**Hebrew words in the Arabic literary works of the author Shokeya Mansour: Influence of the Hebrew language or portent of the Hebrification of Arabic?**

**Aadel Shakkour1**  
1 Al-Qasemi Academy, Israel, [adsh2007@gmail.com](mailto:adsh2007@gmail.com).

**Abstract**

This article deals with the incorporation of Hebrew words in the Arabic literary writing of the author Shokeya Mansour. We have attempted to answer the question: Does Mansour’s integration of Hebrew words into her literary writing reflect the influence of the Hebrew language upon her as a bilingual person, or does it serve another purpose? The study posits that Mansour does not incorporate Hebrew words into her literary work due to the influence of Hebrew upon her, since Mansour is known for her devotion to the Arabic language, her dedication to the Palestinian people - most of whom live under Israeli occupation - and her strong opposition to the Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories. In addition, the article addresses the contact points between languages, Israeli government policy toward Hebrew and Arabic, the status of Hebrew among Arab citizens of Israel, and the motivations that lead members of an occupied nation to adopt the language of the occupier.

Key words: Arabic, Hebrew, Israel, Palestinian, literature.

**Introduction**

When two peoples encounter each other as a result of proximity, trade, or occupation, a situation of linguistic influence arises. In the case under discussion, Hebrew and Arabic are languages that have come into contact with each other over the course of history. In situations where two language systems encounter and interact with each other, a mutual influence of language categories arises. According to Weinrich, languages in contact exhibit mixing in terms of vocabulary, phonetics, and syntax. This mixing usually occurs when a bilingual speaker employs words from the donor language in the recipient language or identifies a phoneme from the secondary system with a phoneme from the primary system, i.e. the native language (Weinrich, 1968, p. 14). According to Karttunen, when language contact occurs, in general the most immediate, significant, and intense influence is seen in vocabulary, more than in any other dimension of language. It seems that influence on phonology is the second most intense after vocabulary, whereas syntax is the most resistant area to influence. (Karttunen, 1977, p. 183).

Israeli Arabs exhibit a classic example of bilingualism, since they speak Hebrew in addition to their native Arabic. Ferguson divided Arabic into the high variety (classical) and the spoken language, i.e. the low variety, which is used in everyday life. The latter is exempt from the normative rules of the classical language, since one can find a relatively large number of foreign elements in spoken Arabic in contrast to literary Arabic, which tries to preserve normativity (Ferguson, 1959, p. 336). When cultures encounter each other in their various forms, language serves as the vehicle for this encounter, but the field of power usually expresses a linguistic superiority, which is likely related to the cultural dominance of one culture over another.

In what follows, we will address the incorporation of Hebrew words in the literary works of the Arab writer, Shokeya Mansour. Like many Arab citizens of Israel who are proficient in Hebrew - to varying degrees - as a second language, Mansour is bilingual. Mansour was born in Nazareth, has worked in the field of journalism, and writes regular columns for several newspapers. She writes stories and poetry, as well as articles on political and social topics. Mansour resides in the Tira, a city in the area known as the ‘Triangle,’ a concentration of Arab towns in Israel. She was not selected arbitrarily for this study: Mansour is known for her devotion to the Arabic language, and for her strong opposition to the process of ‘Hebrification’ of Arabic in the State of Israel, especially in the spoken dialect. This study presumes, in light of what is known about Mansour, that her incorporation of Hebrew words in her writing does not reflect the influence of Hebrew upon her, nor is it an arbitrary occurance; rather, Mansour’s integration of Hebrew words is conscious, reflecting her ideological orientation toward the Arabic language, as well as her policies with respect to language.

In this regard, it should be noted that the influence of Hebrew on Arabic in Israel is significant, and at its peak can be seen in attempts by Arab writers to produce *belles-lettres* in Hebrew, either by creating literary works in Hebrew or by translating them from Arabic into Hebrew. Arab authors deliberately weave Arabic words into these works, so as to convey the Arabic source culture and to mediate between the two languages—Hebrew and Arabic. There is a growing number of these authors: currently there are eleven such writers (Shakkour, 2013, pp. 1-17; Shakkour, 2014, pp. 169-195).