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HEBREW AND ARABIC IN ASYMMETRIC CONTACT IN ISRAEL

Abstract

Israeli Hebrew (IH) and Palestinian Arabic (PA)¹ have existed side by side for well over a century in extremely close contact, accompanied by social and ideological tension, often conflict, between two communities: PA speakers, who turned from a majority to a minority following the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, and IH speakers, the contemporary majority, representing the dominant culture. The Hebrew-speaking Jewish group is heterogeneous in terms of lands of origin and includes a large community of Judeo-Arabic speakers. In this paper I discuss the ‘when,’ ‘where,’ ‘how,’ and especially ‘why’ of mutual borrowing² between Hebrew and Arabic in Israel since the 1880s.

I stress that the contact is asymmetric. The majority of Hebrew speakers today do not speak Arabic. They do, however, have access to borrowed lexicon in the domain of slang and vernacular speech that both enriches these registers and provides the speakers with a feeling of being

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¹ Israeli Hebrew (IH) is the modern Hebrew spoken in Israel, as described in section 1. Palestinian Arabic (PA), as part of the Syro-Lebanese-Palestinian dialect-group, is a dialectal-geographical term that I restrict in this article to the political boundaries of Israel. I avoid the more transparent term Israeli Arabic, as it is politically loaded, and I include Bedouin dialects, although these constitute a distinct dialect-type generally not classified under Palestinian Arabic. All these dialects, as Arabic dialects in general, interact with Standard Arabic in a diglossic situation, better described as a register scale with linguistically distinct poles.

² I use the term ‘borrowing’ in a wide sense to include all sorts of adoption, including codeswitching.

‘indigenous’ and ‘belonging’ to the social and cultural milieu of the larger environment. In contrast, most young adult PA-speakers are bilingual. For this minority, borrowing fulfills fundamental sociolinguistic and pragmatic needs. IH lexical items have permeated all areas of professional, educational, administrative, and social activities in everyday life discourse in all styles and registers of the spoken language and, to a lesser extent, written language. They fill lexical gaps and lacunae representing modern and western concepts that did not exist in PA. They also symbolize modernism, education, and social mobility. In other words, borrowing serves as a means of ‘*stepping in*’ for the Jewish majority and conversely as a means for ‘*stepping out and up*’ for the Arab minority.

Keywords

Contact phenomena, borrowing, codeswitching, Israeli Hebrew, Palestinian Arabic, Judeo-Arabic.

Part 1 Arabic influence on Israeli Hebrew

1. Pre-state period³

The beginnings of Modern Hebrew as a spoken language lie in late nineteenth-century Ottoman Palestine, where PA was the dominant language and lingua franca of the land and Hebrew the lingua franca of the Jews.

The four major communities of the Jewish *Old Yishuv* (settlement) resided in the holy cities Jerusalem, Safed, Tiberias, and Hebron; smaller communities resided in Haifa, Jaffa, and Acre. The Jerusalem community consisted of two major factions: a former majority of Sephardic Jews, who spoke Judezmo in their homes and were also fluent in PA and a recent majority of western or Ashkenazi Jews whose home language was Yiddish. They also spoke some former co-territorial vernaculars, such as Russian, Polish, Hungarian, and German but, at least at the beginning, were communicationally handicapped by their incompetence in PA.⁴ The Sephardis in general, especially in Safed and Tiberias, also the veteran Ashkenazis in all the communities, particularly in Safed, were reputed to be conversant in PA.

Hebrew served for communication among Jews of different diasporas, but mainly

³ This short historical overview relies mainly on Har-El 2002 Pt. 5; Kosover 1966 Pt I; Oring 1981 Ch 1; Piamenta 1992; Spolsky and Cooper 1991 Ch.3; Spolsky and Shohamy 1999: Ch. 1; 69.

⁴ Small groups who spoke North African and Palestinian dialects of Arabic respectively were the Moghrabim and the Moriscos, usually subsumed under the Sephardi faction.

it was a literary and liturgical ‘language of sanctity’ (*lešon ha-qódeš*)⁵ (Spolsky and Shohamy 1999: 10). The dominant PA was crucial for the Old Yishuv, which was basically non-productive and dependent on trade with the local Arab population. The newly arrived Ashkenazis of Jerusalem were rather late to pick it up, but gradually a new variety of Palestinian Yiddish emerged, full of PA lexicon (Kosover 1966).

The 1880s started a series of immigration waves of Zionist Jews to Palestine. These immigrations are referred to in IH as ‘*aliyot* sg. ‘*aliyá*, literally ‘ascending’ to the Land of Zion. This stems from the fact that Jerusalem is elevated from its surroundings and symbolically represented as the highest location on earth. The First ‘Aliya (1882-1903), approximately 35,000 in number, were comprised mostly of Yiddish-speaking Ashkenazi ‘*olim* (literally ‘ascenders’) or *halucim* ‘pioneers’ from Eastern Europe, following pogroms in Russia, with a small number of immigrants from Yemen. In their newly founded agricultural settlements they employed thousands of Arab laborers from Egypt and Horan (Har-El 2002: 422), and guarding was mainly in the hands of Bedouin or Circassians watchmen (Oring 1981: 7). The contact between Yiddish and PA, as well as Judeo-Spanish and the newly emerging IH, resulted in hybrid varieties spoken by both Jews and Arabs (Morag 1990: 86 ff.; Oring 1981: 109 ff.). In the following example from the settlement Rosh Pina, PA is italicized; the rest is Yiddish:

- | | | |
|--|--|-------------------------|
| [1] <i>fi</i> ‘ <i>indi</i> cvey préydax | <i>yiṭla</i> ‘ <i>u</i> <i>it-ṭal</i> ‘ <i>e</i> | <i>vi</i> cvey féygalax |
| I have two mules ⁶ | [that] go up the hill | like two birds |
| (Morag 1990: 87) ⁷ | | |

The Second ‘Aliya (1904-1914) was comprised of approximately 40,000 immigrants, driven out by pogroms and a rise in anti-Semitism in Czarist Russia. These immigrants too were mostly native Yiddish-speakers, but a dominant group upheld a nationalist-socialist-secular-territorial ideology that opposed use of the exilic language Yiddish. They insisted on mastering and spreading the Hebrew

⁵ I transcribe IH according to the etymologically more transparent ‘Oriental pronunciation,’ which includes the guttural consonants *ḥ* and ‘, rather than the dominant Ashkenazi or so-called General Israeli variety that has merged them with *x* and ‘ respectively. For etymological transparency I also mark etymological *t* and *q* which have merged with *t* and *k* respectively; *c* is the new affricate [ts]. I regularly note IH stress that is not ultimate, whereas ultimate stress is noted only in the feminine suffix, since it is often contrastive: *kapará/kapára* [sect. 3].

⁶ Hebrew *péred* ‘mule’ is construed in the diminutive plural Yiddish form.

⁷ I have reproduced the original transcription of the example, although I doubt if Arabic ‘*ayin* was actually uttered by the Ashkenazi speaker. In transcribing Arabic I mark stress that is not predictable from the stress rules of PA, as well as stress that differs from Hebrew counterparts whenever these are compared.

language (Spolsky and Shohamy 1999: 13; 71) as well as Jewish labor and guarding.

The Third 'Aliya (1919-1923), approximately 40,000 in number, was a continuation of the Second 'Aliya, which was interrupted by World War 1. It was triggered by the October Revolution and further pogroms in Russia, Poland and Hungary and the British conquest of Palestine.

These immigrations mark the emergence of IH as a spoken language, primarily in the settlements and *kibbutzim* (collective settlements). But with initially no native speakers at all, it was characterized by huge lexical gaps, and a total lack of colloquial registers. Words were needed for 'shirt,' 'skirt,' 'orange,' 'ice cream,' 'tomato,' 'pencil,' 'machine,' 'electricity,' 'car,' 'clock,' 'train,' 'polite,' 'official,' 'please,' 'thank you,' 'excuse me' – in fact the whole lexicon of modern life – was missing. Some of the lexical gaps were filled by Arabic material, following two parallel routes: planned coining and spontaneous, direct borrowing.

1.1 Impact routes

1.1.1 Planned coining

This lexicalizing route was the product of deliberate, planned, academic coining. The Literary Committee (*vá'ad ha-sifrut*) of the linguistic society *safá brurá* 'A Clear Language', followed by the Language Council (*vá'ad ha-lašon*), coined neologisms for the urgent needs of the community, as demanded by teachers and writers, in a strictly controlled manner. These language planners exploited lexical sources of Hebrew (Biblical, Rabbinical, Medieval), then its Semitic sisters and aspired to agree on a hierarchy of legitimacy.⁸ The relative status of Arabic and Aramaic on this scale was controversial: the best-known and most productive innovator, Eliezer Ben-Yehuda, was particularly keen on Arabic, both Literary and Colloquial, as a potential source of neologisms, since it showed how a contemporary language has retained ancient, common Semitic etymologies, which are assumed to have been lost in Hebrew (Geva-Kleinberger 2006: 462; Piamenta 1961: 151). Moreover, it was not associated with the exilic image of the Jew, which the Zionist movement reacted against. He demanded that the entire inventory of native Arabic roots be annexed to Hebrew (Efrati 2004: 93). In explaining his innovations, he explicitly stated Arabic sources in every possible

⁸ According to Efrati (2004: 12), the Literary Committee, formed in 1889 by Ben-Yehuda and others, formulated the hierarchy as follows: Hebrew (including Canaanite inscriptions), then Arabic, whereas Aramaic, even within a Hebrew corpus, such as the Talmud, was excluded. According to Kutscher (1984: 194 ff.), however, Aramaic was second only to Hebrew.

case, including loans which were actually inspired by European parallels. An example is IH *sabon* ‘soap,’ explicitly attributed to PA *šābōn*, although it ultimately derived from Latin *sapone* (and, in fact, had earlier entered Classical Hebrew as *šāfōn*). Its re-entry was obviously inspired by European parallel (Zuckerman 2003).

Opponents of this ‘excessive’ reliance on Arabic felt that Arabic ‘has no foundation in our psyche’ (Suleiman 2004: 140 citing Saulson 1979).⁹ Indeed, as a north-western Semitic language, Aramaic was genetically closer to Hebrew than Arabic, which belonged to the south-western branch of the Semitic languages. More importantly, all Jewish males were educated in Aramaic from childhood, in prayer and Talmudic studies (Avineri 1964: 58; Kutscher 1984: 207) and this familiar and intimate language evoked positive emotionality. Considered a sacred language, it was, at least in some Ashkenazi communities included in *lešon ha-qódeš* (Spolsky and Cooper 1991: 21 and index), while Arabic, associated with Islam, was considered foreign. In addition, the early immigrations were predominantly from the Ashkenazi lands, where Arabic was not spoken.

Ultimately, cases of competing proposals were resolved as one item overcame the others. Ben-Yehuda’s Arabic-based lexical neologisms that survived include *digdeg* ‘tickler’ from Ar. *dāgdāga* and *parvá* ‘fur’ from Ar. *fārwa*. Many, however, were rejected, including *vazir* ‘minister’ from Ar. *wazīr*, *zivdá* ‘butter’ from Ar. *zibda*, *laṭif* ‘nice’ from Ar. *laṭīf*, and *badorá* ‘tomato’ from PA *bandōra* which receded to *‘agvanyá* (Geva-Kleinberger 2006: 462). Ben-Yehuda’s loan translations that survived include *afor* ‘grey’ from *éfer* ‘ash’ in analogy to Arabic *ramādiy* ‘grey’ from *ramād* ‘ash’; grammatical borrowing included the Arabic *-īyya* feminine suffix, as in *‘iriyá* עִירִיָּה ‘municipality’ from Ar. *baladīyya* (Geva-Kleinberger 2006: 462).

Morphophonemic strategies of this route include ‘**root copying**’ (Piamenta 1961: 151): Arabic consonants adapted to Hebrew by conventional sound shifts, such as Ar. *j* to Hb. *g* (*vii* below); Ar. *s* to Hb. *š* (*v*); postvocalic non-geminated Ar. *b* to Hb. *v* (*vi*).¹⁰ The new roots were set in conventional Hebrew vocalic patterns, which contributed to making these items sound like native Hebrew:

⁹ A prominent supporter of Aramaic, as a more appropriate source for innovating the lexicon, was Eliezer Meir Lipschütz (Avineri 1964: 458; Efrati 2004: 225).

¹⁰ The plosive *b* in *lében* (*ii*) is an exception. Notably, in the short-lived ‘Galilean Dialect’ *b* was always a stop. This is generally attributed to a deliberate will to imitate Arabic (Avineri 1964: 457), but other factors have also been considered (Morag 1990).

Arabic	Israeli Hebrew	
Nouns		
(i) <i>murábba</i>	<i>ribá</i>	‘jam’
(ii) <i>lában</i>	<i>lében</i>	‘sour milk’
Adjectives		
(iii) <i>nādir</i>	<i>nadir</i>	‘rare’
(iv) <i>raṣīn~razīn</i>	<i>recini</i> ¹¹	‘serious’
(v) <i>rásmiy</i>	<i>rišmi</i>	‘official’
(vi) <i>adīb</i>	<i>adiv</i>	‘polite’
Verbs		
(vii) <i>hājar</i>	<i>higer</i>	‘immigrated’
(viii) <i>lāṭufa</i>	<i>liṭef</i>	‘stroked’

Some of the items above display semantic shifts: Ar., *lában*, which included all kinds of milk, was narrowed in IH and restricted to a special product of sour milk; Ar. *adīb*, a cultural concept including both adjectives, such as ‘cultured’ and nouns, such as ‘a writer, an intellectual’ narrowed to IH *adiv* ‘the Arabic stative trait *lāṭufa* ‘was gentle’ turned to the active IH *liṭef* ‘stroked’ This route, then, solved the problem of lexical gaps by filling specific lexical and semantic content, as demanded by IH, into Hebrew replicas of corresponding Arabic items.

1.1.2 Spontaneous borrowing

The planned coining route, with its strict requirements, could not keep up with the growing demand for lexical items. The second route whereby IH enriched its lexicon was spontaneous adoption from PA. Both the farmers of the First ‘*Aliya* and the young pioneers of the Second ‘*Aliya* were keen to incorporate PA in their IH lexicon as a means of strengthening their ideological bond with the Land of Zion and assimilating into the indigenous biblical landscape. Local symbols and items of dress, customs, and folklore were eagerly adopted, along with their local names. For the socialist, land-liberating ideology of many, this cultural borrowing was also a way of rebelling against the urban, bourgeois culture of their European past (Avineri 1964: 457).

A particularly enthusiastic borrower of PA language and culture was the *Palmach*¹² – the unofficial pre-state army. The young, mostly native-born male and female soldiers trained, fought, helped illegal immigration ships to the shore, and

¹¹ An early variant of this neologism that did not survive was Ben-Yehuda’s *racin*, a direct copy of the Arabic source.

simultaneously worked on the kibbutzim. Their cultural orientation rejected the image of the urban, bookish, exilic, Yiddish speaker and adopted elements of the local rural culture. This included working the land with the spade (PA *ṭūriyye*) during the day and guarding it with the dagger (PA *šabriyye*) at night, which was also the time for sitting round a campfire, brewing Bedouin coffee in the long-handled cezve or coffee pot named *finjan* pl. *finján-im* (PA *finjān* pl. *fanājīn* ‘cup,’ Turkish fincan; Persian pengān) and passing it around in the traditional Bedouin manner.¹³ The *finjan* became a symbol of the Palmach ethos, the topic of songs and stories. In fact, the Palmach youth came to be known as the ‘*finjan*-generation,’ in contrast with the modern ‘espresso-generation’ (Guri-Hefer 1977: 234). From the memoirs of Palmach-member Netiva Ben-Yehuda (cited in Katriel and Greifat 1988: 303–304):

We were concerned with only this: to talk like them, walk like them, behave like them.... We imitated them in everything...They were for us the model for the native of the land.... anyone who could chatter in Arabic was highly esteemed by us and whoever had an Arab friend – a king, a real king.

An integral part of the campfire ritual was the genre of the tall tale named *čizbat* (from rural PA *čizb-āt* ‘lies, fibs’) which, like Palmach language in general, mixed PA elements into IH: ‘Of this intermixture of Arabic with Hebrew, the Palmachniks were conscious and proud (Oring 1981: 36).’¹⁴ In fact, a blend of *čizbat*, as a symbol of the Palmach oral tradition, and *teatron* ‘theatre’ formed the name of the first army entertainment troupe, the *čizbatron*.

Traditional items of customs and dress were also borrowed, including the Bedouin *débka* dance and the traditional man’s headdress, the *kafīyye*. The new symbolic Israeli headdress, however, was the national bucket hat, *kóva ṭémbel* from PA *támbal-tánbal* ‘idiot’ (<Turkish *tembel* ‘lazy’).

Arabic names predominated in the field of children’s games everywhere, including locations where direct contact with PA was minimal.¹⁵ The names varied by geography, according to the loaning PA dialect. Hence, the game of marbles

¹² *Palmaḥ* is an acronym for *plugot máḥac* ‘striking force,’ formed in 1941. It included a special ‘Arab squad,’ whose tasks included mingling in with the Palestinian population unnoticed. The Palmach was dismantled after the 1948 war, as it was considered to be too socialist and left-wing for the ruling party led by David Ben-Gurion.

¹³ This is clearly marked as foreign by the initial *f* (which in native Hebrew would be *p*), the foreign phoneme *j*, and the unstressed pl. morpheme *-im*.

¹⁴ The rural PA phoneme *č* (for standard Arabic *k*) is foreign to Hebrew; the hybrid pl. form *čizbát-im* with an unstressed Hb pl. morpheme (on a form that already contains an Arabic pl. morpheme) also marks the lexeme as foreign. The authenticity of the form in PA, however, has been challenged (Oring 1981: 23 ff.).

was known in many areas as *júlim* from Egyptian Arabic *gull*, but in the north it was *balórot*, *bandúrot*~*bandórot* from PA *bandūra* (Blanc 1955 section c); *tayára* ‘kite’ from PA *ṭayyāra*; *forféra* ‘spinning top’; *dúdes* ‘spinning stick’ from PA *dūde* ‘worm’ with a Yiddish/Ladino pl. marker *-(e)s*.

Foods that are considered today ‘national Israeli’ are in fact Arabic: *xúmus* (PA *ḥummuṣ* ‘chick peas’); *txína* (PA *ṭaḥīne* ‘ground paste’); *faláfel* (PA *falāfil* ‘peppers’). *mišmiš* ‘apricots’ (PA *mišmiš*) was later Hebraized to *mišmés* but still predominates in the colloquial language. The prickly pear fruit was known as *sábres* (PA *ṣab’r* + Yiddish/Ladino plural marker *-(e)s*). In fact, *sábre* (hebraized to *cábar* then *cabár*) became the term and national symbol of the native Israeli, reputed to be prickly on the outside but sweet inside.

A major ethos of the new Ashkenazi Israeli, contrasting with the humble, submissive, exilic Jew, was the speaking style that came to be known as *dúgri* ‘frank’ (Katriel and Greifat 1988: 303 ff.). Loaned from Turkish *doğru* ‘straight, right,’ PA *dúgri* ‘straight,’ and metaphorically ‘truthful,’ relates to honesty. It upholds faithfulness to referential truth. In its interpersonal discourse function, it is only legitimate in exceptional cases where honesty is crucial to ensure the addressee’s face interests, to prevent his downfall, such as in imparting information about a potential bridegroom.

In the new Israeli culture, this loan encompassed the ethos of bluntness, self assertion in the interpersonal sphere, as ‘the communicative correlate of the Sabra’s proverbial thorns’ (Katriel and Greifat 1988: 304). It is not the rare, exceptional strategy associated with the Arabic item, but rather a central principle of cultural orientation or the semantic identity of the *cabar*.

This direct, self-centered, often rude and ruthless discourse culture characterized the first and second generation of native Israelis, primarily those of western Ashkenazi origin. It was diametrically opposed to the Arab and Oriental discourse style of indirectness, consideration, and mediation, known in Palestinian Arabic as *musāyara* ‘going along with.’ Oriental Jews were more like Palestinian Arabs in this respect, so that clashes between these two styles impeded not only inter-ethnic dialogue between Jews and Arabs, but also dialogue within the Jewish society, between western and Oriental speech styles (Ben-Rafael 1982: 53; Katriel 1999).

This emotive style needed many items for affective language. Interjections, which were lacking in Hebrew, were readily borrowed from PA for performing many speech acts, often different from their original usage:

¹⁵ The Language Council (*vá‘ad ha-lašon*) was urgently demanded in 1913 to coin Hebrew names for children’s games, since teachers complained that the children were using jargon and Arabic words, ‘some extremely vulgar’ (Efrati 2004: 78, citing from the archives of the Academy of the Hebrew Language).

admonishing: *daxīlak!* ‘come on now! come off it!’ <PA *daxīl-ak* ‘[I am] your protégé’; *rābak!* <PA *rabbak* ‘your Master’; both of these served in an imploring function in PA;
threatening: *dir bālak!* ‘watch it!’ <PA *dīr bālak* ‘pay attention, watch out, take care (of your brother, for example)’;
admiring: *yabayey* ‘wow!’ <PA *ya bayyē* ‘O dad’;¹⁶
inviting or (ironically) **challenging:** *tfādal* <PA *ṭfaḏḏal* ‘be my guest, go ahead’;
exhortative: *yāla* ‘come on!’ <PA *yāllah* ‘O God’ in the same function;¹⁷
assertive: *wāla* ‘indeed’ <PA *wāllah* ‘by God’, originally an oath particle, bleached to a simple assertive; *ras bin-‘ānak*¹⁸ <PA *ḡaṣban* ‘*annak* ‘whether you like it or not.’

IH curses were likewise practically non-existent and not likely to be renewed from Cl. Hb, since the revered language of the Bible was not a legitimate source for vulgar language. Curses were thus borrowed directly from PA as well as from other languages. In a humorous sketch depicting the consecutive ‘*aliyot*,¹⁹ each wave of immigrants is seen going down to the shore to ‘greet’ the next wave, which they feared would burden the limited resources of the land. The ‘greeting’ invariably included idiolectal versions of the PA curse *in‘al²⁰ dīn il-babūr illi jābku* ‘[God] curse the religion of the ship that brought you!’²¹

The friendly, jovial function of these curses was also borrowed: *yaxrabétak* <PA *yāxrab bētak!* ‘may your home be destroyed!’ served in both languages as a greeting, with the implication of (feigned) anger at the long absence of the friend.²²

¹⁶ *bayy* is the diminutive form of *abu* ‘father,’ here construed in the possessive *bayyī* ‘my dad’.

¹⁷ A later development is *yāla-yāla* ‘get a move on’ for impatient prodding on the one hand and, on the other, in a dismissive function, in the sense of ‘come off it.’

¹⁸ This spelling (Guri-Hefer 1977: 27) indicates reanalysis as ‘head, son-of-giant.’ This folk-etymological phrase is hybrid, with the first word from Arabic *rās* ‘head,’ the third from Hebrew ‘*anaq* ‘giant,’ and the second common to both languages Ar *bin* Hb *ben* ‘son.’

¹⁹ From the sketch *Lul: ‘Aliyā la-ḥof* performed by Arik Einstein and Uri Zohar.

²⁰ PA *(y)in‘al* is a euphemistic variant, through metathesis, of the original *yul‘an* ‘may [God] curse.’ It happens to coincide almost completely with Hebrew *yin‘āl* ‘he will lock up’ or ‘put on a shoe.’ The Hb forms differ only in stress pattern and consequently ultima-stress often characterizes this curse in IH.

²¹ In a more general sociolinguistic perspective it may be the case that abusive language is generally preferred in an outsider’s code. Druse speakers of PA in Israel report that IH is frequent in insults (Ben-Rafael 1994: 174).

²² In the 1944 Hebrew song *ha-pgišā* ‘the meeting’ (lyrics by Chaim Chefer), we find that ‘whenever a palmachnik meets a friend, [the first thing they say is] *yaxrabétak!*’ The

in'al dīnak/abuk <PA *in'al dīnak/abūk* 'curse your religion/father' can be an expression of admiration mixed with envy (Canaan 1935; Geva-Kleinberger 2006: 463).

Blessings were also borrowed freely, such as PA *áhlan* (*wsáhlān*) 'welcome,' literally '[we are to you] a family and [smooth going like] a plain,' also pronounced *ahlān* (*wsahlān*); *mabruk* 'congratulations' <PA *mabrūk* 'blessed,' *salāmtak* 'good for you' <PA *salāmtak* 'your well-being'; *inšāla* 'hopefully' <PA *inšā* *Alīlāh* 'God willing'; *xamdula~xamdūla* <PA *al-ḥamdu l-illāh* 'praise to God.' PA proverbs that were either borrowed directly or translated include *illi fāt māt* 'that which is gone is dead';²³ *yōm 'ásal yōm báṣal* 'a day of honey a day of onions'; *búkra fi-l-mišmiš* 'tomorrow in the apricots (never).'

1.2 Interim summary

The two routes for lexical enrichment of modern Hebrew differed in terms of form. The learned coining route produced lexemes that basically conformed to the phonology and morphology of normative Hebrew and sounded Hebrew. The spontaneous route of direct borrowing was characterized, at least initially, by Arabic form and a mixed phonology. Both routes, but more prominently the second (Avineri 1964: 456 ff.), aroused the opposition of scholars who feared excessive Arabicizing.

A positive attitude to Arabic as a source for enriching Hebrew was shared by Ben-Yehuda's camp of language planners (first route) and the pioneers (second route). For the former, Arabic was a particularly archaic, therefore authentic, relative of Ancient Hebrew. For the latter, it was part of the Zionist ideal of *kibuš ha-adamá ve-ha-lašon* 'conquest of the Land and the Language.' As the contemporary indigenous language in the Land of Zion, it would add the local biblical flavor that could join the pioneer with his forefathers, erase the centuries of exile, and establish a local Israeli identity that would fit into the larger local environment and milieu.

friendly use is documented in pre-state PA, too (Canaan 1935; Dunkel 1930; Henkin 2009 sect. 2).

²³ The transcription *elifat mat* (Guri-Hefer 1977: 27) seems to point to reanalysis of the first two PA components, *illi* and *fāt*, as a compound Hebrew personal name *Elifat* (*el-i* 'my God' being a common component of Hebrew personal names, e.g. *Elimélex*, *Elifélet*, *Elišéva*).

2. The state era

The establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 changed the political and social map dramatically. The Palestinian Arab majority became a minority almost overnight as some 700,000 became refugees (Suleiman 2004: 137 ff.). Many villages were destroyed. The former relationship pattern of fragile coexistence interchanging with hostility was ruptured as the populations were separated physically, and Arabic came to be perceived as the ‘language of the enemy,’ associated with a fifth column (Spolsky and Shohamy 1999: 118; Suleiman 2004: 214). The shrinking Arab population sank in social status as Jewish eyes turned West for cultural borrowing. The positive attitude to PA, motivated by the subconscious need to assimilate culturally in order to resist being driven away, lost ground as the establishment of the Jewish state eliminated this risk. As a result of these political and demographic changes, subsequent influence of PA on IH changed in quantity and quality. On the one hand, the semantic scope of new borrowed material narrowed considerably. On the other, the established loans soon proceeded to develop within the morphology of IH.

2.1 Impact processes

2.1.1 Narrowing and lowering of semantic spheres

The basic IH lexicon was by then established. Only certain pragmatic registers were still lacking. These were the lowest registers since, as noted earlier, [1.1.2], the high regard for Hebrew as the ‘language of sanctity’ made it inappropriate for vulgar language. PA as a potential source for lexical enrichment sank to ever lower semantic spheres of underground jargon, taboo, and emotionally negative lexicon, which is always in need of constant renewal and often needs to be incomprehensible to the normative public.

The most updated thesaurus of IH slang (Rosenthal 2006) reveals high percentages of borrowings from Arabic in certain semantic classes, all ranking low on the social status hierarchy. In the category of curses, for example, one third of the slang lexicon is of Arabic origin. The earlier loans of Stage 1 are now as then typically used in the friendly jovial sense, e.g. *in‘al dīnak* (<*dīnak*), *láma lo roim otxa?* ‘damn you, why don’t we get to see you (more often?)’ Some of these friendly Stage 1 loans, such as *yaxrabétak*, are outdated. Stage 2 loans, in contrast, are not friendly at all and very much in use as real swear words, e.g. *kus-émmak-kus-íma-šelxa*; *kusóxtak*²⁴ ‘your mother/sister’s cunt.’

²⁴ These are often pronounced with a lengthened, whistling *s*.

In the category of drugs, 18% of the slang lexicon is of Arabic origin, for example *báladi* ‘rural’>‘opium;’ *búsa* ‘kiss’>‘nargila tube;’ *náfas* ‘breath’>‘hashish and marijuana;’ *fáysal* ‘joint.’ In the category of crime, police, and jail, 14% of the slang lexicon is Arabic, including *jasus* ‘spy’>‘collaborator;’ *wísex* ‘dirty’>‘informer’ – from which a new verb is derived: *wiséx* ‘to inform;’ *xafif wnadif* ‘light and clean’ designating ‘a clean job.’ Lately, Iraqi Arabic seems to be prominent in recent homosexual jargon (Rosenthal 2004: 48 ff.).

In sharp contrast, no lexical items of Arabic origin could be found in the slang of other semantic spheres that rank higher on the social status scale. Here, foreign source languages are Western:

Sphere	Ratio ²⁵	Examples
a) education	0/43	<i>ledakter</i> ‘to study for a PhD’; <i>zícflayš</i> (Yid. ‘sitting flesh’) ‘diligence’; <i>meduplam</i> ‘holding a diploma’
b) trade	0/44	<i>on de hawz</i> ‘on the house’; <i>bonbonyéra</i> ‘chocolate box’> ‘a perfect product’; <i>šóping</i> ‘shopping’
c) abilities	0/59	<i>dinámo</i> ‘dynamo’> ‘particularly energetic individual’; <i>buldózer</i> ‘bulldozer’> ‘pusher’; <i>spec</i> (<Russ.) ‘expert professional’
d) management	0/96	<i>list(a)</i> ‘list’; <i>aparátčik</i> ‘party executive’; <i>tofsológya</i> (Hb <i>tófes</i> ‘official form’) ‘paperwork’

2.1.2 Morpho-phonological integration processes

(a) **Loans:** Some of the items in the list above [2.1.1 a–d] are loans in the narrow sense. These are simple or compound nouns, like *šóping* and *zícflayš* above (b and a respectively) and phrases like *on de hawz* (b) that show an intermediate degree of phonological and morphological integration to the borrowing language. The interdental in the English determiner ‘the’ is nativized to a stop [*de*], and the velar [*ɣ*] of ‘shopping’ is nativized to a sequence of alveolar [*n*]+ [*g*]. Some may serve as a base for further derivation, as in *spec* (c), to which the abstract noun allomorph *-iyut* may be added, forming *spéciyut* ‘expert professionalism.’ This is marked as foreign in origin by the retention of the stress on the base, since in native Hebrew words the stress would shift to this suffix.

²⁵ This column shows the number of slang items borrowed from Arabic in relation to the total of slang items in that semantic sphere.

(b) **Root extraction:** Participles (like *meduplam*) and verbs (like *ledakter*) in the list above are not loans in the strict sense of the word. They represent innovative IH elements derived from a loanword by a process of **root extraction**. For example, the PA noun *kēf* in one of its meanings was borrowed as IH *kef* ‘fun,’ from which a new root *k.y.f* was extracted. This soon developed paradigms in several *binyanim* (verbal patterns) of denominal verbs, like *lekayef* ‘to have fun’²⁶ and *mitkayef li* ‘I feel like.’ The new verbs then developed deverbal nouns, such as *kiyuf-im* ‘fun sessions,’ *kayfan* ‘one who has fun.’

Another example is the PA suffixed noun *ṣāḥb-ak* ‘your friend,’ loaned as an indivisible unit *sāḥbak* in IH. It developed a semantic negative connotation of exhibited friendliness, neither sincere nor appropriate, and connotations of instrumental ‘friendliness’ for personal profit, especially hanging around with people of a higher social status. The derived adjective *sāḥbaki* ‘so-called-friendly’ and *sāḥbakiyá* ‘so-called-friendly atmosphere’ are usually negative in emotionality, as is the quadriliteral root *s.ḥ.b.k*, yielding the new verb *lehistaḥbek* ‘to exhibit friendliness,’ usually in an inappropriate manner across social borders.

(c) **Morphological loans:** Rather less common than morphological derivations stemming from loaned lexemes is the phenomenon of **morphological loans**, whereby a morphological pattern enters in one or several loanwords and then becomes productive so that native roots can be construed with it. A prominent example is the Arabic *mafʿūl* passive participle pattern. It entered IH via PA lexemes, mostly negative in emotionality, including *maṣṭūl* ‘doped,’ *malʿūn* ‘cursed,’ *majnūn* ‘demonized,’ *manḥūs* ‘jinxed, ill-tempered,’ *maḥrūb* ‘beaten’ and many more. Consequently, the pattern has become productive in native IH roots: *magnúv* ‘terrific’ (<IH *g.n.v* ‘steal’, lit. ‘stolen’); *magʿúl* ‘revolting’ (IH *g.ʿ.l*); *masrúḥ* ‘wretched’ (IH *s.r.ḥ*) ‘stink.’ In some cases, as with curses (see above), the basic negative emotionality of the semantic denotation is used for a superlative, positive pragmatic effect.²⁷

Another PA pattern that has entered IH slang lexicon with a relatively large number of lexemes is *fāʿla*, with a distinctively non-Hebrew stress. This pattern, originally denoting a single occurrence of an event in Arabic, is borrowed into IH slang with a preponderance of negative emotionality: *sāṭla* ‘a state of being doped,’ *fāšla* ‘a failure,’ *bāṭla* ‘a state of idleness,’ *šāḥṭa* ‘a suck of the nargilla,’ *bāʿsa-bāʿsa* ‘a disappointment,’ *abu nāṣḥa* ‘a stuck up person.’ Only *nāgla* ‘a load’ and *dāḥka* ‘a laugh, practical joke’ are not inherently negative. Although I

²⁶ Note the breach of Hebrew phonological rules, whereby postvocalic *k* should spirantize to *x*.

²⁷ The singer Margalit Sanʿani starts every performance by presenting a choice to the audience: ‘Do you want a cultural performance or a *malʿūn*-one?’ Apparently, they always respond: ‘The *malʿūn*.’

have not yet come across Hebrew roots in this pattern, I consider it a morphological loan in potential.

Suffixes loaned from other languages include *-niq*, *-íst*, *-čiq*, *-iko*, *-le*, *-lóg(ya)* and the aforementioned Arabic *-iyya*. The PA attributive or *nisba*-adj. suffix *-āwi*, for relating a person to a place, is distinctly foreign due to the phoneme /w/ and non-native stress: *He(y)fāwi* ‘Haifa-man,’ *naḥlāwi* ‘*Nachal*-man.’²⁸ Retention of the stress on the stem in inflection with the IH suffix allomorphs *-t*, *-m*, *-yot* betrays foreign origin (in this case of the suffix but more frequently of the stem). As in native Hebrew words, the stress moves to the suffixes. An unstressed *-i* *nisba*-suffix in colloquial IH, possibly also of Arabic origin, is consistently stressed in official pronunciation: *yardení* ‘Jordanian’ vs. *yardéni* in the colloquial.

2.1.3 Loan translations

Loan translations from Arabic include *axál-ota* lit. ‘he ate it_{fm}’ meaning ‘he got done,’ and ‘*al ha-bóqer*’ ‘first thing in the morning’ (Geva-Kleinberger 2006: 463). The former has been attributed to Judeo-Arabic (Rosenthal 2010) to which we come next, but it is important to remember that tracing a dialectal source for loans from Arabic (and in general in a context of multiple contact) is obviously difficult in the case of loan translations, where the original pronunciation cannot be accessed.

3. Judeo-Arabic²⁹

Until the 1970s, the Judeo-Arabic of Jewish immigrants from Arabic-speaking lands exerted next to no influence on General IH. In the general ‘melting-pot’ atmosphere of the new state, the Jewish languages of the immigrants were repressed, at least in public use. The ideal to strive for was IH monolingualism. Children were ashamed of their parents’ ethnolects and Judeo-Arabic dialects were no exception.

The *maghrabi* dialects of Judeo-Arabic arrived relatively late on the scene, with

²⁸ *Náḥal* is the acronym for *nó‘ar ḥaluci loḥem* ‘fighting pioneering youth.’ This major army division continues, in some respects, the earlier Palmach orientation towards the kibbutzim.

²⁹ This section draws upon Ben-Rafael 1982: 100 ff.; Henshke 2007; Rosenthal 2006, 2007, 2009, 2010; Spolsky and Shohamy 1999: 19; 40 ff.; Suleiman 2004: 153 ff.; Westermarck 1968. On the local Jerusalem Judeo-Arabic dialect and its gradual decline in favor of IH, see Piamanta 1992.

two large immigration waves from North Africa between 1948 and 1955. The mass Jewish immigration was over by that time, and Israel had emerged as a western-oriented community with a majority and dominant culture of Ashkenazis. The newly arrived *maghrabis*, especially the Moroccans, the largest *'edá* (community/group of single origin) in Israel were relegated to the geographical, economical, and social peripheries where, caught in a vicious circle, they remained for decades.

In contrast with the other Judeo-Arabic speakers, the North African immigrants' linguistic repertoire included French. This was the 'prestigious language of the underprivileged,' whereas Judeo-Arabic was the 'non-prestigious language of the underprivileged,' correlating negatively with socioeconomic status and education (Ben-Rafael 1994: 123), much as Yiddish was the 'non-prestigious language of the privileged.' Families who dropped Judeo-Arabic often retained their community 'culture' language of French. In some cases, a differentiation was observed with French for compliments and positive discourse and Judeo-Arabic for criticizing or swearing. Thus, insofar as it was retained at all, Judeo-Arabic was restricted to subversive, ethnic use as an anti-language to the hegemony of Ashkenazi IH.

The political upheaval of 1977 brought to power the right wing, supported by the Oriental Jews, most prominently of the large North African branch. They brought about an increased ethno-cultural awareness of the *mizrahi* Oriental communities. Customs such as visiting tombs, the *henna*-celebration preceding a wedding, and the *mimúna* celebrations following the Passover week with its traditional blessing *tis'du wtirbhu* 'May you be happy and profit,' spread to the general public, along with traditional North African Jewish foods and their names, such as *kúskus* and *mufléta*. Slang items emerged in the general colloquial registers, such as *hivriz* [*hevriz*] or *sam la bérez* 'he stood her up,' stemming from Moroccan *brez* 'he ran away'.³⁰

Endearing expressions were prevalent in the speech of the North African communities. Hebrew *kapará* 'expiatory sacrifice' in Judeo-*maghrabi* dialectal realizations, such as *kappára~kabbára~kpára*, merged in endearing phrases like *nimši kappára* '*alik* 'I'll be (lit. 'go as') an expiatory sacrifice for you.' In Israel today, it is more common in a shortened Hebraized form *kapára* ('*alexa*) as an endearing phrase, meaning 'you are cute or smart' (Henshke 2007: 263) or 'dear to me.' Finally, *kapára* is common today as an endearing vocative 'my dear,' from which diminutive feminine forms are derived: *kaparóna*, *kaparónet*, and *kaparit*

³⁰ By chance, the root exists independently in the Hebrew noun *bérez* 'tap, faucet.' The slang verbs *hivriz* and *sam la bérez* 'he put a *bérez* for her' are probably reinterpreted in accordance with this sense as a denominative verb from *bérez* and a periphrastic formulation 'he put a tap in her way.' In both cases, the metaphorical link in this folk etymology is evidently 'he made her plans leak' or 'he washed away her plans.'

(Rosenthal 2006: 182; 2007: 16; 2009: 457). Another endearing blessing formula that seems to have entered general IH through Judeo-Arabic is *xámsa 'alik* 'May you be blessed with the *Khamsa*-amulet,' although the open palm-amulet, as an ancient cultural concept, is common to Islamic, Jewish, and Christian folk religion in the Islamic lands, known as the Hand of Faṭma, of Miryam, and of Mary, respectively. A derived form *xamsíka* (with the Ladino diminutive fm. suffix) denotes both a small amulet and the blessing (Rosenthal 2006: 140).

Moroccan-Jewish lexicon is used pejoratively by the non-Moroccan groups in Israel to denote the Moroccan in a stereotypical, negative fashion. So, for example, the Moroccan personal name *Frēḥa*, a diminutive form of the noun *fārḥa* 'happiness,' has merged with *frēxa*, the diminutive form of the noun *fārxa* 'young chick.' In IH, it serves as a stereotypical generic term for a girl, implying both Oriental origin and loose moral standards. Its masculine counterpart is *čáxčax*, an onomatopoeic creation imitating Judeo-Moroccan, as it sounds to Ashkenazi ears, and highlighting the general merge of sifflant phonemes (*s, š, z, ž, ċ*) in *maghrabi* dialects, again as perceived by *ashkenazi* speakers. Less common in General IH, but well-known within the *maghrabi* community, is the slander term *šlox* 'a shabby person' (Geva-Kleinberger 2006: 463). The large Berber tribe *Šlōḥ*, living in the rural Atlas mountains and speaking one of the major Berber dialects *šelḥa-tašlḥit*, was apparently perceived as 'backward' by urban Moroccan Jews. This contempt, which seems to have been mutual in Morocco (Westermarck 1968 Pt. 1: 4 ff.) was carried over into the Israeli context.³¹

All these terms are extremely offensive. One case, for instance, is when a well-known singer of Moroccan origin addressed the audience (likewise of Moroccan origin) in a *bar mitzvá* party as *šlōxim*, resulting in legal procedures in 2009–2010.

This independent source of Arabic in IH merged to a certain extent with the PA source, although the *maghrabi* dialects as such were barely comprehensible to speakers of Eastern Arabic varieties, such as PA. Linguistic items or phenomena that were common to both of the Arabic varieties have merged in IH and are now hard to distinguish. A prominent example is the grammatical cultural category of **reversed kin terms**, whereby offspring are addressed by the respective terms they normally address their parents. In other words, offspring and parents address each other reciprocally using the exact same terms (Henkin 2010: Ch. 10). Examples of such bi-polar terms in IH include *mámi* 'mum' and *abúya* 'my father' (Rosenthal 2006), also calqued to Hebrew as *ába-le*³². PA equivalents include *yāḥa* and *yāḥūy*

³¹ Rosenthal (2006: 372) derives *šlox* and its derivatives, the adjective *šlōxi* 'sloppy' and the abstract noun *šlōxiyut* 'sloppiness' from Yiddish שליץ 'sloppy' (Jewish American *shlok*). It thus seems to be a case of multiple origin.

³² Note the Yiddish diminutive suffix *-le*, demonstrating the hybrid nature of such calques. *ábale* 'dad' is now used as a somewhat condescending, patronizing vocative among adults, in a pseudo-endearing pragmatic connotation.

‘dad,’ *yumma* ‘mum’ among many other bipolar kin terms such as ‘grandpa, grandma, uncle, auntie’ which are not in common use in IH. Apparently these were not used in Moroccan Judeo-Arabic, the source of this category in IH.

Part 2: IH Influence on PA

IH influence on PA may be explained by the same historical circumstances that underlay PA influence on IH. However, the two directions of influence are diametrically opposed in motivation. In describing the impact of IH on PA, I shall focus mainly on Negev Arabic (NA) as the source of my recorded and observed data (Henkin 1995; 1997; 2009; 2010; 2011), but I will supplement it with research data from other areas in Israel (Amara 1999; 1999a; 2006; Ben-Rafael 1994; Koplewitz 1992; Suleiman 2004).

4. Chronology of the contact

As noted in sect. 1, local Arabic was the regional lingua franca in late Ottoman Palestine, whereas Hebrew was an internal Jewish lingua franca for minority groups of Jews from diverse communities in Palestine and in the diaspora.

Relations between Jewish settlers and the Bedouin were relatively positive in the Negev, in comparison with ‘the north.’ In fact, some of the Bedouin sheikhs appreciated the possibility of cooperation in improving irrigation and even considered the Jewish newcomers as potential allies against the Ottoman regime. Consequently, trade and land transactions proceeded relatively easily. Each Jewish settlement nominated a *muxtār*, who in everyday life could well be the field watchman and whose task was to construct and maintain relations with the neighboring Bedouin sheikhs. He had to be fluent in Arabic and well versed in the local culture.³³

Under the British Mandate in the 1920s, English became the main official and administrative language. Its impact was limited to certain ‘manly’ semantic spheres such as military, transport, and sport. Some of these areal loans are now obsolete or rare in NA. Others have survived, especially in the speech of the elderly, e.g. *kamānkar* pl. *kamākir* (<command car); *tandar* pl. *tanādir* (<tender) ‘pickup truck;’ *sfalt* (<asphalt) ‘road;’ *brojuktur* (<projector) ‘flashlight.’ Others are in general use, e.g. *bāṣ* (<bus); *jīb* (<jeep). Some of these early loans are also still evident in the

³³ The Palmach *čizbat* tradition includes a visit by a palmachnik to ‘his Bedouin friends,’ namely the prominent chief of the Huzayyil tribe in the Negev (Oring 1981: 76).

Arabic dialects of the area, including Egyptian and Jordanian (Suleiman 1985 10.4), as well as Israeli Hebrew.

Following the 1948 upheaval, the Negev Bedouin population declined by some 80%. Most of the remaining tribes were relocated in a small area under the Military Administration and exposure to IH was limited to the leaders and laborers.

When the Military Administration was lifted in 1966, the Negev Bedouin could travel freely throughout Israel and work in the north, in the Hebrew-speaking sector. This increased the contact of working men. Women were not exposed to IH until much later. All state institutions, including administration, health, insurance and education, are now run in IH, which is also the language of modernization and western 'progress' for the Arab minority. Although Arabic is an official language, Hebrew is definitely the dominant or 'preferred language' or 'language of the country.' It is taught formally as a compulsory subject in all Arab schools from 3rd grade, or from 2nd grade in some northern schools (Amara 2006: 464). Some schools in the Negev even in the first grade give an hour a week of Hebrew. In high school, more hours are dedicated to Hebrew language and literature than to Arabic language and literature (Suleiman 2004: 150 ff.). Informally, it is learned as the functional language of progress and modernity. As is well known, contemporary IH is characterized by a strong influx of American English (contrasting with the British English of the pre-State period). Some of this influx is also imported into NA, mediated through IH (Amara 1995; 1999; 199a; Rosenhouse 2008).

5. Sociolinguistic aspects of the contact

The most relevant demographic and sociolinguistic factors for the diffusion of IH in Arab locations throughout Israel has been shown to be **contact** with IH speakers and the closely related factor of **education** (in the predominantly Hebrew-speaking institutes of higher education). **Age** and **gender** are independent but intertwined factors. Contact is maximal in urban settings, lesser in the peripheral Galilean villages and the Negev, while the central Triangle rural area is in an intermediate position of contact. Contact is also maximal for Druze males, for whom military service is compulsory. Christians are more exposed to IH than the Bedouins, except for those who serve in the army (Amara 1999: 17; 210). Adult males use IH much more than females, as do young adults generally more than the older generation. My recordings show that Negev students use many IH items in their spontaneous speech, be it monologue, dialogue, or group discourse. These can be sorted to loans and codeswitching [see below]. The main point here is that, quantitatively, the discourse of today's students is much more sprinkled with IH than that of their parents.

In the Negev, literacy developed later, especially so for women. Direct contact with the external society has also been limited for women. It follows that a large body of illiterate Negev women do not speak Hebrew. Moreover, access to the media was relatively late to affect the Negev. To this day only 50% of the households have electricity and running water. For the other half, TV is limited in hours to the capacity of the generator. Moreover, while children of educated young parents in other areas watch cartoons on TV in Hebrew (Amara), Negev children mainly have access to Arab TV channels.³⁴

Register factors pertaining to the use of IH, as studied in the Triangle, include formality. **Casual** speech is relatively rich in IH influence, whereas both **formal** and **intimate** styles are less influenced (Amara 1999: 90 ff.; Ch. 10; Ch. 14; Amara 1999a). This seems to be true for the Negev.

Openness of PA with regard to foreign influence is also related to the salient **diglossia** in Arabic (Ferguson 1959; Katriel and Greifat 1988: 310). In a diglossic situation, two codes share complementary functional distribution in a speech community: H(igh) for literary and elevated registers and L(ow) for everyday colloquial. Fear of foreign influence on the highly revered Arabic language is reduced in view of the separation of L (low local dialects) and H (high Standard or Literary Arabic). H alone is considered 'Arabic;' PA, as a variety of L, can afford flexibility, in the purist view, in absorption of foreignisms as this 'contamination' is not likely to spread to H.

Convergence to IH is blocked by two sets of factors. On one hand, convergence is constrained by the asymmetric relations between Jews and Arabs in Israel, declared a Jewish state, as well as segregation and 'dominant group impenetrability' (Amara 1991: 85; 1991a: 466; 2006). On the other hand, **ethnic**, **nationalistic**, and **religious** sentiments within the Arab community act as barriers to convergence, as does the well-known reverence which the Arabic language enjoys among its speakers as language of the Qoran. All these are inductive to **language loyalty**, **language purism**, and **negative convergence** to the dominant culture (Amara 1999: 210; Ben-Rafael 1994: 176; Katriel and Greifat 1988: 308 ff.). A general policy prevails of **linguistic integration** rather than **linguistic assimilation** (Amara 2006: 466). In particular, orthodox Muslims refrain from using IH, as do supporters of strong nationalistic ideals, regardless of education and contact. As religion and nationalism are strongest in towns, it is there that the paradox and tensions are greatest with regard to IH, as the language of modernity, education, and social mobility on the one hand and conceived locus of danger to Arabic on the other.

³⁴ In an informal survey among my students, I found that only the children of one relative, whose wife is of Russian Jewish origin, were exposed to Hebrew-speaking channels.

6. Impact processes

Due to the reversal of the demographic and political situation in the State of Israel, whereby Arabic became a minority language and Hebrew became the official language of the state and its administration as well as the majority language, obviously the impact of Hebrew on PA is far greater than the reverse. Moreover, the impact routes differ. For one thing, until recently, there was no Academy of the Arabic Language in Israel to control borrowing³⁵ so a route of planned coining did not emerge. In addition, the fact that IH did not develop regional dialects simplified borrowing from it.

6.1 Borrowing

As is generally the case in language contact, the most productive category for loans is nouns. The following semantic categories are rich in loans from IH, listed here in their IH form, as the Arabic forms vary slightly according to dialect:³⁶

- a) **Institutions:** *qūpat-ḥolim* ‘clinic’ (lit. ‘sick fund’); *ṭīpat-ḥalav* ‘infant care’ (lit. ‘drop of milk’); *mas-haxnasá* ‘income tax’; *biṭṭúah (leumi)* ‘social security.’³⁷
- b) **Education** *bagrut* ‘matriculation finals’ (lit. ‘adulthood’); *te‘udá* ‘certificate;’ *véteq* ‘seniority;’ *mashul* ‘track;’ *tó‘ar rišon* ‘BA’ (lit. ‘1st degree’).
- c) **Transport:** *sóler* ‘solar;’ *taḥanat déleq* or *benzin* ‘gas station;’ *ramzor* ‘traffic lights;’ *maḥzir ‘or* ‘light reflector.’
- d) **Hi-tech and entertainment:** *maḥšev* ‘computer;’ *šalaṭ* ‘remote control;’ *zīquqim* ‘fireworks.’
- e) **Foods** *šaménet* ‘cream;’ *laḥmaniyot* ‘bread rolls;’ *glída* ‘ice cream;’ *šnícel* ‘schnitzel;’ *naqniqiyot* ‘sausages.’

Most of these have Arabic equivalents in the Arab world. Amara (1999 Appendix IV) lists many lexical variants in a divided village, the western part of which is in Israel, the eastern part outside the borders. Many of the variants involve loans from

³⁵ An Academy of the Arabic Language was established in Haifa in 2007. One of its explicit goals is to fill lexical gaps in Standard Arabic in Israel. It does not deal with the dialects.

³⁶ The main common adaptations are the following: IH *p* > NA *b* or *f*; IH *v* > NA *f* or *b*; IH *t*, *ḥ*, and ‘ may be retained or turn to *t*, *x*, and ‘ respectively (as pronounced in General Israeli Hebrew); IH *q* > NA *k* (as pronounced in IH); IH stressed vowel becomes a long vowel; IH *e* > NA *i*; IH *o* > NA *u*.

³⁷ This includes acronyms such as *matnas* [*merkaz tarbut nó‘ar usport*] ‘youth center;’ *má‘am* [*mas ‘érex musaf*] ‘added value tax.’

Hebrew in the western side, such as *dūd šēmiš* (<Hb *dud šémeš* ‘sun boiler’) vs. *saxxān* ‘heater’ in the east for a solar heater. In terms of semantic domains, Amara (ibid Ch. 10) shows the increase in loans from Hebrew in Israeli Arabic in modern, high-contact domains in relation to more traditional domains, such as kin. He lists foods under the more traditional domains, but lately Hebrew food names have become pervasive.

6.2 Semantic narrowing

In the gradual process of borrowing, monolinguals acquire a foreign item that is in frequent use by bilinguals. Although the bilinguals may know its original full meaning, monolinguals may well perceive only a limited semantic range, that in which the item occurs most frequently in the borrowing language. The new borrowed meaning may thus become narrowed in relation to the original meaning. For example, *šāxūr* (<Hb. *šaḥor* ‘black’), semantically narrowed to denote ‘black bread,’ is used by old women and schoolchildren to denote the western style loaf of bread as opposed to the traditional Bedouin pitta-bread.

Tēba’~Tēba’ (<Hb *ṭēva’* ‘nature’), as an abbreviation of *rašut šmurot ha-ṭēva’* ‘Israel Nature and Parks Authority,’ came to denote any representative of the authorities who harassed the Bedouin shepherds, almost synonymous with *bōlīs* (< ‘police(man).’ Although the conflicts between shepherds and authorities are as common as ever outside the towns, in the so called ‘Bedouin Diaspora,’ many of today’s young generation are not familiar with the term. In the following dialogue, an old woman (A) in the unrecognized village Bīr Haddāj tells a young female student (J) of the old days, presumably in the early 1960s, when girls were free to roam the desert with their sheep:

[3] A: *waḷḷah uḥayāh ikwayysih ma’na awwal xalāš, wibna’ a f-āl-xāla, lā Tēba’ wāla ḥājih wāla miḥtājih, ‘a-kēfna ibna’ a, wēn-ma ra’ēna binḥuṭṭ...*

J: *ēš ibtuḡsdiy ya’niy b-at-Tēba’?*

A: *mā biyrudd ma’na, binḥall ‘a-ḥurriyyih, ḥurriyyitna awwal ‘a-ḥurriyyitna.*

A: By God, life was really good for us back then, we would take the sheep out in the wilderness, there was no *Tēba’*, we needed nothing [from them], we’d pasture wherever we wanted, wherever we pastured we could camp...

J: What do you mean by *Tēba’*?

A: He would not talk to us, we remained totally free, back then, we were free.

As elsewhere, firm names and brand names of both Hebrew and English origin came to denote products. For instance, the detergent brand *āma* was the only liquid detergent in the 1960s. Today it is hard to find, yet *āma* still denotes, for elderly

Negev women, any liquid dishwashing detergent. Similarly *sirf* (<Surf) denotes any laundry detergent powder; *ṭaṭli* (<Tetley) ‘jam’ is masculine in some dialects but feminine in the Galilee, where the -e ending of *ṭaṭle* was reinterpreted as the feminine suffix -e (Elihai); *bambaz* (<Pampers) denotes disposable diapers. The non-local dish of beans and onions *yaxniyyih*, introduced to the Negev by women from Gaza merged with the firm name *Yaxin* (<Hb. ‘he will prepare’) for canned foods.

6.3 Phonological and morphological adaption

Dialectal phonology may well influence loans from IH, rendering them different in different localities. For example, Negev Arabic is characterized by shifts of the unstable glottal stop, including pharyngealizing (‘alif to ‘ayin). This process also affected some loans as used by the elderly: IH *dó’ar*>NA *dū’ar* ‘post’; IH *’ulam*>NA *’ulām* ‘hall’; *masa’it*>*masa’īt* ‘truck,’ but not new loans that are used only by the young, such as *dika’on* ‘depression.’ The loss of the pharyngeal ‘ayin in Ashkenazi Israeli Hebrew may have accelerated this process, as etymological transparency was reduced in the loaning process, causing hypercorrections, such as Hb *meqorot*>*ma’korōt* ‘sources’ as the name of the water supply company.

Another phonological trait typical of Negev Arabic is fluctuation between the sonorants l-m-n-r. This holds true for loans too, so *šikūm*~*šikūn* (<Hb *šikun* ‘living quarters’); *ramzōr*~*ramzōn* (<Hb *ramzor*) ‘traffic lights’; *banzīn*~*banzīm*~*balzīm* (<benzine) ‘gas’; *solar*~*soral* ‘solar fuel’; *jarkan*~*jarkal* pl. *jarākin*~*jarākil* (<Eng jerry can,) in analogy to the semantically related native *jardal* pl. *jarādil* ‘bucket.’ Naturally, the non-etymological variants are typical of the uneducated, who do not have access to the original Hebrew or English lexemes.

As the loan nativizes, foreign morphology is replaced by native counterparts. Plural and feminine morphemes are highly salient in this regard (Amara 2006: 465; Rosenhouse 2008: 156 ff.). Three pluralizing techniques create three plural types, which I shall designate as a-pl; b-pl; c-pl:

- a-pl** The **Hebrew pl. morphemes**, *-īm*, *-ōt* tend to mark foreign status of the lexeme, bilingualism of the speaker, and a codeswitching discourse mode, e.g. *bagrūt* pl. *bagrūyōt* (<Hb *bagrut*) ‘matriculation finals’;
- b-pl** the **Arabic sane fm pl. -āt** is the default for loaned inanimate nouns at the intermediate stage of integration, e.g. *bagrūt* pl. *bagrūtāt*;
- c-pl** **broken plurals** characterize advanced integration and localization, e.g. *bagrūt* pl. *bagārūt*.

Of course the c-pl. option is limited to noun-patterns that admit broken plurals: šēkil pl. šawākil (<IH šēqel) ‘NIS’; kartīs pl. karātīs (<IH kartīs) ‘ticket.’ In some cases, existing irregular patterns are modified in order to enable this pl. strategy. In the foreign form kamānkar (< Eng. command car) the consonant n is deleted (in addition to the consonant d which was deleted already) to enable the plural pattern kamākir.

Some lexemes may pluralize in all three ways, depending on personal and situational factors. The relatively non-integrated a-pls are characteristic of educated bilinguals and higher registers; the more localized b-pls or c-pls are typical of monolingual speakers and low register. So, the educated variant ramzōr (<Hb ramzor) ‘traffic lights’ is pluralized ramzor-īm, while a more localized form is ramzōn pluralized -āt; ramāzīn is typical of monolinguals.

The following loans, of IH (i) and non-Semitic (ii) origin, are all phonologically integrated and may pluralize in all three ways:

(i)	Hb origin	NA sg	a-pl	b-pl	c-pl	gloss
	<i>migraš</i>	<i>migrāš</i>	<i>-ím</i>	<i>-āt</i>	<i>magārīš</i>	‘plot of building land’
	<i>ramzor</i>	<i>ramzōr~n</i>	<i>-ím</i>	<i>-āt</i>	<i>ramāzīn</i>	‘traffic lights’
	<i>maḥsom</i>	<i>maḥsōm</i>	<i>-ím</i>	<i>-āt</i>	<i>maḥāsīm</i>	‘roadblock’
(ii)	<i>čips</i>	<i>šips</i>	<i>-im</i>	<i>-āt</i>	<i>špūs</i>	‘chips’
	<i>ártiq</i>	<i>ártik</i>	<i>-im</i>	<i>-āt</i>	<i>arātik</i>	‘ice lolly’

6.4 Reanalysis

Loans are prone to various types of reanalysis by monolingual speakers. Negev Arabic cases of *backformation* include Hebrew *thuš* ‘salary form,’ re-analyzed as a broken plural, yielding a new singular form *talš* (analogous to *drūs* sg. *dars* ‘lesson’). IH *mexabey* ‘eš ‘firemen’ was reanalyzed as a broken plural pattern *maxābīš*, the sg. of which would be **mixbāš*.

Non-Semitic lexemes of either the British English inventory of the mandate period or from the Standard European stock (Rosenhouse 2008, based on Blau 1981) were particularly prone to processes of reanalysis by illiterate speakers in the past. So the first two syllables of *helikopter* were understood in the Negev as the definite article, and the basic noun re-emerged as *góbtir*, b-pl. *-āt*, c-pl. *gabātir*, similarly, *bōm* from ‘album’ and *iškāh* (<Hb *liškah* ‘agency’); ‘ambulance’ was reanalyzed as *amm baláns* ‘mother of Balans’ and initially denoted any vehicle.

Final short vowels *a, e, i, o* of loans from Hebrew or English may be interpreted as feminine endings and inclined as such. For instance, the IH *qílo* ‘kilo’ > *kēlih* (for both kilogram and kilometer) is construed as feminine construct *kēlit-*. Also the feminine ending *-et* in Hebrew *rakévet* ‘train’ is sometimes interpreted as the construct state and a new independent feminine form *rakēbih* is produced.

6.5 Root extraction

The process of root extraction (see 2.1.2b above) enables derivation of verbs from new roots of foreign origin, mostly denoting spheres of western culture. So the blinking of the *ramzōn* ‘traffic lights’ (<IH *ramzor*) is denoted by the verb *ramzan*; use of the *finkar* ‘winker’ is denoted by the verb *fankar*. Similarly:

IH-origin	NA-loan	gloss	NA Verb	gloss
<i>parsá</i>	<i>paršāh</i>	‘horseshoe, U-turn’	<i>barraṣ</i>	‘make a U-turn’
‘ <i>anivá</i>	‘ <i>anibāh</i>	‘tie’	<i>ta‘annab</i>	‘put on a tie’
<i>qinúah</i>	<i>kinúwwah</i>	‘dessert’	<i>takannah</i>	‘have dessert’

Many of these derived verbs are negative in emotionality, as if criticizing the foreign influence. For instance, from IH *šxuná* ‘neighborhood’ the NA verb *tašáxxan* denotes ‘move into an urban neighborhood,’ with the connotation of betraying the traditional tribal lifestyle and giving up claims for land ownership. Similarly:

IH-origin	NA-loan	gloss	NA Verb	gloss
<i>dika’on</i>	<i>dika’ōn</i>	‘depression’	<i>tadak’an</i>	‘become depressed’
<i>séger</i>	<i>sēgir</i>	‘curfew’	<i>tamasgar</i>	‘got stuck in a curfew’
‘ <i>avaryan</i>	‘ <i>abaryān</i> ~‘ <i>aviryān</i> ~‘ <i>abriyān</i>	‘criminal’	<i>ta‘abran</i>	‘become a criminal’

6.6 Discourse markers

IH discourse markers are a distinctive mark of NA-IH bilinguals, especially those that have no pragmatic equivalent in NA, such as *mamaš* ‘truly;’ *sáx-hakol* ‘merely;’ *az* ‘so then;’ *me‘anyen* ‘interesting;’ *stam* ‘just so;’ *dávqa* Gm. ‘doch;’ *taluy* ‘depends.’ These characterize the speech of the young, even in intimate contexts where Hebrew loanwords do not occur. In the following examples, from the speech of a 23-year old female student, only the discourse markers (in bold) are in Hebrew. [4] and [5] recall painful childhood memories of her father, [6] tells of her frustration as a Bedouin student trying to compete with her Jewish classmates:

- [4] *l-alyōm baḏḏakkarhiy kīf ḏarabnī^h aná wuxtī ḏabaḥna, ya‘niy **mamaš** ḏabaḥna.*
To this day I remember how he beat me and my sister, he ‘murdered’ us, I mean, like he literally ‘murdered’ us.
- [5] *aná ayš d-asawwiyy barra aná? **šax hakōl** aná widdiy amšiy riḥlih widd-anbišī, widdī widd-ašūf ad-dinya.*
What would I do outside [that he should fear]? All I want is just to go on a trip, I want to have fun, I want... I want to see some world.
- [6] *intī^h bass kiḏiyyāntiy ya‘niy gā‘id f-an-nuṣṣ ‘w... **stām** innak btiḥkiy ya‘niy mā fī^h mā fī^h ‘indhum*
You just sit there like that among them and just like that you can speak but you can’t... you can’t compete with them.

IH discourse markers that do have NA equivalents and are nonetheless in common use in their borrowed form in NA include *bixlal* ‘at all’ (NA *b-al-marrah*); *legámriy* ‘totally’ (NA *b-al-marrah*);³⁸ and *ke’ilu-kilu* ‘as if; like’ (NA *ya‘niy*). This frequent particle is common even in monolingual discourse with illiterate old women, as when the 18-year-old female speaker asks an old woman about her marriage:

- [7] *witjawwaztiy b-wafgiyyitkiy **ya‘niy, ki’luw** inhum sa’alōkiy gabal-ma titjawwazay walla kēf?*
And you married willingly, that is, like, they asked you before you got married or what?

In both [4] and [7] the loaned particle is preceded by *ya‘niy* lit. ‘it means,’ which seems to resemble the IH discourse particle *ke’ilu*, in one of its functions – introducing rephrasing (Maschler 2009).

When NA equivalents seem to be available, we look for some functional

³⁸ The fact that *b-al-marrah* translates two apparently contradictory meanings may contribute to its replacement by more transparent and non-ambivalent IH lexemes.

distribution between the native item and the foreign loan to justify the apparent redundancy. The differences may be semantic, syntactic, pragmatic, register-level, discursive, interpersonal, or communicative. One such case studied some 23 years ago (Katriel and Greifat 1988: 308 ff.) is of IH *bséder* ‘okay, fine’ and its relation with the native counterpart *ṭayyib* (NA also *ṭabb*) ‘good, okay, fine,’ a direct etymological and functional reflex of IH *ṭov* ‘good.’ This study notes some syntactic, semantic, functional, and sociopragmatic differentiations. First, three semantic functions of IH *bséder* are isolated (a–c below), and it is claimed that only the first two (a–b) were adopted in PA. I demonstrate all three from my corpus of bureaucratic style in NA, as recorded in 1997 in the municipality of Rahat, the largest Bedouin town in Israel:

(a) **pragmatic particle of agreement** (affirmative or interrogative):

- [8] *az ittšil ‘alay kamān xams dagāyig. bséder?*
So call me in five minutes, okay? (Henkin 1997: 369)

(b) **metacommunicative or interactional facilitator or finalizer**

- [9] *bséder, halhīn binšūf. bséder, bašūf.*
Okay, we’ll check right away. Okay, I’ll check. (ibid: 374)

(c) **as an attribute**

- [10] *la, la, muš za‘alān. ‘Ārif bséder....la, hū neḥmād, ‘Ārif.*
No, no, he’s not angry. ‘Ārif is okay... no, he’s nice, ‘Ārif. (ibid: 379)

It is proposed that *bséder* has been borrowed most prominently in function (a) as a finalizer for changing the subject, hence *ṭayyib, bséder* ‘okay, fine’ but not the other way round.

From my NA data, it also appears that only the native *ṭayyib* or *ṭabb* is used as an argumentative initializer, for opening an argument or a counter-argument. In the discourse previously cited [3], where an old woman recalls her childhood, she says that all her time was spent shepherding. The student argues that it does not sound feasible for a young girl to drive so many sheep to the well:

- [11] A: *ḥayātī ēš, ḥayātī ma‘ āl-ḡanaṃ, uḥayātī ‘bnaṛ’a ma‘... wibnisgiy mn-al-ḥarāb,*
“wēn-ma ra‘ayna ‘bnaṛ’a, hāḡa hī ḥayātna
J: *ukēf ya‘niy? ṭabb al-ḡanaṃ kiṭūriḥ, kēf’btisgūha kullīta ‘-al-ḥarābah?*

A: What was my life? My life was with the sheep, my life was tending... letting them drink from the water holes. We would pasture wherever we could. That was our life.

J: But how? **ṭabb**-the sheep were many. How could you let all of them drink (simultaneously) at the water hole?

This finding is compatible with Katriel and Greifat's pragmatic characterization of the difference between *bséder* and *ṭayyib*, namely that the former serves the interactional ethos of *musāyara* [1.1.2]. It relates to behavior aimed at saving face and maintaining harmonious interpersonal relations, without necessarily conveying any genuine conviction, or internal, subjective, agreement. For this, they maintain, *ṭayyib* is more appropriate. Given this opposition, it is natural that only *ṭayyib* serves argumentation, the direct rhetorical opposite of *musāyara*. Finally, since *musāyara* is a major ethos of Arab culture, fine differentiations in this sphere are welcomed, even if borrowed.

6.7 Codeswitching³⁹

Criteria for distinguishing between borrowing and codeswitching include the following: loans are accessible to all the speakers in the community, including monolingual illiterate adults and children; they are relatively well integrated and often fill a lexical gap, having no equivalent in the borrowing language. In contrast, only bilinguals can exploit the technique of codeswitching. The foreign words they use are often still foreign in their form and syntax and are not accessible to monolinguals, who use the native equivalents.

However, in the frequent case of a single word of one language appearing in the context of another matrix language, it is often extremely difficult to determine whether it is a case of **monolexemic switching** or **nonce borrowing**. The following monologue, typical of Negev Bedouin students, demonstrates this. A female student comments on the traditional system of children staying at home, formerly with their mother, today often with their grandmother, with the modern nursery school/kindergarten option. Five single IH lexemes (in bold and numbered as subscript *i* to *v*) are embedded in the matrix NA:

- [12] *'byit'allag hāḩa 'sbūstīfī f-al-'in... f-al-waḩī' nafsīh. ya'niy yimkin mā bnagdar 'ngīskull n... 'nsawwiy **haxlālāh**_{ii} 'a-kull al-'ašyā'. yimkin māṭalan 'tkūn jiddih alliy ḩiyyih, ḩanūnih wibta'arf kīf tī'āmal ma' al-'wlā... ma' āl-walad. bitkūn ṭaba'an l-āl-walad min nāḩiyih **ḩinūxīt**_{iii} aḩḩal min..., yimkin aḩṭar min al... al-**mitabēlit**_{iv} alliy f-al... f-al-**gān**_v māṭalan.*

³⁹ In this section I rely primarily on Boumans 1998 for a summary of major approaches to codeswitching: **linear** vs. **structural**, the latter including **governing** and **insertional** or **embedding** approaches, such as the Matrix Language approach (Boumans 1998 Ch. 1). Other sources include Henkin 1995; 1998 (and sources cited there) and Wernberg-Møller 1999.

It depends **specifically** on the pers... the circumstances themselves. I mean we probably can't measure all... make a **generalization** on everything. Maybe for instance there's a grandma who is gentle and knows how to deal with the childr... with the child. That of course is better, from the **educational** angle, better than.. maybe better than... the **caretaker** who is in the **kindergarten**.

The last two items, iv (<Hb meṭapélet) and v (<Hb gan), seem to be indisputable loans. Although they have NA equivalents, *mṛabbyih* and *bustān* respectively, the Hebrew forms are pervasive. They are familiar to most monolingual NA speakers and are phonologically quite well integrated (Hb stressed vowels > long vowels; Hb *e* > *i*; Hb *p* > *b*). Typically, these nouns take the NA article *al-*.

The other three cases are likewise quite integrated phonologically, but they belong to an educated register, familiar only to bilinguals, therefore I do not consider them loans. In *'sbītsīfi*, (<Hb *specīfit*) the regular Hb adverbial ending *-(i)t* seems to have been replaced with the dialectal Arabic adjectival/adverbial *-i*; in *iii* the Hebrew fm. adjective is used with the noun, which is feminine in both Arabic and Hebrew. The Standard Arabic equivalent of *i*, a periphrastic expression *b-šakl fardi* 'in an individual manner,' is apparently less accessible than the Hebrew lexeme. The same seems to be true of the other two.

Since verbs are hard to borrow and root extraction is a gradual process, Hebrew verbs are often spontaneously integrated in NA discourse in their original form. These IH verbs may interchange with new NA verbs, coined with extracted roots from IH. In the following sentence, IH *hidpīs* 'print' alternates with the innovation *dābbas* that originated from it:

- [13] *tadpīs lhum walla dabbāst?*
'print for them, or have you already printed?'

Hebrew future forms are morphologically (though not necessarily semantically) equivalent to Arabic imperfect forms. As such, they readily adopt the NA indicative morpheme *b-*, which is easily prefixed to the imperfect from without necessitating any morphological change. The result is **mixed morphology** (Henkin 1995) in **hybrid forms**:

- [14] *humma b-yaškr'u fi baṛāmij gēr mufīdih* (<IH *yašqī'u* 'they will invest')
They invest in non-worthwhile plans

In the case of the first person singular, the normative Hebrew future inflection is obscure, even to native speakers. In colloquial IH it often merges with the third person msc. sg., which has several vocalic allomorphs (*a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*) of the prefix, depending on the verb pattern. In order of frequency (in my assessment), these are

the types:

<i>hu~ani (y)id'ag</i>	'he~I will worry'
<i>hu~ani (y)exabed~(y)ekabed</i>	'he~I will respect'
<i>hu~ani (y)a'azor</i>	'he~I will help'
<i>hu~ani (y)ovil</i>	'he~I will lead'
<i>hu~ani (y)uxal</i>	'he~I will be able to'

In the NA hybrid forms of my 1995 corpus, the 1st person prefix vowel is always /a/, as in Arabic:

- [15] *b-ad'āg* 'lkuw la-sayyārah, la-kull šī
I will get a car for you, I'll take care of everything

- [16] *b-akabéd oto*
I respect him

- [17] *w-ana b-ajjy ub-a'azōr* 'lkiy
and I will come and help you

Often the immediate post-verbal complement in the verbal phrase is also in Hebrew. This is unavoidable in [16], as NA does not have an equivalent independent direct object morpheme parallel to Hebrew *et*, inflected here as *oto* 'him' (3rd. msc. sg. object);⁴⁰ and the NA suffixed object pronoun is not used in codeswitching **b-akabéd-ih~b-akabd-ih*. Hebrew direct complements are also frequent in other cases, although pronominal complements are usually in NA, as in [15] and [17].

Deep, intensive, or intrasentential codeswitching penetrates the clause and is constrained, in the linear view, by the syntactic systems of two languages. In the insertional view the matrix language supplies the grammar, but it is not always easy to determine the matrix language. It is thus more challenging for the analyst, but also for the speakers — only proficient bilinguals can engage smoothly in this complicated pattern. The following example shows intensive switching in a dialogue between two truck drivers (IH is in bold):

- [18] A1: *ma karā?* bitza' 'ig 'ala ēš?
B2: *ya zalámah, al-misrād* widdih *a'amīs* naglat asfalt min Patīš.
A3: *nū, wēš al-ba'ayā?*
B4: *al-ba'ayā* widdih afaḥḥiy fī Dimōna, *ve-ata yodēa'* innih kull *šotēr yaxōl*

⁴⁰ The etymological parallel, namely the independent direct object morpheme *īyyā-*, inflected with bound pronominal suffixes, is used only for second objects, e.g. *jibt lak īyyā-ha* 'I brought her to you' (lit. 'I brought to you her').

*yimsiknī uynazzilnī.*⁴¹

A5: *az tagīd lahem et ze.*

B6: *amārti lahem aval muš mwāfgīn.*

A1: **What's happened?** What are you yelling about?

B2: Man, the **office** wants me to **load** a load of asphalt from Patish.⁴²

A3: **Okay**, so what's the **problem**?

B4: The **problem** is I have to empty in Dimona, **and you know that** every **policeman** **can** catch hold of me and take me off the road.

A5: **So tell them that.**

B6: I **told them but** they do not agree.

The alternation is not altogether random. Both the extracts cited above, [12] and [18], show the communicative phenomenon of **metaphorical switching** (Boumans 1998: 10), typical of casual and spontaneous discourse. To a certain extent, each of the two codes is allocated a social function that is metaphorically associated with a language and society, as opposed to the other one:

- (i) L1, the internal 'we-code,' tends to encode content that is relatively intimate, subjective, and emotional. It is the general matrix of [12], the topic of which is the grandmother as caretaker, a very domestic topic. In [18] we see it in vocatives (*ya zalamah* (B2), in 1st and 2nd person *bitza* 'ig 'ala ēš? (A1).
- (ii) L2, the majority 'they-code,' is used reversely for more objective, authoritative, professional, western high status content. In [12] it is clearly seen in monolexemic switches for professional or 'educated' terms that do not exist in NA and are either borrowed or switched: 'specifically,' 'generalization,' 'educational,' 'nursery school teacher,' 'kindergarten.'

Codeswitching, in particular of the **intensive pattern**, is the regular, preferred, default mode of discourse among young adults in the Bedouin Negev today. This is typical in societies of bilingual minority communities, where the home language is of lesser social status with regard to the dominant majority. The dual code, as practiced in codeswitching in particular, and bilingualism in general, reflects the double identities of the speakers. The accumulated assets of additive bilingualism

⁴¹ The **equivalence constraint** (Poplack 1980), which limits codeswitching to boundaries where the languages involved share a common syntax, is violated here, as is frequently the case in deep, intrasentential codeswitching between NA and IH (Henkin 1997 sect. 8). Here the Hb verb or participle *yaxol* 'can' takes an infinitive in Hebrew, e.g. *yaxol lixtov* 'can write.' But Arabic does not have infinitives, and complements the verb 'can' with the future or imperfect tense. The free morpheme constraint is violated even more often in switching between NA and IH, rendering the linear approach problematic.

⁴² Patish is the name of a *mošav* (cooperative settlement) in the western Negev. Dimona is a town south of Beer-Sheva.

perform an upgrading of the group (Ben-Rafael 1994: 210). It balances two social imperatives: the outgroup majority language, IH in this case, displays education, while the ingroup minority language, NA in this case, displays ethnic solidarity.

In an ingroup context, codeswitching displaying linguistic competence, social mobility, 'language display... identity negotiation whereby the speaker seeks symbolically to ascribe to the self some of the attributes associated with a more prestigious group' (Suleiman 2004: 30).

In an outgroup context, vis-à-vis the IH-speaking majority, codeswitching serves to determine social borders and express the minority's feelings of ethnic pride and superiority reflecting the subjective idea that, "We can infiltrate your borders because we speak your language, whereas you cannot infiltrate ours." The availability of choice to codeswitch or not is in itself associated with a feeling of national identity and ethnic pride.

Moreover, codeswitching has been attributed with political significance as an expression of subversion. In sociolinguistic terms, French-Arabic codeswitching in North Africa has been described as a means for establishing social status but also as a means for women to liberate themselves linguistically from the male-dominated Arabic-speaking society (Suleiman 2004: 34).

In the Negev, students of both genders codeswitch a lot, but women less than men, especially at home. This does not necessarily mean they are not striving for liberation. Their social struggle is primarily through education, which allows them to work for their living, to drive, to come home after sunset, and to go around unescorted. The fact that they codeswitch less than men must be related to other factors. For instance, perhaps this could be due to their greater need to accommodate to the domestic household in general, in particular to the monolingual illiterate women and children. The men, in contrast, spend much time in the men's guest room, where all speakers are bilingual.

6.8 Loan translations

In addition to the large portion of overt IH in the discourse of the Negev Bedouin adults, in both direct borrowing and codeswitching there is much IH camouflaged as NA. This is the phenomenon known as **semantic borrowing**, **loan translations**, and **calquing**. Amara (2006: 465) notes 'pass the exam,' 'close a deal,' and 'mobilize or rally funds' in PA, calqued on the respective IH expressions rather than Standard Arabic 'succeed in the exam,' 'make a deal,' and 'seek to gain funds' respectively. Random word-for-word translations of IH in commercials heard on *Voice of Israel in Arabic* channel include the following (in brackets I note the date heard, sometimes the time, too; the Hebrew original is noted in the second gloss line):

- [19] *film* *yaxrij* *ila an-nūr*
séret *še-yaca* *la-or*⁴³
 film gone out to the light'
 'a recently produced film' [18.01.10; 7.10 am]
- [20] *hal* *iṣṭadamta bi-ay* *ḡawāhir?*
ha'im *niṭqálta* *be-i-éylu* *tofa'ot?*
 did you 'run into' any phenomena?
- [21] *kamān* *waffarna* *kahraba* *ukamān* *waffarna* *maṣāriy.*
gam *ḡasáxnu* *ḡašmal* *ve-gam* *ḡasáxnu* *késef.*
 also we saved electricity and also we saved money.
- kamān ukamān*
gam ve-gam
 also and also we have saved both electricity and money. Both. [31.12.09]

None of these would be heard on Arabic channels outside Israel, since all are exact word for word replicas of the original Hebrew; [21] is the most deviant in syntactic terms.

7. Bilingual humor⁴⁴

For the past few years a popular local newspaper called *Axbār an-Nagab* 'News of the Negev' has been distributed, free of charge, throughout the Negev. It is written in Standard Arabic, in accordance with norms of journalistic registers in the Arab world. A most prominent and deliberate exception, however, is a light social satire column named *Amm Brayš* 'The Gecko Lizard.' This page-long column, averaging about 15 titled segments (ranging from 3 to 20 lines each), seeks to present a satirical picture of the Negev Bedouin community, as seen through the eyes of the young generation. Excessive Hebraization and other exponents of the material and cultural impact of the external dominant culture on the Bedouin society are major topics.

For this purpose, it has molded a distinct new genre of printed NA. Since NA is basically a non-written dialect with no fixed orthographic norms, the column writers had to standardize a writing system for the dialect, including its large Hebrew component, in the form of loans, calques, and switches. The following example was copied in its original form. Hebrew elements are in bold and a

⁴³ The IH verbal phrase *yaca la-or*, lit. 'exited (in)to the light', is used primarily for publication of a book or the truth in a trial.

⁴⁴ In this section I rely on Henkin 2009 and 2011.

vocalized transliteration is provided:

- [22] هكول مستبيخ، المنهيل محليط في كل شي، ورئيس المجلس هو البلايات على كل حاجة
ha-kōl mistabēx_i, al-menahēl **maḥ'liṭ_{ii}** fī kull šiy. w-ra'īs al-majlis hū al-
balābāyit_{iii} 'ala kull ḥājih

Everything gets complicated_i, the **principal decides_{ii}** in everything. And the mayor is the **boss_{iii}** of everything [Henkin 2011: 81]

In a morpheme count of [22], we see that 6 of the nineteen morphemes, almost a third, are Hebrew. The first item (*i*) is an inter-sentential switch – an entire sentence in Hebrew is inserted in a preceding co-text of Arabic; the switch back to Arabic occurs in (*ii*), an intra-sentential switch; (*iii*) is a mono-lexemic switch, or possibly a loan.

An older humoristic genre that is pervasive among Negev women is the **cognate curse**, including the **bilingual cognate curse** (Henkin 2009). The cognate curse is an old Semitic rhetorical genre, practiced today most intensively by women in the Arab world as the ‘weapon of the weak.’ In a monolingual context it is common for conveying criticism or rejection by means of a witty punning technique that softens the negative emotions. An example from the satirical column ‘The Gecko Lizard’ on the issue of working mothers:

- [23] A young teacher (A) leaves her children with her mother-in-law (B) in the morning. When she inquires about them at the end of the day, the grandmother’s cognate curse response makes it clear that they had managed to get on her nerves (the punning cognate elements in the trigger A and the curse B are in bold):

A: āh, **ya ‘ammih**, kif al-‘yāl?
 B: ‘**āma yi‘mikiy**, **ya ‘ammih**!⁴⁵

A: Well, auntie, how were the kids?
 B: Blindness blind you, auntie! (Henkin 2009 e.g. 3)

A bilingual cognate curse has additional functions. Within the society, a NA pun on a Hebrew trigger may be used to criticize excessive Hebraizing, especially as characterizing the young, educated generation when perceived by others as snobbism. The following incident, in a Negev school staff room, shows the negative emotionality that the use of undiluted Hebrew can evoke in an

⁴⁵ In accordance with the reversed kinship terms prevalent in NA (Henkin 2010 Ch. 10), a mother-in-law and daughter-in-law address each other mutually as ‘*ammih*’ ‘paternal aunt.’ B continues more explicitly: “you should educate your own children first before going on to educate others.”

environment where codeswitching is the unmarked norm. A veteran teacher was advising a new colleague on how to survive in the profession. For some reason — maybe an effort to impress — his speech was pure Hebrew and included two items (in bold) which served as triggers for another teacher B to challenge with two cognate curses:

- [24] A: *yašávnū ba-kafetērya... **xašūv** še-tirašēm la-histadrūt ha-morīm*
We sat in the cafeteria... It's important that you register in the Teachers' Union'.
- B: *sirna niḥkiy franjiy ungūl **kafetērya**, Aḷlah **yukfurha** fī wijhak, ubingūl **xašūv**, **txasšib** ragābatak mn-āl-maraḥ inšā-Aḷlāh.*
We have started talking 'foreign' and saying *kafetērya*, God overturn it in your face, and we say *xašūv*, may your neck fossilize from a disease, God willing.
(Henkin 2009 e.g. 8)⁴⁶

In contact with monolingual Hebrew-speakers, the bilingual cognate curse assumes yet another function. Here bilingualism gives the Negev Bedouin a clear linguistic advantage to counteract their normal social disadvantaged position. They can improvise cognate curses freely at the expense of the monolingual Hebrew-speakers. The former can enjoy the pun, whereas the latter cannot retort, as they have no idea what has been said. So, if a college secretary (A) demands documents that a Bedouin potential student (B) would rather not present, saying: *tavi'i ciyuney **bagrut*** 'Bring [your] matriculation grades,' the student may retort: ***yubgur** galbkiy!* 'May He slash your heart!' Or, if (A) declares: *carix mivḥan **saf*** 'An entrance test is compulsory,' B may retort: ***ysiff** ragabatkīy!* 'May He (God) slit your throat!'

(B) need not necessarily be bilingual in order to improvise or enjoy a bilingual cognate curse. Elderly, illiterate women can improvise and enjoy the B-curse without understanding a word from the A-segment. This is often the case in what I call the 'market cognate curse' (Henkin 2009 4.6.3), used by Bedouin women in retort to the Jewish male merchants at the Beer-Sheba market who, trying to attract attention, repeatedly shout out the generic personal name Fāṭmih at Bedouin women:

- [26] A: *bóiy Fatme, yeš li dag tari.*
B: *yduḡg wijhak (gōlt-amḡī)!*
A: Come over here, Fāṭmih, I have fresh fish.
B: May He knock your face in (as my mother would say)!⁴⁷

⁴⁶ When asked about her outburst, B retorted: "What does he think, that we don't understand Hebrew? We speak it better than he does!" Since teachers use pure Hebrew in the presence of schoolchildren, so as not to be understood, she had felt she was being treated like a child.

Interestingly, the ‘bilingual market cognate curse’ was documented, in the reverse direction, in the early contacts between the Ashkenazi Jewish community in Jerusalem of the early mandatory era and the Arab traders. According to Kosover (1966: 140) “*zol šeyn kumen a khal’s af dir*, ‘may disease come upon you,’ is frequently heard in the market place, where female stall-keepers... trade with Arabs, trying to bargain, and shouting “*ḥalaṣ! ḥalaṣ!*” (sic) to settle the final price.”

8. Linguistic landscape⁴⁸

Soon after the establishment of the state, Prime Minister Ben-Gurion nominated a Negev Naming Committee to carry out a systematic policy of renaming Arab locations with Hebrew names, a policy which actually started in 1924. Hundreds of locations were renamed, following two main lines of motivation. First, the government wanted continuity in a direct line from the Ancient Hebrew Kingdom by re-establishing the ancient Hebrew names. Second, the government wanted to signal a break from the urban, exilic culture by giving new rural names from realms of flora, fauna, agriculture.⁴⁹

Some of the new Bedouin towns have official Hebrew or mixed Hebrew-Arabic names, such as Tel šéva‘, Ségev šalom, ‘Ar‘ara ba-Negev;⁵⁰ these, however, are not in use by the local population when speaking Arabic. They prefer the Arabic names Tall ás-saba‘, Šgēb as-salām, and ‘Ar‘ara f-an-Nagab respectively for ingroup discourse.

Streets in the Negev Bedouin town Rahat are unnamed.⁵¹ Neighborhoods are officially designated by a number but most are also known by tribal and family

⁴⁷ The interpolation, explicitly attributing the curse to the speaker’s mother, is evidence to the gender-genre link: cognate curses are inherited from mothers.

⁴⁸ In this section I rely on Amara 1999; Mar’i 2010 Ch. 4; Suleiman 2004: 159 ff.; 183 ff.; 201 ff.; Zivan 2001.

⁴⁹ A study of naming in the settlements in the West Bank and Gaza strip showed, as may be expected, that naming under the Likkud governments tended towards the line of continuity, while Labour governments preferred the line of change.

⁵⁰ ‘Ar‘ara in the Negev is distinguished from the ‘northern’ ‘Ar‘ara in Wādi Āra. Notably, the Hebrew name proposed for the Negev location, ‘Aro‘er, was rejected by the local residents.

⁵¹ In a study of street names in mixed towns and pure Arabic locations (Azaryahu and Kook 2002) an interesting motivation for leaving streets unnamed is stated: the avoidance of conflict between the Jewish authorities and the Arab citizens over issues such as language and ethnic-religious identity and personalities to commemorate.

names. Public signs on schools and health services are bilingual. Ingroup public discourse, such as large municipal placards in the entrance to the town conveying the mayor's greetings to the citizens for the high holidays, and smaller religious blessings throughout the town are in the in-code, Arabic. Business and commercial signs show a marked semantic dichotomy. Arabic is most frequent in domestic domains of food (bakery, restaurants, grocery), bridal dresses, coiffeurs, and 'women's spheres,' while Hebrew is the rule for 'men's spheres,' such as mechanics, electricity, aluminum, wood and metal workshops. This instance of language choice by topic is associated with topic-related metaphorical codeswitching in minority communities [cp. 6.7] where, for example, Moroccan-English bilinguals in Britain have been found to switch to Moroccan Arabic (their 'we-code') for topics such as religion, family, and social life in Morocco, while English, as 'they-code,' is associated with professional topics, among others (Wernberg-Möller 1999: 242 ff.).

9. Summary

Arabic influence on the IH of the monolingual speaking community is restricted. Originally serving symbolic and pragmatic functions focused on 'getting in' and enriching certain colloquial registers, it has steadily sunk to underground registers that need constant renewal.

In contrast, for the PA speaker, IH is crucial for 'stepping out' of the ghetto and rising in social status. The inevitable impact of IH on PA is now so strong that Arabs from Israel cannot filter out Hebrew elements when communicating with Arabs outside Israel. The stable diglossic situation of Arabic and separation of 'high' and 'low' codes allow for this impact on PA without it being perceived as a threat to 'Arabic,' namely Standard Arabic.

Pervasive Hebraization is, however, regarded as a threat to ethnic identity. A delicate balance must therefore be observed between social mobility and language loyalty, and a general policy is observed of linguistic integration rather than linguistic assimilation. This is achieved by a general preference for the codeswitching mode that integrates both codes along with their respective social advantages. Most of the young adults are skilled codeswitchers and know the right proportions of code mixing for diverse contextual circumstances.

Humorous exploitation of IH-PA contact products in both spoken (cognitive curse) and written (satirical) genres are exploited for signaling social norms and boundaries. In the contact context, they convey the message to monolingual IH-speakers that these boundaries are impermeable to them, whereas the bilingual minority has access to the important resource of bilingualism, which permeates the IH speakers' boundaries freely.

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