

Code-Switching as a Sign of Modernization among Palestinian Israeli Bilinguals

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Abstract:

This study investigated code-switching in the repertoire of Ṭaibeh community. Changes in the local community repertoire were examined by age, gender and education for the effects of globalization, modernization, and Hebraization. Furthermore, factors including: social class, economic status, group solidarity, traditions, and parental influence are discussed.

Before the establishment of the State of Israel, Ṭaibeh was a village and the center of trade and education for Arabs of the area. Consequently, there was a considerable contact between the foreign and local repertoires, including exposure to foreign languages. In the past, Ṭaibeh was the place of much political activity. The social and economic context of Ṭaibeh allowed many Arabs from other places to visit and interact with the local citizens. The interface between the local citizenry and the outsiders both Arab and Israeli are analyzed in this study by the following variables: age, gender, and education and supported by specific examples of native Arabic speakers of Ṭaibeh.

Key words: Hebraization, code-switching, repertoire.

Introduction: Arab-Israeli sociolinguistics in Israel

Many external factors have affected the status of Arabic in the Levantine area, especially after the establishment of the state of Israel. Camelia Suleiman in her book, *The Politics of Arabic in Israel: A Sociolinguistic Analysis* (2017) addresses to the question of how Arabic attained an official status in the Jewish state. Suleiman cites the analysis of Saban and Amara (2006): "*Historically, Arabic became official because of Article 82 of the Palestine Order in Council in 1922 which was issued by the British Mandate. Yet, the social reality of Arabic in Israel is different in many ways, among them, for instance: is the underrepresentation of Arabic language in road signs and in the court system in Israel. Another aspect in which Arabic has been marginalized is in higher education where there is no Arab university till today, and Arab speakers much be bilingual of Arabic and Hebrew in order to survive their academic education. A case which is not true for their Jewish colleagues.*" (p.125-126).

In 1948, the new State of Israel modified the regulation from the British Mandate era which had English, Arabic, and Hebrew as the official languages of Mandatory Palestine. Yet, the State of Israel's language regulation was far from being clear, according to Spolsky (1994). English was no longer on the list of the official languages. Yet, this omission did not stop English from being widely used second to Hebrew and

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before Arabic (Fishman, 1977). Spolsky further noted that there are more public signs in Hebrew and English than in Hebrew and Arabic (Spolsky & Shohamy, 1999). Amara and Mar'i (2002) extensively and elaborately contend that Zionist ideology forces and socio-economic factors have contributed to the deterioration of the status of Arabic which has become marginalized and finally lost its official status in Israel.

The British Mandatory Government left the matters of education to the two language communities, and two separate educational systems were established, one Hebrew and the other Arabic; this pattern continued after the establishment of the State. Today, Arabs living in Israel use their dialectical Arabic informally and are expected to use standard Arabic in schools' formal setting. They acquire Hebrew formally through the school system and informally at work, through medical services, government offices, and commercial contacts (Saban & Amara, 2002).

Amara and Mar'i describe the status of Arabic in the Jewish State with the Zionist ideology which emphasized the importance of a new identity for its people characterized by the Hebrew person speaking Hebrew and working the Hebrew land. According to this ideology, the Zionists sought distinctiveness was so fiercely implemented that they didn't view Arabic as a threat to their hegemony (Amara & Mar'i, 2002).

The policies to increase Arabic language inferiority practiced by the State of Israel from its establishment are reflected in the wide gap between Arab and Jewish pupils. In addition, the requirement for Arab pupils to study in an education system operated and directed by Hebrew speaking officials who entail the teaching of the Hebrew narrative and culture to these pupils intensifies the gap between the two sides (Amara & Mar'i, 2002, p.14).

Palestinians in Israel have not only experienced major linguistic and educational lifestyle changes, but also demographic and socio-economic changes. Demographically, there was also an enormous confiscation of lands owned by Palestinians and many Palestinians were forced to relocate to other villages and cities. The Palestinians were forced then to move from their agricultural field work to the work in neighboring Jewish cities. In addition, villages became urban-oriented nowadays. These changes made Palestinians dependent mainly on Israel's economy while being viewed as less developed than the Israeli citizens (Amara & Mar'i, 2002, p.23-24).

The political practices of the State of Israel towards the Palestinian minority has also influenced their social life. Palestinians' contact with the Jewish population has accelerated their modernization process, leading to easier access or acceptance of bilingualism and biculturalism ((Samooaha 1989; Al-Haj, 1996, p. 25) as presented in Amara and Mar'i, 2002). This exposure to a more modernized world weakened the traditional patriarchal hierarchy in the Palestinian family, decreased the role of the Hamula formerly crucial in the life of family members, and finally changed the standard of living the Arabs had enjoyed. Yet, despite the modernization process in many aspects of life, the gap between the Palestinians and the Jews did not decrease and the Palestinians remained inferior (Amara & Mar'i, 2002).

Attempts to delegitimize Arabic as an official language in Israel have existed for many years, from 1952; and again in 1980, when the two proposals were rejected in the Knesset (Amara & Mar'i, 2002). Moreover, the rupture between the Jewish and the Palestinian minority in Israel continued to widen until it peaked in 2018 when the Knesset succeeded in passing a law which cancelled the official status of Arabic

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granting it a special status (See <https://www.timesofisrael.com/final-text-of-jewish-nation-state-bill-set-to-become-law/>). This law represented a clear discriminative action against Arab citizens of Israel who have been continuously seeking equality in social, political, economic, and religious aspects among others. There were various attempts by Knesset members to prevent the approval of this new law, but their influence was minimal compared with the large right-wing majority in the Knesset.

The political events in the Middle East, especially the Israeli-Palestinian conflict shaped and contributed to the development of Palestinian-Arabic dialect in Israel. This dialect includes the subdialects of the Galilee, Little Triangle and Negev (Amara & Mar'i, 2011, p.42). Amara and Mar'i discuss factors that contributed to the emergence and change of the Palestinian dialect including exposure to worldwide Arabic media and increased proficiency of standard Arabic, and allowing features from non-Palestinian Arabic dialects to enter the local dialect. Increased education has provided the opportunity for learners to have greater contact and borrowing from Hebrew and English because learning materials are written in these languages. Decreased dependence on agriculture and the movement towards industrialization has increased contact with external dialects through trade, consumer interactions, and other social activities which introduced more prestigious urban forms into the village speech. Intermarriage of villagers with urban women was also mentioned as an influence in the Arabic Palestinian dialect.

Following these changes and developments of the Israeli Arabic-Palestinian dialect, the issue of the use of Hebrew by Palestinian minority speakers within Israel should be addressed. The extent to which Arabs in Israel used Hebrew was limited to young men working with Jewish people or in Jewish cities between the years of 1948-1966. However, today there is an intensive daily contact with Hebrew speaking people in all areas of life irrespective of age, gender or education (Saban & Amara, 2002). Not knowing Hebrew is considered an obstacle for Arabs who wish to know how to manage in government offices, employment and higher education (Amara & Mar'i, 2011, p.57). Formally, Hebrew is taught in Arab schools starting from 3rd grade. The raising importance of Hebrew as the dominant language in the country and as a sign of prestige or modernization caused Arab students to neglect their Arabic language mother tongue and only fulfill the minimum school requirements (Suleiman, 2017). The diminishing status of Arabic was described in Camelia Suleiman book as: "Arabic is the victim or the insistence of the Hebrew-only movement, at the same time globalization and the opening up of the market is giving more space to English at the expense of Arabic." (p.133). This quote accurately describes how Hebrew dominance and globalization have undermined Arabic as a language.

Code-switching

Perfect or complete spoken competency in two languages is difficult to obtain. Consequently, bilinguals often turn to code-switching. Walters (2005) describes lexical access as a very complex process which includes, ...selection and retrieval of words and discourse patterns and matching these structures to the intentions/speech acts generated in the previous stage of processing... When a lexical item from one language is selected from the language choice module and inserted into an utterance in the other language, the lexical item must first be recognized among the pool of available items. The "recognition" process involves searching for a

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word or expression that matches, or comes close in meaning and form, to the one intended and fits (not necessarily perfectly) the syntactic frame into which it will be inserted. (p. 188)

This description of the process of accessing lexical items may involve difficulties which may result in the speaker's code-switching. Alfonzetti (1998) concurs by alleging that code-switching signals the solution for the search problems. Walters (2005) proposed the socio-pragmatic and psycholinguistic model (SPPL) that accounts for language choice decisions by bilingual speakers. His model integrated information from the speakers' social identity and context. The model also used the genre of speech while relating to information from sociology, ethnography, discourse analysis, and social cognition. This model was used in a study by Altman (2007) where she distinguished between the code-switching motivations of three immigrant bilingual groups (English-Hebrew, Russian-Hebrew, and Georgian-Hebrew) aged 60-90 (Burstein-Feldman et al. 2010).

Riley (2001) suggests that the choice of code in a given context is influenced by factors including identity, topic, and relationship, among others. Kopeliovich (2006), for example, examined child-parent interaction in Russian-Hebrew bilingual families. She used the Community of Practice theory and identified four structurally distinct contact varieties (Burstein-Feldman et al. 2010).

Researchers have also examined motivations for code-switching, including social motivations based on setting, participants, and topic. Pragmatically, focus, emphasis, clarification and contrast express code-switching behavior (e.g. Gardner-Chloros, Charles & Cheshire, 2000; Zentella, 1997).

The motivation for codeswitching of French-English bilingual preschool children was studied by Paradis and Nicoladis (2007). They investigated language choice, language dominance and sensitivity to sociolinguistic context in. Their study revealed that preschool bilingual children can achieve discourse separation in language choice, but whether they do so depend on an interaction of their language dominance and sensitivity to the bilingual speech patterns of the larger community (p.294). Similarly, results of Suyal's (2002) study found that "4-year-old French-English and Nepali-English bilingual children's experiences with bi- and monolingualism in adults appeared to affect their language choices in different discourse situations" (p. 279). In a study of 3 and 6 years old Spanish-English bilingual children, Sprott and Kemper (1987) found that the children would code-switch less during an interview with an adult and would switch more when playing with other children.

Attitudes and factors contributing to codeswitching were extensively studied among multilingual speakers. To begin with, Spolsky and Cooper, 1991; in their book *The languages of Jerusalem* addressed the issue of language choices among Arabic speakers in Jerusalem. They contextualized the use of Hebrew language by Arabic speakers mainly in the domain of work or commerce. However, English was used for social purposes and was also the dominant language in education.

Changes in one's code of speech for the purpose of social accommodation or acceptance were raised by Amara (2006) who has identified the powerful effect of the majority language on minority speakers in Israel. He referred to this process as a process of "Hebraization", in which the use of Hebrew is prevalent in central areas of life in the country; such as: work, health and governmental institutions, as well as media and education. Camelia Suleiman, in her book, mentions the debate on the attempts of

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"Israelisation" of the Palestinian minority by manipulative materials and other means in schools. Interestingly, she compares these attempts of Israelisation to Rouhana's claim that the success of the "accelerated modernization" process of the Palestinian minority is seen in changing social values. (Suleiman, 2017). Moreover, Amara and Mar'i, (2002), believe that Arabic is viewed as "symbolic" while Hebrew is viewed as "pragmatic" and taught with much emphasis on culture and national aspects (p.137). Among the pragmatic reasons for learning Hebrew by Arabs in Israel, Amara and Mar'i list the ability to function in governmental offices, work, daily communication and higher education (Amara & Mar'i, 2002).

In support of Amara's points, Abdel-Fattah, 2010 writes on Arabic-Hebrew switching and gives reasons underlying the switching behavior: communication, social considerations, linguistic reasons, and idiosyncratic factors. These reasons are especially significant in light of Hebrew being viewed as a language of higher status and a key to modernization and progress. Paradoxically, Arabic is viewed by Israelis as the language of "a backward culture" as Brosh and Ben-Rafael state in 1994 (Amara & Mar'i, 2002). In contrast, in a study conducted on Arabic-Hebrew code-switching Murad, 2013 stated that switching to Hebrew was not due to 'prestige' reasons; but due to a need of 'technical or scientific terms; or due to the intense exposure of speakers to Hebrew in various social contexts (Murad, 2013).

Recently, Orit Shay presented three studies on the causes of code-switching between Arabic, Hebrew, and English. Code-switching was beautifully presented in her article "TOV, YALLA, BYE": Causes for Code-Switching Between Hebrew-English and Hebrew-Arabic in the Multilingual Society of Israel'. Shay claims that code-switching occurs because of lacking words/lexical voids or because the "other" language makes the speaker feel more educated. She further suggests that this linguistic phenomenon should be viewed as reflecting "standpoints, emotions, social and ethnical belonging and a means for expressing the speaker's self-identification and definition, rather than a linguistic deficiency or inferiority." (Shay, 2016a, p.14)

Borrowing

Language contact facilitates the borrowing and adoption of foreign words and phrases in spoken discourse. Poplack (1988, 220): "the use of a borrowed item is codeswitching until enough speakers use it and it is accepted by native speakers into the dictionary". As early as the 1950s, there were numerous studies, particularly Haugen (1950) that related to the issue of borrowing. Among the many reasons for the occurrence or acceptance of loan words into a language are: side by side contact of languages or cultures over a period of time, domination by one language group over the other, or contact with a prestige language.

The strong effect of borrowing on one's language was addressed by Bloomfield as early as 1933. In his book *Language*, Bloomfield (1933) claimed that children "acquire" rather than "borrow" words. Bloomfield further examines what is called "intimate borrowing" referring to items borrowed between two languages in a single geographical location of a political community. Borrowing usually takes place from the "upper" (dominant) language community to the "lower" one. Based on this distinction, Spoken Arabic in Israel, the language of the minority group and being the "lower" language, constantly absorbs words from Hebrew especially in daily life domains (Dana, 1995; Mar'i, 1997, p.73, as cited in Amara & Mar'i, 2002). Similarly, Burstein-Feldman et

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al. 2010, stated that Hebrew-Arabic signs were rare in Jewish environments yet, Hebrew signs are common in the Arab community especially for commerce (Spolsky & Cooper (1991) and Ben-Rafael et al. (2006)). Ben-Rafael showed this by interviewing Palestinians living in Israel, who despite their proficiency in Hebrew and their desire to keep Arabic as a national symbol; Hebrew dominance prevail (Burstein-Feldman et al. 2010). Amara and Mar'i, 2002, explain that the Hebrew dominance, in addition to the exposure to English, is reflected in the borrowing of items into Palestinian Arabic. The borrowing was mainly evident in the fields of: traditions (kinship, and more), mixed field (construction, and health), and modern field (electricity, and transport).

Code-switching and borrowing are common in a community where individual and group repertoires include several languages, and are thus relevant to this study. The study relates to codeswitching and examines borrowing, especially in the colloquial speech (spoken form) of its participants.

Methods

Research questions:

What social factors influence the Ṭibawi linguistic repertoire?

How do variables of age, gender, and education predict the frequency and nature of code-switching and borrowing?

In what social contexts does code-switching or borrowing occur in Ṭaibeh?

Hypotheses:

The speakers' age, gender and education affect the degree language changes in speakers' discourse.

Younger and more educated speakers are more accepting of language change. Higher education and greater exposure to foreign languages raises the probability to changes in the community repertoire.

The speech context determines the extent of the speakers' codeswitching.

Participants

The study included 63 (30 males and 33 females) participants from Ṭaibeh. All participants live Ṭaibeh city in the Triangle area. The ages of the young group range from 12 to 35 years old. The adult participants were over 36 years old.

The effects of age, gender, education, social class, economic status, group solidarity and traditions, parents influence, and religious affiliation were investigated on the study sample.

Materials and Design

To assure reliability and validity, the study used three sociolinguistic experimental methods. First, participants completed a demographic background questionnaire. Second, the participants completed a written survey of their linguistic attitudes. The third phase was an oral interview in participants' homes, sports clubs, café's, the mall, etc. The interview was about their life in Ṭaibeh while relating to traditional, linguistic, identity aspects, and more. Interviews were recorded and then transcribed. Anthropological analysis of individual participants' background is provided in an attempt to explain and validate participants' language behavior.

Procedure

Participants of the study were informed about the purpose of the research and asked to sign a consent form for their voluntary participation. The interviews and the recording sessions were held in the participants' homes, sports clubs, malls, café's, or work places. All interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed. Language change in the Ṭibawi repertoire was addressed by examining the frequency of code-switching and borrowing involving Hebrew and English. Code-switching and borrowing were also associated to specific contexts in the interlocutors' speech while examining the variance across the variables of age, gender, and education.

Location: Taibeh

Ṭaibeh is an Arab city in the center of Israel, in an area known as “the Triangle” (Najar & Drubi, 2020). The name Ṭaiba comes from the Roman term “Ṭibta” the name of the area upon which modern Ṭaibeh is built. The meaning of the word Ṭaibeh (in Arabic) is good-hearted and there is a folk-belief that people from Ṭaibeh are good-hearted.

Due its central geographical position in the area, Ṭaibeh's economic status flourished. Ṭaibeh has rich ground water that adds enhance the fertility of its soil. (The Palestinian Encyclopedia, 1986, p.129). The location of Ṭaibeh as a trade route over the decades enriched its people with various customs whose maintenance, to some extent, still exist. Farmers in Ṭaibeh used to export agricultural products to Egypt and Lebanon. In the present reality of Ṭaibeh, as a result of urbanization and access to foreign products, local agriculture has almost disappeared.

During the British Mandate era to and including the beginning of the State of Israel, the ruling body in Ṭaibeh, was headed by the Mukhtar, a traditional tribal leader elected by the village elders to represent them and liaise between them and the authorities (Miller, Y. 1985). Ylana Miller describes the Mukhtarship in Palestine as a representative body who had certain authority over locals and was accepted by foreign authorities in the area (Miller, 1985, p. 54-62). In 1936, the British Mandatory government recognized Ṭaibeh as of a city, but this recognition was rejected by the locals who forced the mandatory government to reverse the decision. They feared that this change might expose them to the western world and might distance them from their religion and traditions. Subsequently, Ṭaibeh remained Mukhtarship. But in 1952, after the establishment of the estate of Israel, Ṭaibeh was governed a municipal council (Akil, 2014). In 1990, the State of Israel officially recognized Ṭaibeh as a city (Akil, 2014, p. 67).

Results and Findings: Code-switching and borrowing

Languages differ in the degree to which they accept foreign words into their spoken words. Bloomfield (as cited in Hoffer, 2002, p. 5) states that Dialect Borrowing follows a learning sequence: “home, friends, school, occupation, travel and/or video contact”. Languages in contact are usually hierarchical. The more prestigious language usually contributes foreign words to the less powerful language which was also true in of our study. In Israel, Arabic is politically, socially, and technically less powerful than Hebrew and English.

Below are examples of codeswitching and borrowing produced by the participants.

Contextualized code-switching and borrowing

The interview transcriptions included two types of codeswitching: the inclusion of Hebrew and English words. In addition, there were lexemes categorized as borrowings. Examining the code-switched and borrowed words reveals they are related to everyday life domains, such as social life, work, and studies (Fishman, 1972). Their Arabic equivalents are generally not used.

The results showed that there are words which can be considered as essential markers of an Israeli-Arab bilingual speakers' identity because they are exclusively used by the Arab minority living in Israel. These words are characteristic of a specific location; Arabic speakers from other regions (e.g. the Palestinian territories in the West Bank and Gaza) identify Arab-Israelis by these words.

An example of a code-switching into Hebrew was provided by a female adult teacher who described her feelings about the social changes in Taibeh as: *ḥeyuve: legabe: šenuye:m* (positive in relation to some changes). This example of a code-switching is not a characteristic of the whole community; here an individual tends to use chunks of Hebrew words in her speech. She is not doing single code-switching; nor can the phrase inserted be considered a borrowing.

However, specific Hebrew words have been integrated into colloquial Israeli-Arab speech. For example, in the transcribe data, the word "*kenyo:n*" (Hebrew for mall) was repeated 38 times by speakers across all age groups. None of them used its Arabic equivalent (*muṣammaʿ*). Thus, *kenyo:n* is a borrowed word into colloquial Arabic in Israel. Below is a statement, including the borrowed word "*kenyo:n*," produced by a young male participant:

Momken teḥla%e: hassa: ente: w-zena: %ala: el-kenyo:n b-teḥtre: be 700 ḥe:kel w-
bterḥa%e: fane: yo:m b-teḥtre: kama:n marra:

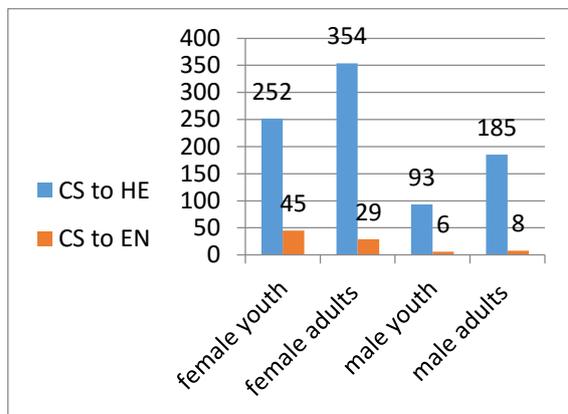
(Now, you go to the "mall" with Zena and spend 700 shekels and you might return the next day and buy again).

The above sentence was in Arabic, but included the Hebrew borrowing *kenyo:n* which functioned as an identity marker of the speaker. Speakers can be recognized as Arab-Israelis when the borrowed term *kenyo:n* is present.

Code-switching in relation to: Age, gender, and education:

The number of code-switching (including borrowed words) revealed that code-switching from Arabic to Hebrew was ten times larger than code-switching to English. Code-switching (including loan words) to Hebrew represented 1.41% of the total word count; whereas code-switching to English represented 0.14% of the total word count. The overabundance of Hebrew code-switching can be attributed to several reasons including the education of the speakers, Hebrew as a second language and English as a third, Hebrew as their work-place language, the language of Israeli media, and the language of government institutions in Israel. In addition, there are concepts and objects in Hebrew exclusive to Israeli culture. English code-switching might be more limited to participants with higher education and youth with a wider exposure to the globalized world.

Code-switching and age:



The age of participants did not show significant differences in code-switching to Hebrew. The number of code-switching instances of female youth and female adults is very close (252 vs. 354, respectively). Below is an example of speech, including code-switching instances from one female young participant:

A female young student when asked about her future career said:

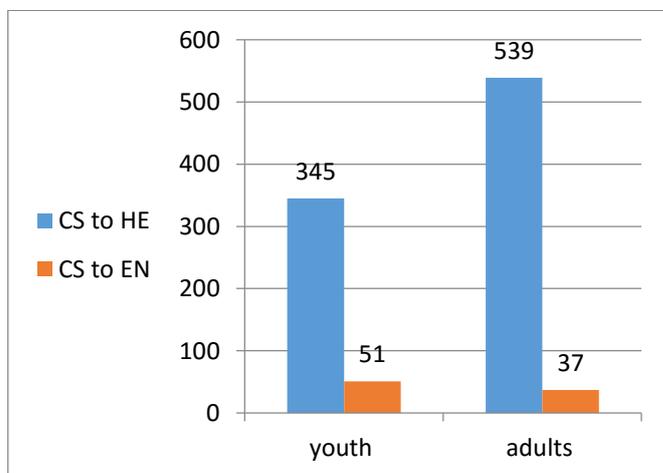
Bioloḡya ana methabe:ret paho:t (מתחברת פחות)...

(I am "less connected" to the field of biology...)

This participant used Hebrew code-switches for prestige, or perhaps trying to show off in her ability to use Hebrew, the language of the majority in Israel. Among youth, using Hebrew is viewed as a sign of education and prestige.

Furthermore, there were differential results for the codeswitching of male youth and male adults. Adult male Hebrew code-switching and borrowing was almost double that of their younger counterparts (185 vs. 93, respectively). Male adults did more code-switching than male youths which can be explained by adults' greater exposure to the Hebrew speaking community, including interacting with educational, governmental, social, or work institutions.

Youth and adult code-switching (including borrowing):



Although the code-switching in Hebrew and English (for both groups of youths and adults) did not show significant differences, the results should be analyzed. Having 539 Hebrew code-switchings among the adults and 345 code-switchings among the youth might be explained because adults are more exposed to the Hebrew language in their workplaces, higher education, media, and other daily social interactions. However, youth's exposure to Hebrew is generally restricted to their Hebrew language classes at school or their interactions when shopping. The political reality and authority of the Hebrew speaking majority obligates adult Israeli-Arabs to master Hebrew for socio-economic mobility. Conversely, the youths had a larger number of code-switching to English than the adults (51 vs. 37, respectively). Although this difference is not statistically significant; the difference may be attributed to a larger exposure to social media networks and the globalized world they encounter on the net which exposes the youth to English as an international language (Jamal, 2006). Furthermore, youths are perhaps less exposed to legal and bureaucratic interactions with Hebrew-speaking authorities.

Code-switching to English was much more limited to participants who use English in their educational surroundings or work places. Studying in an English speaking or working environment can lead to speaking more English. Below is an example of an English code-switching:

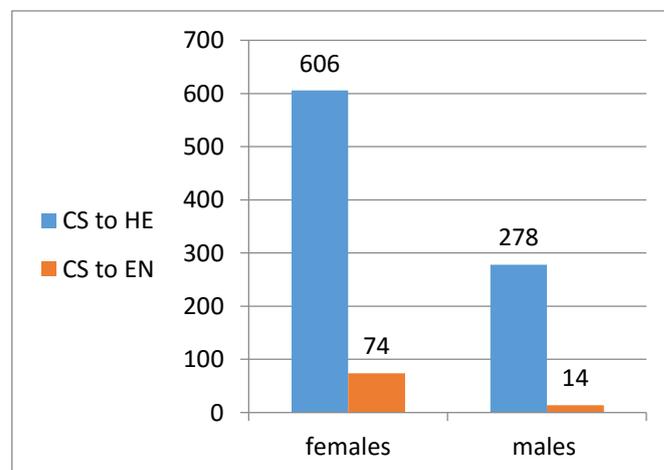
A young female English teacher was discussing child-parent relations in today's *Taibeh*:

Elyom azyad negotiation between lewla:d wel-ahel

(Today, we have more negotiation between children and their parents)

In the above interview segment, English code-switching is a clear example of the speaker (a new English teacher) attempting to impress (her former English lecturer) the interviewer. She would have had no difficulty finding the Arabic equivalents of the words she uttered in English. The code-switch here is different. Being aware of the linguistic background of her interviewer and her own background, the speaker is trying to find a common speech level and accommodate her speech accordingly.

Code-switching and gender (including borrowing):



Females are generally known for adopting of new speech styles and being language innovators in an attempt to climb the social ladder in their communities (Habib, 2010). The data shows a strong gender effect in favor of female code-switching to Hebrew, at least twice the times their male counterparts (606 vs. 278, respectively). Similarly, female use of English words exceeded almost five times that of the males. This suggests that males may consider community identity more important or express their ideological linguistic identities by purging their Arabic from foreign languages. Females' codeswitching reflects their prioritizing of social, economic, and career, as seen in the following example:

A young female college student described her high school experience by saying:
w-belmadrase ḥatta fotet ṯo:m (תהורם) 'elm el-nafs w-baqe:t akØar mawdo: ' hetsla:hte (הצלחת) fe:

(And in school, I entered the "field" of psychology and it was the subject I most "succeeded " at)

The code-switching to Hebrew reflects the speaker's desire to impress the listener by using words not often used in Hebrew by Israeli-Arabs because their Arabic equivalents are very accessible. This example demonstrates how females tend to use the dominant language to show or define their social status.

Code-switching was not limited to Arabic-Hebrew, but also occurred from Arabic to English. Below is an example of English code-switching.

A young male photographer and college student was asked if higher education can change people's attitudes. His reply was:

Ya'ne beko:letʃ ha:y βa:hebʃe: ro:seyye: open minded ana: male: w-ma:l balade: m'a:qqade:n...

(One can say this is [sic] my Russian girlfriend and she is open minded I don't care about people in my community they are old-fashioned...)

The use of the term 'open minded' is not generally common among bilingual speakers in the T̄ibawi community. The term is usually used by educated individuals to showing off their foreign language competence or fluency. In this case, the use of English by the young male speaker may be attributed to his awareness of the interviewer's English proficiency.

Code-switching and education:

The education of the participants was very diverse, some participants had only a high school education, others had academic degrees (BA and MA) in various fields. The participants' education was reflected in the code-switching while interacting with the interviewer. Below are two examples of participant code-switching. These examples may be explained by their education.

A young female English teacher was asked if she likes her work. She responded:

Bema: enne: sta:ʔe:ret (סטאזירית) βert meš kØe:r a•ebbo
(Since I am "apprentice" I stopped liking it)

The Hebrew code-switch of the word for 'apprentice' would not have been used if the speaker was not a teacher or in the field of education.

A female adult civil lawyer was asked about the colloquial speech youth use in their daily interactions, she described the situation as:

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Lewla:d bebdo yehko bel-ekk men w-homme: ʔe:l βe:r...bewβal e'da:de: Øa:nawe:
besthe: enno: yehke: bel-ekk...ya'ne:

hona:k ratsaya: hevrate:t (רצייה חברתית) elle: he: qobo:l eʔtema:'e:
(Children start speaking with the 'q' variable when they are little...they get to middle or high school and feel embarrassed to speak in 'q' ...there is the issue of "social desirability")

The female lawyer spoke about the relationship between speech and social acceptance. She emphasizes that social peer pressure that leads speakers to accommodate their speech to be socially accepted. The term 'ratsaya: hevrate:t' in Hebrew (social desirability) is not common for speakers without a background in law or the social sciences. Israeli university students are exposed to this term during their studies, but presumably non-university Israeli-Arabs were never exposed to its Arabic equivalent. Thus, the term is part of professional legal jargon. The speaker in the above example unsuccessfully struggled to find the Arabic equivalent for the term, so she retrieved the more familiar Hebrew term.

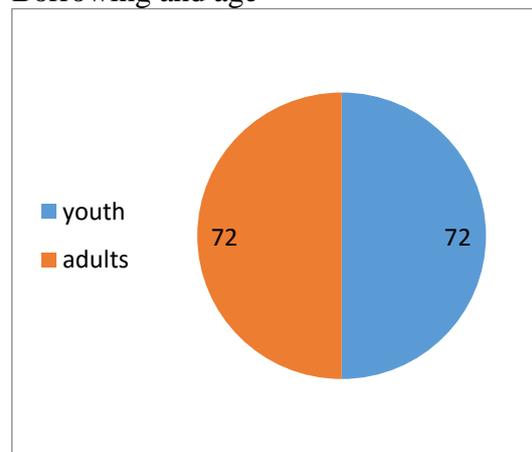
Borrowing results

After reviewing the code-switching data, I present the data for the integration of borrowed words in the Tibawi repertoire. Whereas code-switching is idiosyncratic based on the individual word choice, borrowings become part of the language lexicon. A borrowed word has been defined as "A word that at some point in the history of a language entered its lexicon as a result of borrowing (or *transfer* or *copying*)" (Tadmor and Haspelmath, 2009, p.36).

I divided foreign (codeswitches) and foreign-based (borrowings) lexemes into separate categories. More than codeswitching, borrowings are an identity markers of the Arab Israeli community and specifically the Tibawi community. The table below presents the borrowed words from the interview data.

Code-switchings vs. borrowings:

Borrowing and age



The data included 972 instances of originally foreign lexemes; there were 144 (14.81%), loan words and 828 (8.51%) codeswitches. Most borrowed words were from Hebrew; yet, there were also English borrowings. The proportionally large number of borrowings in Israeli Arabic might be explained by Bloomfield's explanation on the

influence of the dominant language over the language of the minority (Hoffer, 2002) which in our case is Israeli Arabic.

Age did not affect borrowing. The data showed that youth and adults used an equal number of loan words. Below is an example of a borrowing from Hebrew and from English by a young male participant. Followed by another example of a borrowing from Hebrew by an adult male participant. These examples show the influence of the media or social surroundings on the participants' speech:

A young male photographer was asked where people in Ṭaibeh spend their leisure time, he responded:

Kenyo:n (קניון), *kalama:res*, *we:n ma: fe: check in*, *•e:fa:*, *Ben Go:ryo:n*, ...

(*The mall, Kalamaris, wherever you find a check in; in Haifa, Ben Gurion,*)

The young man describes places where people tend to spend their leisure time, stressing the mall as the first option, continuing with sarcasm saying that you can find people by their social media 'check in's (entries).

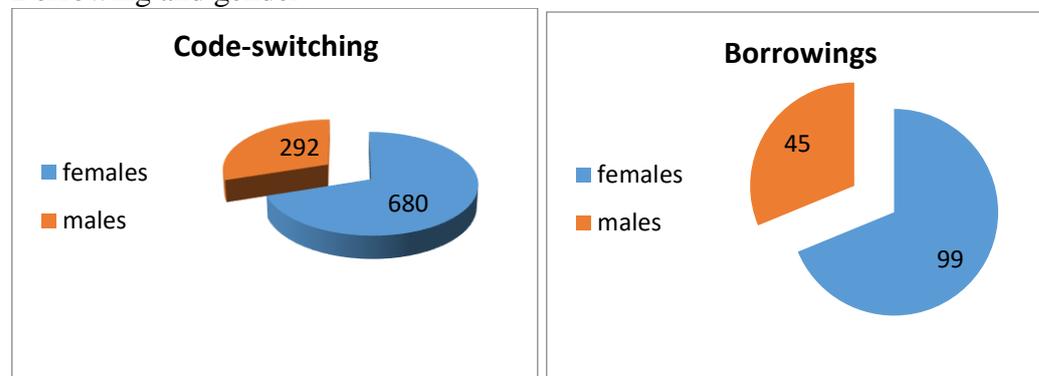
Similarly, an adult male lawyer was asked about where people usually spend their leisure time, he responded:

La: `owa:feqoke: al-ra:yy, *ana: bašo:f enno: nafs el-eše: el-šaba:b...wel-bana:t...* *'al kenyo:n w-bate: kafe:* (קניון ובתי קפה)

(*I don't agree with you, I see that they are the same, young males and females...they go to the mall and coffee shops*)

Based on the interview's personal knowledge this lawyer's speech was particularly interesting. He studied in Hebrew speaking schools (junior high school and high school) in a Hebrew speaking university, and works in a Hebrew speaking office in an Israeli city in Israel. Considering his education and his workplace, we might have predicted that his speech would be Hebraized. However, in our two-hour interview his utterances were almost pure Arabic. The only Hebrew words he used were the borrowings: 'mall' and 'coffee-shops'. He explains that his use pristine Arabic was for national and identity reasons. He furthermore explained that when he is not in the workplace, he prefers to keep his Arabic as pure as possible.

Borrowing and gender



The diagrams show that, in accord with the overall code-switchings; females had more borrowings (double, when compared to the males). The following is an example of a borrowing:

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A female young college student was asked about her definition of a Ṭibawi person, she responded:

Ana: bašo:fkØe:r zlo:meyye: webna:fs el-waqet fe: 'arbade:, 'ava:rya:ne:m

(עבריינים) *meš kollho:m...ste:gma: (סטטיגמה)*

(I see that there is a lot of masculinity and at the same time offence, offenders, not all of them...stereotype)

The young lady described a typical Ṭibawi as being a criminal ('*ava:rya:ne:m*); yet said that this perception is considered a *stigma*. Her borrowings from Hebrew are words that are generally used by Israeli-Arab speakers.

Borrowing and education

A qualitative analysis of the borrowings in the data showed that education might influence the frequency of code-switching.

Below are two examples of a borrowing from Hebrew by a male adult and a female adult who differ in their educational background. Yet, both use common loan words. The borrowed words used here are widely used among Arab Israeli speakers, specifically in the Ṭaibeh community. The Arabic equivalent is never colloquially used: A female art therapist when asked about her job used the following borrowed word:

Ana: meṭa:ppe:let ba-oma:no:t (מטפלת באומנות) bel-'ara:be: mo'a:leṣa: bel-fono:n...

(I am metapelet ba-umanut in Arabic art therapist)

In this specific case the speaker first identifies her occupation in Hebrew for reasons of prestige. And then she translated her profession to Arabic. Her immediate translation to Arabic might be for either clarification or emphasis. Whereas she primarily works with Arabic speaking children, her profession is rarely referred to by locals in Arabic.

A male adult deputy mayor and a former teacher provided the following answer when asked if parental authority has changed over time, he responded:

La:`, el-ḥayṭara 'ala: el-awla:d el-yo:m ḥe'eb...el-yo:m eḥna: be ḥera: 'wara el-motage:m (מותגים)

(no, the authority over children today is difficult, ...today we are in a conflict for running after the brands)

The use of word '*motage:m*' (brands) is common in the colloquial Israeli-Arabic and its Arabic equivalent is rarely used in everyday speech. The Hebrew word *motage:m* was the only borrowed word in the entire interview. This participant was educated in Hebrew speaking schools, attended a Hebrew speaking university, and works at a job that requires written and spoken Hebrew.

In summary, the data from our interview transcriptions showed loan words from Hebrew and English were generally related to professions, media, and technology. These findings might indicate the sociolinguistic effects of modernization on local language development.

Conclusions, discussion, and future research

The study included 63 participants, ages of 12-35 (youth) and ages of 36 and above (adults). The participants were divided by age and gender, female youth and adults and male youth and adults. For reliability and validity, the study used both qualitative and quantitative measures. First, participants answered a demographic background questionnaire, followed by a written survey of their linguistic attitudes. Last, I conducted an interview with each participant about leisure time activities, and their

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social interactions with friends, and family members. The interview also included questions about T̄ibawi life, specifically traditional, sociolinguistic, and identity aspects. The transcribed data were analyzed for the code-switching to Hebrew and English, and borrowings among the age and gender groups. The analysis of the collected data confirmed our hypotheses.

Foreign language influence includes the phenomenon of codeswitching. In the context of this study, the most frequent words code-switched to Hebrew or borrowed from Hebrew were words related to the domains of social life, education, or work. These codeswitches were lexemes that are easily accessed from the speaker's L2 (Hebrew). Some of these lexemes function as identity markers of their speakers' locutions. In other words, these lexemes represent signals by which other people recognize the speakers' identity and origin. For example, an Arabic speaker from the West Bank or Gaza would probably not use the word *kenyo:n (mall)* or *bese:der (okay)* in their everyday colloquial speech. These utterances identify the speaker as an Arab Israeli from specific Arab villages.

Hebrew language dominance in the State of Israel is reflected in the Hebraization of Israeli-Arab speakers. In our data, collected from 63 T̄ibawi speakers, code-switching to Hebrew was ten times more frequent than code-switching to English which indicates the powerful Hebrization the community is experiencing.

Moreover, in Israel, Hebrew is the language used of school textbooks (especially, math and science). Hebrew is the language of the news broadcasts, shopping, governmental institutions, higher education, workplace, and even in texting and social media. The Arab minority in Israel is aware of the prevailing Hebrew authoritarian presence and acts accordingly. Furthermore, to ensure Hebrew superiority the Israeli government has passed a new law in 2018 which asserts that Arabic ceased being an official language in the country and became a language with a 'special status'. This law consciously or unconsciously places Arabic and its speakers into secondary and inferior status.

The hegemony of Hebrew might have been represented by the codeswitching results of our study. In the present study, code-switching to Hebrew and English did not show an age effect. Our findings revealed that females (young and adult) code-switched more (252 and 354 respectively) than male youth and adults (93 and 185, respectively) to Hebrew. Male adults showed more CS than male youths (185 and 93). Females, in both age groups, code-switched more than males to English (f-youth=45, f-adults=29, m-youth=6, m-adults=8). Adults, probably had more incidents of code-switching because they were exposed to Hebrew longer than the youth and because adults generally interact more frequently with government institutions and bureaucracies. These findings correspond with Spolsky and Cooper study (1991) on the languages of Jerusalem where they claimed that for the Arab speakers Hebrew is primarily the language of commerce and work. Similarly, Abdel-Fattah (2010) (in his article supporting Amara's view) emphasizes that Israeli-Arab code-switching to Hebrew is primarily perceived as a key to modernization and progress. Interestingly, Murad found that Arabic Hebrew code-switching is a gap filler for fluency or due to the great exposure to Hebrew in diverse contexts (Murad, 2013).

Our results further showed youth code-switching to English was slightly higher than that of adults (51 vs. 37). This result can probably be attributed to their greater exposure to social media, the global world, and their academic involvement; all of which might be viewed as their way of exiting the traditional community borders. The Community

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of Practice Theory of Lave and Wenger (cited in Holmes & Meyerhoff, 1999) supports this claim and adds that youths' great tendency to English codeswitching may be influenced by peer pressure. Youth can be seen as members of the global community practicing its linguistic norms or adopting them.

The effect of gender on code-switching was very strong. Females, when compared to the males, had almost twice the number of code-switching from Arabic to Hebrew (606 vs. 278). Moreover, females' code-switching to English was almost five times more than males' code-switching to English (74 vs. 14). These findings support Habib's claim that women adapt their language usage to look prestigious (Habib, 2010). The fewer code-switching to Hebrew by males may be explained as identity loyalty or perhaps that they (more than women) are more political, authoritarian and in social positions which might force their mother tongue loyalty. Males did not have as much code-switching to English as females, perhaps because females usually outnumber males in academic institutions and are more exposed to social media than the males. Females, through their studies, social life, and fashion interests have greater exposure to English. Furthermore, the social status in the Ṭibawi community (specifically for females) is affected by the knowledge and use of foreign languages. Thus, females tend to perform more 'classic code-switching' (Myers-Scotton, 2006). In other words, as claimed by the Group Socialization Theory of Development by Harris (1995), females strive to elevate their social status by their sociolinguistic behavior.

However, borrowing showed a gender effect (females borrowing twice more often than males) in favor of females; whereas, age nor education had an effect on borrowing (equal among youth and adults). These results, once again, concur with the claim that females tend to adopt foreign languages as a sign of prestige or education regardless of age (Habib, 2010). The education variable did not contribute to the borrowing frequency because linguistic identity or policy based on an ideology might have a stronger influence as seen in participants' examples. Thus, the linguistic use of loan words may not be strictly related to education.

Social context and the women's social expectations have for language to advance their social status affects their language behavior (particularly their word choice). Language behavior often conveys social status. In my study, the participants share social community and a geographic community of bilinguals (L1 is Arabic and L2 is Hebrew), which enables their codeswitching from Arabic to Hebrew. Furthermore, their education and exposure to urbanization and media further enable codeswitching (L1 to L3) and loan words from English to Arabic.

The phenomenon of codeswitching in the speech of locals was exclusively the result of the transition from a rural lifestyle to an urbanized lifestyle in Ṭaibeh, but may also be attributed to socioeconomic and political changes in the city. I have shown how these urbanization and modernization are reflected in the Hebraization of the Ṭaibeh speech repertoire. Thus, Ṭaibeh serves as an example of the relationship between language and urban socio-economic political change.

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