

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF PROFESSORS OF HEBREW



HEBREW HIGHER EDUCATION

A Journal for Methodology and Pedagogy
in the University Teaching of
Hebrew Language and Literature

VOLUME 16 (2014)

Published at the University of Wisconsin-Madison
by the National Association of Professors of Hebrew
in Institutions of Higher Learning

THE USE OF ARABIC WORDS IN THE HEBREW WRITING OF ARAB AUTHORS WRITING IN ISRAEL¹

Adel Shakour

Al-QASEMI Academy

Academic College of Education

The main target of this article is to examine the impact of Arabic on the Arab authors writing in Hebrew. Specifically it examines their use of words and phrases borrowed from Arabic in literary works that they wrote in Hebrew and their literary translation from Arabic into Hebrew. These words and phrases, which are mostly from spoken Arabic, serve to increase the authentic sense of the Arab culture that the text depicts. Two methods are used to convey the flavor of Arabic culture in Hebrew texts: one involves using Arabic words and phrases without quotation marks, the other technique is less subtle and involves placing quotation marks around the Arabic words and phrases.

Examples of another lexical influences include: translated borrowings, borrowing of meanings, use of neologisms in Hebrew influenced by Arabic, Tonality, reviving Biblical collocations and Hebrew verbs by loading them with different or supplementary meanings under the influence of Arabic, and a preference for certain verbs rather than their synonyms due to the etymological influence of their Arabic parallels. This article focuses on the use of words and phrases which were borrowed under the direct influence of Arabic.

This article reports also on the phenomenon of Arab authors in Israel writing in Hebrew. "Writing in Hebrew" refers to literary works originally written in Hebrew or translated from Arabic to Hebrew. The article examines the status of the Hebrew for Israeli Arabs, the scale of the phenomenon of writing in Hebrew, the bilingual literary works of Arab authors in Israel, and Israeli society's acceptance of Arab authors writing in Hebrew. Some ten Arab novelists are currently writing in Hebrew in Israel, an apparently growing trend among Arab authors. The choice of these Arab authors to write in Hebrew is a conscious aesthetic choice, a reflection of their natural gift for writing, a mastery of Hebrew and a political choice. The ten writers are: Anṭūn Šammās, Na'im Arāyḏī, Sayyid Qaššu', Aṭalla(h) Maṣṣūr, Ġiryis Ṭannūs, Muḥammad Ġanayim, Aosa(h) Abu-Ġūš, Aūde(h) Bšārāt, Ayman Siksik, and Salmān Naṭūr.

Methodologically, the article contributes to the teaching of the general topic: "The linguistic contact between Hebrew and Arabic in the state of Israel" as it presents a broad background to the status of Hebrew language in Israeli Arab society. The article also contributes specifically to teaching the topic: "Bilingualism in Arab authors in Israel who write in Hebrew" as it focuses on the semantic influence of Arabic on these writers, as seen from their inclusion of Arabic words in their Hebrew writings.

¹ This article is based on the author's Ph.D. dissertation, written under the supervision of Dr. Tsvi Sadan (Tsuguya Sasaki). See Shakour 2010.

industry. Gluska (1999:111) shows that many words are borrowed from culture, literature, and art³. The transfer of concepts and terms between languages often takes place during the process of translating works from one language to another, thus enriching the vocabulary of the borrowing language. An example of this was the contact between Arabic and Greek and Aramaic literature: Syrian translators translated scientific and philosophical works written in Greek and Syriac into Arabic, or from Greek via Syriac into Arabic, while incorporating a fairly large number of concepts and words from the original language in their translations. Similarly in the scientific Arabic literature of the Middle Ages we find abundant borrowings from contemporary scientific works.

Almost all Israeli Arabs have some Hebrew proficiency, and the language is taught in Arab schools. For Israel's Arab citizens, Hebrew is the key to the dominant Jewish majority and most of its social, financial, and educational resources. It is therefore essential for smoothing the daily lives of Israeli Arabs (Amara 2002:86–101). The fact that it is a basic necessity has raised its status in Arab society.

Contact between Hebrew-speaking Arabs and Jews occurs in many different contexts, for example governmental offices, work, and recreational settings, such as restaurants. As a result, Arabic has borrowed many Hebrew words and even entire sentences. Israeli Arabs routinely use words like *Beseder* 'okay', *'arūṣ* 'TV channel', *Mivṣa* 'sales discount', *Kanyon* 'shopping mall', *Maṣṣil* 'lifeguard', and many others.⁴

Still, not all Israeli Arabs speak Hebrew fluently, and fluency is not evenly distributed, depending rather on such factors as gender, age, locality, and frequency of contact with Jewish Israelis.⁵ Arab males speak Hebrew better

³ See also Kaufman (1974:166), who examined the influence of Akkadian on Aramaic and found groups of words from the spheres of culture and religion in general, and Bloomfield (1976:465), who found words that are borrowed from religion, ethics, hunting, and sport. It seems, therefore that the needs of the society of speakers will dictate what is and is not borrowed, and that the groups of borrowed words will vary for each language.

⁴ Mar'i (2002-2003:143) and Dana (1983:47-49) discuss the linguistic merger *d-damḡi l-laḡawī* in spoken Arabic. This refers to the adoption of Hebrew words and sometimes full sentences in spoken Arabic—a known phenomenon among Israeli Arabs. An example is: شفت Tavlat Liga 'football league'. This phenomenon is generally termed "linguistic interference" and it occurs when a bilingual minority lives within a majority culture. The use of Arabic words in spoken and written Hebrew is integral to the linguistic repertoire of Arabs in Israel. This phenomenon is evident in all aspects of life. It is not artificial and has given rise to a new language in Israel, which was recently studied in a comprehensive work by Mar'i, 2013.

⁵ Amara (1986:3) points out that Arabic has also borrowed from English. The fact that science and technology developed in English explains why Arabic, like so many languages, borrows much of its science and technology terms from English. Israel's close relationship with the USA has also led to Israelis borrowing from English, which is subsequently absorbed into the Arabic spoken by Israeli Arabs.

than Arab females since they are in touch with Jewish society more than Arab females, especially through work and in contact with government bureaucracies, and younger Arabs also speak better Hebrew than their elders (Amara 2002:87). Young Arabs nowadays are more exposed to Hebrew because they use leisure and entertainment facilities in Jewish cities and read Hebrew publications, especially the press. This contact greatly improves their Hebrew fluency and increases adoption of Hebrew words and phrases in Arabic (Amara 2002:87). As for locality, the closer an Arab person lives to Jewish centers, the more strongly he or she will be influenced by Hebrew. For example, Arabs living in the Negev and the "Triangle" speak more Hebrew than Galilee Arabs. Also, in mixed cities and neighborhoods Arabs and Jews share the same public services, which lead to routine contact between Arab and Jewish citizens, something which has improved Israeli Arabs' regard for Hebrew and elevated Hebrew's status. Another key factor responsible for the use of Hebrew among Israeli Arabs is that many work for Jewish businesses and most are employed by Hebrew-speaking Jews, encouraging them to study Hebrew. Hebrew is thus a significant factor in their lives, a lack of which makes it extremely difficult for them to achieve anything in Israeli society, and they would be unable to learn many of the things that demand fluent Hebrew. In the workplace, management and staff all speak Hebrew, customers speak Hebrew, tools and equipment have Hebrew names, and instructions for use are all in Hebrew. So, Arab employees have to know Hebrew to integrate at work and succeed (Amara and Kabhā 1996:60–62; Mar'ī 2002–2003:133–136; Kohen 1968:670). Hebrew is also relatively easy for them because Arabic and Hebrew belong to the same linguistic family. Furthermore, the fact that Hebrew and Arabic have many lexical elements in common helps Israeli Arabs to learn Hebrew quickly, sometimes simply from being spoken to (Dana 2000:165–170).

Although Hebrew is the second most important language for Israeli Arabs, allowing communication with Israeli Jews in all areas of life, and although it acts as an agent of modernization, various sociolinguistic obstacles limit its convergence with Hebrew. Ben Rafa'el (1994:176) points out that:

... the dual identity (Palestinian and Israeli) is reflected in the linguistic repertoire of Palestinians in Israel. The tension between the two identities, the Israeli and the Palestinian, has restricted their approach to Hebrew, the language of the dominant Jewish culture. In other words, the Arabs employ a strategy of linguistic integration. On the one hand, they try to connect with the wider social network which is shaped by the majority culture by learning to speak Hebrew well. On the other hand they maintain their identity by retaining their mother tongue.

Śnir (1990:248–253) gives a detailed analysis of efforts by Israel's majority culture to dominate the Israeli Arab minority following the establishment of the State of Israel, which the Palestinians call *Nakba(h)* 'Tragedy' and which was a traumatic event for Israeli Arabs. The Israeli establishment attempted to install a system of re-education and reculturalization aimed at distancing local Arabs from their Palestinian heritage and integrating them into the life of the state⁶ because nationalist inclinations within the Israeli Arab community were considered dangerous. Before he left Israel, the poet Maḥmūd Darwīš asserted that the premise of the Israeli establishment and public was that every Arab was both suspect and guilty.

The strategy of the Israeli establishment for achieving this goal was harsh and produced a strong negative reaction from the Arab community. For example, Mikhael Asaf, a Jewish Israeli Middle East expert, a key figure in the Arabist arm of the Israeli establishment in the 1950's, and the editor-in-chief of establishment journals such as the weekly *حقيقة الأمر* *Haqīqat l-'amr*, daily *اليوم* *l-yawm*, and the Arabic journal of the teachers union *صدى التربية* *Ṣadā t-tarbiya(h)*, suggested that more hours of Hebrew study should be added to Arab elementary schools at the expense of Arabic. As a result of Mikhael Asaf became persona non grata in the Arab community (especially among the communists) and is often described as a disseminator of hatred, incitement, and bias against the Arab minority and as someone with a hostile attitude toward Arabs inside and outside Israel.

In contrast to Śnir (1990: 248–253), who maintains that Israel's majority culture failed to dominate the minds of the Arab minority in Israel despite all its best efforts and a strong desire to do so, Amir (1992:41) believes that the majority culture failed because it didn't try. If it wanted Arabs at all (by force of circumstance, not choice), at most it wished them to provide a picturesque, oriental flavor to the country, to be hardworking, law-abiding subjects, and, where possible, to be passive players in the party political game. And it clearly and openly preferred them to be Arabs "loyal to their nation and tradition, fighting perhaps for their rights" in the enlightened Israeli regime, but not as Israelis with all that this status implied.

The majority culture's efforts to achieve symmetry between the political hegemony and cultural hegemony and to assimilate the minority culture have goaded the minority into an intense national cultural activity that cannot compare to that of any other Palestinian community. This cultural debate is taking place under a somewhat equivocal reciprocity: the Arab-

⁶ The main argument advanced by policy shapers of the Hebrew studies curriculum was that Hebrew not only contributes to the financial development of the minority, it also encourages integration with the majority and reduces gaps between Israel's Arab and Jewish communities (Spolsky & Šohamy 1999:108).

Palestinian minority was the majority before Israel's establishment and can still maintain that it is the majority if the balance of Middle East power is considered. On the other hand, not only is the current Jewish majority a minority in a region which is entirely Arab, but its collective consciousness remains permeated with the memory of having been a minority during most of its history, both in the Land of Israel and in the Diaspora. No wonder, then, that it continues to fall back on the characteristic patterns of a minority struggling for existence, and uses these patterns to mask its personality.⁷

Another example where words and phrases were borrowed from other languages in the process of translation involved the Arabicized Hebrew of the Middle Ages: during the fourth decade of the seventh century, Muslim Arabs embarked on the conquest of the region from Persia in the east to Spain and North Africa in the west, spreading the Arabic language as they went. The local populations, including the Jews, adopted the language of the conquerors in various spheres of life (excluding liturgy, poetry, and *halacha* - Jewish religious law). Eventually Arabic even became the main language used for writing about subjects in which a Hebrew vocabulary was lacking (Maman 1991:106)⁸. As a result, the Jews of Europe and Asia Minor were unable to enjoy the literary riches produced by their brethren in Hebraized Arabic, and so a movement of interpreters arose (Maman, p. 107)⁹. That movement was responsible for many Arab terms entering the Hebrew language.

Margolin (2003:53–60) examined some of the Hebrew linguistic neologisms which Šammās uses and the use of words and phrases borrowed from Arabic in *Aarabesqut*, so far nothing comprehensive has been written about these neologisms and uses of Arabic Words that relates to a broader corpus of Arab Authors' writing in Hebrew. The present article paints a wider picture of these uses of Arabic words in the Hebrew Writing of Arab Authors Writing in Israel.

⁷ See Grosman 1992:19 & Kayyāl 2006:15-16.

⁸ For example, Rabbi S'adya Ga'on (882-942) lived and worked in Egypt, the Land of Israel, and Babylonia and wrote his important works on Hebrew linguistics in Arabic *Kutub l-luġa(h)* on Hebrew grammar and *'agron* intended for use in versification and his book of philosophy and theology *Kitāb l-'amānāt wa-l-'itiqādāt*. Rabbi Yehuda Halevi (1075-1141) did the same in his book *Kitāb r-rad wa-d-dalīl fī d-dīn d-dalīl*, and Maimonides (1204-1135), in his philosophical work *dalālatu l-hā'irīn*.

⁹ For example, in 1040 the Karaite sage Ṭuvya Ben-Moše arrived from Byzantium to Israel. The everyday language of the Karaites in Byzantium was Byzantine Greek, and therefore they could not read the writings of the important leaders of the Karaite movement in Israel, who wrote in Arabic. Ben Moše was fluent in Arabic, and during his stay in Jerusalem he studied philosophy and theology at the Karaite yešiva under Yūsif l-bašīr 'Joseph Ben Abraham, Joseph the Seer' and translated his writings and those of Yešu'a Ben Yehuda into Hebrew.

The Arab Authors' corpus of writing includes six novels, originally written in Hebrew, documentary story and four novels which they translated from Arabic into Hebrew.

For texts translated from Arabic to Hebrew numbers are written with a period. For texts originally written in Hebrew the number is shown in brackets.

2. THE BILINGUAL LITERARY ACTIVITY OF ISRAELI ARAB AUTHORS

Many of the most highly regarded authors in the world today write their fiction, prose, or poetry in a language that isn't their mother tongue. For a number of them, the second language has been bound up with personal experiences of exile or colonialism. Some use one language for private or emotional expression and another for public, formal presentation. Others reflect on how the cultural and aesthetic possibilities of a second language offer options they could never have experienced in their first language. Most struggle with maintaining a coherent sense of self. Taken together, these reflections shed new light on the creative process and the complex ways identities are forged in the contemporary, globalized world (Buchweitz, Mar'ī & Fragman 2010:10).

An example of an author writing in a second language is Algerian novelist Asyā Ġabbar, who set out specifically to write in French—the language of the French colonialists in Algeria. Ġabbar was impelled to write about the brutality of French colonialism and document the uprising of the Algerian people who bravely fought against the French enemy. She explains that when you write in the language of the other you make the other felt; the other becomes felt and seen (Ġabbar 2003:19–27.)

Šnir (1997:141–153) provides an in-depth analysis of the question of Israeli Arab authors writing in Hebrew and the underlying reasons. He maintains that this phenomenon is linked to the wider narrative of majority-minority reciprocity and the impact of the balance of political power on the literary sphere. In terms of their background, bilingual Israeli Arab writers are part of the Israeli Arab minority culture that lives in Israel within the Israeli Jewish majority culture. Minority cultures generally adopt an oppositional stance toward the majority culture, and in the case of the Israeli Arabs, this was inflamed by the majority culture's attempt in the 1950's and up to 1965, to gain control of the minority culture.

We can only try to understand the complex mental and cultural state of those lonely authors against the background of the dialectics of this complicated political and cultural debate. Unlike most of the minority

community, and certainly the educated among them, these writers were not satisfied with using Hebrew for the purposes of practical communication, but went even further to produce literature in Hebrew. Šnir (1992:6) emphasizes that linguistic literary dualism is common in societies where a minority culture is crystallized alongside a majority culture as a consequence of political power relations. In Israel, however, the high status of Arabic in the cultural and religious tradition of the minority, which is predominantly Muslim, has tended to limit creativity in Hebrew to marginal groups only, in particular the Christians and Druze.¹⁰ Such writing only assumed importance in the Hebrew literary domain in the 1980's with the work of Na'im Arāydī, a Druze, and Anṭūn Šammās, a Christian.¹¹

The Arab minority comprises about one-fifth of Israel's population. Many members of the minority were born in Israel and have long historical ties with the place. The minority has common characteristics such as language, symbols, culture, and national interests, and its members even define themselves as part of the same national cultural group. (Weitzhandler 2010:4)

Šnir (1997:141–153) provides an in-depth analysis of the question of Israeli Arab authors writing in Hebrew and the underlying reasons. He maintains that this phenomenon is linked to the wider narrative of majority-minority reciprocity and the impact of the balance of power on the literary sphere. In terms of their background, bilingual Israeli Arab writers are part of the Israeli Arab minority cultures generally adopt an oppositional stance toward the majority culture, and in the case of the Israeli Arabs, this was inflamed by the majority culture.

We can only try to understand the complex mental and cultural state of those lonely authors against the background of the dialectics of this complicated political and cultural debate. Unlike most of the minority community, and certainly the educated among them, these writers were not satisfied with using Hebrew for the purposes of practical communication, but went even further to produce literature in Hebrew. Šnir (1992:6) emphasizes that linguistic literary dualism is common in societies where a minority culture is crystallized alongside a majority culture as a consequence of political power relations.

¹⁰ Since Arabic is the mother tongue, the language of religion, language of the Qur'ān, language of science and scientists, and the language of history (Mar'ī 2002-2003:130).

¹¹ See Shakour 2009.

3. ŠAMMĀS AND ARĀYDĪ - AUTHORS WHO REPRESENT THE ISRAELI ARAB CULTURAL ELITE

Anṭūn Šammās was born in 1950 in the village of Faṣṣūṭa(h) in Galilee. He is still renowned for his translation of Eimīl Ḥabībī's work from Arabic to Hebrew, for articles in the Israeli press, and especially for his first novel, *Aarabesqut* (1986), a very significant work of fiction written by an Israeli Arab. Not only was the original novel not written in Arabic, it was not even translated into Arabic even though its author is one of the foremost translators from Arabic to Hebrew (Margolin 1996:18). The name 'Arabesqut' embodies the essence of the book in both content and style. Content-wise, there are shifts in time and place, while the thread of memory forming the book's leitmotif winds through it like a curling, colorful *Aarabesqut* pattern. Stylistically, the work is frequently adorned with Arabic influences on the author's Hebrew.

Na'im Arāydī, a Druze, was born in the Druze village of Mġār, where he still lives with his family. He has a Ph.D. in Hebrew literature and the topic of his dissertation was the poetry of Auri Švi Grenberg. Arāydī is a leading poet and the recipient of several prizes. Many of his poems, which are partly in Arabic and partly in Hebrew, have been translated into different languages and appear in poetry anthologies throughout Europe. His first novel was *Fatal Immersion* (2005, *Lexicon of Modern Hebrew Literature*, Jerusalem). Šnir (1990:258) cites Ḥever (1989:193–196), who maintains that, while most local Arabic literature has remained outside the Hebrew literary canon, the past two decades have witnessed a slow process of penetration into the Hebrew canon, bringing it from the periphery of the minority culture into the majority culture's authoritative mainstream. The most important part of this process is the growing tradition of translation into Hebrew, topped by Arab authors' efforts to write in Hebrew, the majority language.¹² Ḥever characterizes this development as a dramatic moment in the cultural confrontation between the minority and the majority

¹² It is noteworthy that Arab authors such as Anṭūn Šammās, Muḥammad Ġanayim, and Salmān Naṭūr, whose formal education was via the Israeli education system, are clearly faithful to the original Hebrew text, which can be seen from the mixture of Hebrew used in their translations and the various inconsistencies in linguistic style. This approach, positioning Hebrew culture as the hegemonic culture, served to further distance the translations from the Arab audiences who refused to accept Israel's hegemonic status. It is no wonder therefore that two leading exponents of the policy of translating Hebrew works into Arabic, Šammās and Ġanayim, ceased producing translations. Apparently this silence followed the acrid political censure drawn by their work from Arab sources both in and outside Israel and the discomfort that accompanied their efforts to mediate between the two alienated cultures (Kayyāl 2005:132; Šammās 1985:18-19).

in which the dialectic of power relations has shifted. In order to realize the option of breaking into the canonic center, the minority has identified weaknesses in the majority culture and strikes at them in an attempt to force the majority's cultural apparatus to lend it legitimacy, gravity, and importance.

Kochavi (1999:267) notes that Arāydī and Šammās, along with such writers as Ġāyīm, form the cultural elite of Israeli Arab culture. Šammās, Arāydī and Ġanayīm also function *within* Hebrew majority culture, representing an important prestigious cultural stratum whose view is heard and whose members' Jewish culture regards as authorities on Arab culture. Kochavi believes that if Šammās and Arāydī did not occupy this position in *both* cultures it is doubtful whether any of the Israeli institutions or publishing houses would invite them to edit anthologies (Šammās is editor of *In Two Voices*) or magazines (Ġanayīm is the editor of *Meeting* magazine, funded by the large trade union organization Histadrut) or allow them to publish anthologies of their own. Arāydī has published his own anthology, *Soldiers of Water* (1988, Kibbuš Me'uḥad).

Šnir (1997:142–143) stresses that discussion of Arab authors who write in Hebrew does not focus on Arāydī and Šammās for lack of other writers to focus on, but because only their work and presence in Hebrew literature has carried any weight since Israel's establishment, while the others, such as Aṭalla(h) Maṣṣūr¹³ (*In a New Light*, 1966, Tel Aviv, Karni Publishing), the first novel by an Arab author in Hebrew, have proved a passing phenomenon.

4. OTHER ARAB AUTHORS TO ATTRACT MEDIA ATTENTION

Beside Šammās and Arāydī, who have written in Hebrew since 2000 and attracted media attention, several other Arab writers have caught the eye of the Israeli media. One of them is Sayyid Qaššu'¹⁴ who received the Prime

¹³ Maṣṣūr was born in Guš Ḥalav, a village in Lower Galilee. He studied in Lebanon from 1946–1950. He made his way back to Israel in 1950 as an infiltrator and was only granted Israeli citizenship after ten years. On his return, he spent a year in Kibbuš Ša'ar Ha'amakim where he began studying Hebrew. He worked as a youth instructor and then as a journalist for *Ha'olam Haze* magazine between 1954 and 1958. From 1958 to 1991, he wrote for *Ha'areš* newspaper. Maṣṣūr writes in Arabic, Hebrew, and English.

¹⁴ Sayyid Qaššu' was born in Tira. His father was a bank clerk, his mother a teacher. He was the second child in a family of four. At the age of 15 he enrolled in the boarding school Jerusalem High School for Science and Arts, reputedly one of Israel's finest schools. On completing high school, he attended Hebrew University, studying philosophy and sociology. After graduation, he began writing for the newspaper *Kol Ha'ir* before becoming a television critic with his own personal column. His charming manner and insistence that he was not a "pet Arab" with a kind of synthetic Israeliness, and various statements he made,

Minister's Prize for Hebrew Writers for his two novels *Dancing Arabs*¹⁵ (2004, Ben Šemen, Keter Publishing) and *Let It Be Morning*¹⁶ (2005, Lexicon of Modern Hebrew Literature, Jerusalem). These novels were translated into several languages and garnered considerable praise. The most recent novel written in Hebrew by an Arab author¹⁷ is *In the Shade of the Jujube Tree - Pictures of my Neighborhood*, by Ġiryis Ṭannūs,¹⁸ which was self-published in 2007, Nazareth.¹⁹ Another noteworthy Arab writer is Salmān Naṭūr,²⁰ who published *Walking on the Wind – Conversations at Home*, which he wrote in Hebrew in 1992.

Arāydī and Šammās' writing reflects the fact that they belong to two alienated cultures: Arab culture, where they were born and took their first steps in literature, and Hebrew culture, where at first they were thrown reluctantly, but which they came to prefer, for identifiable personal, aesthetic reasons. It is no wonder that their main work focuses on the demarcation between Hebrew and Arab literature. Both are acknowledged as remarkable translators. Their natural talents, sensitive intellects, articulateness, mastery of Hebrew, unique linguistic style, and modern techniques allow them to

placed him and his editors in the "firing line" of Israeli patriotic nationalism, ironically drawing greater esteem for him from the journalistic world.

¹⁵ The book describes Qaššu's traumatic meeting with the Jewish street. *Dancing Arabs* was high on the best seller list for eleven weeks and sold many copies abroad. It was translated into Italian, German, French, Dutch, and English.

¹⁶ In *Let it be Morning*, Qaššu' portrays the experiences of a young family moving back to the village where the parents were born. Moving back to the village is described as a disaster, the end of all hopes and dreams. The narrator reveals this the moment he arrives in the village, and begins describing his village in very depressing terms.

¹⁷ The novel *Zetunya Streets* (2009, Tel Aviv, Am Oved Publishing) is not listed, as it was written in Arabic by Aūde(h) Bšārāt, and later translated by the author with the help of Moshe Ron, but is not the sole work of the author, Aūde(h) Bšārāt.

¹⁸ Ġiryis Ṭannūs was born in 1937. His parents were farmers from Mġār village. Since 1956 he has lived in Acre. A senior teacher, for 48 years he was involved in the teaching of Hebrew language and literature in Arab high schools. He graduated from Haifa University after studying Hebrew and Arabic language and literature. He writes poetry and prose in both languages and has authored three novels and two dictionaries in Arabic, and also two dictionaries focused on similarities and differences between Hebrew and Arabic – one Hebrew-Arabic and the other Arabic-Hebrew.

¹⁹ *In the Plum Shadow* is written from the perspective of a child of farmers, whose life largely fluctuates between one prank and another and the punishments that result. Between stealing figs and catching thrushes and releasing them, the abundant episodes of violence in the book – kicks from a big brother or a whipping from a teacher, almost in every page of the book – still have a certain pastoral character.

²⁰ Naṭūr was born in 1949 in Daliyat al-Karmel. He studied philosophy at Haifa University and Hebrew University and is an author, journalist, playwright, and lecturer in Arab philosophy and culture. He is director of the Emīl Tūma Institute for Palestinian and Israeli Studies in Haifa and editor of the journal *Israeli Issues*, published in Rāmalla(h). Naṭūr has written 25 books, including novels, short stories, critical articles, and documentary literature about Palestinian memory. Naṭūr translated from Hebrew to Arabic David Grosman's novel *Yellow Wind* and *Conversation on Science and Values* by Prof. Yeša'yahu Leybovič.

write fluidly in Hebrew, sometimes on a higher level than in their native language, Arabic.²¹

Šnir (1997:142–143) also notes that, whereas in their natural Arab milieu Arāyḏī and Šammās are conspicuous for their conscious aesthetic affinity with Hebrew culture, in Hebrew literary circles they stand out not only as newcomers and foreigners, but chiefly as representatives of a minority with access to the circle of the majority. Almost the only reason they are accepted in Hebrew literary circles is because they fit into the slot which the Israeli cultural system allocates for minorities (as it does also in the political system). They therefore find themselves working inside a culture which, to put it mildly, does not see the minority culture as its top priority. Still, as writers working on the fringes of Palestinian literature, while trying to penetrate the canonic center of the majority culture, they mostly address Jewish Israeli audiences and deal almost exclusively with the question of cultural identity. In addition, the penetration of such authors into Israeli culture is never planned and invariably involves single individuals with specific cultural preferences; it is only in retrospect that one can see the commonality between them. When we examine how Arāyḏī and Šammās operate within Israeli culture, we see emerging two alternative models of the Palestinian minority representative active in Israeli culture.

5. ISRAELI SOCIETY'S ACCEPTANCE OF ARAB AUTHORS WRITING IN HEBREW

Amir (1992:40) disagrees with Snir and others who have reservations about Arabs being accepted as "Hebrew" authors, and see the work of authors like Šammās and Arāyḏī as out of the ordinary and impermanent.²² Amir dismisses the "alarm" shown by Šnir, Oren, and others over Šammās and Arāyḏī's acceptance as bona fide Hebrew writers: Šnir's view is that only Jews can write Hebrew literature. Yosef Oren²³ argues that Hebrew literature

²¹ Ṭannūs claims that he expresses himself better in Hebrew than in Arabic: "My Hebrew is far more rich than my Arabic.... Hebrew has several synonyms for every word. I felt freer." For Ṭannūs, writing in Hebrew is not just the product of long years of expertise and a love of the language. It is also ideological. Ṭannūs explains: "It is not just that I like writing in both languages as your esteemed Jewish medieval writers did. I would also like to contribute ... to sweeten a bitter pill. Many have contributed to this argument, but not to reconciliation." When Ṭannūs waves hello to his neighbor Ofra and she smiles back at him it is easy to become addicted to the feeling of coexistence that surrounds him. And Ṭannūs adds: "See how we live here together, this is not just coexistence: it's living together."

²² Poet Maḥmūd Darwīš (2004:2-3) sees the question of Palestinians writing in Hebrew in a similar way. Darwish considers it a "fashion" and thinks it may be an attempt at cultural assimilation within Hebrew culture or perhaps even a revolt against the Israelis using their own language.

²³ Yosef Oren is a veteran Israeli researcher, essayist, literary critic, and lecturer in contemporary Hebrew literature.

must have a "Jewish national" character; we surmise that this means that the only acceptable vision is a Zionist Jewish vision.²⁴

Amir (1992:39) quotes Oren to the effect that it is dangerous to allow the identity of Jewish literature, which less than fifty years ago was Jewish Zionist literature, to become indistinct: according to Oren the problem with writers like Šammās and Arāydī is that they are part of an "inexorable process" of mutual assimilation between "Jewish writers and writers with other national backgrounds," which, if it persists, will divest Hebrew literature of its Jewish-national character. In support of his doom laden prophecy and grim reading of the current process, he cites the fact that "most Israeli Jewish authors" have already stopped writing about the problem of national cultural continuity and that writing which embraces values, ideals, issues, and "authentic Jewish experiences" has again come to be seen simply as "old-fashioned, redundant, ethnic literature".

According to Amir (1992:40), on the other hand, the fact that Arab authors write in Hebrew points clearly to the realization of the Canaanite vision. He maintains that it does not show Israel as a melting pot of nations but rather its evolution, over time and with the utmost simplicity, into a national, territorial, secular, democratic society. He goes on to argue that all nations and languages, all national cultures, all cultures of groups with some amount of territorial and linguistic uniqueness, irrespective of religion and race, and with almost no differences associated with ideology, are open to some extent to accepting the "other". The world of nations, especially in the modern world, is no place for a "nation that dwells alone," and in the end no cultures will reject "others" for reasons of religion, race, gender, or ideology.

Amir argues that the present generation is seeing a far-reaching process in which values are being revised and renewed – a process that is due to the acceptance of foreigners into the literary, artistic, musical, and intellectual circles of cultures such as those of Britain and France, which once had a monolithic national and linguistic uniqueness, and of course the United States. In the same way, Muslim Arab culture, whose value and achievements were admired by many, at least prior to the Ottoman Empire, only became what it was thanks to the strengths and skills of the cultures it occupied, oppressed, and digested. Without all these Aramaic, Persian, Greek, and Coptic speakers, the various ethnic groups and sects of the Iranian Zoroastrians and Eastern Christians from India to Ethiopia, as well as Jews and so-called barbarian cultures with their ancient traditions and

²⁴ Amir argues that this implies that there is no place among us for non-Jews (especially those born in the country and raised in the Arabic language and culture). Not even the offerings and love of "loving stepsons," as Šnir affectionately calls them, will be accepted.

various cultural appurtenances, there would be no written historic or cultural evidence of the camel riders who appeared from out of the Arabian Peninsula in the seventh century under the banner of Islam.

Šammās and Arāydī came through an Israeli education system that tried to teach Arabs to identify with the country's goals, even though the country's national ideology made them second-class citizens. Šammās (1986:212) recalls the humiliation of having to display the occupier's symbols. For example, on the school principal's orders, one of his teachers fashioned a giant Star of David from six wooden beams to impress the Jewish school inspector who came to assess the pupils' achievements after their first year in an Israeli state school. Šnir (1992:7) maintains that Šammās and Arāydī's work is driven by their sense of mission and by a profound belief that they can influence Israeli society. Back in the 1970's, Šammās talked about his younger colleagues who were "breaking through" the wall, beating the Hebrew language barrier, and trying to break into new spheres. The younger generation has the benefits of both worlds: its fluency in Hebrew puts it in touch with new experiences through both Hebrew literature and world literature translated into Hebrew; its knowledge of Arabic, on the other hand, puts it in touch with the newest achievements in modern Arabic literature. Qaššu' (2002:1) also talks about a new generation which has crossed the language barrier and is trying to make its way in other areas of life:

It is hard for Arabs to write in Hebrew. The problem is not the language but speaking to the Israeli reading public as an equal. Arab writers who write in Hebrew are very aware that they are addressing an Israeli audience. Moreover, it is quite rare to find Arabs who are experts in Israeli culture and know the right language to communicate with Jewish readers. I sincerely hope Israeli Palestinian citizens are not going to be extinct soon, and [if they remain] I am sure there will be a lot of good writers. I believe that repression gives rise to creation or at least the need to be creative. The problem is that Arab society tends to push its successful offspring into the free professions, and doesn't see art and literature as important yet. This happens in minorities, which concentrate on professions that can help it survive. I believe the second or third generation of the Palestinian enlightenment in Israel will be creative and it will occupy the Israeli cultural platforms. If we continue to co-exist I feel sure we will play a similar role to the American blacks. As for me, I still dream of being the Arab Bill Cosby.

As authors who write in both languages, Arāydī and Šammās have each more than once been seen as a steppenwolf, a lone wolf of the steppes, suffering a similar hell to those in whom two cultures and two belief systems

intersect.²⁵ For example, since his earliest days as a writer, Šammās has felt that the path he pursues hides an important statement about his Arab-Palestinian identity. He explains that, although through lack of choice he decided to treat Hebrew as a stepmother-tongue, he feels that deep down it "is a form of cultural trespass for which I might be punished." Because of their identity crises and emotional schisms it is easy to understand their desire to act as a kind of bridge between cultures. This desire is merely latent in the case of the sophisticated Šammās, though there are allusions to it in, say, *Aarabesqut*, where Šammās shows us his childhood village; Arāydī, on the other hand, misses no opportunity to stress that he represents a crossroads between two cultures. We see this emphasis not only bluntly in his collection of poetry *I Return to the Village* (1986), but also in his dual critical and research preoccupation with both Arabic and Hebrew literature.

According to Somek (1993:41–42) Šammās can handle extremely difficult translation tasks:

Šammās has attempted the impossible translation task of translating Ḥabībī's rather complex works, especially the difficult and complex novel سرايا بنت الغول *Sarayā, the Ogre's Daughter*. This is a difficult work because Emile Ḥabībī is not the easiest author to translate since he does not use fuṣḥā, the standard modern literary language of our time, but instead writes in a very idiosyncratic style not found to this degree in many Arabic authors.

6. USE OF ARABIC WORDS AND PHRASES IN HEBREW TEXTS

Israeli Jewish society appears to perceive Arab culture as inferior and less modern compared to its own culture than cultures such as Russian and Western European culture, which they see as more sophisticated. Arab writers who translate literary works from Arabic into Hebrew have this issue in mind as they try to show the value of Israel's the neighboring Arab culture. These translators have always believed that it is extremely important for Arab culture - the culture of the "nearby-stranger" - to be seen in a positive light, more often than not for political and compassionate reasons as opposed to the purely aesthetic goal of making translations of belles letters in Arabic available for others' esthetic delectation²⁶. One can therefore regard the use of Arabic words in Hebrew works by Arab authors as a deliberate attempt to bridge what these authors see as an intercultural division separating the target culture from their own.

²⁵ Hesse 1971:26.

²⁶ See Kochavi, 1992: 270-271.

As a component of human civilization, literature is an important vehicle for conveying concepts and terms with and without the presence of physical contact between cultures. It also provides an important channel through which languages can influence one another, especially when works in one language are translated into another, and when nations and individuals share cultural encounters (Basal 2004:34). The Arab writers not only regard themselves as writers of Hebrew literature or translators of Arabic literature into Hebrew, but also as emissaries, intermediaries, and mediators between Arab and Hebrew culture, as well as possible contributors to resolving the Israeli Arab conflict. So, their strategy of including words in Arabic in their Hebrew literary texts is a conscious choice. Ġiryis Ṭannūs, whose work is credible picture of Arabic culture²⁷. It is obvious that the Arab authors could easily have found an alternative to the Arabic words they use since their Hebrew is fluent and in some cases their Hebrew writing is more developed than their Arabic²⁸. But these authors have a reason for using Arabic in their Hebrew writing, namely that they wish to present an authentic view of Arab society and make the characters' speech seem real²⁹.

Horovič (1998:57–59) describes the phenomenon of using Arabic words and phrases in Hebrew writing as *עִרְרָרִית* ['ivrarvit], noting that other literary works also use words from their heroes' native tongue to create authentic seeming characters. When a writer chooses to use *עִרְרָרִית* in various linguistic contexts, it is no random choice but rather a deliberate act with both a meaning and a goal, like any other unique language usages. According to Schwarzwald (1994:39–41), the use of *עִרְרָרִית* in certain linguistic contexts indicates, among other things, that the author regards non-Hebrew linguistic expressions not simply as an artistic component which can help to create an authentic literary linguistic experience in the discourse and conversation of Israeli Jews, they also express the social and ethnic essence of eastern Jews³⁰. Hofman (1970:5–14) stresses that the various functional divisions of *עִרְרָרִית* and their linguistic elements not only convey the atmosphere of the story and underscore its reliability as a transmitter of a certain reality (poetic function), but also (and perhaps first

²⁷ A personal meeting (January 15, 2012).

²⁸ For example, Ṭannūs has stated that his capacity to express himself in Hebrew is richer and more developed than his ability to express himself in Arabic. He adds that "in Hebrew I was able to find several synonyms for each word, I felt free."

²⁹ On Authentic Language and Authentic Reported Speech in Hebrew and Yiddish, see Margolin 2003:53–60.

³⁰ The opposite is seen in Israel today, whereby Arabs use Hebrew words in speech and writing, which mar'I (2013:20) terms '*ravrit*.'

and foremost) they resonate the "ethnic identity" of Jews from Yemen, Halab or Baḡdād.

The Arab authors usually vowelize the Arabic names and phrases appearing in the Hebrew text, which indicates their awareness that the words are unfamiliar to their readers. This is why they provide sometimes an immediate Hebrew translation of the Arab terms.

When writing in Hebrew, the Arab authors sprinkle both their translations from Arabic to Hebrew and their original texts in Hebrew liberally with Arabic words and phrases. The use of Arabic thus seems a distinct feature of their writing in Hebrew, and its purpose is to convey the flavor and atmosphere of the culture described in the text.

6.1 Use of Arabic words and phrases in Hebrew texts without an explanation in Hebrew³¹

6.1.1 כִּיר, לֹא כִיר וְלֹא בָלוּט [xīr, lā xīr walā ballūt]

(1) כשש שנים לאחר הדברים האלה פתח אֲבוּ שֶׁאֶכֶר את הדלת בלי לדפוק ונעמד באמצע הטרקלין, ושק היוטה עדיין תחת אצילת ידו. כִּיר (בו / מה אתה רוצה) שאלו דודי. לֹא כִּיר וְלֹא בָלוּט (כלום) אמר אֲבוּ שֶׁאֶכֶר, הם בדרך (ערבסקות:109).

'Six years later Abu Shaker opened the door without knocking and stood in the middle of the lounge, jute bag in hand. כִּיר 'What you want?' my uncles asked, לֹא כִּיר וְלֹא בָלוּט 'nothing', replied 'bū šākīr, they're on the way' (Arabesques:109).

6.1.2 וַגֵּץ רֶאֶס [waḡa' rās]

(2) אני מעדיף שטח קטן עם שקט, ולא שטח גדול עם וַגֵּץ רֶאֶס (כאב ראש) (הולכים על הרוח:31)

'I prefer a small quiet place, not a large area with וַגֵּץ רֶאֶס 'headache' (Walking on Wind:31).

6.1.3 אִנְשָׁלָה [ʾinšall(h)]

(3) אתה נוסע ברחוב ושתי מכוניות חוסמות את הכביש כי הנהגים מדברים אחד עם השני דרך החלון. תחכה בשקט, אוי ואבוי אם תצפור, חכה שיגמרו את השיחה, אִנְשָׁלָה, (גם אם / אפילו אם) ייקח להם שעה (ויהי בוקר:31).

'You are driving along and two cars block the street because the drivers having a chat through the window. Wait quietly, God help you

³¹ An explanation will be added in Hebrew after the Arabic word to try to minimize the feeling of foreignness.

if you honk, wait for them to finish their conversation אִנְשָׁאֵלָה³², 'also if / even if' it takes them an hour (And Morning came:31).

6.1.4 פִּלְאָה [fallāh]

(4) אבל הפלאח (האיכר) אינו מופיע, ובמקומו מופיעה המשטרה (באור חדש:72).
'But the פִּלְאָה³³ 'farmer' does not appear, and instead of him the police appear' (In a New Light:77).

6.1.5 עֶקָאֵל [‘aqāl, kafiyya(h)]

(5) הסיר דודי את העֶקָאֵל (הפתיל העבה שהערבים כורכים בו את הכפייה לראשם) מעל ראשו ונטל את הפֶּפִּיָה (המטפחת שהערבים מכסים בה את ראשם) הצחורה שלו ... ונתן את דגל הכניעה בידו של הכומר (ערבסקות:109).
'My uncle took the עֶקָאֵל 'cord used by Arabs to fasten the kafiyya(h) in place' off his head and removed his white פֶּפִּיָה³⁴ 'traditional Arab headdress' ... and placed the flag of surrender in the priest's hand (Arabesques:109).

6.1.6 חַמּוּלָה [ḥamūla(h)]

(6) הוא לא כל כך רחוק ואי אפשר לתעות, ואת משפחתי קל למצוא, כי ציבור גדול אנחנו, חַמּוּלָה (משפחה) גדולה מאוד: ארבעה אחים, חמישה בני דודים על משפחותיהם - יותר ממאה אנשים וגם בהמות רבות (בצל השיזף: 230).
'It is not that far and you cannot get lost and my family is easy to find because we are a large group, a very big חַמּוּלָה (family), with four brothers, five cousins and their families: more than a hundred people and also a lot of animals' (In the Shade of the Jujube:230).

6.1.7 טַיְיָאָרָה [Ṭayyāra(h)]

(7) וכבר שכחת? הדוד שלך, איברהים, עשה בשבילך טַיְיָאָרָה (עפיפון) גדולה כשהיית פיצפון (סראיא בת השד הרע:89).

³² In literary Arabic the word אִנְשָׁאֵלָה [inšall(h)] means 'God willing' or 'With God's help', however, in this context it means 'also if ...', 'even if' which is its meaning in spoken Arabic.

³³ According to the Arab view, human dignity is linked to the earth. Loyalty and devotion to the land are a supreme value. Therefore other writers, like Ōannūs, have chosen to use this word in their writings, and see it as a word that captures the flavor of the culture of origin: I am a **fallāh**, descended from proud falachs (In the Shade of the Jujube:12).

³⁴ Ṭannūs too uses the Arabic words 'aqāl and kafiyya(h) in his work *In the Shade of the Jujube*:10: "Boys my brother's age, what wouldn't they do to please the neighborhood girls: fold the kafiyya(h) just above their foreheads, wear the 'aqāl slanting on their heads, spread half a jar of shoe polish on their shoes, and walk in front of them with measured steps, peeking in them. These words refer to traditional Arab dress and are a key part of Arab culture; to the Arab writers they represent linguistic material which faithfully reflects Arab culture.

'Have you forgotten so soon? Your uncle, Ibrāhīm, made you a big kite' when you a tiny tot' (Sarāyā, the Ogre's Daughter:89).
 يَقْطَعُ حَرِيْشَكَ مَا اُنْسَاكَ! عَمَّكَ اِبْرَاهِيْمُ عَمِلَ لَكَ طَيَّارَةً كَبِيْرَةً وَاَنْتَ قَدْ الْعُوْدُ (سرايا بنت الغول:819).
 [yiqta' ḥarīšak mā 'ansāk! 'ammak b-brahīm "imil lak ṭayyāra(h) w-'intī qaddi l-'ūd].

6.1.8 חֲמָאם [ḥammām]

(8) הן הולכות בבוקר לרחוץ בחמאם (מקלחת) (רק לחם:61).
 'in the morning they go to wash in the hamam 'shower' (Plain Bread:61).
 Original: يَنْصَرِفْنَ فِي الصَّبَاحِ إِلَى الْحَمَّامِ (الخبز الحافي:61).
 [yanšarifna fī ṣ-ṣabāḥi 'ilā l-ḥammāmi].

6.1.9 כֶּעֶכִים [ka'kim]

(9) הטיילת של מנארה מתמלאת רוכלים שמוכרים כעכים (עוגיות) בסומסום, ודרך צידון מתמלאת מוכרי חסה וצנונית (הסיפור של זהרה:112).
 'The promenade at Manara is full of vendors selling 'cookies' in sesame and the road to Šidon is full of lettuce and radish sellers' (The Story of Zahra(h):112).
 Original: وَيَمْتَلِي كُورْنِيْشُ الْمَنَارَةِ بِبَاعَةِ الْكَعْكِ بِسِمْسِمٍ، وَطَرِيْقُ صَيْدَا بِبَاعَةِ الْخَسِّ (حكاية زهرة:140).
 [wa-yamtali'u kornīšu l-manārati bi-bā'ati l-ka'ki b-simsim, wa-ṭarīqu ṣaydā bi-ba'ati l-xassi].

6.1.10 יא גמאע'א [yā ḡamā'a(h)]

(10) ומורי צעק: יא גמאעה (חברה) אין הוא אלא בן מבנינו ... (האופסימיסט:26).
 'And my teacher shouted, 'People / Guys' he's simply one of us ...' (The Opsimist:26).
 Original: فَصَاحَ مُعَلِّمِي: هَذَا وَلَدُنَا يَا جَمَاعَةَ ... (المتشائل:185).
 [fa-ṣāḥa mu'alimī: hādā waladunā yā ḡamā'a(h)].

6.1.11 אֶלְחַמְדָּלִלָהּ [l-ḥamdu li-llā(h)]

(11) לפעמים שומעים גיהוק של האנשים שסיימו לאכול, אשר בעקבותיו בא "אלחמדללה" (ברוך השם) בקול מתארך (רק לחם:83).
 'Sometimes you hear people burping when they finish eating, followed by a long "Thank God" (Plain Bread:83).
 Original: أحياناً نَسْمَعُ نَجَشَاتِ الَّذِينَ انْتَهَوْا مِنَ الْأَكْلِ تَعَفُّبًا: "الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ" مُمَدَّدَةً الصَّوْتِ (الخبز الحافي:108).

[ʾaḥyanan nasmaʿu taḡaʾuṣati l-ladīna n-tahū minā l-ʾakli taʿqubuhā:
"l-ḥamdu li-llā(h)" mumaddadata ṣ-ṣawti].

Most of the Arabic words mentioned above are known to Hebrew readers and some had already entered Hebrew during the Yešuv period following contact between Jews and Arabs after the large immigration wave to ʾereṣ Yisrael: *waḡaʿ rās*, *ʾinšall(h)*, *fallāh*, *ʾaqāl*, *kafiyya(h)*, *ḥamūla(h)*, *Ṭayyāra(h)*, *ḥammām*, *kaʾkim*, *l-ḥamdu li-llā(h)*. Some words experienced a linguistic evolution. For example, *waḡaʿ rās* is now pronounced *buḡrās* in Hebrew, while *l-ḥamdu li-llā(h)* became *ḥamdulla(h)* (Marʿī, 2012: 175-176).

6.2 Use of Arabic words and phrases in Hebrew texts with an explanation in Hebrew

6.2.1 עָרִיס [ʾarīs]

(12) "היום אתה העָרִיס, החתן", אומר אבא שלי ויוצא לקדם את פני האורחים (ערבים רוקדים:63).

"Today you are the עָרִיס, 'the groom'" says my father, and goes out to welcome the guests (Dancing Arabs:63).

6.2.2 אֶצְנָאם [ʾaṣnām]

(13) "מי הם הכופרים של היום?" שאל. חלק ענו המאמינים באל-אֶצְנָאם (וידי בוקר:33).

"Who are heretics nowadays?" he asked. Some said those who believe in אֶצְנָאם - 'idols', others said sun worshipers...(And it was Morning:33).

6.2.3 מְטָרָאן [muṭrān]

(14) זה היה שנים אחדות לאחר פתיחת בית הספר הממלכתי הראשון בכפר, לאחר שנסגר, ביזמתו של אבי, בית הספר של המְטָרָאן, הוא הארכיבישוף חָכִים, שמקום מושבו היה בחיפה (ערבסקות:191).

'It was a few years after the first state school opened in the village, after the school of the מְטָרָאן, 'namely Archbishop Hakim', in Haifa was closed down at my father's initiative' (Arabesques:191).

6.2.4 רָגָאד [raḡād]

(15) אני כמעט מתי מפחד כשהחלפתי את הרָגָאד (מוביל התבואה שלנו) (בצל השיוף:170).

'I practically died of fright when I changed the רגאד 'our grain transporter' (In the Shade of the Jujube:170).

6.2.5 קמבאז [qumbāz]

(16) בגדיו קרועים וכנפי ה"קמבאז", הוא הגלימה שלובשים הפלאחים בשכונתנו, תחובות מתחת לחגורתו, והסרביל הדהוי מחפה על רגליו (בצל השיזף:73).
'A red mark stamped on the margin of the "קמבאז" Arab peasant farmer's robe' meant that others could kill the robe's wearer and whispered in his ear that his days were numbered' (Arabesques:172).

6.2.6 אל מוארס [l-mawāris]

(17) כל עולמנו היה מותר לנו העמק וההר, הים והיבשה וביניהם אל מוארס, כלומר המרחבים (אח'טיה:116).
'We were permitted the use of our whole world, the valley and the mountain, the sea and the dry land, and between them "אל מוארס", 'the open spaces' (Xṭayyi(h):116).
Original: دُنْيَانَا كُلُّهَا كَانَتْ حَلَالًا عَلَيْنَا: السَّهْلُ وَالْجَبَلُ وَالْبَحْرُ وَالْبَرُّ وَالْمَوَارِسُ بَيْنَهُمَا (اخْطِيئة:667).

[dunyānā kullahā kānat ḥalālan 'alaynā: s-sahlu wa-lḡabalu wa-lbaḥru wa-lbarru wa-lmawārisu baynahumā].

6.2.7 מנקושה [manqūši(h)]

(18) תאר לך שבוקר אחד אנחנו מתעוררים ויורדים למאפייה של ואדי נסנאס לקנות "מנקושה", אותה פיתה מכוסה בזעתר שנבלל בשמן זית זך, ואיננו מוצאים את המאפייה במקומה. הלא היינו מקימים מהומה גדולה? (אח'טיה:156).
'Imagine that one morning we wake up and go down to the Wadī Nasnās bakery to buy "מנקושה", 'the pitta covered with za'atar mixed with olive oil', and we don't find the bakery where it should be. Wouldn't we kick up a stink?' (Xṭayyi(h):116).

Original: لَوْ اسْتَيْقَظْنَا، صَبَاحًا، وَنَزَلْنَا إِلَى فُرْنِ وَادِي النَّسْنَاسِ نَشْتَرِي مَنَقُوشَةً زَيْتٍ بِزَعْتَرٍ فَلَمْ نَجِدِ الْفُرْنَ فِي مَكَانِهِ الْمَضْبُوطِ لَأَقْمَنَا الْغَاغَةَ (اخْطِيئة:107).
'law s-tayqaznā, ṣabāḥan, wa-nazalnā 'ilā furni wādī n-nasnāsi naštārī manqūšata zīt b-za'tar fa-lam naḡid l-furna fī makanihi l-maḍbūṭ la-'aqamnā l-ḡāḡata].

6.2.8 סביל אל טאסאט [sabīl ṭ-ṭāsāt]

(19) כאשר הגענו לסביל אל טאסאט, שהוא רהט השתיה בקעריות הנחושת... (האופסימיסט:24).

'When we arrived at טאסאט סביל אל, 'namely Rahat, the drink in the copper bowls...' (The 'opsimist:24).

Original: إذا وصلنا سبيل الطاسات ... (المتشائل:183).

[ḥattā 'idā waṣalnā sabīla ṭ-ṭāsāti ...].

6.2.9 מנקד [munqid]

(20) קרא לי אם כן אל מְהִדִּי או שמא אל אַמַּם או מוטב אל מְנָקֵד, הוא הגואל (האופסימיסט:45).

'So call me the Mahdi or perhaps al Imam or better still אל מְנָקֵד, 'the Redeemer' (The 'opsimist:45).

Original: سَمِّنِي الْمَهْدِي، الَّذِي اسْتَرَّاحَ أَجْدَاذُكَ عَلَيْهِ، أَوِ الْإِمَامَ أَوِ الْمُنْقِدَ (المتشائل:20).
[samminī l-mahdī, l-ladī s-starāḥa 'ağdāduka 'alayhi, 'aw l-'imāma 'awi l-munqidā].

6.2.10 דלועה [dallū'a(h)]

(21) מיד הייתי יורדת מעל גב החמור לפני שהוא מוריד אותי ומושיב את ה'דלועה', המפונקת... (סראיא בת השד הר:51).

'I would straight away get down off the donkey's back before he took me off and put on the "דלועה", the spoiled girl, ... (Sarāyā the Ogre's Daughter:51).

Original: كُنْتُ أَنْزِلُ عَنْ ظَهْرِ الدَّابَّةِ قَبْلَ أَنْ يَطْرُدَنِي عَنْهَا وَيُجْلِسَ "الدَّلُوعَةَ" ... (سرايا بنت الغول:766).

[kuntu 'anzilu 'n ṣahri d-dābbati qabla 'an yaṭrudanī 'anhā wa-yuḡlisa d-dalū'ata].

Unlike the words in the previous section (6.1), here, not one word infiltrated Hebrew. These are words that relate specifically to Arab culture: religion ('aṣnām, muṭrān, munqid), place names (moaris, l-mawāris, sabīl ṭ-ṭāsāt), food (manqūṣi(h)), nouns and adjectives ('arīs, raḡād, dallū'a(h)), clothing (qumbāz), which differs from the 'aqāl —headband and the kafīyya(h) worn by the Palmach members who adopted them from Arab culture.

7. SUMMARY

Arab writers in Israel use Arabic words and phrases fairly frequently when writing in Hebrew. And like the translated borrowings, borrowed meanings, and neologisms that they use, the Arabic words and expressions in their Hebrew writings are all strongly influenced by spoken Arabic— despite

efforts by Arab purists to encourage writing in literary Arabic. This influence is predictable, since, as studies of interlingual contact have pointed out, quantitatively speaking, compared with the syntax, morphology, and phonology, spoken language has the strongest lexical impact. It is thus typical of languages in a state of contact. Lexical influences in general, and the use of Arabic words in particular in translations and direct writing, are not random acts. They are deliberately chosen with the aim of presenting authentic characters and creating reliable pictures of the culture depicted, since in describing reality the author needs to be authentic, and authenticity means being natural, honest, transparent and not fake or artificial when presenting characters. The Arab authors see the use of Arabic words as a linguistic tool for conveying cultural objects, since language is an intercultural mediator, not just a tool for communication.

Their fluency in Hebrew and their high degree of expressiveness in Hebrew makes these writers' style of writing very fluid and fluent, in many cases, more fluid than their own tongue; and it would be no challenge for them to express the entire text in Hebrew rather than introducing Arabic words / phrases. This indicates that by using Arabic the writers make a conscious aesthetic decision to capture the characters' reality and speech using this linguistic technique.

In some cases, words and phrases in Arabic will feel strange to Hebrew readers. The Arab authors appreciate this and so they place the words and phrases in quote marks with accompanying Hebrew explanations to reduce this feeling of strangeness. We can reasonably assume that the Arabic in these texts is far less foreign seeming to Hebrew readers from North African backgrounds.

No doubt the words and phrases in both the works written directly in Hebrew and the translated works reflect the Arab writers' view of Arabic as a linguistic material that can faithfully capture Arab culture and also contains national-cultural elements that illustrate the special qualities of the nation which speaks this language and its unique historical and ethnicity qualities. For many of the writers, these words provide snapshots of Arab culture and faithfully portray a true sense of its character. Good examples of this are the word *fallāḥ* (since in Arab society working the land and devotion to the soil are supreme cultural values) and the words *kafiyya(h)* and *'aqāl*, are traditional Arab clothing, and there are many more.

References

- Amara, M. 1986. *The Integration of Hebrew and English Lexical Items into Arabic Spoken in an Arab Village in Israel*. M.A. dissertation. Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University.
- . 2002. Hebrew among Israeli Arabs: Sociolinguistic aspects [העברית בקרב הערבים בישראל: היבטים סוציולinguistic]. I. Shlomo, ed. *Speaking Hebrew*. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University. 85–105. (in Hebrew)
- Amara, M. & Kabahā, S. 1996. Split Identity: Political Division and Social Reflections in a Split Village [זהות חצויה: חלוקה פוליטית והשתקפויות חברתיות]. בכפר חצוי. Giv'at Haviva: The Tami Steinmetz Center for Peace Research. (in Hebrew)
- Amir, A. 1992. Jewish Norm in Hebrew Literature לספרות יהודית [נורמה עברית]. *Moznayim* 66: 37–40. (in Hebrew)
- Basal, A. 2004. *Hebrew and Aramaic elements in the Vernacular Christian Arabic in Israel and in the written Christian Arabic in the Holy Land, Syria and Lebanon* [יסודות עבריים וארמיים בערבית הדבורה בפי הנוצרים בא"י]. Ph.D. dissertation. Haifa: University of Haifa. (in Hebrew)
- Ben Rafa'el, E. 1994. *Language, Identity, and Social Division: The Case of Israel*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Bloomfield, L. 1976. *Language*. New York: Henry Holt.
- Dana, J. 1983. Spelling mistakes in Hebrew compositions by Arabic speaking non-Jews in Israel today. *Jewish Language Review* 3: 47–49.
- . 2000. *A Timeline of Hebrew Arabic* [עברית ערבית על ציר הזמן]. Haifa: The Institute of Hebrew-Arabic Comparative Research. (in Hebrew)
- Darwīš, M. 2004. The Writing of Mahmoud Darwish within a Complete Conversation [דפאטר מחמוד דרוויש פי חוואר שואל]. 1–10. at http://www.jehat.com/jehaat/ar/La7thatAlnas/books/m_darweesh.htm (in Arabic)
- Ġabbar, A. Writing in the Language of the Other. I. de Courtivron, ed. *Lives in Translation*. Unites States of America: Palgrave. 19–27.
- Goldslager, J. G. (editor-in-chief). 1985. *Lexicon of Modern Hebrew Literature* [לקסיקון הספרות העברית החדשה]. N.P. (in Hebrew)
- Grosman, D. 1992. *Present Absentee* [נוכחים נפקדים]. Tel Aviv: Kibbutz Me'had. (in Hebrew)
- Ḥabībī, E. 1988. *Xṭayye(h)* [אח'טיה]. Translated by A. Šammās. Tel-Aviv: 'Am 'Oved. (in Hebrew)
- . 1993. *Sarayā, the Ogre's Daughter* [סראיא בת השד הרע]. Translated by A. Šammās. Tel-Aviv: Hakibbutz Hame'uḥad. (in Hebrew)

- . 1995. *The 'opsimist* [האופסימיסט]. Translated by A. Šammās. Tel-Aviv: Hakibbutš Hame'uḥad. (in Hebrew)
- . 1997. Sarayā, the Ogre's Daughter [سرايا بنت الغول]. S. Ḥabibī, ed. *Collected Works of Emīl Ḥabibī* [الأعمال الأدبية الكاملة]. Nazareth: Unpublished. (in Arabic)
- . 1997. XŌayye(h) [اخطيئة]. S. Ḥabibī, ed. *Collected Works of Emīl Ḥabibī* [الأعمال الأدبية الكاملة]. Nazareth: Unpublished. (in Arabic)
- . 1997. l-mutašā'il [المتشائل]. S. Ḥabibī, ed. *Collected Works of Emīl Ḥabibī* [الأعمال الأدبية الكاملة]. Nazareth: Unpublished. (in Arabic)
- Hesse, H. 1971. *Steppenwolf* [זאב הערבה]. Translated by E. Corenfeld. Jerusalem: Schocken. (in Hebrew)
- Hever, H. 1989. Striking the Achilles heel [להכות בעקבו של אכילס]. *Alpayim* [אלפיים] 1: 186–193. (in Hebrew)
- Horvitz, M. 1998. Sociolinguistic aspect of Combined languages in *Narrative discourse about Oriental Jews: The "Ivrvit" Case* [היבט סוציולינגוויסטי של לשונות שלובות בלשון הסיפורים על בני עדות המזרח: מקרה 'העברית']. AM VASEFER [עם וספר] 10: 53–76. (in Hebrew)
- Jespersen, O. 1962. *Growth and Structure of the English Language*. London: B. Blackwell.
- Kaufman, A. 1974. *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kayyāl, M. 2005. *From Arabic to Hebrew: Hebrew Language Interpretation of Translations into Arabic of Modern Hebrew Literature* [מערכת לעברית - אינטרפרנציה של הלשון העברית בתרגומים מן הספרות העברית החדשה לשפה הערבית]. GAG [גג] 11: 129–152. (in Hebrew)
- . 2006. *How Arabs Perceive Israeli Culture: Between Stereotyping to Normalization* [סטריאוטיפיזציה התרבות הישראלית בעיניים ערביות: בין סטריאוטיפיזציה לנורמליזציה]. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University–Tami Steinmetz Center for Peace Research. (in Hebrew)
- Kohen, A. 1968. Teaching Hebrew to Arab Children in Israel [הוראת עברית]. *Encyclopedia of Education* [אנציקלופדיה חינוכית] II. 663–676. (in Hebrew)
- Kochavi, A. H. 1999. *Translations of Arabic Literature into Hebrew: Historical-cultural Background, Characteristics, and Status in the Target Culture* [תרגומי ספרות ערבית לעברית: הרקע ההיסטורי תרבותי שלהם, מאפייניהם]. Ph.D. Dissertation. Tel-Aviv: Tel-Aviv University: (in Hebrew)
- Margolin, B. 1996. *Syntactic Focus as a Stylistic Criterion in Present Day Hebrew and Palestinian Fiction* [המיקוד התחבירי כאבן בוחן סגנונית בסיפורת העברית והפלסטינית].

- העברית ובסיפורת הפלסטינית בנות זמננו]. Ph.D. Dissertation. Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University. (in Hebrew)
- . 2003. Arabic Traces in Šammās' Language in "Arabesques" [שקיעים ערביים] *Hebrew Linguistics* [בלשנות עברית] 52: 53–60. (in Hebrew).
- Mar'ī, A. 2002–2003. Influence of Hebrew in the Arabic language [تأثير]. *AL-RISALAH* [الرسالة] 11–12: 129–156. (in Arabic)
- Mar'ī, A. 2012. The Arabic Elements in Modern Hebrew. [היסודות הערביות]. [BEN 'EVER LA-'ARAV] 5: 166–183. (in Hebrew)
- . 2013. *Walla Beseder: A Linguistic Profile of the Israeli-Arabs* [ואללה בסדר: דיוקן לשוני של הערבים בישראל]. Jerusalem: Keter. (in Hebrew)
- Masanori, H. 1979. Sociolinguistic Aspects of Word Borrowing. F. William & O. Jacob, ed. *Sociolinguistic Studies in Language Contact*. The Hague: Mouton. 277–292.
- Qaššū, S. 2002. *Co-existence – Reaction* [קיום – תגובה]. 1. at <http://www.tapuz.co.il/tapuzforum/main/Viewmsg.asp?id=211&msgid=2524778> (in Arabic)
- Šammās, A. 1985. Right and Left in Translation [על ימין ושמאל בתרגום]. *Iton* [עתון] 77: 18–19. (in Hebrew)
- . 1986. *Arabesques* [ערבסקות]. Tel-Aviv: Am Oved. (in Hebrew)
- Schwarzwald, O. 1994. The use of non-Hebrew words in literary works. [שיבוץ של מילים לועזיות ביצירות ספרותיות]. M. Malka, ed. *Pseiphos 2 – Foreign Influences on Contemporary Hebrew*. Tel Aviv: The Open University of Israel. 31–47.
- Shakour, A. 2009. *The Influence of Arabic on the Hebrew Writing of Anton Šammās*. M.A. dissertations [השפעת הערבית על הכתיבה העברית של אנטון שמאס]. Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University. (in Hebrew)
- Shakour, A. 2010. *The Influence of Arabic on the Hebrew Writing of Arab Authors in Israel* [השפעת הערבית על הכתיבה העברית של סופרים ערבים בישראל]. Ph.D. dissertation. Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University. (in Hebrew)
- Šnir, R. 1990. One of his wounds–Palestinian Arab literature in Israel [פצע אחד מפצעיו - הספרות הערבית הפלסטינית בישראל]. *Alpayim* [אלפיים] 2: 244–268. (in Hebrew)
- . 1992. Loving Stepsons: Arab writers in Hebrew language [בנים חורגים]. [מאזניים] 76/6: 6–9. (in Hebrew)

- . 1997. And I am hallucinating in no-man's land: Palestinian Arab writers in Hebrew. ואני הוזה בשטח ההפקר – יוצרים ערבים פלסטיניים בלשון [העברית *Hebrew Linguistics* [כלשנות עברית] 41–42: 141–153. (in Hebrew)
- Somek, S. 1993. Antūn Šammās: Translation as a Challenge–Hebrew Translation of Emil Ḥabibī's Work [אנטון שמאס: התרגום כאתגר – על תרגום [יצירות אמיל חביבי לעברית]. S. Somekh, ed. *Translation on the Side of the Road* [תרגום בצידו הדרך]. Tel Aviv: Tel-Aviv University and the Institute for Arab Studies Publications. 41–51. (in Hebrew)
- Spolsky, B. & Šohamy, E. 1999. *The Language of Israel: Policy, Ideology and Practice*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Weinreich, U. 1968. *Languages in Contact*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Weitzhandler, A. *The Arab minority in the Israeli public sphere*. Jerusalem: Sikkuy. (in Hebrew).