**Methods of integrating Hebrew lexical items into spoken Arabic by Arabic speakers in Israel**

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This paper deals with the question of how contact between the Hebrew and Arabic languages in Israel is reflected in vocabulary: specifically, with respect to Hebrew words that have entered into the spoken language of Arab citizens of Israel (Muslims, Christians, and Druze). We also note that a significant part of the words at the end of the paper are not mentioned by any other researchers.

While we examine the permeation of Hebrew into spoken Arabic, this is not the main thrust of this paper, since the phenomenon in question is well-known and has been widely discussed in the scholarly literature. The most extensive study dealing with this topic is Marʿī's *Wallāh Beseder*, Keter Publishers, Jerusalem.[[1]](#footnote-1) However, Marʿī did not conduct an empirical investigation to determine the domain of dominant influence of mixed speech, the domain of minimal influence, and the motives for this, as we did in the present study. Nor did Marʿī address the issue of the Israeli government's covert policy on the use of Hebrew words in the spoken language of Israel's Arabs, as reflected in particular in the Nationality Law.

We address the policies of the Israeli government regarding Hebrew. We found that the Israeli government is satisfied with the permeation of Hebrew words into spoken Arabic, since this phenomenon is consistent with its language policies and coheres with its wishes. It is worth noting that, since the early days of the State of Israel, the Israeli government has taken various measures to Hebraize Arab individuals and to weaken the status of the Arabic language among Arab citizens of Israel. Thus, it is not surprising that the government encourages this phenomenon and views it in a positive light.

**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.[[2]](#footnote-2) 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.[[3]](#footnote-3)

It should be noted when two languages are in close proximity, they often share numerous words that are etymologically cognate. This is frequently the case in Hebrew and Arabic. As a result, Arabic words and expressions are the backbone of Israeli slang. Arabic words mirror Israeli Hebrew slang, as keywords which represent traits, feelings, everyday discourse, and more. [[4]](#footnote-4)

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.[[5]](#footnote-5) 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. Below, we discuss the permeation of Hebrew words into spoken Arabic in Israel. This study argues that the Israeli government is content with the phenomenon of language mixing, and even encourages it, albeit covertly. Further, it is reasonable to assume that the phenomenon of language mixing will demonstrate that the influence of Hebrew on spoken Arabic occurs in vocabulary, since, as noted above, influence on vocabulary is the most significant. In addition, we argue that the Israeli government encourages this phenomenon, since it is in line with its language policies.

For the purposes of this study, we recorded 20 free, natural conversations within the Arab sector in Israel. The participants in the conversations comprised male and female adults, young people, and older people. Participants were selected at random and reflect a wide spectrum of the population in terms of educational level—elementary, high school, and higher education. Conversational topics were taken from everyday life, and included education, customs, tradition, sport, food and cooking, music, etc. From the recordings, we attempted to examine how Hebrew words had permeated spoken Arabic. Further, the study addressed the status of Hebrew among Arabs in Israel, the factors affecting Hebrew proficiency among Arabs in Israel, and the language policies of the Israeli government regarding Hebrew, in order to demonstrate that the phenomenon of Hebrew words permeating into spoken Arabic is in line with Israeli government policy, and that therefore the government is supportive of this.

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.[[6]](#footnote-6)

**Contact between languages, in particular between Hebrew and Arabic**

Language is a dynamic essence that shapes and forms over time. Most of the world's languages have developed in stages. The spoken and written forms gradually change in all parts of a region where the population is united by language. The spoken form changes first, with the written form changing in the wake of shifts in the spoken form. However, written language is more conservative than spoken language. The languages of oral cultures that do not possess a written form or a writing system also exhibit gradual change. These cultures produce extensive literature in terms of poetry, folk tales, proverbs, and fables, and these literary genres differ from the colloquial language, even when no written language exists. In general, these forms are more conservative than spoken language, which evolves and shifts.[[7]](#footnote-7)

Few spoken cultures exist in isolation without contact with other cultures. Contact with other cultures often occurs as a result of competition, war, or occupation, etc.—phenomena that result in heavy losses for one of the language cultures. Since the nineteenth century, scholars have sought to describe the linguistic characteristics of remote tribes in the Americas and elsewhere, in order to study their fundamental linguistic properties and describe the development of the world's languages. To date, data has been gathered on groups of language speakers in Australia, the Pacific Islands, and elsewhere.[[8]](#footnote-8)

Most of the world's languages are not isolates. War and occupations, trade links, cultural relations, and political ties between countries (including marriages between royal houses from various states), voluntary and forced migrations (e.g. deportations), and contact with neighbors who speak other languages give rise to considerable interlinguistic influence. These influences may be hidden or overt. Evidence of this is seen in the long history of the Middle East as well as of peoples in all parts of the world.[[9]](#footnote-9)

The Hebrew language can hardly be said to have developed in isolation, and its history shows substantial developments in every strata of the language, most of which stem from contact with other languages. Examples include the influence of Aramaic, Greek and Latin discernible in early rabbinic literature. Medieval Hebrew was similarly shaped by contact with other languages.

**Theories of bilingualism**

Globalization and constant contact between different peoples and cultures often require individuals to speak more than one language. In many countries, knowledge of another language—especially English, which is considered a particularly prestigious language—is a prerequisite for many professions. If an individual prefers not to wait for a translation of a particular book that is not written in her mother tongue, for instance, she needs to master more than one language.[[10]](#footnote-10) Today, it is not unusual for people to strive to become bilingual (or multilingual), and parents are increasingly concerned that their children learn other languages. As a result, bilingualism (or multilingualism) has been broadly discussed and has attracted considerable interest from scholars in various parts of the world.[[11]](#footnote-11)

However, the concept of bilingualism does not have a single definition. Many scholars have defined this phenomenon, and it is likely that more will do so in the future.[[12]](#footnote-12) Bloomfield argues that only those with native control of two languages are considered bilinguals, a definition that excludes those whose second language is not well developed (e.g. those starting to learning a new language) or cases where people shift to a new language (such as immigrants) and "forget" their mother tongue in order to adopt a second language. In the case of immigrants, the native language is often rendered useless, because they have moved to a country where it is not spoken and have to communicate in the language of the new country.[[13]](#footnote-13) Mackey considers bilingualism to be the alternate use of two or more languages by the same individual,[[14]](#footnote-14) while Weinreich has a definition similar to Mackey's, arguing that bilingualism is the practice of alternately using two languages.[[15]](#footnote-15) Meanwhile, Grosjean defines bilingualism as the regular use of two (or more) languages, and bilinguals as those who need and use two (or more) languages in their everyday lives.[[16]](#footnote-16) According to Wei, the term "bilingual" primarily describes someone who has two languages. People present varying degrees of proficiency, and that this has to be taken into consideration. Wei emphasizes the widely-held idea that not only those who live in multilingual countries exhibit bilingualism or multilingualism.[[17]](#footnote-17) Moreover, not all residents of nations where two or more languages have full official recognition (e.g. Canada, Belgium, and Finland) are bilinguals. In Canada, for instance, just 3% of Canadians are officially bilingual, i.e. they speak both Canada's official languages of English and French.[[18]](#footnote-18)

Hamers and Blanc argue that bilingualism refers to the state of linguistic community in which two languages are in contact, with the result that two codes can be used in the same interaction, and that a number of individuals are bilinguals.[[19]](#footnote-19) Butler and Hakuta, however, define bilinguals as individuals or groups of people who obtain communicative skills and various degrees of proficiency in oral and/or written forms in order to interact with speakers of one or more languages in a given society. Accordingly, bilingualism can be defined as psychological and social states of individuals or groups of people that result from interactions via language in which two or more linguistic codes (including dialects) are used for communication.[[20]](#footnote-20)

According to Fromkin, Rodman, and Hyams, bilingual language acquisition refers to the (more or less) simultaneous acquisition of two languages beginning in infancy or before the age of three years. If a person learns another language after acquiring the first, for them it refers to second language acquisition, and not to bilingualism.[[21]](#footnote-21) Steiner and Hayes use the definition of bilingualism as the ability to speak, read, write, or even understand more than one language. Their concept of bilingualism is very broad: according to their definition many people would be considered bilingual, even if they have not fully mastered the language.[[22]](#footnote-22)

**The relationship of the Arab population in Israel to Hebrew**

Hebrew has a prominent place in the daily lives of Israeli Arabs, almost all of whom have mastered it at some level. Hebrew learning in schools and daily contact between Arabs and Jews have meant that Hebrew has become integral to the needs of Arab citizens, and thus the language has acquired status in Arab society. The study of Hebrew and acquisition of fluency in it provide Israeli Arabs with multiple means to access the Jewish majority group that controls the country and most of its social, economic, and educational resources. Language is the central mechanism for interpersonal communication, and it is via language that individuals communicate with the outside world and strengthen social frameworks and cultural consciousness.[[23]](#footnote-23)Thus, the use of Hebrew is an essential and important tool for Israeli Arabs, which makes their daily lives easier.[[24]](#footnote-24)

Although Hebrew is the second most important language among Israeli Arabs, crucial for contact with Jews in various spheres of life and as an agent for modernization, there remain sociolinguistic restrictions on language convergence, according to Ben Rafael,

The dual identity (Palestinian and Israeli) is reflected in the linguistic repertoire of Palestinians in Israel. The tension between the two identities—Israeli and Palestinian—limits the degree of convergence with Hebrew, the language of the dominant Jewish culture. In other words, Arabs adopt a strategy of linguistic integration. On the one hand, by acquiring a high linguistic competence in Hebrew, Arabs attempt to connect to the wider social network shaped by the majority culture; on the other, they preserve their identity by maintaining their mother tongue.[[25]](#footnote-25)

Arabs learn Hebrew as a second language within Israel's formal education system. Students have a positive attitude to Hebrew, and do not perceive it as an enemy language. Arabs respect and cherish Hebrew as an important language and seek to learn it to a high degree of proficiency. Arab students are prepared to learn Hebrew not only for communication with speakers of that language, but also in order to get to know the lives of the Jewish people and to take part in the life of the state. A significant proportion of students reported that they were happy to learn Hebrew from first grade, and that they opposed starting to study it at a later stage.[[26]](#footnote-26) The idea that Hebrew is an imperialist language emerged from the perception that the new State founded in Palestine was transient, and that Arab armies would defeat it and change the political map. When Arabs in Israel realized that the State of Israel was an enduring fact, and that Hebrew was an integral part of the landscape, this perception waned.[[27]](#footnote-27)

It is worth noting that Israeli Arabs do not see Hebrew as a language of occupation, unlike Arabs in the West Bank and Gaza post-1967. Palestinian electronic media regard Hebrew as the language of the Zionist enemy, used to manage administrative affairs vis-à-vis the occupation, and they warn the population not to be swayed by it so as to avoid legitimizing the continuation of the occupation.

**Factors affecting the degree of Hebrew proficiency among Arabs in Israel**

Contact between Arabs and Hebrew-speaking Jews occurs at various loci: government offices, workplaces, and places of leisure, such as restaurants. By virtue of this contact, many Hebrew words and even Hebrew sentences have permeated spoken Arabic and have become commonplace among Arabs in Israel, e.g. *beseder* 'O.K.'; ʿ*arutz* 'channel'; *mivtsa* 'sale'; *kanyon* 'mall'; *matsil* 'lifeguard' and many others. In any case, the use of Hebrew words and sentences by Arabs in Israel is not homogeneous but occurs at various levels. The phenomenon depends on several factors including gender, age, place of residence, and frequency of contact. The use of Hebrew words among Arab males is higher than among females, since Arab males tend to be closer to Jewish society than Arab females, in particular in the workplace and government offices. Further, younger people tend to be more fluent in Hebrew than older people. Younger Arabs are more exposed to Hebrew, since they spend some of their time in Jewish leisure places and are exposed to Hebrew publications, in particular newspapers, which greatly helps their fluency in Hebrew and the use of Hebrew words in conversations in Arabic.[[28]](#footnote-28)

Geographic factors and place of residence also exert a large influence on Hebrew usage among Arabs in Israel. The closer an Arab citizen's place of residence is to the center of Jewish metropolitan areas, the more he or she is influenced by Hebrew. Arabs living in the area known as the Triangle and in the Negev desert use Hebrew more than residents of the Galilee. In addition, in mixed cities and mixed neighborhoods, Hebrew usage by Arabs in day-to-day life is higher, since these communities have public institutions shared by both Arabs and Jews. Thus, there is daily contact between Arab and Jewish citizens, a situation that has helped advance Hebrew among Israeli Arabs and has gained it a respectable status among them.

Another factor influencing the use of Hebrew among Israeli Arabs is participation in employment outside of their towns or villages, in workplaces where employers, management, employees, and clients mostly speak Hebrew. The names of tools and instruments utilized in the workplace are in Hebrew, as are the instructions for their use. This situation has meant that Israeli Arabs have to learn Hebrew, which has thus become a dominant part of their lives; without it they would find it difficult to manage their lives. It should be noted that Hebrew is not a particularly difficult language and Arabs master it quickly, since many words are similar and shared between the two Semitic languages.[[29]](#footnote-29)

The age at which Arab students begin to learn Hebrew at schools is also a factor in fluency: the earlier Arab students start to learn Hebrew, the younger they are when they master the language, and the easier it is for them to integrate faster into the economy, industry, and society. Former Israeli education minister Naftali Bennett announced that Arab sector schools would begin studying Hebrew in kindergarten in the 2015 school year. In a speech he stated:

The decision to bring forward the study of Hebrew in the Arab sector to kindergarten age stems from thinking about the children's future. It is our belief that the more fluent children from Arab society become in Hebrew, the better and easier their integration into the economy, industry, and society will be.[[30]](#footnote-30)

Studying in bilingual schools fosters Arab students' linguistic competence in Hebrew to a greater extent than among students who study in Arab schools, since they are taught from a young age by both Jewish and Arab teachers, and thus engage in intensive dialog with Jewish teachers.

***‘Aravrit* -- 'Arabrew'**

A new, mixed, spoken language is emerging among Israeli Arabs themselves, in which Hebrew is a significant component. This speech is a mixture of three languages: literary Arabic, spoken Arabic, and Hebrew. The proportion of Hebrew words that are integrated into this spoken language is directly influenced by the speaker's level of integration into Israeli society. The speaker is the product of an intermediate language, which differs from classical Arabic and from any dialect of spoken Arabic in the Arab world. This language is a linguistic mishmash that consists of spoken Arabic and Hebrew.[[31]](#footnote-31)

This phenomenon is commonly known as linguistic interference. It arises as a result of the influence of one language on a second language in cases where there is a majority and minority or bilingualism. The greater the linguistic proximity of the source language to the target language, the stronger the linguistic interference that occurs. Linguistic interference is expressed in pronunciation, phonology, and in the syntactical structure and morphology of the two languages, but it is mostly dominant in the lexicon.[[32]](#footnote-32)

**Israeli linguistic policy towards Arabic and Hebrew**

Snir offers a detailed analysis of the efforts by Israel's majority culture to dominate the Arab minority following the establishment of the State of Israel, an event that Palestinians refer to as the *Nakba* ("Catastrophe") and which was a traumatic event for Arabs in Israel. The Israeli establishment attempted to impose a system of re-education and re-culturalization aimed at distancing local Arabs from their Palestinian heritage and integrating them into the life of the State, since it considered nationalist tendencies within the Israeli Arab community to be dangerous.[[33]](#footnote-33)

Before he left Israel, the poet Mahmoud Darwish asserted that the premise of the Israeli establishment and the Israeli public was that every Arab was both suspect and guilty. The main argument advanced by policy shapers of the Hebrew studies curriculum was that Hebrew not only contributes to the financial development of the Arab minority, but also encourages its integration with the majority and reduces gaps between Israel's Arab and Jewish communities.[[34]](#footnote-34)

The Israeli establishment's strategy for achieving this goal was harsh and gave rise to a strong negative reaction from the Arab community. For example, Michael Assaf—a Jewish Israeli Middle East expert who was also a key figure in the Arabist arm of the Israeli establishment in the 1950s, and editor-in-chief of Arabic establishment journals including the weekly *Haqīqat al-ʾAmri* (‘The Fact of the Matter’), the daily newspaper *al-Yawm* (‘Today’) and the Arabic journal of the Teachers' Union *Ṣadā al-Tarbiyah* (‘Echo of Education’)*—*suggested that Arab elementary schools should incorporate additional hours of Hebrew study at the expense of Arabic. As a result, Assaf became persona non grata within the Arab community (especially among the communists) and is often described as a disseminator of hatred, incitement, and bias against the Arab minority and as someone with a hostile attitude toward Arabs within and outside of Israel.[[35]](#footnote-35)

In contrast to Snir, who maintains that Israel's majority culture failed to dominate the minds of the Arab minority in Israel despite its best efforts and a strong desire to do so,[[36]](#footnote-36) Amir argues that the majority culture failed in this regard because it did not try. If the majority culture wanted Arabs at all (by force of circumstance, not choice), at most it wanted them to lend a picturesque, Orientalist flavor to the country, to be hardworking, law-abiding subjects, and, wherever possible, to be passive players in party politics. Further, it clearly and openly preferred them to be Arabs who were "loyal to their nation and tradition, fighting perhaps for their rights" in the enlightened Israeli regime, but not to be Israelis with all that this status implied.[[37]](#footnote-37)

The efforts by the majority culture to achieve symmetry between political and cultural hegemony and to assimilate the minority culture have goaded the minority into intense national cultural activity that cannot compare to that of any other Palestinian community. This cultural debate is taking place under a somewhat equivocal reciprocity: the Arab-Palestinian minority had been the majority before Israel's establishment and can still maintain that it is the majority if the balance of Middle Eastern power is considered. On the other hand, the current Jewish majority is not only a minority in a region which is entirely Arab, but its collective consciousness remains permeated with the memory of having been a minority during most of its history, both in the Land of Israel and in the Diaspora. No wonder, then, that it continues to fall back on the characteristic patterns of a minority struggling for existence, or that it uses these patterns to mask its personality.[[38]](#footnote-38)

Hebrew is part of the Zionist project, and of Israel's self-perception as a Jewish state. The Zionist ideology aspired with all its might to realize the slogan "One People, One Language." After the Jews became the majority and the rulers in 1948, they called for the dominant, if not the exclusive, identity of Israel to be Jewish, and for the dominant language to be Hebrew. Even the languages of the Jewish Diaspora were suppressed, including Jewish Arabic languages.[[39]](#footnote-39)

Arabic is the mother tongue and the main national language of Israel's Arab citizens and serves as a written and spoken language for this population. Arabic is taught as a first language in all Arab schools in Israel from first through twelfth grades, and also in Arab teacher training colleges. However, Israeli government policy toward Arabic, which is formally afforded the same status as Hebrew, suggests that Arabic is not in fact perceived as a state language in the same way as Hebrew. The two-faced approach that the Israeli government takes to Arabic reflects how the state defines the boundaries of the Israeli collective.[[40]](#footnote-40)

A comparison between the two languages of Hebrew and Arabic shows that both were mentioned in the guidelines set by David Ben Gurion's government, which announced in the second Knesset that Hebrew would be used as a state language, and that the Arab minority had a right to use its own language. When Jewish members of Knesset objected, insisting their Arab counterparts speak Hebrew, Ben Gurion intervened and stated unequivocally that Arab members of Knesset could give speeches in Arabic.

It is important to emphasize that Israel is one of the few non-Muslim countries in the world that recognizes Arabic as an official language, and that its formal status in Israel is no less than that of Hebrew. However, on a practical level, Arabic is very far from playing this role. In other words, state decisionmakers have managed to transform the officialness of Arabic into a "virtual officialness." The status of Arabic is far lower than that of Hebrew, and in practice Arabic is inferior in status, resources, and opportunities. In many cases, there is a struggle for the survival of Arabic in the State, in the courts in general and in the High Court of Justice in particular.[[41]](#footnote-41)

**How does Hebrew permeate spoken Arabic?**

The domestic environment has introduced many words into Israeli Arabic that are used in everyday life. The Hebrew words prevalent in everyday Arabic encompass all areas of life: economics, society, education, politics, health, sport, food etc. It is worth noting that Hebrew is used as a central language when it comes to food, and in particular for products sold in food stores, so that in a local grocery store in an Arab town one can hear Arabic speakers using Hebrew words when purchasing items such as *ʿuga* 'cake', *naknikiot* 'hot dog sausages', *pitah* 'pitta bread', *laḥmaniyah* 'bread roll' and *kafeh* 'coffee'. [[42]](#footnote-42)

**How is Hebrew integrated into spoken Arabic?**

This study has found that the integration of Hebrew into fluent Arabic speech occurs in various ways: by integrating single Hebrew words or phrases into an Arabic sentence; by both languages being active simultaneously and used as a mixture; or by switching from language to language.

***Integration of single Hebrew words or phrases into the main Arabic sentence***

The simplest and clearest way is to integrate single Hebrew words or phrases into the main Arabic sentence. The integration of single words and phrases in Hebrew into an otherwise Arabic sentence illustrates the concept of salience in language. In other words, the Arabic speaker makes use of Hebrew words within an Arabic sentence because they are more salient than the relevant terms in standard Arabic. For example, the Hebrew phrase קופת חולים (*quppat ḥolim* – Health Maintenance Organization, literally “fund for the ill”) is properly rendered in Arabic as صندوق المرضى (*ṣunduq al-marḍaa*). It is exceedingly rare to hear an Arabic speaker in Israel use this formal translation, given the fact that said speaker has been hearing the phrase *quppat ḥolim* since childhood. Even though it is the formal Arabic *ṣunduq al-marḍaa* that appears on signs, in spoken language one exclusively hears the Hebrew *quppat ḥolim.* The Hebrew words and phrases that have been inserted into Arabic speech are shown in capitals in the following examples:

The Hebrew words and phrases that have been inserted into Arabic speech are shown in capitals in the following examples:

1. *’ana rāyiḥ ‘ala* KUPAT HOLIM.

*I'm going to the* HEALTH CLINIC.

1. *imbāriḥ ashtarit banṭalūn min al-*KANYON

*Yesterday, I bought trousers at the* MALL.

1. *ibni lāzim yūkhiz bukra* ZRIKAH *fi iṣ-ṣiḥiyya*.

*My son has to have a* SHOT *tomorrow at the family health clinic*.

1. *fi* MIVTSA *kabīr ’ala awā‘i*.

There's a big SALE on clothes.

1. *shu bishtghil abūki? abūy bishtghil*MENAHEL AVODAH.

*What does your father do? My father is* a FOREMAN.

1. *hon bibi‘ū* SUFGANIYOT *zākiya ktīr*.

*They sell really tasty* DONUTS *here*.

1. *ṣafeit sayārati ba‘eid li’ano fish maḥal bil-*ḤANYON.

*I parked my car far way, because there was no space in the* PARKING LOT.

1. *il-maṣārīf zādat ktīr ‘ashān heik lāzim na‘mal*TOKHNIT HAVRA’AH.

*Expenses have increased significantly, so we need to make a*RECOVERY PROGRAM.

1. *il-yom al-*MAFMAR *jāy ‘ala l-madraseh.*

*Today, the* EDUCATION MINISTRY INSPECTOR *is coming to the school*.

***Both languages active simultaneously and used as a mixture***

Both languages are active simultaneously— the speaker selects lexical elements from the two languages. That is, the speaker uses the two languages as a mixture. When both languages are in simultaneous use and freely drawn upon, a serious lexical deficiency among Arabic speakers can become apparent. When an Arabic speaker is unaware of a certain term in Arabic, he uses the Hebrew phrase to cover for this Arabic lexical deficiency. At times, even when Arabic speakers are familiar with the proper Arabic term, they nonetheless prefer to use the corresponding Hebrew term as a matter of style – since, without exception, Arabic speakers in Israel integrate Hebrew words into spoken Arabic, even when aware of the Arabic equivalents. In the following examples the lexical elements taken from Hebrew are shown in capitals:

1. *‘iṭla‘at fi* RAKEVET *wa-’ajā ṣāḥibi* ASAF OTI *min al-*TAHANA.

*I traveled on the* TRAIN *and my friend came to* PICK ME UP *from the* STATION.

1. *ib‘athli* HODA'AH *lammā bitaṣṣil ‘al* HARTSA'AH *fi l-*MIKHLALAH.

*Send me a* MESSAGE *when you get to the* LECTURE *at the* COLLEGE.

1. *Al-*MIVTSA *‘ala l-awā‘ī* MISHTALEM *ktīr*.

*The clothing* SALE *is really* WORTH IT.

1. *hāy il-jubnah* DALAT SHUMAN *fīha bas khamseh bil-miyah* SHUMAN.

*This cheese is* LOW FAT, *it only has five percent* FAT.

1. *farīq barshiluna malyan* KOKHAVIM *wa‘indo* SAḤKANIM TOTAḤIM.

*The Barcelona team is full of* STARS, *it has* KILLER PLAYERS.

1. *akhazt* TSIYUN GAVOHAH *fi* MOED BET, *a‘la biktīr min* MOED ALEF.

*I got a* HIGH GRADE *in the* RE-SITS, *much higher than in the* FIRST EXAM.

1. *biddi arūḥ il-yom ‘inda* SOKHEN NESIOT *‘ashān ashtghi* KARTIS TISAH.

*I want to go to the* TRAVEL AGENT *today to buy an* AIRLINE TICKET.

1. *biddi ablash adūr ‘ala* SIMLAT KALAH la’inno *l-* ḤATUNA *ba‘ad shahrīn*.

*I want to start looking for a* BRIDAL GOWN *because the* WEDDING *is in in a few months*.

***Switching from language to language***

In this case, the speaker switches completely from one language to the other in the middle of an expression; in other words, he or she starts the sentence in one language and continues it in the other language. The switch between the two languages in this case entails a complete transition to the other language.

Code-switching from one language to another demonstrates Arab speakers’ command of Hebrew. This proficiency allows them to employ entire Hebrew sentences within their spoken Arabic. Furthermore, code-switching points to the entrenchment of the Hebrew language within spoken Arabic discourse. When code-switching, the Arabic speaker does not merely search for the odd Hebrew word to replace a missing Arabic one, but rather consciously integrates entire Hebrew sentences. In our view, this indicates peak Hebrew influence on spoken Arabic. In the following examples, the Hebrew lexical elements are shown in capitals:

1. *Biddik athgayyibi ‘an it-ta‘alīm jam‘atein?* YESH LI BREIRAH AHERET?

*You want to be absent from school for two weeks?* DO I HAVE ANOTHER CHOICE?

1. *sāfarū ahlak ‘ala īṭāliyah?* HEM KVAR SHEVU’AYIM BE-EILAT.

*Did your parents travel to Italy?* THEY'VE BEEN IN ITALY FOR TWO WEEKS ALREADY.

1. *biddi ashtri sayārah jadīdah bas* ZEH YAKAR ME’OD.

*I want to buy a new car but* IT'S REALLY EXPENSIVE.

1. *kif kān il-imtiḥān?* MAMASH LO BESEDER.

*How was the exam?* TOTALLY NOT O.K.

1. *ibni kān ‘ala ḥamm bil-leil.* LAKAḤTI OTO LEMOKED REFUI.

*My son had a really high fever this evening.* I TOOK HIM TO THE MEDICAL CENTER.

1. *is-sayārah il-jadīdah ḥaqha 130000 alf sheiqel.* ANI LO YEKHOLA LA'AMOD BAMEḤIR HAZEH.

*The new car costs 130,000 NIS.* I CAN'T AFFORD THAT PRICE.

**Attitudes of the Israeli authorities toward the penetration of Hebrew words into Arabic**

Even though the Israeli government does not overtly express its satisfaction with the permeation of Hebrew words into Arabic, it is not difficult to surmise that it is, in fact, content with this phenomenon, since it has been in line with its explicit language policies, since the founding of the State, to bolster Hebrew among Israeli Arabs at the expense of Arabic. It is clear that the Israeli government's policy has not changed since the State was founded, except that, in contrast to the early days of the State, when the policy was explicit and overt, current government policy is covert, and is apparent through the government's actions. For example, in official signage, the names of Hebrew cities are transliterated into Arabic, even though Arabic names for these cities already exist. A case in point is the southern Israeli city of Beersheba, which is written as *be'er sheva* in Hebrew. On signage, this city's Hebrew name is transliterated into Arabic as *bir* *shifa* alongside its original name in Arabic, *biʾri s-sabiʿ*. Another example of a covert policy to reduce the status of Arabic is the Nation State Law, which seeks to anchor the Israel's Jewish identity, characteristics, and symbols, and which passed on its third reading in the Knesset on June 19, 2018. This law is controversial, since it anchors the constitutional value of Jewish identity but, in contrast to the Israeli Declaration of Independence and to the constitutions of other nation states, it does not include any commitment to the values of equality, with all that these entail, alongside national values. In view of the Israeli government's overt policies at the time of the State of Israel's establishment, as well as its current covert policies, it is very reasonable to assume that the Israeli government is satisfied with the permeation of Hebrew words into Arabic.

The Israeli administration's policy of weakening the status of the Arabic language continues to this day and is reflected by the Nation-State Law, passed by the Knesset on July 19, 2018. The Nation-State Law means that Israel is the nation-state of the Jewish people only. According to the principles of the Nation-State Law, the Arabic language is not considered an official language, but rather a language with special status. The Nation=State Law has sparked a bitter debate among Arab citizens of Israel, because it makes no mention of Israel as a democratic state that gives equality to all of its citizens, in addition to the demotion of the status of the Arabic language and the definition of Hebrew as the sole official language of the state.

In 2006, the Higher Monitoring Committee for Arab Citizens of Israel, along withthe National Committee for the Heads of Arab Local Authorities in Israel, published the document, “The Future Vision of the Palestinian Arabs in Israel," which they called a first attempt of its kind to define the role and status of the Arabs in Israel. The document is in fact a vision of eliminating Israel as the nation-state of the Jewish people, and calls for recognition of the Nakba, recognition of the Arab citizens of Israel as a national group, collective national rights for Arabs, and representation in the state’s symbols. The vast majority of Arab citizens of Israel think that the Nation-State Law completely undermines their official national position represented by the Higher Monitoring Committee. The status of the Arabic language in the Nation-State Law is a natural outcome of official policy over 70 years. Arab politicians in Israel are certain that the purpose of the Nation-State Law is to “strip” the Arabs of their identity, their language and their culture. Arab politicians in Israel wonder how the Israeli administration could ignore Arabic, the mother tongue of 20 percent of the citizens of the country. If one wants to make peace with one’s neighbors, one cannot ignore their language.

Minister of Education Naftali Bennett decided in 2015 to begin Hebrew language education in the Arab school system already in kindergarten­­, rather than in third grade as had been the norm before. He claimed that this decision grew out of a concern for the children’s future; the earlier that children from Arab communities master Hebrew, the easier will be their integration into the market, workforce, and society. Moreover, mastery of Hebrew is also necessary in order to succeed in institutions of higher education in Israel. However, both the Nation-State Law and Bennett’s decision to begin Hebrew language education in kindergarten in the Arab sector reinforce the assumption that the Israeli government is entirely satisfied by the penetration of Hebrew words into spoken Arabic and encourages this phenomenon, if surreptitiously. After all, anyone who supports the Nation-State Law will find no difficulty in also supporting the massive penetration of Hebrew words into spoken Arabic.

**Summary and conclusions**

In this article we have distinguished three methods of integrating Hebrew into spoken Arabic: the use of Hebrew words and phrases in an otherwise Arabic sentence; the free and simultaneous use of both languages; and code-switching. These methods are influenced by a variety of factors: the increased salience of Hebrew words in certain contexts relevant to a given sentence; the preference for a Hebrew term over the corresponding Arabic term for reasons of style; and Arabic speakers’ proficiency in Hebrew allowing for the integration of entire Hebrew sentences within spoken Arabic.

The findings of this study indicate a trend of mixed language, i.e. the incorporation of Hebrew words into spoken Arabic. This phenomenon is to be expected, since two languages cannot come into contact without exerting mutual influence, in particular in terms of vocabulary, which is the most vulnerable aspect. This study found that the incorporation of single words or phrases into an Arabic sentence was the most dominant area of influence, since 65% of the mixed speech took the form of incorporating single words or phrases into a sentence in Arabic. Speakers most likely use this form of mixed language because it is the least "harmful" to the sentence structure of spoken Arabic. 25% of the mixed speech occurred when the two languages were active at the same time and were used in a mixture, and 10% of the mixed speech took the form of switching from one language to another.

According to this study's findings, mixed language use is more frequent among Druze and Bedouin citizens. Members of these ethnic groups serve in the Israeli military, and as a result of their more intense exposure to Hebrew during their service, the mixing of Arabic and Hebrew in their language is more pervasive than among the rest of the Arab community in Israel. Further, the modernization that has occurred in Arab villages as well as perceptions of gender equality have played a significant role in strengthening the phenomenon of mixed language use, since many women now study outside Arab villages in Hebrew higher education institutions, and are thus exposed to Hebrew, which is the language of instruction in Hebrew academic institutions in Israel.

Attempts by the Israeli government to boost Hebrew among Israeli Arabs and to weaken Arabic began when the State of Israel was founded and continue to the present day. However, these efforts are now covert, as opposed to the explicit efforts that occurred during the period when Israel was founded. However, these efforts remain an integral part of the Israeli government's language policy. Given the government's overt policies at the time of Israel's establishment, and its current covert policies, it is a reasonable assumption that the Israeli government is very content with the penetration of Hebrew words into spoken Arabic, since this phenomenon is in line with its language policies, which were clearly reflected at the time of the establishment of the State of Israel, and which are still apparent today, even though they are covert.

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