

Languages in contact: Preliminary clues of an emergence of an Israeli Arabic variety

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ABSTRACT

This paper describes from a linguistic point of view the impact of the Hebrew spoken in Israel on the Arabic spoken natively by Israeli Arabs.

Two main conditions enable mutual influences between Hebrew and Arabic in Israel:

- *The existence of two large groups of people speaking both languages within a single geographical area: Israeli Jews and Israeli Arabs. The former are a local, dominant group; the latter are a minority group.*
- *The minority group is sufficiently large that changes originating in language contact become apparent in the minority language.*

Both Hebrew and Arabic are official languages in the state of Israel. Israeli Arabs, who are citizens of Israel and speakers of Arabic, and Israeli Jews, who are speakers of Hebrew, has daily contact in many fields of life. Many Arabs work for Hebrew-speaking employers, study in Israeli universities and colleges, or provide services to the Hebrew-speaking population. As a result, a great deal of mutual linguistic influence is observed in each language. Our data show that spoken Hebrew elements are very widespread in all linguistic fields of the Arabic spoken by Israeli Arabs, so widespread that the emergence can be identified of a new Israeli Arabic variety¹.

Introduction

Two conditions must exist in order to enable mutual influences between languages. First, there has to be large groups of people speaking these languages within a single geographical area. Usually, there are at least two groups of speakers: One is a native, local, dominant group; the other is a minority group. Second, the minority group has to be large enough so that changes originating in language contact will become apparent in their language (Weinreich 1967: 83). Both conditions exist in Israel, and as a result, contact between Hebrew and Arabic exists to a large extent.

According to the Israel Central Bureau of Statistics (2009), the Israeli population consists of more than 7.3 million people. Nearly all of that population speaks Hebrew, either as a first or as a second language. Hebrew is spoken as a native language by more than 3.8 million Jews born in Israel, who constitute almost 52.7% of the population. Almost 2 million people in Israel, mainly new immigrants from various countries, speak Hebrew as a second language. Arabic is spoken as a native language by Israeli Arabs — that is, Arabs with Israeli citizenship. About 1.5 million people in the Israeli population are Arabs, constituting almost 20% of the total population. Most of Arab nationals are Muslims, but there are also many Christians and Druze.

The Hebrew that is spoken in Israel is referred to in this paper as *Israeli Hebrew*. The broad term *Hebrew* includes both the Hebrew that was spoken and written in earlier periods as well as the Hebrew that is spoken and written today. From a diachronic perspective, versions of Hebrew can be grouped into several historical periods, which are not detailed here, because they are beyond the scope of this paper.

The Hebrew that is spoken in Israel today is addressed differently by different scholars. *Modern Hebrew* is the term used by Berman (1978), Coffin-Amir and Bolozky (2005), and Schwarzwald (2008: 61). *Modern Hebrew* is also used by Sáenz-Badillos (1993: 270), who considers it as beginning in the closing years of the nineteenth century, simultaneously with Jewish settlement in Palestine. *Contemporary Hebrew* rather than *Modern Hebrew* is the term used by Rosén (1977), who adopts it from Téné (1968) and suggests broadening this term to *Contemporary Israeli*

¹ A language variety is spoken by a group of the language speakers, which is characterized by unique linguistic features not part of other varieties of that language.

Hebrew (p. 19). Each of these scholars refers to the everyday language spoken naturally and primarily as a lingua franca by the Israeli Jewish population in Israel, native and immigrant alike. As mentioned above, spontaneous spoken Hebrew will be referred to as *Israeli Hebrew* hereafter. This language, which contains a mixture of slang expressions and street language, together with higher-register phrases and spoken standards², depending on the context, is treated in this paper as a single complex.

Despite the political conflict between the Jewish and Arab populations in Israel, Israeli Arabs and Israeli Jews cooperate in many fields. There are Arab members in the Israeli parliament (Knesset) who formally represent political, social, and cultural interests of Israeli Arabs. In most of the cases, Israeli Arabs work for Jewish employers or study in Israeli institutions and not vice versa; Israeli Hebrew is therefore the language of communication with their employers, local authorities, or academic teachers. As a result, Israeli Hebrew is perceived as more important and more prestigious than Arabic, and thus achieves the status of a lingua franca among Israeli Arabs, a status discussed and presented in Amara (1999: 99-100) and more widely in Amara and Mar'i (2002: 54-59). Note that Israeli Arabs base their views towards Israeli Hebrew on its advantages to them regardless of the social, political, and cultural disparities that separate Jews from Arabs and to the Arabs' attitudes towards Israeli Jews.

Although many efforts are made in Arab schools in Israel to avoid the use of foreign elements from Israeli Hebrew into Arabic, and although an Arabic Language Academy was established in Israel in 2007 to "protect" Arabic from foreign impact, many Israeli Hebrew components have still penetrated into spoken Arabic. Evidence for this penetration is presented by Eldar (2007), who states that many Israeli Druze cannot use Arabic in formal and informal events due to their lack of awareness of certain Arabic words; they therefore prefer the use of Israeli Hebrew instead. Eldar goes one step forward in this issue, referring to the actual use of Israeli Hebrew by Israeli Druze rather than to their use of spoken Arabic that includes Israeli Hebrew elements. In other words, the phenomenon of Israeli Hebrew penetrating spoken Arabic in Israel might be even more widespread and more significant than just a basic language contact impact.

Lexical borrowings of Israeli Hebrew words into Arabic have been addressed in the literature before (Koplewitz 1990: 182; Rosenhouse and Goral 2006: 858; Talmon 2000: 216). But nonlexical borrowings are not referred to in great detail. Some researchers point to some linguistic processes that loan words undergo in Arabic, but these processes are not deeply analyzed. Koplewitz (1990: 182-186) mentions measures of integration of Israeli Hebrew words into Arabic and points to some morphological adaptations and semantic modifications. Rosenthal (2008) includes some examples of borrowings from Israeli Hebrew that consequently underwent internal linguistic processes in spoken Arabic. But we could not find deeper references to higher-level linguistic phenomena, such as morphological or syntactic processes, that characterize the absorption of these borrowings into spoken Arabic.

This paper characterizes the linguistic processes that borrowings from Israeli Hebrew undergo in spoken Arabic, their distribution, and their degree of dominance in the language. It provides a synchronic description of a wide range of Israeli Hebrew borrowings into the Arabic spoken by Israeli Arabs in a variety of linguistic fields, without focusing on historical explanations for these phenomena.

1. Methodology

We have collected dozens of random daily speech items from Israeli Arab subjects in Israel, male and female adults above the age of 16, in various spontaneous daily occasions as well as in various fields of life. The selection was constrained by taking only samples from inter-Arabic interaction, so that the influence of interaction with native speakers of Israeli Hebrew was factored out. The collection of the material involved the use of recording devices; we also wrote down speech items that we heard and were not able to record at that time. Using the material we have collected, we characterize the linguistic processes that borrowings from Israeli Hebrew undergo in spoken Arabic in Israel.

We collected the items in the northern and central parts of the country, particularly in Galilee, in the area known as "the Triangle" (the central part, bordering the West Bank) and in cities with mixed populations, such as Jerusalem, Haifa, Acre, Jaffa, Ramla, and Lod. The subjects were randomly selected Israeli Arab informants, and the material was collected in such public places as hotels, public transportation, schools, academic institutions, governmental offices, private companies, car garages, and sports courts. We took the items from daily spontaneous conversations conducted by Israeli Arabs in various fields of life. The conversations were held

² Spoken standards are language forms that are very common in speech but are not necessarily normative.

between Israeli Arabs only, not between Israeli Arabs and Israeli Jews; this way, the influence of interaction with native speakers of Israeli Hebrew was factored out.

To support the findings, we have carried out interviews with these subjects as well as with other native Arabic speakers in Israel, asking them questions about the speech items that we found. Such questions included: "Have you just said the word *word*?" "Why did you use it?" "Don't you have a word in Arabic for the same thing?" "Do other people understand you when you use Israeli Hebrew words?" We have classified these items into linguistically similar groups, where each group exemplifies the same linguistic phenomenon. This way we have obtained lexical, morphological, syntactic, and semantic phenomena separately.

Examples in this paper are presented in *SAMPA* transcription (SAMPA 1987-1989). The official SAMPA transcription Web page represents only the sound inventory of Modern Standard Arabic³, but not the sound inventory of the various Arabic dialects. The Arabic variety that is spoken in Israel contains additional sounds, which do not exist in Modern Standard Arabic. For these sounds we use extra symbols when needed, symbols that are based on the general SAMPA transcription set but are not included in the official SAMPA page of Modern Standard Arabic. These symbols are the vowels *e* (middle front unrounded vowel), *o* (middle back rounded vowel), and their corresponding long vowels *e:* and *o:*, where vowel length is represented by a colon. Stress, when marked, is represented by an apostrophe above the vowel that is the nucleus of the syllable.

Our glossing follows the *Leipzig Glossing Rules* (Bickel et al. 2008). For glossings that are not included in the Leipzig Glossing Rules, we have provided an additional symbol list in the appendix.

We numbered the examples within parentheses. These numbered examples include only those that exhibit Israeli Hebrew elements in spoken Arabic; examples from Arabic that simply illustrate a specific phenomenon are not numbered.

2. The use of borrowings in spoken Arabic

Borrowings in spoken Arabic can be classified into several linguistic groups, which are discussed below. Examples for each of the groups are presented therein.

2.1. Phonological processes in loan words and expressions

Loan words in spoken Arabic undergo phonological adjustments when borrowed to make them correspond to the phonological structure of Arabic. For example, the Israeli Hebrew labial consonants *v* and *p* would theoretically turn into *f* and *b*, respectively, when borrowed into spoken Arabic, since the spoken Arabic phonological inventory does not contain the consonants *v* and *p*. Similarly, Israeli Hebrew voiced velar fricative *R* always turns into an alveolar tap *r* in spoken Arabic. The unvoiced velar fricative *X* in Israeli Hebrew stands for two Hebrew orthographic symbols. Historically, the two symbols represented the phonemes *X* and *X*. In most of the cases, since Arabs are acquainted with the Hebrew orthography, Israeli Arabs turn *X* into *X* in speech in cases where the orthography represents the historical *X* sound; otherwise, *X* is used. Similarly, Arabs pronounce the glottal consonants *ʔ*, *h*, and the pharyngeal fricative *ʕ* in loans from Israeli Hebrew, if they appear in the Hebrew orthography, although Israeli Jews usually do not pronounce these sounds in Israeli Hebrew speech.

We need to modify our assertion at the beginning of the preceding paragraph: In some cases, loan words remain in their original phonological structure. This happens when the phonological environment of the borrowed word contains sounds that influence the pronunciation of these consonants, and therefore they remain in their original phonological form. Examples 1 and 2 demonstrate that.

- | | | |
|-----|------------------------------------|--------------------|
| (1) | <i>ʔ</i> ^o <i>vd-ot</i> | <i>el-baladije</i> |
| | worker-F-PL | DEF-city hall |
| | 'city-hall workers.' | |
| (2) | <i>X\</i> <i>evro:n</i> | |
| | Hebron-M-PR | |
| | 'Hebron.' | |

³ Refer to <http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/sampa/arabic.htm>

The first component of the phrase in example 1 contains the consonant **v** in Arabic speech, because it is adjacent to another voiced consonant (**d**). The same consonant **v** is present in the Arabic word for the city of Hebron, as shown in example 2, because it is followed by the tap **r**, which is voiced. This phenomenon is not unique to loan words; it is observed in native Arabic words as well.

Adaptation of vowel quality in spoken Arabic is basically not needed, because both Israeli Hebrew and the Arabic spoken in Israel have the same five basic vowels: **i**, **e**, **a**, **o**, and **u**. Spoken Arabic also has five corresponding long vowels that are phonemic, and adaptation of vowel length is sometimes done to adjust the Israeli Hebrew word to a prescriptive Arabic syllable structure. Although both languages contain the same basic vowels, sometimes the vowels **e** and **o** in loan words from Israeli Hebrew are still adjusted to **i** / **a** or **u**, respectively, in spoken Arabic. Whereas the adjustment of consonants is purely phonological, the adjustment of vowel quality is morphological in nature and is thus discussed later in this paper.

2.2. Independent use: Lexical borrowings

Lexical borrowings from Israeli Hebrew are the most widespread in the Arabic spoken in Israel. This is the simplest type of borrowing, because only the Israeli Hebrew word or phrase is borrowed in its original form and is used this way in spoken Arabic. These words and phrases are subject to phonological changes in Arabic, in order to make them more "Arabic oriented." These phonological changes are discussed in Section 2.1, above. This type of borrowing can also be divided into several subtypes, which are detailed below and are illustrated with examples.

2.2.1. Words and phrases that do not exist in Arabic as independent lexemes. These are words or phrases that are needed for everyday use yet do not have parallel Arabic terms. The Israeli Hebrew terms are therefore used in their original forms. Here are examples of such words and phrases:

- (3) **Sabatón**
sabbatical-M-SG
'sabbatical.'
- (4) **?ole** **X\adás**
immigrant-M-SG new-M-SG
'new immigrant.'
- (5) **kazbomát**
ATM
'ATM.'
(Israeli Hebrew: *kaspomat* (M-SG).)

Examples 3 and 4 show the borrowing of a word and a phrase from Israeli Hebrew in its original form. Example 5 shows the borrowing of an Israeli Hebrew word with a phonological adjustment of Israeli Hebrew **p** to Arabic **b**. As a result, the preceding voiceless strident **s** turns into its voiced counterpart **z**, because the following labial stop **b** is voiced.

2.2.2. Words and phrases that exist in Arabic. These are words or phrases that do have parallel Arabic terms, yet the Israeli Hebrew terms are used much more widely. Such words and phrases are presented below. The Israeli Hebrew parallel words are presented whenever their pronunciation is slightly different.

- (6) **teuna**
accident-F-SG
'accident.'
(Arabic: *X\adit is`tida:m* ; *X\adit t`uruq*)
- (7) **bit`uaX** **leumi**
insurance-M-SG national-M-SG
'social security.'
(Arabic: *ta?mi:n wat`ani* ; Israeli Hebrew: *bituaX leumi*)
- (8) **X\ofeS**
Vacation-M-SG
'vacation.'
(Arabic: *?idZa:ze* ; Israeli Hebrew: *XofeS*)

- (9) **?el-X\agi:m**
DEF-holiday-M-PL
'the (Jewish) holidays.'
(Arabic: ?il-?`aja:d ; Israeli Hebrew: *a-Xagim*)
- (10) **X\evro:n**
Hebron-M-PR
'Hebron.'
(Arabic: ?il-Xali:l ; Israeli Hebrew: *XevRon*)
- (11) **sosjologja**
sociology-F-SG
'sociology.'
(Arabic: ?`ilm-il-igtima:?` ; Israeli Hebrew: *sotsjologja*)
- (12) **kubat** **X\oli:m**
cashier-F-SG sick-M-PL
'clinic, health maintenance organization.'
(Arabic: s`undu:q-il-mard`a ; Israeli Hebrew: *kupat-Xolim*)
- (13) **hanaX\o**
discount-F-SG
'discount.'
(Arabic: taXfi:d` or tanzi:l ; Israeli Hebrew: *(h)anaXa*)
- (14) **mitnaX\li:m**
settler-M-PL
'settlers on a land of others.'
(Arabic: *mustawt`ini:n* ; Israeli Hebrew: *mitnaX(a)lim*)

Examples 6, 8, 9, 11, 13, and 14 show the borrowing from Israeli Hebrew of single words, even though parallel Arabic words exist. Examples 7 and 12 show the borrowing of phrases, even though parallel Arabic phrases exist. Example 10 shows the borrowing of a proper name, even though a parallel proper name exists in Arabic. Apparently, the Israeli Hebrew forms of these words and phrases are more widespread.

When we asked the speakers about these words and phrases, some said they were not aware of the existence of the Arabic words at all; other responses included: "Everyone talks like that," "It is more convenient for use," "I do not know the Arabic word for it," and "The word in Arabic is longer."

The apparent lack of awareness of parallel Arabic words and phrases among some of the speakers demonstrates how rooted are the Israeli Hebrew words in spoken Arabic. The replies of the other speakers demonstrate how they tend to conform to their environment and prefer the use of the Israeli Hebrew words, even though they know that there are parallel Arabic words. This means that the Israeli Hebrew words are perceived as more prestigious and that therefore Arabs prefer them to Arabic words.

2.2.3. Words and phrases that cannot be naturally translated. These are words or phrases that have special cultural meanings and are therefore difficult to translate into other languages. They are used in spoken Arabic in the same form and with the same meaning as they occur in Israeli Hebrew. Theoretically, it is possible to translate these words or phrases into Arabic and use Arabic words instead. This is very difficult in practice, however, because it entails the use of Modern Standard Arabic; few Arabic speakers are illiterate, and others are simply not acquainted with the relevant Modern Standard Arabic vocabulary. On the other hand, all these speakers are familiar with Israeli Hebrew, and thus it is easier for them to use Israeli Hebrew items. Here are examples of such words and phrases (glosses are as close in meaning as possible):

- (15) **stam**
'merely, just like that.'
(ADJ, ADV)
- (16) **en** **dafar** **kaze**
exist-NEG thing such
'there is no such a thing.'
(Israeli Hebrew: *en davar kaze*)

- (17) **bigu?`a**
 ‘terrorist attack.’ (M-SG)
 (Israeli Hebrew: **bigua**)
- (18) **b- il- mi:nus**
 in-PREP DEF minus-M-SG
 ‘in overdraft.’
 (Israeli Hebrew: be-minus)

Example 16 is an expression in Israeli Hebrew, meaning ‘these facts are unrealistic, it is impossible that such things exist’.

2.2.4. Slang expressions. These are expressions originating in Israeli Hebrew slang. It is possible that since they were borrowed into spoken Arabic, they have already turned into nonslang expressions in Israeli Hebrew. That transformation does not change the use of the words in spoken Arabic, however. Here are examples of such expressions:

- (19) **magni:f**
 ‘cool.’ (PTCP-M-SG)
 (Israeli Hebrew: **magniv**)
- (20) **X\afal ?`al ha-zma:n**
 pity-ADV on-PREP DEF-time
 ‘having significant qualities.’
 (Israeli Hebrew: **Xaval al a-zman**)
- (21) **laX\uts la-?alla**
 stressed-ADJ very-ADV
 ‘terribly stressed.’
 (Israeli Hebrew: **laXuts laala**)

The phrase in example 20 describes in Israeli Hebrew a situation where something is extraordinary; it can be either extremely good or extremely bad. In Arabic, however, we have found only examples that denote the positive situation, meaning an extremely good one.

2.2.5. Recycled loans. A *recycled loan* is a loan word or phrase that was originally borrowed from the source language into another language and was then borrowed back into the source language with a different or slightly different meaning, sometimes also in a slightly different form. (As far as we know, this kind of loan has not already been assigned a defining term by previous researchers; thus we have decided to call it *recycled loan*.) We have found several such loans in spoken Arabic, which were originally borrowed from spoken Arabic into Israeli Hebrew and were then borrowed back into spoken Arabic. The following examples illustrate this kind of loan:

- (22) **X\arakot**
 movement-F-PL
 ‘wild driving, skidding, doing "wheelies".’
 (Israeli Hebrew: **XaRakot**)
- (23) **laX\uts la-?alla**
 stressed-ADJ very-ADV
 ‘terribly stressed.’
 (Israeli Hebrew: **laXuts laala**)
- (24) **wala**
 ‘wow!, really!, you don’t say!’ (EXC)

The word in example 22 originates in the Arabic word **X\arake** ‘movement’. It was borrowed into Israeli Hebrew and acquired the meaning there of ‘wild driving’. Then a Hebrew plural suffix **-ot** (F) was appended to it to describe continuous wild driving: **X\arak-ot**. Then the Israeli Hebrew plural form was borrowed back into spoken Arabic with the meaning of ‘wild driving’.

The word **la?alla** ‘very’ in example 23 originally comes from an Arabic word. Its original meaning is ‘to God’, and its original pronunciation is **li-lla:h**. It is a derivation of the preposition **li** ‘to’ followed by the word **?al`a** ‘God’. In Arabic, however, when the preposition preceding the name of God has a vowel different from **a**, the emphatic **l**’s are not preserved, and they turn into a sequence of two lateral approximants **ll**. At some point, the basic word **?al`a** ‘God’ was borrowed into Israeli Hebrew and was adjusted to Israeli Hebrew phonological structure, turning the two

consequent emphatic /s/ to one lateral approximant /l/, since Israeli Hebrew does not allow double consonants in speech. Israeli Hebrew speakers then added the Israeli Hebrew preposition *le* 'to' followed by the Israeli Hebrew definite article *ha* 'the' to this word, although a parallel form exists in the Arabic word *li-lla:h*. The definite article was added despite the fact that the name of God is definite already. This way the word *laala* 'to (the) God' was obtained in Israeli Hebrew. When spoken Arabic borrowed the phrase *laX\uts la?alla* 'extremely stressed' from Israeli Hebrew, it turned the one /l/ back into double lateral approximants and reinserted the glottal stop ? but did not apply its original emphatic features again, because it lost the meaning of God's name. This way, the word *la?alla* 'very' in this phrase remained "half Arabic and half Hebrew," having the duplicated lateral approximant back, but without its emphatic features.

The exclamation word in example 24 was originally borrowed into Israeli Hebrew from the Palestinian Arabic word *wal't'a* '(I) swear by God'. In addition to the phonological changes that were entailed from this borrowing (emphatic /s/ turning into a single lateral approximant), this word underwent a semantic change in Israeli Hebrew and acquired the meaning of 'wow, really, you don't say!'. Later it was borrowed back into spoken Arabic, with the new meaning from Israeli Hebrew and with its Israeli Hebrew phonological structure containing a single lateral approximant.

2.3. Morphological and morphophonological processes in loan words and loan expressions

Some of the borrowings from Israeli Hebrew undergo morphological and morphophonological changes in spoken Arabic. These changes are classified into the groups below according to the type of the change they undergo; they are illustrated with examples.

2.3.1. The addition of the Arabic definite article to Israeli Hebrew words. The definite article in Modern Standard Arabic is *?al* 'the'. In spoken Arabic dialects, it is *?il* or *?el* 'the'. In both Arabic varieties, when the definite article is attached to words beginning with a dental consonant, it undergoes an assimilation process to this consonant. The process in spoken Palestinian Arabic works as follows:

<i>?il</i>	+	<i>Sams</i>	>	<i>*?il_Sams</i>	>	<i>?iSSams</i>
'the'		'sun'		assimilation />S		'the sun'

This rule is also applied to Israeli Hebrew loan words, as in the following examples:

(25)	<i>?il</i>	+	<i>toXni:t</i>	>	<i>?ittoXni:t</i>
	DEF		program, plan-F-SG		
			'the program, the plan.'		
(26)	<i>?il</i>	+	<i>So?'e:r</i>	>	<i>?iSSo?'e:r</i>
	DEF		goalkeeper-M-SG		
			'the goalkeeper.'		

2.3.2. Spoken Arabic plural forms of Israeli Hebrew words. There are two kinds of plurals in Arabic: sound plural and broken plural. *Sound plural* is the derivation of a plural form out of a singular form through the suffixation of a noun or an adjective. Two kinds of sound plural are possible: masculine and feminine. The masculine plural suffix is *-i:n*, and the feminine plural suffix is *-a:t*. If the word is animate, it can inflect for either male or female, depending on its gender. If the word is inanimate, it will exclusively take the feminine plural suffix. Examples of the sound plural in spoken Arabic are presented below:

<i>falla:X\</i>	+	<i>i:n</i>	>	<i>fallaX\i:n*</i>
'farmer' (M-SG)		'M-PL'		'farmers' (M-PL)
<i>sajja:ra</i>	+	<i>a:t</i>	>	<i>sajjara:t*</i>
'car' (F-SG)		'F-PL'		'cars' (F-PL)

* Changes in the length of vowels in the stem in the plural forms of these examples are beyond the scope of this paper and are therefore not discussed.

Broken plural is the derivation of a plural form out of a singular form through a pattern change. This change can be either a vowel change or an addition of a glide to the whole pattern. Examples of the broken plural in Arabic are presented below:

walad	'son' (M-SG)	>	?awla:d	'sons' (M-PL)
Sa:re?	'street' (M-SG)	>	Sawa:re?	'streets' (M-PL)

Both plurals are applied to Israeli Hebrew loan words, as in example 27 (sound plural) and in examples 28 and 29 (broken plural), below:

(27)	ramzor	+	a:t	>	ramzora:t
	traffic light-M-SG		F-PL		
	'traffic lights.'				(M-PL)
(28)	maX\su:m			>	maX\asi:m
	barricade-M-SG				
	'barricades.'				(M-PL)
(29)	banSar			>	bana:Ser
	flat tire-M-SG				
	'flat tires.'				(M-PL)

In example 28, the vowel *o* of the original word **maXsom** 'barricade' is adjusted to Arabic *u*: to correspond to an acceptable Arabic pattern **maC₁C₂u:C₃**⁴. This pattern in Arabic takes a broken-plural form, **maC₁aC₂i:C₃**. Accordingly, the word **maX\su:m** 'barricade' in Arabic takes the broken-plural form **maX\asi:m**. Although our data indicate that one can still sometimes hear this word with a sound-plural form, **maX\suma:t** 'barricades', the common plural form is the broken plural.

Some borrowed words in spoken Arabic take only broken-plural forms, such as the word **banSar** 'flat tire' in example 29. The word **banSar** is a loan word in Israeli Hebrew, too; it was borrowed from English **pVNktS@r** or **pVNktS@'** 'puncture' and turned into **pantSeR** 'flat tire' in Israeli Hebrew. The word **banSar** in spoken Arabic was then borrowed from Israeli Hebrew, and not directly from English. This is apparent from the distribution of the consonants in the word: During the borrowing process from English to Israeli Hebrew, the consonant *k* was omitted from the English pronunciation **pVNktS@r** or **pVNktS@'**. This omission is assumed to be a result of Israeli Hebrew not allowing a consonant cluster of **N-k-tS** at that time, and therefore the sequence of **N-k-tS** turned into **n-tS** in Israeli Hebrew, where **N** turned into **n**, since it no longer preceded a velar consonant. The word in Israeli Hebrew today is **pantSeR**. The word **banSar** in spoken Arabic contains a cluster of two consonants, like in Israeli Hebrew, and not three consonants, like in English. The sequence **n-tS** turned into **n-S** in spoken Arabic. The affricate **tS** exists in some Gulf Arabic dialects but not in Palestinian Arabic, nor does it exist in any other Arabic dialect in the region. Also, although the vowel *e*, appearing in the last syllable of the Israeli Hebrew word, exists in Arabic speech in Israel, it turned into the vowel *a* in spoken Arabic as a result of a pattern adjustment process that is explained later.

It should be noted that the word **banSar** does not exist in three other Arabic dialects in the region — Egyptian, Syrian, and Lebanese Arabic — a fact that strengthens our assumption that it was borrowed from Israeli Hebrew rather than directly from English. It does exist, however, in Jordanian Arabic, whose speakers are mostly Palestinian; also, contact between Jordanian Arabs and Israeli Arabs has always existed. These facts can explain the presence of the same word from Israeli Hebrew in the two dialects. Moreover, the meaning of **banSar** in Arabic is 'flat tire', just as it is in Israeli Hebrew, and the word does not carry any of the other English meanings. The word **banSar** in spoken Arabic further underwent a complete morphological absorbance in the language, including the application of a broken-plural form.

Our data suggest that loan words from Israeli Hebrew do not take the Arabic masculine plural suffix **-i:n**, but rather the feminine suffix **-a:t**. If the loan word is animate and has a masculine plural form in Israeli Hebrew, the masculine plural form is also borrowed, but the word will not take a masculine plural Arabic suffix. In these cases, the Israeli Hebrew masculine plural suffix **-im** is borrowed as well. For example, the roles of the players in soccer games are all loan words from Israeli Hebrew (see Section 4.1, below). They represent animate figures, and their gender is usually masculine. Therefore, they are borrowed together with their Israeli Hebrew plural forms. For example:

(30)	X\alu:ts	>	X\aluts-im
	striker-M-SG		strikers-M-PL
(31)	kaSSar	>	kaSSar-im
	signaler-M-SG		signalers-M-PL

As shown in examples 27, 28, and 29, above, in cases where a loan word is inanimate, it will either take the Arabic feminine sound plural or a broken-plural form. Sometimes, loan words may be borrowed with their original Israeli

⁴ C_i stands for a root radical.

Hebrew plural form, even though the word is inanimate. This happens when the more common use of the borrowed word is its plural form. For example:

(32) **tofes** > **tfas-im**
 form-M-SG forms-M-PL

As mentioned above, in spite of the adaptation of Israeli Hebrew elements in spoken Arabic, there are inexplicably still some words that have been borrowed from Israeli Hebrew into spoken Arabic with their original Hebrew plural form (-*im* is the masculine plural suffix in Israeli Hebrew), as shown in example 33, below.

(33) **mazgan** > **mazgan-im**
 air conditioner-M-SG air conditioners-M-PL

Nonetheless, the vast majority of plural forms of loan words from Israeli Hebrew are adjusted to spoken Arabic forms.

2.3.3. Arabic dual form of Israeli Hebrew words. The dual in Arabic is a kind of plural that represents a quantity of two. In the Palestinian dialect, it is represented by the suffix *-e:n*. Sometimes, loan words from Israeli Hebrew can also take the dual suffix, as shown in the example below:

(34) **sadi:n** > **sadine:n**
 sheet-M-SG sheet-M-DU
 'sheet (bedding).' 'two sheets (bedding).'
 (as opposed to: **sadin-a:t** 'sheet (bedding)' (M+F-PL))

The dual form does not replace the plural form of the word; it exists in addition to the plural form, which would apply to three or more of the items. Therefore, a singular form of a word can take either of two different suffixes to denote either the dual or the plural form.

2.3.4. Israeli Hebrew verbs in spoken Arabic. Israeli Hebrew is so rooted in spoken Arabic that major morphological categories in spoken Arabic make use of Israeli Hebrew elements. Such an example is the spoken Arabic verb, which can appear in ten basic patterns. Each pattern has a perfective form as well as a participle form and an imperative form. Perfective forms are represented by suffixed forms of the verb. Prefixed forms of the verb also exist, but they cannot appear independently, and they must follow an additional prefix (which is not the verb prefix) or another verbal form. Together with the preceding item, they denote a meaning. This meaning can be one of the following:

- A present-future form, which is derived by adding the prefix *b-* to the prefixed form; for example, **b-niSrab** 'we drink / are drinking / will drink'
- A pure future form, which is derived by adding the prefix *raX\-* before the prefixed form of the verb; for example, **raX\-niSrab** 'we will drink'
- A habitual past form, which is derived by a combination of an inflected auxiliary verb *ka:n* 'be' and a prefixed form; for example, **kunna niSrab** 'we used to drink'
- Other modal subjunctive forms derived by the addition of another verb before the prefixed form verb; for example, **la:zem niSrab** 'we need to drink' (phonetically **la:zem miSrab**)

Many Israeli Hebrew verbs are used within Arabic speech. Often they are Israeli Hebrew forms that have been borrowed and "transplanted" into spoken Arabic clauses; they are used in their original Israeli Hebrew form as frozen forms. On the other hand, it is not uncommon these days also to hear Israeli Hebrew verbs integrated into Arabic verbal patterns or structures in speech, when appearing in a clause. Examples 35, 36, and 37 illustrate this phenomenon:

(35) **ana** **halaX** **fi-l-moni:t**
 1-SG go-Qal-PFV-3-M-SG in-DEF-taxi-F-SG
 'I took a taxi.'

In example 35, the speaker could simply have said **ruX\t** 'go' (1stP-1-SG) **filmoni:t** 'in-DEF-taxi (F-SG)', using a pure spoken Arabic verb. Yet, he preferred to use the phrase **ana halaX** 'I go' (3-M-SG) instead. In spoken Arabic, using an independent pronoun with a verb is redundant, and therefore independent pronouns are not commonly used across the verb system. The speaker of this clause, however, used an independent pronoun followed by a verb. This kind of sequence is typical in Israeli Hebrew but is rare in spoken Arabic.

We believe that the speaker started this expression using a default Israeli Hebrew word order. He therefore used an independent pronoun first. Then, since the independent pronoun already provides the information of who the agent of this action is, it was not necessary for him to provide this information within the verb again. This is why the verb was not inflected to the first person singular but rather was spoken in its Israeli Hebrew basic unmarked form, the third person masculine singular.

It is also possible that the speaker was not well acquainted with the Israeli Hebrew verbal forms and therefore used the basic form rather than the first person singular form together with an independent pronoun. But in such a case, the speaker's choice to use a Hebrew structure is inexplicable.

The word *moni:t* 'taxi' is a loan word from Israeli Hebrew as well, and is discussed separately later.

- (36) *ka:n jitnaheg mli:X*
 be-3-M-SG behave-*hitpael*-PRE-3-M-SG nice
 'he used to behave nicely.'

The structure of *ka:n* 'be' + V(PRE) in spoken Arabic denotes the habitual past (or, in other cases, the counterfactual mood). In this example, the Arabic auxiliary *ka:n* 'be' is used together with a Hebrew V(PRE) form to denote this meaning, although Israeli Hebrew prefixed verbs are not integrated into parallel structures in Israeli Hebrew. The corresponding Israeli Hebrew structure for the habitual past is 'be' + V(PTCP). In other words, in this expression the speaker took an Israeli Hebrew verb and inflected it as an Arabic verb, combining it in an Arabic structure.

- (37) *?`ala kull X\al nistader*
 on-PREP every situation manage-*hitpael*-PRE-1-PL
 'we will manage this way or another.'

In example 37, the speaker used a prefixed form of an Israeli Hebrew verb. In Israeli Hebrew, this expression is modal and is used to express an optimistic attitude. The speaker did not translate the Israeli Hebrew verb into a parallel Arabic form, probably because spoken Arabic does not allow the use of a prefixed form independently. He chose to use the original Israeli Hebrew form instead.

2.3.5. Pattern adjustment in spoken Arabic: Rules for loan words. Our data enable us to conclude several morphological rules that are used exclusively in spoken Arabic for Israeli Hebrew loan words. As mentioned above, vowel adaptation in spoken Arabic is basically not needed, because both the Israeli Hebrew and the Arabic that is spoken in Israel have five identical basic vowels. Yet, sometimes in spoken Arabic, the vowels *e* and *o* in loan words from Israeli Hebrew are adjusted to *i / a* or *u*, respectively. This adjustment of vowels is morphological in nature, because it is entailed by a pattern adjustment, as detailed hereafter.

When a loan word from Israeli Hebrew comes in a pattern that is similar to an Arabic pattern, it is adapted to the Arabic pattern. Many of the spoken Arabic patterns originate in Modern Standard Arabic. Since the vowels *e* and *o* are absent from Modern Standard Arabic, many of the patterns in spoken Arabic do not contain these vowels. As a result, if a borrowed Israeli Hebrew loan word is similar to an Arabic pattern that comes from Modern Standard Arabic (a pattern that contains *i / a* or *u*), but instead contains *e* or *o*, that *e* or *o* is changed into *i / a* or *u*, respectively, according to the pattern. Here are examples:

- (38) *maXsom* > *maX\su:m*
 barricade-M-SG
 'barricade.'
- (39) *pantSer* > *banSar*
 flat tire-M-SG
 'flat tire.'

In example 38, the original Israeli Hebrew word contains the vowel *o*. Its structure is similar to the spoken Arabic pattern *maC₁C₂u:C₃*, which comes from Modern Standard Arabic and is originally a participle form that can serve as either an adjective or a noun. Pattern adjustment must follow not only morphological rules but also semantic rules, and in order for a loan word to be adjusted to an Arabic pattern, it must also correspond to this pattern in its semantic features. Adaptation of the Israeli Hebrew word to an Arabic pattern is possible in the case of the word *maX\su:m* 'barricade', because the semantics of the pattern corresponds to its Israeli Hebrew meaning, which denotes a noun. The only process that needs to be done in order to make the loan word more "Arabic-oriented" is to adjust it to the Arabic pattern with the change of *o > u*:. The change of *X > X* is phonological, though, as explained earlier.

In example 39, the original Israeli Hebrew word contains the vowel *e*. Its structure is similar to the spoken Arabic pattern $C_1aC_{2a}C_{2b}aC_3$. This pattern basically contains a duplication of the second root radical, but this duplication can theoretically stand for two consequent consonants if the root is quadriconsonantal. However, this pattern denotes an agentive noun that needs to be animate or even human. Therefore, semantically, the word *banSar* ‘flat tire’ does not fit into this pattern and cannot be integrated into it.

On the other hand, Arabic has a similar pattern, $maC_1C_2aC_3$. Although this pattern is characterized by an initial consonant *m*, if we ignore the fact that the first consonant is specifically *m* and refer to it as any consonant, this pattern would contain four consonants and two low middle vowels *a*, a consonantal and vocalic distribution that perfectly conforms to that of the word *banSar* ‘flat tire’. Also, its semantics is less restrictive than that of the pattern $C_1aC_{2a}C_{2b}aC_3$, and it can stand for any noun, not just animate ones. As in the former case, in order to make the loan word more “Arabic-oriented,” it is adjusted to this pattern with the change of *e* > *a*. The change of *tS* > *S* is phonological, as explained earlier. The change of the pattern-original *m* > *b* has also been explained earlier.

Both the patterns $maC_1C_2u:C_3$ and $maC_1C_2aC_3$ normally take broken-plural forms in spoken Arabic: $maC_1aC_2i:C_3$ and $maC_1a:C_2eC_3$, respectively. The loan words *maX\su:m* ‘barricade’ and *banSar* ‘flat tire’ behave accordingly and thus take the matching broken-plural forms.

Another kind of change that is entailed by a pattern adjustment is the duplication of a consonant in the pattern without any vowel change. Similarly, if a borrowed Israeli Hebrew loan word comes in a pattern that is similar to an Arabic pattern with a double consonant, the consonant from the Israeli Hebrew word, which appears in the location of the double consonant in the Arabic pattern, is duplicated according to the pattern. Here are examples:

- | | | | |
|------|---|---|----------------|
| (40) | <i>kaSaR</i>
signaler-M-SG
‘signaler.’ | > | <i>kaSSar</i> |
| (41) | <i>Xajal</i>
soldier-M-SG
‘an Israeli soldier.’ | > | <i>X\ajjal</i> |

In examples 40 and 41, the original Israeli Hebrew words have no double consonants. In spoken Arabic, they are integrated into the pattern $C_1aC_{2a}C_{2b}aC_3$, which denotes an agentive noun and must be animate. Originally, these two words in Israeli Hebrew inflect in a parallel pattern, having the same consonantal and vocalic distribution as in Arabic, but the double consonant is pronounced as a single consonant in Israeli Hebrew speech. The semantics of this pattern in Israeli Hebrew is identical to that in Arabic, and these words denote animate agentive figures. As a result, there is an ideal match between the Israeli Hebrew and spoken Arabic patterns, and therefore the borrowed words are integrated into the spoken Arabic pattern, and their second root radical is duplicated. Yet, when producing the plural forms of these words, there is a problem. The Arabic pattern $C_1aC_{2a}C_{2b}aC_3$ normally takes a sound-plural form by using the masculine plural suffix. As mentioned before, loan words from Israeli Hebrew borrowed into spoken Arabic are supposed to take only the feminine plural suffix. The example words cannot take a feminine plural suffix, however, only a masculine plural suffix, because they stand for masculine figures. The linguistic solution for the dilemma is that the plural forms of these words are also taken from Israeli Hebrew. In other words, the original Israeli Hebrew plural suffix *-im* is taken: *kaSSar-im* and *X\ajjal-im*.

In cases where an Israeli Hebrew word contains *e* or *o*, and there is no similar spoken Arabic pattern that corresponds to it both in its morphological structure and in its meaning, it is borrowed in its original form and with its original vowels, as in the following words:

- | | | | |
|------|---|---|---------------|
| (42) | <i>Ramzor</i>
traffic light-M-SG
‘traffic light.’ | > | <i>ramzor</i> |
| (43) | <i>monit</i>
taxi-F-SG
‘taxi.’ | > | <i>moni:t</i> |

In the case of example 43, a similar pattern does exist in spoken Arabic: $muC_1i:C_3$. This is a pattern that originates in a participle form of a root with a second weak root radical C_2 . But the semantics of this pattern is an animate agentive noun, like in the Arabic word *mudir* ‘manager’. The word *moni:t* ‘taxi’ does not fit into the semantic properties of this pattern; it therefore remains in its original Israeli Hebrew form and is not adjusted to it. It does undergo a vowel lengthening in the second syllable, however, to adapt the word to a prescriptive Arabic syllable structure.

2.4. Syntactic adaptations

Some of the borrowings from Israeli Hebrew undergo syntactic adaptations in spoken Arabic. These adaptations are illustrated in the examples below and are also classified into groups, according to the type of the adaptation.

2.4.1. Noun compounds with Israeli Hebrew words in spoken Arabic. Noun compounds in Arabic are sequences of two or more nominals that denote a single meaning. Such noun compounds exist in Israeli Hebrew as well. In both traditional Hebrew and Modern Standard Arabic, the definiteness of these compounds is achieved by attaching the definite article to the second component of the phrase only. But like in Israeli Hebrew, when these compounds become definite in spoken Arabic, the definite article marker can appear either on the first or on the second component of the compound. Many Israeli Hebrew compounds have penetrated into spoken Arabic in their indefinite form. The following examples show loan compounds with both ways of Arabic definiteness:

- (44) *Snat fetek* > *Snat el-fetek*
 year seniority year DEF seniority
 'seniority year.' 'the seniority year.'
 (Israeli Hebrew: *Snat vetek* 'seniority year')

In the parallel compound in Israeli Hebrew, both *Snat a-vetek* and *a-Snat vetek* are possible; *ha-* (usually pronounced only *a-*) is the definite article in Israeli Hebrew.

- (45) *maʔareXet X\inu:X* > *maʔareXetel- X\inu:X*
 system education system DEF education
 'educational system.' 'the educational system.'
 (Israeli Hebrew: *maareXet XinuX* 'educational system')

The definite article in Israeli Hebrew is attached to the second component of this compound, too, rather than to the first one. Spoken Arabic follows the Israeli Hebrew convention in this regard.

- (46) *maʔafar X\atsaja* > *?il- maʔafar X\atsaja*
 path cross DEF path cross
 'crosswalk.' 'the crosswalk.'
 (Israeli Hebrew: *maavaR Xatsaja* 'crosswalk')

The definite article of this compound in Israeli Hebrew is attached to the first component of the compound, too, rather than to the second one.

- (47) *metaXnet maX\Sefi:m*
 programmer-M-SG computer-M-PL
 'computer programmer.'
 (Israeli Hebrew: *metaXnet maXSevim* 'computer programmer')
- > *?il- metaXnet maX\Sefi:m*
 DEF programmer-M-SG computer-M-PL
 'the computer programmer.'

The definite article of this compound in Israeli Hebrew is attached to the first component of the compound, too, rather than to the second one. (Attaching the definite article to the second component in this phrase results in a high-register form that is rarely used in the spoken variety.)

Even though the definite article itself in spoken Arabic is the Arabic rather than the Hebrew one, definiteness in spoken Arabic is expected to work the same way as it works in Israeli Hebrew. Based on our data, when the definite article in Israeli Hebrew is attached to the first component of the compound, it will be attached to the first component of the compound in spoken Arabic, too. Likewise, when it is attached to the second component of the compound in Israeli Hebrew, it will be attached to the second component of the compound in spoken Arabic, too. Cases of the definite article attached to the first component of the compound are typical in compounds that are perceived as a single unit and that apparently cannot be disassembled into their components without losing their meanings. As mentioned before, the borrowed items undergo phonological adjustments to Arabic.

2.4.2. Mixed noun compounds. Some noun compounds in spoken Arabic are sequences of one spoken Arabic noun followed by one Israeli Hebrew noun or vice versa. Examples are presented below:

- (48) **?`ovd-ot** **el-baladije**
 worker-F-PL DEF-city hall
 'city-hall workers.'

In this compound, the Israeli Hebrew word for 'workers' was borrowed in its feminine plural form, and it precedes the spoken Arabic word.

- (49) **Gurfe-t** **il-martse**
 room, office-F-SG DEF-lecturer-M-SG
 'lecturer's office.'

In this expression, the Israeli Hebrew word for 'lecturer' was borrowed in its masculine singular form, and it follows the spoken Arabic word. Also, it takes an Arabic definite article.

2.4.3. Utterances, expressions, and clauses. Numerous spoken Arabic expressions are mixed sequences of Israeli Hebrew and spoken Arabic words. Here are examples of such expressions:

- (50) **wal'l'a** **ha:da** **?aX\la** **X\alu:ts**
 swear-1-SG this great striker-M-SG
 (AR) (AR) (AR) (HE)
 '(I) swear that this is a great striker.'
- (51) **ha:da** - **l-magen** **miS** **na:fi?**
 this defender-M-SG NEG effective-M-SG
 (AR) (HE) (AR) (AR)
 'this defender is useless.'

There are no rules addressing where the Israeli Hebrew word or words should appear in the expression; they can be located anywhere within the sequence of words. Most of the Israeli Hebrew loans are nouns, but it is not uncommon also to hear Israeli Hebrew adjectives and verbs in Arabic speech.

2.4.4. Word order. Like Israeli Hebrew, and as opposed to Modern Standard Arabic, spoken Arabic is an SVO (subject-verb-object) language. This means that the verb in spoken Arabic follows the subject in the clause and in discourse, as in the following example:

- ?il-walad** **ra:X** **l-al-madrase**
 DEF-child go-1stP-SUF-3-SG-M to-DEF-school
 'the child went to school.'

Therefore, when speech items are borrowed from Israeli Hebrew, no adjustment of word order is needed; the same order that is used in Israeli Hebrew is used also in spoken Arabic. Yet, there are some differences in word order in expressions or clauses, as shown in the following example:

- (52) **ha:da** - **l-magen** **miS** **na:fi?**
 this defender-M-SG NEG effective-M-SG
 (AR) (HE) (AR) (AR)
 'this defender is useless.'

In this example, the second item in the sequence is a loan word from Israeli Hebrew. It is preceded by the demonstrative determiner **ha:da** 'this'. Demonstrative determiners in Israeli Hebrew follow rather than precede the nouns that they describe. The noun in this clause, when accompanied by a demonstrative determiner in Israeli Hebrew, would precede the demonstrative determiner: **a-magen** 'the-defender' **a-ze** 'the-this', or literally 'this defender'. But when the phrase is borrowed into spoken Arabic, the word order is switched according to the standard sequence of items in spoken Arabic, and the demonstrative determiner precedes the noun: **ha:da** 'this' **l-magen** 'the-defender', or literally 'this defender'.

2.5. Semantic adaptations

Some borrowings from Israeli Hebrew undergo semantic change in spoken Arabic. The semantic change that we have observed involves the process of making the meaning more specific in spoken Arabic than it is in Israeli Hebrew. Examples are presented below:

- (53) **déSe**
'soccer court.'
(Hebrew meanings: 'lawn, soccer court')

This word lost its original meaning in Israeli Hebrew of 'lawn', and its meaning was restricted to 'soccer court' in spoken Arabic.

- (54) **kabala**
'(hotel) reception.'
(Israeli Hebrew meanings: 'receipt, reception, acceptance, approval, welcome')

Similarly, this word lost its original meanings in Israeli Hebrew of 'receipt, acceptance, approval, welcome'. In spoken Arabic, its meaning was restricted to '(hotel) reception'; it does not carry any of the other Israeli Hebrew meanings.

- (55) **mo?`ed** **(ta:ni)**
time second
'special examination time.'
(Israeli Hebrew meanings: 'time, date, holiday')

This word lost its original meanings in Israeli Hebrew of 'time, date, holiday'. In spoken Arabic, its meaning was restricted to 'special examination time' (in academic institutions only); it does not carry any of the other Israeli Hebrew meanings.

Semantics is also crucial in the case of adjustments of Israeli Hebrew words to conform to spoken Arabic patterns. The pattern structure itself is insufficient for the adjustment of a loan word into it. If the loan word does not correspond to the target pattern in both structure and meaning, it is not integrated into this pattern.

2.6. Discourse

Every language has its own discourse markers, and spoken Arabic is no exception. Some discourse markers in spoken Arabic come from Israeli Hebrew — for example: **keilu** 'like', **kaze** 'such, to such an extent'. Just as with their distribution in Israeli Hebrew, the former marker is more prevalent, the latter less used. Unlike in Israeli Hebrew, however, neither is very widespread in spoken Arabic, but they are used from time to time.

Interestingly, as discussed in Section 2.2.5, spoken Arabic has borrowed an exclamation that had been borrowed earlier from Arabic into Israeli Hebrew: the word **wala** 'wow!, really!, you don't say!'. This is now an Arabic exclamation that had once been borrowed from Palestinian Arabic into Israeli Hebrew and then had undergone a semantic change there. Its original meaning in Arabic was '(I) swear by God'. After it had turned into an Israeli Hebrew word, it was borrowed back into spoken Arabic, with the new meaning from Israeli Hebrew.

3. Loans from English

In general, and not surprisingly, there is a negligible influence of English on spoken Arabic, whereas a very strong Israeli Hebrew influence is apparent. We assume that this is due to the fact of Hebrew being the lingua franca of Arabs in daily life, whereas English is studied only as a third language by Israeli Arabs. The few borrowings from English are usually integrated into spoken Arabic through Israeli Hebrew, and not directly from English. These are usually various jargons or hi-tech terminology. One example is the word **test** 'an annual car licensing test'. This word has been integrated into spoken Arabic from Israeli Hebrew, since its restricted meaning in Arabic is identical to its meaning in Israeli Hebrew, whereas in English it has several additional meanings, such as a school test, a medical test, and more.

4. Fields of borrowings

It is well noted that borrowings from Israeli Hebrew into spoken Arabic can be classified into several semantic fields. Though Israeli Hebrew loan words and phrases are borrowed into spoken Arabic in every field of life, it is remarkable that some fields, such as the following, contain far more word and phrase borrowings than do others:

4.1. Sports

Many of the loan words and phrases originate in sports games, especially soccer. Many of the player role names are used in spoken Arabic in their original Israeli Hebrew form. Other terms have to do with group management people,

the soccer court, game terminology, and the like. Here are some examples: *nivdal* 'offside', *So?`er* 'goalkeeper', *déSe* 'soccer court', *liga* 'league', *magen* 'defender', *me?amen* 'coach'.

4.2. Public services

Many of the loan words and phrases originate in various public services. Such words or phrases usually consist of form names or numbers, public roles, public authorities, and the like. Here are some examples: *ma?`asi:k* 'employer', *X\adar mijun* 'emergency room', *ribi:t* 'interest (in banking)', *do:?ar* 'post office', *maSkanta* 'mortgage'.

4.3. Food

Many loan words and phrases originate in food names or in terms related to food. Here are some examples: *tzuna* 'nutrition', *maddijaX\ kelim* 'dishwasher', *mana X\ama* 'meals on the go', and the following:

- *burékas* 'filled pastry': Note that this word originated in the Turkish *burek* 'filled pastry'. Sephardic Jews attached a Spanish plural suffix to it to produce *burékas*. Since Israeli Jews perceive this word as a singular form ('one unit of filled pastry'), a Hebrew plural suffix *-im* was added to it: *buRekas-im* 'units of filled pastry'. It is evident that Arabic borrowed the Hebrew form, and not the Turkish form, because the word *burékas* is used in Arabic to denote a single unit, like in Israeli Hebrew.
- *bargijot* 'pullet': This word originated in the Israeli Hebrew word *paRgijot* with the same meaning.
- *Snitsel* 'schnitzel, breaded fried cutlet of poultry breast': That this word was borrowed into spoken Arabic from Israeli Hebrew is apparent by the phonological distribution of the word, which is identical to Israeli Hebrew and different from its English or German counterparts: In Israeli Hebrew, an epenthetic vowel is inserted between the last two consonants, *ts* and *l*, which is absent in English and German but exists in spoken Arabic. (In English and German a syllabic sonorant is present instead.)

4.4. Entertainment

Some loan words and phrases are related to various fields of entertainment. Such words or phrases include the following: *X\ug* 'enrichment class', *sof Safu?`a* 'weekend', *kanjon* 'mall', and *karnafal* 'carnival'. That last word was borrowed from the Israeli Hebrew *karnaval* 'carnival', which was itself borrowed from the Italian *karnavale* 'carnival' (Even-Shoshan 1988) and was phonologically adjusted to a Hebrew structure, omitting the ending vowel. That Arabic borrowed this word from Hebrew is apparent by the word's vocalic distribution, which is identical to the Israeli Hebrew version of the word and different from its Italian version.

4.5. Daily life

Many of the loan words and phrases are connected to the Israeli Arabs' daily life. Here are some examples: *kfiS* 'road' (from Israeli Hebrew *kviS*), *bul* 'stamp' (from Israeli Hebrew *bul*), *bkak* 'traffic jam' (from Israeli Hebrew *pkak*), *maX\su:m* 'barricade' (from Israeli Hebrew *maXsom*), *bigu?`a* 'a terrorist attack' (from Israeli Hebrew *pigua*), *mosad* 'the Mossad' (from Israeli Hebrew *mosad*), *Sabak* 'Israel General Security Services GSS' (from Israeli Hebrew *Sabak*), and *X\ajjal* 'an Israeli soldier' (from Israeli Hebrew *Xajal*). That last word underwent a semantic change in spoken Arabic, and gained a more specific meaning. The Arabic word for 'soldier', *dZundi*, is in use, and refers to a soldier in general, from any nation. But the borrowed word *X\ajjal* refers specifically to an Israeli soldier, not to a soldier in general.

5. Summary

This paper discusses the significant Israeli Hebrew influence on the Arabic spoken by Israeli Arabs. There are two major languages (as well as some minor ones) in Israel; the dominant language is Israeli Hebrew, and the minority's language is Arabic. These two languages are in close contact, and thereby many mutual influences are enabled between them. As the acquisition of Hebrew has become an integral part of the Arabs' existence in Israel, Israeli Arabs are more appreciative of Hebrew and view it as a prestigious language.

The data in this paper show that the impact of Israeli Hebrew is noted in all linguistic fields. Lexical borrowings are very widespread, but many phonological adjustments, morphological inflections, morphological-semantic pattern adjustments, syntactic combinations, and cases of semantic shifts are also observed in many spoken Arabic expressions. The linguistic phenomena reviewed in this paper clearly indicate that a new Israeli Arabic variety is

emerging. Israeli Arabs themselves testify that when communicating with Arabs speaking other dialects — for example, at the time of pilgrimage to Mecca in Saudi Arabia or when addressing their Jordanian relatives — they must monitor their language carefully, to avoid the natural use of Israeli Hebrew elements, which are foreign and incomprehensible to speakers of other Arabic dialects.

Therefore, we recommend the identification of a new *Israeli Arabic* variety, which refers to the Arabic spoken by the Israeli Arab population in Israel. Israeli Arabic is a subset of the Palestinian Arabic dialect and is contained within it, but it is characterized by many unique linguistic features and can therefore stand on its own.

Following the current paper, we also recommend that the linguistic issues raised in it are further investigated among larger populations of Israeli Arabs with various levels of contact with Israeli Hebrew. These issues are extremely important for the understanding of the essence of the contact between Israeli Hebrew and Israeli Arabic in Israel, and can serve as starting points for the prediction of linguistic processes in the future.

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7. Appendix – additional glossary

<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Refers to</u>
PR	Proper name
N	Noun
EXC	Exclamation
1 st P	First verbal pattern
Qal	Israeli Hebrew basic / neutral verbal pattern
hitpael	Israeli Hebrew reflexive / reciprocal verbal pattern
PRE	Prefix form
V	Verb
SUF	Suffix form
PREP	Preposition