

**The Impact of Hebrew on Spoken Arabic in the Northern
Areas of the West Bank Palestine: A Case Study of
Palestinian Workers Working in the Occupied
Palestinian Territories in 1948**

أثر اللغة العبرية على اللغة العربية المحكية في مناطق شمال الضفة
الغربية في فلسطين: دراسة حالة لعمال وحرفيي قطاع الإنشاءات العاملين
في مناطق الداخل الفلسطيني المحتل عام 1948

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**A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for
the Master of Arts Degree in English Language and Literature**

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Authorization

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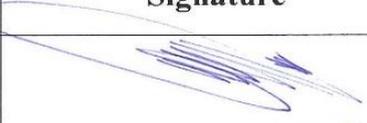
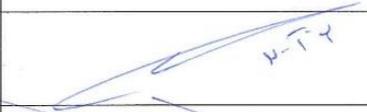
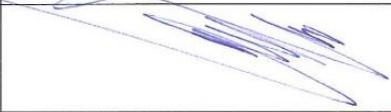


نصفين البزلي

Thesis Committee Decision

This thesis is entitled "*The Impact of Hebrew on Spoken Arabic in the Northern Areas of the West Bank, Palestine: A Case Study of Palestinian Workers Working in the Occupied Palestinian Territories in 194*" was discussed and improved on 20/06/2020. Minor modifications have been done according to the comments provided by the committee members.

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Dedication

I dedicate this work to my father and mother for what they have done to see me here; you were in front of my eyes every single second.

Grandmother Im Jihad, I know you wouldn't read my lines, but I want to tell you I wouldn't be here today without your efforts during my BA. degree for four long years, I love you teta.

Rami my husband and the other half of my soul which is in another body, without you it would not work and I could not be here today.

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The Impact of Hebrew on Spoken Arabic in the Northern of West Bank, Palestine: A Case Study of Palestinian Workers Working in the Occupied Palestinian Territories in 1948

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Abstract

This research aims at investigating the impact of Hebrew on spoken Arabic in the northern West Bank of Palestine, with a focus on Palestinian workers whose daily jobs take them into the Palestinian territories occupied in 1948. The study seeks to examine the reasons behind the replacement of Arabic technical terms with their Hebrew counterparts among these workers and whether this language model is limited to workers themselves or to the community at large. Building on this, the study poses important questions about the possible impact of these coinages on the Arab Palestinian identity. The study is based on a series of semi-structured interviews with 17 Palestinian laborers who work in various manual jobs inside Israel. Results have revealed that the use of Hebrew technical terms is widely spread among Palestinians where this language model is widely spread among Palestinians in the West Bank, with some more prevalence among the construction workers who have access to inside 1948 occupied Palestine.

There are also some words that are commonly used by other West Bankers who do not access 1948 territories, however the study also reveal that the spread of this language model in daily spoken words is limited to some few words that most of them were first known to Palestinians with their Hebrew names.

Keywords: West Bank, Code-Switching, Borrowing, Language Contact, Sociolinguistics

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الفلسطيني المحتل عام 1948

إعداد: نيفين برهان انخيلي

إشراف: أ.د سلام محادين

الملخص

هدفت الدراسة الى معرفة أثر اللغة العبرية على اللغة العربية المحكية في مناطق شمال الضفة الغربية في فلسطين: دراسة حالة لعمال وحرفيي قطاع الإنشاءات العاملين في مناطق الداخل الفلسطيني المحتل عام 1948.

وقد طرحت الدراسة الأسئلة التالية:

1. ما هي أسباب استبدال العديد من الكلمات العربية سواء في السياقات العامة أو في السياقات الفنية بنظرائهم العبرية؟

2. هل يتبنى انتشار هذا النموذج اللغوي داخل الجزء الشمالي من الضفة الغربية من قبل المجتمع ككل أم يقتصر فقط على مجموعة معينة من المجتمع بناءً على تفاعلهم مع الإسرائيليين نتيجة الوصول للعمل في الداخل المحتل؟

3. ما هو الأثر المحتمل لهذا التحول اللغوي على الأجيال القادمة ، وكيف يمكن أن يكون ذلك مرتبطاً بأصالة الهوية العربية الفلسطينية؟ وللإجابة عن أسئلة الدراسة، استخدمت الباحثة أداة واحدة هي المقابلات شبه المنظمة لتحقيق موثوقية الأداة. وكانت العينة التي تمت دراستها في المقابلات تتألف من 17 فلسطينياً يعملون كحرفيين في إسرائيل للرد على أسئلة المقابلات. تشير البيانات التي تم الحصول عليها إلى أن هذا النموذج اللغوي منتشر على نطاق واسع بين الفلسطينيين في الضفة الغربية، مع انتشار أكثر بين عمال البناء الذين يمكنهم الوصول إلى فلسطين المحتلة عام 1948.

هناك أيضاً بعض الكلمات التي يشيع استخدامها من قبل سكان الضفة الغربية الآخرين الذين لا يصلون إلى مناطق 1948، إلا أن الدراسة تكشف أيضاً أن انتشار هذا النموذج اللغوي في المعاجم المنطوقة يومياً يقتصر على بعض الكلمات القليلة التي كان معظمها معروفاً لأول مرة للفلسطينيين بأسمائها العبرية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الضفة الغربية، التناوب اللغوي، الافتراض اللغوي، الاتصال اللغوي، علم اللغة الاجتماعي.

Chapter One: Background

1.0. Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

Sociolinguistics has long sought to examine society's effect on language, including the sociopolitical dimension of language use, especially in the context of occupation and colonization (Amara, 2010). Communication between members of society, as well as between a specific community and other societies, is derived directly from the idea of establishing contact. This explains why multilingual nation-states adopt the standardization principle in all areas of social activities, by means of specialized bureaucracy, to implement the national vision that serves the cohesion of the state and society in order to achieve harmony between its various elements.

This concept of standardization applies also to colonial states, which attempt to build a linguistic field that is appropriate for colonized people. The contact between two divergent languages, and indeed cultures, especially politically-contested ones, gives rise to many issues and problems. The occupation of the historical land of Palestine in 1948 and 1967, meant that Arabic and Hebrew are forced to come into very close contact with each other. Palestinian Arabs and Israeli Arabs struggled to maintain their sense of identity under occupation, and one of the main vehicles of identity formation has been language.

Amara (2017) points out that factors such as the diminishing of older generation, the isolation of Palestinians from the rest of the Arab world, the prevalence of Hebrew, and forces of globalization have all played a big role in weakening not only Arabic as a language, but also Palestinian links to their heritage inside Israel. So the use and maintenance of Arabic language in Palestine faced many challenges.

Israel created an institutional system that seeks to standardize classical Arabic, as part of an Arab-Israeli self-construction. In other words, the Israeli entity views the standardization of the Arabic language among the Palestinians as part of the plan to crush the Palestinian identity. This institutional system produces what is called surplus value. Georges Bataille has worked to develop this concept, and then Jean-Luc Marion explains the theory of saturation (Marion, 2002). The theory tells us that the Zionist reading and writing apparatus produces a surplus related to the historical context of the Israeli entity. Zionism has written again a series of historical - social events, and thus acquired its intellectual and ideological ownership, and this pattern leads to the accumulation of meanings and involvement in the process of producing the surplus and its emergence.

In exchange for the surplus, the coercion of the colonized people, specifically the Palestinians, creates a dynamic of deficiency and the loss of historical - social property. With it abstaining from the ability to write events as its owners, all this creates an enormous void and leads to the phenomenon of gratification, i.e. receiving the Zionist surplus and the signs of writing emanating from it as a force majeure to produce meanings and concepts. Rather, the suppressed reading of the suppressor often turns into a useful survival technique (Babek, 1994, p. 58).

On this basis, the process of institutionalizing writing and reading in Palestine began in order to integrate the contradictions between the Palestinian and Israeli linguistic fields, according to the pattern of redundant reading and writing that we touch upon, as a colonial suppression tool.

The central focus of that institution, which was completed in the two decades since the establishment of the state of "Israel" and reached its climax in the year 1967, was to eliminate the possibility of Palestinian writing and expressing their own truths.

Another goal was to create a screen through which the Palestinians were forced to see the world and interact with it. (Babek, 1994, p. 58).

The education system was under the direct control of the state, while the literary field also attracts a struggle to subjugate it, determining how it was written, read, and its total. In the first years after the establishment of the Israeli entity, the status of the Palestinians and their relationship to the state was a pivotal topic among experts and officials of the new government, and the Israeli Oriental magazine " *The New East* " was one of the arenas in which the discussion took place. One of the earliest articles in 1949 was a piece entitled "Integration of Arabs in Israel" by Mickhail Asaf. The article examines the nature of the relationship between the Palestinians and the state. According to the writer, the merger meant, " Turning Arabs into citizens who feel a minimum level of loyalty to Israel, as a preliminary stage". (Asaf, 1949). In his presentation of the different areas of life, Asaf explains the factors that help in integration, and those that hinder it; after he offers housing, military rule, and work, he mentions the role of education and the press.

Asaf begins by defining the role of the Ministry of Education under the Israeli government; "There is a special importance for the activity of the Ministry of education . More than 75% of the Arab children in almost a hundred villages, and in six cities inhabited by Israeli Arabs, have started learning in schools supported and controlled by the government." (Asaf, 1949, p. 2).

1.1.1 Code-switching

Code-switching is generally recognised as "the use of two or more linguistic varieties in the same conversation" (Cheng 2006). It includes switching between grammatical structures, dialects, distinct languages and registers. Individuals usually know more than one dialect of one language or even more than one language, and switch

between different dialects or languages quite comfortably. It is as if each situation requires a different way of speaking, so they switch between the codes which they know. Code-switching can be something optional, with Individuals switching to show off. On the other hand, it might be obligatory when the other side understands only one code out of the ones you know. Although there are differences between individuals, each one of them knows how to switch between the native and second language, and to change between the two languages (Van Hell, 1998). Languages are important because they are means of communication, learning and preserving identities.

Arabic speaking community in Israel switch between Arabic and Hebrew languages at everyday life level. Abdel-Fattah (2010) remarks that in spite of the non-prestigious semi-official rank of Arabic (Brosh, 1993), Hebrew is preponderant in several forms and ways. One of these is shifting, which is an act of switching to the use of Hebrew by Arabs speakers irrespective of issue, context, intent or attitude (Kachru, 1977). The mechanism of Arabic–Hebrew lingual switching (code-switching) is where Hebrew terms are inserted into Arabic, but hardly any of these terms are or have any linguistic origins or components of Arabic. Shifting to Hebrew is very complicated to clarify in most situations, even in the sense of linguistic and cultural identification.

Shifting from Arabic to Hebrew seems manifestly natural and immediate, i.e. the speakers are generally not conscious of the shifting to Hebrew until their mind is called to that reality. Nonetheless, according to Abdel-Fattah (2010) there are other important considerations that influence the decision of the speaker to shift or not which can be summarized as follows:

- Place limitations

Most of these are: (i) unique situations such as (school, job, house, etc.) and the existence of other speakers (e.g. bilingual Hebrews); (ii) different subjects such as science, theology, finance, etc.; other meaning variables relevant to shifting and to Arabic–Hebrew in specific are:

- The assumption that Arabic is protected by its righteousness (Fishman, 2006: 255).
- Circumstance: Evaluation of speakers at work, at Jewish public locations, reveals that these speakers use switching too much at work than at home. (Abdel-Fattah, 2010).
- Existence of a speaker who does not recognize Hebrew, where such a person is likely to stop another from shifting (Abdel-Fattah, 2010).

- Literacy

Schooling is a very significant element in switching in general. The more school-educated participants are, the more likely they will switch. Yet university education appears to have an opposite impact, i.e. fewer propensity to shift is usual among participants of higher education. Maybe that has to do with the level of competence of Hebrew and its systematic learning that begins at a young age—in the third year of schooling in Arab villages and even in integrated cities—both with linguistic and cultural comprehension in university education. Illiterate group leaders who are in direct communication with Hebrew for purposes of livelihood and jobs appear to shift more than skilled; just from the other side, qualified people continue to move more than illiterate citizens who haven't been in direct communication with Hebrew (Abdel-Fattah, 2010).

- Society related factors according to Abdel-Fattah (2010)

Some of the reasons, which lead to language switching, are:

- Other parts of the community encourage the use of switching (especially among the increasing community of Islamic groups and educated individuals).
- The lack of a cultural restriction which would allow it politically, not reprehensible for any of the speakers to join in or be involved at the shifting experience.
- There is also a propensity to shift to Hebrew in contexts of banned terms.
- Preventing people from shifting to official and/or critical circumstances, e.g. interventions where moving may be deemed publicly improper.
- Show respect for any speaker who may not comprehend the Hebrew language.

1.1.2 Language contact

Human languages have changed in the age of Globalization; no longer tied to stable communities, they pass throughout the globe, and exchange in the process. Many communities around the globe are multilingual, so they have different ethnic groups in contact. It is well-known that there are three possible linguistic outcomes of the long contact between the different ethnic groups: languages either influence each other, expand or die (Fishman, 1966).

According to Abu Elhija (2017), the condition of language communication has been complicated in the development of contemporary Palestine, and many main influences have affected the interaction between Hebrew and Arabic. Arabic and Hebrew have been in contact since 1948, though there has been interaction since the mid-19th century (Henkin, 2013). Initially, it was largely limited to property owners and communists. Today, Hebrew dominates all Palestinian Israeli Arabic groups due to intense language communication in the contexts of work, university education, commerce and governance.

The key factors that foster communication strength, mentioned by Thomason and Kaufman (1988), are quite clear in Israeli community. Israel has been exercising influence and control over the Palestinians for around 72 years, a duration that is adequate for bilingualism to grow. Furthermore, the bulk of Hebrew speaking people are more than Arabic speakers (borrowing language or receiver language) due to significant immigrants from all across the globe, and especially from Russia, which occurred immediately after 1948. The second element is politics; you can notice that Israel has two official languages which are: Hebrew and Arabic. Indeed, accounting around 20% of the community, Arab speakers remain less than the half in Israel. In reality, Hebrew is the prevailing language and is seen as the only official language; Arabic is weakened and is not considered as an official one for political reasons (Amara, 2006: 464).

In addition, Palestinian Israelis learn Hebrew as a second language since a very early stage of their lives at school, beginning in the second class, for a minimum of four hours per week, and Arab students are examined for their mastery of Hebrew at the *Bagrut* exam (Mar'i, 2013). In addition, a good standard of Hebrew competency is necessary for admission into Israeli educational institutions, while only the Arabic medium standard is required for the candidate to be admitted. Arabic is not a mandatory topic for Hebrew users, since Hebrew is the language of teaching at educational institutions. Thus, Palestinian Israelis, particularly those who work and learn in and around their villages and towns, loan and often switch a lot between Arabic and Hebrew.

1.1.3 History of Arabic in Palestine

Arabic has been the national language in Palestine since the spread of Islam in the seventh century. Simultaneously, other languages did essential roles. In Ottoman Palestine, Turkish became the official language of the country and was used by local citizens who came into contact with Turkish authorities or who worked as officers

(Ayish, et al. 1983). A limited number of Western languages (such as French, Italian, German, Russian and Greek) had a religious significance, and certain languages were often learned for the intent of interacting with Christian pilgrims (Gonzales, 1992). Western colonists built new schools in the major cities, such as Nazareth, Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Jaffa to teach different European languages such as Russian, Italian, Spanish, German and English (Maoz, 1975). People living in the big cities such as Jerusalem and Jaffa used more than one language at the end of the 19th century, their first language was Arabic, and on the other hand, they used Greek, Yiddish, and Latin. According to (Spolsky and Cooper, 1991) citizens, particularly those based in cities, were bilingual or multilingual. Many changes happened in 1917 which was the end of the Ottoman rule; one of those changes include language. The British Mandate (1922-1948) in Palestine enhanced the position of Hebrew, which was then known as the revived language of the Jewish people and became a national language besides Arabic and English. The Hebrew language was further enhanced by the British Mandate (1922-1948); at that period, Hebrew was revived and known as the official language of the Jewish people besides English and Arabic.

English became the primary language of the state throughout the British Mandatory Era in Palestine. Nevertheless, despite the case that the Palestinian and Jewish populations had different education systems, there was language communication, usually via studying Arabic by Jews. English has represented both the Palestinian and Jewish citizens as a medium of greater contact

Languages have been used to address Christian pilgrims, and multilingualism was common, especially in large cities like Jerusalem, social and political changes are reflected on the language in one way or another (Amara, 2002).

Gradually, Arabic became the official language of all Palestinians and the symbol of their identity and culture. Classical Arabic is used in education and the Palestinian Authority uses it in all official correspondence (Itma, 2010). In a multilingual country like Palestine, it is normal to shift from one language to another. In addition to Arabic, people use Hebrew and English. Palestinian schools teach English as an obligatory second language, but Hebrew is learned through interaction dealing with Israelis or with people who enter to work in Occupied Palestine 1948.

The later part of this study focuses on the linguistic conflict between Arabic and Hebrew for Palestinians working in Israel; the focus will be on the Arab struggle with the Hebrew, given the social effects of political and linguistic overlapping. The linguistic reality of Palestinians working in 1948 Occupied Palestine now is changing rapidly and for various reasons, including mutual conflict between Arabic and Hebrew. The Arabic language is the mother tongue and the national language of the Palestinian citizens and it is the language of a good number of Eastern Jews. On the other hand, it is the only official language of the countries neighbouring 1948 Occupied Palestine. Language use is influenced by historical and political events including occupation which can have a lasting impact on language and identity.

1.1.4 Palestinian Workers in Occupied Palestine

Palestinian workers were affected by the different circumstances that Palestine has been exposed to since the beginning of the twentieth century, especially being ruled by various powers, the last of which was the Israeli occupation. In order to clarify the Palestinian employment situation in historical periods Khalifa (1998) divides them into four different periods:

- a. First stage: The British mandate (1917-1948). The British military occupation of Palestine began in October 1917, and the Land Supervisory Authority began on

10 August 1922, with the Palestinian labor volume increasing due to several factors: The most important of which is Britain's control over the main economic activities (transport and foreign trade). It also built and maintained roads, expanded the railway network, established Haifa Port and improved Jaffa Port. The British army's needs have thus increased; this has contributed to the increased use of British labor.

b. Second stage: Palestinian employment between 1948-1967:

At this stage, Palestinian workers also suffered from struggling against three parties: British colonial powers, local forces that linked their interests with colonization, and against the Zionist movement that spared no effort to work against land and workers.

c. Third stage: Palestinian employment between 1967-1987:

This stage witnessed the 1967 war, which resulted in Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. This led to an increase in the problems and challenges facing Palestinian workers.

d. Fourth stage: Palestinian labor during the first intifada (1987-1993).

In 1970, Israel allowed Palestinians from the Occupied Territories to enter Israel for work. Despite a cabinet decision equalizing their conditions of work with their Israeli counterparts, there remains big gaps between the benefits and security granted to the two groups. Palestinians work mainly in construction and agriculture. Work permits reached 31,429 in 2012, then rose dramatically in the following year 2013 to 45,473, and the work permits granted by the occupation authorities have continued to increase in recent years (Ghafri, 2017).

According to statistics from the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, the number of Palestinian workers in the occupied interior as well as settlements from the

blue permit or ID holders reached 128,400 in the second quarter of 2017, in addition to workers working without permits, and Palestinians with merchant permits and special needs for work purposes. In 2020, the number of permits reached almost 100,000. A black market for selling permits exists despite attempts by the Israel government to crack down on illegal sales of permits. The average wages of Palestinian workers with work permits inside Israel are approximately 186 shekels per day (50 dollars), compared to 160 shekels (40 dollars) for workers without a permit to work.

Most workers come from Hebron, Jenin, Ramallah and Bethlehem. The reason for Hebron being the source of the biggest number of workers is perhaps because it has a bigger population and is geographically closer to major Israeli cities, such as Tel Aviv (Tal Al Rabe') and Ashdod. Toubas and Jericho are among the lowest Palestinian cities in terms of the number of work permits because their inhabitants depend on agriculture.

According to Al Ghafri (2017), 70 % of the people within the Green Line (Palestine 1948) work in construction, 22% work in agriculture, and 8% work in industry and services. The reason behind the rise of construction workers lies in the intensive Israeli efforts to build more population units within the Occupied Territories. According to the director of the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, Suha Kanaan, the number of workers in the settlements in the second quarter of 2017 dropped to 18,300 Palestinian workers, while in the first quarter of the same year, about 24,000 workers were employed. The Palestinian workers in the occupied Palestinian territories, who have no permit of any kind, have reached 38,000, according to the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics

1.2 Statement of the Problem

This study attempts to explore the reasons behind using Hebrew technical words and terminology in Palestinian workers' speech. It also aims to examine Arabic alternatives that already exist and the reasons Hebrew words are favored over their

Arabic equivalent despite the effect this might have on issues related to identity and national pride.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The study aims to achieve the following objectives

1. Investigating the reasons behind replacing many traditional Arabic words either in general contexts or in technical contexts with their Hebrew counterparts.
2. Exploring the prevalence of code-switching in the northern part of West Bank and if this model is adopted by the community as a whole or is just limited to a certain group based on their interaction with Israelis through their work in Israel.
3. Examining the possible impact of these language shifts on future generations and how this can be explored with the context of Palestinian identity.

1.4 Questions of the Study

To achieve the above-mentioned aims, the study will answer the following questions:

1. What are the reasons behind replacing many Arabic words either in general contexts or in technical contexts with their Hebrew counterparts?
2. Is the prevalence of this language model within the northern part of the West Bank adopted by the community as a whole or is just limited to a certain group of community based on their interaction with Israelis as a result of access?
3. What is the possible impact of these language shifts on future generations? How can this be explored with the context of Palestinian identity?

1.5 Significance of the Study

This study focuses on everyday Hebrew terms used by Arab West Bank workers who work in the 1948 Occupied Palestine. Its aim is to show how several Hebrew expressions are used in every-day spoken language among Arab workers. It also examines on some obsolete Arabic terms, with a focus on the problems of passing on

Hebrew expressions from one generation to the next. The study will be of benefit to researchers interested in language and stylistic shifts, code-switching and language planners who deal with multilingual societies.

This study also provides a useful academic resource for those trying to write about this particular topic as the researcher thinks that it is one of very few academic studies, if not the only one, covering the topic, to the best of her knowledge.

This research is also significant because it shows how the problem evolved and links it to historical and cultural events that have shaped this new language model and the impact it might have on future generations and the collective identity of the people of Palestine. Finally, the significance of this study also comes from its attempt to record one side of the cultural impacts of occupation on the lives of Palestinians.

1.6 Limitations of the Study

One of the expected limitations of the study lies in the fact that its results cannot be generalized to all workers and craftsmen who are based in northern West Bank and have constant access to construction work opportunities inside 1948 Occupied Palestine. Therefore, the findings may be limited to the samples and instruments used in the study.

As a female researcher, it has been difficult to conduct interviews with male workers. The number of females in the Palestinian workforce is generally very low, and almost non-existent in terms of Palestinian workers working inside Israel. I expect some resistance or rejection to receive me as a researcher alone without the company of a man. On the other hand, the researcher could also be subject to social embarrassment due to the fact that she is a female researcher. She may even expose the interviewees to such a social attitude. All of the interviewees hail from villages in the northern part of the West Bank and the majority of them are married. Given that, it is culturally inappropriate to have a stranger female speak to them. This culturally uncomfortable behaviour might be

a reason for embarrassment and social wrong interpretations for both the researcher and the interviewees, especially if phone calls were made for the purposes of interviewing them in the presence of the respondents' wives. As illustrated above, the cultural perspectives are respected and taken into consideration when it comes to any type of communication between both genders out of close family relations or marriage even if it is for academic purposes. It is also very likely that the academic purposes of the research may not be acknowledged as a sufficient reason for interaction between strangers from both genders in such a conservative context.

All the interviews were conducted during the Covid-19 lockdown in Jordan, where the researcher was based. These unusual circumstances prevent the researcher from making the trip across the bridge into the West Bank to interview the workers. All interviews were done via phone. Some of the calls were done through direct phone calls, while others were done using online telecommunication applications. The quality of the direct phone calls vary according to the strength of signal at either the researcher's place or the interviewees'.

1.7 Limits of the Study

This study is conducted in Jenin, Palestine during the academic year 2019-2020.

1.8 Definitions of Terms

West Bank: - Theoretically, as defined in Britannica online encyclopaedia West Bank "in Arabic is Al-Ḍaffah al-Gharbīyah, Hebrew Ha-Gadah Ha-Ma'aravit, area of the former British-mandated (1920–47) territory of Palestine west of the Jordan River, claimed from 1949 to 1988 as part of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan but occupied since 1967 by Israel."

The West Bank: - Operationally, is the West side of Jordan River where the Palestinian craftsmen whom the researcher will interview live in.

Code-switching: - Theoretically, according to Gumpertz (1982) code-switching is “the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems” (p.59).

Code-switching: - Operationally, it refers to using Hebrew words while making an Arabic conversation.

Borrowing: - Theoretically, Lehmann (1992) defines borrowing as "the result of the influence of one language on another" (p.17).

Borrowing: - Operationally, it refers to lending Hebrew words and using them instead of some technical Arabic words.

Language contact: - Theoretically, Thomason (2001) confines language contact as" In the simplest definition, language contact is the use of more than one language in the same place at the same time" (p.1).

Language contact: - Operationally, it refers to the contact between Arabic and Hebrew in Palestine.

Sociolinguistics: - Theoretically, Spolsky (1998) defines sociolinguistics as" It is the field that studies the relation between language and society, between the uses of language and the social structures in which the users of language live".

Sociolinguistics: Operationally, it is the way and when do Palestinian craftsmen use Hebrew in society.

Chapter Two: Review of Literature

2.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the researcher reviews literature related to code-switching, language shifts, attitudes towards language and factors that lead to language shift.

2.1 Code-switching

Language switching includes the incorporation of voice, frequently without changing subject, of bilinguals or multilinguals, with such blending could also occur at any linguistic level (Poplack, 1987). Milroy and Muysken (1995) remark that code-switching is “the alternative use by bilinguals of two or more languages in the same conversation” (p.7). Code-switching is not always popular as a means of communication, but switching between different codes is accepted syntactically (Agnihotri, 1998). Macswan (1999) concurs with these views describing code-switching as “a speech style in which fluent bilinguals move in and out of two (or conceivably more) languages” (p.37). Similarly, Bullock and Torinio (2009) argue, “code-switching is the ability on the part of bilinguals to alternate effortlessly between their two languages” (p. 1). The most important word here is effortlessly which implies that in code-switched dialogues, the speakers do not need to pause and think about when or how they are going to switch, so these switches are done automatically.

Eldridge (1996) argues that code switches are inevitably and intentionally a mechanism that promotes contact and learning in a research. According to Myers-Scotton (1993), the linguistic variety in code-switching may be different languages, dialects, or even styles of the same language. She adds that code-switching is either inter-sentential or intra-sentential. Inter-sentential code-switching involves switches from one language

to the other between sentences, whereas intra-sentential switching occurs within the same sentence, from single morpheme to clause level.

Muysken (2000) similarly indicates that that code -switching frequently occurs between the turns of different speakers in the conversation, or sometimes between utterances within a single turn. It can even occur within a single utterance. In order for readers to identify the reasons or functions of switching, the approaches taken by the experts in studying code -switching are very important. In addition, utterances containing code- switching are similar to those of one linguistic variety alone in terms of discourse unity. In other words, when the switching occurs within a single sentence, the elements from the two different languages generally are joined together.

2.2 Language Shifts

According to Habtoor (2012), the second-generation of Eritrean immigrants in Riyadh who speak Tigrinya switch to Arabic much more than maintaining their own language. This is the result of a study in which he conducted to find out the language shift and maintenance among them. His sample consisted of Sixty-four teenager immigrants in Riyadh in which forty were females and twenty-four were males. The sample group was studying at the Eritrean International School. The researcher's tool was a questionnaire consisted of sixty-two statements.

Kuncha & Bathula (2004) picked a sample which consisted of 14 mothers and 20 children to conduct a study which aims at exploring language perspectives of children and mothers in Telugu society and if they maintain their language or just lose it. The tools were self-reporting questionnaires and structured interviews. The results showed that they use Telugu at homes but the kids are losing it and use English instead.

Potowski (2004) examined Spanish language switch in Chicago. He claims that they use almost 75% Spanish with their parents but 45% with others like siblings, friends

and children. The research tool was a written questionnaire. That is linked with the relatively light usage of Spanish on the daily basis. Factors that seem to restrain a full transition to English are favourable perceptions towards Spanish, loyalty to Spanish music artists, and high levels of Spanish skills.

Gogonas (2009) investigated language maintenance or shift between second-generation Albanian immigrants in Athens. The data were collected by using a questionnaire and interviews, the sample consisted of 16 Albanian school students whom were interviewed and 70 of them responded to the questionnaire. The results showed that parents tend to maintain their mother tongue but the second-generation switches.

Fishman (1966) highlights three fundamental subdivisions of the new discipline of language renovation and language shifts. The first one deals with ordinary language use beneath a condition of group's verbal exchange. The second emphasizes the mental, social and cultural strategies and their capability of conserving or maintaining the habitual language use although. The third one focuses on different points of views towards language.

Downes (1998) discusses language shifts and language death, arguing that in bilingual communities with inconsistent social situations such as war, one language might become highly marginalised. He also suggests that the most common scenario of language loss is progressive language loss; in which generations shift language.

Many linguists have studied language maintenance and language shift among minorities around the world. Language shift is defined as displacing the mother tongue with another, either completely or partially (Winford, 2003).

Dweik (1992) investigated language shift among Lebanese Christians in Buffalo, New York. He used written literature in order to collect historical and sociolinguistic data. The instruments of the study were a questionnaire, interviews and observation. He

selected 50 Lebanese/Americans to answer a 53-item questionnaire. The questionnaire consisted of four parts; informants' background, language proficiency, language use and language attitudes. The results showed that the majority used English as a first language in all fields. It also revealed that English was the first language the Lebanese learnt.

Dashti (2004) examined the language situation among Kuwaiti Ajams. This study aimed at finding out whether the Kuwaiti Ajams maintained their ethnic language or shifted to the majority language. Twenty-three participant observation and ethnographic recorded conversations techniques were adopted to obtain in-depth analysis of Farsi maintenance and shift among Kuwait Ajams. The researcher paid close attention to the social networks of each family when examining their language choice. Results showed that the third generation of the two families has shifted from Farsi to Arabic due to several factors such as "migration, religion and intermarriage which are relatively important. Consequently, it could be argued that Farsi in Kuwait is likely to be extinct within the next one or two generations." (p. 29)

Ortman and Stevens (2008) explored language shifts between inter and intra-generations of the Hispanic Americans. Data were collected from the surveys of the civilian public service since it keeps data for all generations. Results showed that after the first generation there was a shift in Spanish in the American context.

Al-Refa'i (2013) examined language shifts among the Assyrians of Jordan. The study aimed at examining the language situation, domains and attitudes among the Assyrians of Jordan. Seventeen instruments were used for data collection: informal interviews a community profile, and a sociolinguistic questionnaire. The sample consisted of 56 Assyrians living in Jordan. The results showed that the Assyrians of Jordan were shifting from their ethnic language "Syriac" towards "Arabic". It also

indicated that Syriac is used in some aspects as in church and home. The Assyrians have positive attitudes towards Arabic and Syriac.

2.3 Attitudes towards Language

Rayn (1982) defines language attitudes as "any affective cognitive or behavioural index of evaluation reactions toward different language varieties or speakers". (p.7).

Holmes (1992) elaborates on three different stages of attitudes towards ethnicity. The first stage is that of attitudes towards a social or ethnic group. The second is that of attitudes towards the language of that group and the third is attitude towards individual speakers of that language. These attitudes affect "attitudes towards cultural institutions or patterns characterizing these groups such as language, and carry over to and are reflected in attitudes towards individual members of the group" (p.16). Obiols (2002) also identifies attitudes as a mental tendency towards something which is considered a road between opinion and behaviour.

Belmega (1976) explored the attitudes of Ukrainian-American children towards Ukrainian. She aimed at testing the language attitudes of children and teenagers who use two languages in the Ukrainian American community in Buffalo. She outlined an attitude questionnaire. The result showed that they have a great loyalty to their nationality, ethnic pride and a strong desire to keep their identity and language.

Dweik (1998) conducted a study to find out more about language loyalty among the Yemenites of Lackawanna, New York. His sample consisted of 50 respondents from the second generation. Using a structured questionnaire and interviews, Dweik discovered that Yemenites were loyal to the Arabic language, and they were affected by their religion (Islam) to maintain Arabic language. The pride they take in being Arab and intergroup marriages were the two main factors behind maintaining the language.

Ayres (2003) conducted a study on the attitudes and identity among college students as a bilingual Hispanic-American. Data were collected by using a focus group session and semi-structured interviews. The sample of the study consisted of college students who were born in America to a Spanish parent. Results showed that the parents play a great role in maintaining the language and identity of the child while treating English an important language for school and the workplace.

Mugaddam (2006) conducted a research on language attitudes among ethnic migrants in Khartoum. The researcher used a 22-item questionnaire to collect data. The results related to language attitude conceded positive attitudes towards Arabic and the value of learning Arabic for social activities and using ethnic language for purely symbolic reasons.

Kittaneh (2009) investigated the language situation among the Arab Palestinians of 1948. This study aimed at studying the Palestinian reaction towards Hebrew and Arabic and exploring the competence of the Palestinian Arabs of 1948 (Green Line) in both Arabic and Hebrew. She selected a sample consisting of 70 Palestinian Arabs of 1948 (Green Line). The researcher used a sociolinguistic questionnaire in order to collect the data, which was divided into five sections. Results of the study revealed positive attitudes towards both languages. Second generation of Palestinian Arabs were all skilful in both languages' Arabic and Hebrew.

2.4 Factors that Lead to Language Shift

Hoffman (1991) affirms that many conditions such as political and social ones might extort to switch between two different sets of linguistic tools. Some of these conditions are speaking about a specific topic, in which the one feels more comfortable in speaking in a topic using a specific language and not to use the other. A second reason for switching is to clarify what the speaker is saying when he/she speaks with another

bilingual/multilingual person, so when the speaker says something he/she use filler words in the other language to make the listener understand the intended meaning (p.186).

Baker (2001) highlights the reasons that lead to language shift declaring that there are variant levels that cause language shift, such as the political, economic, psychological and at the sociolinguistic level.

As Holmes (2001) claims that, the intermarriage leads to shift; thus, when people move to another place in order to cultivate their economic situation they become forced to switch to the host language, on the other hand negative disposition against some ethnic languages also increase language shifting. Yet, when a host language is used in nearly all of the disciplines, immigrants are strained to use the host one. In addition to the demographic factors that play a role in language shift. Finally, when citizens live in urban areas, they use the host language but when they live with their ethnic group away from the majority, they maintain their ethnic language like Ukrainians in Canada.

Thomason (2001) affirms that the intensive use of language by the ascendant group usually leads to bilingualism among subordinate groups who speak other languages, and this unequal bilingualism often leads to language shift.

Sallo (2004) conducted a study concerning the language situation among Kurdish students at Mosul University. He aimed at finding extra-linguistic factors directing the use of Arabic, Kurdish or both languages. The sample of the study was about 100 respondents. Personal observation, interviews, questionnaires and tape-recording of natural conversations were used for collecting data. Results showed that language choice is a systematic phenomenon, and it is guided by a various socioeconomic and psychological factors such as topic, participants, situation, mood and purpose.

Michieka (2012) examined the reasons that lead to keep up or losing the indigoes language among a group of Kenyan youths. To accomplish the aims of the study, about 240 Kenyan university students, 57.4% females and 41.3 males, were surveyed by means of a questionnaire. The questionnaire consisted of four sections. Results indicated that the reasons which led to lose the language were; external marriages, not learning the languages at early ages, not using the language, and the fact that there were no specific regions where the Kenyan live.

Al-Khatib and Al-Ali (2005) examined the language and cultural maintenance among the Gypsies of Jordan. The researchers used a questionnaire and interviews in order to collect data. The study concluded that the Gypsies of Jordan used their language in social domains. Moreover, they also preserved their culture due to the fact that they could not gain access to the majority-group culture.

Lefkowitz (2004) argues that Palestinians are forced to use Hebrew at work places. They switch between Arabic and Hebrew much at their work places, so it became an important part of their lives. On the other hand Qi (1998) conducted a study to find out the factors the effect code switching and found out that the participant switches to her mother tongue when she finds no equivalent term in the second language.

Dubiner (2018) conducted a study to find out how do Arabic- Hebrew speakers grasp the idea of switching to Hebrew and their own Palestinian identity. She used questionnaire and interviews as tools for the research. The findings suggest that bilingual Arabic-Hebrews vary in their attitudes towards the connection between language preference and ethnolinguistic identification.

According to Spolsky (1999) Hebrew overwhelmed Arabic which is spoken by a minority in Israel, another reason for being forced to use Hebrew is that education is not

in Arabic, so whenever the students want to study in schools and universities they are forced to learn Hebrew first.

Amara (1999) highlighted another reason for switching which is gender, since males shift between Arabic and Hebrew much more than females. In getting back to this study, the researcher believes that this is true since all of the Palestinian craftsmen who enter to work in Israel (the sample) are males.

This study shows how several Hebrew expressions are used in every-day spoken language among Arab workers. It also keeps an eye on some Arabic decayed terms, with the focus on the problems of inheriting the Hebrew expressions from one generation to another.

This study also provides a useful academic resource for those trying to write about this particular topic as the researcher thinks that it is one of very few academic studies, if not the only one, covering the topic, to the best of her knowledge. Most of what she has read and found were mere news or magazine articles written for highlighting the issue without coming up with recommendations based on primary source data collection.

This research shows how the problem evolved and links it to historical and cultural events that shaped this new language model and the impact it might have on future generations and the collective identity of the people of Palestine.

2.5 Conclusions

This chapter included review of literature for some studies which were done by sociolinguists as Poplack, Eldridge, Muysken and Downes and many other sociolinguists. The researcher took advantage of these studies to compile data about code switching and language shift. Furthermore, she also could compile the reasons behind attitudes towards language, and factors that lead to language shift.

In discussing code-switching it can be noticed that people usually switch between two codes without thinking, which means that it happens while they are unaware of it.

Scotton mentioned that there are two types of code-switching which are inter-sentential (shifting between languages within one sentence), and the other type of switching is intra-sentential (shifting from morpheme to clause level).

At the end of the chapter, the researcher presented some factors that lead to language shift such as political reasons (to live in colonized/occupied country), religious reasons like reading the Holy Qur'an in Arabic language while the reader's first language is English. On the other hand one might shift to another language for the economic reasons like what happens when traders go to Turkey or China, they are forced to switch to Mandarin in China and Turkish in Turkey. Last but not least when moving to another country the community speaks another language.

Chapter Three: Methodology of the Study

3.0 Introduction

This chapter outlines the methodology and the instruments employed in the study. The chapter discusses the population and sample of the study, and describes the instruments, as well as their validity and reliability, data collection and analysis. Finally, it illustrates the procedures followed in order to achieve the goals of the study. Responses to the interview were written by hand and recorded upon obtaining the respondent's permission to record their responses. They were all later transcribed and analysed by the author. The researcher conducted all the semi-structured interviews in Jenin, the West Bank during the month of March 2020.

3.1 Population and Sample of the Study

The population of the study consists of workers and craftsmen, who are based in northern West Bank and have constant access to construction work opportunities inside 1948 occupied Palestine, March 2020. All details relevant to their ages, types of work and social status will be provided in the data analysis section.

3.2 Instruments of the Study

The interpretive approach of qualitative research was chosen for this research design. The results of the interviews answers were tabled and analysed in a systematic manner along thematic lines. All information provided by the participants constituted the primary source of data for the study. The researcher, based on availability, chose twelve semi-structured interview questions that provided answers to the study's questions. The researcher chose semi-structured interview in order to allow the participants to express freely any additional thoughts or information that might enrich the analysis.

3.2.1 Semi-Structured Interviews

The backbone of the study is the interview method since it allowed the researcher to ask more questions relevant to the argument which the researcher was working on (Alshenqeeti, 2014). Another importance of the interview lays behind dispensing the researcher with more data about the Hebrew language situation in Palestine and where is it going to lead the workers (the interviews provided the researcher with such information).

The researcher interviewed a select number of Palestinian workers who work in Israel and recorded their code-switching between Arabic and Hebrew during the course of the interview, in addition to asking them directly which Hebrew technical terms were they most likely to use. All the interviews were open-ended and semi-structured. The researcher asked the interviewees to set the date and time in advance because they work long hours. At the beginning, the researcher introduced herself and gave a brief summary of her research and its objectives. She then asked the interviewees various questions related to their social and linguistic background, and mother tongue. The researcher proceeded to ask the interviewees about their dialects, mother tongue, motivation behind code-switching, and the domains where they use this phenomenon. At the end of the interview, all interviewees were asked what their thoughts were about code-switching between the dialects and languages they used.

Semi-structured interviews will provide data that the structured interviews could not provide. They will give the researcher the ability to ask more questions, and to notice the respondents' reactions whilst responding to the questions.

3.2.1.1 Validity of the interviews

Validity: Interview questions were introduced to a panel of experts to ensure their suitability and to decide whether they will be enough to achieve the intended aims.

3.2.1.2 Reliability of the interviews

Reliability: All interviews are recorded, transcribed and documented. A transcript of all the interviews is included in the appendix.

3.3 Procedures of the Study

To conduct the study, the researcher will perform the following steps:

1. Collecting theoretical and empirical studies that are related to the subject.
2. Setting up the objectives and questions of the study that are related to the topic.
3. Preparing an interview questions and a questionnaire.
4. Checking validity of the suitability of the questions.
5. Checking the reliability.
6. Detecting the answers in the spoken interviews and write them.
7. Explaining the problems found in these interviews.
8. Drawing out the conclusions.
9. Proposing recommendations for further studies.
10. Indexing references according to APA style.
11. Add appendices if possible.

Chapter Four: The Social Practices of Hebrew Incorporation within Spoken Standard Palestinian Arabic

4.0 Introduction

This chapter aims at introducing the first part of the findings of this study based on the semi-structured interviews conducted with construction workers from four villages in the northern part of the West Bank, namely the villages of Faqu'a, Qabatyah, Jalboun and Maithaloun in the governorate of Jenin.

The chapter will first provide a professional screening of the interviewees' backgrounds in terms of age, level of education and years of professional experience working in Occupied Palestine. The chapter will also shed light on the reason why these workers choose to obtain permits and work in Occupied Palestine, rather than the West Bank. The chapter will conclude with an overview of why workers choose to integrate with others by using Hebrew.

4.1 Profile of West Bank Workers in 1948 Occupied Palestine

According to the 2018 Palestinian Labor Force Survey, unemployment rates in 2018 were estimated to be around 30.8 among all Palestinians above the age of 15 years. Unemployment rates among Palestinian males were reported to be around 25%, while their female counterparts registered an unemployment rate of 51.2 percent during the year of 2018 (Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, 2019, pp. 31). On the other hand, the same report indicates that 13.3 percent of the Palestinian work force work in Israeli cities and settlements, constituting around 18.2 percent of the workers in the West Bank and zero percent of the Gaza workers because the latter have had no access to Israel since 2007. Most Palestinians work in the construction sector (around 64.3%), and the rest work in various smaller sectors.

For the purposes of this study, 17 male workers, from four villages in Northern West Bank, were interviewed to provide the researcher with a road map to answer the questions of the study. The interviewees helped the researcher present this Hebrew integrated language model in a comprehensive manner tackling all social aspects and drivers leading to adapting this model as reported by Palestinian workers.

The profile of construction Palestinian workers in this section will be presented according to four demographics; age, education, years of experience in Occupied Palestine, and area of work. This data will explain the rationale behind the dissemination of the above mentioned language model and provide an initial understanding of crosscutting demographics that reinforce or undermine the utilization of such a socio-linguistic model.

With an average age of 43 years and a range of 28-57 years, the respondents thought the older ones were aware of the impact of this language model. A very quick mapping of the age groups targeted in the study will show that 29% of the participants are aged between 20-30 years compared with only 12% between 31-40 years old. Conversely, 29% are between 41-50 years and a similar same percentage for people who were above the age of 50 years old.

Levels of education vary among the participants. The majority, around 53% completed secondary school, 18 % finished primary school, 12% have university diplomas, and 18% have university degrees. With a relatively high university enrollment, compared according to international standards and their Middle East counterparts, Palestinian universities provide access to around 25.8% of youth aged between 18-24 years old (RecoNow, 2016, pp. 4). Political and economic circumstances often force many university students to drop out. On a fact-based level, many of the interviewees expressed their desire to continue education but this was not possible due to political,

social and economic pressures that forced them to join the labor force (B. Tawfiq, Phone Interview, March 6, 2020; M. Ali, Phone Interview, March 6, 2020; T. Abdullah, Phone Interview, March 13, 2020 and M. Walid, Phone Interview, March 21, 2020).

Longer years of work inside Israel are associated with higher use of Hebrew words. Twelve percent of the workers interviewed worked between 1 to 5 years in Israel, 29% worked 6-15 years, 35% worked there for 16-25 years and 24% worked there for a period of 26-40 years. The researcher also noticed that those who spent less time working with Israelis or Israeli Arabs used fewer Hebrew words during the interview.

In terms of work location, the highest percentage (around 29%) worked in both Israeli populated areas and Arab populated areas but with for shorter periods in Arab areas. Those who worked almost equally in both areas made up around 24% of the respondents. Those working in Arab populated areas were around 18% and a similar percentage worked in Israeli areas only. Socialization with Israelis was a common practice for those who integrate more Hebrew terms into their speech. Socialization with Israeli Arabs showed less use of Hebrew terms.

4.2 Driving Causes of Working in 1948 Occupied Palestine

West Bank workers have had access to Israel since the late 1960s. Taking the risk of passing checkpoints without work permits or access the occupied territories with the help of smugglers is not an easy task to do. Many, however, believe it is a risk worth taking. With fewer employment options, Palestinians often feel compelled to seek employment outside the West Bank. The Israeli Defense Army may prevent this access in the aftermath of any political or security unrest, even if Palestinians had a work permit allowing them to work inside Israel. Palestinian workers whose livelihoods may depend on working inside Israel are gravely affected by these closures.

When asked about the reasons for choosing to work in Israel, West Bank workers report the existence of very few employment opportunities for both educated and uneducated Palestinians. They feel that if better employment opportunities were provided to them, they would not have risked their lives to earn a living in Israel. This is also linked to another reason reported by the interviewees, which is the higher financial return and income generated from working there, which is usually accompanied by other types of benefits for work permit bearers. Ibrahim, a 45 years old general secondary certificate holder, stated that clearly when he said: "I work there for economic reasons. Work opportunities there are more available and with much better financial return" (I. Hussein, Phone Interview, March 6, 2020). This was also stressed by M. Ali (Phone Interview, March 7, 2020), who reported that some people, like himself, were not fortunate enough to finish their education, so they entered the labor market there because it provides much better income and earnings. Although working inside Israel is optional, pressures exerted on the Palestinian economy by Israel left Palestinians with no choice but to work in Israel.

Those with higher education degrees faced similar hardships finding work. A 34 years old worker from Faqou'a, explicitly, said that: "The lack of employment opportunities for educated people in the West Bank makes them go and work in the construction field there. Non-educated people have even fewer job opportunities" (T. Abdullah, Phone Interview, March 13, 2020). Mohammad, a 28 years old lawyer from the village of Maithaloun confirmed that income was the main motive for people to work there. Comparing earnings between the West Bank and Israel, he admitted that jobs in the latter paid much higher: "Income there is much better than the West Bank and work is more available. Workers make no less than 60 JOD/day while the most anyone can make in the West Bank is 16 JDs. In addition to that, job opportunities are not available in the West Bank, while there are a variety of options there. You can work in the

construction sector, agriculture or in companies” (M. Ghanem, Phone Interview, March 21, 2020).

The utilization of new technologies and the potential for self-improvement have also been reported by some workers as being major factors in encouraging Palestinians to work in Israel. New technologies reduce the level of physical efforts required. In addition to that, professional workers find they can learn new things in the course of their work. “They have more developed tools and we learned a lot from working there. We learned new techniques in work and technologies there were very useful to us” (M. Walid, Phone Interview, March 21, 2020). What was stated by Malik, was also confirmed by Ahmad, the 43 years old ninth grader, who said: “Work there is better and easier because the tools and technology used are better than what we have in the West Bank and more readily available” (A. Khalil, Phone Interview, March 7, 2020).

The two intifadas were listed as reasons for failure to finish their education. During the first and second intifadas in 1987 and 2000 respectively, the Palestinian economy went into recession due to the lockdown of the West Bank and Gaza by the Israelis. Continuous curfews put huge strains on the economy and people lived through some very difficult times during both periods. This gave rise to a whole array of social and economic challenges that influenced the lives of Palestinians and prevented them from going to college, forcing them to seek employment in construction and other informal sectors. (B. Tawfiq, Phone Interview, March 6, 2020 and M. Ali, Phone Interview, March 7, 2020). The other interesting reason was also connected to the existence of the occupation. Lack of freedom during formative years on account of the constant lockdowns often led to high levels of frustration and stress. This prompted some young people to attempt to obtain access to Israel to experience some levels of freedom.

The restrictions on the movement of people compounded social problems within families. This move also constituted a space for some young men, especially in their late adolescence stages, to escape from the traditional and cultural restrictions that are deeply rooted in Arab cultures (M. Walled, Phone Interview, and March 21, 2020). Although people are quite conservative about this and only one person explicitly mentioned that reason, the researcher felt that it is an interesting piece of fact to mention.

4.3 Integration of Hebrew within Arabic Pre-Access

The Hebrew integration model is not a relatively new language model among Palestinians. Since their early existence in Palestine, which started with the first wave of emigration in the late 1800s by the Zionist movement, European Jewish settlers started to establish a firm foothold for their people in Palestine (J. Beinun and L. Hajjar, 2014). Interviewees were asked if they used to integrate Hebrew terms within their speech before working in 1948 Occupied Palestine. The responses to this question were only limited to two answers, YES or NO. The responses were equally split with 53% of the respondents stated that they did not use Hebrew before working there and 47% said that they used to integrate Hebrew words within their speech.

Most of those who said they did not integrate Hebrew prior to working in Israel stated that Hebrew was not on their agenda before socializing with Israelis and Israeli Arabs, and therefore socialization was key in determining whether this language model is to be used or not (A. Al Saleh, Phone Interview, March 14, 2020). Mohammad Ali, a 40 years old worker from the village of Qabatia said: “Before I worked there I did not speak Hebrew, but after socializing with Israeli Arabs we learnt to speak Hebrew. When I return back home I try my best not speak it, however I, unconsciously, say some of the words I am used to saying like *Besaidar* (Okay)” (M. Olayan, Phone Interview, March 20, 2020). Although almost half of the respondents stated that they did not use Hebrew

before working there, some have acknowledged that this language model was existing at the community level before they started to have access to inside 1948 Palestine, especially among those who interacted with Israeli or Israeli Arabs (T. Abdullah, Phone Interview, March 13, 2020).

The interviewees who stated that they used Hebrew terms linked this to the collective usage of some terms by the community as a whole. Those terms, common words as they have been referred to by the respondents, were usually used by older people and were passed on to the younger generation. Such terms were usually connected to the transfer of new tools and concepts that were first introduced to workers who have access to Israel. Words like *Mazgan* (air conditioner), *Mashiva* (ready mix concrete pump) and *Mafriga* (electric screw driver) were introduced to workers by their Hebrew names, which may have even incorporated the trademark name as a tag for the tool or equipment, however, it is still recognized as a Hebrew term. Ahmad Khalil, a 43-year-old construction worker from the village Faqou'a, expressed this when he said:

Before working there I was not using Hebrew words, but after working there I started to use more terms. However, some old terms were used and well-known to people such as *Mazgan* (air conditioner), *Pelephone* (cell phone) and *Bagaag* (car trunk). Those terms are known to people and have been used by them for a long time and I also used them before I worked there (A. Khalil, Phone Interview, March 7, 2020).

One of the respondents said that some Hebrew terms were even used when they were kids playing a game where the players were divided into two teams, Arabs and Israelis. Both teams confronted each other and the team that represented Israelis had to use some Hebrew terms to be recognized as the Israeli team. This demonstrates how occupation has contributed to the dissemination of Hebrew terms, even within limited contexts. (F. Al Khatib, Phone Interview, March 14, 2020).

Most of the words mentioned as examples by the respondents were related either to professional terminology or everyday life. Nevertheless, the daily spoken terms integrated, were mostly related to technologies that people became familiar with through their interaction with Israelis or Israeli Arabs. Words like *Ramzor* (traffic light), *Pelephone* (cell-phone), *Mazgan* (air conditioner), *Aza 'qah* (car alarm system) and *kletah* (call strength signal) were first known to people with their Hebrew names and, therefore, were adopted by the community as a whole (M. Ali, Phone Interview, March 7, 2020; A. Khalil, Phone Interview, March 7, 2020; H. Sabri, Phone Interview, March 13, 2020 and M. Sami, Phone Interview, March 20, 2020). The Hebrew integration language model was impacted by some factors such as socialization, transfer of new technologies and trends as well as having the occupation present in the life of Palestinians even in children's games.

4.4 Reasons for Integrating Hebrew Words into Palestinian Arabic

The root causes of integrating Hebrew into spoken Arabic in Palestine have varied among West Bank workers. Some of the reasons are similar to the ones outlined above and relate mainly to interactions with Israelis through work. The other reasons, which constitute the majority of reasons, were revealed by the respondents.

Palestinian workers believe that getting in touch, on a regular basis, with Hebrew speaking people has significantly contributed to adopting and using Hebrew terms within Palestinian's Arabic speech. "When you socially interact with Israelis you start speaking Hebrew and the words come rolling out of your mouth without thinking" (A. Al Saleh, Phone Interview, March 14, 2020). On another statement, Mohammad Olayan, cited earlier, said: "You use Hebrew in order to cope with the situation and because you use those words so often they become part of your speech" (M. Olayan, Phone Interview, March 20, 2020).

Respondents reporting that socialization is the main driving force behind this language model since they need to the need to communicate effectively. Tareq Abdullah, the 34 years old tiler, said: “I use Hebrew terms when I work there in order to be understood. Even if I work for Arabs and I say a specific term in Arabic they will not understand me” (T. Abdullah, Phone Interview, March 13, 2020). This language model is not only used when communicating with Israelis, but also when communicating with Israeli Arabs as stated above. According to Mohammad Ghanem, “Sometimes they would ask you about the meaning of a certain word you have just used, so you have to say it in Hebrew in order for them to understand. I remember an Arab teacher mentioning something about Mazgan (air conditioner) and he asked me the following question: what do you call it in Arabic? I replied: give me a break man, you are a school teacher and you do not know what Mazgan in Arabic is!” (M. Ghanem, Phone Interview, March 21, 2020).

The third reason reported by the workers was the prevalence of some Hebrew terms among Palestinians due to historical reasons. Ibrahim, a 45-year- old worker from the village of Jalboun concurs: “I do not use Hebrew terms while I am in the West Bank. I only use some terms because they are very common like *Mashiva* (ready mix concrete pump), *Mafriga* (electric screwdriver), *Pelephone* (cell phone) and *Zifzif* (sand raw material used with cement). People know these things by those names. We don’t even know what they mean in Arabic.” (I. Hussein, Phone Interview, March 6, 2020). Faisal, a worker from Qabatia, agrees that the prevalence of Hebrew terms in the West Bank was due to the fact that people knew these items only by their Hebrew names (F. Al Khatib, Phone Interview, March 14, 2020).

This leads to another fourth important reason for adopting this language model among Palestinians in the West Bank. Arabic equivalent terms of some Hebrew words

do not exist or are not wide-spread. Fifty-seven year-old worker from the village of Faqou'a, Ibrahim, commented that: "We use some Hebrew terms because we do not know what the Arabic equivalent is for words like *Mashkov* which means the door frame, or *Mafriqa* which means the electric screw driver. Almost all workers know these terms" (I. Salameh, Phone Interview, March 7, 2020). This is not limited only to the context where socialization is only with Israelis, but also with Arabs living in Israel revealed by Khalid, a 45-year-old worker from Qabatia: "Even when I worked with Arabs I used Hebrew terms because I do not know the Arabic equivalent" (K. Al Yousef, Phone Interview, March 13, 2020).

The sixth and last reason reported by Palestinian workers is a double faceted one. The first is the belief that learning Hebrew is politically expedient because one must learn the language of one's enemy. Others believe that it offers protection from the enemy. Both perspectives are underlined by the same rationale. Ibrahim, a 57 year-old worker from Faqou'a, stressed that by saying: "From a religious perspective we are asked to know the language of the enemy to avoid being conned by them" (I. Salameh, Phone Interview, March 7, 2020). This view is directly linked to knowing one's rights and obligations. It is necessary to ensure one's wages and rights are protected. A 43 year-old worker remarks: "Anyone must learn his enemy's language, how can we live with them without speaking their language. Everything there is in Hebrew, even *Armona* (taxes)" (M. Sami, Phone Interview, March 20, 2020). This particular reason has political references to the implications of the occupation and people's right to protect themselves from the enemy that usurped their land and the freedom of their people. The Israeli is recognized as an occupier and if one word is incomprehensible, the cost might be his life. Mohammad Olayan from Qabatia expressed this explicitly when he said:

When you confront an Israeli cop you need to speak Hebrew to pull yourself out of trouble. During the overrun of the West Bank by the Israeli army, one word could have cost you your life. The army locked a group of people once in a schoolyard, and I was among them. When I spoke with the officers in Hebrew, I was set free while many others stayed there for two days. Many people have lost their lives at the *Mahaseem* (Arabized plural of the Hebrew army check point) for a single word they did not understand” (M. Olayan, Phone Interview, March 20, 2020).

4.5 The Use of Arabic equivalent terms

Does the use of Arabic alternatives for commonly used Hebrew terms render the word incomprehensible to others? This question is an important one in examining the rationale for using Hebrew terms if an Arabic equivalent word exists. It was stated earlier that most of the commonly used terms are technical terms or related to technologies that were imported to Palestine by the Israelis or Israeli Arabs who borrowed the term from Israelis. Some have even stated that they are not aware of the existence of an Arabic equivalent.

It might be justifiably understood that words like *Mazgan* (air conditioner), *Mafriga* (electric screwdriver) or *Mashiva* (ready mix concrete pump) are used due to the fact that those technical or general technology terms were not known before in Palestine and, therefore, they were imported among many other terms into the Palestinian culture. Nevertheless, words like *Sargel* (tiles leveling tool) or *Mashkove* (doorframe) were not new to early construction workers. Forty-three percent of the respondents reported that the Arabic alternative is not well understood by others. However, this is limited to some specific terms and is more common among Israeli Arabs as stated by Faisal who remarked: “Israeli Arabs use Hebrew much more than us because they do not know an alternative Arabic meaning sometimes” (F. Al Khatib, Phone Interview, March 14, 2020). Although Israeli Arabs are not the focus of this research, it goes without saying

that the influence of Hebrew on the Arabs of 1948 Occupied Palestine is much larger and deeper and there are many resources that comprehensively address this topic.

The impact has, nonetheless, been clear on West Bankers as well. Some of the respondents acknowledge they themselves are not aware of some terms except in their Hebrew form. The impact has even spread to those who do not have access to 1948 Occupied Palestine as stated by Bassam, a 55 years old construction maintenance worker: “If I told anyone that I work in maintenance they would ask what you exactly maintain. But if I say *Shebotsiema* they will understand that it is house general maintenance” (B. Tawfiq, Phone Interview, March 6, 2020).

On the other hand, those who think that Arabic alternatives are well-understood by others make around 57 percent of the interviewees. However, the concept of comprehensibility was quite conditional and entailed some exceptions. For instance, as stated earlier in this section, around 14% of the interviewees agreed that Arabic alternatives would be understood by West Bankers, not Israeli Arabs. Only one respondent believed that Arabic alternatives would be understood by all. However, qualified that by saying “People understand Arabic alternatives, but some of them act as if they do not or let you think that it is an old word to say. As if speaking Hebrew is something fashionable” (M. Sami, Phone Interview, March 20, 2020).

From another perspective, the majority of the respondents, 36 percent, who believed that Arabic counterparts are comprehensible, reported that although Arabic counterparts are known, the Hebrew terms are the ones that are used among Palestinians. Again this is only limited to words that have been imported from Israelis. Mohammad Hassan, the 57 years old tiler from Faqou’a expressed this by saying: “The Arabic alternatives are comprehensible to others, but the thing is that some words became common and used by people at large” (M. Hassan, Phone Interview, March 6, 2020). As

some Hebrew terms are the ones used in specific contexts and the Arabic alternatives are comprehensible to people, they might, though, take some time and effort to remember and use them simultaneously as stated by Mohammad Ghanem, a lawyer who worked for a short period in 1948 Occupied Palestine. Mohammad said: “Words that are work related like *Khofesh* (holiday) or some daily spoken words like *Baggag* (car trunk), *Mets* (juice) and *Mazgan* (air conditioner) are widely spread. If you ask an Arab either from the West Bank or 1948 Occupied Palestine about the Arabic alternatives, they would ask you to give them a while to remember the Arabic names of those words” (M. Ghanem, Phone Interview, March 21, 2020).

4.6 Consciousness among Users of Hebrew Integrated Language Model

Among the very interesting findings of this research is the level of awareness among the users of this language model. Do people really realize that they are using Hebrew terms? The answer is no for the majority. Around 65 percent of the respondents stated that people use Hebrew words without knowing that they are Hebrew. On the other hand, the remaining 35 percent believed that people do know that the terms being used are originally Hebrew.

Being unaware that those terms are originally Hebrew is not limited to those who work inside Israel, but is rather quite common among West Bankers who have never been there. “There are some people who hear those terms without going to work in 1948 Occupied Palestine. They learn them and they become commonly used such as *Mafriga* (electric screwdriver). They use them thinking they are Arabic words” (M. Hassan, Phone Interview, March 6, 2020). Most people, for instance use the word *Mashiva* or *Mafriga* without recognizing their origins. They are even known to and used by kids who, for sure, do not realize that they are Hebrew terms (A. Al Saleh, Phone Interview, March 14, 2020). People usually use those terms without thinking and many assume that the terms

they are using are either Arabic, or, in some cases, assume they are English words (A. Khalil, Phone Interview, March 7, 2020 and K. Al Yousef, Phone Interview, March 13, 2020).

The respondents who believed that the users of this language model are aware of the Hebrew terms being used felt that although people are aware of this, they still use Hebrew terms because they are quite commonplace (M. Barakeh, Phone Interview, March 20, 2020 and M. Sami, Phone Interview, March 20, 2020). Such terms, are believed to become part of everyday speech and the realization of their Hebrew origins might not be as important since they are being used by the whole community. From another perspective, some respondents, such as Mohammd Olayan, the 40 years old secondary level educated worker from Qabatia, believe that the level of education may affect how people would recognize the Hebrew terms they use. It is believed that educated people are more capable of identifying Hebrew words within their speech, even if they do not use them (M. Olayan, Phone Interview, March 20, 2020).

The prevalence of this language model and the awareness of the Hebrew words being used may lead to two other questions among the users of Hebrew within their spoken language. How would they feel about using Hebrew, and would they consider using the Arabic alternative instead?

Most of the respondents expressed dismay at the suggestion that perhaps they should not be using Hebrew words. Using and adapting Hebrew terms is part of the reality of everyday life for Palestinians living under occupation and have to work in Israel. Feelings of helplessness against this language model, do not detract from the fact that there is a tacit understanding among Palestinians that the use of Hebrew terms has no direct impact on their sense of self and identity. Some Palestinians learn Hebrew out of sheer curiosity (M. Hassan, Phone Interview, March 6, 2020). Although such terms are

only used in specific contexts and are, somehow, limited to some terms, they were passed on from one generation to the next and became deeply rooted in the culture. “I definitely feel upset that we use those terms and that they are imposed on us, but we only use simple few words which have little impact.” (K. Al Yousef, Phone Interview, March 13, 2020). “Some people often try to switch to Arabic alternatives once they realize they are using Hebrew words but often end up reverting to the Hebrew terms.” (F. Ahmad, Phone Interview, March 14, 2020).

“Despite some attempts to switch to Arabic alternatives, a lot of work has to be done to change people’s attitudes.” (T. Abdullah, Phone Interview, March 13, 2020).

Around 29 percent of the respondents said they felt comfortable using Hebrew terms in their daily speech, arguing that Hebrew is part of Palestinians life and that everyone should accept that fact, especially since they have to deal with Israelis on daily basis at checkpoints or in markets. (M. Sami, Phone Interview, March 20, 2020). Although the same respondents remarked that Arabic was still their mother tongue, they stressed the importance of making themselves understood by the Israelis.” (I. Hussein, Phone Interview, March 6, 2020). In addition to that, some respondents showed no interest in replacing the Hebrew terms they used with their Arabic equivalents as long as they are being understood, especially in cases where the Arabic words were difficult to understand. (M. Ghanem, Phone Interview, March 21, 2020 and B. Tawfiq, Phone Interview, March 6, 2020).

A third group- around 6 percent of the respondents- had neutral feelings about using Hebrew terms because they felt using these Hebrew terms had a functional and practical purpose. “Some Hebrew terms have replaced their Arabic counterparts and whenever you try to stop using them, you will end up, without thinking, using them and other terms again (A. Al Saleh, Phone Interview, March 14, 2020).

4.7 Conclusions

Israeli occupation has led to high levels of unemployment that have forced huge numbers of Palestinians to seek work in Israel. Those workers were exposed to a new language model that led to the incorporation of New Hebrew into their lexicon. Both educated and uneducated workers have been greatly affected by this language model and have, in turn, transferred it to the community as a whole. This language model is believed to be used in some specific contexts that are most likely related to professional careers and new technologies. However, it has also replaced some of the traditionally used Arabic words spoken in the same professional contexts.

The Interviews revealed several reasons for using Hebrew terms; The need for better communication; the functional role that Hebrew plays in everyday life; reasons pertaining to safety and security when dealing with Israeli security forces; the lack of Arabic equivalents; the familiarity of Hebrew terms to the extent most Palestinians are not even aware they are not of Arabic origins. Almost all respondents felt that the use of these Hebrew terms had little impact on their identity and loyalty to their own country and language.

Chapter Five: The Impact of Hebrew Integrated Language Model at the Community Level in the West Bank

5.0 Introduction

This chapter examines the impact of using the Hebrew Integrated language model at the community level in the West Bank. The chapter is divided into three main sections. The first section will build on the findings in chapter four that shed light on insights provided by Palestinian workers. The second section will explore the role of this language model on the community at large. The chapter will also explore the prevalence of this language model-in relation to both technical and non-technical terms- among Palestinians who have no access to Israel. The third section will explore how such a language model might affect future generations.

5.1 The Prevalence of this Language Shifting Model among Educated Workers

Scarce employment opportunities and low wages in the West Bank have forced many young educated people to follow in the steps of their uneducated countrymen and go beyond the so- called the Green Line to work in Israeli occupied areas of Palestine. Instead of waiting for a decent employment in their area of expertise and education in such a challenging environment, many decided to find a work in Hebrew speaking communities, at least temporarily, to provide for their families. The number of university graduates is high compared with market needs. “Some Palestinians seek temporary employment in the construction sector in Israel until they can secure a better job that is more suitable to their education.” (M. Ghanem, Phone Interview, March 21, 2020).

Workers with a university degree constituted 18 percent of the total respondents, with another 12 percent with a university diploma. 65% of the respondents believe that those with university degrees in general were much less likely to use Hebrew in their

daily speech. This is attributed to the fact that educated Palestinians spent less time working in Israel. Twenty-eight year old Mohammad who has a law degree remarked that: “educated people do not work there permanently. They work long enough to pay back their debts. They are less likely to use Hebrew words.” (Ibid). This was also stressed by another respondent, also named Mohammad, who has a degree in geography and has been working in Israel for 5 years. Confirmed that uneducated people usually start work in an early age and, therefore, gain more knowledge about the culture and expand their lexicon more when compared to educated people who start this at an older age (M. Barakeh, Phone Interview, March 20, 2020).

There was a common practice among educated people when compared to less educated people in the use of Hebrew terms even if they know Hebrew. It was reported that educated people use less Hebrew terms when they return home and they successfully manage to shift the language model they speak when in 1948 Occupied Palestine (M. Hassan, Phone Interview, March 6, 2020). The tendency to maintain the original language model among educated people may also be linked to their understanding of the expected impact of this language shifting model on their language and culture as stated by a 56 years old worker: “Many educated people prefer not to use it back home because they understand its negative impact” (F. Ahmad, Phone Interview, March 14, 2020).

The second group of the respondents, equal to 24 percent of the total respondents, believe that the level of education does not have anything to do with the incorporation of Hebrew within Arabic. The longer someone spent working in Israel, the more Hebrew words they were likely to use. (B. Tawfiq, Phone Interview, March 6, 2020 and M. Walid, Phone Interview, March 21, 2020). Workers, either educated or less educated, who work in Israeli populated areas seem to pick up and use more Hebrew words that the ones who

work in Arab populated areas in 1948 Occupied Palestine (T. Abdullah, Phone Interview, March 13, 2020).

5.2 Community Adoption of Hebrew Integrated Language Model

The researcher, who lived for many years in Jenin, first noticed this phenomenon among workers who spent considerable time working in Israel. Hebrew words used by these workers were not limited to functional objects, but often extend to include platitudes, emotive language and expressive terms. Palestinians who work in Israel integrate Hebrew terms into their daily conversations, thereby helping to disseminate them among West Bankers in general, including those who have never been to Israel. A question about the prevalence of Hebrew words among West Bankers who do not work in Israel was put to all the respondents to explore their views on the matter. Thirty-eight percent of the respondents said that Hebrew words were quite common, while another 38% were of the view that Arabic terms were more common except for technical terms. Those who said Arabic terms were more prevalent admitted that some Hebrew words have entered Palestinian diction and have become mainstream. In a sense, both groups agree that some Hebrew words are very much part of everyday life in Palestine

Interacting with Hebrew speaking people was a key factor in adopting this language model. In the case of the public who do not have access to Israel, interacting with returning workers exposed them to those terms. Mohammad, who spent 33 years working in Israel, remarked that: “People who do not go to work in Israel pick up some words from their interaction and relationships with workers who go there” (M. Hassan, Phone Interview, March 6, 2020). This was also confirmed by another respondent named Mohammad who has 20 years of experience working there: “People who have worked in Israel use those terms and others take them as a matter of influence” (M. Ali, Phone Interview, March 7, 2020). This influence is not relatively new; many of these terms were

passed on by older workers and became commonplace. Nevertheless, not many West Bankers are aware these words are originally Hebrew. “Many assume they are originally either Arabic or English (I. Hussein, Phone Interview, March 6, 2020 and M. Walid, Phone Interview, March 21, 2020).

Older workers may have been aware that these terms were originally Hebrew because they are the ones who introduced them into the West Bank but younger people are less likely to know that. In professional contexts, some words are commonplace among Palestinians because of the movement of labor force and capital. Palestinian and Israeli economies are deeply linked to each other and the Palestinian market receives goods, technologies and ideas that are either manufactured in Israel or bought from there. This natural movement of capital evokes the transition of linguistic influences as well (F. Al Khatib, Phone Interview, March 14, 2020). One of the interviewees informed the researcher that if he went to buy a sand sieve, for example, he would definitely refer to it as being *Reshet* (the Hebrew word for sand sieve). This Hebrew word will be understandable to the seller and used by him even if the Arabic alternative exists. The fact that Hebrew professional terms are widely used does not mean that Arabic counterparts are difficult to understand. However, some terms may need more classification and detailing to be expressed well in Arabic. The word *Khomer*, for example, means construction raw material. If someone wished to express this semantically compound concept in Arabic, they would have to use several words and so the Hebrew word was adopted for ease and promptness (B. Tawfiq, Phone Interview, March 6, 2020).

Several respondents said that Arabic was used to express technical ideas by Palestinians who do not work in Israel. However, if the Hebrew term is used, others will have no problem understanding it. (I. Salameh, Phone Interview, March 7, 2020). The

direct impact of the integration of Hebrew terms is shown in this model of comprehension and reflects the flexibility and readiness to shift the language model whenever is needed. Some respondents opined that certain West Bankers used Hebrew words because that made them seem fashionable and well informed. According to Mohammad, a lawyer who worked there for less than two years, some Palestinians go to work in Israel for a limited period and come back with a number of words they start using as an act of rebellion against their local community. (M. Ghanem, Phone Interview, March 21, 2020).

The second dimension covered in this section deals with the prevalence of this language model among West Bankers who live and work in the West Bank in terms of daily spoken non-technical terms. We will refer to daily spoken terms as the words that are not used to express technical tools, professions, duties and materials and are used in everyday speech with no professional references related to the different jobs. To explore how common this model is among West Bankers, the interviewees were asked the following question: Are Hebrew terms used among West Bankers who have no access to Israel?

In response to that question, 8% of the interviewees stated that Hebrew is not used in the West Bank in non-technical contexts. It was stated that regular speech does not contain Hebrew words among those who have no access to inside the occupied territories. This assumption was based on the idea that most of the words used are purely technical and work related terms. They are mostly used by craftsmen or those who have strong connections with workers (I. Hussein, Phone Interview, March 6, 2020).

The majority of the respondents also said this language model was not prevalent in terms of non-technical words. "People in the West Bank do not use Hebrew except for some terms that have existed in the community for a long time and became widely used. For example, words, like *Ramzor* (traffic light), *Bagaag* (car trunk) and *Tahana* (bus

stop) and some more other” (A. Khalil, Phone Interview, March 7, 2020). Many Palestinians tend to use some Hebrew terms for ease and promptness. “We use some terms and have become quite familiar with them, such as *Besaider* (okay) and *Ramzor* (traffic light). You seldom hear someone saying the Arabic term Eshara Dhaweyeh (traffic lights). Another example is *Tahana* (bus station). Everyone knows it as *Tahana* because it is easier to pronounce” (I. Salameh, Phone Interview, March 7, 2020).

Some semantically-complex words have been borrowed into Palestinian Arabic because no Arabic equivalent exists. For example, the Hebrew word (*Mekhal*) is used in West Bank vegetable markets to refer to a large box in which a variety of fruits and vegetables are displayed. The closest Arabic word Sandooq or Boxeh (which is a slang Palestinian Arabic word derived from box) refers to a small box. Unlike the word *Mekhal* which means a big box, the function of the word has affected the use of the Arabic term and people find it easier to say *Mekhal* rather than saying Sandooq Kabeer (big box). (A. Al Saleh, Phone Interview, March 14, 2020).

Around 15 percent of the respondents linked the use of Hebrew terms in the community at large to technology. “Advances in western technology has a direct influence on Palestinian Arabic language, and because some of these technologies are Israeli, it is natural for Hebrew words to be incorporated into Palestinian Arabic. (F. Al Khatib, Phone Interview, March 14, 2020). Around 8% of the respondents remarked that many Hebrew non-technical terms are not used correctly. According to Mohammad Ghanem,

If a man uses Hebrew words in daily speech, he does not usually use them correctly. Sometimes they blindly imitate words and use them incorrectly. I remember coming across a young man who referred to the sidewalk as *Lakhmaniot* (a type of bread used for sandwiches). I told him that it is actually called *Ashkalyot* in Hebrew. He said that is how he heard it being used from others. There are some people who use Hebrew

extensively. Some of them do not even know how to write in Arabic, but they read and write Hebrew quite well (M. Ghanem, Phone Interview, March 21, 2020).

5.3 The Impact of this language Model on Future Palestinian Generations

Around 94% of the respondents admitted that Hebrew has a linguistic impact on their children and the children of others around them. Exposure to Hebrew through the parents naturally influences children's language models. Mohammad Hasan, a 57 year-old worker from Faqou'a remarks that: "I am sure it affects my children. I try not to use Hebrew terms in my home, but the children usually pick up Hebrew common words, especially those related to work. When the kids hear their father say some Hebrew words they will start to ask about their meanings and as a result they tend to remember them" (M. Hassan, Phone Interview, March 6, 2020). In another interview, the respondent said: "Using Hebrew will definitely have an impact on my children. My son knows the phone charger as *Matain* because I always ask him to bring me the *Matain*." (T. Abdullah, Phone Interview, March 13, 2020). The flow of Hebrew terms from the older to the younger generation has also been facilitated by the relative closeness between Arabic and Hebrew. Both are Semitic languages. Modern Hebrew is also a mix of different languages, including Arabic.

From another perspective, this language model was also employed in an inverse way. Palestinians use Arabic words as euphemisms to refer to objects and processes associated with the occupation, instead of using Hebrew words. Those words are often used to express frustration at realities of occupation and lack of freedom. According to Mohammad Ali, a 40-year old worker from Qabatia. "We use (*Ma'ata*) معاطة to refer to the full height steel turnstiles. *Ma'ata* in spoken Palestinian Arabic refers to the machine

used to pluck the feather of a chicken prior to cooking.” It is used to express the feeling that Palestinians are treated like chickens in a slaughterhouse.”

In terms of their cultural impact, 50% of the respondents believe that this language-shifting model does not have an impact on Palestinian culture or sense of identity. “It is merely a question of using a few words in a limited context” (I. Hussein, Phone Interview, March 6, 2020). Several other respondents stressed that using Hebrew words does not detract from the fact that Israel is an occupation force. Israel has always been and shall forever remain the aggressor in the eyes of Palestinians. “Future generations will be better educated and can resist this type of influence (I. Salameh, Phone Interview, March 7, 2020 and K. Al Yousef, Phone Interview, March 13, 2020). Not only will there be no impact on the identity and the culture of Palestinians, several respondents believe that learning and speaking Hebrew is a good thing in order to know Israelis better and learn how to deal with and resist them properly.” (T. Abdullah, Phone Interview, March 13, 2020 and A. Khalil, Phone Interview, March 7, 2020). A 50 year--old worker remarked that “We must learn our enemy’s language; it doesn’t affect our culture and is more useful than harmful. I was working at an Israeli woman's house then I found out that she was originally from Morocco. She did not tell us that she could understand Arabic because she was afraid of us and wanted to know what we were talking about” (M. Walid, Phone Interview, march 21, 2020).

5.4 Conclusions

In conclusion, the high levels of unemployment resulting from the lack of decent work opportunities for Palestinian youth has forced many educated people to seek work in Israel. Unlike their less educated peers, educated Palestinian workers seem to be less influenced by the Hebrew integrated language model and have reportedly preserved more stable practices of maintaining Arabic within the West Bank. Hebrew, on the other hand

has often been used in the West Bank to refer to professional terms as a result of interactions between the workers and Hebrew speaking individuals. The impact of Hebrew on non-technical terms is quite minimal, as evidence from respondent's views. The cultural impact seems also quite neutral as half of the interviewees remarked that there is lasting impact on the culture and the identity of Palestinians, while the other half expressed some concern that some of these words might influence younger generations' sense of identity.

Chapter Six: Discussion, Conclusions and Recommendations

6.0 Introduction

In this chapter the researcher will unpack each question based on the methodology she adopted during the research stage and present the key findings. Finally, she will provide some key recommendations for further future studies.

6.1 Discussion of the Findings of Research Question One:

1. Research Question One: What are the reasons behind replacing many Arabic words either in general contexts or in technical contexts with their Hebrew counterparts?

There are different reasons reinforcing the usage of this integrated language model as reported by informants. Socialization was stated to be one of the most important ones. The constant interaction and socialization with Hebrew speaking people have, unconsciously, developed and enhanced a language model that incorporates Hebrew words within regular speech. Although this is a natural result of socialization, there is another factor that contributes to this. Palestinian workers start to use this integration in their early periods of socialization in order to be understood, therefore, communication tend to be one of the most important reasons for using Hebrew among Palestinians. Desire to be clearly understood through using Hebrew counterparts of Arabic terms is not only directed to Israeli audience, but also to Israeli Arabs, who are often unfamiliar with the Arabic alternatives.

In addition to that, there are some Hebrew words that are commonly used by the mass population as they are only known with their Hebrew names. Such words include terms that were not known before in the culture and were imported to the Palestinians visa-vi their interaction with Israelis and Israeli Arabs. Words related to new technologies

were absent from the Palestinian daily culture. The import process of those technologies, tools and equipment was not done in isolation from importing their names as well with no much effort being done to replace them with appropriate Arabic alternatives. As a result, those words' Arabic alternatives are simply not known to people.

Using Hebrew with religious reflections was also stated to be one of the reasons of adopting this language model in general and speaking full Hebrew in specific. Familiarizing yourself with the enemy's language and terms is advised to from a religious perspective as reported by some respondents. In order to protect yourself from deception or being killed, it is believed that knowing Hebrew is as important as speaking Arabic. Workers receive public services from Hebrew speaking people and they feel that they should be familiar with their rights and obligations and in order to do so they should first be familiar with language spoken there. Survival is also one of the protection reflections on using this language model. One word could possibly protect you from being killed or arrested by the police.

From another perspective, although 57 percent of the respondents stated that Arabic alternatives of used Hebrew words are comprehensible to other West Bankers, they have excluded the commonly used words by the collective population and those are the words that were first known to people with their Hebrew terms as mentioned earlier. The other 43 percent still believe that the Arabic counterparts of Hebrew used words are incomprehensible to many people. The unconscious usage of Hebrew terms led around two thirds of the respondents to report that they and the others around them do not often realize that many of the words they use on a daily basis are Hebrew. Unsurprisingly, some may even assume that they are Arabic terms. Additionally, most of the users of this language model do not feel happy about this and would have preferred that they use Arabic instead. With reference to the impact of education on adopting this language

model, it was believed by the majority that educated people tend to incorporate Hebrew words in their speech less than others who have lower education levels. The tendency to preserve and maintain Arabic alongside the shorter periods spent in Israeli controlled areas has contributed to the infrequency of the Hebrew integrated language model among educated people.

6.2 Discussion of the Findings of Research Question Two:

2. Research Question Two: Is the prevalence of this language model within the northern part of the West Bank adopted by the community as a whole or is just limited to a certain group of community based on their interaction with Israelis as a result of access?

To answer this question, language shifting model was investigated on two different levels. The technical terms level and the day to day non-technical terms. The community adaptation of the above mentioned language model in technical context was reported to be clearly observed and used by the community as a whole. In other words, even the West Bank population who have no access to work opportunities in 1948 Occupied Palestine or those who may have had previous access that stopped a long time ago still incorporate Hebrew words in technical contexts. With reflections on part of the answer to the first question, many words have been first known to Palestinians as a result of being imported from Israelis. Therefore, people may not be aware of the Arabic counterparts of such terms and as a result a collective adaptation of language shifting model was inherited by the course of time. Nevertheless, it should be clearly understood that this shifting method is only used with a group of already identified and agreed upon terminology.

The other level that examines the community adaptation of Hebrew shifting language model was the usage of daily spoken non-technical Hebrew terms. The

researcher was explicitly expecting that this language model is absent from day to day terms. Surprisingly, the majority have reported that also daily spoken Hebrew words are also integrated. However, it was only linked to some limited contexts based on the level of socialization with non-Hebrew speakers, transfer of such terms by other workers, including old ones, who worked in 1948 Occupied Palestine and the acknowledgement of the community as a whole of such terms as a result of agreement by some that those Hebrew terms are even easier to use. The latter was more common in the answers of people are less educated. The function of the word has also been reported to be one of the reasons why Hebrew is integrated as some of the Hebrew words have more compound Arabic alternatives based on the function.

6.3 Discussion of the Findings of Research Question Three:

3. Research Question Three: What is the possible impact of these language shifts on future generations? How can this be explored with the context of Palestinian identity?

The linguistic effect on the children of the workers and other children around them was clearly acknowledged. While the majority felt that children pick Hebrew words from the adults and transfer them to other children in the community. Although there was some reference to the commonly used words by the community, it is still believed that children can very easily be linguistically affected and as Hebrew has many words with Arabic origins, the process of transferring Hebrew terms would be easier for children.

The cultural impact, on the other hand, is believed to be equally evaluated among respondents. Half of the respondents believed that Hebrew shifting model has no impact on the culture and identity of Palestinians and Israelis are still looked at as being occupiers of the land. In the same time, the other half felt that there is an impact on the Palestinian culture, however, this is limited to certain groups, such as youth or those

working in 1948 occupied Palestine, or periods and will fade away by the course of time. Although a newly developed sense of normalcy towards the newly transferred culture that has been developed among some youth as a result of over-socialization with Hebrew speaking people, it is still believed that as people advance in age, the cultural impact will be in its minimal. Meanwhile, some odd and strange habits, that cannot be ignored, entered the Palestinian culture resulting from this as stated by some respondents.

6.4 Conclusions

The research problem of this study, mentioned earlier, led the researcher to three research questions that are anticipated to help her understand the context and reasoning of using this language model in the West Bank. However, before jumping to the questions and the key findings of the interviews conducted, it goes without saying that understanding the profile of the construction workers in the West Bank, will pave the way to understanding the issue of integrating Hebrew within Palestinian Arabic used in the West Bank.

With an economy that is challenged by control over the borderlines and ports by Israelis, Palestine has one of the very high reported unemployment rates with almost 31 percent of the total population above the age of 15, 25 percent of which are males and 51 percent were females. Nevertheless, among the total working labor force, 13.3 percent work inside 1948 Occupied Palestine. This percentage also suggests that around 18 percent of the total employed people in the West Bank work in those areas. In a quick comparison with 2016, the 2018 stats reported an increase in unemployment rates among Palestinians by 1.5 percent, which also indicates that with the increasing pressure imposed on the Palestinian economy, this percentage is less likely to decrease without proper mitigation.

The construction sectors topped all other sectors with laborers having access to inside 1948 Occupied Palestine reporting a percentage of 46 percent. The profile of construction workers key informants was presented according to four factors that were believed to have contributed to the prevalence of the Hebrew integrated language model. The list of factors included age, education, years of experience accessing 1948 Occupied Palestine, and the duty of station in there. The results showed that the older the worker is, the more conscious he is about the impact of this language model on the collective language usage in his community.

On the other hand, the majority of workers interviewed have completed, or partially completed, secondary education level. With one of the highest rates of higher education enrollment worldwide, many Palestinian workers are deprived from their right to complete higher education due to the social and economic implications of the Israeli occupation.

The third factor, which refers to the years spent working in 1948 Occupied Palestine, represents another determinant in the adaptation of the Hebrew language integrated model. The longer the worker stays there and socialize with speakers of Hebrew or extreme users of this language model, the more likely his speech is geared to incorporate Hebrew words in his speech.

For more understanding of the factors mentioned earlier, the researcher tried to contextualize the driving cause of working inside 1948 Occupied Palestine given that this choice may entail risks to the freedom or lives of Palestinian workers. Being on top of list, lack of meaningful access to employment opportunities in the West Bank drive thousands of workers to access the Green Line zone to work there. This is usually accompanied by other types of benefits, especially for those holding valid work permits. The social and economic implications of the occupation drove many

Palestinians not to continue their higher as they provide for their families, even though it is a personal choice of the worker, the occupation sequences led those workers to let go their future endeavors to overcome the financial burden.

Adopting new technologies and having more up to date potentials was another justified reason for Palestinian workers to go and work there. The utilization of such technologies seemed to be attractive to West Bank workers for two main reasons: First, it is an opportunity for them to upgrade their skills and knowledge, second it is also a desired option to reduce the physical efforts that burn them out throughout the day. The last reported reason for accessing areas controlled by Israelis to work tended to be oriented to the desire to explore the outer world and explore new things around Palestinians. Although this reason is more youth-driven, it still reflects the stress exacerbated due to the existence of Israeli occupation.

Referring to the contextualization of the research problem, the usage of the Hebrew integrated language model was believed to be not prevalent in the pre-access period for workers. However, a bit less than half of the respondents believe Hebrew words are used among Palestinians even before they access Israeli controlled areas.

The previously stated research problem led the researchers to compose three research questions to help her analyzing the problem comprehensively.

6.5 Recommendations for Further Studies

This research tried to tackle the different perspectives of using Hebrew integrated language model and commonality of using it. It did not, nonetheless, investigate much deeper into the cultural perspectives and impacts of using this language model on the young generations by hearing the voices of the younger including adolescents. The researcher recommends consulting adolescent workers and non-workers on the direct impact of Hebrew on their culture and practices. It is also highly recommended to further

investigate the impact of having Hebrew words of Arabic origins on the prevalence of this language model among Palestinians. Additionally, clear linkages should be made with similar, fully or partially, adopted Hebrew shifting language model in Gaza as it refers to different levels of socialization with Hebrew speaking people between Gaza and the West Bank. Although there is a mutual agreement among all Palestinians on the perception of Israel as an occupying entity, the political transitions and dynamics in Gaza and the West Bank, and the access to inside 1948 Occupied Palestine my all, among some other factors, play a key role in determining the community adoption and acknowledgement of such a language model.

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Appendix (1)

Interviews Outline

No.	Type of Interview	Date	Community	Name	Age	Last Education level
1	Written	06/03/2020	Jalboun	Ibrahim Hussein	45	12 th grade
2	Taped	06/03/2020	Faqou'a	Mohammad Hassan	57	College Diploma
3	Taped	06/03/2020	Faqou'a	Bassam Tawfiq	55	12 th grade
4	Taped	07/03/2020	Faqou'a	Mohammad Ali	40	11 th grade
5	Taped	07/03/2020	Faqou'a	Ibrahim Salameh	57	College Diploma
6	Taped	07/03/2020	Faqou'a	Ahmad Khalil	43	9 th grade
7	Taped	13/03/2020	Faqou'a	Hothaifa Sabri	28	BA. Accounting
8	Written	13/03/2020	Qabatya	Khalid Al Yousef	45	12 th grade
9	Taped	13/03/2020	Faqou'a	Tareq Abdullah	34	12 th grade
10	Taped	14/03/2020	Faqou'a	Ali Al Saleh	43	11 th grade
11	Taped	14/03/2020	Faqou'a	Fat'hi Ahmad	56	10 th grade
12	Written	14/03/2020	Qabatya	Faisal Al Khatib	54	6 th grade
13	Taped	20/03/2020	Faqou'a	Mohammad Sami	43	11 th grade
14	Taped	20/03/2020	Faqou'a	Mohammad Barakeh	30	BA.
15	Written	20/03/2020	Qabatia	Mohammad Olayan	29	12 th Grade
16	Written	21/03/2020	Maithaloun	Mohammad Ghanem	28	BA.
17	Written	21/03/2020	Faqou'a	Malek Walid	50	11 th grade

Appendix (2)

Checklist of the Semi-Structured Interviews

أعزائي المشاركين أنا الطالبة نيفين برهان انخيلي، طالبة دراسات عليا في جامعة الشرق الأوسط ، أقوم بإجراء دراسة للحصول على درجة الماجستير في تخصص اللغة الإنجليزية وآدابها بعنوان **أثر اللغة العبرية على اللغة العربية المحكية في مناطق شمال الضفة الغربية في فلسطين: دراسة حالة لعمال وحرفيي قطاع الإنشاءات العاملين في مناطق الداخل الفلسطيني المحتل عام 1948**

والغرض من هذا البحث معرفة الآثار السلبية لانتشار اللغة العبرية في المجتمع الفلسطيني. و اعطاء بعض الاقتراحات لدعم اللغة العربية وثقافتها وحمايتها من الآثار السلبية لانتشار اللغة العبرية. وذلك الننا نعيش في دائرة صغيرة نتيجة الاحتلال الاسرائيلي و سيطرته على مناطق أ ب ج، ونظرا لانتشار اللغة العبرية بين العمال الفلسطينيين داخل الخط الأخضر ، قد تتأثر اللغة العربية سلبا في ظل هذا الانتشار وكذلك تؤثر سلبا على ثقافة الشعب الفلسطيني وسلوك الافراد وذلك لوجود علاقة متينة بين اللغة ومستخدميها .

وتهدف الدراسة إلى تحقيق الامور الاتية:

1. دراسة الأسباب الكامنة وراء استبدال العديد من الكلمات العربية التقليدية سواء في السياقات العامة أو في السياقات التقنية بنظراء عبرية.

2. استكشاف مدى انتشار التناوب اللغوي في مناطق شمال الضفة الغربية ، وإذا كان هذا النموذج قد تم تبنيه من قبل المجتمع ككل أم يقتصر فقط على مجموعة معينة بناءً على تفاعلهم مع الإسرائيليين من خلال عملهم في مناطق الخط الأخضر.

3. دراسة الأثر المحتمل لهذا التناوب اللغوي على الأجيال الفلسطينية القادمة وكيف من الممكن ان يؤثر ذلك في الهوية الفلسطينية.

وتهدف هذه المقابلة الى اتمام اجراءات البحث، وأود التعبير مسبقا عن شكري وامتناني لمساعدتكم لي في الاجابة عن الاسئلة المرفقة.

سيتم التعامل مع المعلومات الواردة في المقابلات بسرية تامة .واشكركم على حسن تعاونكم.

Appendix (3)

Interviews Questions

1. How long have you been working in the 1948 occupied territories? How many years have you been working there?
2. In which areas do you work more? Jewish populated areas? Or Arabs populated areas?
3. Before you went to work there, were you using Hebrew words in your daily conversation with other Palestinians in the West Bank, whether technical terms related to your profession or common terms of day-to-day language?
4. What makes you use Hebrew terms?
5. Do you think that the use of the Arabic alternatives to these words is incomprehensible to others?
6. What about others who do not go to work inside 1948 Occupied Palestine, do they use the Hebrew or Arabic terms when it comes to technical terms?6. Going back to the previous question, do the same people use Hebrew terms in their regular daily conversation?
7. Do you notice that the Hebrew terminology, whether it expresses technical matters related to different professions or daily ordinary speech, has had an impact on your children and the children of others in the society in which you live?
8. Going back to the previous question, do the same people use Hebrew terms in their regular daily conversations?
9. Do you notice that Hebrew terminologies, whether they express technical terms related to the different professions or day-to-day spoken language, has had an impact on your children and the children of others in the society in which you live?

10. If the answer is yes, in your opinion what is the impact of using the Hebrew terms and expressions on the culture and identity of the Palestinian generations?
11. How well do people realize that the used words are Hebrew?
12. How do you feel when you realize that these words are Hebrew? Do you feel sad using them? Do you stop using them? Do you try to find an Arabic alternative?
13. Do educated people use Hebrew terms? Does the level of education affect the use of Hebrew?
14. What are the reasons behind your work in occupied Palestine?

Appendix (4)

Examples of Hebrew Words with their Arabic Meanings and Transcripts According to Amara 2010

Hebrew transcript	Hebrew pronunciation	Arabic meaning
שמנת	שמִינַת	لين
מכשיר	מִכְשִׁיר	جهاز خلوي
חופש	חֻפְּשׁ	إجازة أو عطلة
בסדר	בְּסִידֵר	חסنا
מזגאן	מִזְגָּן	مكيف الهواء
מיץ	מִיץ	عصير
רמזור	רִמְזוֹר	إشارة ضوئية
דשא	דִּישֵׁה	عشب
לא	לוֹ	لا
קליטה	קְלִיטָה	التقاط
מחסום	מִחְסוֹם	حاجز
ארגז	אֲרָגַז	صندوق كبير
מנוף	מְנוֹף	رافعة
חומר	חֹמֵר	مواد خام
תקונים	תְּקוּנִים	تصليحات
כסף	כֶּסֶף	فلوس
עבודה	עֲבוּדָה	عمل
אשכוליות	אִשְׁכוּלִיּוֹת	كريفوت
תפוזים	תְּפוּזִים	برتقال
בגרות	בְּגֵרוּת	شهادة الثانوية العامة

תחנה מרכזית	تخانه مركزيت	محطة الباصات
מונית	مونييت	تكسي
מנהל	مناهيل	مراقب عمل أو مسؤول عن العمال
שייש	شايش	رخام
טלפון נייד	بلفون	هاتف خليوي