6 Discussing core categories

For the conceptualization of GERT, I hypothesized that there are institutions in Israeli society which are associated with different concepts of typical language use, such as speaking 'correct Hebrew.' The variables 'correct Hebrew' and 'social status' were implied from the findings of the open interviews, during the first fieldwork stage. Both variables have to be unpacked again and need to be interpreted in the light of the participants' statements.

With GERT, some common categories that HSs use to categorize different ways of speaking Hebrew could be singled out and were further classified in 2.1.4.4. These 13 notions will be treated as the core categories for the following discussion – thereby, RQ1[1] and RQ2[2] have been partially answered. The meaning of the core categories depends on personal preferences for certain social groups over others and the participants' own identification with the groups in question, as well as their personal everyday experiences with the groups. As expressed in the "mutual knowledge paradox," no certainty can be reached about the content and the congruity of shared knowledge (Lanwer & Coussios 2017: 142–143). This implication is also expressed in Geeraerts' statement in respect to the potentially heterogeneous distribution of associations in a speech community:

> [P]rototype-theoretical research should abandon the naive idea of a completely homogeneous linguistic community. The distribution of the different elements of a prototypically organized category over the members of a speech community is likely to be heterogeneous. (Geeraerts 2008: 33)

On these premises, the GERT data will be contextualized with the participants' statements and the theoretical assumptions for this study to tackle the second part of RQ1 and RQ2, which ask about the characteristics of these core categories. RQ3[3], RQ6[4] and RQ7[5] will be guiding the discussion. Inferences about RQ5[6] will be made on the basis of the GERT data and the guided interviews in Section 6.2.

What the GERT data cannot provide are conclusions about actual speech behavior and the social status of the people which can be classified with the core categories.

1 RQ1 Which main categories are applied by HSs to classify linguistic variation in MH and how are they defined?

2 RQ2 Which social groups are distinguishable on basis of their language use, according to HSs and how are these groups characterized?

3 RQ3 Which linguistic phenomena do HSs link to the categories (of RQ1 and RQ2) and why?

4 RQ6 Which kind of different LAs do HSs express?

5 RQ7 How are these LAs reflected in their reported language practice?

6 RQ5 Which kind of a linguistic standard do HSs have in mind and how were these ideas shaped?

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The data reflects participants' opinions and can provide insights into their representations of speech behavior and other associations of certain groups which are framed with these categories. Potentially, the data is contradictory: diverging opinions about certain categories can be observed in the heatmaps. If the shape of a heatmap is more uniform, with one clear center, it may be a hint that the represented category is conventionalized with stereotypical ratings among the participants.

The rating component of GERT was directly aimed to answer RQ4[7] and to gain insights about a possible order of linguistic variation in MH – the overarching research question of this study, RQ0[8]. A preliminary order is suggested with the summary of the participants' ratings in Fig. 5.5. This illustration of the summarized GERT data and the heatmaps for each category which were introduced in 5.5.2 pose an entry to the analysis.

The category with the lowest mean rating for 'social status,' the 'uneducated,' did not receive the worst average rating for 'correct Hebrew' (see Table 5.4). This spot is occupied by 'new immigrants' which received a favorable mean rating for 'social status' – only five categories were rated better. The categories with the highest ratings are 'Jewish elite,' 'public figures,' 'Ashkenazim and 'educated.' While 'Ashkenazim' were rated best in terms of 'correct Hebrew' and very similar as 'educated,' the category with the highest mean rating for 'social status,' 'Jewish elite,' occupies only the fifth place of 'correct Hebrew.' From these observations follows that the participants did not necessarily associate 'correct Hebrew' with the highest 'social status' – the category 'army,' which ranks fifth in terms of 'social status,' was even rated slightly negative for 'correct Hebrew.' 'Mizrahim' and 'Russians' have very similar mean ratings for both variables. Both were rated closely to the neutral values 0/0. They are also close to 'Arabs' which was rated even more favorably in both respects. 'Haredim' sticks out as the only category that was rated positively for 'correct Hebrew' and negatively for 'social status' – status-wise this category ranges very close to 'periphery.' Potentially all the core categories appear as socially and linguistically marked, if 0/0 is interpreted as indicating an unmarked point of reference. The core categories which are closest to 0/0 are 'Mizrahim,' 'Russians,' 'Arabs' and 'army.' Does this mean that they are the default categories? In the following, this surprising implication will be further studied with the heatmaps for each category.

7 RQ4 How are categories from RQ1 and RQ2 applied by the speakers rated in terms of 'prestige' and 'correctness of Hebrew?'

8 RQ0 How can linguistic variation in MH be ordered?

Before delving into the individual discussion of each core category and their relations to each other, the next section will briefly address RQ8[9] and RQ9[10] which ask about the causality behind linguistic and social categorization.

6.1 Thoughts on formation and use of the categories

To get an idea how the participants talked about these categories, a20f2l2's answer to Q14 will be reviewed, which is very illustrative because she listed five of the thirteen core categories ad hoc. A20f2l2 had made *'aliyah* from South Africa and had learned Hebrew in several *ulpan* courses before she took up her obligatory army service which she was serving at the time of the interview. At the point of the interview when she gave this answer, I had not yet introduced GERT – therefore the answer could not have been influenced by the template with the variables.

9 RQ8 To what extent are representations of social categories influenced by linguistic variation?
10 RQ9 To what extent is linguistic variation influenced by representations of social categories?

(8) a20f2l2 (32:08)

yes there are there are these like... I'm not exactly sure if they are Iraqis or Moroccans or this, but like Mizrahim. *They speak a bit differently and if they have a very strong accent and it's a bit Arabic or something. Then I know, like OK,* wallah. *And some people really* Ashkenazi, *they also have a little something. Like, I heard how one of the commanders in the course speaks and I asked someone, what kind of accent is that and they said, he's just very* Ashkenazi. *And Russians, too. Of course I can say who is Russian, generally by the accent and French and people from the US, in general. Or if they are good with accent, but not much and who else? There are like the religious,* Haredim *and so. I am watching a series, it is called* Shtisel *[...] yes, it's like they have something different, they speak a little, and they have a lot [...] they have a lot of Yiddish and that, too. so, I can hear, like. And the Ethiopians have something, so, there are many groups.*

כן יש, יש אאת ה-, כאילו, אני לא בטוחה בדיוק אם הם עיראקים או מרוקאים או זה, אבל מזרחים כאילו. הם מדברים קצת שונה ואם יש להם מבטא ממש חזקה וזה קצת ערבי או משהו. אז אני יודעת או קיי ואללה. כאילו ולכמה אנשים כאילו ממש אשכנזים. יש להם קצת משהו גם. כאילו שמעתי איך אחד מהמפקדים בקורס מדבר ושאלתי למישהו איזה מבטא זה כאילו ואמרו סתם הוא ממש אשכנזי כאילו. וגם הרוסים. ברור אני יכולה להגיד מי רוסי בכללי מהמבטא וצרפתים ואנשים מארצות הברית בכללי. או אם הם טוב במבטא אבל לא הרבה ומי עוד ? יש את ה, כאילו הדתיים חרדים וזה. אני רואה סדרה, קוראים את זה שטיסל [...] כן אז כאילו יש להם משהו אחר הם מדברים כאילו קצת משהו וגם יש להם הרבה [...] יש להם הרבה יידיש וזה גם. אז אני יכולה כאילו לשמוע. ולאתיופים יש להם משהו, אז יש הרבה קבוצות.

Despite being a L1 English speaker, a20f2l2 used the specific categories that were available in MH for the Israeli context of social and linguistic categorization. This observation, which is by itself not surprising, resonates in the following quotation:

> The reality of everyday life appears already objectified, that is, constituted by an order of objects that have been designated as objects before my appearance on the scene. The language used in everyday life continuously provides me with the necessary objectifications and posits the order within which these make sense and within which everyday life has meaning for me. (Berger & Luckmann 1967: 35–36)

At first, she referred hesitatingly to the subcategories of "Iraqis or Moroccans," before she bundled them under the specifically Israeli category 'Mizrahim' (see 3.1.3). She explained that a "very strong accent" which reminds her of something like Arabic is enough for her to arrive at this classification. It seems that the category 'Mizrahim' is convenient because her inability to name the precise origin (Iraq or Morocco) no longer matters as both categories can be subsumed under a single term.

As Sacks (1989: 280–281) points out, "two-class sets" are especially effective and widespread for categorization processes. Therefore, her next step to refer to 'Ashkenazim' can be understood as mentioning the opposite category of 'Mizrahim,' in what is apparently a commonly used "two-class set" in the Israeli context. It can be deduced that she adopted both categories for her own categorization through a learning process because she recounts that she had to ask Israelis, in her army course, what kind of "accent" her commander had. Thus, she related her personal experience of someone's speech behavior to other native speakers' DK. Not all the categories she mentioned are based on her own experiences: she declared that she had not had encounters with *Haredim* and explains that her representations are based on the TV series *Shtisel* which depicts this social environment. Without knowing the stereotypical depiction of *Haredi* characters in *Shtisel* or the explanation of others about *Ashkenazim*, she would not be able to apply these categories the way she does.

From a20f2l2's GERT template, it can be seen that she marked herself and me (the interviewer) – both L2 Hebrew speakers and therefore similar – with the entry "we," directly on the neutral 0/0 position of the diagram. This indicates that she related to all the other categories which are spread across the template as marked in relation to herself – the unmarked point of reference. A20f2l2 characterized all the categories as being marked linguistically either by "accents" or by the use of "Yiddish" or vaguely as *yesh la-hem mashehu* 'they have something.' As has been argued with Kristiansen (2008: 61) in 2.1.4.4, representations of typical speech behavior, "linguistic stereotypes," are associated with "social stereotypes." Following Geeraerts's definition, a20f2l2's categories and consequently all the core categories can be described as stereotypes because they are learned and therefore part of the collective knowledge:

> *[S]tereotypes are prototypes seen from a social angle.* Prototypes are primarily psychological notions with an individual status. Stereotypes, on the other hand, are social entities; they indicate what the adult citizen is supposed to know about the referents of the categories he uses, given the principle of the division of linguistic labor. Stereotypes involve the social, prototypes the psychological organization of knowledge, but to the extent that they coincide, prototypes/stereotypes constitute a link between the psychological and the social organization of semantic knowledge. (Geeraerts 2008: 27)

Generally, it is hard to describe linguistic phenomena with words, as can be seen from a20f2l2's statement – probably, representations of the speech behavior which she associates with the mentioned categories are better profiled non-verbally. Some participants did not restrict themselves to mentioning categories, but tried to imitate corresponding speech patterns. For example, a30f3l2 (12:17) imitated a Spanish accent in MH, when she explained that she likes the way native Spanish speakers from

South America speak MH. Kristiansen describes this ability to recall and reproduce "lectal schemata:"

> [A]s Hearer does not limit himself to an imitation of speech produced in the speech situation in situ, it strengthens the argument that humans possess receptive and active competence of speech styles which are stored in our long-term memory. We seem to be able to draw upon knowledge about relatively entrenched lectal schemata and their relationship to social categories [80] or social situations in order to bring about an effect on Hearer. (Kristiansen 2008: 79–80)

Participants who were really into GERT probably tried to simulate the categorization processes they go through subconsciously. There are several instances when participants seemingly switched to the speech pattern they were thinking of. For example, a20f2l2's use of *wallah* in the above citation can be interpreted as an imitation of a *Mizrahi* speech pattern – the category she was describing as characterized by a "strong accent and it's a bit Arabic or something." *Wallah* is an Arabic expression for swearing on *'allah* which is used in colloquial MH and can be translated as 'indeed' in the context of a20f2l2's statement. Similarly, s41m3l1 seems to have switched to a lower register during GERT when he thought of examples for "not correct Hebrew and low status." As an example for a typical *Mizrahi* worker, he thought of an ex-colleague and when he resumed the task, he said *ma 'od holekh po* 'what else is going on here' – which is a more casual wording, compared to his preceding utterances.

(9) s41m3l1 (34:37)

Not correct Hebrew and low status, I would say what's called the working class. [...] So, there was the warehouse keeper of Mizrahi-*Persian origin. To my knowledge he stopped going to school in the 9th, 10th grade. A warehouse keeper, let's call it workers. His language was not kind of something. What else is going on, here?*	עברית לא תקנית מעמד נמוך, הייתי אומר מה שנקרא מעמד הפועלים [...] היה שם את המחסנאי ממוצא מזרחי פרסי. לדעתי סיים ללכת לבית ספר בכיתה ט׳ כיתה י׳. מחסנאי, נקראה לזה פועלים. השפה שלו לא היתה כזאת משהו. מה עוד הולך פה?

These imitations of speech patterns may be the outcome of cognitive processes such as mirror neuronal activity: when evoking the representation of a typical *Mizrahi* worker, s41m3l1 tried to recall a speech pattern through silent imitation and when he spoke again in the interview, he was still in his role, which is indicated by his different choice of words.

S41m3l1's statement reveals more about the prototypical structure of his representation of his GERT entry *po'alim* 'workers.' Although s41m3l1's primary association for a social group with "not correct Hebrew and low status" may be defined as peo-

ple who work physically, in contrast to white-collar workers, there are additional associations, such as a low level of education and *Mizrahi* origin which come up immediately: instead of defining the group of *po'alim* only in respect to the common characteristics of their jobs, s41m3l1 introduced additional distinctions. Rosch describes this way of categorization as the

> tendency once a contrast exists to define attributes for contrasting categories so that the categories will be maximally distinctive. In either case, it is a fact that both representativeness within a category and distinctiveness from contrast categories are correlated with prototypicality in real categories. (Rosch 1978: 37)

Stereotypes also function on the premise of maximal distinctiveness from other categories, as Tajfel points out:

> They introduce simplicity and order where there is complexity and nearly random variation. They can help to cope only if fuzzy differences between groups are transmuted into clear ones, or new differences created where none exist. (Tajfel 1969: 82)

Categorical differences can be created with the transfer of "speech facts" to groups through

> iconization (in which linguistic facts are related to nonlinguistic characteristics of a group [...]) and may lead to recursivity (in which even small differences between groups, such as minor linguistic ones, may be projected outwards to define wider oppositions between groups), and erasure (in which similarities between groups or the nonsalient features of a stereotyped group's behavior are ignored) [...] (Preston 2010: 2)

With these processes, stereotypical attributes are conventionalized for social groups. In retrospect, it is hard hard to determine if a social group was at first defined on the basis of its typical speech patterns or on its non-linguistic characteristics. In fact, it has been illustrated with the participants' quotations that they defined their categories according to several prototypical attributes. It is sensible to understand these categories as complex constructions whose components do not have the same meaning if they are looked at in isolation:

> Adopting a frame-oriented approach, we may say that a linguistic stereotype leads us efficiently, directly and rapidly to the corresponding social stereotype with all its value-laden components because a source-in-target producer-product or cause-effect metonymic schema is at work: the speech pattern associated with a particular group leads hearer to the wider frame of the social group itself, to the social stereotype associated with it (psychological attributes included) and all the encyclopaedic knowledge hearer has about the group in question. (Kristiansen 2008: 67)

It is safe to say that linguistic stereotypes play an important role for the categorization of social groups in general. As I tried to illustrate with participants' imitations of typical linguistic patterns, the mirroring of typical speech patterns can be thought of as motor activities which are known to occupy an important role in basic level categorization (see 2.1.4.4). It may even seem that certain social groups are defined primarily through their linguistic behavior which is perceived as otherness, as Wiese (2017: 331) argues. Speakers of a certain language variety are not represented just on the basis of typical linguistic characteristics, but with all kinds of stereotypical attributes. Social groups such as 'Russians' and 'Mizrahim' can be defined primarily on the basis of their linguistic behavior or their origin, for example. Then, further attributes such as cultural preferences, typical (non-linguistic) behavior, places of living, level of education, choices of employment and mean income can become defining attributes.

For example, by the erasure of linguistic and other differences between 'Iraqis' and 'Moroccans' the category 'Mizrahim' is fostered, while recursivity leads to the representational overemphasis of small differences in comparison to the reference group – the 'Ashkenazim.' Consequentially, 'Mizrahim' are represented with a linguistic stereotype which sets them apart from the 'linguistic standard,' as can be seen from a20f2l2's quotation above. Through these processes, it can become irrelevant to the structure of the categories 'Ashkenazim' and 'Mizrahim' if and to what degree HSs of Polish and Moroccan origin – even in subsequent generations – actually differ in their use of Hebrew.

From this discussion, it follows that RQ8 and RQ9 cannot be answered generally because they are misleading: by asking separately about the impact of deeply interrelated processes of social and linguistic categorization, it is implied that they can be studied in isolation – which is hardly practicable. A better question would be: Which linguistic variants are represented as indexical for categories of speakers and on what linguistic basis are the categories actually applied? While the second part of the question can only be determined with perception experiments, some linguistic variants that participants associated with the core categories will be reviewed in the following.

The next sections are about participants' notions of 'correct Hebrew,' 'standard Hebrew' and 'slang,' before the discussion will move on to participants' representations of group-specific variation in MH.

6.2 Notions of correct Hebrew, standard Hebrew and slang

Based on participants' statements from the first fieldwork stage, such as i53f2l1's (26:48) quotation (1), I supposed that HSs make a basic distinction between marked

linguistic variants in MH on a higher and lower level: 'correct Hebrew' and 'slang.' To explore participants' notions of a 'linguistic standard' in MH, I asked about the terms *'ivrit tiḳnit* and *'ivrit sṭandarṭit* with Q1 during the guided interviews:

Q1

What is 'ivrit tiḳnit *and* 'ivrit sṭandarṭit *for you? What's the difference?*	מה זה בשבילך עברית סטנדרטית ומה זה עברית תקנית? מה ההבדל?

'Ivrit tiḳnit can be translated as 'normative correct Hebrew' – *tiḳnit* is a derivation of the noun *teḳen* which means 'standard' or 'norm.' *'Ivrit sṭandarṭit* contains the loanword *sṭandarṭit* which must have been taken originally from a European language. Both terms can be translated as 'standard Hebrew.' However, I noted during the open interviews that most participants used *'ivrit tiḳnit* for 'normative correct Hebrew,' while they used *'ivrit sṭandarṭit* for (their) everyday speech. With Q1 I tried to inquire about HSs' representations of a normative standard and its relation to the everyday SH as well as their reported language use.

The participants' answers confirmed my hypothesis that they commonly used *'ivrit tiḳnit* to refer to 'normative correct Hebrew,' in contrast to *'ivrit sṭandarṭit* – the unmarked standard. Therefore, the terms will be translated as 'correct Hebrew' and 'standard Hebrew' in the following. It will be shown that there are some deviations from this tendency in the participants' answers. Foremost participants aged older than 50 claimed to make no distinction between correct and standard Hebrew, while most younger participants pointed out that correct Hebrew is rarely spoken, in contrast to standard Hebrew which tends to digress into 'slang.' It will be argued in 6.2.3 that these different attitudes between younger and older speakers can be explained with the different historical contexts at the time of the participants' youth and the official language policy at that time. To get an impression how the younger participants used the different notions, some typical answers will be reviewed.

N31f3l1 rephrased Q1 by replacing *'ivrit sṭandarṭit* with *'ivrit regila* 'regular Hebrew:'

(10) n31f3l1 (1:10)

Regular Hebrew is Hebrew that one speaks with friends on the street. Often, one doesn't pay attention to small things like two.M, two.F tables or things like that – slang. Words in English that come in, like. And correct Hebrew is Hebrew that I write in academic texts that I try, let's say, when one gives a lecture, then one speaks correct Hebrew and then one pays attention to correctness and not to use necessarily foreign words, more Hebrew words.

עברית רגילה זה עברית שמדברים עם חברים ברחוב. הרבה פעמים לא שמים לב לדברים קטנים כמו שני, שתי שולחנות או דברים כאלה, סלנג. מילים באנגלית שנכנסות, כאילו. ועברית תקנית זה עברית שאני כותבת איתה את העבודות באקדמיה, שאני מנסה שנגיד נותנים הרצאה אז מדברים בעברית תקנית ואז שמים לב יותר לדיוק ולא להשתמש בהכרך במילים לועזיות, יותר במילים עבריות.

PS *And what is standard Hebrew?*

n31f3l1 *That's the slang, like the street, that was the first thing – yes, the regular*

ומה זה עברית סטנדרטית?

זה הסלנג, כאילו הרחוב. זה היה הדבר הראשון, כן הרגילה.

N31f3l1 gave an example for 'slang' with the normative incorrect phrase *shtei shulḥanot* 'two.F tables.M' which lacks gender agreement between noun and modifier. S41m3l1 answered in a similar fashion by describing standard Hebrew as containing *slang*, which he described in terms of Arabic loans (*wallah* and *yallah*) and expressions such as *ḥavlaz* which he associates with the context of the army. These and further linguistic characterizations of the different categories of Hebrew will be reviewed in the next section (6.2.1).

(11) s41m3l1 (0:26)

Standard Hebrew has slang in Arabic like wallah *and* yallah *and there is a bit of what you said about the army –* havlaz *and all that. Correct Hebrew, and I am saying this also as a literature teacher, correct Hebrew is in my eyes first of all correct Hebrew, which is a very rare thing – even I don't and I am a trained literature teacher. The correct Hebrew is a little its something that disappeared almost. I think that this is connected to the restricted language of the internet – I can speak about what it is not, I need to say what it is. Correct Hebrew is Hebrew of beautiful literature.*

עברית סטנדרטית יש לה סלנג בערבית כמו ואללה ויאללה ויש בה קצת מה שאמרת על הצבא, חבל״ז וכל זה. עברית תקינה ואני אגיד את זה גם כמורה לספרות, עברית תקינה היא בעיניי קודם כל עברית תקינה שזה דבר מאוד נדיר, אפילו אני לא ואני מורה לספרות בהכשרה. העברית התקינה היא קצת, זה משהו שקצת נעלם, אני חושב שזה קשור לשפה המצומצמת של האינטרנט. אני יכול לדבר על מה זה לא, צריך להגיד מה זה כן, עברית תקינה זה עברית של ספרות יפה.

Even though both n31f3l1 and s41m3l1 completed a university degree, they did not claim to speak correct Hebrew – except on rare occasions. C36f3l1 rephrased Q1 into "Like, what's the difference between spoken Hebrew and literary Hebrew?[11]" Similarly, n31f3l1 and s41m3l1 argued that correct Hebrew is primarily used in written form – in academic works and in literature. Somewhat in contradiction to their statements, all three participants stated that it is very important for them to speak correct Hebrew, just as the majority of the 21 participants who completed the guided interviews (see 6.2.3).

In contrast, a68m3l1 claimed that there is no difference between the two terms in Hebrew and he also pointed out that he tries to speak correct Hebrew, which is very important to him.

(12) a68m3l1 (0:20)

There is no difference. In Hebrew its the same – standard is teken	אין הבדל. בעברית זה אותו דבר, סטנדרט זה תקן.

However, when he filled out the GERT template, he conceded that only very few people speak *'ivrit mamash tiḳnit* 'truly correct Hebrew' – he quantified them with about 10% of the HSs, while 80% speak standard Hebrew and another 10%, the *'asirim* 'criminals', speak *safa mezohemet* 'filthy language.' Furthermore, he pointed out that, although it may seem counter intuitive, there is no linear correlation between the GERT variables: he rated his entry "elite" highest in terms of status, but neutral on the correct Hebrew axis. Just as a68m3l1's entry "elite," the core category 'Jewish elite' was rated less favorably for correct Hebrew than for status and is an outlier from the linear regression model applied on the mean ratings (see Fig. 5.5). With his entry "intellectuals" he defined the speakers of the most correct Hebrew as cultural elite who do not necessarily possess high status, in contrast to his entry "elite" which is to be understood in terms of political and economic power. He described the linguistic distance between the "intellectuals" and the majority, including the "elite," as huge.

11 The Hebrew original: מה ההבדל בין עברית מדוברת לעברית ספרותית כאילו?

(13) a68m3l1 (12:20)

And there is a group of intellectuals – maybe I put them here – who are maybe just a very small group that speaks very correct Hebrew. A very small group in quantity and it doesn't belong to status – actually – it belongs more to the cultural level: writers, artists, poets would speak a higher language and the distance is enormous.

ויש קבוצה של אינטלקטואלים אולי, אני שם אותם פה, שהם אולי רק קבוצה קטנה מאוד שמדברת עברית ממש תקנית. קבוצה קטנה מאוד בכמות שלה ולא שייך למעמד דווקא. זה שייך יותר לרמה התרבותית. סופרים, אומנים, משוררים ידברו שפה יותר גבוהה והמרחק הוא עצום.

R36f3l1's statement can also be understood as an explanation for the categories that lie outside of the blue shaded confidence interval in Fig. 5.5. She argues that for social groups with a high social status, such as physicians, or for the educated, such as teachers, speaking correct Hebrew is not necessarily characteristic.

(14) r36f3l1 (16:30)

I also can't say, let's say, that physicians are a social group that speaks high Hebrew. Its, like, high status, but the requirement to speak correct Hebrew is not so, its not so significant that someone who is a physician or a [university] lecturer speaks correct Hebrew. Even lecturers have sometimes like, incorrect Hebrew [...] Even teachers don't always speak correct Hebrew – that's the matter.

גם אני לא יכולה לומר נגיד שהרופאים זה אוכלוסיה שמדברת עברית גבוהה. כאילו זה מעמד גבוה, אבל כאילו הדרישה לדבר עברית נכונה היא לא כל כך, היא לא כל כך משמעותית כדי שמישהו הוא רופא או מרצה ידבר עברית נכונה. אפילו מרצים לפעמים יש להם, כאילו עברית לא נכונה [...] אפילו מורים לא תמיד מדברים עברית תקנית זה העניין.

Just as a68m3l1, a70f3l1, a retired high school teacher for *lashon* '(Hebrew) language,' equally claimed to make no personal distinction between standard and correct Hebrew and emphasized her continuous effort to speak correctly: to express this conscious effort of speaking correctly, she used the verb *maḳpida* 'to be strict, to insist.' participants often used this verb specifically for the context of 'speaking correctly (according to the normative rules).' At the same time, she conceded that there are major differences between correct Hebrew and the language that her pupils are using. She described that they have difficulties to express themselves in correct Hebrew and even to understand a "higher" Hebrew.

(15) a70f3l1 (11:12)

Correct Hebrew is the Hebrew which has the rules that we stick to the rules. It has a broad vocabulary, many synonyms. Yes, I think that I speak, my standard Hebrew is correct Hebrew. I am very strict and in school, in conversations with people I stick to the rules a lot, yes.

עברית תקנית זו העברית שיש בה את הכללים שאנחנו שומרים את הכללים שיש בה אוצר מילים רחב, הרבה מילים נרדפות. כן אני חושבת שאני מדברת, העברית הסטנדרטית שלי זה העברית התקנית. אני מאוד מקפידה ומאוד בבית הספר, בשיחה עם אנשים אני מאוד שומרת על הכללים כן

PS

So for you it's the same?

אז בשבילך זה אותו דבר?

a70f3l1

Slang is far from me. I don't like to hear slang and I also take a stance in class when he speaks slang I say, 'no, no – try to think how to say that in Hebrew,' in correct Hebrew – that's hard for them. But, sometimes when I speak in class, I intentionally speak a bit higher. Then, they say 'what that's Hebrew what you are speaking or is it another language?' So, yes, but I really try to introduce them to the language, to the beauty of the language.

סלנג זה רחוק ממני, אני לא אוהבת לשמוע סלנג ואני גם מאוד עומדת זה על כך בכיתה. כשהוא מדבר סלנג אני אומרת, לא לא תנסה לחשוב איך אומרים את זה בעברית, בעברית נכונה. זה קשה להם אבל לפעמים כשאני מדברת אני בכוונה בכיתה מדברת קצת יותר גבוה. אז אומרים לי, מה זה בעברית שאת מדברת או זה שפה אחרת? אז כן אבל אני מאוד מנסה להחדיר להם את השפה, את היופי של השפה.

In summary, all participants conceded that there are distinctions between standard and correct Hebrew. It can be helpful to think of these distinctions in the form of a continuum with prototypical categories such as *'ivrit tiḳnit* and 'slang' on its poles and the unmarked 'standard Hebrew' in between, as Fig. 6.1 illustrates. This conception draws on Krefeld's (2011: 104) notion of a 'linguistic standard' as neutral background (see 2.1.4.1).

Projecting these findings onto GERT, the zero point on the correct Hebrew axis can be interpreted to stand for the concept 'standard Hebrew.' In consequence, the core categories which are closer to this point can be interpreted to be closer to the linguistic standard. Besides the terms which were discussed so far, the participants expressed their representations of differences on the continuum with several other terms, which are included in Fig. 6.1: all of these terms can be interpreted as marked categories, in contrast to 'standard Hebrew.'

The participants' choice of words for these categories reveals the evaluative component which is inherent to the representations. The metaphorical framing of differences in Hebrew with the spatial concepts 'high' and 'low' points to potentially positive associations with terms that are represented as located above the standard

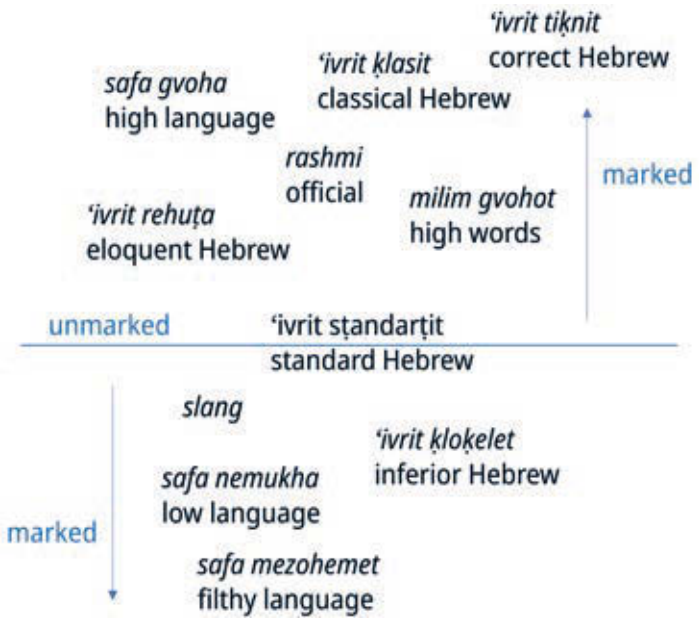

Fig. 6.1: Representation of variation from the standard as continuum

and negative associations with the terms below. Lakoff & Johnson (1980: 16) list several examples for orientational metaphors, such as GOOD IS UP; BAD IS DOWN, HIGH STATUS IS UP; LOW STATUS IS DOWN and VIRTUE IS UP; DEPRAVITY IS DOWN and point out that there is "an overall external systematicity among the various spatialization metaphors, which defines coherence among them." Most core categories were rated with similar values for status and correct Hebrew which can be read as a confirmation of the common, cross-linguistic metaphorical representation of CORRECT LANGUAGE IS HIGH which is commonly associated with 'high status' and a 'high level of education.' However, there are at least five core categories which clearly deviate from the correlation between 'high status' and 'correct Hebrew.' Furthermore, some of the common associations such as 'high status' with 'high level of education' can be doubted on the basis of the GERT data and the participants' statements, for the Israeli context. These exceptions are going to be discussed in the light of common language attitudes in 6.2.3.

In the next section, participants' linguistic characterization of 'correct Hebrew' which is based on explicit norms will be summarized as well as the implicit norms which were mentioned as characteristic for 'standard Hebrew' and 'slang.'

6.2.1 Indexical variants

In the above discussion of participants' statements (15, 10 and 11) a70f3l1 characterized 'correct Hebrew' as defined by *klalim* 'rules', while n31f3l1 and s41m3l1 described 'standard Hebrew' as containing "foreign" and "slang" words which are originally English or Arabic or stem from army contexts. H26m2l1 also refers to certain explicit norms which are characteristic for 'standard Hebrew' and – at the same time – mark a deviation from 'correct Hebrew.' Just as n31f3l1 (10) and most other participants, he classified mismatches in gender agreement as common *ṭa'uyot* 'mistakes:'

(16) h26m2l1 (3:39)

I'm not just speaking about male and female or singular and plural – but generally. And standard Hebrew – good question – standard Hebrew is Hebrew that everybody speaks, like, fluently with the mistakes and all that [...] Just like that, the word beautiful is a a standard word. Adequate is a correct word, did you get it? That's like words which are higher. If you go to people who made three or four degrees and they speak Hebrew it's... You'll see that their language is higher. They won't speak with you like me. What's up bro, do you get it? But that's not really a definition – that's what I think.

אני לא מדבר רק על זכר נקבה או יחיד ורבים אלא בכללי ועברית סטנדרטית, שאלה טובה עברית סטנדרטית זה עברית שכולם מדברים כאילו בשותף עם הטעויות ועם כל ה [...] סתם המילה ״יפה״ זה מילה סטנדרטית. הולם זה מילה תקינה, הבנת. זה כאילו מילים שהם יותר גבוהות. אם תלך לאנשים שהם עשו שלושה ארבע תארים והם מדברים עברית, זה אתה תראה שהשפה שלהם יותר גבוהה. לא ידברו איתך כמוני כאילו, מה קורה אחי, אתה מבין. זה אבל זה לא באמת הגדרה זה מה שאני חושב.

H26m2l1 also pointed out that there are lexical differences by citing the lexemes *yafe* 'beautiful' as example for 'standard' and *holem* 'adequate' for 'correct Hebrew.' Furthermore, he argued that people who completed several university degrees speak a "higher" language and thus posited a causal relation between "high Hebrew" and a high level of education. In a similar manner, a20f2l2 who is a Hebrew learner mentioned lexical differences as main distinctive characteristics:

(17) a20f2l2 (12:30)

I know that for every Hebrew word there is another word which is in high language and I usually do not know these words [...] and many words in higher Hebrew are based on English words like logistiḳa *and* linguistiḳa.

אני יודעת שלכל מילה בעברית יש עוד מילה שזה בשפה הגבוהה ואני בכללי לא מכירה את המילים האלה [...] והרבה מילים בעברית יותר גבוהה הם מבוסס על מילים באנגלית, כאילו לוגיסטיקה ולינגויסטיקה.

She expressed her conviction that many words "in higher Hebrew" are English loans. However, the examples she cited for these words (*logistiḳa*, *linguistiḳa*) are not typically English because they were borrowed into English from other European languages – her representation of these words as English is probably caused because her L1 is English. As mentioned earlier, most participants described "foreign words" as characteristic for 'standard Hebrew' and 'slang.' Rosenthal (2007a: 183) even criticizes the extensive use of English loans in academic environments because he sees it as a threat against the cultivation of a sound academic style in MH. N31f3l1 (10) similarly described how she tries to use Hebrew words – and less foreign words – when speaking in a higher register, for example, during a lecture. According to the participants' statements, common representations of 'correct Hebrew' in the lexical domain are shaped by the preference for genuinely Hebrew lexemes, rather than loanwords. Additionally, certain lexemes which are typically used in writing are represented as correct Hebrew synonyms for everyday Hebrew lexemes.

Because the representation of deviations from the explicit linguistic norms as *ṭa'uyot* 'mistakes' is central to participants' distinctions between 'standard' and 'correct Hebrew,' I inquired about these "mistakes" with Q8 in the guided interviews:

Q8
Are there mistakes in Hebrew which annoy you? האם יש טעויות בעברית שמפריעות לך?

The most frequently mentioned "mistakes" during all the interviews and in the answers to Q8 are phenomena of gender mismatch between nouns and modifiers and most typically between nouns and numerals, such as n31f3l1's example *shtei shulḥanot* 'two.F tables.M' in (10) illustrates. In MH, just as in Modern Standard Arabic, there are at least two forms for each numeral – a masculine and a feminine form. Besides this distinction, there are additional explicit norms for nominal constructions with numerals. For example, the masculine noun *shulḥan* 'table.M' is suffixed with the prototypical female ending *-ot* for pluralization, while the morphological gender of the construction is masculine and requires the masculine numeral *shnei* 'two.M.'

Several participants mentioned the *shuḳ* 'market' as a typical place where these "mistakes" are very common – y28f3l1 (26:31) even used the term *'ivrit shel ha-shuḳ* 'market Hebrew.[12]'

12 Manelis-Avni's (1995) ethnographic study *The Carmel Market and "dugri" style* contains a short linguistic characterisation of *sfat ha-shuḳ* 'market language.'

(18) y28f3l1 (26:37)

נגיד בשוק מעניין, יש קטע בירושלים שאני מתה מזה [...] של ספירה של דברים. נגיד הם לא אומרים עשרת אלפים, אומרים עשר אלף, שמונה אלף, שש מטר במקום שישה מטרים. שמעת את זה פעם? זה מחריד בעיניי, זה כאילו משהו שזה כל כך מקולקל וזה נגיד זה מאוד, זה מראה משלב שפה מאוד נמוך. [...] זה ממש טעות כאילו נוראי.

Let's say, at the market it's interesting. There's a thing in Jerusalem which makes me crazy [...] when counting things. Let's say, they don't say ten thousand ('asarat 'alafim)*, they say* 'eser 'elef*, eight thousand* (shmone 'elef)*, six meter* (shesh meṭer) *instead of six meters* (shisha meṭrim)*. Did you hear that? It's terrifying to me, it's like something that's so out of order and let's say that's very – it's indicative of a very low register. [...] it's really like an awful mistake.*

According to these statements, phenomena of gender mismatch – especially in constructions with numerals – can be understood as prototypical 'incorrect' variants. Since measuring and counting are the prototypical activities which are verbalized at the market, it is not surprising that the market is described as the prototypical place for incorrect language use. It will be shown that phenomena of gender mismatch were described by most participants as extremely widespread and that they even admitted producing constructions with mismatching gender agreement themselves.

Another domain of common "mistakes" that participants mentioned is verbal morphology. L6+f4l1 (4:11) asserted that people say *mekirim* 'they know' instead of *makirim* and *mavinim* 'they understand' instead of *mevinim*. One of the reasons for variation in the patterns of these frequently used verbs is the Hebrew orthography which does not represent the varying vocals: both forms read <mkirim> (מכירים) or <mvinim> (מבינים). Another reason are processes of paradigmatic leveling through analogy (Zadok & Bat-El 2015). N31f3l1 listed further examples for variation from the normative correct verbal patterns in response to Q8:

(19) n31f3l1 (9:22)

להגיד אני יושנת או אני יושן, זה הכי מעצבן [...] אבל גם אני ילך כאילו במקום אני אלך, זה מעצבן [...] אבא שלי אומר יושנת כולם אומרים את זה.

To say I sleep (yoshenet) *or I* yoshen *that's most annoying [...] But, also I go* (yelekh)*, like instead of I* elekh*, that's annoying [...] My father says* yoshenet*, everybody says it.*

The analysis of all of n31f3l1's ten realizations of the verb *lehakir* 'to know' during the interview revealed that she realized the female singular form *makira* three times as *mekira* and twice she produced an elliptic form such as *mkira* where the initial vocal is hardly recognizable. In contrast, she realized the masculine singular form *makir* five times in agreement with the explicit norm.

In respect to these phenomena, Schwarzwald (2007: 72) asserts that "the educated speaker senses that the form *niḳeiti* [instead of *niḳiti* 'I cleaned'] is a sub-standard form, which is actually characteristic of socioeconomic weak strata." While the participants' statements confirm that HSs express some sensitivity toward these phenomena, I would not claim that they are actually used primarily by the socioeconomically weak. Participants judged these forms as "incorrect," but – at the same time – conceded that their use is widespread. Usually, they did not characterize the "incorrect" forms as indexical for any particular social group.

The third domain that participants referred to are phonological differences in the realization of certain consonants. A30f3l2's following statement contains an almost linguistic definition of 'standard Hebrew' which supports the analysis in 6.2. In contrast to most other participants, she referred to the phonological merger of the graphemes <ח> and <כ> as /χ/ as characteristic for spoken Hebrew, while <ח> should be pronounced as /ħ/, according to the explicit norms:

(20) a30f3l2 (0:40)

Standard is spoken it's, standard is what society determines like at the same moment, at the same moment, maybe at the same period. And correct Hebrew is Hebrew that's defined. Like, let's say, there are certain letters like ḥet *and* khaf. *When I speak it's the same – but, according to correct[ness], like, the* khaf *is supposed to be* khaf *and* ḥet *is supposed to be* ḥet. *It's like these are two different letters, but in spoken [Hebrew] they are said identically.*

סטנדרטית זה מדוברת. זה סטנדרט, זה מה החברה קובעת כאילו באותו רגע, אותו רגע, אולי אותה תקופה ועברית תקינה זה עברית שהיא מוגדרת כאילו. נגיד יש אותיות מסוימות כמו ח׳ ו-כ׳ כשאני אומרת את זה זה אותו דבר. אבל לפי תקנית כאילו ה-כ׳ אמור להיות כ׳ ו-ח׳ אמור להיות ח׳. כאילו זה שתי אותיות שונות אבל במדוברת אומרים את זה אותו דבר.

In the phonetic domain, HSs' language use deviates considerably from the explicit norms which were modeled to imitate Biblical Hebrew:

> In Israel, however, there have been no oppressive structures to enforce the pharyngeals and their position as standard is mostly lip service: children do not get corrected at school nor do people get negatively evaluated at job interviews or other settings for not using them – if anything, it is pharyngealizing that might be the target of such judgments. Nevertheless, the pharyngeals are consensually the older form that is truly connected to Biblical Hebrew, which in the prevailing ideologies is the real Hebrew. (Gafter 2014: 176–177)

R36f3l1 recounted her conscious appropriation of normative incorrect forms as a reaction to the negative evaluation of her speech when she was a child. As an example, she elaborated that she used to say *be-khos* 'in a glass' with the normative correct

phonetic adaptation of <כ> to its environment, while it is common to realize *kos* 'glass' with /k/ – irrespective of its environment – as in *be-kos*. Furthermore, r36f3l1 described standard Hebrew as containing many *milim l'o nekhonot* 'incorrect words.' She also described it as dynamic, due to ongoing processes of conventionalization. At first, linguistic forms are considered as "mistakes," before they get accepted. She described 'correct Hebrew' as being defined by the norms which the Hebrew Academy approves. Interestingly, she conceded that these explicit norms also tend to change:

(21) r36f3l1 (0:34)

Let's say in my family, it was very important to correct our Hebrew and let's say, I read many books and my grandma spoke Hebrew really really well and high. Let's say, I used to say that I want to drink chocolate in a glass (be-khos) and I was sure that everyone speaks like that [...] So, I spoke in a high language and I was sure that's normal and slowly I understood that it's not advisable to speak like that because people laughed at me. So, I started to listen to how other people speak and I started to speak like them. So, it seems that in the standard language there are all kinds of like incorrect words [...] like most people speak in the beginning it is considered a mistake and in the end it changes to in the end it gets accepted, yes.

נגיד במשפחה שלי היה מאוד חשוב לתקן את העברית שלנו ונגיד קראתי הרבה ספרים וסבתא שלי היתה מדברת עברית ממש ממש טובה וגבוהה. נגיד אני הייתי אומרת שאני רוצה לשתות שוקו בכּוס והייתי בטוחה שככה כולם מדברים [...] אז כאילו דיברתי בשפה גבוהה והייתי בטוחה שזה נורמלי ואז לאט לאט הבנתי שלא כדאי לדבר ככה כי יצחקו עלי. אז כאילו התחלתי להקשיב איך אנשים אחרים מדברים ולהתחיל לדבר כמוהם. אז נראה לי שהשפה הסטנדרטית יש בו כל מיני כאילו, כל מיני מילים לא נכונות [...] כן, איך שרוב האנשים מדברים ובהתחלה זה נחשב לטעות ובסוף זה הופך להיות, זה בסוף ל— מתקבל כן

PS *And what is correct?*

ומה זה תקנית?

r36f3l1 *That's what's defined as correct Hebrew. It's what seems to me, what the academy approves, but it changes all the time, too.*

זה מה שמוגדר כעברית נכונה. זה מה שנראה לי מה שהאקדמיה מאשרת אבל זה גם משתנה כל הזמן.

The summary of the participants' statements revealed that they referred to a few typical indexical lexemes, in addition to common types of "mistakes" for their distinction between 'standard' and 'correct Hebrew.' Interestingly, participants' linguistic descriptions refer solely to grammatical domains which were codified by the Hebrew Academy: basic rules of pronunciation that extend to the domains of verbal and nominal morphology and terminology. Most likely, this convergence between HSs' representations of 'correctness' and the core areas of the normative activities of the

Hebrew Academy is not arbitrary. Therefore, some of the activities of the Hebrew Academy will be reviewed in the next section.

6.2.2 Explicit norms for MH and the Hebrew Academy

According to the participants' statements, representations of 'correct Hebrew' are defined by explicit norms, in contrast to 'standard Hebrew' which corresponds to conventionalized everyday language use. Gafter & Mor use a similar two-class to categorize MH into two standard varieties. Whereas, the "*conventional norm* emerged from native linguistic practices," the "*prescriptive norm* is an institutional standard [...] based on faithfulness to forms attested in classical strata" (Gafter & Mor 2023: 304). Bokelmann describes the process of codification – the selection of 'correct variants' through authorized experts – as equivalent with the speech communities' loss of control over these normative decisions:

> Per definition, a linguistic standard is created only when variants are defined as part of the canon and thus becomes a tool of political power that lies in the hands of state-authorized institutions or expert groups. As a result, the language community itself is deprived of normative access to the standard language, although their observed use of language is the basis for codification.[13] (Bokelmann 2020: 82, my translation)

The cultural significance of the codification of MH in Israel and the considerable public interest in grammar related topics was illustrated in 3.2.1. Arguably, the Hebrew Academy is the most influential institution for the codification of MH and the dissemination of explicit norms.[14] However, their authority is challenged by HSs who successfully adhere to their conventionalized language use and confidently display control over what they consider as 'standard' and 'correct Hebrew.'

During an expert interview for this study, Ronit Gadish, head of the scientific branch of the Hebrew Academy, defined its role as follows: on the one hand, the Academy needs to act as a conservative force on the language and, on the other hand, they also need to innovate – mostly in the domain of the lexicon, due to trends of globalization and technological progress. She also talked about general public discourse about the ownership of the Hebrew language and asked rhetorically:

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13 German original: Standardsprachlichkeit entsteht qua definitione erst dadurch, dass Varianten als Teil des Kanons festgelegt werden, und wird so zu einem Werkzeug politischer Macht, das in den Händen staatlich autorisierter Institutionen oder Expertengruppen liegt. Dadurch wird der Sprachgemeinschaft selbst der normative Zugriff auf die Standardsprachlichkeit entzogen, obwohl der dort zu beobachtende Sprachgebrauch der Ausgangspunkt der Kodifizierung ist.

14 Officially: *ha-'aḳademiya la-lashon ha-'ivrit* 'The Academy of the Hebrew Language'

(22) Expert interview Gadish (13:37)

Who is the master in the house of the language – the Academy or the people who speak the language?

מי בעל הבית של השפה, האקדמיה או האנשים שמדברים את השפה?

The normative power of the Academy is limited to some extent because HSs carry out their own terminological work and can decide if they adhere to the norms of the Academy or their own. Therefore, the Academy decided that it also wants to support and advise about linguistic innovations which did not originate within the Academy. In this respect, Gadish explained that the members of the Academy took a strategic decision to build contact with a wider public – especially with the age cohort from 20 to 40. Besides their official publications and their extensive homepage, the Hebrew Academy has a very active Facebook page where they publish advice about linguistic norms on a daily basis.[15]

The normative activities of the Hebrew Academy have been targeting primarily phonology and the lexicon, while they have not issued a complete grammar of MH up to date (Izre'el 2020: 38). Gadish confirmed that, in fact, these are the only domains that were codified by the academy to some extent and that they do not want to interfere consciously in the domains of syntax and style – unless they are asked for advice. Accordingly, one of the domains which was more or less codified by the Hebrew Academy is verbal morphology.[16]

Fig. 6.2 is an illustration which was published on the Facebook page of the Academy on October 20th, 2021, to address the domain of verbal morphology. The illustration depicts a chat conversation on a smartphone: one person asks, *'ara* 'are you.F awake?' The second person answers, *yoshenet*, the normative incorrect form for 'I.F am sleeping' which was discussed above in the context of n31f3l1's statement (19). The following text reads: 'Tinder guy left the conversation.' *Guy* is a common Hebrew name which can be interpreted as a word play with the English *guy*. The picture tells a story: a "guy" who the owner of the smart phone met on the dating application *tinder* has left the conversation because of her use of the normative incorrect form *yoshenet* which is regarded as low status variant (Gafter & Mor 2023: 308). The text from the Facebook post which accompanies the picture reads:

15 See: https://hebrew-academy.org.il

16 In the original interview (6:40): אנחנו השתדלנו לעבור על הפועל פחות או יותר

Fig. 6.2: Graphic from the original Facebook post reproduced with permission of the Hebrew Academy

Yashen *and not* 'yoshen' yeshena *and not* 'yoshenet' *Do you know friends who find all kinds of reasons to cancel matches on dating sites? We are here, to guarantee that it will not happen because of mistakes in Hebrew: [...] Tag the friends who 'yoshenim' and signal them gently that it's time to wake up...*

יָשֵׁן ולא "יושן" יְשֵׁנָה ולא "יושנת"
מכירים חברות וחברים שמוצאים סיבות
שונות ומשונות לפסול התאמות באתרי
היכרויות? אנחנו כאן, כדי להבטיח שזה
לא יהיה בגלל טעויות בעברית: [...] תייגו
את החברים שתמיד "יושנים" ותרמזו
להם בעדינות שהגיע הזמן להתעורר...

The joking tone of the post which is typical for the activities of the Hebrew Academy on Facebook seems to have caught the attention of many users: on November 1st, less than 10 days after the release of the post, there were more than 1500 reactions, 410 comments and 167 shares. At that time, the Facebook page of the Hebrew Academy had almost 331,000 subscribers. The only comparable Facebook page – of which I am aware of – from the Italian language academy, *Accademia della Crusca*, had about 448,000 subscribers at the same time – although there are considerably more Italian speakers than HSs. These numbers indicate that the activities of the Hebrew Academy on Facebook to get in contact with a wider public have been rather successful.

To get an idea of its impact, I asked 20 participants during the guided interviews what they think about the Hebrew Academy. Just six participants did not know the Academy – all of them were L2 HSs. None of the five Arabic L1 speakers that I asked knew the Hebrew Academy. Among the 14 participants who knew the Hebrew Academy, eight participants claimed to be indifferent to or annoyed by its activities. The other six participants asserted that they liked the work of the Academy or/and that it is an important institution.

With the exception of m69f4l2, all the participants who were indifferent/annoyed were aged between 26 and 41 (h26m2l1, a30f3l2, d30m3l1, c36f3l1, t37m3l2,

i38m3l1, s41m3l1). Among all eight participants were three L2 HSs. A30f3l2's and i38m3l1's answers to my question about the Academy are illustrative for this group: while both participants claimed to care about speaking correctly and to consult the Hebrew Academy for this matter, they were unsatisfied with some pieces of advice. Both criticized that the explicit norms of the Hebrew Academy tend to contradict conventionalized language use.

(23) a30f3l2 (15:10)

אלה בפייסבוק שרושמים החלטנו שזה ככה וככה. יאללה מעצבן. לא יש דברים שהם מזכירים את המילים שהם, שחשוב שיגידו ככה. אבל לפעמים נגיד לאחרונה נתקלתי בדוגמה, דוגמה עם ה׳ ודוגמה עם א׳. אז הם אמרו שדוגמה עם אלף זה לא נכון וזה שנים היה נכון ושנים לשנות משהו שאני כותבת וזה נראה טוב וזה נכון ופתאום זה לא נכון זה מעצבן אותי. כאילו תלכו לפי הרוב.

Those on Facebook who write, we decided this and that. Yallah, *it's annoying. No, there are things that, they mention words which are, that's important to say like that – but, sometimes, let's say, lately I came across an example. An example with* hei *and with* 'alef *– so they said that the example with* 'alef *is not correct and it was correct for years. And to change something after years that I write and it looks well and it's correct and suddenly it is no longer correct – that's annoying. It's like, go with the majority.*

In conclusion, a30f3l2 stressed her conviction that the explicit norms should be representative of the conventions that the majority of HSs are already using. I38m3l1 also expressed his conviction that language use is potentially fluid and that some degree of variation is legitimate, while he criticized the Hebrew Academy as being anachronistic. Just as a30f3l2, he used an example about orthographic conventions, whether one should write certain words, such as *metsuyan* 'excellent' with one letter *yod* or with double *yod*.

(24) i38m3l1 (10:37)

I keep updated about the explanations that they put forward and often they still try to set strict rules on things which are terribly fluid and that. Things that got already accepted in the language and they are still 20 years in the past and try to tell us, no, that's not right. About... I just read something they published about when you need to add one yod *to a word and when two –* metsuyan *or that. Yes, it happened and just like, OK, so I am going to write like they wrote because it's important to me. But, on the other hand, I say they are completely out of date. It's nonsense if it is already fixed that you write it with two* yod. *Then, or with one, so say, two forms are acceptable and that's it.*

אני מתעדכן כן בהנחיות שהם מוצאים והרבה פעמים מנסים לקבוע עדיין כללים קשיחים לדברים שהם נורא פלוידי ונורא זה, דברים שכבר התקבלו בשפה והם עדיין עשרים שנה אחורה ומנסים להגיד לנו, לא זה לא נכון. של סתם, קראתי עכשיו משהו שהם פירסמו על מתי צריך להוסיף י׳ אחת במילה ומתי שתיים. מצוין או זה. כן וזה קרה ופשוט כאילו בסדר. אז אני אכתוב כמו שהם כתבו כי חשוב לי זה. אבל מצד שני אני אומר מישנים לחלוטין. זה שטויות אם כבר התקבע שכותבים את זה עם שתי יודים. אז או באחת אז תגידו שתי צורות מקובלות וזהו.

This utterance can also be understood in terms of a30f3l2's statement in that the explicit norms should be representative of the conventionalized language use.

Among the six participants who judged the work of the Hebrew Academy favorably are four participants who were aged over 50 (f5+f1l1, l6+f4l1, a68m3l1 and a70f3l1) and two younger women (n31f3l1 and r36f3l1). Several of them conceded that many of the explicit norms are not taken up by most HSs, just as a70f3l1's and f5+f1l1's statements reveal.

(25) f5+f1l1 (5:42)

They are doing a great job. Although, sometimes, they make up words that are hard to get used to. But, that's their job.

הם עושים עבודה מצוינת למרות שלפעמים הם ממציאים מילים שקשה להתרגל אליהם. אבל זה העבודה שלהם.

A70f3l1 answered that she is very fond of the Hebrew Academy, before she described her impression of the public opinion about the topic:

(26) a70f3l1 (51:04)

They don't know what's the Academy, even if they say that they know. If you ask teachers, not of language, teachers in general, they will say that the Academy is very remote from the people. Like it's not close, everything they produce, they compose words there, invent words – it's remote from the people, they don't. Also people don't like, they don't like it, they stick with what they know. But, for example, language teachers they always want to update. That's to say, the motivation to know comes from them. For example, I really like to visit their homepage and to see the new words – but, no, that's just because it's my discipline that I like. But, the public, the Israeli public, no...

הם לא מכירים מה זה אקדמיה. גם אם הם יגידו לך מי שמכיר אם, תשאל מורות מורים, לא ללשון, מורים כלליים אז הם יגידו שהאקדמיה מאוד רחוקה מהעם. כאילו זה לא קרוב כל מה שהם יוצרים מחברים מילים שם ממציאים מילים. זה רחוק מהאנשים, אנשים לא גם זה אנשים לא אוהבים לא, אוהבים את הזהו נשארים במה שהם יודעים. אבל למשל מורים ללשון הם כל הזמן רוצים להתחדש וכן. זאת אומרת המוטיבציה באה מהם לדעת. אני למשל מאוד אוהבת להיכנס לאתר שלהם ולראות את המילים החדשות, אבל לא אז משום שזה התחום שלי שאני אוהבת, אבל הציבור הציבור הישראלי לא.

A70f3l1 lamented HSs' lacking interest in their language (see quotation 15). Several other – especially older – participants who claimed to care a lot about correct language use expressed a similar, critical attitude. This aspect will be elaborated in contrast to other common attitudes in the next section.

In summary, the younger participants were less receptive to the normative activities of the Hebrew Academy, while most of the L2 HSs apparently did not know them, at all. Mostly younger women from educated families, just as n31frl1, r36f3l1 and y28f3l1 (from the open interviews) expressed their positive attitudes towards the Academy. With the exception of m69f4l2, the older participants typically stressed the importance of the Hebrew Academy. The majority of the 20 participants who were asked about the Hebrew Academy was aware of its normative activities – most even elaborated their answer, listed lexemes which the Academy issued and commented on their use and their quality. The participants' general awareness of the Academy and their characterization of 'correct Hebrew' along the explicit norms which are propagated by the Academy hint at its impact on HSs' representations of variation in MH. While most participants criticized some explicit norms and even rejected them, their representations still draw on these norms – whether they were consistent with or in contrast to them.

It is well known to the participants and Hebrew linguists alike that conventionalized language use in everyday contexts digresses considerably from the explicit norms. Like Izre'el (2020: 40,42), Schwarzwald asserts that several normative incorrect phenomena in MH can be found in Biblical sources, too:

(Schwarzwald 2007: 66)

Phenomena like gender and number agreement, the use of ’et *as direct object, the construct state, the double construct state and others continue the practice from the past.*

תופעות כגון התאם מין ומספר, הצבת ׳את׳ כמושא ישיר, מבני סמיכות, סמיכות כפולה ועוד, ממשיכות את הנוהג מן העבר.

These and other phenomena of variation from the explicit norms have been subject to linguistic studies – some were listed in 3.2.2. Apparently, variation has been a constant feature of Hebrew – even in the written Biblical sources which are the model for codification. Schwarzwald's following assertion seems to contradict her earlier description of the linguistic reality in Israel:

> Hebrew norms which were strictly observed in the first decades of the revival of Hebrew are observed no longer in the educational system nor in other formal environments [...]. Younger speakers provide the strongest impetus for this change. The lack of gender agreement between the nouns and numerals is one example of this change [...]. The rules of the prefixed particles do not follow the norms of Biblical Hebrew. (Schwarzwald 2013)

Here, she concedes that language change is going on – but, at the same time, she affirms that non-normative speech behavior is characteristic for speakers originating from socioeconomically weak environments which were linked to the population's ethnic origin in the past:

> [S]ocioeconomic status has been associated with ethnic population, i.e., oriental-low versus Ashkenazi-middle/high [...] syntactic and lexical phenomena do not differentiate LC [lower class] from MC [middle class] usage systematically, though no recent research into these phenomena has been carried out. Still, the differences between LC and MC Hebrew can still be traced, though they are no longer necessarily connected to ethnic origin [...] (Schwarzwald 2013)

The various examples for variation from the explicit norms in language use – even from iconic Hebrew speakers such as Amos Oz, as Izre'el (2020: 52) illustrates – invalidates Matras & Schiff's (2005: 151) postulation of a stylistic continuum on the basis of educational or occupational characteristics (see 3.2.2). In contrast to Schwarzwald, Izre'el (2020: 25) takes a clear stance against linguistic prescriptivism which is also directed against the normative activities of the Hebrew Academy.

While Israeli linguists as Gadish, Schwarzwald and Izre'el may disagree in their evaluation of variation from the explicit norms, they all assert that HSs commonly express linguistic uncertainty. Izre'el (2020: 24) diagnoses a "linguistic inferiority complex among speakers of Hebrew," while Schwarzwald (2007: 70) argues that HSs today live with a feeling of inferiority based on the feeling that their Hebrew is not exemplary for what the grammarians would accept as good language because the

norms for correct Hebrew did not change at the same pace as Hebrew has changed. Gadish put it as follows:

(27) Expert interview Gadish (21:37)

The Israelis think that they don't speak correctly. It's like they were educated that they speak with mistakes. So, there is also this kind of desire – they always discuss: one says this, the other says that and they discuss and then they ask us who is right. So they live all the time with scruples that their language isn't OK.

הישראלים חושבים שמדברים לא נכון. הם כאילו מתחנכים על זה שמדברים בשגיאות. אז יש גם איזה מין רצון, הם תמיד מתווכחים אחד אומר ככה אחד אומר ככה והם מתווכחים ואז הם שואלים אותנו מי צודק ואז הם כל הזמן חיים בנקיפות מצפון שהם לא בסדר עם השפה.

However, my participants did not voice similar concerns. On the contrary, the younger participants challenged the authority of the normative institutions confidently and justified their own linguistic conventions. This is in line with Gafter & Mor's (2023: 308) observation that for many "the conventional norm [has become] a more suitable emblem of national identity." They argue that this is partly due to a shift in Israeli society "from a socialist collectivist spirit to a more individualistic-capitalistic one and from a nationalistic centralism to multiculturalism" (Gafter & Mor 2023: 308, see also 6.2.3.2). Most older participants stressed the importance of the institutionalized normative activity of the Hebrew Academy and lamented the common neglect of the explicit norms – especially by younger HSs. While almost all participants stressed their personal ambition to speak correctly, they equally asserted that they were frequently using normative incorrect forms. Apparently, the participants were not puzzled by this contradiction – at least, they did not express any distress or uncertainty about their own language use. Commonly, they judged their language use as exemplary or as adequate. These findings indicate that younger HSs orient themselves consciously towards the conventionalized language use which may contradict the explicit norms that were said to define 'correct Hebrew.' In this respect r36f3l1's statement about her conscious appropriation of incorrect forms is illustrative (see 21). The evaluative aspects about different notions of MH that were just discussed will be summarized as common attitudes in the next section.

6.2.3 Common attitudes

> Whereas it is quite abstract and not very intuitive to think of LANGUAGE in terms of a SOCIAL PRACTICE (as sociolinguists generally do), it is much more common to focus on potential outcomes of the linguistic practice, e.g. its power to create communities (LANGUAGE IS A BOND) or to open up new OPPORTUNITIES (LANGUAGE IS A TOOL/KEY). (Berthele 2008: 303)

The two metaphorical mappings of LANGUAGE IS A BOND and LANGUAGE IS A TOOL/KEY can be traced in most participants' evaluative statements about MH or other languages. It was argued in 2.1.4.3 that LAs are understood as constructed in relation to institutions, roles and representations of linguistic variation. The following analysis of the participants' statements reveals that there are several metaphorical mappings of 'language' which are semantically related and are typically used in combination to construct LAs. Besides the two main mappings which are described by Berthele (2008: 303), there are three additional mappings which were used by several participants for the context of Hebrew: HEBREW IS HOLY, HEBREW IS A CULTURAL TREASURE and MH IS A MIRACLE.

These mappings are semantically close to the main mappings – but, they are based on specifically Israeli concepts. For example, MH IS A MIRACLE draws on a Zionist narrative: during nation building of the Israeli state, MH was conceived as political tool to establish a cultural and ideological bond between the heterogeneous people which were brought together by the endeavor of *kibbuts galuyot* 'ingathering of the Exiles' (cf. Gafter & Mor 2023: 304, 3.1.1 and 3.1.2). In this context, the 'revitalization of Hebrew' is used to underline the historical uniqueness of this process which leads to the conceptualization of MH IS A MIRACLE (see 3.2.1). In the following, three typical perspectives on MH which are not mutually exclusive will be reviewed: utilitarian, liberal and conservative.

6.2.3.1 The utilitarian perspective

When I asked Q2 during the guided interviews, "How important is it for you to speak correct Hebrew?" all participants stressed the importance of a good command of Hebrew.[17] It seems that they valued the potential outcomes of a good language competence. Only two participants restricted their answers somewhat: r36f3l1 argued that it does not always suit the communicative needs to "speak correctly" and a45m2l2, with L1 Arabic, answered that he does not need to speak correct Hebrew anymore because his (working) environment is essentially Arabic. Most L2 HSs highlighted the utilitarian perspective LANGUAGE IS A TOOL in the guided interviews. The Israeli Arab participants described MH as a means to increase one's participatory and economic possibilities in society. Therefore, a sense of belonging to the Hebrew-speaking society is only secondary and bonding with the Jewish population was not described as desirable outcome. The Israeli Arab participants' perspective will be elaborated in 6.6.2.

When I asked the participants whether it was important for them that their children speak correct Hebrew (Q3), they unanimously stressed the necessity of a

17 Q2 in Hebrew: כמה זה חשוב לך לדבר בעברית תקנית?

good command of Hebrew, regardless of their L1.[18] For his answer, i38m3l1 used the mapping of LANGUAGE IS A BUSINESS CARD and described an appropriate language use as crucial for conveying a good first impression:

(28) i38m3l1 (7:09)

Very important, very important. I think that you have several business cards when you come into the world. One of them is how you speak, how you sound and when you make mistakes like those that are annoying – when people hear that, they will take you less seriously from the beginning, less... Well, you put yourself in a problematic starting position, in the world.

מאוד חשוב, מאוד חשוב. אני חושב שיש לך כמה כרטיסי ביקור כשאתה בא לעולם. אחד מהם זה איך שאתה מדבר איך שאתה נשמע וכשאתה עושה שגיאות כאלה שצורמות, כשאנשים שומעים מראש יקחו אותך פחות ברצינות פחות טוב. את שם אתה עצמך בנקודת התחלה בעייתית בעולם.

In response to Q3, r36f3l1 expressed her desire that her children should read Hebrew literature to acquire a broad lexicon which they can use in written texts:

(29) r36f3l1 (5:45)

Yes, especially I'd like them to read many books, so that they'll have this rich vocabulary. Even if they don't always speak like that, so they'll still have the ability – let's say – at least to write with a rich vocabulary. Because, it's just like that, for speaking it is sometimes really inappropriate.

כן, בעיקר אולי הייתי רוצה שנגיד שיקראו הרבה ספרים. שיהיה להם את האוצר מילים העשיר הזה, שגם אם לא מדברים בו כל הזמן אז שיהיה להם את היכולת נגיד לפחות לכתוב עם אוצר מילים עשיר כי, אין מה לעשות, בדיבור לפעמים זה באמת לא מתאים.

It can be inferred that in her representation of 'correct Hebrew,' its use is typically restricted to written texts and literature – a common characterization, as was argued in 6.2.1. 'Correct Hebrew' was often characterized as unreachable ideal, in contrast to spoken and 'standard Hebrew' which was characterized as containing 'slang' and 'mistakes.' I38m3l1 explained the characteristics of spoken Hebrew through the influence of the Israeli culture and stressed that it is "problematic" by nature:

18 Q3 in Hebrew: כמה חשוב לך שהילדים שלך ידברו בעברית תקינה?

(30) i38m3l1 (4:51)

So, it's like that, spoken Hebrew is Hebrew with lots of slang – lots of. It was influenced a lot by our culture – the Israeli culture. [...] Hebrew in general is a very problematic language. There are the difficulties which exist in other languages – but, for example, human qualities are given to objects. Every object is either male or female, including numbers. One needs to adapt the number – something not very... In English they already fixed that, in English there is also 'it.' We don't have it, so... First of all, one needs to know that and also many Israelis become mixed up [...] Spoken Hebrew is slangish Hebrew, Hebrew with lots of mistakes.

אז ככה, עברית מדוברת היא עברית שכוללת המון סלנג, המון. מושפעת גם המון מהתרבות שלנו, מהתרבות הישראלית. [...] עברית בכלל היא שפה מאוד בעייתית. יש את הבעייתיות שיש בעוד שפות אבל למשל היא נתנה תכונות אנושיות לחפצים. כל חפץ הוא או זכר או נקבה כולל מספרים. צריך להתאים את המספר, משהו לא כל כך. באנגלית כבר תיקנו את זה, באנגלית יש גם את it. אצלנו אין. אז קודם כל צריך לדעת את זה וגם הרבה ישראלים מתבלבלים בזה [...] עברית מדוברת היא עברית סלנגית, עברית עם המון שגיאות.

In this statement, Schwarzwald's (2007: 76) assertion that HSs are not proud of their language and doubt its usefulness can be traced. I38m3l1 (9:33), stressed the function of LANGUAGE AS A TOOL for communication and even said that he would prefer if the whole world spoke the same language for the sake of better communication. Theoretically, he would be happy to switch to any other language because he does not think that Hebrew is special or better than other languages.[19] Despite his emphasis on the utilitarian perspective on language, i38m3l1 also conceded that cultural habits and identities, such as 'Israeliness,' are expressed in the HSs' language use and the linguistic structure of MH. S20m2l1 described this attitude as *'ivrit ze zehut* 'Hebrew is identity' (see 36).

6.2.3.2 The liberal perspective

Many participants displayed a high acceptance of 'mistakes' and a preference for 'standard Hebrew' and 'slang' in most contexts over 'correct Hebrew.' They explained that some degree of linguistic flexibility is more authentic and preferable than strictly adhering to explicit linguistic norms – this perspective was expressed as negative attitude towards the Hebrew Academy (see 6.2.2). S41m3l1 talked about the function of language to construct identities and expressed his positive attitude towards 'mistakes,' which can be understood as expressing personality:

19 In Original: חושב ששפה היא כלי היא התכלית שלה היא תקשורת. חושב שהשפה העברית היא לא איזה שפה מאוד מיוחדת או מאוד איחותית.

(31) s41m3l1 (2:03)

OK, people may make mistakes. I don't, if someone makes mistakes, I don't correct him. I also make mistakes – but that's OK. There is something to language which is very, not... that is probably more impulsive. And if someone makes a mistake and the mistake is a part of someone, then it's OK.

בסדר, אפשר שאנשים יטעו. אני לא, אם מישהו טועה אני לא מתקן. גם אני טועה אבל זה בסדר. יש משהו בשפה שהוא גם מאוד לא שאולי יותר אימפולסיבי ואם בן אדם עושה טעות והטעות הזאת זה חלק ממישהו אז בסדר.

The participants' positive evaluation of 'standard Hebrew' and the high acceptance of normative incorrect forms was typically paired with a negative attitude towards *'ivrit tiḳnit* 'correct Hebrew,' just as Schwarzwald (2007: 75) claims:

Schwarzwald (2007: 75)

Thus, today the language of those who insist on speaking correctly is regarded as an arrogant, exaggerated, outdated and impractical language. Indeed, the same things could be rendered in a simpler way, without thinking too much about what is said. 'So what, are you a teacher?' This is a common question from someone who hears someone speaking high, correct Hebrew and 'he speaks Shabbat Hebrew' is a curse word.

כך מתייחסים היום אל לשונם של המקפידים בלשונם כלשון יהירה, מיותרת, לא עכשווית, לא עניינית, שהרי אפשר להביע אותם דברים בצורה פשוטה יותר, מבלי לחשוב יותר מדי על מה שנאמר. 'מה את מורה?' היא שאלה שכיחה של השומע עברית תקנית גבוהה מפי מאן דהו, ו'הוא מדבר עברית של שבת' הוא ביטוי גנאי.

Indeed, i38m3l1 asserted that speaking *'ivrit tiḳnit* with his fellow *kibbutsniḳs* would be perceived as "pretentious:"

(32) i38m3l1 (11:38)

When you live here with the people, one of the problems with speaking correct Hebrew is that you sound pretentious.

כשאתה חי פה עם אנשים אחת הבעיות של לדבר עברית תקנית זה שאתה נשמע מתנשא.

Bokelmann (2020: 89) hints at this typical evaluative aspect about any normative linguistic standard, which can be perceived as exaggerated and inappropriate for situations of informal communication. In the light of this general assertion, it is interesting that many participants described the use of *'ivrit tiḳnit* as totally inappropriate for spoken communication and not just for informal contexts. This overall negative evaluation of *'ivrit tiḳnit* and 'teachers' Hebrew' is also reflected in the GERT ratings of the category 'educated.' Fig. 6.3 shows the corresponding heatmap with three

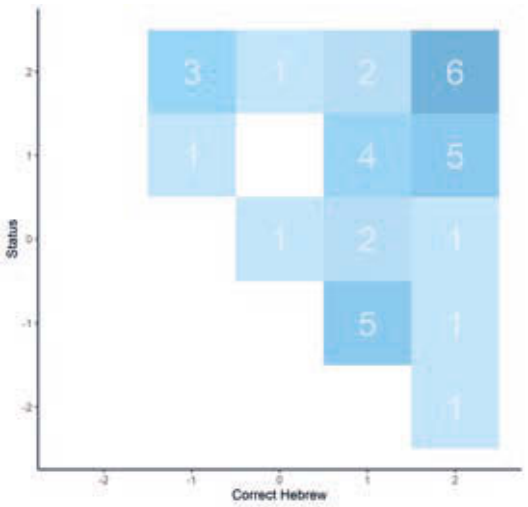

Fig. 6.3: Heatmap: participants' ratings for 'educated'

centers of similar ratings in a darker shade of blue. The accumulation of ratings in the upper right corner hints at a strong association of 'education' with 'high status' and 'correct Hebrew.' The five ratings in the lower right corner with the values 1/–1 belong to the entries "students," "teachers" (twice), "social workers" and "high-tech people." For "teachers," there are two more entries with the values 1/0. All these entries were rated relatively low for status, despite the corresponding groups' high level of education and their positive rating for correct Hebrew. In this context, several participants explained that teachers do not receive the social acknowledgment that they would deserve in Israeli society. The center of ratings on the upper left corner with the values –1/2 contains the entries "physicists," "mathematicians" and "lazy intellectuals.[20]" On the one hand, it can be inferred that the negative attitude towards the style of Hebrew which is typical for teachers and other educated groups has a negative effect on their status ratings. On the other hand, speaking 'correct Hebrew' is not necessary for the positive rating of groups such as mathematicians who seem to derive their status from their (non-linguistic) expertise.

The participants' positive attitude towards 'standard Hebrew' correlates with their estimation of informality, flexibility and, in general, a practical attitude – concepts that are associated with 'Israeliness' and referred to with the metaphorical notion of *litsnoaḥ ve-lizrom* 'parachute and flow' (see 2.2). The common characterization of Israel as "start-up nation" can also be seen in this context: for example, Senor

20 In original: עצלנים.ות אינטלקטואלים.ות

& Singer (2011) explain Israel's economic success through the pioneer ethos which is institutionalized in the Israeli army and entails tolerance towards mistakes and a preference for practical over aesthetic. Aspects it would be interesting to explore common representations of 'Israeliness' – a concept which was not systematically investigated in this study.

The topic of social constraints in Israeli society was brought up by many participants in connection with the obligatory military service, religious and family values, marital conventions and laws, inter-group and inter-ethnic relations and the contrast of 'center' and 'periphery.' These social constraints are described metaphorically as "concrete boxes" and "the iron cage of ethnicity" in sociological accounts such as Motzafi-Haller (2018) and Aharon (2010). To cope with these restrictions on a daily basis, participants again advocated the strategies of flexibility and informality. The notion of *lizrom* 'to flow, to improvise' can also be extended to language use where 'slang' can circumnavigate hierarchies and establish informal relations and group-solidarity (Eble 1996: 18). For example, m44m4l1 (18:18) asserted that Israeli Jewish intellectuals use Arabic expressions in spoken Hebrew to show their liberal political affiliation and a positive attitude towards the Arab society – this aspect is also addressed by Lefkowitz (2004: 26).

Following Auer's (2017: 373–374) definition, the participants' description of 'standard Hebrew' shares the characteristics of a "neo-standard," whereas 'correct Hebrew' can be understood as "traditional standard:"

> The prestige of the neo-standard [...] is based on values such as modernity, informality, personalization and innovation. It follows that the traditional standard – by being constructed as the ideological counterpart of the new one – becomes associated with the opposite: tradition, formality, depersonalisation, conservatism. Depending on how these features are estimated in a society, this can be tantamount to a devalorization of the traditional standard and hence to destandardization.

6.2.3.3 The conservative perspective

Older and – especially – religious participants often displayed a less favorable attitude toward 'standard Hebrew' and 'slang.' Typical attitudes among religious HSs will be reviewed in 6.7.2. A positive evaluation of *'ivrit tiḳnit* was typically expressed in conjunction with a positive attitude towards concepts such as tradition, religiosity, nationalism and conservatism.

In her interview f5+f1l1 (0:11) expressed both attitudinal aspects: while emphasizing the conservative perspective, she conceded that 'standard Hebrew' is often preferable for practical reasons. As an example, she used the expression *ledaber be-gova ha-'eynayim* 'to speak on eye-level' to describe respectful communication, for example, with elderly people who do not speak 'correct Hebrew' and can better

understand 'standard Hebrew.' As she was born in Morocco and came to Israel at a very young age with her parents, the elderly people she referred to are most likely non-native HSs from her family or neighborhood. However, in response to Q2, she stressed the national and cultural importance of 'correct Hebrew:'

(33) f5+f1l1 (1:32)

It is very important. I am Israeli, that's the official language of the state of Israel and correct language that's the literary language that's the language, on the highest level.

מאוד חשוב, אני ישראלית זאת השפה הרשמית של מדינת ישראל ושפה תקנית זה השפה הספרותית זה השפה הרמה הגבוהה ביותר.

In response to Q6 – "Is Hebrew important for the State of Israel?" – she argued that Hebrew is the language of the *miḳr'a* 'the Holy Scripture' and the Jewish people which endows it with historical importance:[21]

(34) f5+f1l1 (4:46)

That's our official language and the language of the Holy Scripture – it has the utmost importance. I think that we as unique Jewish people, Hebrew has accompanied us for thousands of years. They renew it every time, there are like Eliezer Ben-Yehuda who renew and all the people, the professors, too [...] Because, after all, new things are produced. But, it's also important because of historical reasons to protect our Hebrew.

זאת השפה הרשמית שלנו ושפה מקראית שלנו, שזה יש לזה חשיבות מעל ומעבר. אני חושבת שאנחנו כעם יהודי איחודי, העברית היא מלווה אותנו אלפי שנים. מחדשים אותה כל פעם, יש כמו אליעזר בן יהודה שמחדשים וכל האנשים הפרופסורים גם [...] כי בסך הכל נוצרים מאוד דברים חדשים. אז אבל זה חשוב גם מבחינה היסטורית לשמור על העברית שלנו.

By stressing the uniqueness of the Hebrew language and its genuine speakers – the Jewish people – she resorts to the metaphors HEBREW IS HOLY and HEBREW IS A CULTURAL TREASURE which belong to the metaphorical mapping LANGUAGE IS A BOND. She also stresses the importance of protecting Hebrew and mentioned her estimation of the Hebrew Academy (see 25).

In my first expert interview, the historian Fania Oz-Salzberger used the metaphor MH IS A MIRACLE and stressed the uniqueness of its 'revitalization' – to which she referred to as "language revolution:"

21 Q6 in Hebrew: האם העברית חשובה למדינת ישראל?

(35) Fania Oz-Salzberger (0:27)

In my lectures, I speak a lot about MH, which is sort of a miracle – a linguistic and secular miracle. [...] No other language revolution succeeded to the extent that Hebrew succeeded – not Esperanto, not Catalan, Welsh nor Breton.

אני מדברת הרבה בהרצאות שלי על העברית המודרנית שהיא סוג של נס, נס לינגויסטי ונס חילוני. [...] אף מהפכה אחרת של שפה לא הצליחה, לא אספרנטו, לא קטלן וולשית ברטונית בצורה שמהפכה העברית הצליחה.

She described the propagation of MH as "secular miracle" which was enabled by a historically unique human initiative. Thereby she clearly separated the metaphor MH IS A MIRACLE from the religious framing HEBREW IS HOLY. It can be seen that MH IS A BOND can be used without its originally religious intention. In 3.2.1 the importance of MH for the ideology of cultural Zionism, as advocated for by Aḥad Ha'am, was reviewed. Among the participants, the conceptualization of MH IS A MIRACLE and as the "only thing that's left" of the Zionist vision was prominent, although most participants distanced themselves from political Zionism. However, secular, Zionist and religious perspectives can get conflated, as f5+f1l1's statement (34) revealed.

S20m2l1 assessed the current political state in Israel critically and referred to Hebrew as the only thing that's left of the vision of the Israeli state and the Hebrew culture. Thereby, he equally stressed the uniqueness of MH and the Israeli identity, which crucially depends on MH:

(36) s20m2l1 (30:48)

Hebrew is identity. It's a matter of identity in Israel. I will tell you more than that. It's sad to hear – but, recently, I hear people saying that what's left of Israel is Hebrew, do you understand? Because when the scenery changes through... you try to hold on to what's left and language is something, in the end, good to hold on to – especially because it's a minority language and a language that no other population really speaks. So, yes, there are many in Israel who say that Hebrew is what's left. What's left of the Hebrew culture is Hebrew, do you understand? Because, let's say, there are those who'll say what's left of Tel Aviv, the first Hebrew city, is Hebrew.

עברית זה זהות. זה עניין של זהות בארץ. אני אגיד לך יותר מזה, זה עצוב לשמוע אבל אני שומע לאחרונה אנשים שאומרים שכאילו מה שנשאר מהארץ זה עברית, אתה מבין. כי כשהנוף משתנה בידך זה, אתה מנסה להיאחז במה שנשאר ושפה משהו בסך הכל טוב להיאחז בו במיוחד שזה שפה מינורית ושפה שאין עוד אוכלוסיה ממש דוברת אותה. אז כן יש הרבה שאומרים בארץ שמה שנשאר זה העברית. מהתרבות העברית מה שנשאר זה העברית, אתה מבין. כי נגיד, יש כאלה שיגידו מה שנשאר מתל אביב העיר העברית הראשונה זה העברית.

This statement can be understood as a nostalgic perspective on Israeli history: he introduced his statement with the assertion that "it's sad to hear" and described Tel Aviv, the symbol of secular Zionism just as the whole country, as having lost its unique Hebrew character – except for the Hebrew language. Several aspects from the participants' statements are summarized in Berthele's (2008: 309) assertion that the "language is a bond metaphor is an important part of the ICM [idealized cognitive model] of the nation-state" in that

> [l]anguage is one of the central cultural aspects shared within a nation-state, thus a prototypical nation-state has got its own exclusive official language. It is important to note that this is a prescriptive and ideological claim, since there are probably no examples of a nation which is entirely monolingual. (Berthele 2008: 309)

The nostalgic perspective that is often expressed together with the LANGUAGE IS A BOND metaphor is described as typical manifestation of a "purist ideology" on language, which is based on an idealized past:

> According to the purist ideology, language is in constant decay due to mixing, careless use, and other 'external' influences. Language used to be 'pure' and 'good' in earlier times and maybe still is pure (in the case of dialects) in remote, isolated communities (cf. Berthele 2001c), a folk belief which plays an important role in the romantic mystification of primitive cultures. [...] The most important entailments are that one common language needs to function as a crucial bond in society, that it is easy to learn a language in an immersion setting, and that a language has to be pure, perfect, and perfectly mastered by its speakers. These cognitive patterns and mappings all fit in well with the ICM of the nation-state. (Berthele 2008: 311)

Due to the Zionists' nationalist ideology which has been shaping Modern Israel, it is not surprising that HSs relate to the "purist ideology." As manifestations thereof, Rosenthal (2007a: 179–180) summarizes five common fears about the state of MH: foreign influence is perceived as a threat; linguistic mistakes become norms; Hebrew is decaying and losing its nuances; knowledge about the Jewish sources and earlier varieties of Hebrew is getting lost and the status of Hebrew in the diaspora is in decline.

Several participants confirmed this outlook, typically in conjunction with the metaphor LANGUAGE IS A BOND. F5+f1l1 (1:58) voiced concerns about slang and the influence of pop culture on her children's Hebrew in response to Q3. I53f2l1 also criticized the common neglect of MH among the younger generations and displayed a nostalgic attitude:

(37) i53f2l1 (29:10)

There are people who are more, speakers of the eloquent and beautiful language. But today, I think that with the generations they maintain the eloquent language less, it's more slangish and more simple. Because, like I said to you, SMSs, abbreviations which exist, because of these things the language is changing, it becomes more popular, more simple. It's less of a literary language. In my eyes, it is important to read more books to return to the source, to understand where it comes from, the things.

יש את ה-, אנשים שהם יותר דוברי השפה הרהוטה והיפה אבל היום אני חושבת שעם הדורות פחות שומרים על שפה רהוטה. היא יותר סלנגית יותר פשוטה יותר, בגלל אמרתי לך סמסים קיצורים שיש, בגלל הדברים האלה השפה משתנה, הופכת להיות יותר עממית יותר פשוטה. היא פחות שפה ספרותית ובעיניי חשוב יותר לקרוא ספרים כדי לחזור למקור להבין מאיפה זה בא הדברים.

This negative attitude towards the younger generations' language use is also expressed by Schwarzwald (2007: 72–73) who asserts that in the 1950s, every Israeli child, religious or not, learned the complete Biblical story and also in secular high schools, the Talmud was studied in preparation for the final exam. Accordingly, a change took place in the 1960s, when students only learned selected parts of the Biblical story and repetition fell from grace as pedagogical method. Therefore, knowledge of the Hebrew sources diminished over the generations because of the processes of immigration and secularization in Israeli society. She concludes that, today, people over forty have a larger vocabulary from the Hebrew sources than the younger generations and religious HSs have a bigger vocabulary from the Hebrew sources than their peers who grow up mostly with spoken Hebrew.

A70f3l1 addressed the religious perspective when I asked whether she noticed any linguistic differences between religious and secular pupils in the school where she was teaching:

(38) a70f3l1 (24:09)

יש הבדל בין ילדים דתיים לילדים חילוניים. הדתיים יש להם שפה יותר עשירה כי הם לומדים את המקורות של העברית, זה משנה וגמרא ותנ״ך ותורה. אז הם מכירים את ה-, יש לדעתי, אני חושבת, לא יודעת מה המחקר אומר אבל יש להם שפה יותר עשירה בוודאי, כן כן. למשל לחילוניים מאוד קשה לגשת ל לקרוא בתנ״ך, להסביר, כי זה שפה, בכל אופן שפה גבוהה מאוד. אבל הדתיים משום שהם כל הזמן, תנ״ך אצלנו בחילוני לומדים פעמיים שלוש פעמים בשבוע. אצל הדתי הוא כל היום הוא נגיש למקורות. אתה מבין. אבל כן, יש הבדל כן.

There is a difference between religious and secular pupils. The religious have a richer language because they learn the Hebrew sources, that's Mishna *and* Gemara *and* Tanakh *and* Torah *so they know, in my opinion I think – I don't know what research says, but they have a richer language definitely, yes for example the seculars have a hard time to access, to read the* Tanakh, *to explain because it is, either way, a very high language. But, the religious because they – all the time,* Tanakh... *With us in the secular (school) they learn twice or three times a week. The religious – all day he has access, you know but, yes, there is a difference, yes.*

A70f3l1 self-identified as religious and also displayed a quasi-religious attitude towards MH itself. She recounted that she devotes herself to the study of Hebrew, on Shabbat – just as a prayer-like activity:

(39) a70f3l1 (13:05)

אני אוהבת את השפה העברית. אצלי זה לשבת, שבת אני במיוחד מקדישה אני המון קוראת דברים של האקדמיה, אני אוהבת להעשיר את השפה [...] שלי זה תענוג.

I love the Hebrew language. In my home, it's to sit down – on Shabbat, I especially devote myself, I read a lot of things from the Academy. I like to enrich the language [...] it's my pleasure.

The nostalgic perspective resurfaced frequently when I asked the participants about model speakers of MH. Younger participants who had not displayed a conservative attitude also mentioned foremost senior public figures as model speakers for "the most correct Hebrew" and the Hebrew they liked the most. They mentioned singers and public figures who all were born in Israel between 1938 and 1951: Arik Einstein, Yoni Rechter, Gidi Gov, Meir Ariel, Yaacov Ahimeir, Amos Oz, Avshalom Kor, Yaron London and the politicians Reuven Rivlin and Benjamin Netanyahu, then president and prime minister. In this context, g27m3l2 described his preference for "Hebrew from the past:"

(40) z27m3l2 (24:11)

First of all I can hint at a singer, writer, poet – Yoni Rechter – who also when you hear him being interviewed and first of all, also his songs are written in sorts of a Hebrew from the past, a Hebrew that started to develop with the foundation of the state, up to the eighties, maybe even the nineties. […] So, their Hebrew always sounds very correct to me, very... Also the Hebrew that they speak with each other because in all the – not the formal. That's really how one should speak. I can hint also to Gidi Gov or to many other singers from this time, politicians, there are many, you know. […] I'd tend to educate in this way. At least, my children as the following generation, I'd like them to speak like that or that they know at least that one speaks like that.

קודם כל אני יכול להצביע על זמר כותב משורר יוני רכטר. שמבחינת גם שאתה שומע אותו מתראיין וקודם כל השירים שלו גם כתובים באיזושהי עברית של פעם. עברית שהתחילה להתפתח עם קום המדינה עד שנות השמונים אולי אפילו תשעים […] אז העברית שלהם תמיד נשמעת לי מאוד נכונה מאוד, גם העברית שהם מדברים בינם לבין עצמם, כי בכל – לא הרשמית, ככה באמת צריך לדבר. יכול להצביע גם על גידי גוב או על די הרבה זמרים מאותה התקופה, פוליטיקאים יש הרבה אתה יודע. […] הייתי שואף לחנך לככה. לפחות את הילדים שלי את הדור המשך, הייתי רוצה שידברו ככה או לפחות שידעו שמדברים ככה.

Besides these public figures they mentioned family members, their teachers and certain academics, just as n31f3l1 who also stated that she liked "the Hebrew of the old generation:"

(41) n31f3l1 (6:20)

The first thing that comes to my mind is some professor, already emeritus. But, he symbolizes something – he speaks the Hebrew of the old generation. It simply sounds old and I like that. […] Actually, the Hebrew of the elderly who speak correctly – that's beautiful.

הדבר הראשון שעולה לי בראש זה איזשהו פרופסור, כבר אמריטוס. אבל הוא מסמל משהו, הוא מדבר עברית של הדור הישן. זה פשוט נשמע ישן ואני אוהבת את זה […] דווקא העברית של המבוגרים שמדברים נכון זה יפה.

Associations of these common attitudes with the core categories will be discussed in the next sections.

6.3 *Ashkenazim* and the Jewish elite

In 3.1.3, the binary distinction between the concepts 'Ashkenazim' and 'Mizrahim' that is conventionalized in Israeli society was reviewed. These categories were

described as a "two-class set" which is typically used for the categorization of HSs – this basic distinction seems to be entrenched in HSs' minds (see 6.1). Even when the participants criticized this way of classification, they still referred to the categories and the associated stereotypes – basically contradicting themselves (see h37f2l1's statement 5). In a similar manner, y35f4l1 stated that she rejected this discourse, while she conceded that she cannot help using the same categories:

(42) y35f4l1 (27:57)

It's like most of the leadership in Israel is Ashkenazi. *However, I don't accept this discourse anymore, about* Ashkenaziness *and* Mizrahiness, *which takes place in the society where I'm in, until today. So, it's like, I can say: OK, there is no such thing as the color green, even though I am living in the middle of the forest.*

רוב ההנהגה בישראל היא הנהגה אשכנזית כאילו. אף על פי שאני כבר לא מקבלת את השיח הזה של האשכנזיות ומזרחיות שקיים בחברה שאני נמצאת בה עד היום. אז כאילו אני יכולה להגיד אוקיי, אין כזה צבע ירוק אפילו שאני חייה באמצע יער.

This critical attitude towards the categories 'Ashkenazim' and 'Mizrahim' is reflected in the participants' behavior during GERT. Some participants consciously avoided using these categories for the task, despite the fact that they had referred to them during the interview. Just one of seven participants who produced an entry *Ashkenazim* and another participant among the six who produced an entry *Mizrahim* were L1 HSs. Either the other eight GERT participants with L1 Hebrew avoided the categories or they were not relevant for them – which is unlikely since most referred to them in one way or another. Typically, participants who did not produce these categories during GERT tried to downplay their significance somehow, when they were using them – just as s41m3l1's statement illustrates:

(43) s41m3l1 (23:40)

There is – what's called educated Ashkenazim *and popular* Mizrahim. *But that's not absolute, OK? Let's say, a good friend of mine who lives in North Tel Aviv, she is a caricature of an educated* Ashkenazia.

יש מה שנקרא אשכנזים משכילים ומזרחים עממיים. אבל זה לא אבסולוטי, כן. נניח חברה טובה שלי שגרה בצפון תל אביב, היא קריקטורה לאשכנזיה משכילה.

Israeli-born participants with Hebrew as L1 were more skeptical about the use of these categories. This attitude can be understood because they are personally more affected by this categorization than immigrants or Arabs for whom these categories do not apply. Categorizing and being categorized openly as 'Ashkenazi' or 'Mizrahi' is regarded as taboo. Nonetheless, the participants' statements reveal that these

categories are still meaningful for the construction of identities in Israel, also in relation to oneself. Sacks describes the general relevance of the categories as follows:

> [N]ot only non-members, but members of a category take it that the actions of that category can be assessed. It's not merely that [276] a non-Catholic could hold this up and say, 'See? Catholics don't take care of their own,' but that a Catholic will say, about their own group, the same thing. The generic importance of such a phenomenon is that it's not just one category's view of another, but that knowledge is standardized across the categories. (Sacks 1989: 275–276)

For the Israeli context, the category 'Ashkenazim' has been described as an unmarked default category in sociological accounts such as Shohat (1999: 13) and Lefkowitz (2004: 83) (see also 3.1.3). Shemer describes the equation of 'Israeliness' with *Ashkenazi* characteristics in the domain of the cinema and beyond:

> [I]n Rami Kimchi's (2008) work on Mizrahi/Ashkenazi representations in the ethnic film comedies of the 1960s and 1970s (known as 'Bourekas'), the main argument is that Israeliness never existed within the films or without; rather, it was the Ashkenazi Yiddish culture masqueraded as a new Israeli *habitus*. It is not surprising therefore that, unlike 'Mizrahi,' 'Ashkenazi' renders the unmarked (normative) Israeliness. This is most conspicuous when we consider that the *sabra*, despite the term's supposed reference to any native Israeli, is depicted in literature and the performing arts as a young, light-skinned male of Ashkenazi, not Mizrahi, descent. (Shemer 2013: 23)

It is hard to assert if a semantic change occurred – the representations of these categories in the Israeli public would deserve an entire research project. Comparing GERT ratings in Fig. 5.5, one can infer that 'Ashkenazim' is a positively marked category, if 0/0 marks the unmarked point of reference. It was rated highest in terms of 'correct Hebrew' and third in 'status,' just behind 'Jewish elite' and 'public figures.' As explanation for the rating (1/0) of his entry *Ashkenazim* h26m2l1 argued:

(44) h26m2l1 (27:25)

Ashkenazim *are here. It's just like that, they always speak with a higher language. I don't say that I like this, but usually, they have a higher status, higher language*	אשכנזים פה. אין מה לעשות, הם תמיד מדברים בשפה יותר גבוהה. אני לא אומר שאני אוהב את זה אבל הם במעמד בדרך כלל יותר גבוה, שפה יותר גבוהה.

His entry is located slightly positive in comparison to 0/0, where he said he would locate himself. H26m2l1 did not identify himself in terms of 'ethnicity.' He indicated that both his parents were Israeli-born and identified as *dati le'umi* 'national-religious,' an entry that he gave his highest ratings. Apparently, the prototypical HS who speaks 'standard Hebrew' with 'mistakes' is no longer associated with 'Ashkenazim' who are represented as speaking more correctly. Neither is this way of speaking necessarily

evaluated positively, as h26m2l1's statement that he does not like people who speak a really high language reveals.

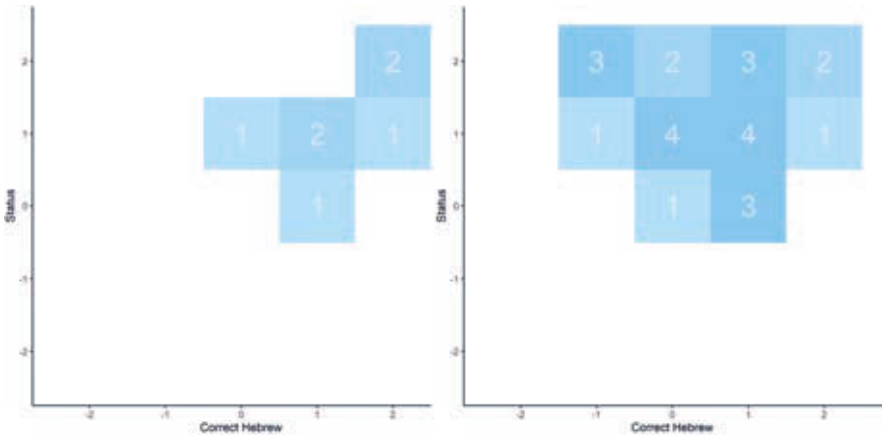

Fig. 6.4: Heatmaps: participants' ratings of 'Ashkenazim' (left) and 'Jewish elite' (right)

Comparing heatmaps in Fig. 6.4 reveals that the ratings for 'Ashkenazim' and 'Jewish elite' partially overlap for the entries which were rated slightly positive for 'correct Hebrew.' 'Jewish elite' has two centers of ratings: the overlapping entries and another center which was rated slightly negative for 'correct Hebrew,' while all entries were rated between 0 and 2 for 'status,' just as for 'Ashkenazim.' 'Ashkenazim' is a uniform category, whereas 'Jewish elite' contains several simplifications of different concepts (see 5.5.1 for the definition of the category). The three entries "Americans," "Tel Aviv" and "youths" make up for the left center at –1/2 and "elite," "Kibbutsniks" and "Moshavniks" were rated higher for 'status' than for 'correct Hebrew,' too. In 6.2, I described that the elite were not forcibly represented as speaking correctly. This fits Luhmann's characterization of the social elite, according to which their status allows them to deviate from rules – such as linguistic norms:

> One of the characteristics of the confidence of an upper class is that it can occasionally disregard the rules by which it is constituted.[22] (Luhmann 1993: 74, my translation)

Positive ratings for 'status' were one criteria for the classification of entries as 'Jewish elite.' Looking again at entries, such as established immigrants (French and Ameri-

22 German original: Es gehört mit zu den Merkmalen der Souveränität einer Oberschicht, daß sie die Regeln, mit denen sie sich konstitutioniert, gelegentlich auch außer Acht lassen kann[.]

cans), native Israelis and all entries which primarily refer to Jews – except *Haredim* which are a non-elitist group on their own – it becomes obvious that being *Ashkenazi* is not a necessary condition for possessing 'social status.'

D30m3l1 asserted that he can recognize fellow *Ashkenazim* by their accent, while he said that "mistakes" are not indexical for any social group.

(45) d30m3l1 (29:28)

בדרך כלל אני יכול לזהות אם מישהו אשכנזי יהודי כמוני. [...] אז מבטא, כן מבטא זה דבר ראשון. מבחינת טעויות בשפה, אני לא מזהה טעויות שקשורות לאוכלוסיות מסוימות.

In general, I can recognize if someone is Jewish Ashkenazi *– like me. [...] So the accent, yes – the accent is the first thing. In respect to linguistic mistakes, I don't recognize mistakes that are connected to certain populations.*

D30m3l1, who grew up in a kibbuts, described how he changed his attitude towards different "levels" of Hebrew: as a child, he judged the Hebrew from the surrounding villages as poorer – but, he changed his attitude.

(46) d30m3l1 (0:32)

אני גדלתי בקיבוץ. אז בקיבוץ הם אוהבים לדבר עברית ישנה יותר משנות השבעים כזה יותר, שהם חושבים שיותר תקינה. אבל אתה יודע, בערים מסביב לקיבוץ אז ככה רמות שונות שנגיד כשאני גדלתי אני יותר שפטתי אותם כעברית ברמה ירודה יותר. עכשיו אני חושב אחרת. שוב זה באמת תלוי מאיפה אתה, איפה אתה גודל ובאוכלוסיה שסביבך גם. [...] אני חושב שעברית תקינה זאת כבר לא משהו שתופס.

I grew up in a kibbuts. So, in the kibbuts they like to speak older Hebrew – sort of from the 70s – which they think of as more correct. But, you know, in the cities surrounding the kibbuts, there are different levels that, let's say, when I grew up I rather judged them as Hebrew on an inferior level. Now, I think differently. Again, it's really depending from where you are, where you grow up and from the population that surrounds you, too. [...] I think that correct Hebrew is no longer something that applies.

Goldscheider's following citation indicates that the 'kibbuts' was an influential institution in Israel. Therefore, the GERT entries "kibbutsniks" were classified under 'Jewish elite,' although this concept is commonly associated with 'Ashkenaziness,' too (see 3.1.3).

> [T]he kibbutz influenced Israeli society far beyond its small size, as it was influenced by the state. A disproportionate number of kibbutz members have been active in party and national politics, becoming political and ideological leaders of Israel, prominent in the Knesset, and overrepresented as officers in the Israeli armed services. Kibbutz ideals include the quintessential symbols of national Zionist values. (Goldscheider 2015: 98)

Once, the 'kibbuts' was a symbol of a new, native Israeli way of life – today, it is associated with an exclusive 'old elite' and a type of 'old Hebrew.' The participants who lived in a kibbuts described it as a place where life is moving slower and which is detached from the rest of society.[23] I38m3l1 used the critical wording:

(47) i38m3l1 (22:38)
Here, the people don't care – we're living in La La Land, here. אנשים פה לא אכפת להם, אנחנו חיים פה בלאלאלנד.

Several participants argued for a unique style of Hebrew – *ḳibbutsniḳit*. I38m3l1 (3:17) described it as slangish, shortened and kind of poetic. He explained its peculiarities with the special social context of the kibbuts: the Polish origin of its founders, the history of its inhabitants, the tight-knit community and the communal organization of life. There are concepts, which are typically restricted to the kibbuts and which require a specific term: *'Agalul* refers to a mobile playpen with wheels which can be brought to a work place in the kibbuts, for example. The lexeme is composed of *lul* 'playpen' and *'agala* 'cart.' I38m3l1 asserted that their language can seem strange or insulting because they use lexemes such as *zkenim* 'oldsters' to refer to their parents and *ḥeder* 'room' to refer to their house. Furthermore, he characterized the Hebrew style of *moshavniks* as similar, while he asserted that he can discern HSs based on these styles. Lists of kibbuts lexemes can be found, for example in Rosenthal (2007b), Neumann (2010) and in Almog's (1993) ethnolinguistic study about youth culture in the kibbuts.

Matras & Schiff describe phonological variants which used to be characteristic of certain kibbutsim:

> Such an exception can be found among the kibbutzim of the western Galilee, which were founded in the 1930s by small groups of immigrants, largely from Poland, as well as in other kibbutzim belonging to the Ha Shomer Ha-Tzair movement, whose population kept itself apart socially during a period up to the late 1950s and beyond, viewing itself as a kind of self-sufficient community of the settler elite. Here, the first generation of native speakers, those born in the 1930s, preserve the /ey/-diphtong that was characteristic of their parents' substrate pronunciation of historical /e/ in stressed syllables in forms like *séyfer* 'book' [...] (Matras & Schiff 2005: 161)

This diphtongization is characteristic for the so-called *Ashkenazi* reading tradition of the Torah. Today, this *hagaya 'ashkenazit* '*Ashkenazi* pronunciation' is almost

23 D30m3l1, i38m3l1 and u3+m2l1 grew up in a kibbuts and except for d30m3l1 they were living there at the time of the interview.

exclusively associated with L1 Yiddish speakers and the *Haredi* environment (Sender 2019; see 6.7.1).

A second type of entries which was classified as 'Jewish elite' refers to Tel Aviv and specifically to North Tel Aviv (the entries *tsfonim* and *tsfonbonim*) and the adjacent town Herzliya. S41m3l1 (43) referred to North Tel Aviv as the home of his friend, the "educated Ashkenazia." This conceptualization is related to the two-class set 'periphery,' which will be reviewed in the next section, and 'center' which is symbolized by (North) Tel Aviv. *Tsfonbonim*, which is a parody of *tsfonim* 'Northerners,' is a stereotype about snobbish, upper-class Tel Avivians – the counter-parts of the *'arsim* (see 6.4.2). N31f3l1 who grew up in Tel Aviv described the associated linguistic stereotype as follows:

(48) n31f3l1 (16:34)

When I was a child, there was a thing to say tsadi *instead of* tav [...] *it was like a Tel Avivian stereotype.*	כשהייתי קטנה אז היה קטע של במקום ת׳ להגיד צ׳ [...] זה היה מין סטראוטיפ תל אביבי כזה.

In general, the typical language use of 'Ashkenazim' was characterized with the terms 'correct,' 'high,' 'educated' and 'old Hebrew.' The attitudes which accompanied these characterizations conform to the typical attitudes towards 'correct Hebrew' which were analyzed in 6.2.3: Speaking 'high Hebrew' is not necessarily favorable and can be perceived as snobbish, unauthentic or exaggerated, while 'old Hebrew' is a nostalgic ideal. The conscious performance of 'Ashkenaziness' was described by the participants with the verb *misht'aknez* 'to make oneself *Ashkenazi*' by which they also referred to processes of linguistic adaptation. This process was evaluated negatively as becoming unauthentic (see also Shaked 2016). Besides the occasional references to *tsfonit*, the participants did not bring up any variants which could be described as 'Ashkenazi style of Hebrew.'

6.4 *Mizrahim* and the periphery

Just as 'Ashkenazim' were associated with a high level of education, wealth, secularism and political power, the category 'Mizrahim' was typically associated with the opposite attributes. Also the categories 'center,' with (North) Tel Aviv as a symbol for modern, secular Israeliness, and 'periphery,' which refers prototypically to so-called development towns are commonly related to 'Ashkenazim' and 'Mizrahim' (see 3.1.5). Originally, 'center' and 'periphery' refer to geographical differences – but, as geographic isolation often leads to social marginalization, they are metaphorically

used to refer to power relations in Israeli society. In this sense, "peripheral environments" such as lower class neighborhoods in South Tel Aviv can also be found in the geographic center of the country.

Several participants brought up the association between the concepts 'Mizrahim' and 'periphery.' Y35f4l1 (24:43) who grew up and lived mostly in the Jerusalem District asserted that people who live in the periphery – in development towns such as Yeruham – sometimes have their own slang. Yeruham, a small town some 30 kilometers south of Beer Sheva in the Negev desert, has become a symbol for the 'periphery' – Motzafi-Haller's (2018) ethnographic portrait *Concrete Boxes: Mizrahi Women on Israel's Periphery* was recorded there. Therefore, several of my Israeli contacts suggested that I should go to Yeruham for my research, which I did in the second fieldwork stage. Some of the participants' accounts from Yeruham will be reviewed to further explore the concepts 'Mizrahim' and 'periphery.'

6.4.1 Accounts from Yeruham

T37m3l2 who moved from Ukraine to Yeruham at the end of the 1990s used the in-vivo code *nituḳ* 'isolation' to describe his reality:

(49) t37m3l2 (1:22)

The problem is that there aren't many people in Yeruham. Sometimes, you don't have anybody to speak to. [...] In Yeruham, due to the wilderness, do you understand what's wilderness? Desert, they hardly come and hardly – so, there is not too much there.

הבעיה היא שבירוחם אין הרבה אנשים, אין לך לפעמים עם מי לדבר. [...] בירוחם זה בגלל השממה, אתה מבין מה זה שממה? מדבר, בקושי באים בקושי זה, אז אין שם יותר מדי.

PS: *OK, which people live there –* 'olim ḥadashim, *too?*

או קיי, איזה אנשים גרים שם, גם עולים חדשים?

t37m3l2: *Yes,* 'olim ḥadashim *and pensioners, but very few. They live there and then run away because you can't survive being isolated. You feel the isolation strongly there because, until you get anywhere, it takes time and you are in the middle of the desert and on* shabbat *you are stuck there – so, it's very uneasy.*

כן, עולים חדשים פנסיונרים אבל מעט מאוד. הם גרים והם בורחים משם כי אי אשפר לשרוד, להיות מנותק. שמה הניתוק מאוד מוחש כי עד שאתה מגיע לאיזשהו מקום זה לוקח לך זמן ואתה באמצע המדבר ובשבת אתה נתקע שם, אז זה מאוד לא פשוט.

When I mentioned that I was specifically aiming to include people from Yeruham in my study, he expressed his feeling of being overlooked by Israeli society:

(50) t37m3l2 (7:48)

יפה מאוד כל הכבוד, כי אף אחד לא זוכר אותנו.

Very nice, well done – because nobody remembers us.

On the contrary, f5+f1l1 who was born in Morocco and came to Yeruham with her family as a child described her environment favorably by stressing the social cohesion and the mutual respect:

(51) f5+f1l1 (12:54)

יש הרבה כבוד אחד לשני לשפה של אחד של השני, משתדלים להבין אחד את השני [...] כי ירוחם זה כמו משפחה פה זה מקום שאנשים מחוברים אחד לשני ומכירים.

There's a lot of respect for each other, for each other's language. We try to understand each other [...] because Yeruham, it's like a family, here. It's a place where people are connected to each other and know each other.

L6+f4l1 (5:02–6:42), a retired teacher who moved to Yeruham from Jerusalem at the end of the 1970s, recounted the situation at that moment when she started to teach the 6th grade. She believes that all her pupils' mothers were illiterate and did not know how to write in any language – neither in Hebrew, Moroccan Arabic nor French. The men apparently did not know much more Hebrew than the prayers and the children spoke a different kind of Hebrew. She asserted that Yeruham was very isolated from Israeli society – there was very infrequent public transportation service by bus and nobody had a car. In the class that she was teaching, just one pupil had a telephone at home. According to her, nobody went to study outside of Yeruham and almost none of the residents was working somewhere else. She described the different kind of Hebrew that the children spoke as consisting of much more than phenomena of normative incorrect gender agreement, which resulted from a transfer from their L1. She used *ha-kadur hitpotsetsa* 'the ball.M exploded.F' as an example and noted that the Arabic lexeme for 'ball' is feminine. When I asked whether they still speak this kind of Hebrew, she answered:

(52) l6+f4l1 (7:07)

לא, אני חושבת שזה מאוד השתנה. זה היה כאילו כמעט כמו דיאלקט, מנגינה הם היו שרים את המילים אחרת. כן, ברור שהמבטא היה שונה. היום כבר אני חושבת שהם, זה, ירוחם עברה ישראליזאציה.

No, I think that it has changed a lot. It was almost like a dialect, a melody – they sang the words differently. Yes, clearly the accent was different. Today, I think they, that Yeruham underwent Israelization.

She stated that the situation in Yeruham has improved because it is no longer isolated and because of the generational change: her pupils who were already Israeli-born have become grandparents, themselves. She claimed that she can no longer discern people from Yeruham by their speech because the language also "underwent Israelization."

(53) l6+f4l1 (14:36)

I think that there is an Israeli slang that enters everywhere – I don't think that it's less in Yeruham than in other places. The slang spreads today because of the media, also because of the social networks and the internet, so I think that it's in all – I don't think that this is particular to Yeruham, I really don't think so.

אני חושבת שיש סלנג ישראלי שנכנס בכל מקום אני לא חושבת שהוא בירוחם פחות מה שמקומות אחרים. הסלנג מתפשט היום גם בגלל התקשורת גם בגלל הרשתות החברתיות והאינטרנט. אז אני חושבת שזה בכל לא נראה לי שזה מיוחד לירוחם אני באמת לא חושבת.

F5+f1l1 (9:50) equally asserted that youth slang in Yeruham is not any different from the rest of Israel. She added that there are L2 HSs who speak with accents and that she code-switches to Moroccan Arabic when speaking with elderly family members of Moroccan origin. In this respect, she claimed that she can distinguish elderly HSs of Moroccan origin, whereas younger HSs have lost their accent and their origin is no longer significant:

(54) f5+f1l1 (20:00)

You can recognize Moroccans – the older, not the younger ones. [...] all the migration was so long ago that all of them are already Sabras – today, you have even a third and fourth generation.

מרוקאים אפשר לזהות, את המבוגרים יותר לא את הצעירים [...] כל העלייה היתה כבר לפני כל כך הרבה שנים שכבר כולם צברים, אפילו היום יש לך דור שלישי ורביעי.

To describe this process of assimilation, she used the Zionist concept of *kibbuts galuyot* 'ingathering of the Exiles,' in reference to the population of Tel Aviv and thereby argued against regional linguistic differences in MH. This Zionist perspective is also expressed in her statements about the national importance of MH for Israel and the Jewish people, which were analyzed above (see 33).

C36f3l1, who grew up in the outskirts of Tel Aviv and moved to Yeruham for professional reasons and out of personal affection for the local community, described linguistic differences in Yeruham in association with 'Mizrahim' and a popular, folksy (*'amami*) way of life. As examples, she mentioned the lexemes *neshama* 'soul' and *kapara* 'forgiveness; may you be forgiven' which are used to signify 'my dear; darling.'

(55) c36f3l1 (9:49)

There are parts of Yeruham which are very popular and that influences the language, too. [...] So, yes, there's a language that's more popular and it's usually more a – maybe it's more a Mizrahi *thing, like all the* neshama, kapara, *all the... that I less... There are moments when I use it a bit – but, it doesn't come naturally [...] there are situations like in which I can find myself speaking sort of in a more popular way.*

יש חלקים בירוחם שהם מאוד עממיים וזה גם משפיע על השפה. [...] אז כן, יש שפה שהיא יותר עממית והיא בדרך כלל גם יותר נתפשת ככה, אולי יותר כזה קטע של מזרחים כאילו כל ה-"נשמה", "כפרה", כל ה-, שאני פחות כאילו. יש מקרים שאני כזה קצת עושה בזה שימוש אבל זה לא בא לי באופן טבעי [...] יש סיטואציות שבהם כאילו אני ככה יכולה למצוא את עצמי מדברת ככה בצורה יותר עממית.

However, she tried to disconnect the notions 'Mizrahim,' 'periphery,' 'education' and 'linguistic variation,' although she conceded that the discourse about the ethnic categories is more pronounced in Yeruham than in the "center" where she grew up.

(56) c36f3l1 (23:19)

It's kind of a bomb in Israeli society. This story about Ashkenazi, Mizrahi, Etiopi, *all the time they are preoccupied with that. On the one hand, they think that it's getting blurred and on the other hand, they always bring it back into the discourse. [...] In the center of the country they occupy themselves much less with this discourse. In the periphery they preoccupy themselves a lot with it – in Yeruham, all the time.*

זה משהו שהוא פצצה. כאילו בחברה הישראלית. הסיפור הזה של אשכנזי, מזרחי, אתיופי זה כל הזמן מתעסקים בזה. מצד אחד חושבים שזה הולך ומטשטש ומצד שני כל הזמן מחזירים את זה לתוך השיח.[...] במרכז הארץ הרבה פחות מתעסקים בשיח הזה. בפריפריה מאוד מתעסקים בו, בירוחם כל הזמן.

In this context, she explained her reluctance to use more than two entries "educated" and "uneducated" for GERT:

(57) c36f3l1 (27:35)

If I'd start now to write Ashkenazim *speak better and to denigrate... Come on, we're over that, you know, it's not... It's primarily a matter of education, if you read books. What, I don't know guys of* Mizrahi *origin who know to speak a thousand times better than me? Of course I do. No, it's nonsense – No, it's the easiest thing to go to this point.*

אם אני אתחיל עכשיו לכתוב אשכנזים מדברים יותר יפה ומזלזל, נו עברנו את זה אתה מבין, כאילו זה לא. בעיקר עניין של השכלה, אם אתה קורא ספרים. מה, אני לא מכירה חב׳רה ממוצא מזרחי שיודעים לדבר פי אלף יותר טוב ממני? בטח שכן. כאילו זה לא, זה שטויות. זה לא, זה הכי קל ללכת למקום הזה.

The notions 'Mizrahim' and 'periphery' were often researched in conjunction for linguistic studies (see 3.2.2). Gafter (2014) showed that HSs in a particular community of Yemenite origin in Rosh ha-Ayn, which is considered a development town, differ in their LAs and their language use from the control group of HSs of Yemenite origin in Tel Aviv. As l6+f4l1 described the Yeruham of over forty years ago, it may have been fertile ground for the emergence of variational patterns in MH – a similarly unique environment is documented in Bentolila's (1983) sociophonological description of *Hebrew as spoken in a rural settlement of Moroccan Jews in the Negev*. However, the participants from Yeruham claimed that no characteristic linguistic patterns of this sort are discernible, today. Further research is needed to reveal if there is any perceptual basis for an over-regional sociolect which Henshke (2015: 163–164) describes as being "characteristic of the speech of residents of the geographic and social periphery."

6.4.2 Attitudes and *Mizrahi* variants

It was argued in 6.1 that the cognitive process of recursivity leads to the overemphasis of minor linguistic traits in the representation of categories such as 'Mizrahim.' Therefore, lay people and linguists alike are tempted to speak of a "*Mizrahi* sociolect," although just a few co-occuring variants might actually be observable. Which phenomena qualify as *Mizrahi* variants is hard to determine precisely because no perception experiments were carried out to determine what exactly makes someone's speech sound *Mizrahi*. In this respect, my participants came up with very general characterizations:

(58) s20m2l1 (7:22)

You know, they always say that Ashkenazim	אתה יודע אומרים תמיד כאילו
speak like more softly, gently and Mizrahim	האשכנזים מדברים יותר ברכות בעדינות
speak more directly.	והמזרחים יותר מדברים ישירות.

S20m2l1 explained that his family frequently refers to these stereotypical associations jokingly when speaking about family members who live in ethnically mixed marriages. The analysis showed that c36f3l1 did not want to resort to common stereotypes about 'Mizrahim,' who have been stigmatized on linguistic grounds, as Shohat (1999: 15) points out: "Mizrahim in Israel were made to feel ashamed of their dark, olive skin, of their guttural language [...]" Also Shemer describes the stereotypical cinematic portrayal of 'Mizrahim' with linguistic characteristics:

> The Mizrahi man in Bourekas Cinema is often portrayed as uncouth, irrational, emotional, oversexed, traditional, premodern, chauvinistic, patriarchal, and manipulative. The language skills of the Mizrahim in Bourekas Cinema are limited, and their pronunciation is grotesque. (Shemer 2013: 28)

This stigmatized representation of the 'Mizrahi man' is termed as *'ars*,

> a term coming from the Arabic and meaning 'pimp'; it is stereotypically applied to Mizrahim, especially of Moroccan origin. In Hebrew slang, it refers to males displaying bad manners, vulgarity, flashy dress and contempt for social norms [...] (Mizrachi & Herzog 2012: 428)

Just as several other participants, i53f2l1 used the term *'ars* and associated it with "swearwords" and "difficult" places such as *Ṭveria* and *Lod* which are in turn associated with the 'periphery' (see 1).

Until today, the stereotypical portrayals of grotesque *Mizrahi* characters are a central component of Israeli TV productions. Assi Cohen's depiction of the character Shauli, an unemployed *'ars* of North African origin, is an integral feature of the popular TV series *ha-parlamenṭ* 'The Parliament' and *'erets nehederet* 'A wonderful country.' *Shnot ha-80* 'The 80s' mimics everyday life during the 1980s in *Ṭirat Ha-Karmel*, a development town just outside of Haifa: comedian Shalom Asayag acts in the role of his Moroccan-born father as one of the main characters in this partly auto-biographical series that thrives on the portrayal of ethnic stereotypes. In *Zaguri 'imperia* 'Zaguri empire,' the screenwriter and director Maor Zaguri narrates a comical-grotesque story about a Moroccan-Israeli family by the name Zaguri who run a falafel shop in the director's home town, Beer Sheva. Linguistic means are central for the portrayal of *Mizrahi* characters in these series: their speech is characterized by the pharyngealization of the letters *ḥet* and *'ayn*, a very casual style of speech and – especially in *Shnot ha-80* – conversations tend to digress into agitated shouting. It would be worth investigating the linguistic features of the *Mizrahi* characters in these and similar productions on their own terms to determine the linguistic stereotypes on which the cinematic representations of 'Mizrahi Hebrew' are based.

In general, the participants asserted that they categorize HSs either as 'Ashkenazim' or 'Mizrahim' (see 8). When I asked if it is still possible to recognize HSs' origins based on their speech, a70f3l1 answered:

(59) a70f3l1 (52:22)

In my opinion, yes. You see it according to the origin. Yes, you see, for example, the Mizrahim *– again, we're speaking in general, not in specifics, there are also exceptions. So, the* Mizrahim*, it's more a language of slang, the talk at home is really slang. Among those from Western communities, the Europeans, you see a little higher language [...]*	לדעתי כן. אתה רואה לפי המוצא, כן כן. אתה רואה למשל המזרחים, שוב אנחנו מדברים באופן כללי לא ספציפי, יש גם יוצאים מין הכלל, אז המזרחים אז זה יותר שפה של הסלנג, יותר שיחה בבית ממש סלנג. אצל קצת אלה מעדות המערב, האירופאים, אז אתה רואה לשון קצת יותר גבוהה [...]
PS:	
Also among the youth?	גם אצל הצעירים?
a70f3l1:	
Also among the youth, yes. Look, I am Mizrahit*, my parents are from Yemen, but I really insist (on speaking correctly). So I'm saying again, there's all in all, yes, the language is a bit low. Among Europeans it's a bit higher.*	גם אצל הצעירים, כן כן. תראה אני מזרחית, ההורים שלי מתימן אבל אני מאוד מקפידה. אז שוב אני אומרת לך יש את ה-, בסך הכל, כן, השפה היא קצת נמוכה. אצל אירופאים קצת יותר גבוהה.

It can be seen that negative evaluations of 'Mizrahim' are not restricted to the outside perspective – a70f3l1 identified as *Mizrahit* because of her parents' Yemenite origin. Besides the association of 'Mizrahim' with 'low language,' participants argued that they can discern a certain *signon* 'style,' a *ṭon dibur* 'intonation, stress pattern' and a *mivt'a* 'accent.'

(60) r36f3l1 (16:10)

Like, by the accent you hear if someone is Ashkenazi *or* Mizrahi*, even though he was born in the country. Not just the accent, like maybe also the style of speech – but, it's these sorts of fine nuances that aren't always salient.*	כאילו לפי המבטא אתה שומע אם מישהו אשכנזי או מזרחי, למרות שנולד בארץ. לא רק המבטא, כאילו גם אולי הסגנון דיבור. אבל זה מין נואנסים כאלה עדינים שלא תמיד בולטים.

A30f3l2 (28:48) also referred to *ṭon dibur* and *mivt'a*, while she claimed that *Mizrahim* speak outright and don't care too much about their language use and what might be understood.[24] The following statement is i38m3l1's first reaction to Q14 about

24 A30f3l2's (28:48) statement also contains elements which hint at an imitation of a *Mizrahi* style: יותר כזה טון דיבור, מבטא וכאילו עצם, זה שהם שמשוחררים וכזה זורקים זין ולא אכפת להם כזה. הם יגידו מה שיגידו, לא משנה יבינו לא יבינו, זה כאילו.

distinguishable groups of HSs. He characterized the Hebrew of the "Eastern Jewry" as being marked by a "paroxytone" stress pattern.

(61) i38m3l1 (12:46)

The Eastern Jewry, they have a terribly strange story. That's to say, they came and they spoke Arabic in their countries of origin, which is a paroxytone language. Hebrew is an oxytone language. They came to Israel and began to speak paroxytone Hebrew – it's reversed, very strange. They came from an oxytone language. They reversed what they were used to. Today, they should... Actually, it should have been easier for them to speak Hebrew.

יהדות המזרח שיש להם סיפור נורא מוזר יעני. הם באו והם דיברו ערבית בארצות המוצא שלהם שהיא שפה מלעילית. עברית היא שפה מלרעית. הם באו לישראל והתחילו לדבר עברית מלעילית. זה הפוך, מאוד מוזר. הם באו משפה מלרעית, הפכו את מה שהם היו רגילים, היום אמור. דווקא להם היה אמור להיות יותר קל לדבר עברית.

Apparently, i38m3l1 mixed-up the terms for the different stress patterns, while he evaluated the *Mizrahi* stress pattern as "very strange." He argued that it should have been easy for the L1 Arabic speakers to speak Hebrew, while it is apparently not – at least not the kind of Hebrew with stress on the ultimate syllable. As examples for the *Mizrahi* stress pattern, i38m3l1 cited the words *súkar* 'sugar', *'úga* 'cake', *kávod* 'honor' and stressed their first syllable.[25]

Some participants referred to the pharyngealization of the letters *'ayn* as [ʕ] and *ḥet* as [ħ] and termed these as "guttural letters." A70f3l1 stated that she likes to hear these variants, when she talked about one of her model speakers, Gil Hovav:

25 Stress is indicated by <ˊ>.

(62) a70f3l1 (8:00)

Gil Hovav, it's a pleasure to hear, it's like Eliezer Ben-Yehuda's language they insisted a lot (on speaking correctly) [...] he appears frequently on TV – but, the Sabras *don't like to hear – that's to say, the young generation. But for me, it's to hear the accent, the* ḥet. *Do you know the guttural letters? He's from Eliezer Ben-Yehuda's family. But it's right, the Yemenites, those who came from Yemen maintained the language a lot, they really maintained the correct pronunciation, the correct reading of the Torah. But, I wouldn't say that I'm influenced by my parents.*

גיל חובב, תענוג לשמוע. זה כאילו שפה של אליעזר בן יהודה [...] הוא הרבה מופיע בטלוויזיה, אבל הצברים לא אוהבים לשמוע, זאת אומרת הדור הצעיר. אבל אני, זה לשמוע את האקצנט את ה-ח׳. אתה מכיר את האותיות הגרוניות? [...] הוא מהמשפחה של אליעזר בן יהודה. אבל זה נכון, התימנים, אלה שבאו מתימן אז מאוד שמרו על השפה. מאוד שמרו על ההגיה הנכונה על קריאה בתורה הנכונה. אבל אני לא אגיד שאני הושפעתי מההורים שלי.

By describing her favorite style of MH as "Ben-Yehuda's language" who is the symbolic MH grammarian (see 3.2.1) she hints at the fact that [ʕ] and [ħ] are the normative correct realizations of *'ayn* and *ḥet*, despite their stigmatized representation among the younger generation of HSs (see Gafter 2014: 176–177). Furthermore, she referred to the Yemenites' special linguistic tradition – the maintenance of the "correct pronunciation." M44m4l1 whose father was born in Yemen is one of just two participants with Hebrew as L1 who pharyngealized during the interview. M44m4l1 described his use of [ʕ] and [ħ] as conscious performance which he tries to maintain, whereas his children barely pharyngealize due to their (non-Yemenite) environment.

(63) m44m4l1 (7:15)

Let's say, I really try to speak with Het and Ayn. My Yemenite heritage is important to me and so. They [his children] less, they have it a bit, but less – it's like it's going away because it's not around and also because my wife is from a Kibbuts.

נגיד אני מאוד משתדל לדבר ב-ח׳ ו-ע׳. חשוב לי המורשת התימנית שלי וזה. הם פחות, יש להם את זה קצת אבל זה פחות. זה כאילו הולך ויורד. גם כי אין מסביב, גם כי אישתי קיבוצניקית.

In general, he asserted that he can no longer recognize younger HSs' country of origin by their look and their speech – just if they are *Mizrahim*. In contrast, he said that he can discern older HSs according to their Iraqi, Moroccan, Persian, Indian, Yemenite origin, while other countries of origin are less discernible. When I asked why it is important for him to "speak with *ḥet* and *'ayn*," he explained:

(64) m44m4l1 (12:36)

Because it's my heritage. In the arrival process of the Jews to here, they erased traditions. They erased the tradition of my father's home. I don't want to erase this – I want this to be a part of the place. It also reminds me that I'm part of the Arab world. That's also important to me.

כי זה המורשת שלי. בתהליך הגעה של יהודים לפה מחקו מסורות. מחקו את המסורת של בית אבי. אני לא רוצה למחוק את זה. אני רוצה שזה יהיה חלק מהמקום. זה גם מזכיר לי שאני חלק מהמרחב הערבי. זה גם חשוב לי.

Thus, M44m4l1 explained his style of speech as a purposeful expression of his Yemenite identity which he does not want to get lost and through which he relates to the Arab world – which is a political statement against marginalization. This attitude can be understood as self-conscious construction of a *Mizrahi* identity, just as Weingrod asserts:

> [F]or some third-generation Israelis their ethnic membership is critically important. This is especially the case among networks and groups of Mizrahim who are engaged in advancing Mizrahi political agendas and cultural sensibilities. Prominently including younger poets, novelists and artists, as well as lawyers and university professors, they have sought to represent the political concerns and interests of their fellow Mizrahim, and also to retrieve and design viable formats of Mizrahi cultural expression. (Weingrod 2016: 300)

Despite the diverse countries of origin in my sample, just two out of 36 native Hebrew speakers, m44m4l1 and a8+m1l1 who is of Persian origin, produced [ʕ] and [ħ] which are described as indexical *Mizrahi* variants (Colasuonno 2013 and Schwarzwald 2013). All the other participants who referred to themselves as *Mizrahi* – including a70f3l1 who even claimed to like its sound – did not pharyngealize. In contrast, all Arab participants consistently produced [ʕ] and [ħ] in their Hebrew speech during the interviews. In this respect, it would be interesting to test if HSs classify the Hebrew speech of Israeli Arabs and Ethiopian Jews, who can transfer pharyngeals from their L1s, as 'Mizrahim.' Gafter (2014: 181) analyzed [ʕ] and [ħ] as being associated with the identity of particular communities of Yemenite origin in Israel rather than being indexical *Mizrahi* variants. He argues that the production of [ʕ] and [ħ] is a conscious process because he observed a higher production rate of [ʕ] during the reading task of a wordlist, in comparison to the interview situation (Gafter 2014: 90–92). M44m4l1's statements (63 and 64) about his conscious effort to pharyngealize underline this argument.

From m44m4l1's and a70f3l1's examples can be seen that they related to their Yemenite origin in different ways: m44m4l1 treated his origin as a central component of his identity, while a70f3l1 conceded to be *Mizrahit*, but also detached herself from

her origin. Chetrit argues that traits of a *Mizrahi* identity can be adopted or rejected, irrespective of one's origin:

> There are Mizrahim in Israel with a totally white consciousness, and they despise any Mizrahi claims of oppression and discrimination. Conversely, there are Ashkenazim in Israel with a completely Mizrahi consciousness. And in between are many shades of grey. (Chetrit 2009: ix)

The participants' careful treatment of the categories 'Mizrahim' and 'Ashkenazim' reveals that they were aware of their artificial and potentially problematic nature. Regardless of their origin, most participants displayed a detached attitude towards ethnic concepts. The participants rarely used the categories 'Mizrahim' and 'Ashkenazim' in relation to themselves, unlike other categories such as 'Arabs' or religious categories. The Israeli-born participant S20m2l1 (5:53), whose family is of mixed origin, detached himself from these categories by arguing that it is strange to take Jewish Berbers from Morocco and Jews from Turkey or Egypt and to treat them as one entity.[26] This statement reminded me of Lakoff's 1987 title *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things* which is an allusion to the apparent absurdity of categorization processes.

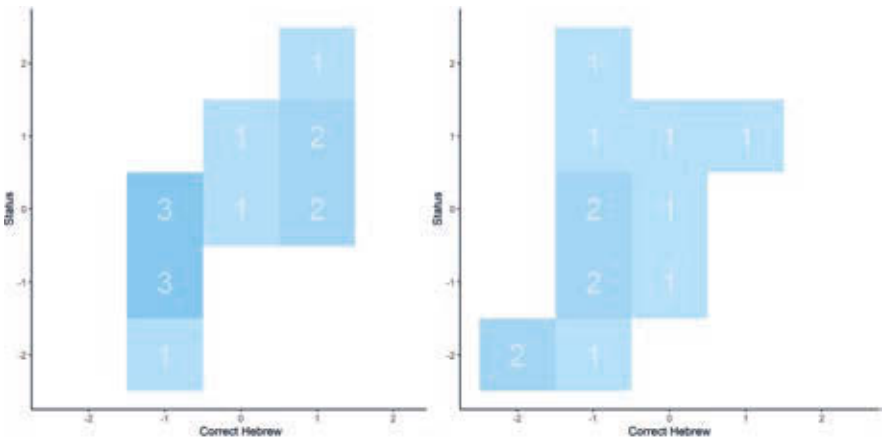

Fig. 6.5: Heatmaps: participants' ratings of 'Mizrahim' (left) and 'periphery' (right)

Comparing the two heatmaps in 6.5, one can see that their overall shape is similar. 'Mizrahim' has a center of slightly negative evaluations in the lower left sector of the

26 In original: חושב שזה מוזר לקחת יהודי ברברי ממרוקו ויהודי טורקי או מיצרי זה לא משנה ולנסות לשים אותם על אותו הרצף.

diagram and another center of slightly positive evaluations in the opposite sector. The only center of 'periphery' coincides more or less with the negative center in 'Mizrahim.' Among the entries which were classified as 'Mizrahim,' there are no clear patterns: all the entries which refer to 'Yemenites,' 'Moroccans,' 'Mizrahim' or 'Iraqis' were rated differently. Two of the positively rated entries which were classified as 'periphery' refer to 'settlers;' they were rated with the values 0/1 and 1/1. Arguably, this category, which refers typically to nationalist-religious Jews who settle outside the territory of the Israeli state, is less prototypical for 'periphery' because it is less readily associated with a low socio-economic status and systematic marginalization than the more typical categories.

The two differing evaluations of 'Mizrahim' can be explained with the ambiguous nature of the category. Negative qualities which are expressed in the stereotype of the '*ars*' are associated also with 'periphery.' As Wiese (2017: 341) argues, socially stigmatized groups tend to be represented as speaking incorrectly, which can in turn reinforce the negative associations. The representations of these core categories as stigmatized groups exist in parallel to more positive representations. Typically, participants who displayed a liberal perspective on MH (see 6.2.3.2), also expressed a positive attitude towards 'Mizrahim' – qualities such as authenticity and flexibility which were associated with 'standard Hebrew' were associated with 'Mizrahim,' too. In contrast, negative evaluations of 'Mizrahim' and 'periphery' are typically connected to the conservative perspective (see 6.2.3.3) which posits a causal relation between non-normative linguistic behavior and social decline. From this perspective, violent and criminal behavior is associated with 'bad language' and 'slang,' as the entry "prisoners" with the rating –2/–2 indicates.

6.5 Russians, Ethiopians, new immigrants and the army

In the following, the core categories 'Russians' and 'Ethiopians' – the most recent large immigrant groups in Israel (see 3.1.2) – will be analyzed in conjunction. In the GERT corpus, eight out of 21 participants used the term *rusim* 'Russians,' with the only difference that one used the definite article *ha-* (yielding 'the Russians') and one misspelled the term by using שׁ instead of ס (both are realized as /s/). Besides this basic term, two more participants used the more precise wordings *'olim mi-rusia ba-shnot ha-70* 'immigrants from Russia in the 1970s' and *'olim ḥadashim mi-brit ha-mo'atsot* 'new immigrants from the Soviet Union.' It was argued in 5.4.2 that the participants' use of the term *rusim* 'Russians' was neither restricted to people who were born in the state of Russia, nor to L1 Russian speakers. In the Israeli context, 'Russians' typically refers to Russian speaking immigrants from the former Soviet Union, but also to immigrants, for example, from Moldova and Ukraine, with Romanian or

Ukrainian as L1. 'Russians' and 'Ethiopians' are separate categories which are not comprised in the two-class set 'Ashkenazi/Mizrahi' that is applied on the veteran Jewish population who settled in Israel before 1970 (Weingrod 2016: 282).

Since almost all immigrants from Ethiopia and the former Soviet Union received the Israeli citizenship as *'olim*, they are legally defined as Jewish or closely related to a person who is defined as Jewish by the Israeli state (see 3.1.1). While *'olim ḥadashim* is a transitory designation for immigrants who arrived in Israel within the last five years – the categories 'Russians' and 'Ethiopians' typically extend to subsequent generations. 'Russians and 'Ethiopians' are considered as belonging to the 'Jewish society' – in contrast to the 'Arab society' – but their Jewishness has often been questioned in a stigmatizing way, not just by traditional religious voices. In a 2016 newspaper article with the headline *25 years later, Russian speakers still the 'other' in Israel, says MK*, then Member of the Knesset Ksenia Svetlova is cited with the statements: "The majority of native-born Israelis think Russian Israelis are not Jews," and "[t]oo many Israelis make us feel not at home" (Borschel-Dan 2016). According to Idzinski (2014: 61), stereotypes about 'Russians' include the metaphorical representations of Russian men as mafiosi and Russian girls as prostitutes. As I argued above (see 6.4.2) in respect to 'Mizrahim,' the analysis of Russian characters in Israeli TV productions such as *'erets nehederet* can yield further insights into their stereotypical representations and the associated linguistic stereotypes.

Epstein describes the ambiguous position of the 'Russians' in Israeli society as follows:

> From a socioeconomic point of view, as well as in terms of citizenship, ex-Soviet immigrants constitute an integral part of the Israeli society, succeeding to delegate some of its leaders to the country's highest political elite (Chairman of the Parliament Yuli Edelstein and the former Minister of Foreign Affairs Avigdor Liberman are both ex-Soviet immigrants, to name a few). However, when it comes to a debate on the Israeli culture, ex-Soviets make up a separate group which stands out not only by its linguistic capital, but also in its tastes and preferences. (Epstein 2016: 81)

On the one hand, professional qualities and entrepreneurship which are associated with the 'Russians' are valued. On the other hand, the expression of their unique cultural traits can be evaluated negatively when it is perceived as a threat to the predominantly Hebrew culture of modern Israel. In this line of argumentation Schwarzwald (2007: 73) asserts that in former times, immigrants confined their cultures to the private space, while adopting the contemporary Israeli culture and Hebrew as their only language in the public space. In contrast, she argues that the "large waves of immigrants from Russia since the 1980s" (my translation) led to a presence of the Russian language in Israel's public space which would have been unthinkable in the years after the foundation of the state, when everybody tried to

speak only in Hebrew in public (Schwarzwald 2007: 76). The relative importance of Russian in Israel was underlined with statistical data in 3.1 and is summarized by Epstein:

> Members of this group are usually faithful enthusiasts of Russian language (no matter whether they arrived from Russia or any other country of the Former Soviet Union). As a result, they have established a highly branched network of cultural institutions that started out almost completely in Russian and later slowly drifted toward Hebrew-Russian bilingualism [...] It is noteworthy that a vast majority of Russian-speaking Israelis do keep in touch with contemporary Russian culture, both by subscribing to Russian cable networks and by attending performances by Russian theaters, singers and musicians, who visit Israel as often as, for example, Russian cities like Kazan and Novosibirsk. A huge number of Russian-speaking Israelis have at least studied basic Hebrew, but only the young generation uses Hebrew as its first language of interfamily communication. Youngsters are also the only ones who read Hebrew fiction, while their parents and grandparents do their best to support Russian bookshops all over Israel. (Epstein 2016: 80)

Generally, participants asserted that they can discern 'Russians' in Israel based on their European look, their attire and their accent. Also participants with Russian as L1 confirmed these statements and equally referred to their in-group as *rusim* 'Russians.' R27m3l2 was born in Kazakhstan and migrated with his parents to Israel as a child. He described this type of migration with the metaphor *yaldei mizvadot* 'suitcase children,' since the immigrants' young children were brought to the new country, without the ability to make their own choice – just as suitcases.

(65) r27m3l2 (25:06)

When I try harder to have less accent, I feel that I have more accent. It's like I don't feel comfortable with that when I try to hide that I'm Russian. Let's say, on the telephone, they'll recognize less that I'm Russian, but they'll look at me and then, like, hear how I speak – so, like they can know that I'm Russian.

כשאני יותר משתדל שיהיה לי פחות מבטא חש שיהיה יותר מבטא. כאילו אני לא מרגיש בנוח עם זה שאני מנסה להסתיר שאני רוסי. בטלפון נגיד פחות יזהו שאני רוסי אבל כאילו יסתכלו עליי ואז כאילו ישמעו איך אני מדבר אז כאילו יכולים לדעת שאני רוסי.

When I asked t37m3l2, who was born in Ukraine, whether he could distinguish Ukrainians and Russians when they are speaking Hebrew, he answered:

(66) t37m3l2 (6:43)

When they are speaking Hebrew – no. When a Russian is speaking Hebrew, I know he's Russian, but I don't know from where.

כשהם מדברים עברית לא. כשרוסי מדבר עברית אני יודע שהוא רוסי אבל אני לא יודע מאיפה.

Other participants with Russian as L1 also claimed that they could recognize Hebrew-speaking 'Russians,' while they were not able to make further distinctions about the speakers' origin. These statements reveal that – just as 'Mizrahim' – 'Russians' became a basic category which comprises people from diverse countries of origin with several L1s. It is a hybrid category which is associated not only with diverse cultural concepts from the countries of origin, but also with cultural aggregates which are specifically Israeli (see Rozovsky & Almog 2011).

In his illustrative statement, r27m3l2 explained that he suffered from stigmatization as a child because of his lack of knowledge about the Jewish dietary laws (*kashrut*) and the observance of *shabbat* (see 67). He expressed that he has come to terms with his hybrid identity and that he likes to combine components from both the Israeli and the Russian culture for his construction of identity. He described it as conscious process with the words "constructing myself, instead of being constructed." For example, he stated that he converted to Judaism and familiarized himself with religious knowledge, while, at the same time, he does not like to conceal his Russian accent in Hebrew (see 65).

(67) r27m3l2 (26:36)

בגלל הקומוניזם לא שמרו את המסורת. נגיד אם היה מגיע אליי חבר, זה לא כמו הרוסים של שנות השבעים. אם היה מגיע אליי חבר, אז לא הייתי יודע מה זה כשרות, לא יודע מה זה שבת, לא יודע מה זה לשמור שבת. זה הביא את הילדים בשכונה לקרוא לי כאילו רוסי אוכל חזיר, רוסי כל מיני מילות גנאי [...] רואים שאני רוסי אז יהיה קונוטציות. אבל נכון, עכשיו אני רואה בזה כוח מאוד מאוד גדול. אם לפני ראיתי בזה בושה, עכשיו אני אומר כאילו מזל שאני ככה. כאילו עכשיו אני גם יודע את העברית גם יודע את הרוסית שאני גדלתי בשתי התרבויות האלה. אני לא לגמרי זה ולא לגמרי זה. אני יכול לשלב את מה שאני רוצה ואת מה שאני בוחר בתרבות שלי וזהו. לבנות את עצמי במקום להיות בנוי.

Because of communism, they didn't keep up the tradition. Let's say, when a friend came to me – it wasn't like the Russians of the 1970s. When a friend came to me, I didn't know what's kashrut, *I didn't know what's Shabbat and what's keeping Shabbat. This brought the children in the neighborhood to call me pork eating Russian, Russian... all sorts of swearwords like that [...] they see that I am Russian, so there will be connotations. But, exactly, now I see a big strength in it. Even if I saw this as an embarrassment – now, I say it's like lucky that I am like this. Now, I both know Hebrew and Russian because I grew up in these two cultures – I am neither completely this nor that. I can combine what I want to be and what I choose as my culture and that's it: constructing myself instead of being constructed.*

There are linguistic phenomena which originated in the context of Russian-Israeli culture – r27m3l2 (20:41) used the term *'ivrit rusit* 'Russian Hebrew' for phenomena

of code-switching. Fig. 6.6 shows a picture that I took in *Reḥovot* of a shop sign: *matanushḳa* – the name of the gift shop – is composed of the MH term *matana* 'gift' and the Russian diminutive ending *-ushḳa*. This term is an example for creative linguistic processes where HSs combine resources from MH and Russian. Since

Fig. 6.6: *Matanushḳa*, a gift shop in *Reḥovot*

Idzinski's (2014) ethnographic study on Russian speakers who settled in Israel's periphery in the 1990s when they were aged between five to 12 years, the Russian-Israeli identity has been researched in relation to the performance of a *Mizrahi* style (Prashizky 2019). Idzinski argues that

> the 'Mizrahi' (North African and Middle Eastern Jewry) ethnic performance has become a more valued benchmark of belongingness for most of the interviewees than the 'Ashkenazi' (European and North American Jewry) performance, which served as the model of belongingness among immigrants from the FSU in the past. [...] most respondents in the current research express a rather alienated attitude towards Ashkenazim as well as proximity and a sense of shared destiny with Mizrahim. (Idzinski 2014: 78)

Idzinski (2014: 50) describes that some of her interviewees were proud to be referred to as Moroccans – not just on the basis of their favorite types of food and music – but, also because of their style of speech: they claimed that their MH was not correct (*tiḳnit*) and that – unlike the *Ashkenazim* and their parents (in respect to Russian) – they did not care about correct language use. The association of 'Russians' and 'Mizrahim' also came up during the interviews and is expressed in the proximity of the GERT ratings for these core categories: –0.20/0.00 for 'Russians' and –0.15/0.07 for 'Mizrahim.' During GERT, a45m2l2 discussed his ratings of these categories with the contact person s35m3l2 (both are Israeli Arabs). A45m2l2 questioned the Russians' loyalty to the state and both stated that they would learn only "basic Hebrew," despite being Jewish. A45m2l2 rated his entry 'Russians' with similar values as his entry 'Mizrahim' and argued that the status of both categories is considered superior to the 'Arabs' because they are Jewish – unlike the 'Arabs.'

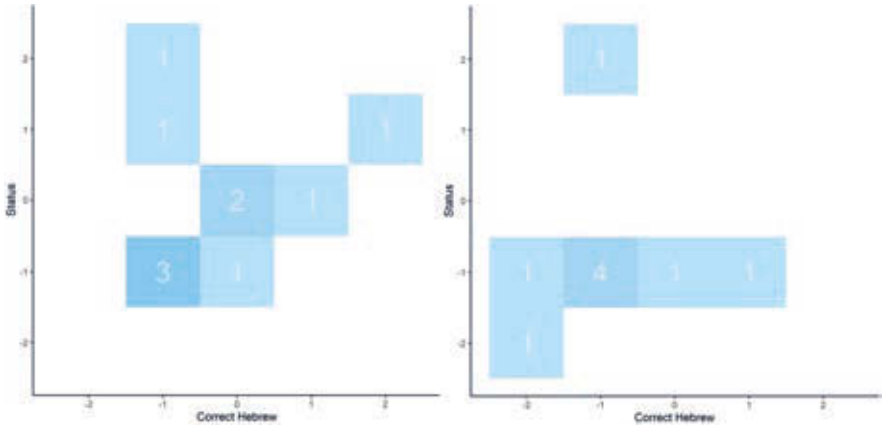

Fig. 6.7: Heatmaps: participants' ratings of 'Russians' (left) and 'Ethiopians' (right)

(68) a45m2l2 (12:01)

The Russians don't care about the state. Like, their Hebrew is also not correct.

הרוסים לא אכפת להם מהמדינה. כאילו העברית שלהם גם כן לא תקינה.

s35m3l2

No, immigrants from the Soviet Union, yes, they are not even interested, like, to learn Hebrew to the end. Just to get along. That's it – getting along, basic. They have basic Hebrew.

לא, עולים ברית המועצות כן, אפילו לא מעוניינים כאילו ללמוד את העברית עד הסוף. עד שרק יסתדרו. זהו להסתדר, בסיסי. עברית הבסיסית יש להם.

a45m2l2

Also they are like the Mizrahim.

גם כן הם כמו המזרחים.

s35m3l2

And less...

ופחות

a45m2l2

Even less [...] it's also here, their status because they are Jews, at all, they look upon them with a better status than Arabs but their correct(ness) of Hebrew comes close to zero.

אפילו פחות [...] זה פה גם כן, שלהם המעמד בגלל שהם יהודים בכלל הם מסתכלים עליהם מעמד יותר טוב מערבי אבל מהעברית התקינה שלהם, זה מגיע כמעט אפס.

The comparison of the heatmaps for the core categories 'Russians' and 'Ethiopians' in Fig. 6.7 reveals that the entries for 'Russians' were rated slightly higher in both respects, while the center of the ratings for both categories is close to –1/–1. In contrast to the negative evaluation of 'Russians,' which was discussed with a45m2l2's statement (68), several participants' expressed a very positive attitude towards

'Russians' – especially to those who immigrated prior to 1989, as a70f3l1's rating (2/1) of her entry *'olim mi-rusia ba-shnot ha-70* 'immigrants from Russia in the 1970s' illustrates. N31f3l1 (33:00) stated that they are typically educated and that their Hebrew is not incorrect – they just have an accent. A30f3l2 (30:37) who is herself a L1 Russian speaker also asserted that immigrants from the former Soviet Union would care more about speaking correctly than other immigrants and the *Mizrahim*. When comparing the categories, h26m2l1 explained his negative rating for 'Ethiopians' as follows:

(69) h26m2l1 (25:08)

The problem with the Ethiopians – there are those who are really smart and they know and that, but many simply don't know Hebrew. If you look at a Russian who migrates to Israel, maybe after a year or two he already knows Hebrew, for sure – he goes to the ulpan. *Ethiopians can be here for thirty, forty years and they don't know Hebrew [...] there are studies about that, there are many studies about that.*

הבעיה אצל אתיופים, יש כאלה שבאמת חכמים ויודעים וזה אבל הרבה פשוט לא יודעים עברית. אם תראה רוסי שעולה לארץ יכול להיות שתוך שנה, שנתיים כבר יודע עברית פיקס, הולך לאולפן. אתיופים יכולים להיות פה שלושים ארבעים שנה ולא יודעים עברית [...] יש על זה מחקרים, יש על זה הרבה מחקרים.

In the interviews, both categories 'Ethiopians' and 'Russians' were treated as the prototypical immigrants in Israel. More positive associations were mentioned in relation to 'Russians' – they are typically represented as 'successful immigrants.' The relative prominence of the category 'Ethiopians' – with eight independent referrals during GERT – is surprising, considering that they make up just slightly more than one percent of Israel's population and that even fewer are L1 speakers of an Ethiopian language. This figure is hardly comparable to the 15% of L1 Russian speakers (see 3.1). The interviews did not yield any detailed characterizations of 'Ethiopians' and the few which are documented in GERT are contradictory, as the heatmap with the broad range of ratings for 'correct Hebrew' between –2 and 1 illustrates. In terms of status, almost all entries for 'Ethiopians' were rated with negative values. It can be inferred that stereotypical representations of 'Ethiopians' are based on stigmatizing associations. The only positive exception among the entries for 'Ethiopians' is h21f3l2's entry *etiopim she meshartim ba-tsava* 'Ethiopians who serve in the army,' with the values –1/2. Apparently, serving in the Israeli army can improve the immigrants' social status.

Military service is mandatory in Israel for Jews and therefore, all *'olim* under a certain age, in principal, have to serve in the army. I38m3l1 explained that the army is a central institution in Israeli society which comprises diverse social groups:

(70) i38m3l1 (19:13)

But the army is not a homogeneous group, the army is, it's the Israeli society, the army minus the Haredim. *But the army is the Israeli society – there is everything there.*

אבל צבא זה לא קבוצה הומוגנית, צבא זה, זה החברה הישראלית הצבא, מינוס החרדים אבל הצבא זה החברה הישראלית, יש שם הכל.

A comparison of the heatmaps for the categories 'new immigrants' and 'army' demon-

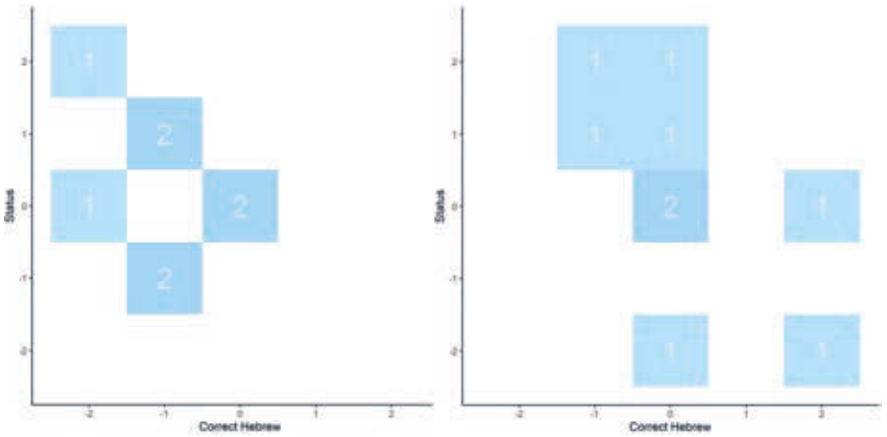

Fig. 6.8: Heatmaps: participants' ratings of 'new immigrants' (left) and 'army' (right)

strates that most entries were rated neutrally or negatively for 'correct Hebrew' and with neutral or positive values for 'status.' These positive ratings for 'status' can be explained because both categories typically refer to members of the 'Jewish society' in Israel (see also a45m2l2's statement 68). Tendentially, both categories were rated more favorably for 'status' than for 'correct Hebrew.' In this respect, participants argued that *'olim* who learned Hebrew in the course of their military service had difficulties to adapt their way of speaking after leaving the army.

As a20f2l2's case illustrates, the army service can play a major role during the immigration process and the acquisition of MH. A20f2l2 took up her army service shortly after she had arrived in Israel and had just learned Hebrew on a basic level. She stated that she was not confident to distinguish linguistic phenomena which are characteristic for the army context from regular Hebrew because most of her experiences in Israel – including language courses – took place in the army.

(71) a20f2l2 (01:17)

What's funny is that perhaps, I don't know which words that I'm saying are from the army or which aren't because I [only] know the army language now.	מה שמצחיק שאולי אני לא יודעת איזה מילים אני מדברת שזה מהצבא או שזה לא כי אני עכשיו מכירה את השפה של הצבא.

A20f2l2 (09:40) mentioned that sometimes other HSs who had not served in the army had difficulties understanding her. Just as several participants, a30f3l2 (38:34) claimed that she can generally determine if HSs served in the army based on their reactions when she talks about army contexts: if the interlocutor does not understand, she knows that he was not in the army or in a different unit. However, 'army' was just used independently by two participants during GERT: the category did not play a central role for the participants' categorizations of HSs in this study.

6.6 Israeli Arabs

When I first thought about the proportions of social groups in my samples, I had the impression that Arab participants were over represented in the GERT sample because I had just spoken to five Arab participants. On second thought, I noticed that their ratio among the 21 participants was not far off the actual ratio of Israeli Arabs in Israel's population – 21.1 % (see 3.1). This was the first time that this statistical figure became comprehensible for me. Surprisingly, Israeli Arabs were barely visible during all the time I spent in Israel – probably because the majority lives in villages in the Galilean hillside which are somewhat hard to reach (cf. 3.1.5). In the public space – especially in urban settings – they were either absent or I could not distinguish them from Jewish Israelis. One of the few occasions when I consciously noticed them was when I spent time on university campuses in Haifa, Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. Because of the contrast with the public space outside the campuses, it was an unusual impression for me to see large groups of Arab students strolling on the campus and conversing with each other in Palestinian Arabic, interspersed with many Hebrew and English terms. During my working routine at a canteen in the kibbuts where I learned Hebrew, I had also met many Israeli Arabs who were employed at almost every branch in the kibbuts and commuted to work from the surrounding Arab villages. In the canteen, I observed that L1 speakers of Hebrew, Arabic and Russian pretty much kept to themselves during their lunch break. Although they all had a good command of Hebrew, only very few occasionally engaged in small talk in Hebrew with a member of another L1 group.

If not further specified, the terms "Israeli Arabs" and "Arabs," in short, will be used in the text to refer to the seven participants with Palestinian Arabic as L1. For GERT, I interviewed six Israeli Arab participants. Besides these participants, I had interviewed one Israeli Arab in the first fieldwork stage: I met s35m3l2 in Akko, a historic coastal town in Northern Israel, which is the next larger town to the participant's home village in the Western Galilee region. S35m3l2 (50:23) labelled himself as *'aravi isra'eli* 'Israeli Arab', when he quantified his social in-group within the Israeli population with two million people – the same figure appears in the CBS' data for the population group "Arabs" (see 3.1). The contact with s35m3l2 was established through another participant I had interviewed earlier. In the second fieldwork stage, s35m3l2 helped me to recruit three more participants (s35f3l2, a45m2l2 and t34m3l2) and assisted in the recordings of these interviews which took place in his and the participants' home town. Both h21f3l2 and r17f1l2 were recruited face to face and interviewed at Tel Aviv University – their Arab home towns are located in Israel's Central District. A29m2l2 was also recruited face to face and interviewed in his home town in the Haifa district, which is populated almost exclusively by Druze. Six of the Israeli Arab participants declared themselves as Muslims and one as Druze, while only three defined themselves as religious. Bearing in mind their willingness to be interviewed in Hebrew and judging from their statements during the interview, the political opinions of the Israeli Arab participants can be summarized as ranging from liberal to moderately conservative: they expressed a positive attitude towards the state of Israel, not without a critical undertone.

During these interviews, the interaction between Jewish and Arab Israelis was described as limited – not just because of residential segregation (see 3.1.5). However, there are Israeli Arabs who are intensively involved with the Hebrew-speaking society: t34m3l2 (21:52) asserted that there is a new trend among Israeli Arabs in demographically mixed regions to send their children to Jewish schools. H21f3l2 (2:47) also related that her father went to a Jewish high school because, at the time, there was no Arabic high school close to their village. She described her home as multilingual with MH and Arabic as main spoken languages and added that her mother speaks less MH than her father and herself. T34m3l2 (11:49) claimed that Arab men are more involved with Jewish society and therefore tend to speak better Hebrew than Arab women.

Because of the political history of the region, the concepts 'Israeli' and 'Arab' can be understood as contradictory. Critical views from non-Arabs in Israel and from Arabs from abroad challenge the social identity 'Israeli Arab:'

> Arab citizens of Israel find themselves in a situation of double periphery: Israeli Jewish society questions their loyalty to an ethos of a 'Jewish democratic state,' which is an essential concept of the Israeli state- and society-building, while Arabs outside Israel condemn Israeli Arabs as

> collaborationists who disengage from the all-Arab struggle against Zionism. Aliens both to 'their' state and 'their' people, Israeli Arabs developed a culture of their own, which is partly similar to that of the rest of Palestinians – that is probably quite natural, since both groups come from the same people divided by the outcome of the 1948 War, though their civil status is completely different (Palestinian Arabs from the West Bank and Gaza never obtained Israeli citizenship). (Epstein 2016: 79)

This characterization is reflected in s35m3l2's statement:

(72) s35m3l2 (21:44)

Do you know what the Egyptians say about the Jews – about the Arabs who live here in Israel? The Jewish Muslim. No, you say it's a joke, but it's serious. Why do they say this? He lives among the Jews. How is it possible? They would not rely on it. Until you speak with him and make him understand. Therefore, we, the Arabs, live in two worlds. Ask the Egyptians: are you Jewish? And here, too: no, you are Arab. Where should I stand? Where you want me to – Let me live in peace.

אתה יודע מה אומרים המצרים על היהודים, על הערבים שגרים פה בישראל? המוסלים היהודי. לא זה בצחוק אתה אומר את זה אבל זה היה אמיתי. למה הם אומרים את זה? הוא חיי בין היהודים, איך זה יכול להיות? לא היו מבוטחים לזה עד שתדבר איתו ותן לו להבין את זה. בגלל זה גם אנחנו הערבים חיים בשני עולמות. שאלו את זה למצרים, אתה יהודי וגם פה, לא אתה ערבי. איפה אני אעמוד? איפה שבא לכם תנו לי לחיות בשקט.

S35m3l2 thus described a conflict of perspectives which is characteristic of the Israeli Arab participants' accounts. For example, s35m3l2 (40:34) described that it is difficult for him to see that the same piece of news is reported on differently in Arabic and in Hebrew media. The switching between "two worlds" has an impact on the Arab participants' LAs and their language use: these perspectives can get conflated, as s35m3l2's mix-up between *yehudim* 'Jews' and *'aravim* 'Arabs' at the beginning of his statement suggests. Just as several other Arab participants, s35m3l2 described his language use – even at home – with frequent code-switching between MH and Arabic (see 76).

6.6.1 Variation in MH according to the Arab participants

From a quantitative perspective, the six Israeli Arabs completed GERT in a very similar manner as the fifteen other participants. Together, they produced 42 entries, which account for 22.1% of all entries, while they make up for 28.6% of all the GERT participants. On average, Arabs produced six entries – at most ten and at least three. They were less productive than the other participants who average slightly less than

ten entries per person. Unlike three of the others who produced 15 or more entries, none of the Arabs were extremely productive.

Tab. 6.1: Ratios of mentions among Arab (A) and other participants (O) in % with n in brackets

Category	A (n = 6)	O (n = 15)
Arabs	83.3 (5)	26.7 (4)
Ashkenazim	66.7 (4)	20.0 (3)
Russians	66.7 (4)	33.3 (5)
Ethiopians	50.0 (3)	33.3 (5)
Mizrahim	50.0 (3)	20.0 (3)
Haredim	33.3 (2)	33.3 (5)
Yemenites	33.3 (2)	0
Druze	33.3 (2)	6.7 (1)
Immigrants	0	40.0 (6)

Table 6.1 is a juxtaposition of the ratios of different participants who mentioned the recurrent categories without the foreign-induced entries. One can see that Arab participants referred to their in-group 'Arabs' more frequently than other participants – just one Arab did not mention the category. Typically, Arabs produced several more specific entries with geographical, religious or educational distinctions which were classified as 'Arabs' in the summary. They made geographic distinctions among Arabs who live in the Northern, Center and Southern District and religious distinctions between Muslim, Druze and Christian Arabs. The heatmap in Fig. 6.9 reveals that the entries were rated very differently – the ratings are distributed over most of the space of the heatmap. However, the GERT corpus does not contain enough entries to make sensible comparisons between subcategories such as 'Arabs from the north' and 'Arabs from the center.' In the heatmap, there is a slightly higher concentration of entries around the ratings 1/1 (four entries) and 1/0 (three entries). Among these entries, only "Arabs in Haifa" stems from a non-Arab participant (n31f3l1). The entries which were rated with 1/1 refer to "Arabs in Haifa," and twice to "Arabs in the center" and "Arabs in the south." The three entries for 1/0 with a lower rating for 'status' refer twice to "Arabs in the north" and once to "Druze in the north." It can be seen that the Arab participants s35f3l2 and r17f1l2 rated "Arabs in the north" less favorably for status.

S35f3l2 (1:57) who grew up in the Center District and moved to the Northern District argued that Arabs from the center speak better Hebrew than Arabs from the north because in the center, there is more interaction with Jews. H21f3l2 (16:28) who was living in the center argued that she can trace dialectal influence from Palestinian Arabic in Hebrew: she claimed that she can distinguish Arabs from the north and

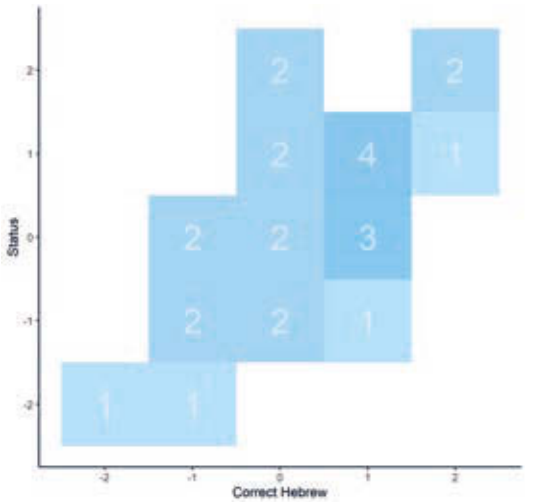

Fig. 6.9: Heatmap: participants' ratings of 'Arabs'

the center and also Bedouins and Druze. She described that Arabs from the north, including the Druze who majorly live there, tend to have a stronger Arabic accent, just as s35f3l2 asserted. Furthermore, she claimed that Bedouins speak faster and that Arabic speakers from the center stretch words, both in Arabic and in Hebrew. A45m2l2 (7:09) also claimed that he can distinguish Arab HSs from the center, from the north and Bedouins because of phonological differences in their native Arabic dialects. For example, he mentioned different realizations of the letter *qāf* in the Arabic dialects as basis for the Arab HSs different realization of *qof* in Hebrew. In a similar manner h21f3l2 mentioned different realizations of the Arabic letter *lām* and respectively Hebrew *lamed*. It can be an interesting line of research to explore the influence of dialectal differences in Arabic on the Arab HSs' production data. The comparison of all the ratings for the core category 'Arabs' reveals the positive influence of the Arab participants' ratings on the average values: the Arabs' average values are 0.94 for 'correct Hebrew' and 0.46 for 'status,' while the other participants' average values for this core category are –0.5 and –0.1.

Besides the frequent referral to their in-group category, Arab participants (66.7%) also referred relatively more often to 'Ashkenazim' than the other participants (20.0%). I already noted that L1 HSs tended to avoid the use of the categories 'Ashkenazim' and 'Mizrahim' for GERT. This behavior is reflected in the lower ratio of use among the non-Arab participants – just 20.0% referred to these categories. The ratios for the categories 'Russians,' 'Mizrahim,' 'Ethiopians' and 'Haredim' do not diverge

considerably: four participants each from both groups referred to 'Russians,' three each to 'Ethiopians' and 'Mizrahim' and just two Arabs referred to 'Haredim.'

The Arabs frequent referral to 'Ashkenazim' and 'Arabs' can be understood as an expression of a two-class set – their in-group and 'Ashkenazim' as the opposite category. Several Arabs used 'Ashkenazim' as a metonomy for 'Jews.' During GERT, s35f3l2 listed a hierarchy of the categories she used, starting with the lowest value for 'correct Hebrew:'

(73) s35f3l2 (13:05)

Correct Hebrew – the lowest is for new immigrants [...] and Russians, too. Every new immigrant, it's like, you recognize directly, then Arabs, then Mizrahim, *then Jews* – Ashkenazim.

עברית התקינה בהכי פחות גם לעולים חדשים [...] וגם רוסים, לא? כל עולה חדשים כאילו זה, אתה ישר מזהה. אחר כך ערבים אחר כך מזרחים אחר כך יהודים – אשכנזים.

At the top of her hierarchy for speaking "correct Hebrew" she mentioned "Jews" at first and immediately corrected herself to *Ashkenazim*, which hints at her metonymic understanding of 'Ashkenazim' as designation for 'Jews.' S35m3l2 (44:34) even used the term *yehudi* 'Jew' in a broader sense when he recounted that he met a *yehudi ḳatoli* 'Catholic Jew' on a trip to Italy.[27] This compound of the religious concepts 'Catholic' and 'Jewish' is contradictory, according to the conventional understanding. It can be inferred that for s35m3l2's categorization, 'non-Arabs' are typically 'Jews' – which is an effective way of categorization for the Israeli context. By designating a person he met in Italy as *yehudi katoli*, he expressed that the person was Catholic and, at the same time, non-Arab which has to mean European or Italian, in this context.

The only recurrent category with more than four mentions that the Arab participants did not use for GERT is the category 'immigrants.' In contrast, 40.0% of the other participants referred to it. S35f3l2 (13:28) associated "Russians" with "new immigrants" in her hierarchy, but she only produced an entry "Russians" for GERT. In a similar manner as for her category 'Ashkenazim,' it is likely that she referred to the prototypical 'new immigrants' with the category 'Russians.'

Another prominent category among the Arab participants is 'Mizrahim.' They described this category with similar characteristics as 'Arabs' in terms of social status, culture, language use and their political marginalization in Israel. Lefkowitz describes this aspect:

27 In original: כאילו הכרתי קטולי ב, יהודי קטולי הכרתי לפני שבועיים הייתי באיטליה.

> Palestinian Arabs and Mizrahi Jews share affinities of socioeconomic class and cultural heritage, while Mizrahi and Ashkenazi Jews share strong religious and national affinities. (Lefkowitz 2004: 17)

In this respect, a45m2l2 who located himself close to 'Mizrahim' on his GERT template criticized the social division in the state:

(74) a45m2l2 (15:57)

That's how the state is – divided: Ashkenazim, Mizrahim and *Arabs. The Arab will always be at the end. That's the truth – there's nothing you can do.*

ככה המדינה מחולקת, אשכנזים מזרחים ערבים. מה שיהיה את הערבי בסופו של דבר. זו האמת, מה לעשות אין.

During a45m2l2's (10:29) interview, the contact person s35m3l2 asserted that when speaking with 'Jews,' one can recognize 'Mizrahim' on the basis of their accent (*mivṭ'a*) because their parents still speak Arabic or *'ivrit l'o tḳina* 'incorrect Hebrew' – a45m2l2 confirmed this statement. S35f3l2 (10:14) also hinted at phonetic similarities in the Hebrew speech of 'Ethiopians,' 'Mizrahim' and 'Arabs' who all can be recognized by their realization of the phoneme /r/. He said that they pronounce it similarly and speak *'im ha resh shelanu* 'with our *resh*'.

Generally, Arabs emphasized the concepts 'ethnicity' and 'religion' for their categorization during GERT, while the native HSs tended to avoid these concepts. They emphasized the concept 'education' as main distinctive concept, instead. A comparison between c36f3l1's (see 57) and t34m3l2's strategies for GERT is illustrative for these differences. While c36f3l1 just produced the categories "intellectuals" and "uneducated," t34m3l2 used three entries which refer to the ethnic domain: he put *ma'arav* 'West' right next to *Ashkenazim* in the upper right corner of his template and *mizraḥ* 'East' in the opposite corner at the bottom left. This way of categorizing into 'West' – that is to say 'Ashkenazim' – and 'East' which stands for everything that is not 'Ashkenazi' can be understood as a reference to Hall's (1992) post-colonial critique with the title "The West and the rest."

6.6.2 Attitudes towards MH and Arabic

The Arab participants' typical attitude towards MH can be summarized as utilitarian. They described MH AS A TOOL to get along in Israeli society – which means keeping oneself informed, getting access to higher education and qualifying for a professional career. They did not express any affection for MH, in contrast to Arabic. Their attitude

towards Arabic is more emotional and politically motivated, as t34m3l2's answer to Q3 during the guided interview indicates:

(75) t34m3l2 (4:36)

That's an excellent question, but it's like in principle. I speak Hebrew as a means, a means of communication. That doesn't mean that I like the Hebrew language and that, I don't want to say to you if I pass on these things, these principles, to my children or not. It's enough for me when they'll speak Hebrew to live their everyday lives. Yes, but not that they'll love the language and forget their Arabic or something. I would be more satisfied, or more happy if they knew English. English is a world language, a more spoken language [...] You can speak it here, in the state, in Europe and wherever you are. But Hebrew, basically they should know to lead a conversation and to get along with the current status which we are living in - the political one, let's say and all this mess.

זה שאלה מצוינת אבל זה מעקרונות, יעני. כאילו אני מדבר עברית כאמצעי, אמצעי לתקשר. זה לא אומר שאני אוהב את השפה העברית ואת זה אני לא רוצה להגיד לך אם אני מעביר את הדברים האלה, העקרונות האלה, לילדים שלי או לא. אני מספיק לי שהם ידברו עברית כדי שיחיו ביומיום שלהם. כן, אבל לא שיאהבו את השפה וישכחו את הערבית שלהם או משהו. אני אהיה מבסוט יותר או שמח יותר אם הם ידעו אנגלית. אנגלית זה שפה עולמית שפה יותר מדוברת [...] אפשר לדבר אותה פה במדינה, באורובה ואיפה שאתה נמצא. אבל עברית, בעיקרון שידעו לנהל שיחה, להתמודד עם המצב הקיים שאנחנו חיים בו, המדיני בוא נגיד וכל הבלגן הזה.

T34m3l2 stated that he does not want his children to like MH to such an extent that they might forget their L1 Arabic – just enough to get along in the current political situation which he described with the colloquial Hebrew expression *balagan*, which means 'mess' or 'chaos.' Thereby, he criticized the circumstances under which the Arabs live in Israel. In his statement, he used Arabic lexemes, such as *mabsuṭ* 'satisfied,' *y'ani* 'this means' and *'uruba* 'Europe.' While L1 HSs also used the first two lexemes during the interviews, *'uruba* is not commonly used in MH.

In contrast to other L2 HSs who described MH typically as difficult, Arabs described MH as easy and structurally similar to Arabic. S35f3l2 (4:35) stated that several languages are in conflict in Israel and that the easiest solution is to speak MH because it is the language of the majority and it is easier than Arabic – she described Arabic as the hardest language in the world, after German. However, she criticized the marginalization of Arabic and asserted that it is painful to see when Arabic disappears from the public space – especially, when it is deleted from public signs. H21f3l2 (11:32) expressed a similar view by stating that Arabic should be taught correctly and appreciated as a minority language in Israel. However, the Arab participants typically did not frame the widespread use of MH as a threat to Arabic. While they

asserted that their Arabic is influenced heavily by code-switching phenomena from MH, they did not advocate for the safe-guarding of their language against foreign influence – in contrast to several L1 HSs who voiced these concerns in respect to MH. For instance, s35m3l2 (31:30) described his language practice at home as follows:

(76) s35m3l2 (31:30)

For example, me and my wife, it depends. When we want to speak about an incident in the country, you can't find words in Arabic to describe it. No, I am telling you the truth. It's OK for me, I feel fine this way, OK. But that's our problem. You cannot, like, talk about some situation to your wife, for example – you have difficulties to find words in Arabic. It's easier to talk about this situation in Hebrew. [...] There's no way you can talk about a whole situation in Arabic. Only the academic staff know Arabic, nowadays.

למשל אני ואישתי, תלוי. כשאנחנו רוצים לדבר על מקרה במדינה, אתה לא יכול לתפוס מילים בערבית לתאר את זה. לא, אני אומר לך את האמת. בסדר מבחינתי, אני מרגיש טוב עם זה בסדר. אבל זאת הבעיה שלנו, אתה לא יכול כאילו לספר סיטואציה משהו לאישתך. אתה למשל מתקשה למצוא מילים בערבית. לספר איזה סיטואציה הזאת לאישתך בעברית יותר קל. [...] אין מצב שתספר כאילו סיטואציה שלמה בערבית. רק אנשי הסגל האקדמי שהיום יודעים ערבית.

Just as L2 HSs, in general, Arab HSs were characterized primarily as speaking with an accent and as code-switching frequently between their L1 Arabic and Hebrew. Hawker (2018: 219–220) asserts that code-switching phenomena among Israeli Arabs which have been framed as "Arabrew" have attracted interest from the Israeli public due to their political implications. This aspect was also brought up by several L1 HSs during the interviews. However, in her empirical analysis of these phenomena of code-switching and borrowing, Hawker (2018: 239) argues against the conceptualization of "Arabrew" as a linguistic variety of Palestinian Arabic. The data from this study principally confirms Hawker's (2018) argument – but, ultimately, perception experiments need to answer this question. Shifting the focus back from PD to DK, the Arab participants' statements hint at typical attitudinal aspects towards MH which other L2 HSs did not address.

Similarly to the general characterization of 'standard Hebrew' in 6.2, Arab participants described it as spoken language or "street language." In contrast to the other participants, they described 'correct Hebrew' as bearing little communicative or practical value. A45m2l2 even used the wording *ze lo shelanu* 'it's not ours:'

(77) a45m2l2 (00:24)

Standard Hebrew is what we speak in the street, it's like street language. Correct Hebrew it's not ours. It's for people who are educated.

עברית סטנדרטית זה שאנחנו מדברים ברחוב. היא שפת רחוב כאילו. עברית התקינה זה לא שלנו. זה לאנשים שמלומדים.

Several Arab participants associated 'correct Hebrew' with religious concepts. A29m2l2 (00:17) described it as the language of Judaism and the *Torah*. H21f3l2 had the impression that religious HSs speak more correctly and use less slang. Consequently, both participants rated 'Haredim' positively for 'correct Hebrew' and neutrally for 'status' during GERT, with the values 2/0.

(78) h21f3l2 (18:55)

Maybe if it's – like I said before – I feel that those who are more religious – so yes, I see that their language is like cleaner, there isn't a lot of slang in there, there isn't, like there's more maybe – yes, that's what I noted.

אולי אם זה כמו שאמרתי קודם. אני מרגישה שאלה שהם יותר דתיים, אז אני כן רואה שהשפה שלהם היא יותר נקייה כאילו. אין בה הרבה סלנג אין בה, כאילו זה. שמה יותר, אולי כאילו, כן זה ששמתי לב.

Hawker (2018: 239) concludes that "Palestinians and other Arabs inside Israel cannot 'simply' speak" – and I would emphasize this aspect in respect to speaking MH. As t34m3l2's statement (75) revealed, the Israeli Arabs' attitudes toward Hebrew are typically framed within the context of political attitudes. A45m2l2's description of 'correct Hebrew' as "not ours" (see 77) also hints at the function of linguistic representations for the construction of in- and out-groups: speaking 'standard Hebrew' with an accent is represented as the authentic Israeli Arab style of MH, while speaking 'correct Hebrew' is not.

This interpretation is supported by the Arab participants' references to Arabs as model speakers in reaction to Q5.[28] They referred to relatives such as their father, brother or son and to Arab public figures such as Zouheir Bahloul and Lucy Aharish. When I asked h21f3l2, whether she liked the Hebrew of her father because it feels authentic, she affirmed. The Arabs' preference for authentic speakers from their own cultural environment over L1 HSs can be explained, on the one hand, with the conflation of religious and linguistic concepts: even though the prototypical HS is represented as Jewish, they did not refer to Jewish model speakers because as Arabs, they see themselves as representatives of the opposite category of 'Jewish.' On the

28 Q5: מי מדבר את העברית הכי אהובה עליך? 'Who speaks the Hebrew you like the most?'

other hand, their orientation towards Arab HSs can be explained with a general preference for authenticity over assimilation. In this regard, the imitation of Jewish L1 HSs was described negatively: t34m3l2 (23:47) asserted critically that Druze (as fellow Arabs) love the culture of the Jews and consciously try to assimilate by their way of speaking and even call their children Hebrew names – for his description of the Druze, he also used the term *misht'aknezim* 'those who make themselves *Ashkenazim*' (see also 6.3).

However, an Arab who displays a high command of Hebrew can also be evaluated positively. For example, 45m2l2 (3:04) expressed his admiration for Zouheir Bahloul and my contact person s35m3l2 immediately joined in the praise:

(79) PS

And do you also have an example for someone who speaks a really beautiful Hebrew?	וגם יש לך דוגמה בשביל מישהו שמדבר עברית ממש יפה?
a45m2l2	
Yes, yes, the member of the Knesset Zouheir Bahloul. He was an example from the [Arab] sector for the whole state. Like, an Arab who speaks better Hebrew than a Jew. They [the Jews]]took this as an example for themselves – someone who is not from us, like, the one who is not from our language speaks better than ourselves [...]	כן כן, החבר כנסת זוהיר בהלול. מהמגזר זה היה דוגמה לכל המדינה. כאילו ערבי מדבר עברית יותר טוב מיהודי. לקחו את זה כדוגמה שלהם, אחד לא משלנו, כאילו האחד לא מהשפה שלנו מדבר יותר טוב מאיתנו[...]
s35m3l2	
Yes, he was a champion of the Hebrew language. [...] It's like the Jews don't speak his [level of] Hebrew.	כן זה היה אלוף בשפה העברית [...] היהודים כאילו לא מדברים בעברית שלו.

They described the extensive knowledge of Hebrew as a positive quality which can serve to outshine others – in this case, the Jews – intellectually. Thereby, they characterized Zouheir Bahloul in a way which can be understood as a metonomy for the capacities of the Israeli Arabs, as a whole. The intricate relations between political attitudes, the construction of Israeli Arab identities and linguistic variation in MH among Arab HSs invite further research.

6.7 *Haredim*, religious Jews and *datlashim*

In this section, the Jewish religious spectrum will be assessed as a variable for variation in MH. It will be argued that 'Haredim' are the prototypical representation of

'religious Jews:' they are conceptualized as occupying one end on the continuum of religiosity, while the other end is occupied by *ḥilonim* 'seculars.' As the category *datlashim* which is derived from the acronym *datim le-she-'avar* 'formerly religious (Jews),' implies, HSs can posit themselves on the continuum of religiosity through their performance of identities. There are lexical means in MH to describe different processes of constructing one's identity in relation to religious concepts. Fania Oz-Salzberger (8:29) stated in an expert interview for this study that *lehitḥazek*, which literally means 'getting stronger,' is used both by religious and secular HSs to describe an individual's process of becoming more religious. There is also a traditional religious framing for 'regaining one's faith' with the wording *ḥazara bi-tshuva* 'return to repentence.' Since *tshuva* commonly translates to 'answer,' the opposite process of adopting a secular lifestyle can be termed as *yetsi'a bi-she'ela* 'exit to the question,' which carries a negative connotation.

During the interviews, participants displayed all kinds of different and even contradicting attitudes towards religious concepts: besides self-identifying *datlashim*, there were also participants who gradually embraced a *Haredi* way of life. The formerly religious participants were recruited with the help of an organization which assists individuals in their transition from a religious to a secular life style. An employee of this organization informed me that more than 250 individuals have been reaching out to the organization for assistance every year, and that the trend is growing. In contrast to common expectations, most of the *datlashim* I spoke with (still) kept up personal relations with people from the religious environment – especially with their families. There were also secular participants who sympathized with religious concepts as well as *Haredim* who related in a positive manner to the secular society. Momentary polls such as the one rendered in Table 3.2 suggest that religious categories are mutually exclusive and perpetuate themselves – in the sense that, for example, *Haredim* only give birth to new generations of *Haredim*. However, the analysis of the participants' statements revealed the fuzzy nature of these categories which can be grasped as roles, using Berger & Luckmann's (1967: 91) terminology (see 2.1.2.2).

I conducted three open interviews (m37m1l1, g25m3l2 and a22m1l1) and one guided interview (a68m3l1) with self-identifying *Haredim* as well as five open (k24f2l1, t35f3l2, y37m2l2, h37f2l1 and m56m2l1) and one guided interview (r36f3l1) with *datlashim* to include different perspectives on religious concepts in the study. All *Haredim* I interviewed took the role of an unofficial ambassador of their community. Especially at the beginning of the interview, they acted formally and presented themselves as serious, dedicated and professional. In the course of the interview, the situation typically developed into a less formal and more friendly atmosphere. All *Haredi* participants advocated for a strictly religious way of life, but at the same time, they stressed the necessity to maintain the discourse with all people, regardless of

their religious beliefs. By participating in the study and talking to me, they actively tried to build a bridge over what is conceived as gap between the *Haredi* and the secular society in Israel.

During GERT, one third of the 21 participants independently mentioned the category 'Haredim' and it is the most prominent category from the conceptual domain 'religion.' I argued in 3.1.4 that 'Haredim' are commonly characterized as one of the most salient social groups in Israeli society, despite their relatively small ratio of five to ten percent of the total population – in this regard, the category is similar to 'Ethiopians.' Participants characterized 'Haredim' as discernible due to their attire and their (linguistic) behavior. Usually, 'Haredim' were represented as speaking Yiddish to some degree (cf. a20f2l2's statement 8). T37m3l2 (6:23) even claimed that they had a completely different language with many words in Yiddish. Also Assouline (2017: 16) asserts that Yiddish speakers are "regarded, by outsiders and insiders alike, as prototypical embodiment of the Haredi as a member of a segregated minority."

Except for self-identifying *Haredim* and *datlashim*, most participants stated that they had very little or no personal contact at all with *Haredim*. As a20f2l2's statement (8) indicates, common representations of the category are likely to be shaped by stereotypical portrayals in TV productions such as *Shṭisel* and the coverage on often controversial political events which are associated with 'Haredim' by Israeli media.

6.7.1 Are there indexical *Haredi* variants?

G25m3l2 who was living in a moderately *Haredi* environment at the time of the interview and identified as religious asserted that he could recognize 'Haredim,' based on their way of speaking:

(80) g25m3l2 (19:40)

Usually, I'm never wrong about this. Usually, even if I meet a boy without kipa *at the University who looks as if he isn't religious anymore, after some minutes I understand that he is* Haredi. *I was never wrong at this. I don't say that most people don't want that someone gets onto this, but even from the overtone, from the way of speaking. Maybe, you can also say that about me. There are many who tell me that I don't sound* Haredi. *But in the end, it always comes up.*

לרוב אני לא טועה בזה. לרוב גם אם אני פוגש באוניברסיטה בחור בלי כיפה שלא נראה, שלא שהיום הוא לא דתי, אחרי כמה דקות אני אבין שהוא חרדי. אף פעם לא טעיתי בזה. אני לא אומר שרוב האנשים לא רוצים שיעלו על זה, אבל אפילו זה מהנימה, סוג הדיבור. אולי גם עלי רואים את זה. יש הרבה שלא— אומרים לי שאני לא נשמע חרדי, אבל בגדול תמיד זה עולה.

H37f2l1 who identified as formerly religious also claimed to be able to recognize religious and formerly religious HSs. Earlier in the interview, h37f2l1 (5:08) told that she tried to avoid using speech patterns which belong to the religious sphere. She stressed that this process of consciously controlling her speech was difficult: despite her effort, she could not help falling back into old speech patterns in certain situations, such as phone calls with her father who leads a religious life. For example, she recounted that her interlocutor in a business-related phone call identified her as former *Haredi* because she had used the variant *beseyder* which she defined as belonging to *Haredim*, unlike the variant *beseder* 'OK.'

(81) h37f2l1 (18:35)

I spoke with an advertising company, with which we spoke and made an appointment and when I finished, he said to me: you are a former Haredi, *too – correct? [...] I said* beseyder. Beseyder – *like, it belongs to* Haredim. *I didn't even pay attention.*

דיברתי עם חברת פירסום שדיברנו איתה וקבענו פגישה ואיך שסיימתי הוא אמר לי: את גם חרדית לשעבר – נכון? [...] אמרתי בסיידר. בסיידר זה כאילו שייך לחרדים. לא שמתי לב לזה אפילו.

PS:

Did you say it?

את אמרת את זה?

h37f2l1:

Apparently, I ended the call with beseyder *and its like 'OK,' but...*

כנראה שסיימתי את השיחה בבסיידר וזה כמו אוקיי כזה אבל...

The variant *beseyder*, with the characteristic diphthong, can be classified as *Ashkenazi* pronunciation (see 6.3), but it is not exclusively used by religious speakers, as Rosenthal's (2007b: 60) description of the term as "archaism" which can be found in the "internet language" indicates.

Assouline (2017: 12) and Sender's (2019) studies suggest that the *Ashkenazi* pronunciation is represented as the indexical *Haredi* type of variation on the phonetic domain. In this respect, a68m3l1 who identified as *Haredi* asserted that many *Haredim* have preserved "their exilic accent" – the *Ashkenazi* pronunciation:

(82) a68m3l1 (18:34)

The Haredim *who came to Israel preserved their exilic accent to a high degree – their accent is exilic. It's not so pleasant for the native Israeli's ear [...] And part of the* Haredim *don't speak Hebrew, at all or almost because it's considered as the Holy Language which is only spoken in the* Tanakh.

החרדים שהגיעו לארץ שימרו במידה רבה למבטא הגלותי שלהם. המבטא שלהם זה גלותי שהוא לא כל כך נעים לאוזן של הישראלי ה-native. [...] וחלקם מהחרדים לא מדברים עברית בכלל או כמטע בגלל שהיא נחשבה לשון הקודש שרק מדובר בתנ״ך.

A68m3l1 referred to the representation of Hebrew among some *Haredim* as *lashon ha-ḳodesh* 'the Holy language' which is restricted to religious contexts. Also Assouline asserts that *Haredim* distinguish between *lashon ha-ḳodesh* (LK in her quotation) and "Israeli Hebrew:"

> LK maintains its traditional Ashkenazi pronunciation, which is clearly distinct from that of Israeli Hebrew [...] All speakers implement this distinction in their active usage. Besides, speakers also identify certain lexical and stylistic qualities as typical for IH (especially slang, see 1.4.3) or as typical for LK (such as Aramaic elements). However, such salient elements identified as IH or LK are not always present, so that the same Hebrew sentence may be performed as IH or LK, depending on the context [...] (Assouline 2017: 12)

Interestingly, a68m3l1 recounted that his son switches to the *Ashkenazi* pronunciation when speaking with fellow students and educators in the religious institutes to demonstrate his belonging to the *Haredi* environment:

(83) a68m3l1 (19:34)

The exilic Ashkenazi *accent: Even my son – that's interesting – adapted himself to the a bit exilic accent. So, he was born here, clearly – to be more belonging and in [original in English] in this environment. When he speaks with me, he speaks like me, but when he speaks with other people and in the words of the* Torah, *he'll know to make the shift [original in English] to the correct accent.*

הבמטא האשכנזי הגלותי, אפילו הבן שלי, זה מעניין, סיגל לעצמו את המבטא הקצת גלותי. אז הוא נולד פה ברור כדי להיות יותר שייך ו-in בסביבה הזאת. כשהוא מדבר איתי הוא מדבר איתי כמוני אבל כשהוא מדבר עם אנשים אחרים ובדיברי תורה הוא ידע לעשות את השיפט למבטא הנכון.

A68m3l1 asserted that he himself does not speak with this accent and he did not characterize himself as a typical *Haredi* because he grew up in a secular environment and embraced a *Haredi* way of life as an adult. His use of the English lexemes "in" and "shift" in his statement are expressions of this multifaceted identity.

Besides the phenomena of phonological variation, which are summarized under the notion 'Ashkenazi pronunciation,' there is further evidence for the HSs' common categorization of linguistic phenomena as a style of 'Haredi Hebrew' – at least, on the lexical domain. Baumel (2006: 61,90) even claims that some lexemes are indexical of certain *Haredi* subgroups such as *Ḥabad*:

> Habad's key word, found often in Kfar Habad, is Mamash, literally 'actually' or 'truly,' which appears at the end of sentences or paragraphs for emphasis, to strengthen hopes for the immediate future: *techef umiyad mamash* (immediately, actually). In fact, some of Habad's Messianic faction interpret the word as an acronym of the seventh rebbe's name, Menachem Mendel Schneerson. (Baumel 2006: 61)

Apparently, this 'Haredi style' is associated with various contexts: the participants asserted that it is typically used among *Haredim* in educational institutions, professional contexts, with family and friends and even extends to the written domain where it is used in (scholarly) religious texts, *Haredi* newspapers and magazines, to some extent on social media and other literary products aimed at adult and child readers from the 'Haredi society.' Baumel's (2006: 57) ethnographic study on different *Haredi* sects includes an analysis of "internal linguistic codes" which are used in the *Haredi* press. These print products can be found in bookshops in religious neighborhoods in Israel, which exclusively sell texts that are designed for a religious audience.

When I was trying to find out more about *Haredi* variants, the Israeli social scientist, Hadas Hanany, helped me by asking about linguistic differences between secular and religious HSs in a Whatsapp group which was used by religious women. Surprisingly, this elicitation yielded many answers in a short period of time. While a detailed analysis of the resulting small corpus exceeds the scope of this study, it can be summarized as a lexical collection consisting of proverbs and formulaic expressions in Aramaic and Yiddish as well as MH terms which were described as being associated with a different meaning among religious HSs. Similar lexical collections which partly contain identical phenomena with explanations in Hebrew can also be found online or in popular linguistic accounts such as Rosenthal (2007b: 45–56).[29]

For example, several participants claimed that the Talmudic Aramaic expression *ma'i nafḳa' mina* is used by *Haredim* with the meaning 'what can be deduced' or 'what is it good for.' Another lexeme which was frequently referred to as being used with a different meaning by *Haredim* is the verb *l-aḥoz* 'to grasp.' G25m3l2 explained

29 For example here: https://www.bhol.co.il/forums/topic.asp?cat_id=4&topic_id=2161233&forum_id=771; Accessed: 2021-12-22

that it can be used in different constructions such as *eyfo ata o'ḥez* 'where do you grasp,' which means 'how are you,' and *a'ḥazta* 'did you grasp it,' which means 'did you understand?'

(84) g25m3l2 (17:35)

יש מילים שרק בדיעבד הבנתי שהם מילים של סלנג חרדי שחילוני לא יבין. כל מיני דברים קטנים. לדוגמה המילה לאחוז [...] אצל חרדים זו מילה מאוד שימושית, זה יכול להיות הכל זה יכול להיות איפה אתה אוחז בחיים וכאילו מה שלומך, איפה אתה אוחז בסוגיה באיזה גמרא. אחזת זה הבנת.

There are words – just in retrospective I understood that they are Haredi *slang words that a secular [HS] doesn't understand: all sorts of small things, for example, the word 'to grasp.' [...] among* Haredim, *this is a very useful word – it can be anything, it can be where do you grasp in life and like 'how are you?' Where do you grasp in the problem – 'where are you in the* Gemara*?' Did you grasp it is 'did you understand?'*

Further examples indicate that variation occurs not just in form, but also on the "conceptual pole" Kristiansen (2008: 52). These phenomena are described as being more than

> a 'simple' case of polysemy. It is a case of culturally distributed, conceptual variation masked by invariance in the formal, linguistic aspect. (Kristiansen 2008: 52)

According to h37f2l1, the meaning of *shabat* 'Saturday' differs between religious and secular HSs: *leil shabat* – literally 'Saturday night' – refers to 'Friday night' for religious HSs because sunset marks the beginning of a day in Jewish religious tradition (cf. McGuire 2008: 201). Apparently, conceptualizations of 'day' and 'night' can differ between religious and secular HSs.

The thorough documentation and description of similar phenomena which can be categorized as 'Haredi style' calls for the systematic collection of corpora of spoken Hebrew in specific contexts with religious speakers. The domain of pragmatics is a promising field of research in respect to different linguistic strategies between secular and religious HSs: topics such as politeness, linguistic taboos – especially about sexuality – and argumentation strategies can be explored with a comparative research design. For example, Tsemach & Zohar (2021) describe systematical differences in argumentative texts between students who attended religious schools and students who attended governmental educational institutions.

Although several participants claimed to recognize *Haredim* based on their speech, they did not describe major linguistic differences, which may cause a communication barrier as Rosenthal asserts:

(Rosenthal 2007a: 187)

This disconnection is manifested in Israeli Hebrew in encounters between the Haredi *and the national religious groups and with Israel, in general. The everyday religious language either is not understood by the secular hearer in the same age or is lacking contexts and associations.*	הנתק הזה מתבטא בעברית הישראלית במפגש בין הקבוצה החרדית והדתית-לאומית לבין כלל ישראל. השפה הדתית היומיומית או שאינה מובנת למאזין חילוני בין אותו גיל או שהיא נעדרת הקשרים ואסוציאציות.

When I asked h37f2l1 if she had difficulties understanding expressions that secular HSs use, she replied that almost everything was understandable – except for some *slangim* 'slangs' such as *shoḳisṭ*, which is listed as 'confused soldier lacking orientation' (my translation) in Rosenthal's (2015: 166) *Unofficial Dictionary of the Israeli Army*:

(85) h37f2l1 (11:43)

In the secular language, it's much easier. There are slang expressions that you don't really understand like shoḳisṭ *or* tsahal *expressions that come from the army which seculars use a lot and you don't know what it is – you need a translation what it's meaning is.*	בשפה החילונית היא הרבה יותר פשוטה יש סלנגים שאתה לא כל כך מבין כמו שוקיסט או מונחים צה״ליים שבאים מהצבא שחילונים משתמשים איתם המון ואתה לא יודע מה זה. אתה צריך תרגום למה המשמעות של זה.

She stated that, unlike most of the "secular language," the expressions that come from the army were often not understandable, without further explanation. H37f2l1 referred to these lexemes which were not used in the religious environment where she grew up as "*tsahal* expressions" – *tsahal* is the Hebrew acronym for the IDF. She explained that when she left the religious environment, these lexemes were hardly understandable and she had to ask someone for a "translation" to familiarize herself gradually with the new terminology. She added that it is easier to gather information about these lexemes today because they can be searched online. Arguably, these *tsahal* expressions are more salient for her than for someone who grew up watching Israeli TV, which is uncommon among *Haredim*, and surrounded with relatives and friends who were soldiers.

Baumel's (2006) general observations were confirmed by the participants who had personal contact with *Haredim* – foremost by *datlashim* and religious participants:

> The Ivrit spoken among themselves by all the men that I observed was virtually indistinguishable from that spoken in non-Haredi Israeli society. The only phrases missing were those of a

> questionable moral nature, [109] as one of the major precepts of Haredi life of all sects is what is known as lashon nekiya (clean language). (Baumel 2006: 108-109)

Extreme claims, such as t37m3l2's (6:23) that *Haredim* "have a completely different language," are rather based on stereotypes than on actual experiences.

The participants with an inside perspective – those who identified as religious or as *Haredi* – typically underlined commonalities between religious HSs, while it was typical for the outside perspective to emphasize differences. Several religious participants asserted that there were no major differences between *Haredim* nowadays because they pray in the same synagogues, live in the same neighborhoods and lead similar ways of life. The fact that religious HSs emphasized the particularities of their own language use, compared to the general use of MH, can be seen as the institutionalized construction of a collective religious identity with linguistic means. This collective identity can be understood as a "sub-universe[...] of meaning" in Berger & Luckmann's (1967: 102) terms:

> Another consequence of institutional segmentation is the possibility of socially segregated sub-universes of meaning. These result from accentuations of role specialization to the point where role-specific knowledge becomes altogether esoteric as against the common stock of knowledge. Such sub-universes of meaning may or may not be submerged from the common view. In certain cases, not only are the cognitive contents of the sub-universe esoteric, but even the existence of the sub-universe and of the collectivity that sustains it may be a secret. Sub-universes of meaning may be socially structured by various criteria – sex, age, occupation, religious inclination, aesthetic taste, and so on. (Berger & Luckmann 1967: 102)

In comparison to 'Haredim,' other categories which refer to religious Jewish groups were brought up less frequently during the interviews. Since they share similar religious ideals, there are cultural relations between the categories 'Haredim' and 'national religious' who form a large part of the 'settlers.' To find out more about these groups, I asked the two Arab participants s35f3l2 and s35m3l2 if they had noticed any linguistic particularities when I found out that they had studied at Ariel University, which is located in the occupied territories and frequented by a majority of religious students:

(86) PS (22:05)

And what do you think, are there differences in Hebrew between those who are religious and those who aren't?	ומה את חושבת שיש הבדלים בעברית של דתיים ללא דתיים?
s35f3l2:	
No, no – I didn't not feel that. Style of speech, no, accent but no, there is no difference – only in the thoughts.	לא לא, לא הרגשתי בזה לא. סגנון דיבור, מבטא לא ואבל. לא, אין אין הבדל רק במחשבות.
s35m3l2:	
Only in ideology, there is.	רק באידיולוגיה יש.
s35f3l2:	
Only in ideology, but in respect to – no, I can't recognize if I hear and don't see. On the telephone I don't recognize, but when I see, I can recognize.	רק באידיולוגיה אבל בבחינת לא, אי אפשר לזהות אם אני שומעת ולא רואה. דרך טלפון אני לא מזהה אבל אם אני רואה אני כן מזהה.

While these statements indicate that representations of religious HSs do not necessarily include linguistic associations, there were also participants who pointed out that there are differences. For example, y35f4l1 claimed that she could discern national religious on the telephone. In general, religious HSs were characterized as speaking more politely and using the same lexemes which were discussed as 'Haredi style.' Based on the conceptualization of the 'Haredi' as the prototypical 'religious Jew,' the 'Haredi style' can be used by HSs to express religious aspects of their identity, as Baumel illustrates:

> Newly religious Haredim, both men and women, were more likely to continuously pepper their speech with the terms *baruch Hashem* (praise the Lord) and *be'ezrat Hashem* (with the Lord's help) than were veteran Haredim. (Baumel 2006: 107)

However, the most evident differences between religious and secular participants were not formal linguistic, but attitudinal ones – just as s35f3l2 (22:05) put it: "there is no difference – only in the thoughts."

6.7.2 Attitudes among and towards *Haredim*

The heatmap in Fig. 6.10 reveals that the 11 participants who referred to the category 'Haredim' with 13 entries related to the category with very different attitudes: in terms of 'status,' three entries were rated with the maximum value, 2, while two entries were rated with the minimum rating, –2. Most entries were rated with the

values 0 and –1 (four for each value). In terms of 'correct Hebrew,' the ratings are more uniform: five entries were rated high with value 2, each three were rated with 1 or 0 and two were rated negatively with –1. There is not much correlation between the two variables since just three ratings (2/2, 0/0 and –1/–1) are posited on the diagonal of the diagram. The average ratings for the category are 0.73 for 'correct Hebrew' and –0.41 for 'status.' 'Haredim' is the only core category with clearly better ratings for 'correct Hebrew' than for 'status.'

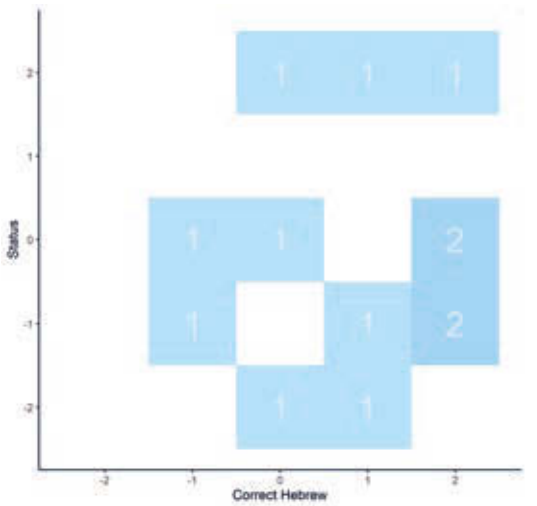

Fig. 6.10: Heatmap: participants' ratings of 'Haredim'

The positive GERT ratings can be explained with positive attitudes towards Jewish religious culture and the belief that the Holy Scriptures, the *meḳorot* 'sources,' serve as model for 'correct Hebrew.' This typical conceptualization of HEBREW AS A HOLY LANGUAGE was described in the context of the conservative perspective on language in 6.2.3.3. Positive attitudes towards Jewish religiosity were not restricted to Jewish participants, as the Arab participants' (a29m2l2 and h21f3l2) association between and speaking 'correct Hebrew' and their entries *Haredim* indicates (see 6.6.2). A30f3l2's following statement during GERT is an example for this attitude: she argued that *Haredim* speak correctly because their Hebrew comes from the book itself – the *tanakh* – and that they certainly do not speak *meduberet* 'spoken Hebrew:'

(87) a30f3l2 (36:28)

Regarding correct [Hebrew], I believe that it's correct, like that, because they are like from the book itself – like from the tanakh, *from the source. It's not spoken [Hebrew], for sure.*

לגבי תקנית אני מאמינה שזה תקני כזה כי הם כאילו מהספר עצמו, כאילו מהתנ״ך מהמקור. זה בטוח לא מדוברת.

S41m3l1 expressed a similar opinion and located his entry *Haredim* in the extreme lower right region of his GERT template (see Fig. 4.10) – thus, indicating a high rating for 'correct Hebrew' and a low rating 'status.' In respect to 'status,' he added that there were also wealthy *Haredim*, in contrast to the poorer majority.

(88) s41m3l1 (45:09)

Most of the religious would be here.

רוב הדתיים יהיו פה.

PS:

So with relatively better Hebrew?

אז עם עברית ליחסית יותר גבוהה?

s41m3l1:

Yes, because they read more. In respect to status, I – they have all kinds of statuses. I can say that the Haredim – Haredim, *they would be here. Yes, their status is usually low, they are very poor – ten children at home, high, correct Hebrew. So, that's here for sure, they also have rich ones.*

כן, כי הם יותר קוראים. מבחינת מעמד אני, הם נמצאים בכל המעמדות. אני יכול להגיד שהחרדים, חרדים הם יהיו פה. כן, המעמד שלהם נמוך בדרך כלל הם מאוד עניים עשרה ילדים בבית, עברית תקנית גבוהה. אז זה בטוח כאן הרוב, יש להם גם עשירים.

The following summary of m56m2l1's statements who attended a religious school – a *Yeshiva* – before he chose to lead a secular life further illustrates a positive attitude towards *Haredi* culture. During the interview, he expressed his admiration for the type of argumentation which is cultivated in the *Yeshiva*. He argued that a large portion of the vocabulary which is characteristic for 'educated Hebrew' that is nowadays used in juridical and academic contexts originated in the religious Jewish culture of debate. He described this style of speech as *'ivrit yeshivatit* '*Yeshivish* Hebrew.' However, he argued that its use is not limited to (former) *Yeshiva* students. He asserted that even educated *ḥilonim* 'seculars' appreciate and imitate this "fantastic" culture of philosophical debate that he experienced in the *Yeshiva*. To illustrate this style of speech, he used the Aramaic term *i'fkha' mistabra'* which can be translated as 'the opposite turns out to be true' in reference to this dialectic culture of debate that originated in the context of Talmudic studies. Accordingly, this style of speech is associated with genuinely Jewish education which is based on religious tradition and

a sophisticated culture of debate and reasoning – m56m2l1 subsumed this notion with the common metaphorical wording *ha-moaḥ ha-yehudi* 'the Jewish brain:'

(89) m56m2l1 (11:39)

כי כל הגישה של לימוד התלמודי שהתפתח בעיקר בבבל, לא בארץ ישראל, בבבל בעיקר, זה לקחת נושא, לפתח אותו, כל צד אומר את הצד שלו. אבל מה שיפה, מה שמעניין כן שזה, אומרים שזה תרם להתפתחות של המוח היהודי, מכיוון זה שיטה הזו של איפכא מסתברא.

Because the whole approach of Talmudic study which developed mainly in Babylon – not in Israel, mainly in Babylon. That's taking a topic, developing it, every side says its side. But, what's beautiful, what's interesting, yes that's – they say that it contributed to the development of the Jewish brain because of this method of i'fkha' mistabra'.

Despite his self-determined alienation from the *Haredi* environment, m56m2l1 displayed a nostalgic stance by asserting that he missed the culture of intensive debate and companionship which he described as characteristic for the *Yeshiva*. Similar enthusiastic accounts can also be found in scholarly literature: Schwarz (2014: 135) paints a vivid picture of a learning technique which is termed with the Aramaic *ḥavruta'* 'friendship' and the institutionalized debates that he observed in Lithouanian Yeshivas in Israel for which he expresses his admiration as follows:

> I confess that Chavruta learning was always alluring for me because of the unusual enthusiasm and the tenacity of the learners: How can adolescents or young adults sit together during 8 or even 10 hours per day, six days a week for years? (Schwarz 2014: 136)

Friedman (2016: 232) who coined the term "society-of-scholars" (see 3.1.4) also displays a nostalgic attitude in his paper *"About Miracles": The Flourishing of the "Torah World" of Yeshivot and Kollelim in Israel*, as he remembers his time in a "Tel Aviv yeshiva high-school in the early 1950s." Within the broader context of language attitudes, nostalgia was analyzed as a typical feature of the conservative perspective on language in 6.2.3.3. HSs who adhere to this perspective, commonly framed the decay of spoken Hebrew within a context of general cultural attrition: Accordingly, the societal trend of *ḥilun* 'secularization' has been impacting the educational system and the occupation with the canon of Jewish religious texts – *ha-meḳorot* – has almost perished from curricula. To counteract this trend, i53f2l1 (29:10) stressed the necessity to *laḥzor le-meḳorot* 'return to the sources' of Jewish culture (see 37).
Just as the societal process of *ḥilun* 'secularization' was described unfavorably, the opposite process can also be framed as a threat to the modern organization of Israeli society. According to a publication on the homepage of the Hebrew Academy, the term *hadata* "religionization" was coined relatively recently – it was discussed for

the first time by the Academy in 2006 when it had already been in use.[30] This term is described as referring critically to the apparently growing influence of religious authorities on public institutions. Part of the negative GERT ratings for 'Haredim' can be explained as an expression of this critical stance towards religiosity.

Just a few entries for 'Haredim' were rated higher in terms of 'status' than for 'correct Hebrew.' A possible explanation for these atypical ratings can be found in statements such as f5+f1l1's (16:56): she asserted that *Haredim* speak less correctly because their education is centered on the study of *Torah* and less on *diḳduḳ* 'grammar' – at the same time, she expressed respect towards them. The diverging ratings for 'status' can be explained with the ambiguous nature of the variable itself which can refer to different notions such as economic and cultural capital. Based on the participants' statements, stereotypical representations of 'Haredim' associate them with a lack of economic power, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, they are allocated with cultural capital due to their religious knowledge, which is an explanation for the positive ratings in terms of 'status.'

No judgments about the inside perspective on 'Haredim' can be inferred from the GERT data because just one self-identifying *Haredi* participant (a68m3l1) completed GERT, without referring to 'Haredim' for the task. However, all *Haredim* – just as the *datlashim* – expressed similar opinions as f5+f1l1 (16:56) in the interviews. They stated that they considered the Hebrew of *Haredi* boys who attended religious schools inferior to those who attended public schools because they focused on religious matters and texts which are written in Aramaic from a young age, instead of learning MH grammar. Moreover, they described this type of education as orally oriented in comparison to governmental education and university studies which typically require profound competence in writing. In contrast, they asserted that *Haredi* girls study MH grammar properly which enables them to enter the workforce in regular jobs outside of the *Haredi* environment. M37m1l1 described these aspects as follows:

(90) m37m1l1 (0:33)

In general, girls study much more [grammar] than boys because boys dedicate most of their time to the Holy Studies. So, for that matter, let's say that they dedicate two to four hours per week to Hebrew, but girls can dedicate even eight hours, I believe, in their educational framework. So, that's the fundamental gap, in general.

בנות בדרך כלל לומדות הרבה יותר מבנים כיוון שבנים מקדישים את רוב זמנם ללימודי קודש. אז לצורך העניין, נגיד, מקדישים לעברית שעתיים בשבוע עד ארבע שעות בשבוע אבל עוד בנות יכולות להקדיש לזה, אני מאמין, גם שמונה שעות בשבוע במסגרת הלימודים. אז זה בדרך כלל הפער המובנה.

30 https://hebrew-academy.org.il/2017/07/10/הדתה/; Accessed: 2024-10-06

Both a22m1l1 and g25m3l2 conceded that they were conscious about flaws in their command of Hebrew. In this respect, a22m1l1 asserted that it does not bother him to produce minor grammatical mistakes and that he asks his wife or his mother for advice on grammar when he needs to produce written text. G25m3l2 was less confident about his non-normative language use of MH that he attributed partly to his multilingual childhood – not just to the *Haredi* education he received. He expressed the desire to improve his grammatical skills because his ability to express himself in written form became crucial as a university student.

M37m1l1's statements reveal a dichotomy which turned out to be typical for the modern Israeli *Haredim* I talked to: on the one hand, he condemned MH out of ideological reasons due to its association with Zionism and, on the other hand, he stressed the necessity of a good command of MH to be able to participate in Israeli society as an individual and to express his groups' political ambitions. At the beginning of the interview, m37m1l1 described MH, to which he referred as "Ben-Yehuda's Hebrew," as a mere distortion of the Holy Language – *lashon ha-ḳodesh*:[31]

31 M37m1l1 also produced the variant *loshn ha-ḳoydesh* once, which is characteristic for the *Ashkenazi* pronunciation (see above).

(91) m37m1l1 (00:58)

Big parts inside the Haredi *society are educated in Yiddish. One who grows up with Yiddish and speaks Yiddish both at home and in the educational institutions – his Hebrew will be on a lower level [...] and there are even* Ḥasidic *places – the more conservative contexts – in which it's forbidden to speak Hebrew because Hebrew is a language that isn't* kosher *enough for them [...] Ben Yehuda's Hebrew, that's, in fact, an inferior Hebrew. That's a Hebrew – it's a distortion, so to speak, of the original Hebrew which, of course, is the Bibilical (mikra'it) Hebrew which isn't called Hebrew among the* Haredim, *but the Holy Language* – loshn ha-ḳoydesh. *The Holy Language, that's the language of the* Torah *and we really see big gaps between what's written in the* Torah *and the spoken language – the spoken Hebrew of today. There are big gaps between different words, meanings and things.*

חלקים גדולים בתוך החברה החרדית מתחנכים בשפת היידיש. מי שגדל על יידיש ומדבר יידיש גם בבית וגם במוסודות החינוך העברית שלו בכלל כבר תהיה ברמה עוד יותר נמוכה. [...] ויש אפילו מקומות חסידים המסגרות השמרניות יותר שבהם אסור לדבר עברית שעברית היא שפה לא מספיק כשרה עבורם. [...] העברית של בן יהודה זו עברית למעשה קלוקלת, זו עברית, זה עיוות כביכול של העברית המקורית שהיא כמובן העברית המקראית שהיא לא נקראת עברית בקרב החרדים אלא נקראת לשון הקודש. לשון הקודש זה השפה של התורה ואנחנו רואים באמת פערים גדולים בין מה שכתוב בתורה לבין השפה המדוברת היום. יש פערים גדולים במילים שונות ובמשמעויות שונות ובדברים שונים.

What m37m1l1 describes as *Haredi* attitude towards the notion 'Ben-Yehuda's Hebrew' is the opposite of what was analyzed in the context of a70f3l1's (8:00) statement as ideal type of Hebrew (see 62). With the term "not *kosher*" he used a religious framing from the domain of Jewish dietary laws to express the reservations against MH which are typical for more conservative *Haredim* who belong to certain *Ḥasidic* groups. Assouline (2017: 10) also describes this negative attitude towards MH, in conjunction with the preference for Yiddish, as typical for certain "zealous," anti-Zionist groups among the *Haredim*:

> [S]peaking Yiddish corresponds to preservation of the traditional way of life, whereas Modern Hebrew is perceived as a new, and hence inferior, entity. Second, the zealous ideology views the establishment of the Jewish state as a rebellion against God, and its modern language a profanity. (Assouline 2017: 11)

M37m1l1 (8:56) equally asserted that most *Haredim* are typically anti-Zionists. He recounted that, even though his family just spoke MH at home, he went to schools which taught primarily in Yiddish and that the pupils were sanctioned for speak-

ing MH on the school yard. He described the use of Yiddish in *Haredi* educational institutions as a matter of prestige – just as Assouline:

> The use of Yiddish in educational institutions testifies to their quality, primarily because the Yiddish-speaking staff is guaranteed to be composed of 'our people' only. (Assouline 2017: 17)

Religious participants typically referred to the framing of HEBREW IS HOLY and stressed the importance of speaking respectfully which entails refraining from slander and curse words – *lashon ha-r'a* 'evil language.' When talking about this aspect, m37m1l1 referred to the religious treatise *shmirat ha-lashon* 'Guarding of the Tongue' (Cohen 1975 [1876]) which was also known at least to g25m3l2 and a22m1l1. Assouline (2017: 21) claims that, especially among *Haredim*, 'slang' is regarded as evil, street language and that the term *slang* is also used metonymically for MH, as a whole. In accordance with this conceptualization, religious participants such as h26m2l1 and a68m3l1 asserted that they refrained from the use of MH slang which they classified as *lashon ha-r'a* that is used merely in the streets and by criminals – a68m3l1 also produced the only GERT entry for *'asirim* 'criminals' and argued that they contribute to linguistic decay. The notion of 'linguistic decay' was analyzed as characteristic for a conservative perspective on language which is not particular to *Haredim*: for example, Schwarzwald (2007: 78) argues for a causal relation between phenomena of language attrition and an increase in youth criminality in Israel, for which she argues with statistical figures from news reports.

As mentioned above, m37m1l1 – just like the other religious participants – also expressed a positive, utilitarian attitude towards MH: when the atmosphere of the interview became more relaxed, he conceded that he had always been fascinated by the style of Hebrew which is typically spoken by news broadcasters on the radio:

(92) m37m1l1 (4:46)

And there are Haredim *like me, for example, who were exposed to the press, all their life. Because I liked the occupation with news and journalism – it always attracted me. And radio, too, from listening – and radio and reading the non-*Haredi *press a lot – you learn Hebrew on a high level. And me, for instance, when I speak with seculars – so, they say to me 'wow, where does your Hebrew come from?'*	ויש חרדים כמוני למשל שהיו חשופים כל החיים לעיתונות כי אהבתי עיסוק בחדשות ובעיתונות זה עניין אותי ומשך אותי תמיד וגם רדיו מההאזנה ורדיו וקריאה של הרבה עיתונות לא חרדית אתה מלמד עברית ברמה שהיא רמה גבוה ואני לצורך העניין כשאני מדבר עם חילונים אז אומרים לי וואו מאיפה העברית שלך?

From m37m1l1's statements can be seen that he also chose formal wordings – especially, at the beginning of the interview (see 90). He stated that he feels less affection

for Yiddish which he claimed to use for practical reasons with members of his community and underlined the importance of a good command of MH to be able to communicate both with *Haredim* and with other members of the Israeli society, on an equal standing. Y37m2l2, who grew up in a conservative *Ḥasidic* environment with Yiddish as L1 and adopted a secular lifestyle as an adult, shared the fascination for the Hebrew style of the radio. He told that he listened to secular news programs on the radio to acquire this register when he was a boy.

Thus, it can be seen that the cultural and linguistic relations of the Israeli *Haredim* to Israeli society at large are ambiguous and therefore similar to other minority groups, such as the Israeli Arabs: despite their continuous efforts to underline their particular identity, they cannot ignore the influence of general Israeli culture on their daily lives which is symbolized by their extensive use of MH. In this respect, Baumel (2006: 51) states that even major *Haredi* authorities came to display a "fluency of contemporary speech" in the context of their "political activism" in Israel and Assouline (2017: 12) asserts that "[t]he ideological rejection of Israeli Hebrew in zealous sects" is barely implemented in daily life.