayr madāris bit'allim il-'arabi hawn bi brīṭānyā, wu 'am yuḥṣalū 'ala 'alāmāt mumtāzah// ... hal 'alāmāt bikhallūnī ṣaddi', innu kill mā kubrū tlāmīznā wu t'arraḍū aktar lal 'arabi il-fuṣḥa min khilāl il-barāmij il-tilfizyūniyyah, wil-ta'arruf 'ala nās btiḥki 'arabi, wil siyāḥah bī bildān 'arabiyyi, biṣīrū ashtar bil-fuṣḥa, wu tiḥassan maharātun ktīr bī jamī' il-nawāḥī, bass aktar shi bil-qirā'a wil kitābah// ... il-ḥakī ba'dū aṣ'ab jiāmi' la kill il-tlāmīz, yimkin li'annu bil bayt byiḥkū il-dārij mish il-fuṣḥa akīd// ... bass lammā n'ārin tlāmīz yallī umrun bayn il14 wu 15 sinnah, bi tlāmīz umrun bayn il 8-12 sinnah, bitshūfī fari' kbīr bī mustawāhun// ... il-aṣghar anja' byi'darū yu'rū il-fuṣḥa ḥatta law kān in-naṣṣ mḥarrak, wu anja' byi'darū yiktbū jimlah aw jimlatayn izā mā kānū mḥaḍrīnun// ... izā 'rītīlun uṣṣah bil 'arabi il-fuṣḥa, mu'zam il-tlāmīz mā byi'drū yifhamuwa illā izā fassartīlun yāha bil 'arabi il-libnānī// ... bass yallī bi'ajjib, innūn fiyun yiktbū 'arabi aḥsan minmā yu'rū aw yifhamū// Ana biftikir

innu il-wlād bass ykūnū ṣghār, mā bikūnū mḥammasīn yit'allamī il-'arabi bī hal balad// ... byijū 'al maddrassi bass ta yshūfū aṣḥābun, wu yil'abū, wu aktar shi li'annu ahlun baddun yāhun yit'allamū 'arabi// mish li'annu hinnī baddun yit'allamū il-'arabi//... mā byifhamū addaysh mhimmm innu il-wāḥad yit'alam il-'arabi// ...bass lammā yinḍajū wu yikbarū aktar, bi ballshū yshūfū addaysh mhimmm innu il-wāḥad yḥassin mahārātū bil-'arabi, wu biṣīrū ya'rfū addaysh il-'arabi ilū manāfi' wu fiyū ya'tiyun mīzāt akādīmiyyi bitmayyizun aktar 'an ghayrun// ... bil natījah il-'arabi min ahamm lughāt il-'alam hal iyyām// ... naḥnā lāzim n'akkid 'ala hal ni'tah la tlāmīznā// ... fa na'am, bwāfi' innu mu'zam il-tlāmīz 'indun mahārāt 'ālyi bil 'arabi il-fuṣḥa, bass mish min 'umr zghīr// ma fiki t'ārni mustawāhun bil fuṣḥa ma' mustawāhun bil-inklīzi mathalan, li'annu il-inklīzi byit'allamu kill yawm bil maddrassi// il-'arabi bass yawm il-sabt// ... fa mish kāfi ta ḥatta yṣīr 'andun kafā'āt kāmli, mitil il-tlāmīz il-libnāniyyi bī libnān//

Teresa: Quite frankly, the results in our school here have been brilliant for the past few years//... Most of our students achieve an A or A star grade in their official GCSE Arabic examinations// ... And these exams are not set by us// they are formal exams set by British exams boards, such as Edexcel// .. so the standards are high// ... Our students compete with other Arabic teaching schools here in Britain, and achieve excellent grades// ... These grades lead me to believe, that as our students grow and gain more exposure to Fusha Arabic through TV programs, acquaintance with other Arabic speakers, and tourism in Arabic speaking countries, they become more fluent in Arabic Fusha, and their abilities improve significantly in all areas, but mostly in reading and writing// ... Speaking remains the most difficult part for all students, probably because at home they speak LA and not Fusha of course// ... But when we compare students between 14 and 16 years, with the younger ones aged between 8-12 years, you see a big disparity in their level// ... The younger ones can hardly read Fusha even if the text is marked, and they can barely write one or two sentences if they have not prepared for it// ... If you read them a story in Fusha Arabic, most students will not understand it unless you explain it to them in LA// ... But interestingly, they can write Arabic better than they can read it or understand

it// I think that when children are younger, they are not motivated to learn Arabic in this country// ... They just come to school to see their friends, and play, and mainly because their parents want them to learn Arabic// not because they want to learn Arabic// ... They do not understand the great value of learning Arabic// ... But as they mature and become older, they start to realise the great importance of developing high competence in Arabic, and understand all the benefits and academic advantages Arabic can give them// ... After all, Arabic is one of the most important languages in today's age// ... We always emphasise this point to our students// ... So yes, I agree that most students have high competence in MSA, but not from a young age// You cannot compare their MSA level with their English for example, because they learn English at school every single day// Arabic, only on Saturday// ... So not enough to develop full competence, like Lebanese children in Lebanon//

Excerpt (35) from the Interview with Souraya, an Arabic schoolteacher for 11-12 year old children at another Lebanese Complementary school in London

(35) I: kīf fīki tūṣfīlī kafa'āt tlāmīzīk bil-fuṣḥa min nāḥiyat il-qirā'a, wil-fihim, wil-kitābi wil-ḥakī?

<How would you describe your students' abilities in reading, comprehension, writing and speaking MSA?>

Souraya: tlāmīznā hawn maharātun ktīr 'ālyi bi jamī' il-nawāḥī bil-lugha il-fuṣḥa// Hayda li'annu mnākhud ta'līm il-'arabi bi jaddiyi awiyyi, min awwal mā yijū il-wlād 'al madrasitnā, min 'umr zghīr//... byijū il-wlād 'al madrassi kill yawm sabit min il-sā'a tiss'a ḥatta il-sā'a arba'a ba'ḍ il-ṭuhir, mitil yawm 'ādī bil maddrassi il-inklīziyyi// ... min darrisun arba' sā'āt 'arabi fuṣḥa, wu sā'tayn ta'ālīm qurāniyyi, bass mish ilzāmiyyi lal kill il-talāmīz// Bass yallī byidrusū il-ta'ālīm il-qurāniyyi faka'ātun bil-'arabi afdal min yallī mā byidrusū il-ta'ālīm il-qurāniyyi, ḥatta min 'umr zghīr// ... hawn bī madrasitnā, tlāmīznā byuḥṣalū 'ala natayij mumtāzi bī imtiḥānāt il-GCSE wu imtiḥānāt il-A level bil-lugha il-

‘arabiyyi// Mā ḥadan bijīb a’all min B a’nnā// Ya’nī min il-badīhī innu il-ahālī yallī byid’amū wlādun ta yita’llamū ‘il-lugha il-‘arabiyyi bil-bayt, mathalan byu’rū uṣṣaṣ bil-‘arabi la wlādun, bi shaj’ū wlādun yu’rūlun bil ‘arabi wi fassrūlun muḥtawā il-uṣṣaṣ, bi nā’shu mawāḍī’ khāṣṣa bi mujtama’ātna il-‘arabiyyi wu tha’āfitna, wlādun byitfawwa’ū ‘ala ill-tlāmīz yallī byiktifū bass bi innun yiju ‘al madrassi yawm il-sabit// ... li’annu kill shi il-wāḥad baddu yit’allamu baddu juhūd min ibal il-tlāmīz, wil ahil, wil maddrassi//... ya’nī haydī hiyyī il-rakā’iz il-thulāthiyyi il-asāsiyyi lal ta’allum//

<Our students here have very good abilities in all areas of Fusha Arabic// This is because we take our Arabic teaching very seriously, from when schidren join our school, from a young age// ...Children come to school on Saturday all day from 9 am until 4 pm, just like a normal day at the English school// ... We teach them four hours of Fusha Arabic, and two hours of Quranic studies, but they are not compulsory for everyone// But those who do learn Quranic studies have better competence in Arabic than those who do not, even from a young age// ... Here at our school, our students achieve excellent grades in the GCSE and A level Arabic examinations// No one gets below B here// ... Needless to say that those parents who support their children’s Arabic learning at home, such as read Arabic books to their children, encourage their children to read to them and explain the content of the story, help them with their Arabic homework, discuss topics related to our Arab societies and culture, outperform their counterparts who are just contented to attend Saturday school// ... because any learning requires efforts from the student, the parents and the school// These are the three main pillars of sound learning//>

I: ba’d mā wazza’it il-questionnaire ‘ala ba’ḍ il-talāmīz il-libnāniyyi bī lundun, tbayyanlī min ajwibat il-tlāmīz innu kafa’ātun bil-‘arabi il-fuṣṣa ktīr ‘ālyah? Hal bitwāf’j ‘ala hal taṣrīḥāt?

<Following the questionnaires I distributed to some Lebanese children in London, most children reported very high proficiency level in Fusha Arabic? Do you agree with these statements?>

Souraya: ana mish mistaghribi abadan// La farjaytik il-sughul il-kitābī taba‘ ba‘iḍ talāmīznā yallī ‘umrun bayn 11 1u 12 sinnah, aw law tsamma’tī ‘ala kam wāḥah ‘am yu’rā, kintī t’akkadti bi thātil innu tlāmīznā ‘indun kafa’āt ktīr awiyyah bil ‘arabi il-fuṣḥa// ... faithan na’am, ana bwāfi’ ‘ala il-ajwibi yallī ‘atuwā il-tlāmīz// Ana mā fiyyī akkid ‘ala ajwibat ghayr tlāmīz, bass ana wāth’ jiddan min il-ajwibat yallī ‘atuwā tlāmīznā// Tlāmīznā il-ṣibyān wil banāt, ‘andun faka’āt awiyyi jiddan bil fuṣḥa//

<I am not surprised at all// If I showed you some of the written work done by our 11 and 12-year-old students, or if you listened to some of them read, you can conclude for yourself that our children are very competent in Arabic Fusha// ... So yes, I agree with the children’s reported answers// I am not sure about other children, but I am very confident about the answers reported by our students// Our boys and girls students, have very good abilities in Fusha//>

I: bi ra’yik mu‘ṭam il-talāmīz maharātun awiyyah bi jamī‘ majalāt il-fuṣḥa?

<In your opinion do most students develop high proficiency in all areas of Fusha Arabic?>

Souraya: shūfi, akīd bi majāl il-ḥakī mish ‘wāyah add il-kitābah wil qirā’a// Li’annu fī naw‘ayn min il-‘arabi, naw’ mkhaṣṣaṣ lal qirā’a wil kitābah, wu nawn tātī mkhaṣṣaṣ la gharad il-muḥādathāt il-shafahiyyi// Bil bayt mathalan, il-tlāmīz byihkū ‘iddat lahjāt ‘arabi mitil il ‘arabi il-sūrī, wil ‘arabi il-libnānī, wil ‘arabi il-falastīnī, bass mā ḥadan byihkī il-‘arabi il-fuṣḥa bil bayt kill il wa’it// ... yimkin yukhlutū il-‘arabi il-dārij wil ‘arabi il-fuṣḥa ma’ ba’dun, bass mā byista’milū il-fuṣḥa ‘ala ṭūl//... minshān hayk, ana bi’ti’id innu il-ḥakī taba’un ba’dū aḍ’af, mu’āranatan ma’ maharātun bi majalāt il-qirā’a’h wil kitābi//... khallīnī ḍīf shi kamān, ḥatta bi libnān, mu‘ṭam il-tlāmīz mā bya’rfū yihkū fuṣḥa bi shūli// Ya’nī ka’annik ‘am tuṭlubi min mu’ṣam il-tlāmīz hawn bī brīṭānyā yihkū il-inklīzi taba’ Shakespeare// ma bzunn innun byu’daru//

<Listen, of course the speaking component is not as advanced as writing and reading// This is because Arabic has two varieties, one reserved for reading and writing purposes, and another one for oral communications// At home for instance, these students speak different Arabic dialects like Syrian Arabic, and Lebanese Arabic, and Palestinian Arabic, but no one speaks Fusha Arabic at home all the time// ... they may mix the colloquial arabic and the Fusha Arabic together, but they do not use Fusha all the time//... This is why, I believe that their abilities in speaking remain behind, when compared with their abilities in reading and writing// ... Let me add something too, that even in Lebanon, most children do not speak Fusha Arabic fluently// ... It is like asking most children here in Britain to speak Shakespearean English// I doubt they can//>

Interview Excerpts used in Chapter 6

6.2 Participants' attitudes towards LA, MSA, and English

6.2.1 Interview Excerpts of Children participants

Excerpt (36) from the Interview with Yasmina (16 year-old girl)

(36) I: fīki tfassrīlī shu ra'yik bil 'arabi il-libnānī?

<Can you explain to me what do you think of LA?>

Yasmina: il-'arabi il-libnānī ktīr mhimmi la ilī wu la 'āylī// Awwalan, hiyyā il-lugha il-assāsiyyah yallī mnista'milā ta ni'kī ma' tītā wu jiddū bi libnān, wu ma' arāyibnā, wu khwālnā wu khalātnā, wu kill il-'āylī hūnīk// ... Mish killun bya'rfū yiḥkū inklīzi, minnun bya'rfū bass minnun t'allamū fransāwī bil madrassi, fa il-inklīzi taba'un mkassar// ... mishān hayk, ktīr mhimmi innī iḥkī 'arabi mnīḥ, ta a'rif 'abbir 'an ḥālī bass kūn bi libnān, wu kamānā, ana bḥiss innu 'ayb kbīr la kill wāḥad libnānī mā ykūn ya'rif lughtū il-aṣliyyah, li'annū sā'itā yimkin il-tawāṣul ma' il-libnāniyyīn il-aṣṣliyyīn yin'uṭī// ... Wu kamānā,

kill il-wlād bi libnān byihkū lughtayn aw tlātah, fa laysh naḥnā hawn bi lundun mā baddnā ni'dar niḥkī lughtayn aw tlātī// ... ana shakhṣiyyan, raḥ a'mul il-mustaḥīl ta 'allim wlādi bil musta'bal il-'arabi// .., baddī yāhun ya'rfū yiḥkū 'arabi ma' kill 'āylī, wu aṣḥābī, wil nās yallī bi ḍay'itī bi libnān//... ya'nī bass il-wāḥad yiḥkī lughtū il-umm ma' afrād il-'āylī, bikūn il-rābiṭ bayn il wlād wil ahil, wil arāyib, wil sitt wil jidd, a'wah bi ktir// Wlik ḥatta il-hadīth biṣīr mhimmm aktar wu 'amī' aktar izā il-kill bya'rif yiḥkī 'arabi mnīḥ//

<LA it is very important to me and my family// Firstly, it is the main language I use to communicate with my grandparents in Lebanon, and with my cousins, uncles, and auntie, and all the family there// ... They don't all speak good English, some do but some learnt French at school, so their English is broken// ... For this main reason, I feel it is very important to be fluent in LA, so I can express myself better when I am in Lebanon, and also, it think it is a real shame for any Lebanese not to speak the native language, because then communications with native Lebanese people may break// ... Besides, all kids speak minimum two or three languages in Lebanon, so why should we not be able to speak two or even three languages here in London //... Personally, I will do anything in the future to teach my own children Arabic// I want them to be able to speak it with all my family, and friends, and people from my village in Lebanon// ... I feel that speaking the native language with family members makes the bond between children and parents, cousins, grandparents much stronger// Even the discussions become more interesting and deeper if everybody is fluent speaker of Arabic//>

Excerpt (37) from the Interview with Joseph (16 year-old boy)

(37) I: biḥibb tiḥkī 'arabi libnānī?

<Do you like speaking LA?>

Joseph: ūh bḥibb ktīr iḥkī libnānī li'annu bḥiss innu haydī lughtī il-aṣliyyah, wu lugha ahlī kamān// fa ktī ṭabi'tī innī ista'milā bass iḥkī ma'un, wu ma' sittī wu jiddī, wu ma' 'mūmtī wu khālātī bi libnān// Bḥiss ghalaṭ iḥkī inkīlīzi ma'

‘ayltī// ... bħiss innu mā fiyyī ‘abbir ‘an mashā‘rī mnīḥ bil-inklīzi, mitil mā b‘abbir bil-‘arabi// ... lāzām ‘abbir ‘annā bil ‘arabi, mitil bass baddī ‘abbir ‘an ḥubbī la ḥadan, aw bass baddī farjī ḥadan innī m’aṣṣab, dughrī bala mā fakir bist’amil il-‘arabi//

<Oh I love speaking LA because I feel it is my mother language, and my parents’ too// So it is only natural to use it when I talk to them, and to my grandparents, and my uncles and aunties in Lebanon// ... I feel odd if I spoke English with my family// ... I feel I cannot express well my emotions in English, the way I do in LA// ... Some words do not translate in English// ... You just need to say them in LA, like when you need to express your love for someone or show your anger, automatically without thinking, I use LA//>

I: kīf fīk tūṣufā ka lugha?

<How would you describe it as a language?>

Joseph: fiyyī illik innu il-‘arabi il-libnāni aktar lugha mu‘abbirah bil-‘alam// ... ktīr hilwah wu mūsi‘iyyah// Wu kamān fiyyī ‘ūl innā lugha m‘āṣrah mish mitil il fuṣḥa aw,.. il-llātīnī matalan// Il-llātīnī lugha mayytah// Il-‘arabi il-libnānī bizkkirnī bi sittī il-killā ṭībah wu ḥanān wu maḥabbah// ... bass iḥkī libnānī bħiss mabsūṭ, yimkin li’annu lammā kint walad zghīr, kānat sittī tghannīlī bil-lahjah il-libnāniyyi// ... fa bil nissbah ilī, il-libnānī biṣaṭkirni bi ṣikrayāt hilwah, wu bi ahama shakhiṣ bi ḥayātī, sittī allah ytaḥwil bi ‘umrā// ... il-ghinniyah yallī kānit tghannīlī yāhā hal ṣīṣān shu ḥilwīn bitḍal m‘all’ā bi rāssī// Bass ghanniyā la waḥdi bil sawt il-‘ālī, birtāḥ ktīr [haha]

<I would say it is the most expressive language in the world//.... It is very beautiful and musical// It also sounds modern, not like Fusha or ... Latin for example// Latin is a dead language// LA reminds me of my sweet, tender and loving grandmother// ... When I speak it I feel happy, perhaps because my grandmother used to sing to me in LA as a baby// ... So for me, I associate LA with happy memories, and of the most important person in my life my grandmother, may God give her good health// ... The lullaby she used to sing

to me {hal şışān shu ḥilwīn} <How beautiful are these ducks> remains stuck in my mind// when I sing it loud to myself, I feel very relieved [laugh]>

I: biṭhibb t'allim wlādak bil musta'bal il-libnānī?

<Would you like to teach your own children in the future LA?>

Joseph: akīd// Bitmanna itjawaaz binit libnāniyyi mitlī bta'rif tiḥkī 'arabi wu btifham il-tha'āfah il-libnāniyyi//... ma' ba'ḍnā minṣīr niḥkī iza allah rād 'arabi ma' wlādnā, ...ktīr ktīr mhim innu wlādnā yiḥkū 'arabi bishūlah, ta yu'darū yitfāhamū ma' ahlī, wu yifhamū ktīr mnīḥ ta'ālīdna il-libnāniyyi// ... mā fīnā nkūn libnāniyyi aṣliyyīn wu mā niḥkī 'arabi//

<Absolutely// I wish to marry a Lebanese girl who speaks Arabic and understands the Lebanese culture// ... Together we will, God willing speak Arabic with our children,.. It is very very important for me that my children speak Arabic fluently so they can communicate with my parents and understand very well our Lebanese traditions// ... We cannot be true Lebanese and not speak Arabic//>

I: hal bti'ti'id innu il-libnāni ilū ayya bu'd dīnī?

<Do you think LA has any religious dimension?>

Joseph: la', naḥnā mnista'mul il libnānī ta niḥkī ma' ghayr libnāniyyi// Haydah lughitnā blādnā// ... bass mish ḍarūrī nista'milā ta nu'rā il-injīl aw nṣallī bil knīssah il-libnāniyyi// ... ana brūḥ ma' ahlī 'al knīssah il-libnāniyyi bi lundun// Il-abūnā byu'rā il-injīl bil fuṣḥa wu byū'az shway bil fuṣḥa wu shway bil-libnānī// ... minghannī il-tarātīl bil fuṣḥa, .. min ṣallī bil-iddāss bil fuṣḥa// ... bass mniḥkī ma' ba'ḍnā juwwāt il-knīssah wu barrātā bil libnānī// ... il-fuṣḥa ahamm min il-libnānī lal iddāss, li'annu mu'ḥam il-tarātīl bil iddāss bil fuṣḥa mish bil-libnānī// Bass il-fuṣḥa mish ktīr ḍarūriyyah// ... ana bṣallī bil inklīzi bass kamāna bghannī kam tirtīlah bil libnānī// ... ḥayallā wāḥad fī yrūḥ 'al knīssah il-libnāniyyi wī ṣallī bi lugha yallī byirtāḥ fiyyā// Il-'arabi manna il-

lugha il-waḥīdah yallī rabnā byi'balā// Mish mitil il-islām majbūrīn yšallū bil 'arabi// Naḥnā finā nšallī bi ḥayallā lugha badnā//

<No, we use LA to communicate with other Lebanese// It is our national language// ... But we do not necessarily use it to read the Bible or pray in the Lebanese church// ... I go with my parents to the Lebanese church in London// The priest reads the Bible in Fusha and delivers the sermon in some Fusha and some LA//... We sing the hymns in Fusha,.. We pray in the mass in Fusha// ... But we talk to each other inside church and outside it in LA// ... Fusha is more important than LA for mass, because during mass most of the prayers are in Fusha not LA// Yet, fusha is not totally necessary// ... I pray in English but I also chant some hymns I have learnt in LA//... Anyone can go to the Lebanese church and pray in the language he /she feels comfortable using// Arabic is not the only language God accepts//... Not like Muslims, they must pray in Arabic// We can pray in any language we want//>

Excerpt (38) from the interview with Omar (14 year-old boy)

I: inta biḥibb tit'allam il-fuṣḥa?

<Do you like to learn Fusha Arabic?>

Omar: biṣarāḥah ana bfaḍḍil it'allam il-libnānī li'annā haydī lughtī il-umm, wu ahwan bi ktīr iḥkiya min il-fuṣḥa// ... bass ana ba'rif innu il-fuṣḥa ktīr mhimmaḥ kamān, wu minshān hayk ana brū' 'la il-madrassi il-libnāniyyi kill yawm sabt//

<Honestly I prefer learning LA because it is my mother language, and it is so much easier to speak it than Fusha//... But I know that Fusha is very important too, and that is why I go to the Lebanese school every Saturday//>

I: laysh il-fuṣḥa mhimmaḥ bil nissbah ilak?

<Why is Fusha important to you?>

Omar: li'annu btiftahlī majalāt jdīdah lal shughil bass ukbar// ... izā ba'rif u'rā wu iktub bil 'arabi, bi'dar iḥṣal 'ala shughil bi ḥayallā balad 'arabi wu mish bass bi ūrūbā// ... bayyī byishtighil bi shirkat 'ānūniyyah, wu shirktū btib'atū 'ala dubay, wu qatar, wil s'ūdiyyah kill il-wa'it li'annu bya'rif yu'rā wu yiktub bil 'arabi// ... fan na'am, il-'arabi ktīr mhim bi 'ālamnā il-yawm//

<Because it opens up new job opportunities for me when I am older// ... If I know how to read and write in Arabic, I can get a job anywhere in the Arab world and not just in Europe// ... My dad works in a legal firm, and his company sends him to Dubai, Qatar, Saudi Arabia all the time because he knows how to read, write and speak Arabic// ... So yes, Arabic is very important in today's world//>

I: kīf fīk tūṣuflī il-fuṣḥa bi kam kilmah?

<How would you describe Fusha Arabic in few words?>

Omar: ktīr mhimmah wu ḍarūriyyah, bass ṣu'bah ta ḥatta il-wāḥad yimtilikā mnīḥ// ... izā b'ārinā ma' il-libnānī aw il-inklīzi, .. bhiss innu il-fuṣḥa aṣ'ab// ... hal shi mā byimna't it'allamā, wu ana raḥ ākhud il-GCSE bil 'arabi sint il-jāyī izā allah rād// ... bistaḥī'ā ba'dān//

<Very useful and important but very hard to master//... If I compare Fusha with LA or English, .. I feel Fusha is a lot harder// ... But this does not stop me from learning it, .. I am very determined to learn it, and I will take GCSE in Arabic next year, God willing// ... It will be worth it later on//>

I: bithibb t'allim wlādak il-'arabi bil musta'bal?

< Would like to teach your own children Arabic in the future?>

Omar: [haha] il-libnānī akīd, haydī lughitnā il-umm// ... mniḥkiyā bil bayt, wu bass nirja' 'ala libnān, ya'nī akīd bḥibb innu wlādī yit'allamuwā, ta ya'rfū yiḥkū ma' kill il-nās il-libnāniyyi// ... wu bil nissbah lal fuṣḥa, kamān ana bḥibb 'allimā la wlādī, li'annā lugha mḥimmah yit'allamā il-wāḥad// ... ba'rif innā mish raḥ tkūn haynah 'alayun, .. mitil ma hiyyah mish haymnah 'alayyī, halla' ... bass raḥ shajji'un wu sā'idun ta yit'allamuwā// ... li'annu izā bya'rfū yiḥkū wu kiktū lughtayn, bikūnū azka min aṣḥābun yallī byiḥkū wu byiktū lugha waḥdah bass// 'a'lun byi'dar yiṣṭaw'ib ma'lūmāt bil lughtayn bi zāt il-wa'it// ... wu kamān biṣīr 'andun aṣḥāb aktar bi ktīr// .. li'annu byi'daru yista'mlu il-'arabi ta yiṣāḥabu ma' nās libnāniyyi aw 'arab ma bya'rfu aw ma biḥibbu yiḥku inkīzi, wil inkīzi ta yiṣāḥabū ma' ba'iyit il-nās// ... ya'ni biṣīr andun majālāt akbar ta yiṣāḥabu ma' nās aktar

<[laugh] LA definitely, it is our mother language// ... We speak it at home, and when we return to Lebanon, so of course I would like my children to learn it, so they know how to communicate with all Lebanese people// ... As for Fusha, again I would like to teach it to my children, because it is an important language for one to learn// ... I know it will not be easy for them,.. just like it is not easy for me now,.. but I will motivate them and help them to learn it//... Because if they can speak two languages and write two languages, they will be more clever than their friends who only speak and write one language// because their brains are trained to speak and understand two languages at the same time//... also they will have a lot more friends// .. because they can use Arabic to make friends with Lebanese or Arabs who can't or don't like to speak English, and English to make friends with the rest //... they will have more opportunities to befriend more people//

Excerpt (39) from the interview with Faten (16 year-old girl)

(39) I: hal bti'ti'dī innu mḥimm tit'allamī il-'arabi il-fuṣḥa?

<Do you think it is important for you to learn Fusha Arabic?>

Faten: akīd mhimm// Il-'arabi bil nissbah ilī ahammā lugha bil 'ālam// ... ka libnāniyyi wu ka muslimah, .. ana b'ayyim il-fuṣḥa ktīr// ... ana biḥkī libnānī bi suhūlah bil bayt, bass kamāna ana brū' 'al madrassi il-'arabiyyi kill yawm sabt, ta ḥassin il-mustawa taba't bil-fuṣḥa//

<Of course it is// It is the most important language in the world to me// ... As a Lebanese and as a Muslim, .. I attach great value to Fusha// ... I speak LA fluently at home, but I also go to Arabic school on Saturday to develop my proficiency level in Fusha//>

I: laysh mhimm innik tit'allamj il-fuṣḥa?

<Why is fusha important for you to learn?>

Faten: awwalan, lāzam nit'allam il-fuṣḥa ta nu'dur nu'rā wu nifham il-qurān// ... allah khtār il-'arabi ka lugha la jamī' il-muslimīn bil-'ālam//... min wājibī innī it'allam hal lugha il-mua'ddasah//... wu kamāna, il-'arabi lugha ḥilwī ktīr, wu ktīr ghaniyyah wu mnawwa'a, .. mish mitil il-faransī Matalan yallī blā't ktīr bi zahhi'// ... wu kamāna, il-'arabi huwwī il-lugha il-waḥīdat yallī byista'mila kill il-'arab ta yikū ma' ba'ḍun, .. izā ba'rif iḥkī 'arabi mnīḥ, bi'dar iḥkī bi ḥayalla balad 'arabi, wu ma' il-nās il-mtha'afīn ktīr// ... wu ba'dāna, izā baddī u'rā wu ifham mazbūt kutub maktūbah bil- 'arabi, wil akhbār 'al TV, wi ishārāt il-sayr, aw ḥayalla shi maktūb bil-'arabi, lāzim ykūn mustawāyī ktīr 'ālī bil-fuṣḥa// ... il-libnānī waḥdū mish kāfī//

<Firstly, we must learn Fusha to be able to read and understand the Quran// ... Allah chose Arabic as the language for all Muslims in the world// ... It is my duty to learn this sacred language// ... Besides, it is a very beautiful language, very rich and varied, .. not like for example French which I find really boring// ... Also, Arabic is the common language Arabs use to communicate with each other, .. If I know how to speak Arabic well, I can speak it anywhere in the Arab world and with people who are highly educated// ... And after all, if I truly want to read and understand Arabic

books, TV news, road signs, anything written in Arabic, I must have good standards in Fusha// ... LA alone is not sufficient//>

I: biṭhibbī t'allmī wlādik il-'arabi?

<Would you like to transmit Arabic to your children?>

Faten: iza allah rād, akīd baddī 'allim wlaādī il-'arabi// ... kill umm mislimah btiḥlam t'allim wlādā il-'arabi// ... hayda wājibnā ka muslimīn n'allim wlādnā lughitnā ta yi'darū yurū il-qurān wu yifhamū il-sūrāt fih// ... wu kamān, baddī yāhun yu'darū yitwāsalū ma' kill il-'arab mish bass ma' il-libnāniyyīn, .. il-fuṣḥa bitsā'id kill il-'arab wayn ma kānū bil 'alam, innun yitwāsalū mñh ma' ba'dun wu ḥissū bil wiḥdat baynātun// ... wu kamāna, izā bya'rif il-wāḥad yu'rā wu yiktub bil-'arabi, majalāt 'Amal ktīrah btiftaḥ iddāmū//

<God willing, of course I want to teach my kids arabic// ... every Muslim mother dreams of teaching her children Arabic// ... This is our duty as Muslims to teach our children our language so they can read the Quran and understand all the verses// ... Also, I would like them to be able to communicate with all Arabs not just Lebanese, .. fusha helps all Arabs wherever they are in the world, to communicate well with each other, and feel the bond between them// ... And also, being able to read and write Arabic, opens up many job opportunities//>

I: wu bil nissbah lal libnānī// Biṭhibbī t'allmī la wlādik?

<What about LA// Would you like to teach it to your children?>

Faten: 'Th tab'an, ma badda ḥakī// ... akīd baddī yāhun yiḥkū 'arabi ta yi'darū yitwāsalū ma' 'ayltī wu kill il-'rāyib bi libnan// ... il-libnānī ahwan min il-fuṣḥa, ya'nī mā bi'ytī'id innu bikūn fi mishklah ta yit'allamū// ... bass il-fuṣḥa btiṭallab juḥūd aktar wu wa'it aktar ta tṣīr maharāt il-wāḥad 'ālyah// ... ya'nī il-libnānī wil fuṣḥa tnaynātun mhimmin bilnissbah ilī, ka binit libnāniyyi wu ka

mislimah// ... inshallah i'dar 'allimun la wlādī il-tnayn ta yi'darū yista'mluwun
tnaynātun la asbāb mikhtilfah//

<Oh LA goes without saying//... Of course I want them to speak LA so they
can communicate with my family and with all the relatives in Lebanon// ... LA
is easier than Fusha, so I do not think it will be a problem for them to learn it//
... But Fusha requires more efforts and more time to develop fluency//
Both LA and MSA are very important for me, as a Lebanese and as a Muslim
girl// ... I hope to transmit both of them to my children so they can use them
both for different reasons//>

Excerpt (40) from the interview with Roula (12 year-old girl)

(40) I: bti'ti'dī innu mhimmm il-wāḥḥad yit'allam il-'arabi il-fuṣṣḥa?

<Do you think it is useful to learn Fusha Arabic?>

Roula: bil ḥa'ī'a la' mish ktīr **useful**// ... Naḥnā 'āyshīn bi inklitarrā// Kill il
'ālam byiḥkī inkliṣī// ... ana mā bshūf fi ḥājah innu il-wāḥḥad yit'allam 'arabbī//
... bu'ṣud izā il-wāḥḥad mā byiḥkī 'arabi, wu mā byiktbū, biḍall yi'dar ysāfir
**anywhere in the world, and read any publication in the scientific,
engineering, and communication field**// ..._ya'nī biṣarāḥah mish 'am
yikhṣar shi//

< Actually, no it is not very **useful**// ... We live in England// The whole world
speaks English// ... I do not see the need to learn Arabic// ... I mean if one
does not speak Arabic, and does not write it, one can still travel **anywhere in
the world, and read any publication in the scientific, medical,
engineering, and communication field**// ... So frankly one is not missing
out on anything//>

I: bi nazarik lāzim il-wāḥḥah yiḥkī lughtayn bil **UK**?

<In your opinion, is it necessary to be bilingual in the **UK**?>

Roula: āhhh, .. biṣarāḥah mish ḍarūrī// Yimkin innu mhimmm yiḥkī il-wāḥad lughtayn bass mish ḍarūrī// ... **anyhow**, ana law khayyarūnī bfaḍḍil it'allam **French** aw **Spanish**//... **They are a lot more useful than Arabic**// ... **because they are European languages**// Ya'nī fī nās aktar bil 'ālam btyista'mlū il **Spanish** wil **French** min il-'arabi// **Spanish is spoken in all parts of Latin America**// ... wu aḥhamā shi innun **more modern** than il-'arabi// ... bass 'ārin il-ṭarī'a yallī bi 'allmūnā fiya **French** bil maddrassi hawn, yallī hiyyah ktīr **interactive** wu **engaging**, ma' il-ṭarī'aj il-**old fashioned** wil **boring** yallī bi 'allmūnā fiya il-'arabi bi maddrassat il-'arabi, **I realize why I love learning French and Spanish a lot more than Arabic**// ... kamāna ktīr min il-nās bil **West** bi fakkrū innu il-'arabi lugha il-islām, wil **terrorists**, wil **troublemakers**// ... min shān hayk bfaḍḍil innu ib'ad 'an hal lugha, kirmāl mā ḥadan yfakkirnī **terrorist** aw insānah **backward**//

< Ahhh, .. Frankly it is not necessary// It may be useful to speak two languages but not necessary// ... anyhow, if I had the choice I would rather learn **French** or **Spanish**// ... **They are a lot more useful than Arabic**// ... **because they are European languages**// ... I mean there are more people in the world who use **Spanish** and **French** than Arabic// ... **Spanish is spoken in all parts of Latin America**// ... And especially they are **more modern** than Arabic// ... When I compare the way we are taught **French** at school here, which is very **interactive and engaging**, with the **old-fashioned and boring** way used to teach us Arabic in the Arabic school, **I realize why I love learning French or Spanish a lot more than Arabic**// ... Also most people in the **West** think that Arabic is the language of Muslims, **terrorists** and **troublemakers**// ... that is why I prefer to distance myself from this language, so I do not get mistaken for a **terrorist** or a **backward** person//>

I: wu shu ra'yik bil 'arabi il-libnānī? Biṭḥibbī tiḥkī?

<What about LA? Do you like speaking it?>

Roula: I do not mind speaking Lebanese// ... ahwan bi ktīr min il-fuṣṣa// ... mnista'mil il-libnānī bil bayt, wu bi libnān bass niḥkī ma' aṣḥābnā wil 'aylah// ... bass il-fuṣṣa aṣ'ab bi ktīr li'annu mā mnista'milā kill yawm// Bass bil kutub byista'mluwa// Wu **over complicated**// ... fi ktīr kalimāt bil libnānī bitkūn **totally** mghayyarah bil fuṣṣa// ... mitil nāfidhah wu shubbāk// ... laysh mā fīnā n'ūl shubbāk kill il-wa'it// ... laysh lāzim lit'allam il-kilmtayn, wu nista'mil wiḥdah bass niḥkī bil dārij wu wiḥdah bass niktub// ... hayk bu'ṣud **over complicated**// ... Bil inklīzi matalan, fī bass kilmah wiḥdah lal shubbāk mnista'milā lal kitābah wu lal ḥakī// ... **Simple, .. Easy, and to the point**//

<I do not mind speaking Lebanese// ... It is a lot easier than fusha// ... We use it at hom, and in Lebanon when we talk to our friends and family members// ... But Fusha is a lot harder because we do not use it daily// ... It is only used in books// ... And it **is over complicated**// ... So many words in LA have **totally** different equivalents in fusha// ... Like {**nāfidha**} <MSA term meaning window> and {*shubbāk*} <LA term for window// ... Why can't we say {*shubbāk*} all the time// ... Why do we have to learn both terms, and use one when speaking informally, and one when writing// ... This is what I mean by **over complicated**// ... In English for example, there is just one term 'window' which we use when writing and speaking// ... **Simple, .. Easy, and to the point**//

6.2.2 Interview excerpts of Parent participants

Excerpts (41) and (48) from the interview with Souhad

(41) I: hal bi nazarik mhimminnu wlādik yit'allamū il-'arabi il-libnānī?

<Do you consider LA important for your children to learn?>

Souhad: *ʾTh ṭab'an// ḍarūrī, mish bass khayār// ... ahlī, ikhwātī, khayyātī wu bayt 'ammī 'āyshīn bi libnān, .. minzūrun kill sinnah //... izā il-wlād mā byiḥuū*

‘arabi mnīḥ bi libnān biṣīru yistiḥu wu yinkhijlu min ḥālun// iza wlādi ma ‘ādu yīḥku ‘arabi, btun’uṭī il-‘ilā’āt ma’ il-ahil, wil arāyib, wil aṣḥāb// Hal shi bikūn khṣārah kbīrah mish mist’iddah it’abbalā// ... min shān hayk, ana wu jawzī mna’mul juhūd kbīrah ta nḥāfiḥ ‘al ‘arabi bil bayt ma’ wlādnā, .. na’nā abil kill shi libnāniyyi, wu wlādnā kamān// Fa lāzim yīḥkū ‘arabi bi shūlah, mish bass innu yīḥkū shway// Il-‘arabi lighat jdūdā wu jdūd jdūdā, .. ḍarūrī n’allimā la wlādnā, .. wu hinnī ḍarūrī y’almuwā bi dawrun la wlādun bil musta’bal ta yḥissū bi libnānitun mazbūṭ //

<Oh indeed it is// It is a must, not an option// ... My parents, brothers, sisters and in-laws live in Lebanon, .. We visit them every year //... if *children don’t speak LA fluently in Lebanon, they will feel ashamed and embarrassed of themselves* // If my children stopped speaking Arabic, their communications with family members, and relatives, and friends there would also stop// That would be a great loss that I am not willing to accept// ... That’s why, my husband and I make a lot of efforts to maintain Arabic at home with our children, .. We are first and foremost Lebanese, and so are our children// So they must be fluent speakers of Arabic, not just mediocre speakers// Arabic is the language of our grandparents and great grandparents, .. We must teach it to our children, .. And they in turn must transmit it to their own children in the future so they can have a true sense of Lebanese identity//>

Excerpt (48)

(48) *I: laysh ‘am t’allmī wlādik il-‘arabi il-fuṣḥa?*

< Why are you teaching your children Fusha Arabic?>

Souhad: bil nissbah ilī, il-fuṣḥa ktīr mhimma// ... ana baddī wlāddī yu’darū yu’rū wu yifhamū il-qurān il-kaReem bass yṣallū// ... baddī yāhun y’addrū īmat il-lugha il-fuṣḥa, li’annā il-lugha yallī khtārā allah subḥānahu wa ta’āla, ta yinkatab fiyā il-qurān il-kaReem// ... kull il-muslimīn bil ‘ālam byista’milū il-‘arabi ta yṣallū, .. bi ghaḍḍ il-naẓar ‘an ayya lugha byiḥkū bil-bayt// ... birūḥū ‘al maddrassi ta yit’allamū ‘arabi// ... il-shykh bil masjid byikhṭub bil-‘arabi// ...

il-'arabi ktīr ktīr mhim̄m la ilnā ka muslimīn wu libnāniyyi, li'annū mnista'mlū la kill shi khaṣṣū bil 'rāyah wil kitābah//

< For me Fusha is very important// I want my children to be able to read and understand the holy Quran when they pray// I want them to appreciate the value of the fusha language, because it is the language God almighty has chosen for the Holy Quran to be written// ... All Muslims around the world use Arabic to pray, .. Regardless of what language they speak at home// ... They go to schools, to learn Arabic// ... The Sheikh in the mosque uses Arabic when he delivers the sermon// ... Arabic is extremely important for us as Muslims and Lebanese, because we use it for anything related to reading and writing//>

Excerpt (42) from the interview with Saīd

(42) I: hal bishūf ḡarūrī innu wlādak yiḥkū il-'arabi il-libnānī?

<Do you think it is important for your children to speak LA?>

Saīd: 'ṯh ṯab'an ktīr ḡarūrī// Ana baddī innu yi'darū wlādī wiḥkū ma' sittun wu jiddun bi libnān, wu ma' araybīnun, wu 'mūmum, wu 'ammātun wu khālātun// ... mā dabbī wlādī yfakkrū innu il-inklīzi lughitun il-umm, li'annu mannā// Naḥnā libnāniyyi mish inklīz// Naḥnā 'āyshīn hawn lal wa'it il-ḥāḡīr bass raḥ yijjī yawn, bi idhin allah, wu raḥ nirja' 'ala ḡay'itnā bi libnān// 'innā bayt il-'āyiah hunīk, .. ana baddī wlādī yi'darū yiḥkū ma' kill wāḥad libnānī, yi'darū yifhamū kill kilmah sittun wu jiddun bi 'ūlulun yāḥā// ... hal shi ktīr ilū 'ṯ mah ilī// ... ahlī ktīr ḡanūnīn, .. kill kilmah bi 'ūluwa la wlādī milyānah ḡubb, wu ḡanān wu mashā'ir// ... wlādī mustaḡīl yi'darū yifhamū hal aḡāsjs il ḡilwah, wu y'addrū 'imitun wu kill ma'āniyun, law mā kānū byiḥkū 'arabi mnīḡ//

<Yes of course it is very important// I want my children to be able to communicate with their grandparents in Lebanon, and their cousins, and uncles, and aunties// ... I do not want my kids to think that English is their native language, because it is not// We are Lebanese not British// We live

here for the time being but one day, god willing,.. we will return to our village in Lebanon// We have our family home there, .. I want my children to be able to converse with every Lebanese speaker there, to be able to understand every single word their grandmother and grandfather say to them// ... This is precious to me// ... My parents are so affectionate,.. every word they say to my children is full of love, affection and emotion//... My kids would never be able to understand these beautiful sensations, and appreciate their value and full meaning, if they did not speak Arabic fluently//>

Excerpts (43) and (47) from the interview with Amani

(43) *I: laysh baddik wlādik yiḥkū il-'arabi il-libnānī?*

<Why do you want your children to speak LA?>

Amani: ana baddī wlādī yiḥkū 'arabi ktīr mnīḥ, mish bass ta yiḥkū ma'ī, wu ma' jawzī, wu sittun wu juddun, wu 'raybīnun bi libnān// ... bass aḥamma shi ana baddī wlādī ya'rfū innu il-'arabi huwwī jizi' min tha'āfitnā wu hawiyyitnā il-libnāniyyi// Hinnī libnāniyyi 'abil kill shi, wu ḍarūrī yiḥkū 'arabi mitil ma byiḥkū inklīzi// ... lāzim ya'rfū wu yiḥtirmū innu tha'āfitnā mghayyrah 'an il-tha'āfah il-brīṭāniyyah//

<I want my children to speak Arabic fluently, not just to communicate with me, my husband, their grandparents, and their cousins in Lebanon// ... But most importantly, I want my children to realise that Arabic is part of our Lebanese culture and identity// They are Lebanese, and they must speak Arabic as well as they speak English// ... They must know and respect that our culture is different to the British culture//>

I: btī'tī'dī innu ithā ḥikyū inklīzah bass, mā biḥissū innun libnāniyyi?

<Do you think if they spoke English only, they would not feel Lebanese?>

Amani: la'// ... li'annu il-lugha mish bass kalimāt wu ma'rifah// ... il-lugha btin'ul il-tha'āfah, .. il-ta'ālīd, .. il-mashā'ir, .. il-ṭarī'a yallī bi ṭshū fiya il-nās ḥayātun// ... hayk ana bshūfā// Bass immī tghannij wlādī, .. btista'mul kalimāt libnāniyyi maḥiṭ mitil 'tu'brūnī, wu ḥayāt albī intū, wu 'yūnī intū// ... hal kalimāt mā ilā mi'na bil inklīzi abadan// Mā ḥadan bi'dun yifham mi'nātun il-mazbūṭ, wi ḥiss bi ta'thīrātun izā mā kān byifham 'arabi libnānī//

<No// ... Because the language is not just words and knowledge// ... The language transmits the culture, .. The traditions, .. The emotions, .. The way people live their lives// ... That's how I see it// When my mum 'cajoles' my children, .. She uses typical Lebanese terms like {Tu'brūnī} <the literal translation is 'May you bury me' but this typical Lebanese expression actually means my beloved>, and {ḥayāt albī intū} <the literal translation is 'you are the love of my heart'>, and {'yūnī intū'} <the literal translation is you are my eyes, meaning my beloved>// ... These terms have absolutely no meanings in English// No one would ever understand their true meanings, and feel their impacts if they did not understand LA//>

Excerpt (47) from the interview with Amani

(47) *I: kif bitshūf il-libnānī wil fuṣḥa min nāḥiyah ta'līmun la wlādik?*

<How do you describe LA and fusha when it comes to teaching them to your kids?>

Amani: ṭab'an il-libnānī ahwan lal wlād ta yit'allamū, li'annu haydī lughitnā il-umm// ... mniḥkiyā ma'un bil bayt min wa'it mā khul'ū, wu bass nrūḥ 'ala libnān byisma'uwā wayn mā kān// Baynamā il-fuṣḥa aṣ'ab bi ktīr// ... ka'annū il-wāḥad 'am yit'allam lugha jdīdah, li'annu tartīb il-kalimāt mghayyar, il-ta'ābīr fiya tkūn mghayyrah, wil qawā'id m'a'addah aktar bi ktīr mitil il-muthanna wil jami' mathalan// ... bil-libnānī mnista'mil jami' wāḥad// ... bass bil rugħim min hal shī, ana bib'at wlādī 'al madrassi il-libnāniyyi bī lundun, li'annu baddi yāhun yit'allamū il-'arabi mazbūṭ ta yu'drū yu'rūh wu yuktubūh// ... izā safari shi maṭrah, fiyun yu'rū 'arabi wu yifhamū// ... il-'arabi il-yawm ṣār mhimmi mitil

il-frinsāwī aw il-almānī, bi faḍil kil il-furaṣ bil-‘ālam il-‘arabi// ... wlik ḥatta hawn, izā kinti ‘am t’addmī ‘ala shughil, wu kān ‘andik ‘arabi ‘al CV taba‘ik, yimkun bikūn ‘andik furṣah akbar innik tākhdī il-shugul min ḥadan byiḥkī bass inkliḏi// Aṣdī baḥḥal il-‘arabi yu‘tabar lugha m’akharah// ... hal iyyām, ṣār il-‘arabi ktīr ilū ahamiyyah min il-nāḥyah il-siyāsiyyah, wil strātigiyyah, wil tijāriyyah// ... hawn bil UK, il-wizārah il-khārjiyyah ‘ala ṭūl ‘am tnabbish ‘ala nās bya‘rfū yiḥkū ‘arabi la asbāb siyāsiyyah wa strātigiyyah// ... munazzamāt ktīrah ‘a, tshaghil nās bya‘rfū yiḥkū ‘arabi ta twassi’ ashghālā bil ‘ālam il-‘arabi//

<Obviously Lebanese is much easier for children to learn, because it is our native language// ... We speak it at home with them since they were born, and when we go to Lebanon they hear it everywhere// Whereas Fusha is a lot more difficult// ... It is like learning a new language, because the word order is different, the terms can be different, and the grammar is a lot more complicated like the dual and the plural for example// ... In Lebanese we just use one plural// ... Despite that, I send my kids to the Lebanese school in London, because I want them to learn Arabic properly so they can read and write it// ... If they travel anywhere, they can read Arabic and understand it// ... Arabic now is as important as French or German, because of all the opportunities in the Arab world// ... Even here, if you apply to a job, and you have Arabic on your CV, you have a much better chance of getting the job than someone who only speaks English// I mean Arabic is not seen as backwards anymore// ... Nowadays, I think Arabic is highly valued from a political, strategic, and business point of view// ... In the UK, the home office is constantly seeking to recruit people who speak Arabic for political and strategic reasons// ... Organisations are employing people who speak Arabic to expand their business to the Arab world//>

Excerpts (44) and (51) from the interview with Tony

(44) *I: laysh baddak wlādak yit‘allamū il-‘arabi il-libnānī?*

<Why do you want your kids to speak LA?>

Tony: aktar shi ta yiḥkū ma' ahlī wu 'āyltī bi libnān// ... bass kamāna, baddī yāhun yḥissū innun hinnī jizi' min il-jālyah il-libnāniyyi hawn bi lundun// ... baddī ykūn 'indun aṣḥāb libnāniyyi, wu yifhamū il-tha'āfah il-libnāniyyi will ta'ālīd il-libnāniyyi// ... tha'āfitnā mghayyrah kuliyyan 'an il-tha'āfāt il-ūrūbiyyah// ...bass yifhamū libnānī wi ḥissū jizi' min il-mujtama' il-libnānī, sā'itā fiyun yifhamū kill shi 'an libnān wilt ha'āfah il-libnāniyyi, mitil rūḥ il-niktah, wu mafhūm il-'āylah, wil jawāz, wil 'ilā'āt il-jinsiyyah, wu iḥtirām il-jdūd, wil mi'na il-karam, wu kīf mnit'āmal ma' uṣaṣ il-mawt, wil wājbāt il-ijtimā'iyyah, wu kīf min'īsh dyānitnā//

<Mainly to communicate with my parents and family in Lebanon// ... But also, I want them to feel part of the Lebanese community here in London// ... I want them to have Lebanese friends and understand the Lebanese culture and Lebanese traditions// ... Our culture is totally different from the European ones// ... When they understand LA and feel part of the Lebanese community, they can understand everything about Lebanon and Lebanese culture, like the sense of humour, the concepts of family, marriage, sexual relations, respect for grandparents, generosity, how we deal with issues of death, social responsibilities, and how we live our religion//>

Excerpt (51)

(51) I: wu il nissbah lal fuṣṣa, bithimmak t'allimā la wladak?

<Are you interested in teaching your kids fusha?>

Tony: ana bfaḍḍil innu wlādī ya'rfū 'arabi libnānī mnīḥ mim mā ya'rfū il-fuṣṣa, li'annū il-libnānī bi khalliyun yiḥkū ma' sittun wu jiddun, 'mūmun, khwālun, 'ammātun, aṣḥābun bī libnān// ... bi khalliyun yifhamū il-ḥaḍārah il-libnāniyyi, wi 'addrū il-hawiyyah il-libnāniyyi// ... il-fuṣṣa ma btista'mal lal ḥakī// ... bass mnista'milā lal kirā'a wil kitābah// ... ḥatta bayn il-'arab, il-fuṣṣa mannā il-lugha il-maḥkiyyah// Killun byiḥkū lahjātun il-assāsiyyah, li'annu mish kill il-'arab m'allamīn wu mtha'afīn bil-lugha il-fuṣṣa//

<I prefer my children to develop fluency in Lebanese rather than Fusha because Lebanese allows them to communicate with their grandparents, aunties, uncles and friends in Lebanon// ... It allows them to understand the Lebanese culture and value the Lebanese identity// ... Fusha is not used for oral communications// ...It is only used for writing and reading purposes// ... Even among Arabs, Fusha is not actually the language spoken// They all speak their own native dialects, because not all Arabs are educated and literate in Fusha language//>

Excerpts (45) and (46) from the interview with Amal

(45) *I: shu ra'yik bil-'arabi il-libnānī// Kif fiki tūṣfīlī yāh?*

<What do you think of LA// How would you describe it to me?>

Amal: ana bshūf innu il-'arabi taba'nā, ya'nī il-libnānī lughaj ktīr ḥilwah wu mūsī'yyah// ... ahwan bi ktīr min il-fuṣḥa// ... li'annu wlādnā m'awdīn yisma'uwa aktar bil bayt, bil jīri, wu wayn ma kān bi libnān, aktar min il fuṣḥa// ... il-fuṣḥa hiyyah ... aṣ'ab ta yit'allamā il-wāḥad, bass ktīr mhimmah kamān la ghayr asbāb//

<I think our Arabic, I mean LA is such a beautiful and musical language// ... It is much easier to learn than the Fusha// ... Because our children are more used to hearing it at home, in the neighborhood, and everywhere in Lebanon more than the Fusha// ... Fusha is ... more difficult to learn, but it is very important too but for other reasons//>

I: laysh baddik wlādik yit'allamū il-'arabi il-libnānī?

< Why do you want your children to learn LA?>

Amal: awwalan li'annu naḥnā killnā libnāniyyi, haydah lughitnā il-umm mitil mā il-inklīzi lugha il-umm lal sha'ib il-inklīzi// ... wu kamāna, idhā ṣārū yīḥkū

*libnānj bi suhūlah fiyun yista'mlū ma' il-'arab wayn mā kānū bil 'ālam// ...
 aktariyyat il-'arab halla' byifhamū lahjitnā il-libnāniyyi liannū šār fī ktīr barāmij
 libnāniyyi 'al TV, wu mughannīn wu mumathilīn libnāniyyi ktīr mashhūrīn// ...
 lahjitnā ajmal shi bil 'ālam il-'arabi, an'am wu mūsī'iyah aktar min bāt il-
 lahjāt il-'arabiyyi// [haha] ... wu akhīran, bass yit'allamū il-libnānī bi yī'darū bi
 suhūlah yit'allamū il-fuṣṣha// ... biṭṣīr il-mas'alah ahwan bi ktīr li'annu il-tnayn
 mish mtīr b'ād 'an ba'id, .. tnaynātun min nafs il-'āylah// ... biyī'darū yin'lū
 ma'rifun lal libnānī lal fuṣṣha// ... mitil il-isbānī wil burtughālī, .. bass tit'allamī
 wiḥdah fikī bi suhūlah tit'allamī il-tāynah//*

<Firstly because we are all Lebanese, it is our native language just like English is the native language spoken by English people// ... Also, if they develop fluency in LA they can use it when they speak with other Arabs anywhere in the world// ... Most Arabs now understand our Lebanese dialect because of the proliferation of Lebanese TV programs, and the celebrity achieved by Lebanese singers and actors// ... Our dialect is the nicest in the Arab world, a lot softer and more musical than the rest of the Arabic dialects// [laughs] ... And finally, once they know Lebanese they can easily learn Fusha// ... The process becomes a lot easier because the two varieties are not miles apart, .. they are part of the same family// ... They can transfer their knowledge of Lebanese to Fusha// ... It is like Spanish and Portuguese, .. Once you learn one you can easily learn the other//>

Excerpt (46)

(46) I: wil fuṣṣha? Bit'almiya la wlādik?

<What about Fusha? Do you teach it to your children?>

Amal: akīd, ana bid'atun kill yawm sabit 'ala il-madrassi il-libnāniyyi//

<Indeed I do, I send them every Saturday to the Lebanese complementary school//>

I: laysh btib'atī wlādik 'ala madrassi libnāniyyi yawn il-sabit?

<Why do you send your children to the Lebanese complementary school on Saturday?>

Amal: li'annuū baddī yāhun yu'rū wu yiktubū il-'arabi il-mazbūt// ... mish kāf innun yiḥkū libnānī// ... il-libnānī ktīr mhim ta yiḥkū ma' ghayr libnāniyyi wu afrād il-'āylah, bass il-fuṣṣa ḍarūriyyah ta yūṣalū 'ala kill shi maktūb// ... baddī yāhun yu'darū yu'rū kill il kutub il-'aẓimah il-maktūbah bil 'arabi min ibal kuttāb mashhūrīn mitil Goubran khalīl jubran, wu mkhāyil n'aymah, wu māy zyādah, wu najīb maḥfūz, wu ghayrun ktār// ... il-'arabi lugha 'aẓimah// ... wu ahamma shi il-'arabi ḍarūrī li'annu kil il-'arab byista'mlū il-fuṣṣa ta yiḥkū ma' ba'ḍun, wu mish il-lahjah il-maḥkiyyah// ... il-fuṣṣa ilhā 'īmah aktar akīd min ḥayallā lahjah maḥkiyyah, mish li'annu fīki tu'riya wu tiktbīyā, bass li'annu fīki tiḥkiyā kamān ma' kill il-'arab// ... izā mā t'allamū il-wlād il-'arabi il-fuṣṣa mnīh, mā byi'darū yishtighlū bil 'ālam il-'arabi// ... il-'arabi lugha ḍarūriyyah bil akhaṣṣ hal iyyām ma' kill il-taṭawwurāt yallī 'am tuḥṣal bil 'ālam il-'arabi// ... ḥatta il-nās il-mish 'arab 'am tit'allam 'arabi kirmāl asbāb khāssah bil-ashghāl//

<Because I want them to be able to read and write proper Arabic// ... It is not enough to speak Lebanese// ... Lebanese is very important to communicate with other Lebanese and family members, but Fusha is essential to access anything written// ... I want them to be able to read all the great books written in Arabic by famous Arab authors like Goubran Khalil Goubran, Michael Neaimé, May Ziadé, Najib Majfouz and many others// ... Arabic is a great language// ... And most importantly Arabic is necessary because all Arabs use Fusha as the common language for communication, and not the spoken variety// ... Fusha is more prestigious for sure than any spoken dialect, not because you can read it and write it, but you can also speak it with all Arabs// ... If children do not learn Fusha properly, they will not be able to work in the Arab world// ... It is an essential language especially nowadays with all the development that is happening in the Arab world// ... Even non-Arabs are learning Arabic nowadays for business purposes//>

Excerpt (49) from the interview with Lili

(49) *I: Kif fiki tūṣfīl il-'arabi il-fuṣḥa min nāḥiyat il-mumārasāt il-dīniyyah?*

< How can you describe to me Fusha Arabic and its relation with religious practices? >

Lili: darūrī innu wlādī yit'allamū il-'arabi il-fuṣḥa ta yi'darū yiḥkū ma' il-nās il-'arab, wu kirmāl yi'darū yu'rū wu yiktubū kamān// ... bass min nāḥiyat il-diyānat, la'// ... il-fuṣḥa mish mhimma hal 'add la ilnā ka masīḥiyyīn// ... il-masīḥiyyīn fiyun yṣallū bi ḥayalā lugha, ṭalmā fiyun yitwāṣalū ma' rabbnā// ... naḥnā mish mitil il-islām// ... mā minṣallī bil 'arabi li'annu majbūrīn, .. aw li'annū injīlnā byujburnā// ... naḥna minṣallī bil 'arabi li'annū haydī il-lugha il-'a'rab la lughitnā il-umm, wu mnifhamā aktar shi bass nitsamma' 'ala wa'ḥat il-khūrī bil knīssah// ... bil nissbah ilī, ana bṣallī bil 'arabi li'annā il-lugha yallī ilī 'am bista'milā min ṣigharī la kill shi khassū bi mumārasāt il-dīniyyah// ... hfuzīt kill ṣalawātī bil-'arabi, fa bḥiss bi mashā'ir a'wa bass ṣalliyun bil 'arabi, wu bunbusiṭ wu birtāḥ aktar// ... ya'nī bass ṣallī bil 'arabi bḥiss innī a'rab la judhūrī wu waṭanī// ... mustaḥīl ḥiss bil ma'na al-mazbūt taba' tirtīlat 'ana il-ummu il-ḥazīnah' aw 'al-masīḥu kāma min bayn il-amwāt' izā mā sma'tun bi ṣawt il-sayyidah fayrūz// ... walā lugha bil 'ālam bit khallīnī ush'ur bi hal iḥsās, aw bit'athir fiyyī hal add bass ṣallī, mitil il-'arabi//

<It is vital for my children to learn Fusha so they can communicate with other Arabs, and so they can read and write as well// ... But when it comes to religion, no// ... Fusha is not that important for us as Christians// ... Christians can pray in any language they like, as long as it allows them to connect with God// ... We are not like Muslims// ... We do not pray in Arabic because we have to, .. or because our Bible dictates it// ... We pray in Fusha because it is the closest to our native language, and we understand it best when we listen to the priest's sermon in the church// ... For me, I pray in Arabic, because it is the language I have been using since my childhood for anything related to my religious practices// ... I memorised all my prayers in Arabic, so I get

stronger emotions when I recite them in Arabic, and happier and more fulfilled// ... Praying in Arabic makes me feel more connected to my roots and my country// ... It is impossible for me to feel the true meaning of the hymn 'ana il-umm il-ḥazīnah' <I am the sad mother> or 'al-masīḥ kāma min bay nil-amwāt' <Christ has risen> if they were not sang in lady Fayruz's voice in Arabic// ... No other language in the world makes me have sense these feelings, or has that much impact on me when I pray, as much as Arabic does//

Excerpt (50) from the interview with Dr Johnny

(50) *I: shu ra'yak bil-'arabi il-fuṣḥa// Hal bitshūfā mhimma ta yit'allamuwa wlādak?*

< What do you think of Fush Arabic// Is it important for your children to learn it?>

Johnny: ṣarāḥatan la'// ... ana baddī yāhun yiḥkū libnānī ta yu'darū yiḥkū ma' 'āyitī bi libnān, bass mish ḍarūrī innun yu'rū wu yiktubū bil fuṣḥa// ... ana ktīr b'addir il-lughāt, bass bfaḍḍil innu wlādī yut'unū il-faransī aw il-isbānī ma' il-inklīzi, minman yut'unū il-fuṣḥa mathalan// ... li'annu bil nissbī ilī, il-'arabi mannū il-lugha il-musta'malah bi majāl il-injāzāt il-ṭubbīyyah wil 'ilmīyyah// ... kill il-taṭawwurāt il-assāsiyyah bil majāl il-'ilmī, wil-ṭubbī, wil-tiknūlūjī, wil-computer btuḥṣal bil gharib, wu btinnashar bil inklīzi aw bi shi lugha ūrūbiyyah tānyah// ... il-nās btunṭur lal 'arabi hal iyyām ka lugha mayyṭah, 'aDimah// Lughat il-irhāb, wil barbāriyyah, .. wil 'unf// ... lughit il-takhalluf il-'arabi// ... ana bfaḍḍil 'allim wlādī lugha musta'baliyyah, .. lugha fiyun yista'mluwa ta yuṣalū 'ala il-taṭawwurāt il-ra'ṭsiyyah bi kill il-majālāt//

<Honestly no// ... I want them to speak Lebanese so they can communicate with my family in Lebanon, but not necessarily to read and write Fusha// ... I value languages, but I prefer my children to master French or Spanish in addition to English, rather than mastering Fusha for instance// ... This is because for me, Arabic is not the language used in medical and scientific

breakthrough// ... All major scientific, medical, technological, computer developments take place in the West, and are published in English or another European language//... Not Arabic// ... Arabic is nowadays seen as an archaic, old-fashioned language// The language of terrorism, barbarism, .. and violence// ... The language of Arab backwardness// ... I would rather teach my children a futuristic language, .. One which they can use to access major developments in all fields//>

6.3 Language, religion and identity

6.3.1 Interview Excerpts of Children participants

Excerpt (54) from the interview with Reem

(54) *I: kīf biṭhibbī t'arrfī 'an ḥālik?*

<How would you like to identify yourself?>

Reem: ana bḥibb 'ūl bi kill fakhir innī 100% libnāniyyi// Ahlī min libnān wu jdūdī kamān// ...mniḥkī 'arabi bil bayt, wu min'āshir aktar shi il-'iyal il-libnāniyyi hawn bi lundun// ... immī btutbukh akil libnānī// ... ya'nī kill ṭarī'it ḥayātnā libnāniyyi// ... ana ktīr mit'all'a bi baladi libnān, wu brūḥ la hawnīl kill sinnī//

<I would proudly say that I am 100% Lebanese// My parents come from Lebanon and so do my grandparents, and my great grandparents// My entire family is Lebanese// ... We speak Arabic at home, and we socialise mostly with Lebanese families here in London// ... My mum cooks Lebanese food// ... So my entire lifestyle is Lebanese// ... I am so attached to my country Lebanon, and I return there every year//>

I: hal bti'ti'dī innu innu ḥakkī il-'arabi bi 'awwī hawītik il-libnāniyyi?

<Do you think speaking Arabic reinforces your Lebanese identity?>

Reem: 'th akīd// Li'annu bi'dar iḥkī 'arabi ktīr mnīh, bi'dar nā'ish ḥayallā mawḍū' bi 'umu' ma' 'āyṭi wu aṣḥābī il-libnāniyyi// ... la ilī ḥakī il-'arabi bi khallīnī ḥiss ka'annī libnāniyyi aṣliyyah// ... ghayr wlād ba'ifun byiḥkū shwayyit 'arabi, .. fa mā byi'darū yihkū bi suhūlah wu bi thi'a ma' ghayr nās libnāniyyi, wu min shān hayk, .. yimkin mā byu'tubrū nafsūn libnāniyyi aṣliyyīn//

<Ah of course// Because I can speak Arabic fluently, I can discuss any topic and in depth with my Lebanese family and friends// ... For me speaking Arabic allows me to feel like a true Lebanese// ... Other children I know speak very limited Arabic, .. So they will not be able to converse easily and confidently with other Lebanese, and because of that, .. They may not regard themselves as real Lebanese//>

Excerpt (55) from the interview with Roula

(55) Roula: ana mā biḥkī abadan 'arabi⁴ bil madrassi aw 'al ṭarī// ... il-'ālam hawn bi kaffir innu il-'arabi lugha il-islām, wil irhāb, wil takhallūf// ... ana bkhāf iḥkī 'arabi hawn bil mujtama', aw bi madrasstī il-inklīziyyi// ... mā baddī aṣḥābī yikrahūnī aw, .. yistihū fiyyī izā sim'ūnī 'am iḥkī 'arabi// ... min shān hayk biḥkī bass '// ... bil bayt, biḥkī 'arabi ma' ahlī li'annu bḥiss bi 'amān// ... bass lammā yijū aṣḥābī la'indī, bṣīr iḥkī inkīzi// ḥatta ahlī byiḥkū inkīzi bass ykūn 'andī aṣḥābī// ... ya'nī a'man hayk//

<I never speak Arabic at school or on the street// ... People here think that Arabic is the language of Muslims, and terrorism, and backwardness// ... I am scared to speak Arabic here in public, or in my English school// ... I do not want my friends to hate me, or, .. Feel ashamed about me if they heard me speaking Arabic// ... So I just use English// ... At home, I speak Arabic with my parents because it is safe// ... But when I have friends around, I switch to English// Even my parents speak English when I have my friends around// ...It is just safer this way//>

Excerpt (56) from the interview with Samir

(56) Samir: *ibn ‘ammī mā byiḥkī ‘arabi mnīḥ li’annu immū mish libnāniyyi, hiyyī inklīziyyi// ... bass lammā ḥadan yis‘alū ‘shu hawītū, dughrī bijāwib innu libnānī mish inklīzi, ... li’annu bi mūt bi libnān, will ‘āyiah wunīk, wil ta’ālīd il-libnāniyyi wu ṭarīḥ il-‘aysh il-libnāniyyi// ... il-lugha mā khaṣṣā bil hawiyyah// Fī il-wāḥad yīḥkī inklīzi bass mish ḍarūrī ykūn inklīzi// ... yallī bi himm aktar shi huwwi ubalad wu ṭarī‘at ‘aysh bti‘tibirun il-a‘rab la ilak// ṭarī‘a il-‘aysh aham min il-lugha bi naṣarī ana//*

<My cousin speaks very limited Arabic because his mother is not Lebanese, she is British// ... But when you ask him about his identity, he automatically tells you he is Lebanese not English, .. Because he adores Lebanon, the family there, Lebanese traditions and Lebanese culture// ... Language has nothing to do with identity// You can speak English but not necessarily be English// ... What is most important is how close you feel to a country and its culture// Culture is more important than language in my opinion//>

Excerpt (59) from the interview with Talal (a boy aged 15 years old)

(59) ṭalāl: *ana bḥiss innu nuṣnī libnānī wu nuṣnī brīṭānī// ... ahlī libnāniyyi wu ana bmūt bi libnān// ... fa uṣim minnī libnānī li’annī ktīr m‘alla’ bi waṭani libnān, wu bi jdūdī yallī ‘āshīn yunīk wu bmūt fiyun// ... bass kamāna ana khli‘it bi lundun, wu brūḥ ‘al madrassi hawn, wu ‘andī ktīr aṣḥāb inklīz// ... min shān hayk bi‘tibir nafsī inklīzi kamān//*

<I feel that I am half Lebanese and half British// ... My parents are Lebanese and I adore Lebanon//... So part of me is Lebanese because of my strong attachment to my country of origin Lebanon, and to my grandparents who live there and whom I absolutely adore// ... But also I was born in London, I go to school here, and I have many English friends// ... That is why I consider myself British too//>

I: wu bil amākin il-‘āmmah kif bti‘tibir nafsak?

<In public places, what do you consider yourself?>

ṭalāl: ḥasab ma‘ mīn bkūn, aw ma‘ mīn ‘am biḥkī// ... fa izā kint bi shi shopping centrem aw bil sīnamā, aw ‘am bil‘ab football, ... wu kint ma‘ nās īnklīz, .. bḥiss innī īnklīzi wu biṭṣarraḥ wu biḥki mitlun kamān// ... bass lammā kūn ma‘ aṣḥab libnāniyyi, aw ma‘ ‘āyṭi bil bayt, bi‘tibir ḥālī libnānī akīd//

<It depends whom I am with, and whom I am talking to// ... So if I am in a shopping centre, or at the cinema, or playing football, .. And I am with English people, .. I consider myself British and I also act and speak like them// ... But when I am with Lebanese friends, or with my family at home, I see myself Lebanese of course//>

Excerpts (60) and (75) from the interview with Liyana

(60) Liyana: ana bi‘tibir ḥālī libnāniyyi wu briṭāniyyah// ... libnāniyyi li’annu ahlī min libnān, wu jdūdī kamān, wu brūḥ ‘ala libnān kill sinnah// ... briṭāniyyah li’annu khli‘it hawn, wu ‘āyshī hawn, wu brūḥ ‘al madrassi hawn, wu ‘indī ktīr rif’a īnklīz// ... wu kamānā biḥkī ‘arabi wu īnklīzi fa mā ‘indī walā mishklah biltawāṣul ma‘ il-mujtama‘ayn// ... il-lugha bitsahhili il-ikhṭilāt ma‘ il-ghayr//

<I see myself as both Lebanese and British// ... Lebanese because my parents come from Lebanon, and my ancestors too, and I return to Lebanon every year// ... British because I was born here, I live here, go to school here and have many English friends// ... I also speak both Arabic and English so I do not have any barrier from connecting with both communities// ... Language facilitates my social interactions with others//>

I: wkif btunzurī lal hawiyyah il-‘arabiyyi? Hal bi nazārik il-lugha il-‘arabiyyi bti‘ab bawur bi hal shi?

< What about an Arab identity? Do you think Arabic plays a part in that?>

Liyana: ana biḥkī ‘arabi mnīḥ bass manni ‘arabiyyi// ... il-libnāniyyi mish ‘arab// ... nahna fīnī’iyyi bil aṣil, naḥna ‘iri’ mghayyar kullīyan ‘an il-‘iri’ il-‘arabi// ... ana mā bḥibb abadan innu ykūn khaṣṣni bil ‘arab// ... il-‘arab aghlabiyitun islām, bass il-libnāniyyi fiyun ykūnū islām, masīḥiyyi, drūz, ḥayalla shi// ... il-libnāniyyi ‘indun tha’āfi wu ṭari’t ‘aysh mghayyra kuliyyan ‘an il-‘arab// ... ana bi’tibir nafsi aktar brīṭāniyyi min ‘arabiyyi, wu bfaḍḍil innu il-nās ti’tibirni brīṭāniyyi min ‘arabiyyi//

<I speak Arabic but I am not Arab// ... Lebanese people are not Arabs// ... We are Phoenicians by origin, we are a race completely different to the Arab race// ... I do not like at all to be associated with Arabs// ... Arabs are mostly Muslims, but Lebanese can be Muslims, Christians, Druze, anything really// ... Lebanese have a totally different culture and way of life to Arabs// ... I see myself more British than Arab, and prefer people to consider me British than Arab//>

Excerpt (75)

I: wil diyāni? bit’athir ‘ala ikhtiyarātik la aṣḥābik?

<What about religion? Does it affect your choice of friends?>

Liyana: il-diyāni mā khaṣṣa abadan bil aṣḥab// ... bil madrassi, b’āshir aktar shi il-aṣḥāb yalli byiḥkū inkliṣi// ... birtāḥ la ṭari’t tīfkīrun wil lugha il-inkliṣiyyi// ... ‘al weekend, b’āshir aktar aṣḥābi il-libnāniyyi bil madrassi il-libnāniyyi, wu bil jīri, wu bass yiju la ‘indi ‘al bayt// ... li’anni biḥki ‘arabi wu inkliṣi, ‘indī aṣḥāb aktar min ghayri// ... kattir khayr alla bi’tibir ḥāli inni ktīr maḥzūza//

<Religion does not matter at all with choosing freinds// ... At school, I mix mostly with English-speaking friends// ... I feel at ease with their culture and the English language// ... On the weekend, I mix more with my Lebanese friends, in the Lebanese school, in the community, and when they visit me at

home// ... Because I speak Arabic and English I have more friends than others// ... Thank god I feel that I am very lucky//>

Excerpts (63) and (66) from the interview with Faten

(63) I: *kīf bitshūf hawitik?*

<How do you perceive your identity?>

Faten: ana bshūf ḥālī awwal shi libnāniyyi ktīr fakhūrah bi hawitī, li'annu aṣlī min libnān// ... bass kamān bi ba'īd il-zurūf bi'tibir ḥālī brīṭāniyyah, mitil bass kūn ma' aṣḥābī bil madrassi, .. aw 'am biḥkī ma' il-asātzah aw il-taba'ī// ... bass hal jizi' min hawitī a'alla shi bārīz, .. li'annu ana bḥiss innī aktar libnāniyyi min brīṭāniyyah bil ijmāl, .. wu mu'ḥam nawāḥī ḥayātī// ... bass marrāt, bḥiss innī 'arabiyyi lammā kūn 'am ṣallī bil masjid, aw bil madrassi il-'arabiyyi, aw, .. bass kūn 'am biḥkī ma' aṣḥābī il-'arab//

<I see myself firstly as a Lebanese very proud of my identity, because my origin is from Lebanon// ... But I also see myself in some circumstances as British, such as when I am with my friends at school, .. or talking to my teachers and headteacher//... But this part of my identity is the least visible, .. Because I feel more Lebanese than British in general, .. and in most aspects of my life// ... Yet, I sometimes feel Arab when I am praying with other Arabs in the mosque, or in the Arabic school, or, .. When talking to Arab friends//>

I: *hal bti'ti'dī innu innu ḥakī il-'arabi bisā'dik ta tnammī hawiyātik il-libnāniyyi wil 'arabiyyi?*

<Do you think speaking Arabic contributes to your Lebanese and Arab identities?>

Faten: ṭab'an// ... mujarrad innī biḥkī 'arabi bi'dar itwāṣal afḍal mish bass ma' il-libnāniyyīn bass ma' il-'arab kamānā// ... ya'nī il-'arabi bisā'idnī ifham aktar wjihāt naẓarun, wu inṭibā'ātun, wu ārā'un ḥawl 'uṣaṣ ktīrah// ... whinni

kamānā byu'darū yifhamūnī aḡḡal// ... law mā biḡkī 'arabi, mā kint bi'dar ifham wu ḡiss innī 'arībah min il-'iyam wil tha'āfah il-libnāniyyi wil 'arabiyyi//

<Of course// ... Speaking Arabic allows me to connect better not just with Lebanese but with Arabs too// ... Arabic helps me understand better their views, attitudes and opinions about many things// ... They also can understand me better// ... Like, if I did not speak Arabic, I would not be able understand and feel the connection with the Lebanese and Arab culture and values//>

Excerpt (66)

(66) I: *wu bil nissbah la hawītik il-dīniyyah// Kīf fīki tfassīr 'annā?*

<What about your religious identity// How can you describe it to me?>

Faten: ana bi'tibir ḡālī libnāniyyi wu mislimah// ... bass kamānā bil nissbī ilī kawnī libnāniyah ya'nī ana 'arabiyyi, li'annu killnā min naḡis il-muḡīḡ il-juḡhrāḡī, .. wu killnā 'annā zāt il-tha'āfah, wil tārkḡ, wil luḡha// ... mā fīnnā nufṡulun 'an ba'īḡ//

<I see myself as Lebanese and Muslim//... But also for me being Lebanese equals being Arab because we all come from the same geographical area,... and we share the same culture, history, and the same language// ... We cannot separate them from each other//>

I: *wu bil nissbah lal luḡha il-'arabiyyi wu hawītik il-dīniyyah? Fī shi rābiṡ baynātun?*

<What about Arabic and your religious identity? Is there any link between them?

Faten: 'ih, il-'arabi jizi' min hawītī il-dīniyyah, wil 'ir'iyyah, wil waṡaniyyah// ... il-'arabi akīd mḡimm la dyāntī, .. li'annu mnu'rā il-qurān bil 'arabi, wu minṡallī

bil 'arabi// ... law mā kint bifham 'arabi mā kān fiyyī ifham ta'ālīm il-qurān, wu khuṭbat il-shaykh bil masjid// ... bass kamān il-'arabi mhimmin la'ilī li'annī libnāniyyi, wu bista'mlū 'ala ṭul bī libnān wu ma' 'āyit wu aṣḥābī hawn, wu bass sāfir 'ala duwal 'arabiyyi, wu iḥkī ma' nās 'arab// ... il-'arabi jizi' ktīr ktīr mhimmin min hawītī// ... il-lugha aktar shi bitdil 'an hawiyyit il-insān//

<Yes, Arabic is part of my religious, ethnic and national identity// ... Arabic is definitely important for my religion, .. Because we recite the Quran in Arabic, and pray in Arabic// ... If I did not understand Arabic I would not understand the teachings of the Quran, and the sermon of the Sheikh in the mosque// ... But also Arabic is important for me because I am Lebanese, and I use it all the times in Lebanon and with my family and friends here, and when I travel to Arab countries, and I speak with other Arabs// ... It is a very important part of my identity// ... Language is the most salient part of one's identity//>

Excerpt (67) from the interview with Ahmad

(67) Ahmad: *il-lugha il-'arbiyyah ktīr mhimma bil nissbah lal islām, li'annā lughat il-qurān il-kaReem il-mu'adassah// ... bass il-hawiyyah il-'arabiyyi mish ḍarūr tkūn m'alla'a bil muslimiīn aw il-diyana il-islāmiyyah// ... ana libnānī, 'arabi, muslim, .. bass mā 'indī shi mushtarak ma' il-bākistānī aw il-afghānī il-muslim, ghayr diyānitnā il-islāmiyyah il-mushtarakah// ... bass min nāhiyyah il-tha'āfah aw il-lugha naḥna mghayrīn kullīyan// ... ana 'indī mushtarak ma' il-sūrī il-masḥī aw il-libnānī il-dirzī aktar mimma 'indī ma' il-mislim il-malīzī// ... il-hawiyyah il-'arabiyyi mghayyarah 'an il-hawiyyah il-islāmiyyah// ... il-nās hawn bitfakkir innu kill il-islām hinnī 'arab// ... la', mish mazbūṭ hal shi abadan// ... il-islām il-'arab hinnī il-akaliyyah bil 'ālam, bass il-islām taba' āsyā hinnī il-aktariyyah// ... mish lāzim ba'a il-nās yūṣlū bayn il-diyānī il-islāmiyyi will hawiyyi il-'arabiyyi// ... li'annu il-'arab fiyun ykūnū masḥiyyi, wu drūz, wu islām, .. wu yahūd, aw ḥatta mulḥidīn//*

<Arabic is important for Muslims because it is the sacred language of the holy Quran// ... But the Arab identity is not necessarily linked to Muslims or Islamic religion// ... I am a Lebanese-Arab Muslim, .. But I have nothing in

common with a Pakistani or Afghani Muslim, apart from a common religion// ... But culturally and linguistically we are totally different// ... I have more in common with a Syrian Christian or a Lebanese Druze than a Malay Muslim// ... The Arab identity is different to the Muslim identity// ... People here think all Muslims are Arabs// ... No, this is very wrong// Arab Muslims are a minority in the world, but Asian Muslims are the majority// ... People should stop linking the religion of Islam with the Arab identity// ... Because Arabs can be Christians, Druze, Muslims, .. Jews, or even atheists//>

Excerpts (68) and (72) from the interview with Joseph

Excerpt (68)

(68) Joseph: *il-diyāni hiyya mas'alit īmān// ... ya'nī mā khaṣṣā abadan bil-lugha il-'arabiyyi, aw il-hawiyyah il-'arabiyyi, aw il-hawiyyah il-libnāniyyi// ... ana libnānī masīhī wu t'allamit il-'arabi li'annā lughtī il-umm// ... ktīr mhimmaḥ ilī li'annā bitkhalīnī itwāṣal ma' 'āyltī hawn, wu ma' 'rāybīnī wu aṣḥābī bī libnān// ... il-'arabi bikhalī awwī 'ilā'ātī ma' yallī biḥibbun hawn wu bī libnān// ... il-lugha bitkhalī il-wāḥad yit'arrab aktar min yallī biḥibbun wu min waṭanū// ya'nī il-'arabi mish bass mhimma lal-islām, mhimma ktīr lal masīḥiyyah kamān//... il-'arabi lugha il-umm la kill il-libnāniyyīn shu ma kānit dyānitun//*

<Religion is a personal matter of faith// It has nothing to do with the Arabic language or the Arab identity, or Lebanese identity// ... I am a Lebanese Christian and I learnt Arabic because it is my mother tongue// ... It is very important for me because it allows me to communicate with my family here, and my cousins and friends in Lebanon// ... Arabic allows me to have stronger bonds with my loved ones here and in Lebanon// ... Language allows the person to have closer relations with the ones he/she loves and the country of origin// So Arabic is not only important for Muslims, it is also very important for Christians// ... It is the mother language of all Lebanese whatever their religion is>

Excerpt (72)

(72) I: *hal binazrak il-diyāni mhimma lammā baddak tna'ī aṣḥābak?*

<Do you think religion is important when it comes to choosing your friends?>

Joseph: *ana mā bna'ī abadan aṣḥābī bisabab diyānitun, aw waṭanun, aw 'ir'un// ... ana 'indī aṣḥāb ktīr, minnun 'arab, wu minnun brīṭāniyyah, wu būlandiyyah, minnun masīḥiyyah, wu minnun islām// ... bil nissbah ilī, shakḥsiyyat aṣḥābī, wu innu ykūn 'annā zāt il-hiwāyāt, wil uṣaṣ yallī min ḥibb na'milā ma' ba'id, bithimnī aktar min il-diyāni taba'un//*

<I never choose my friends based on their religion, or national identity, or race// ... I have many friends, some are Arabs, some British, and Polish, some are Christians, and some Muslims// ... For me the personality of my friends, and sharing the same hobbies and interests with them is more important to me than the religion they have//>

I: *wil 'arabi? Mhimm la 'ilā'tak ma' aṣḥābak?*

<What about Arabic? Is it important for your relationship with your friends?>

Joseph: *la' mish ḍarūrī// ... bil nissbah ilī, ana biḥkī 'arabi wu inklīzi ktīr mnīh, .. fa mā 'indī mishkilah ukhtuliṭ ma' aṣḥāb byiḥkū il-lughtayn// ... kill aṣḥāb il-libnāniyyi hawn byiḥkū inklīzi mnīh, fa lammā nkūn sawa, mnista'mil il-lughtayn// ... bass ma' aṣḥāb il-inklīz, killnā mniḥkī inklīzi// ... bass marrāt bista'mil shwayyit 'arabi izā kān fī ḥadan bil group taba'nā libnānī, kirmāl il-aṣḥāb hawdīk mā yifhamū shu 'am niḥkī// ... bass marrāt, biḥkī bass inklīzi ḥatta law kān fī ma'ī aṣḥāb libnāniyyi, bil akhaṣṣ lammā ḥiss innu hawdīk il-aṣḥāb mā biḥibbū il-lugha il-'arabiyyi wala il-'arab// ... sā'itā bfaḍḍil innī mā ibruz libnānīti// ... bfarjiyun il-jizi' il-inklīzi taba'ī// ... mā baddī bayyin bil madrassi innī irhābī, .. aw mislim 'āṭil// ... li'annu hawn kill il-'arab bikarrewun islām, wu nās mish mniḥah//*

<No not really// ... For me, I speak English and Arabic fluently, .. and so I have no problem mixing with friends who speak both languages//... All my Lebanese friends here speak English fluently, so when we are together, we use both languages// ... With my English-speaking friends, we all speak English// ... But sometimes I use some Arabic with some Lebanese friends in the group, if I do not want other friends to understand what we are saying// ... And sometimes, I only speak English even among my Lebanese peers, mostly when I sense that the other friends have bad attitudes towards Arabic and Arabs// ... Then I prefer not to flag my Lebanese identity// ... I just promote my British part// ... I just do not like to be seen at school as a terrorist,.. or a bad Muslim//... Because here Arabs are seen all as Muslims, and not good people//>

I: wu lal ṣalah, ayya lugha bitfaḍḍil?

<When praying, what language do you prefer using?>

Joseph: bfaḍḍil il-inklīzi aktar shi, li'annu bifham il-kalimāt aktar// ... aghlabiyyat il-tarātīl maktūbah bil naḥawī, .. fa bistaṣ'ib innī u'riyun// ... ya rayt kānū maktubīn bil dārij, .. ya'nī yista'mlū il-aḥruf il-inklīziyyi bass tkūn il-kalimāt bil libnānī// ... kinnā mnifhamā aktar wu ashal 'alaynā nuḥfaẓā [haha]

<English mostly, because I understand the words better// ... Most hymns are written in Fusha, .. So I struggle to read them// ... I wish they were written in Lebanese, .. Like in English letters but Lebanese words// ... It would be much easier for us to understand and memorise [laugh]

Excerpt (73) from the interview with Omar

(73) I: mīn bit'āshar aktar shi hawn?

<Whom do you socialise with mostly in this country?>

Omar: *ana aktar shi b'āshar aṣḥābī il-'arab// ... ahlī byi'ti'dū innu il-'arab 'indun zāt il-lugha, wil tha'āfah, wu 'iyam il-'āylah, mitlnā naḥnā il-libnāniyyī// ... yallī mish 'arab bikūn 'andun 'ādatan ārā' mghayyarah 'an hal uṣaṣ, .. marrāt btitnā'aḍ ma' 'iyamnā// ... min shān hayk aktariyyit aṣḥābī hinnī libnāniyyī aw 'arab, bass 'indī kamānā shuwayyit aṣḥāb inklīz, wu afrī'āniyyī// ... bil'ab football ma'un, wu minrūḥ 'al park ma' ba'id, .. bass mamnū' rūḥ nām 'indūn// ... baynamā ma' ṭārrik, wu kaReem, wu bilāl, ba'mul yallī baddī ma'un// ... bnām 'indun, minrūḥ 'al cinema, mnirkab 'al bikes ma' ba'id, .. ya'nī ba'mul kill shi ma'un// ... ahlī ṣuḥbī ktīr ma' ahlun, wu killnā mna'rif ba'ḍnā ktīr mnīh//*

<I mostly mix with friends who are Arabs// ... My parents believe Arabs share the same language, culture, and family values, just like us Lebanese// ... Non-Arabs tend to have different opinions about things, .. That sometimes contradict our values// ... So most of my friends are Lebanese and Arabs, but I also have some friends who are British, and Africans// ... I play football with them, and go to the park with them, .. But I am not allowed to go to their house for a sleepover// ... But with Tarek, and Karim, and Bilal, I can do whatever I want// ... I can have sleepovers, go to the cinema with them, ride our bikes together, .. Anything really// ... My parents are good friends with their parents, so we all know each other very well//>

I: hal il-diyāni bit'athir 'ala ikhtyārak la aṣḥābak?

<Do you think religion can influence your choice of friends?>

Omar: *la'// .. ana mā bna''ī aṣḥābī li'annun masīḥiyyah, aw islām// Ana bihimnnī aktar innun ykūnū mnāḥ, mukhlṣīn ilī, wu maḥdūmīn mnitsalla ma' ba'id, .. wu bḥibb innun yiḥtirmū il-'yam taba'ī wu ahlī// ... il-diyāni mā khaṣṣah Abadan bi tin'āyit il-aṣḥāb//*

<No// ... I do not choose my friends because they are Christians, or Muslims// ... I care more if they are nice, loyal, and fun to be with, .. And

respect my values and my parents'//... Religion has nothing to do with choosing friends//>

I: wil lugha il-'arabiyyi?

<What about Arabic?>

Omar: 'th// ... il-'arabi bil nissbah il' ktir mhim, .. li'annu mā bħibb ħiss innī matrūk barrā bass kūn ma' aṣḥābī il-libnāniyyī aw il-'arab// ... bihimnī ifham shu 'am bi'ulū, wu ħiss innī jizi' in il-group taba'un// ... wu kamān il-'arabi mhim il' , li'annu bista'mlū kill il-aw'āt lamma iħkī ma' aṣḥābī bi libnān, wil duwal il-'arabiyyi, mish bass hawn//

<Ah// ... Arabic is very important for me, .. Because I do not like to feel left out, when I am with Lebanese or Arabic speaking friends// ... I want to be able to understand what they say, and feel part of their group// ... Also Arabic is important for me because I use it when talking to my friends in Lebanon, and in the Arab world, not just here//>

Excerpt (74) from the interview with Yasmina

(74) Yasmina: ana bħiss innī bintimī la aṣḥābī il-libnāniyyī wil 'arab// ... li'annu bħiss innī mish miḍṭarrah kaẓẓib 'an wala jizi' in 'iyamī wu hawītī il-libnāniyyī// ... lammā kūn ma' aṣḥāb inkliẓ, .. bħiss innun mā byit'abbalū ba'ḍ il-ishya min iyamnā wu ta'ālīdnā, mitil innu ykūn 'annā boyfriend, .. aw nnām barrāt il-bayt// ... byiḍḍaħakū 'layyī, .. wu bi'ulūlī innī mazdūbah, wu 'am bikhsar ktir, wu bi'āmlūnī ka'annī gharībah 'annun// ... ya'nī mish mitil mā bi'āmlū ghayrī// ... hal shi biza'illnī, wu bikhallinī baddī id'ad 'annun// ... min shān hayk bfaḍḍil innī ikħṭuliṭ ma' il-nās yallī 'indun ẓāt il-'iyam wil mabādī' mitlī// ... birtāħ aktar, .. wu bħiss innī fiyyī 'abbir biṣarāḥah aktar 'an ra'yī wu shu'ūrī// ... badil mā mathil wu kathib kirmāl il-ghayr yit'abbalnī//

<I feel I belong to my Lebanese and Arab circle of friends//... Because I don't need to 'fake' any part of my Lebanese values and identity//... When I am

with my English speaking friends, .. I feel they don't accept some parts of my culture, like when I say I don't have a boyfriend, .. or I don't sleep outside the house//... They laugh at me, .. And tell me I am too stupid, I am losing out, and they treat me as an outside//... They treat me different to others// ... This upsets me, and makes me feel like I want to stay away from them// ... That's why I prefer to socialise with people who have the same values and principles as me// ... I feel safer with them,.. and I am freer to express my true opinions and feelings// ... Instead of faking and lying so others can accept me//>

6.3.2 Interview Excerpts of Parent participants

Excerpt (52) from the interview with Saïd

(52) Saïd: *ilī 'āyish hawn aktar min 15 sinah, bass ba'dnī libnānī 100%// ... hawītī mā btitghayyar abadan law shu mā šār// ... ana khli'it libnānī wu bḡall libnānī ḡatta mūt// ... Mā shī wu walā ḡadan bi khallīnī ghayyir hawītī il-libnāniyyī// ... libnānītī hiyyi mīn ana//*

<I have been living here for over 15 years, but I am still totally Lebanese// ... My identity never changes no matter what happens// ... I was born Lebanese and will remain Lebanese until I die// ... Nothing and no one can make me change my Lebanese identity// ... My Lebanese identity is everything that I am//>

Excerpts (53) and (70) from the interview with Maryam

(53) Maryam: *ṣaḡīḥ innu 'indī il-jinsiyyah il-brīṭāniyyah, bass wala marrah 'tabarit ḡālī brīṭāniyyah// ... mish li'annu shaklī mish brīṭānī, .. bass ahham shī innu ṭarī'at 'ayshna libnāniyyi, wu ktīr mghayyra 'an il-ṭarī'a il-inklīziyyi// ... ana brabbī wlādī ta ykūnū libnāniyyi// ... naḡna min'īsh 'al ṭarī'a il-libnāniyyi il-aṣliyyah// Mniḡkī 'arabi bil bayt, wu mnākul akil libnānī, wu kill aṣḡābnā*

libnāniyyi, wu mniḥḍar kill shi libnānī ‘al TV// ... bil nissbah ilī, hawītī il-libnāniyyi faw’ ayya hawiyah aw jinsiyyah tānyah//... ana mā bi’dar farri’ libnānītī ‘an ḥakyī lal ‘arabi, aw bil aḥra il-libnānī, aw ‘an ṭarī’at tafkīr il-libnānī aw taṣarrufi il-libnānī aw ‘aīshī il-libnānī// ... il-lugha wil ṭarī’at il-‘aysh hinnī yallī bikawwnū hawiyitnā, wu bi dillū ‘an mīn naḥnā fi’lan bil mujtama’// Mish il-passport yallī mniḥmlū//

<It is true I hold the British passport, but I can never consider myself British// ... Not because I do not look British, .. But most importantly because our culture is Lebanese, and it is very different to the British culture// ... I raise my children as Lebanese// ... We live a typical Lebanese lifestyle// We speak Arabic at home, we eat Lebanese food, all our friends are Lebanese, and we watch everything Lebanese on TV// ... For me, my Lebanese identity comes before any other identity or nationality// ... I cannot separate being Lebanese from speaking Arabic, actually Lebanese Arabic, from thinking, behaving and living a Lebanese way// ... Language and our way of living are what create our identity, and indicate who we really are in society// ... Not the passport we hold//>

Excerpt (70)

(70) I: *hal il-diyāni mhimmaḥ bil nissbah ilik bi ikhtiyārik la aṣḥābik?*

<Is religion important when it comes to choosing your friends?>

Maryam: il-diyāni bitsā’id shuway bass mish ktīr, .. bil akhaṣṣ haw bi blād il-ightirāb// ... bil nissbah ilī ana, lugha il-umm wil iyam hinnī ahamma shi// ... a’azz ṣadī’a ‘indī dyānatā mghayyarah ‘an dyāntī, .. bass tnaynātnā miḥkī zāt lugha il-umm, wil iyam il-tha’āfiyyah, wil naṣrah ‘al ḥayāt// ... ana a’rab ilā min ayya insān tānī byintimī ila ṭāyiftī il-dīniyyah// ... wu kamānā, il-asās bi’tḥir ktīr// ... iṣā ḥadan min libnān aw sūriyyah, aw in shari’ il-awsaṭ, min il-arjaḥ innu ykūn ‘andun zāt il-iyam wil ta’ālīd mitlī, mimma kyūn wāḥad ‘indū zāt il-mu’ta’adāt il-dīniyyah bass byiḥkī għayr lugha// ... bil ightirāb, bḥiss innu il-nās mā ktīr biṭshaddid ‘ala mas’alat il-dīn, mitil bass ykūnū bi blādun

il-aşliyyah// ... yimkin li'annu hawn bi inklitārrā, il-mujtama' byit'abbal aktar il-ghayr, wil-nās minil-tha'āfāt mit'adidah, wu mish ktjr m'alla'n bi mawḍū il-dīn mitil bi bildānnā//

<Religion helps a bit but not much, .. Especially here in the diaspora// ... To me personally, .. The mother language and cultural values are more important than anything else//... My best friend is from a different religion, .. but we have the same mother language, cultural values, and same outlook on life// ... I am closer to her than to any other person from my own religious denomination// ... Also, the origin plays a big role// ... If someone is from Lebanon, or Syria, or the Middle East, they are more likely to have the same values and traditions as me, than someone who only has the same religious beliefs, but speaks a different language// ... Also in the diaspora, I feel that people are more relaxed about religion, than when they are in their country of origin// ... Possibly because here in England, the society is more tolerant, and people are more multicultural, and less religious than in our countries of origin//>

Excerpt (57) from the interview with Samar

(57) Samar: law sa'altīnī 'an hawītī 'abil 'ishrīn sinah, kint jāwabtik innī 100% libnāniyyi, wu bass// ... bass halla' bimā innu ilī 'āyshī wu 'am ishtighil hawn aktar min 'ishrīn sinah, wu wlādah khil'ū hawn, wu bi rūḥū 'al madrassi hawn, bḥiss innī libnāniyyi akīd, bass kamānā brīṭaniyyah naw'an mā// ... Matalan bass kūn ma' il- taba' il-madrassi il-inklīziyyi, bḥiss innī inklīziyyi aktar min libnāniyyi, li'annu biṣṣarraf mitlun// ... bū'af bil ṣaf, bidfa' 'ala ahuwtī, binṭur dawrī ta iḥkī// ... bass lammā kūn ma' aṣḥābī il-libnāniyyi, bḥiss aktar innī libnāniyyi, miḥkī 'arabi ma' ba'īd, 'annā zāt il-ṭa'ālīd wil mabādi', wu killnā min fakkī zāt il-shi min naḥiyat il-'ilim, wil 'āylah, wil zawāj, wil 'ilā'āt il-jinsiyyah// ... fa min shān hayk bshūf innu hawītī hiyyat mazī min il-libnānī wil brīṭānī, .. mtitghayyar ḥasab il-zurūf wil nās yallī mawjūdīn wu yallī 'am biḥkī ma'un// ... min shān hayk mustaḥīl iinnū hawīt il-insān mā titghayyar abadan ma' il-wa'it, wu ma' il-mujtama'āt yallī bi'tsh fiya//

<If you had asked me about my identity 20 years ago, I would have told me I am 100% Lebanese, that's it// ... But now that I have been living and working here for over 20 years, and that my children were born here, and go to school here, I feel I am Lebanese of course, but also British to some extent// ... Like when I am with mums from the English school, I feel more British than Lebanese, because I behave like them// ... I queue, I pay for my own coffee, I wait for my turn to speak, .. But when I am with my Lebanese friends, I feel more Lebanese, we speak Arabic, we share the same culture and ethos, and have the same beliefs regarding education, family, marriage, sex// ... So my identity is a mixture of Lebanese and British, .. It changes with the contexts and the people present and involved in the communication// ... That is why, it is impossible for one's identity not to change with time, and the societies he/she lives in//>

Excerpts (58), (65) and (71) from the interview with Lili

(58) Lili: *ana mā bwāfi' innu il-wāḥad byikhla' bass ma' hawiyyi wiḥdah// ... killnā 'innā kaḏā nāḥiyah la hawiyatnā, mish bass hawiyatnā il-waṭaniyyah aw il-tha'āfiyyah aw il-'ur'iyyah// ... ana mataln bḥiss innj libnāniyyi aktar shi bass kūn bi libnān, aw mḥāwṭah bi nās libnainiyyah bi lundun// ... bass kamānā bḥiss innī brīṭāniyyah, bass kūn 'am biḥkī ma' il-asāṭṭah taba' wlādī 'an ta'adumun bil madrasah, aw 'am bishtrīlun kutub, aw 'am bishtrī tyāb bi oxford street, aw bil train// ... bi ghayr maṭāriḥ, mitil bil shughil, aw bass kūn mḥāwṭah bi rjāl, .. aw 'am nā'ish mawḏū' khaṣṣū bil musāwāt bay nil-rjāl wil niswān, bḥiss innu hawītī ka mara hiyyah yallī btibruz aktar shi// ... bisabab il-tifkīr il-mit'aṣṣab bil duwal il-'arabiyyi innu il-rjāl afḍal min il-niswān, bḥiss innī bi ḥājah ḍarūriyyah ta ibruz hawītī ka imra'a nāḥah, bi kill fursah bit ṣuḥillī// ... bḥiss biuwwah bi hawītī ka mara, .. li'annu hiyya yallī kawwanitlī wu ba'dā 'am tkawwinlī ṭarī'at naḏirtī lal ḥayat// ... ana trabbayt bi libnān, bi balad wayn il-niswān mannūn mad'ūmīn ta yūṣalū 'ala manāṣib 'ālyah maḥsūbal lal rjāl, mitil bi majāl il-siyāssah, wil handassah, wil bnūkah// ... ana mā 'dirīt ishtighil bil majāl yallī tkhaṣaṣīt fī bil jāma'a// ... bass lammā jīt 'ala brīṭāniyā, ... manaḥūnī waḏīfah 'ala asās shhādātī mish li'annī mara aw rijjāl, .. wu halla'*

kattir khayr allah, ana ktīr nājḥah wu mabsūṭah, wu ktīr fakhūra bi hawītī ka mara//

<I don't believe that you are born with just one identity// ... We all have many aspects to our identity, not just limited to our national or cultural or ethnic identity// ... I feel mostly Lebanese when I am in Lebanon, or surrounded by Lebanese people in London// ... But I also feel British, when I am discussing my children's school progress with their teachers, or buying clothes in Oxford Street, or in the train// ... In other contexts, like when at work, or when surrounded by men, .. Or engaged in a debate about gender equality and human rights, .. I feel my 'female' identity prevails// ... Because of the prejudiced belief in the Arab world that women are not equal to men, I feel the urge to highlight my identity as an accomplished woman at every opportunity// ... I feel so strongly about my 'woman' identity, .. Because it has shaped and continues to shape my entire outlook on life// ... Growing up in Lebanon, where women were not encouraged to occupy high positions deemed 'masculine' such as in politics, engineering or banking, I could not work in the field I specialised in at university// ... But when I came to live here in the UK, .. I was offered a post based on my qualifications and not on my gender as a woman or man, .. And now thank god, I am very successful and happy, and extremely proud of my gender identity//>

Excerpt (65)

(65) *I: shu shu'ūrik bil nissbah lal diyāni?*

<And how do you feel about religion?>

Lili: ana ktīr fakhūrah innī libnāniyyi masīḥiyyah// ... bil nissbah ilī, diyāntī ktīr mhimmaḥ li'annā jizi' minnī, wu min iyamī wil ta'ālīd yallī trabbayt 'alayun// ... la ilnā il-libnāniyyīn, il-diyāni shi bikhallīnā nkūn 'arībīn min bī'itnā, wu ahil ḍay'itnā, wil-nās yallī 'indūn zāt il-iḥtirām lal mabādi' wil ta'ālīd taba'nā// ... ya'nī il-diyāni kiyānah 'an mumārasāt jamā'īyah bi mujtama'a il-sharīḥ, .. mannā mas'alit ikhtiyār shakhṣṣī mititl bil gharīb//

<I am proud to be a Lebanese Christian// ... For me, my religion is very important because it is part of who I am, part of my values and the traditions I was brought up on// ... For us Lebanese, religion allows us to stay close to our environment, members of our community, and people who respect the same values and traditions as us// ... Religion represents collective practices in our Eastern societies, .. It is not a matter of individual choice like in the West//>

I: binaṣarik il- 'arabi mhimma la dyāntik?

<Is Arabic important for your religion?>

Lili: shūfī, ana baddī wlādī yit'allamū il-'arabi ta yi'darū yiḥkū ma' sittun wu jiddun, wu yi'darū yifhamū 'tmat il-ta'alid wil iyam il-libnaiyyah taba'nā// ... il-'arabi lughitnā il-umm bi libnān// ... wil fuṣṣa btiftaḥlun majalāt il-'Amal bil musta'bal, .. wl bitsā'idun ta yi'darū yitwāṣalū ma' kill yallī byiḥkū 'arabi// ... bass il-'arabi mā khaṣṣū abadan bil dīn// ... bil nissbah ilnā ka masīhiyyīn, mā mni'tibir il-'arabi lugha m'addasah aw mafrūḍah 'alaynā mitil il-islām//... fīnā nṣallī bi ayya lugha mnirtāḥ nista'milā, in kānit iṭālī, inkīzi, 'arabi, mā btifru'// ... bass il-islām majbūrīn yṣallū bil 'arabi wu yu'rū il-qurān bil 'arabi// ... bil nisbah ilun, il-muslim il-mnīḥ lāzim yṣallī bil 'arabi bi ghaḍḍ il-naṣar min wayn aṣlū aw shu lughtū il-umm// .. bass bil nissbah ilnā la', .. minṣallī bil lugha yallī minḥissā bit'arribnā min rabbnā aktar shi// ... 'ilī, hal lugha hiya il-'arabi, li'annā lughitī il-umm// ...bass la ghayr masīhiyyīn, yimkin tkūn il-iṭālī aw il-inkīzi// ... 'am tifhamī 'layyī?

<Lsiten, I want my children to learn Arabic so they can communicate with their grandparents, and appreciate our Lebanese values and traditions// ... Arabic is our native language in Lebanon// ... Also Fusha Arabic offers them job opportunities in the future, .. And allows them to communicate with all Arabic speakers// ... But Arabic has nothing to do with religion// For us Christians, we do not value Arabic as a sanctified or 'imposed' language, like Muslims do// ... We can pray in any language we feel comfortable with,

whether it is Italian, English, or Arabic, it does not matter// ... But Muslims must pray in Arabic and recite the Quran in Arabic// ... For them a good Muslim must pray in Arabic regardless of their origin and mother language// ... For us no, .. We pray in the language that we feel connect us best with God// ... To me it is Arabic, because it is my native language// ... But to other Christians, it can be Italian or French or English// ... Do you get me?>

Excerpt (71)

(71) *I: bil nissbi lal ṣadā'a, hal il-diyāni btil'ab dawur?*

<What about friendships, does religion play any role in that?>

(71) *Lili: ana abadan mā bna'ī aṣḥabī 'ala asās dyānitun, aw lawn bashritun, aw 'ir'un, .. aw ḥatta jinsiyyitun// ... ana bass bikhtārun ala asās iyamun il-shakhṣiyyah wu nafsiyyitun wu ṭab'un// ... ana 'indī aṣḥāb inkīz, wu frinsāwiyyī, wu brāzīliyyī, mitil mā 'indī aṣḥāb libnāniyyī wu sūriyyī wu urdūniyyī// ...ana birtāḥ ma'un killun// bindimij wu bit'abbal il-nās min kill il-tha'āfāt wil ḥaḍarāt// ... ana mirtāḥah wu mabsūṭah bijiz'ī il-brīṭānī wu jiz'ī il-libnānī// ... bi ra'ī, il- ta'nawwu' bil tha'āfāt huwa tharwah kbīrah bil ḥayāt, ... wu naḥna ka bashar, lāzim killnā nraḥib bi hal shi wu niḥtifil fī//*

<I never choose my friends based on their religion, or skin colour,.. or ethnicity,.. Or even their nationality// ... I purely choose them according to their personal values and character// I have friends who are British, French, Brazilians, just like I have friends who are Lebanese and Syrians and Jordanians// ... I am at ease with all of them// I adapt to and accept people from any culture// ... I feel happy with both my British side and my Lebanese self// ... To me, multicultural diversity is a great asset in life, .. And as human beings, we must all embrace it and celebrate it//>

Excerpt (61) from the interview with Najwa

(61) *Najwa: mā fī wala ayyat ‘ilā’a bayn il-wāḥad ykūn libnānī wu ykūn ‘arabi, ‘adā ‘an il-‘arabi, il-lugha il-rassmiyyah yallī btijma’nā// ... awwalan, il-‘iri’ il-libnānī mghayyar ‘an il-‘arabi, min nāḥiyat il-diyāni wil tha’āfah// ... tāniyan, naḥnā ‘inna tāriḫ ‘arī wu ḥaḍārah nwajadit abil bi ktīr min il-‘arab// ... naḥna mitadmīn wu mithadrīn aktar bi ktīr minnūn// ... mā khaṣṣnā fiyun ghayr innu hinnī wu naḥna mniḥkī ‘arabi// ... hawn bi inklītarrā, il-libnāniyyī mindimjīn mnīḥ bil mujtama’ il-brīṭānī, wu bisāhmū bi jamī’ majalāt il-ḥayat// ... min shān hayk, ana bi’tibir nafsī brīṭāniyyah wu libnāniyyi, bass mā fiyyī i’tibir nafsī libnāniyyi wu ‘arabiyyi Matalan for example// .. ‘indī mushtarak aktar ma’ il-sha’ib il-brīṭānī mimā ‘indī ma’ il-‘arab//*

<There is absolutely no connection what so ever with being Lebanese and being Arab, apart from Arabic, the common formal language we share// ... First of all, the Lebanese ethnicity is different from the Arab one, from a religion and cultural point of view// ... Secondly, we have a great history and civilisation that existed long before the Arab one// ... We are a lot more advanced and civilised than them// ... We have nothing to do with them apart from that we speak Arabic// ... Here in England, Lebanese are well integrated in the British society, and participate in different domains of life// ... That is why I see myself as both British and Lebanese, but I cannot consider myself as Lebanese and Arab// ... I have more in common with British people than with Arabs//>

Excerpt (62) from the interview with Amal

(62) *I: kīf bit’arfi ‘an ḥālik hawn bil UK?*

<How would you identify yourself in the UK?>

Amal: ḥasab// ... izā kint ma’ aṣḥābī il-libnāniyyi bil maṭāriḥ il-‘āmmah, bshūf ḥālī libnāniyyi// ... bass kūn bi madrassat wlādī aw, .. wil shughil, bshūf ḥālī brīṭāniyyah// ... wu bass kūn ma’ aṣḥābī il-sūriyyah aw il-falastīniyyah, bshūf ḥālī ‘arabiyyi//

<It depends really// ... When I am with my Lebanese friends in public, I see myself Lebanese// ... When I am at my children's school or, .. At work, I see myself British// ... And when I am with my Syrian and Palestinian friends, I see myself as Arab//>

I: hal bi naẓarik il-lugha btil'ab ayya dawr bil hawiiyyah il-'arabiyyi?

<Do you think the Arabic language plays any part in the Arab identity?>

Amal: akīd bala jadal// ... bass kūn ma' aṣḥābī il-'arab, killnā mniḥkī 'arabi// ... hal lugha btijma'nā killnā ma' ba'id, wu bitsahhil tawāṣulnā ma' ba'id, wu bitkhalīnā nifham taṣarrūfāt ba'dnā// ... killnā mna'rif niḥkī inkliẓi, bass il-'arabi huwwi yallī bi khallīnā ykūn 'annā tawāṣul ḥa'tī wu ḥamīm ma' ba'i// ... mish il-inkliẓi// ... bil nissbah ilī, mā fi jadal innu il-lugha m'alla'a bi hawītī wu tha'āfī//

<Certainly no doubt about it// ... When I am with my Arab friends, we all speak Arabic// ... This common language unites us all, and facilitates our communications, and our understanding of each other's behaviour// ... We can all speak English, but it is Arabic that allows us to have true and intimate conversations// ... No English// ... For me, language is undeniably linked to my identity and culture//>

I: kif btūṣfi hawītik?

<How do you describe your identity?>

Amal: bil nissbah ilī, il-hawiiyyah il-libnaniyyah mitil il-'arabiyyi// ... khallīnī waḍḍihlik hal shi// ... tārikhiyyan naḥna ummah wāḥdah ismā il-ummah il-sūriyyah// ... il-musta'mrīn hinnī yallī rasamū ḥdūd jukhrāfiyyah muṣṭana'a btiṭnāsab ma' maṣāliḥun, wu ta yiḥmū maṣāliḥ isrā'īl// ... ka 'arab, killnā 'annā lugha wāḥdah, wu tha'āfah wādah, wu ta'ālīd mitil ba'id, mighaḍ il-naẓzar 'an il-diyānāt yallī kill wāḥad byintimī ilā// ... killnā 'innā zāt il-'iyam bi khṣūṣ il-'ilā'āt il-'āyī, wil zawāj, wil 'ilā'āt il-jinsiyyah, wil wlād// ... ya'nī il-

hawīyyah il-‘arabiyyi hiya iḍāfah la hawītī il-libnāniyyi// ... hal jizi’ min hawītī bi khalīlī ukhtuliṭ wu insijim ma’ il-mughtaribīn min ghayr bildān ‘arabiyyi, ‘indun zāt il-tajārib wil iyam mitil taba’ī//

<To me being Lebanese is similar to being Arab// ... Let me explain to you// ... Historically we are just one nation known as the ‘Great Syria’//... Colonials decided to draw artificial geographical borders to suit their own interests, and protect the interests of Israel//... As Arabs, we all share one common language, culture and traditions, regardless of the religion each one belongs to//... We all have similar values regarding family relations, marriage, sex, and children// ... Being Arab is just an extension of my Lebanese identity// ... This part of my identity allows me to socialise and get along with immigrants from other Arab countries, who have similar experiences and values as me//>

Excerpt (64) from the interview with Zaynab

(64) I: *shu biṭ‘arffah ‘an il-diyāni?*

<How can you describe religion?>

Zaynab: il-diyāni bil nissbah ilī wu la ‘āyiltah, ktīr mhimma bi ḥayātnā// ... hiyyah jizi’ asāssī min ṭarī’a ḥāyshnā wu ta’ālīdnā wu iyamnā// ... bil nissbah ilnā naḥna il-mislimīn, il-diyāni hiwwi jizi’ min hawiyatnā, wil mujtama’ taba’nā// ... naḥna mnikhla’ wu diyānatnā btikhla’ ma’nā// Mā mnikhtārā// ... Hiyyah jizi’ mā byinfiṣil minnā, tamāman mitil jinsiyyatnā wu ‘ir’iyyatnā//

<For my family and me religion is very important in our lives// ... It is an essential part of our way of life and traditions and ethos// ... For us Muslims, religion is part of our identity, and the community we belong to// ... We are born with our religion// We do not choose it// ... It is an inseparable part of us, just like our nationality and ethnicity//>

I: *bti’tibrī il-‘arabi jizi’ min hawītik il-diyāniyyah?*

<Do you see Arabic as part of your religious identity?>

Zaynab: 'th akīd dūn shakk// Il-'arabi il-fuṣṣha lugha il-qurān il-kaReem// ... ana bib'at wlādī 'al madrassi il-'arabiyyi, ta yit'allamū yu'rū wu yifhamū il-qurān, wu yitlū ṣalawātun bi fihm mish mitil il-bubbaghah// ... il-ar'abī mā fīnā nufṣulū 'an hawiyyatnā ka muslimīn, wala 'an hawiyyatnā ka libnāniyyīn wu 'arab// ... kill il-muslimīn bil'ālam byiḥtirmū il-lugha il-'arabiyya, h wu mitshaww'īn ktīr ta yit'allamuwā// ... wu bil iḍāfah la hal shi, ka libnāniyyīn wu ka arab, il-'arabi il-lugha il-wahīdah yallī bitwahḥidnā ma' ba'id// ... ya'nī ḍarūrī innu wlādnā yḥafzū 'al 'arabi il-dārij wil fuṣṣha, mish bass kirmāl yī'darū yitwāṣalū ma' kill wāḥad byiḥkī 'arabi, bass kamānā kirmāl mumārasātun il-dīniyyah// ... iḏā khuṣrū il-'arabi, khuṣrū hawiyyitun killā// ... allah lā y'addir, hal shi bi kūn kārthah ilnā wu ilun//

<Yes sure, without any doubt// The classical Arabic is the language of the holy Quran// ... I send my children to the Arabic school, so they can read and understand the Quran, and recite their prayers with understanding, not like a parrot// ... We cannot separate Arabic from our identity as Muslims, or our identity as Lebanese and Arabs// ... All Muslims around the world respect Arabic, and are desperate to learn it// ... Additionally, as Lebanese and Arab, Arabic is the only language that unites us// ... So our children must maintain both spoken Arabic and Fusha Arabic, not just so they can communicate with everyone who speaks Arabic, but also for their religious practices// ... If they lose Arabic, they lose all their identity// ... God forbid, this would be really catastrophic for us and for them//>

Excerpt (69) from the interview with Tony

(69) *I: kī btikhtār aṣḥabak? 'ala ayya asās?*

<How do you choose your friends? On what basis?>

Tony: *biṣarāḥa, ana bfaḍḍil ‘āshir aṣḥāb libnāniyyī masṭhiyyī// ... birtāḥ aktar ma‘un// ... li’annu ‘annā ḡāt wjihāt il-naḡar, wul ‘ādāt, wul āra’nā bil umūr, wu, .. akiīd mniḥkā lughitnā il-aṣliyyah ma’ ba‘id// ... naḥnā mghayyrīn ‘an il-libnāniyyī il-islām aw il-‘arab il-islām// ... naḡritnā lal ḥayāt killā mghayyrā// ... mitil mannā mghayyrīn tamāman ‘an il-inklīz wil ūrūbiyyī// ... min il-nāḥyah il-tha’āfiyyah wu nāḥyat il-lugha// ... min shān hayk, ana ‘indī aktar bi ktīr aṣḥāb libnāniyyī min inklīz// ... il-lugha kamān ktīr mhimmah bil nissbah ilī bass baddī ikhtār aṣḥābī il-lazam// ... il-lugha mhimmah ‘addā ‘add il-diyāni//... ana birtāḥ aktar wu bkūn mabsūṭ aktar bass iḥkī ‘arabi ma’ aṣḥābī// ...fiyyī ‘illun ayya shi bil ‘arabi bala mā fakkir billī baddī ‘ulū//*

<Honestly, I prefer to mix with friends who are Lebanese Christians//... I just feel more comfortable with them// ... Because we have the same views, and habits, and attitudes to things, and ... of course we speak the same native language with each other// ... We are different to Lebanese Muslims or Arab Muslims// ... Our entire viewpoint on life is different// ... Just like we are very different to British, and Europeans// ... culturally and from a language view// ... That is why I have a lot more Lebanese friends than British// ... Language is also very important to me when choosing my close friends// ... Language is as important as religion// ... I feel more relaxed and happy, when I speak Arabic with my friends// I can say anything to them in Arabic without thinking about it//>

Appendix 10

Sample of field notes

F1: Field notes from my home visit to the Khayr family

Date and Time: 12-11-2016 from 5:30-8 pm (dinnertime)

Age of Children: 11 (Maria), 15 (Peter) 16 (Mario)

Key observation notes:

I was kindly invited today to have dinner with members of the Khayr family so that I could explore in further detail how parents and children negotiated and used their languages 'naturally' at home, and how parents implemented their FLPs at home. Having taken part in my questionnaire, the entire family agreed to be observed to help me with my research project.

The reason I was invited to conduct my observation over dinnertime with the family, was because mealtimes in Lebanese culture are believed to be the most 'intimate part' of a family's daily routine where all members of the family could join together around the table, to discuss personal and familial issues as well as general matters related to work, school, or anything else. Youmna explained to me over the phone, prior to my visit, that mealtimes were not just about food and about eating nice meals, but rather they were an **'important opportunity for family members to get together, speak LA freely when sharing our stories, and feel intimate and nicely connected as a true Lebanese family living in London'** (Youmna). She told me that LA was the only language capable of fulfilling the functions of family discussions and intimate exchange of ideas, because **'it enables the entire family to connect with our Lebanese identity and cultural values and reinforce our special Lebanese way of life at home'** (Youmna).

For all the above reasons, I was extremely grateful for the opportunity given to me to personally explore these issues in-depth.

I arrived at my destination around 5:30 pm and was warmly greeted by Youmna and her husband Amer (Mr Khayr). They invited me to take a seat at their living room, where the youngest daughter Maria aged 11 years was busy doing her Maths homework. As soon as she saw me entering the room, she stood up, shook my hand and **greeted me in LA** saying: {ahla wu sahla *TANTE* (FR)} meaning in English: “Welcome auntie” and introduced herself to me in **LA**.

Soon after, the dad called his older two boys Peter (15 years) and Mario (16 years), and asked them to introduce themselves to me. **They did so in LA** and politely asked me why I was interested in observing them at home. I asked them if they preferred me to speak English or LA to explain the purpose of my visit and research objectives. They both laughed and replied: ‘naḥna mniḥki wu nifham ‘arabi ktīr mnīḥ wu’ meaning in English: <we speak and understand LA very well>, and Mario **added in LA**: ‘bima’innū ḥaḍirtik libnāniyyi wu ‘am tzūrīna bi baytna afḍal niḥki ‘arabi killna ma’ ba’ḍna’ <since you are Lebanese and visiting us at home, it would be better to speak LA all together>

During my observation, I had the opportunity to engage in conversation with children and parents trying to understand how children creatively chose their linguistic codes and exercised their agency when interacting with different interlocutors such as when talking to each other, with parents, and with me as a Lebanese guest. Specifically, I noted that:

1- Code-switching (CS) is a natural linguistic behaviour that promotes HLM in this family

I noted that the ways children and parents used their languages differed **intergenerationally more in accordance with the topic of conversation** than with the interlocutor or context/ place of conversation.

I noticed that when the topic of conversation related to **school or work issues** the *dad himself code-switched between English and LA* to express his opinions, whereas **the children and notably the older two boys spoke exclusively in English**. The *younger girl* Maria code-switched more between English and LA when talking to her parents and brothers. When I asked the boys why they used English in those particular instances with their dad, they responded that school-related issues usually occurred in settings where English was normally spoken, and that they chose not to use LA because they were not talking about their **personal or family-related matters**, which normally required **the use of LA**. However, when the topic of conversation centred on **personal and intimate family issues** or issues relevant to the family in Lebanon, the dad spoke **exclusively in LA** and the children intervened by **CS** between English and LA. When asked about why they switched to LA, the children told me that it felt **more natural to express their opinions about personal matters and issues concerning Lebanese culture in LA**, because there were certain concepts and words in LA that did not have any equivalent in English, or which they could not transmit completely in English given the specific nature of their **emotional nuance**. They told me that each topic dictated its choice of language. In fact, when we were talking about something connected to Lebanon, grandparents, Lebanese cousins or matters of Lebanese culture such as the way their grandmother ‘sweet-talks’ and cajoles them in LA, I noted that **LA was the most natural code children and parents used to convey these cultural-specific meanings and expressions**. However when discussing **matters related to British life** such as schoolwork, work-related issues, hobbies and activities generally performed with English-speaking friends, **children naturally choose English** whereas the dad code-switched between English and LA. In fact, **I could argue that language and identity in this family were closely inter-related**, because parents and children found it hard to express their ideas in English when talking about issues of Lebanese culture and values. The younger daughter Maria explained to me that it would not sound right for her to say to her grandmother to whom she had great admiration and affection {shta’tillik tīta} meaning in English: “I miss you grandmother” or {Bḥibbik} meaning “I love you”, in English. She added that

there were no equivalent terms in English, to convey the meaning of most Lebanese terms her **grandmother always uses when cajoling** her and her brothers, such as:

LA: *tou'brinī ya tita shu bħibbik*

English translation: May you bury me grandmother how much I love you.

Meaning: I love you so much my grand daughter.

Therefore, I argue that **LA use was strongly connected with feelings of emotions, love and nostalgia. Parents and children used it repeatedly when they wanted to express affective feelings or discuss specific issues related to their homeland, family members, and Lebanese cultural values.** Additionally, based on today's observations, I concluded that contrary to the questionnaire answers in which the children claimed to use **all the time LA** in conversation with their parents, and the parents claimed to use **LA all the time at home with their children**, in practice, the parents and children in this family **code-switch naturally** as part of their linguistic behaviour, exhibiting characteristics of bilingual (or multilingual) and bicultural speakers. However, the **dad seemed to code-switch to English more often than the mother**, and the children code-switch more frequently than their parents. I also recorded that the **mother mixed in several instances, French, English and LA** in the same sentence when addressing her children. This behaviour may relate to her previous education and upbringing in Lebanon, where it is not unusual for middle-class and well-educated people to mix LA, French and English as part of their multilingual practices. The mother's personal experiences in Lebanon with multilingualism could explain her positive attitudes towards CS and translanguaging, and her motivation and dedication to develop her children's bilingual/multilingual and biliteracy skills. This became particularly salient to me when I asked her about her opinion about language teaching in the UK. She answered that the overall ideology in the UK may favour multilingual education for children, mainly for European languages such as French, German and Spanish. For those reasons, **she made her own arrangements to develop her children's literacy in MSA and oracy in LA.** Her opinion reflected the challenges most HL families face in the

dominant society to maintain their languages and ethnic identities, and combat forces of assimilation. It also connected to the literature that HLM was a complex and challenging issue, which required the support of not only heritage families and ethnic communities, but the wider society too. Unless **multilingualism is exalted as a source of pride and profit for all members of the society**, as argued by Duchêne and Heller (2012), language shift could continue to progress in our modern world and lead to language loss.

2- Family language policy (FLP) is dynamic and changing

With regards to language management and practices, I noticed today that **parents did not comply with the FLP of LA-only rule, as stated by the mother in the questionnaire**. Nevertheless, I noted that the **mother was stricter than the father in sticking to her FLP and enforcing the rule of LA-only use at home most of the time**, as she was constantly **reminding the children** at every single opportunity to use LA at home notably over dinnertime and **reprimanding them when not doing so**. When the children responded in English she asked them to **repeat** the same idea in LA stressing that it was not acceptable to speak English at home to Lebanese guests, or to her and her husband. She explained to them that when their father returned home after a long day at work, he was usually too tired to exert any efforts to speak or hear English at home, and that **it was only appropriate for everyone in the family to speak LA**. Consequently, they had to **respect that principle and speak in LA as much as possible to make family time more intimate and enjoyable**, and to develop their LA skills. It was clear to me that the mother made **conscious and explicit efforts to speak LA** most of the time with her kids and with her husband, and to **control children's language use**. The mother's previous experiences with multilingualism in Lebanon, coupled with her strong attitudes towards multilingualism, which she regarded as a resource for personal achievement, appeared to influence her language maintenance strategies with her children. The father, who accomplished his university studies in the UK and has been living and working in the UK over 25 years,

seemed to be very competent in English (though not necessarily more comfortable speaking it at home with his wife and children). The father mainly worked with English speaking colleagues and hence, used English most of the time at work. These reasons could explain why **he code-switched to English at home more often than the mother**, and was **less conforming to the LA-only rule**. Nevertheless, he seemed very motivated to speak LA at home with his children and wanted his children to speak LA, as he often reminded them that **they were Lebanese and as such, must feel this bond by speaking LA fluently**.

Children, on their part, seemed to respect their parents' FLP and appreciate the value ascribed to LA. However, they **often code-switched** between the linguistic repertoires available at their disposal as a way to engage with, and **contribute meaningfully to family discussions**. They did so by exercising their agency in manipulating the parent's FLP of LA-only at home. Consequently, parents accommodated their children and code-switched to English as a strategy to enhance children's bilingual development and keep them motivated to speak LA. During my stay, the dad told his son (Peter, 15) that it was **perfectly acceptable and normal to keep switching** between LA and English, as long as he spoke more LA than English.

Based on my observations in this family so far, I can conclude that the children in the Khayr family **are bilingual speakers of both LA and English**, parallel to what was stated in the children's questionnaire. They were able to engage in lengthy conversation with me, though **not using LA exclusively all the time**. However, children are more dominant in English than LA possibly because they are socialised into English from various input sources namely the schools, social networks, and the media. Yet, children are **emotionally very attached to their homeland, family members, and their ethnic and cultural identity**. **LA seems to form an important part of their Lebanese identity**, and children are motivated to maintain it. Both **parents are also very proud of their ethnic and cultural origin** and adopt **language policies and practices that favour intergenerational maintenance of LA and ethnic identity**. Although parents state that they

adopt the FLP of LA-only, in practice, this policy is not always maintained as **code-switching appears to be the most natural and preferred linguistic behaviour of children**. Parents have positive attitudes towards CS, and perceive it as a **strategy that promotes bilingual development and leads to HLM rather than to LS**. The field of **FLP is, therefore, dynamic and changing in this family and it is also bi-directional**. Both parents and children are active agents who continuously exercise their agency to (re)negotiate and (re)adjust FLPs to accommodate each other's needs. This demonstrates the complex relationships between FLP at the micro-level and language ideologies and policies at the macro-level.

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F2: Field notes

Date: 11/12/2016

Time: 3 pm- 5pm

Place: The neighbourhood of Mrs Mohsen

Observing: Mrs Mohsen, Mustafa and Aysha (Ali was at a friend's house)

Today, Mrs Mohsen invited me to go with her and her 2 children Mustafa and Aysha to do some errands in the neighbourhood. I was very excited about the idea because it was a perfect opportunity for me to compare the data gathered from the interviews and questionnaires pertaining to children's linguistic practices in the neighbourhood and their actual linguistic practices in real life scenarios.

Along our way, Mrs Mohsen was telling how lucky she was to live in her neighbourhood. She explained that many of her Lebanese friends lived in the same area, which allowed her to visit them frequently every week and allowed her children to be surrounded by Lebanese friends who shared common ethnic, cultural and linguistic background. Her comment coincided with the interview and questionnaire data that portrayed a dense and close-knit social network of Lebanese people living in the same neighbourhood, and played an important role in the process of HLM and LS (Fishman, 1991; Baker, 201).

Upon arrival to the grocer's shop, Mrs Mohsen asked Mustafa and Aysha to go in and order the food items on the shopping list she had written for (in MSA), whilst she popped into the chemist next door to buy her own items. I asked Mrs Mohsen if I could accompany her children to the grocer's shop. She welcomed the idea.

As soon as we entered the shop (I noticed that the name of the grocer's shop was written in Arabic), Mustafa and Aysha greeted the shop owner Mr Halim in LA saying:

Mustafa and Aysha: (greeting together) marḥaba ‘ammo! kifak?
<Hello uncle? How are you?>

Mr Halim: ḥamdilla wu intu ya ḥilwīn? kifkun?
<I’m fine thank god my lovely friends and you? How are you?>

Mustafa and Aysha responded: anshukr naḥna mnīḥ
< we are well thank you >

Mr Halim: shu wayn il mama?shū badda ḡrāḍ il yawm?
< So? where is mum? What items does she need today?>

Aysha responded in LA: **please** (eng) ‘ammo il mamā badda kīlo kafta wu tḥayn kīlo shīsh ṭawū’
<please uncle, mum would like 1kg of Kafta (a typical sort of Lebanese spiced meat) and 2kg of ‘shish tawouk’ (typical type of Lebanese spiced chicken)>.

Meanwhile I heard Mustafa having a small conversation with a young employee (who seemed in his early 20’s and of Lebanese heritage):

Mustafa: **hi** (eng) māzin **please** (eng) ‘ṭīni ‘ilbit ḥummus kbīri wu ‘annīnit dibs il rimmān wu shwayyit baṣal wu baṭāṭa! bas na’iyun ‘ala zaw’ak **ok**(eng)?
<Hi Mazen, please give me a big box of Hommos (type of Lebanese chick peas), a bottle of pomegranate Molasses (ethnic Middle eastern syrup used to flavour food) and a bit of onions and potatoes! But choose them well, to your taste (typical Lebanese expression meaning as best as you could as if they were choosing for yourself, Ok?>

Throughout our stay in the shop I noticed that Mustafa and Aysha were confidently conversing in LA with Mr Halim, the employee (Mazen) and the customers entering the shop, presenting excellent speaking skills and good knowledge of Lebanese culture and customs. They were using culture specific Lebanese terms such as ‘ammo’ (uncle), ‘shukran’ (thank you), ‘ala zawak’ (to your taste), names of ethnic foods and ingredients (shish tawouk, hommos, kafta, dibs il rumman).

My impression today asserted what Mrs Mohsen had told me about her children’s advanced abilities in Arabic (during our previous discussions at home), and about the possibility of using LA in the neighbourhood with Lebanese and Arabs. This dense Lebanese social network was in fact a key factor contributing to the maintenance of LA and the strengthening of Lebanese ethnic identity among Lebanese families in London.

After finishing food shopping, Mrs Mohsen met us outside the grocer’s shop and invited me to go for a coffee with her and Aysha (Mustafa had left us to join his friends at another coffee shop in the high street). At the coffee shop, we were joined by some of Mrs Mohsen’s friends and their children. I noted that Aysha and her friends were ordering some food in LA and talking to their parents in LA. Parents were also speaking LA to their kids and among each

other. The kids were talking about their favourite TV program on a Lebanese channel called 'the voice kids'.

Aysha: anā ṣawwatit mbāriḥ la runī! ṣawtu kān raw'a wu intū? la mīn ṣawwatū? **Please** (eng) ma t'ūlūli inkun ṣsawwatū la rīma! ṣawta bi 'arrif wu manna 'arībi lal 'alb wa shway

< I voted yesterday for Rony! his voice was amazing! and you? Who did you vote for? Please don't tell me you voted for Rima! Her voice was crap and she was not 'close to the heart' (a Lebanese expression meaning 'likeable').

My notes show that the children in the Mohsen family have advanced speaking skills in LA and a strong sense of ethnic identity. Their ability to practice and speak LA at home and outside the home environment was a very positive factor that promoted the maintenance of LA in this family. The mother also played a key role in managing FLPs. She consistently spoke LA with her children at home and outside in the neighbourhood, thus creating opportunities for her kids to socialize with other Lebanese and speak LA: she took them on a regular basis to local Lebanese shops, she wrote her shopping lists in MSA and gave them to her kids so they can buy them themselves, she arranged regular meetings with other Lebanese mothers and their children, she sent her kids to Lebanese school, she attended with her kids weekly religious prayers, and she travelled once a year to Lebanon. These strategies appeared to be producing positive language maintenance outcomes among children and a strong sense of ethnic identity.

For my next observation session, I should find out if children in this family have also high literacy skills in MSA. Test their reading and comprehension skills in MSA, and role of media in literacy and HL development.

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F3: Field notes

Date: 25/12/2016

Place: Church hall

Time: 12-2:30pm

Observing: The Khoury family (George, Souha and their 3 children Nida (13), Hala (11) and Heba (8)).

It was Christmas day and the Khoury family invited me to the Lebanese church in London to have a small celebration with them and their church members following Christmas mass. I gladly accepted their invitation because it was a good opportunity for me to observe how children used their languages outside their home environment.

After mass, children ran to the church hall with their parents to celebrate Christmas day with friends and families. Children seemed to know each other very well. They CS between LA and English when talking among themselves. I heard parents reminding their children loudly to speak LA only since it was a Lebanese occasion. This language management strategy s formed part of their FLP. I quoted one mother saying:

Mrs X: ma tinsu tiḥku ‘arabi! hawn naḥna kilna libnāniyyi fa mafi Izūm lal inklīzi abadan

<Hey! Don't forget to speak LA! Here, we are all Lebanese, so there is no need for English>

This confirmed questionnaire and interview data that parents were motivated and invested in transmitting LA to their children. LA has a strong integrative value, connected with Lebanese identity and culture.

Parents also spoke LA among each other. Another evidence that affirmed questionnaire and interview data.

During my stay, I noticed that Nida (13) was speaking LA very fluently with her friends and the adults present. She was telling her friends about the presents she received for Christmas, the gifts she gave her younger sisters and the delicious food her mother had prepared for the entire family for Christmas eve.

Nida: ahli jābūli ahli mbāriḥ **iphone 6** (eng)! Kint mayyti baddi wāḥad! ‘ayyadit! wu ana hdīt ikhti hala kanzi ktīr ḥilwi min ‘and **Zara** (eng) wu inkhti hiba shanṭa wu daftar min ‘and **Smiggle** (eng)! Wu intu shū ijākun **presents** (eng).

<My parents gave me yesterday an iphone 6! I was desperate to have one! I rejoiced (I was over the moon)! I gave my sister Hala a very nice jumper from Zara and my sister Heba a bag and a notepad from Smiggle! And You? What presents did you get?>

However when she greeted her friends in the church hall she did so using the English terms: ‘Merry Christmas’. This showed her bilingual abilities in both LA and English and her integration into British society (whilst maintaining her Lebanese identity).

Hala (11) and Heba (8) were also speaking LA most of the time when addressing older people and their peers. However CS between English and LA was also a typical linguistic behavior that characterized their hybrid identity and reflected their adaptation to the host society (though not assimilating to it; they were very proud to be Lebanese and to speak LA).

I quoted Hala saying to her friend:

Hala: **please** (eng) {*TANTE*} (FR) fiya sūsū tiji la ‘innā ba’d ma nukhlaṣ min hawn? Fiya ta’mul **sleepover**? bukra furṣa wu mā fi maddrassi wu mā fi **homework** (eng)

< please auntie can Susu come to us after we finish from here? Can she have a sleepover? tomorrow it is holiday, so there is no school and no homework?>

I heard Heba (8) saying to her friend:

Hala: niyyālik inti ahlij jābulik kalb şġīr bas ana mā 'iblū! Il mamā mā badda! bit'ūl innu il klāb baddun ktīr **attention** (eng) wu lāzim nākhidun 'and il **vet** (eng) wu na'millun **vaccinations** (eng) kil sini! bass anā raḥ mūt baddi kalb **Chihuahua** (eng)!

<you are lucky you parents got you a small dog but mine did not agree! My mum does not want! She says that dogs need a lot of attention and we should take them to the vet and give them vaccinations every year! But I am dying to have a Chihuahua dog>

The above quotations pointed that the girls in the Khoury family were multilingual speakers who used their different linguistic repertoires (LA, English and French) as part of their natural linguistic behaviour. They appeared socialized into Lebanese culture and at the same time adapted to British culture and society.

Note: The entire atmosphere in the church hall was typical Lebanese (food brought into the hall by members of the congregations, the exchange of small gifts, the Lebanese coffee served in the hall, the priest's speech and best wishes for Christmas). These religious festivals and rituals seemed to strengthen the sense of ethnic, religious and cultural identity among Lebanese families in London and promote the use and maintenance of LA in London.