

**Hebrew Borrowings in the Arabic Speech of
Palestinians in Three Refugee Camps in
the West Bank, Occupied Palestinian
Territories**

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Abstract: *This thesis on Hebrew borrowings in Palestinian Arabic provides detailed casework from an understudied linguistic situation. It is firmly anchored in empirical results from fieldwork in three refugee camps in the Occupied Palestinian Territories. The results are presented and analysed with reference to speech's immediate interpersonal surroundings and the wider social, political and economic situation. Several aspects of the political economy of Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories are seen to affect borrowing from Hebrew: firstly, the formation of a Palestinian economy dependent on the capitalist Israeli core, a dependency exacerbated in the refugee camps by the refugees' sudden loss of their traditional livelihood in the peasant economy of pre-1948 Palestine; secondly, the existence at present of a customs union between Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories which opens the Palestinian consumer market to Israeli goods; thirdly, the provision of some state services to Palestinian holders of Jerusalem residency cards; and fourthly, the functioning of the military occupation which imposes closures and other military restrictions on Palestinians. This context provides the setting for power relations between Israelis and Palestinians which give rise to a variety of practices of borrowing, including the use of Hebrew to demarcate in-groups, signal aspirations to a modern lifestyle, and give a political edge to humour. On the basis of this analysis, an explanatory model is proposed that seeks a non-deterministic link, termed "articulation", between the structure of the context and the speakers' agency manifested in the linguistic practice. This explanatory model moves away from the notions of conflict and national identity often submitted as explanations in sociolinguistics of the Middle East, but rather gives prominence to Palestinian and Israeli ideologies that inform the conceptual experience of Palestinians. These ideologies are identified as Palestinian nationalism, Palestinian pragmatism, Israeli securitism and Israeli consumerism. The analysis is sensitive to gendered patterns of behaviour as well as inter-generational differences.*

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0. Introduction

0.1 The research question and its assumptions

“I smashed the forklift through the greenhouse right in front of the boss.” The words underlined in this sentence could be Hebrew borrowings in Palestinian Arabic speech. It is not a real sentence spontaneously spoken, but all the other samples of speech in this study are. This doctoral thesis describes, analyses and explains the use of Hebrew borrowings in Palestinian Arabic speech. It is based on data gathered in three refugee camps in the Occupied Palestinian Territories in 2007-8. Drawing on knowledge of experiment and theory from sociolinguistics, functional linguistics and discourse analysis, the thesis provides the classification of Hebrew borrowings both by area of contact between Israelis and Palestinians and by the discursive functions of Hebrew in Palestinian speech. The thesis offers the conceptualisation of a link between the linguistic practices of borrowing from Hebrew and wider ideological constructs operative in Palestinian society. The study is tightly underpinned by concrete empirical results from the fieldwork.

Before undertaking the fieldwork, it was hypothesised that the greatest source of borrowing from Hebrew was contact between Palestinian workers and Israeli managers in the context of migrant manual labour in Israel. Though the hypothesis did not turn out to be false, the evidence from the fieldwork paints a more complex picture. In this introduction, the assumptions that formed the hypothesis and as a consequence the framework of the thesis will be exposed first. In the second part, the complexity arising from the empirical data will be laid out as a means to present the structure

of the thesis in its following chapters. This is the substantive part of the introduction and provides a key to the rest of the thesis. The third section of the introduction will include the methodology of the fieldwork and describe how the ethical standards for research with human participants were met. The last three shorter points of the introduction provide the researcher's academic background as an element of the motivation for the very existence of this study, list the researcher's debts and thanks, and indicate how to read the transcripts of Arabic speech with Hebrew borrowings that punctuate the thesis.

Monolingual Arabic-speaking Palestinians have experienced contact with Hebrew-speaking Israelis in various ways since the rise of the Zionist movement in the first half of the 20th century and especially since the Israeli military occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip in 1967. In this study, the four relevant areas of contact are proposed to be: the Israeli military's interactions with the Palestinian population; consumption by Palestinians of Israeli products; access to Israeli state services by Palestinians; and especially Palestinian migrant workers in Israel. These areas of contact relate to the historically situated functionings of the state and the economy. The Palestinian workers in Israel have been given particular weight because the phenomenon of labour migration has involved a large number of Palestinians, regularly, over long periods of time and as such seemed to provide the objective conditions for the most prolific borrowing of Hebrew vocabulary of all the areas of contact. Following this reasoning, the purpose of the study was to discover whether the vocabulary acquired by workers in Israel had spread to Palestinians in the workers' home communities to which they

returned after the day's labour. This was to be achieved by recording the speech of residents in three refugee camps in the West Bank, in the Occupied Palestinian Territories.

The refugee camps were chosen as the locations of the study because there the externalisation of labour is the most extreme of any sector of the Palestinian economy. Refugees had been peasants in Palestine before 1948. They lost their land and thus their source of livelihood. They adapted by seeking jobs wherever available. Since the floating workforce is attracted to capital, and because most capital is in Israel and Israel is the source of Hebrew, it was logical to look for Hebrew in the refugee camps. Israel and its relatively advanced industrial economy became accessible to Palestinians after 1967, albeit with restrictions. The increasing movement restrictions which have prevented many workers from reaching jobs in Israel since the 1990s were to be accounted for in a generational comparison of linguistic practices. From this scenario it ensued that men would use more Hebrew borrowings than women, because most migrant workers in Israel are men, and men of the generation who were of employable age in the 1970s and 1980s would be expected to use more Hebrew borrowings than any other age/sex group.

This scenario affected the approach to the fieldwork. Initially two refugee camps, and then a third, were chosen: Dheisheh, Shuafat and Tulkarem refugee camps. The plan was to interview men and women divided broadly into three generations: those who remembered the refugee crisis of 1948, those whose lives were marked by the military conquest of 1967, and those whose productive lives

were marked by the increasing movement restrictions of the 1990s, the Second Intifada of 2000-2004 and the closure of the Occupied Palestinian Territories. These events shaped the extent and nature of contact between Palestinians and Israelis and so constituted the conditions under which Hebrew could be borrowed. These expectations, though commonsensical, depended on a deterministic understanding of the relation between social, political and economic context and linguistic practice. Context determined practice. All that needed to be done was to document the practice. In fact, the practice would provide proof of the existence of a certain type of context. Such were the assumptions of the researcher's question.

In the course of what was supposed to be the straightforward documentation of linguistic practices it became clear that the deterministic equation was deficient. Linguistic practices are complex, and serve to negotiate relations of power between speakers, express ways of thinking about the world, organise social norms of what is acceptable behaviour, among many other things. The fieldwork did find that Palestinians who had contact with Hebrew through work in Israel were a significant source of Hebrew borrowings used in the camps, but this was just one of several patterns of Hebrew use. The structure of the thesis, which will now be laid out, corresponds to the construction of an argument that embraces the complexity of practice as it was discovered and of its connections to the context.

0.2 Summary of contents

The argument is based on a particular resolution to the conundrum faced by social scientists in all

fields: the connundrum of the connection between external structure, or context, and human agency, or text. In this thesis, the resolution that is tested by application to the case of Hebrew borrowings in Palestinian speech is termed “articulation”. Following Stuart Hall, this conceptualisation of the structure/agency connection is found to be useful in part due to its double meaning in English: it denotes both the function of the hinge in an articulated vehicle between the tractor and the trailer and the action of formulating a text (Hall 1986: 53). It is a concept that has been developed by Marxist cultural theorists to remedy a lack in orthodox Marxist theory that did not address the nuances of the link between the political economy and the culture of a society. The orthodox scheme, which supposed that the type of economic “base” of a society determined its political, and thus cultural, “superstructure”, had been deemed too deterministic, in the same way as the assumptions of the thesis’ question sketched above. “Articulation” is also a concept defined partly in reaction to postmodern cultural theory, in which the structure/agency dichotomy is dissolved and replaced with a model in which agency and structure are diffuse and fluid. It is unnecessary to engage in the theoretical debate here. Here, the application of “articulation” to the Palestinian case needs to be justified.

In Raymond Williams and Stuart Hall’s conceptualisation, based on Ernesto Laclau’s work, the tractor is both a social group’s position in the political economy and a way of thinking about its position, or ideology (Williams 1973: 14; Hall 1986: 55). The trailer, which may or may not be attached to (“articulated with”) a tractor, and can be pulled by various types of tractors, is a political action, a

practice. This is a flexible version of determinism: though the tractor does not form the trailer, the tractor pulls it in a certain direction; determinism here means setting the limits of what is possible, rather than predicting the inevitable. The metaphor can be pushed too far on an abstract level; it will be clearer when applied to a concrete situated historical occasion, as will be done throughout this thesis. In sociolinguistics, this way of viewing the link between the ever-negotiated, historically changing, structure of the political economy and the agency of speakers is explicitly picked up by Susan Gal (1988) and Ben Rampton (1995). Discourse analyst Norman Fairclough calls a similar link the “cultural political economy” (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999). This thesis adds “articulation” to the school of thought.

The context is faced by agents as a given, but it is the result of previous practices. Too often, the context is treated as an unchanging landscape. The respondents in this study are Palestinian residents of three refugee camps in the West Bank. They are in that situation, with all its ramifications, due to previous Israeli and Palestinian practices. These external practices continue, and are challenged, avoided, accommodated and fostered by the respondents’ own practices. Chapter 1 of this thesis lays out the context as it is faced by the respondents. This “Social context chapter” briefly outlines refugee history; the make-up of the three camps; the phenomenon of Palestinian migrant work in Israel; gender relations; and the functioning of the Israeli military occupation, in particular the imprisonment of Palestinian political activists. Crucially for the study of linguistic borrowing, these contexts form the settings for power relations between Israelis and Palestinians leading to language

contact. These are all aspects of the context – forming part of the tractor – that impinge on the next step in the argument, the practice, or the trailer.

Meanwhile, it is necessary to take a sidestep. Chapter 1 introduces the social context, but also crucial to the linguistic practice is the immediate interpersonal context of the speech (the text). Chapter 2 gives a personal account of the interactions between the respondents and the researcher, and the effects this had on the particular practice that is studied: the linguistic practice of borrowing from Hebrew in Arabic speech. This “Interpersonal context” chapter first examines how the “observer’s paradox” is dealt with in the sociolinguistic literature. The impact of the observer, or researcher, on the results of fieldwork is only paradoxical within a positivist framework. In the framework of ethnography, by contrast, the researcher’s effect is treated as part of the observable practice, analysed in terms of accommodation theory. A report on the fieldwork in practice is then given, accounting for patterns of interactions with different age/sex groups, the manner of introduction in the different camps, and personal political and social sensitivities. The aggregated result of these elements of the immediate context is that this study provides a minimal picture of Hebrew borrowings in Arabic.

Chapters 3 and 4 are the pillars of the thesis. After the context, both large and small scale, the practice is examined. The Hebrew borrowings in Palestinian speech are first classified according to the situation of contact and of power relations between Hebrew speakers and Arabic speakers (chapter 3). This chapter, “Patterns of lexical borrowing: by type of contact” builds on the picture of the

social context in chapter 1. Describing and supplying instances of Hebrew borrowings in real speech, the chapter conceives of these borrowings as traces of the power relations inherent in the contact between Israelis, who are directly or indirectly the source of Hebrew, and Palestinians in specific settings. These situated relationships are: Palestinian work in Israel; Israeli products on the Palestinian market and technology introduced to Palestinians by Israeli suppliers; Israeli social services provided to some Palestinians; and Israeli military procedures that control Palestinian activities.

Chapter 4, in which more examples of Hebrew borrowing and some codeswitching are provided, organises the linguistic practice by function. Methods of analysis developed by M.A.K Halliday in systemic linguistics reveal the purposes (or functions) of using Hebrew that distinguishes a borrowing's meaning from that of an Arabic equivalent. On one level, it differentiates between those who have the linguistic proficiency to understand and use borrowings from those who do not, and in that way demarcates "in-groups". "In-groups" have been a feature of the literature on codeswitching with a focus on proficiency. In this thesis, a closer look is cast on the Palestinian political prisoners and the migrant workers' in-groups. On other levels, the use of Hebrew as "cool slang" with the function of identifying the speaker as a modern, aspirational consumer is given as much attention as can be, given the difficulties in obtaining data from the ground in the framework of this particular study. Finally, Hebrew is also used for humour with an ironic and political edge, playing on the source of Hebrew, Israel, and its connotations of rude, bossy power, illegitimate in the eyes of Palestinians.

This chapter, “Patterns of lexical borrowing and codeswitching: by function”, makes another step away from the deterministic model of context impinging directly on practice, or structure on agent, and closer to the complexity of “articulation”, fully developed in chapter 5.

Chapter 5 suggests the nature of the link between context and its articulation in practice: ideology.

“Ideology” is defined as a way of thinking about the world and one’s position in it, akin to James Paul Gee’s definition of discourses: “ways of being in the world, or forms of life which integrate words, acts, values, beliefs, attitudes, and social identities, as well as gestures, glances, body positions and clothes.” (Gee 1996: 127) “Ideology” has the advantage over “discourse” for the purpose of this thesis in that it moors the “ways of being in the world” to the political economy, and to the workings of the state, which will be seen as crucial to Palestinians’ borrowing of Hebrew. The singular task of sociolinguistics in linking discourse in the sense of ideology as defined above and discourse in the sense of language-in-use as spoken and written in real life, and observed by sociolinguists, has been noted by Gee as well as Deborah Cameron in guides for critical discourse analysis (Cameron 2001: 15-16). In this thesis, the terms “ideology” and “articulation” are retained in order to better distinguish between the two senses of “discourse”, and to avoid any invocation of postmodernist theory. The analysis of chapter 5 is anchored in the processes of the Israeli state and its economy and in Israeli and Palestinian ideologies that make sense of them; the terminology therefore reflects the inheritance of such an analysis from Marxist cultural theorists. This is applied insofar as it has adequate explanatory value for the data from the fieldwork.

In explanation, the following argument is put forward. Four ideologies are operative among Palestinians who use Hebrew borrowings: Palestinian nationalism; Palestinian pragmatism; Israeli securitism; and Israeli consumerism. These ideologies mediate constantly negotiated power relations between Palestinians and Israelis regarding the character of the social, political and economic context. The ideologies are in articulation with particular uses of Hebrew borrowings. The ideologies, as tractors, pull the trailer of linguistic practice in a certain direction, for instance towards the display of more or less Hebrew, or towards the spreading of particular terms. For example, the most common Hebrew borrowing in Palestinian speech is *maḥsōm*, meaning “checkpoint”. It became embedded in daily speech with the rise of Israeli securitism, the ideology according to which all activities are subordinate to the aim of maintaining Israeli military supremacy in the Middle East. Palestinian nationalists may object to adopting the terms of the Israeli military and propose a borrowing from Standard Arabic instead of the Hebrew, but the predominant pragmatic ideology among Palestinians means that in practice they learn and use what Hebrew they need to get by, including to get through the checkpoints set up by the Israeli army. *Maḥsōm* is used by Palestinians unselfconsciously – some do not know that it is a Hebrew word – and can also refer to checkpoints set up by the Palestinian Authority.

The “articulation” model allows for the possibility of change in the context and the practice: the same ideology can pull a different trailer, or the same specific practice can be reclaimed by a different

tractor. Chapter 5, "Describing and modelling language change" offers a review of the relevant literature and situates the present case of Palestinian use of Hebrew borrowings within it. It then proposes the model of ideologies articulating practice in concrete instances, building on the description and analysis of the data in chapters 3 and 4. It follows with an evaluation of the potential for renegotiation of power relations between Israelis and Palestinians as a predictor of language change. It concludes by reiterating the path, which was also the path followed intellectually by the researcher, from context to text, enriched by a non-deterministic understanding of the roles played along the way by complex and contradictory ideologies and by challenging and accommodating practices.

0.3 Methodology and ethical standards for the fieldwork

The fieldwork was undertaken solely by the researcher who is the author of this thesis. I based myself in or near the refugee camps where I conducted the interviews and noted participant observations. I was based near Shuafat refugee camp from August to November 2007 and in March 2008 and participated in the life of the camp extensively, helping at a local charity and teaching English. I interviewed 22 Shuafat camp residents in semi-structured interviews, and noted observations during conversations regarding another seven residents. All were informed of my identity, of the objectives of my study and of the option to refuse to contribute.

I lived near Dheisheh refugee camp from December 2007 to February 2008. Thanks to previous longterm stays in the Bethlehem region where the camp is situated, I had friendly contacts in the

camp without having to invest time in becoming known in the camp as was the case in Shuafat refugee camp. I interviewed 10 residents, five with the help of a local student, and noted observations on a further six.

I spent two weeks in Tulkarem refugee camp, living with a resident in April 2008. I recorded three semi-structured interviews and noted observations on the speech of another twelve residents. As I did not have time to learn about the camp's functioning from my own experience, I met with activists from several non-governmental organisations, including an Israeli-Palestinian peace organisation, a women's rights organisation, a cultural centre and a sports centre.

In all cases, I was introduced, or introduced myself, as a researcher from the University of Oxford and respondents were given an opportunity to ask me about the aims of the research and how the information would be used. They were given means of contacting me if they wished to review their consent to participating in the study at a later date. I have maintained communication with some residents in each camp after the fieldwork ended.

It was agreed with the participants that though the analysis of the recordings would involve the quotation or reproduction of the respondents' speech in publications, the individual speakers would remain anonymous. For this reason respondents are referred to in this thesis by initials, which are not the initials of their real names. Some of the respondents did not object to being named. It was also agreed that the recordings of the interviews, which were always conducted with the voice recorder in plain sight, would be heard only by the researcher – myself – and perhaps an academic assistant, but they would not be broadcast in public. It is my belief that these provisions for the obtaining of informed

consent by participants fulfil the University of Oxford's criteria for ethical research.

0.4 Researcher's background

Though not a native speaker of either language, I had been learning Hebrew for seventeen years and Arabic for fourteen at the time of submitting this thesis. I have been travelling to Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories with an academic or professional interest regularly since 1998. In 2001-3 I lived in West Jerusalem, Israel, for a year, followed by a year in Bethlehem, in the occupied West Bank, in the course of my undergraduate studies. It was in the last year of my undergraduate studies that I first conducted a small investigation into borrowings from Hebrew into Arabic and from Arabic into Hebrew at the instigation of my then supervisor Dr Paul Lalor at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS, University of London). A couple of years later, still at SOAS and under the supervision of Dr (now Professor) Charles Tripp, my Masters dissertation focused on the phenomenon of Palestinian migrant workers in Israel and the challenge it posed for the political theories that shaped negotiations between Israeli governments and Palestinian representatives during the 1990s. During the fieldwork for that dissertation I discovered that the practice of borrowing from Hebrew was widespread and salient in the speech of Palestinian workers. In 2006 I embarked on the present doctoral project at the University of Oxford under the tutelage of Professor Clive Holes of the Oriental Institute and initially with the financial support of the Arts and Humanities Research Council of the United Kingdom. Wolfson College, Oxford, has also sponsored me with grants.

Throughout the years of my studies I have supported and worked for human rights organisations. If I have to declare any personal ideological bias that might permeate this work, it is a bias in favour of

universal respect for human rights.

0.5 Acknowledgments

I extend my deepest gratitude to Professor Clive Holes, my patient, encouraging and exacting supervisor. Professors Deborah Cameron and Bruce Ingham also went beyond the call of duty to support my work in sociolinguistics. Professor Ludmila Urbanová advised me on systemic linguistics and Professor Charles Tripp on theories of articulation. Dr Erez Levon helped orient me in Israeli and Palestinian ideologies. My heartfelt thanks go to Ammar Owaineh, who bravely suffered through his job assisting me with the transcription of interviews. Another native speaker of Palestinian Arabic whom I had the benefit of consulting over specific instances of idiom reproduced in this thesis is my companion, A.O. I also thank Hebrew native speaker Yael Rosenfeld for helping to decipher the Hebrew origins of certain borrowings. I am indebted to Chloë Massey who was the meticulous proof-reader, and to Vuk Trifković who was the talented graph drawer. Most of all, I would like to show appreciation to the residents of Shuafat, Dheisheh and Tulkarem refugee camps for their help and hospitality, and their willingness to participate in this research. I learnt from them more than I can say in any thesis, not only about sociolinguistics, but about life.

Aside from intellectual sustenance, the writing of this thesis would not have been possible without the help of volunteer babysitters Mary, Nigel and Andrew Hawker, Clive, Judith and Chloë Massey, Zuzana Hořejší-Líčeníková, Catherine Eden, Aziza Fahim, Donna Baillie, Francesca Burke, Yael Rosenfeld and Craig Griffiths. Access to a “room of one’s own”, provided by Sylvia Finzi, was also

crucial to the completion of this work.

Unfortunately I cannot blame any of these people for the mistakes I have inevitably made in the production of this thesis: that work is mine. I dedicate it to my parents, with love.

0.6 Note on dialect and transcription

This is not a study of the Palestinian dialects spoken in the three locations of the fieldwork. The transcriptions of speech are as precise as they need to be for the purpose of the study. Nevertheless, the transcriptions faithfully reproduce what was heard and recorded as it was pronounced, using academic Semitic orthography for convenience. It will be evident to scholars of Arabic even from this basic transcription that at least two Palestinian dialects were used, rural and urban, and sometimes a mixture of both. The most salient variable is the pronunciation of the Arabic letter qaf: while speakers following rural norms articulate /k/, urban dialect speakers, especially in Shuafat refugee camp, articulate a glottal stop. In words borrowed from Standard Arabic, it is pronounced as qaf. The mixture of dialects occurs in the refugee camps in particular because the older generations came from peasant backgrounds and mostly still speak the rural dialects of their villages of origin. The refugee camps are located near Palestinian towns where the urban norm is prestigious and so subsequent generations born in the camps could add urban variants to their repertoire if they gravitated towards the prestige code. This could engender variation even in the same speech event formulated by the same speaker, as the register appropriate for the interview was reevaluated in the course of the speech. The attraction of the urban prestige is especially strong in Shuafat refugee camp, which is

next to East Jerusalem, where most local professionals base their livelihoods.

It goes without saying that the speech of the foreign researcher should not be taken as an example of any proper Palestinian dialect, though I was trained to speak the Jerusalem urban variety. Similarly, the Hebrew used by Palestinians is not pronounced as native Israeli Hebrew speakers would. There is variation depending on the proficiency of the Palestinian speaker, idiosyncratic preferences, and the nativisation of the pronunciation of Hebrew phonemes that are rarely found in Palestinian Arabic, such as /p/ and /v/. Throughout reported speech transcribed in this thesis, Hebrew borrowings are underlined both in the original Arabic sentences and in the English translations.

For the sake of clarity, below is a table matching the transcription symbols with Arabic letters.

Lengthening of the vowel is represented by the use of a macron. The middle column provides examples of Arabic words containing the sound in the Palestinian Arabic variety.

a, ā	idāra	إ
b	bāb	ب
t	ittijāh	ت
s or t or ṭ	masalan, ktīr, ṭīqa	ث
j or ž	jirān, iža	ج
ḥ	ḥudūd	ح
x	xadamāt	خ

d	dawle	د
z or d (rarely Standard ځ)	zikrayāt, dahab, maḡhab	ذ
r	ra'īs	ر
z	zbāle	ز
s	sē'a	س
š	šubbāk	ش
ṣ	'uṣaṣ	ص
ḍ or ẓ	ḍamān, maẓbūṭ	ض
ṭ	ṭayyib	ط
ḍ or ẓ (rarely Standard ڙ = ḍ)	ḍuhur, ẓulum, ḍurūf	ظ
'	ta'āyuš	ع
ğ	šugul	غ
f	falaṣṭīn	ف
k or ' (rarely Standard ق = q)	karye, il-'uds, qiyāde	ق
k or č	ḡakēt, čilna	ك
l	lubnān	ل
m	m'allim	م
n	nahər	ن
h	yahūd	ه

w or ū or ō	ward, wurūd, jōz	و
y or ī or ē	ya'ni, īd, hēk	ي
'	lāji'	ع

Chapter 1: Social context

The purpose of this chapter is to present the historical, political and economic contexts of the sociolinguistic research as relevant to the data on Hebrew borrowings in Palestinian Arabic analysed in the following chapters. It is asserted that these selected aspects of the context bear on Palestinian linguistic practices by the medium of an articulation with ideologies that are socially developed to deal with the context. Additionally, the context forms the environment in which this particular study took place, and so affected how the research question was framed and how the data was collected. The facets of the context that will be treated here in brief are: the history of Palestine refugees and the current social makeup of the refugee camps where the fieldwork was located; Palestinian migrant work in Israel; and imprisonment of Palestinian political activists. An interpretation of gender relations in Palestinian society will be integrated in the discussion of each topic. Academic works on these subjects will be supplemented by reports from non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and by observations from personal experience of living in the region.

1.1 Palestinian refugee history

4.8 million refugees from pre-1948 Palestine and their descendants are registered with the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA). They live in refugee camps and towns in the West Bank, Gaza Strip, Lebanon, Syria and Jordan. Their status is deemed temporary until an agreement is reached regarding a permanent resolution to their situation. How the

situation came about is a controversy that has filled many volumes of academic historiographical writing (Morris 1987; Khalidi 1992; Pappé 2006).

When the UN General Assembly voted for the partition of Palestine, which was under British Mandate administration, into Jewish and Arab states, with an international zone around Jerusalem, on 29 November 1947, Jewish organisations including paramilitary formations took it as a signal to establish positions in what was to be their future state. Palestinians staged demonstrations and acts of violence. As the British Mandate retreated from its administrative and policing responsibilities, Jewish groups advanced, in the absence of any organised equivalent on the Palestinian side. From April 1948, amid news of killings of Palestinian civilians by the Jewish paramilitaries, the exit of the Palestinian population started: some were forcibly displaced while others left, temporarily they thought, to reach safety in the hope that Arab armies would push back the Jewish conquest of their lands. Indeed, the armies of the neighbouring Arab states, themselves newly independent from French and British control, crossed the borders after the British Mandate was terminated on 14 May 1948. This, the first, Arab-Israeli war ended with armistices signed during 1949, the terms of which gave the State of Israel 78% of the territory of Mandate Palestine. The stumps of what was supposed to have been the Arab state according to the UN Partition Plan – the West Bank and the Gaza Strip – went to Jordan and Egypt, and of the 900,000 or so Palestinians who had formed the majority of the population in the territory that became the State of Israel, 150,000 received Israeli citizenship, and were placed under military law. 750,000 were registered with UNRWA when the agency started

operations in 1950. Refugee status as registered with UNRWA is inherited through patrilineal descent (Blome Jacobsen 2004).

The first controversy relating to this course of events is the Israeli denial of responsibility for the problem, and the erasure of any visual evidence that the dispossession and displacement of Palestinians happened. A widespread fiction in Israel would have it that the Palestinian refugee camps actually house Arabs from neighbouring countries who had tried to enter Israel, attracted by its economic possibilities, but were rebuffed. Recreational parks were planted on the ruins of Palestinian villages as the landscape was re-sculptured, and the history of the places is unknown to present-day Israelis. The settling of the refugee issue has been a stumbling block in negotiations between the PLO and Israeli governments. In Israel, acknowledging responsibility is seen as a first step towards a resolution that would involve the repatriation of Palestinians; that, because of the Israeli concern for preserving a Jewish majority, would supposedly lead to the destruction of Israel (Masalha 2003). It is against the backdrop of this denial, and of the physical erasure of Palestinian villages and place names inside Israel, that Palestinians put an emphasis on reiterating the refugees' narrative.

The second controversy relates to the Palestinian insistence on the "inalienable" right of return for Palestine refugees. Aside from international law, which stipulates the right of individuals and their descendants to return to their country with which they have close and enduring connections (Amnesty International 2001), the Palestinians invoke the right of return as a central tenet of their nationhood.

Beyond the legal or political position, the refugees' plight has formed the narrative of Palestinian identity. Baruch Kimmerling and Joel Migdal posit that the refugees, the most disadvantaged social group, provided the cultural meaning of what it meant to be Palestinian "from below", after three decades of the British Mandate during which Palestinian leaders formulated Palestinian identity "from above" (Kimmerling and Migdal, 1993: 208). This radicalised the Palestinian polity whose leaders from old notable families had to catch up or be obsolete, replaced by modern actors in paramilitary and political groups. Refugee camps, though socially and economically depressed, are still seen as the motors of Palestinian politics: in this sense they are not marginal. In turn, this translates into official insistence on the right of return, though anathema to the Israeli side. The refugees who remember 1948 are the embodiment of this element of the national narrative, which is referred to as the "Nakba", or catastrophe. This is transmitted through the generations, and also the successive generations of refugees identify with the village of origin.

1.2 Shuafat refugee camp

Shuafat refugee camp is unique among all the Palestinian refugee camps in that it lies within territory officially governed by Israel: in the Jerusalem municipal area – East Jerusalem – annexed by Israel in 1967 after the war that saw the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights and the Sinai occupied by the Israeli army. The annexation is not recognised by any state apart from Israel itself. This gives the residents of the camp entitlement to a rare and prized document: the blue ID card, which confers residency in Jerusalem. This does not equate to full citizenship, but gives some of its advantages:

primarily movement within Jerusalem, both east and west, access to Israel and the West Bank and the claim to some social services, for instance subsidised health care. On the other hand, all of Palestinian East Jerusalem is subject to hostile planning policies which favour Israeli settlement but constrain Palestinian development (Bimkom 2005). This has resulted in serious problems for the camp, which suffers from poor sanitation, irregular water supplies and hazardous overcrowding.

Approximately 11,000 people are registered as refugee residents of Shuafat camp (UNRWA 2011). However, estimates as to the total camp population vary from twice to three times that number. The reason for this is that Shuafat refugee camp functions as a “no-go zone” where the Jerusalem police rarely enter, but nevertheless qualifies as Jerusalem residence. Because the Jerusalem Municipality is enforcing ever-stricter regulations for retaining the blue ID card, card-holders have to prove continuous residency in the municipal area, which suffers from extraordinary housing shortages in the Palestinian sector. The housing restrictions are not implemented in Shuafat camp, which means there are no house demolitions which are the bane of other Palestinian neighbourhoods, and so its 0.2 square kilometres have become prime real estate. Six- or eight-floor buildings are built on foundations that are meant for one or two floors, and many non-refugee Jerusalemites have moved in despite the poor conditions, to preserve their title to the precious ID card. Such are the paradoxical consequences of the Israeli authorities’ efforts to limit the Palestinian presence in Jerusalem.

The land for the camp and its water and sanitation systems were supplied by the Jordanian state when the camp was established in 1966, but when the Israeli authorities took over they required payment for the water bills. The refugees refused to pay and in the 1980s the water supply was discontinued. Camp youths connected the camp water supply to a mains pipe leading to a neighbouring Israeli settlement and established an unofficial source. Since then, these unofficial connections supply the camp until they are discovered and closed by the Israeli authorities, at which point a new one is created. This has become more difficult since the Israeli army built the fence and wall which encloses Palestinian areas in the West Bank. This fence and wall encircles Shuafat refugee camp from three sides, leaving one road open leading to the east, towards the West Bank, and one gate to the west, leading to the rest of Jerusalem, guarded by a military checkpoint. Only holders of blue ID cards can pass that checkpoint. On 25 November 2008 the Israeli Supreme Court rejected a petition by camp residents for the re-routing of the wall so that Shuafat refugee camp would remain within East Jerusalem in the annexed municipal area. In 2003 the International Court of Justice had given the unanimous advisory opinion that the route of the Israeli fence and wall was illegal because it cut through Palestinian territories.

Education, basic health services and waste management in the camp is provided by UNRWA. Other projects are run, or at least approved by, the Popular Committee for Services, a PLO body that exists in every Palestinian refugee camp with varying degrees of efficiency and corruption. The Committee comprises representatives from every PLO faction (which excludes Hamas and Islamic Jihad) and

from large clans. A modicum of order is supposed to be enforced in the camp by the Committee, which is headed by the Fatah party, using factional and familial networks to impose discipline. This system has seemingly broken down in Shuafat refugee camp. For example, during my time in the camp, the Committee issued an edict that stalls, including a pirate gas station, selling their wares in the street on the main crossroads, would be banned. The stall holders did not comply with the edict, and one night several vegetable stalls were torched. It was presumed that the arson was perpetrated by a gang linked to the Committee. Several days later the head of the Committee was stabbed by a member of a clan whose vegetable stall had been burnt down. After that, the pirate gas station was set on fire, causing a blast that brought down a nearby electricity pylon and cut the power supply to the camp. As I approached the blackened gas station in the morning, I found some of my English pupils scavenging for scrap metal and excitedly discussing what sweets they would buy with the money they would get in exchange for the metal. A new electricity pylon was built within two days by engineers hired by Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas's office (of Fatah, of course). Everyone I knew denied having any suspicions regarding the identity or affiliations of the perpetrators of the arson attack on the gas station. It was safer not to name any possible suspects: the tit-for-tat attacks could continue and spread, and it was best to stay clear.

This anarchy is tolerated by the Israeli authorities in the midst of the Jerusalem Municipality. The status of "no-go zone", unpoliced, cut off from Jerusalem by the wall and checkpoint but administratively part of Jerusalem, accessible from the West Bank but not under the jurisdiction of

West Bank authorities, makes it breeding grounds for crime including drug smuggling, according to camp respondents. The rampant poverty combined with access to Israeli state benefits has created dependency on social welfare including unemployment benefits and child benefits. Domestic violence is widespread, according to camp respondents. Since the Israeli police will not enter the camp, and the Palestinian police based in Palestinian Authority-administered areas must not enter because it is in annexed Jerusalem, the battered women have no state authority to turn to. One woman I visited said that her husband had a West Bank ID card and lived in the West Bank with another wife, but came to the camp each month when she picked up her social benefits cheque. If she didn't give it to him, he beat her. I was told this was an extreme example of a common story.

I chose to base part of my study in Shuafat refugee camp because the Jerusalem residency "blue ID cards" gives workers from the camp easier access to jobs in Israel than their West Bank counterparts with "green IDs". Indeed, aside for employment in UNRWA schools and some of the other camp services, such as the rehabilitation clinic where I made contacts, or the nurseries, and the local bus company, most of the available jobs were outside the camp in the Israeli sector.

1.3 Dheisheh refugee camp

Dheisheh refugee camp lies to the south of Bethlehem within Area A, under the jurisdiction of the Palestinian Authority (PA). Areas A, B and C are administrative divisions that emerged from the Oslo negotiations. Under its provisions, Areas A, which include Palestinian built-up areas in the West Bank

(excluding Jerusalem), is under PA jurisdiction for both civilian matters and policing. In Areas B, which comprises most of the agricultural lands around Palestinian villages, the PA is responsible for civilian affairs and the Israeli army deals with policing. In Area C, which amounts to over 60% of the West Bank (excluding Jerusalem), Israel is responsible for both law enforcement and civilian affairs of Palestinians, and for the Israeli settlements. Areas A and B are not contiguous (see map below for the different areas). The camp lies on one side of the main road from Bethlehem to Hebron. The shops that lie on the main road are frequented by people from Bethlehem who are not refugees, and so the camp is integrated into the economy of the town. Refugees who could afford to do so have moved out of the camp into homes on the other side of the main road, in a new neighbourhood called Doha. This has alleviated the overcrowding that plagues other refugee camps. Up to 13,000 people are registered as refugees with Dheisheh's UNRWA office. Not all live in the camp but they can use UNRWA facilities such as schools, which are chronically short of places.

The running of the camp is relatively autonomous from the PA, thanks to an active Popular Committee for Services. Historically, the composition of the Committee in Dheisheh has favoured avowedly left-wing parties, mainly the Palestinian Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), which still has a strong base there but is losing ground to Islamist parties, as elsewhere among Palestinians. PFLP activists in the camp credit the smooth running of the camp to its influence. The party, for instance, set up literacy clubs and political discussion groups in the 1980s. In the mid-1990s, party activists opened a sports and cultural centre in the camp which also attracts foreign volunteers to run

activity clubs for children. The Committee acts as a mediator between the camp residents and the PA or other authorities. It can use its credibility as a democratic body and its legitimacy as the authoritative voice of refugees (with its resonance in the Palestinian national credo) to obtain special benefits. If that doesn't work, the political factions do not hesitate to resort to demonstrations.

Incidents involving arson will exemplify how the camp is organised in contrast to the anarchy that prevails in Shuafat refugee camp. The Palestinian mobile 'phone company Jawwal built a transmitter tower near the camp in 2006. After reading articles linking proximity to such towers with a rise in cases of cancer, members of the Committee asked Jawwal to dismantle the tower and move it farther from the camp. When the company refused to do so, camp residents set fire to it. Another example involves the provision of water, which was historically supplied free of charge, as with all refugee camps. When economist Salam Fayyad's government decided to collect payments for the water bills in the second half of 2007, the camp residents refused and blocked the main Bethlehem-Hebron road with burning tires until the free water supply was restored. Such demonstrations are seen by Palestinians as manifestations of the refugees' hardiness that has enabled them to overcome the tribulations that have beset them. Introducing oneself in Bethlehem as *min il-muxayyam*, "from the camp", elicits respect.

The closure of the Occupied Palestinian Territories, enforced increasingly since the 1990s with checkpoints, restricted allocations of permits, and the building of the fence and wall through the West

Bank, has disproportionately affected employment rates in Dheisheh refugee camp (for an analysis of reasons for refugees suffering more from the closures than other Palestinian workers, see 1.5 below). UNRWA estimates that the unemployment rate in Dheisheh refugee camp stands at 30% (UNRWA 2011). Strong social solidarity organised through political parties and the safety net provided by UNRWA prevents residents from becoming destitute. Some manual labourers who used to work in Israel now work in local Palestinian quarries, where the wages are much lower than what they would have earned in Israel in the past. The years of investment in women's education have also paid off as some now work in administrative jobs in the PA or as professionals in the medical and educational sectors (Blome Jacobsen 2004).

1.4 Tulkarem refugee camp

With over 18,000 registered refugees, Tulkarem refugee camp is the second most populous camp in the West Bank. It lies within the municipality of Tulkarem town, in the northwest of the West Bank near the Green Line, which is the 1949 armistice line between Israel and what was then Jordan. Like Dheisheh, it is officially under the jurisdiction of the PA. Politically, it has been a bastion of Fatah and many young men from Tulkarem refugee camp were recruited into Fatah's armed units known as the Tanzim, or Alaqsa Martyrs Brigade, during the Second Intifada, which started in September 2000. Islamist paramilitary groups also gained ground in the camp. This led to crushing reprisals by the Israeli army, as a result of which many men in the camp were killed or imprisoned. During my stay in

the camp in 2008, the Israeli army was still conducting raids on a regular basis, despite the camp falling in Area A.

A combination of factors has led to more women from Tulkarem refugee camp finding employment in Israel than women from other camps. On the Israeli side of the Green Line lie stretches of agricultural land with large industrialised farms which employ women (and in the past also children) in low-paid jobs. It is an area of Israel, known as The Triangle, where Palestinians with Israeli citizenship form the majority of the population. In the camp, many men have been missing for protracted periods due to their political and armed activities. For these reasons, women are attracted to nearby jobs in Israel to replace income that would have been provided by male bread-winners. This day-migration has been severely restricted since the closure of the Occupied Palestinian Territories has been in force and especially since the fence and wall were completed in the northwest of the West Bank in 2003. The stricter regulations for the issuing of permits that allow crossing into Israel for work affect men more severely than women, and so some older women migrant workers have been able to keep their jobs.

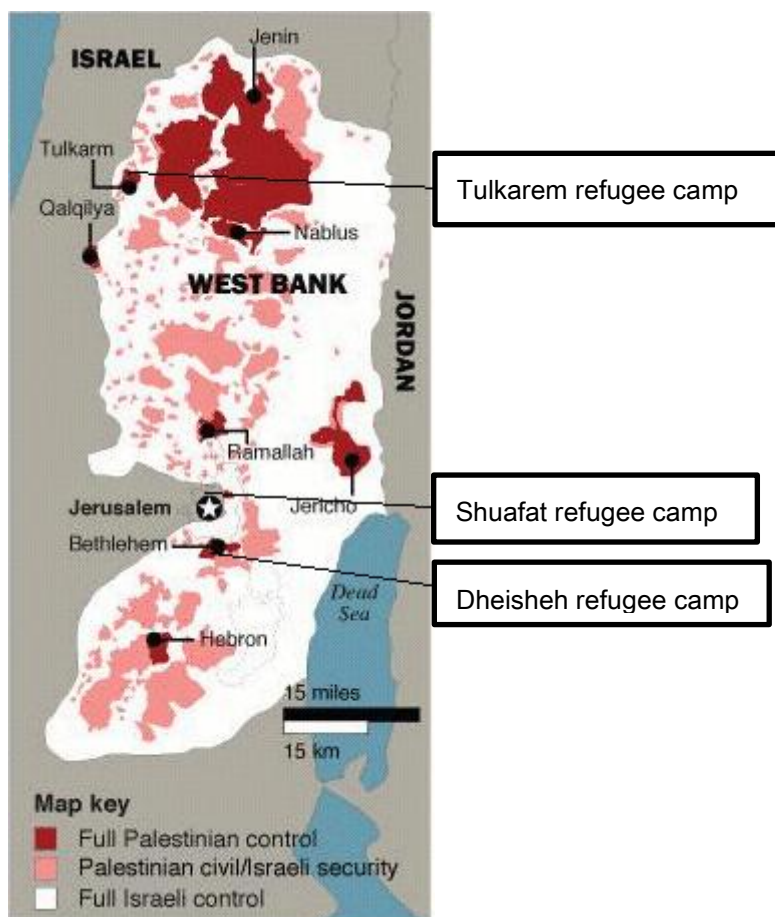
The minimum age for gaining a permit has gradually risen. While in the 1980s, children (under 18) were regularly employed for seasonal work on Israeli farms, the Gaza Strip magnetic cards were the first to introduce a minimum age limit for entering Israel: 25 years of age. After 1993 permits were only issued to men over 28 (with no restrictions for women). In 1998, the age rose to 35 for men and 30 for women, and since then the men must also be married. For work in settlements, the age limit was first

set at 18 in 1998, and in 2000 was raised to 23, with no requirements for marital status (Farsakh 2005).

Some employment for men has been made possible by the proximity of the Israeli industrial park Geshuri, as it is known in the camp after one of its owners (its official name is *Nezanei Shalom*, or “Buds of Peace”), which straddles the wall between Tulkarem and Israel. The industrial park is one of several such projects dating back to an idea in the 1990s that was meant to alleviate two problems identified by Israeli and Palestinian decision-makers: the high cost of labour in Israel, where workers are protected by laws including minimum wage law, and high unemployment among Palestinians. The Israeli managers can enter the industrial zone from the west, and the Palestinian workers with permits enter from the eastern side of the wall. No labour laws applied to the settlements, but that was slowly changing during the time of my fieldwork in the region. In several settlement industrial parks, including Geshuri, Palestinian workers went on strike to demand better wages. In 2007 the Israeli Supreme Court ruled that Palestinian workers in settlements (estimated at 18,000 workers) must be paid the same wage as Israelis; this has yet to be enforced in all settlements (Alenat 2010).

Because of these limited and volatile employment options, unemployment remains high in Tulkarem refugee camp: UNRWA estimates it at over 30% (UNRWA 2011). Only the poorest remain in the camp, while others can find housing in the neighbouring town. Social mobility is further restricted for those refugees with black skin colour, due to racial prejudice against them. Though the African origins

of these Palestinians are not precisely known, it would appear that in past centuries they settled on the coast of the eastern Mediterranean and in 1948 became refugees along with other Palestinians and ended up in Tulkarem refugee camp. Their distinctive features set them apart and are a cause of discrimination. Several black women in the camp mentioned to me that they could not marry a white Palestinian from Tulkarem town, “but that villagers are less picky”, and black men complained of not finding employment in Palestinian-run firms, or if employed, were not promoted.



Map: The West Bank, Occupied Palestinian Territories. Showing Areas A – Palestinian jurisdiction; B – Palestinian civil/ Israeli security; and C – Full Israeli control. (Courtesy of CCMEP.)

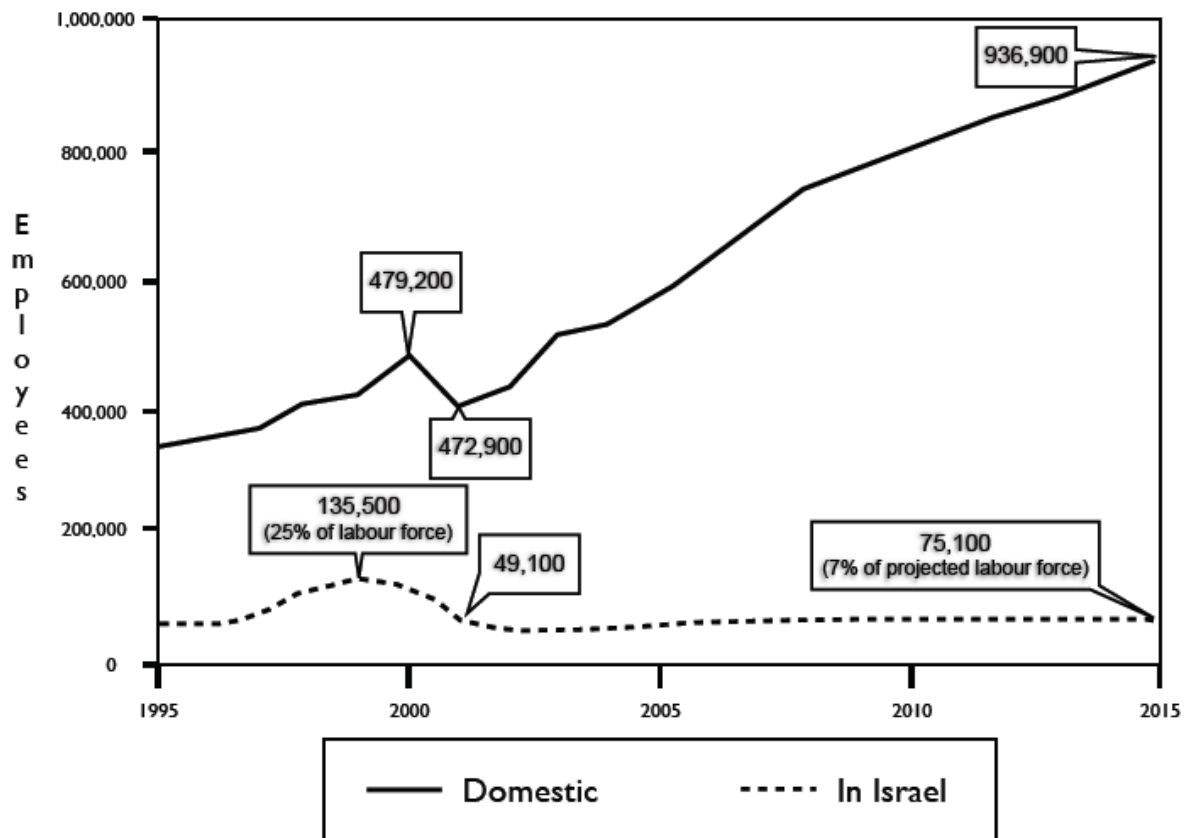
A very detailed map of the West Bank, including the Israeli fence and wall and the Israeli settlements, is available for download from the website of the Israeli human rights NGO B'Tselem (6.5 MB):

<http://www.microsoft.com/download/en/details.aspx?id=22339>

1.5 Palestinian migrant work in Israel

Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza Strip have been seeking employment as manual labourers in Israel and in Israeli settlement industries since the 1970s when regulated movement between the newly occupied territories and Israel was made possible. In certain periods in the 1980s, 45% of the Gazan workforce and nearly 30% of the West Bank workforce, and in some camps 80% of male refugees of employable age, worked in Israel. These numbers are now greatly reduced. Fewer workers are employed in the agricultural sector. Since the closures of the 1990s, which caused Palestinian employment to fluctuate due to the impediments to their reaching the workplace, Palestinian workers have been replaced by overseas workers from the Philippines and Thailand, among other nationalities. Many workers are employed in Israeli settlements in the West Bank, in factories, on construction sites and seasonally on farms in the Jordan Valley.

Chart 1: Palestinian employment in Israel and in the Palestinian (domestic) sectors. Based on data and projections available in 2006, this graph reflects the optimistic expectations that the Palestinian economy would grow sufficiently to absorb new entrants into the labour force, and that the Israeli authorities would permit the future access of Palestinian workers to Israel at approximately the same level as in 2006.



In 1995 when the Paris Protocol on economic relations between Israel and the Palestinian Authority was negotiated, Israel conceded to repay the taxes deducted over the years from the wages of Palestinian workers working in Israel. This was an admission that the workers had paid the state taxes but did not receive the social rights and services they were entitled to. However the reimbursement was made not to the workers themselves, but to the Palestinian Authority (PA), under the understanding that the PA was going to be responsible for the provision of social services in the future. This has left the Palestinian workers in Israel and in Israeli settlements vulnerable to continued denial of equal rights and access to services at the workplace, since the PA has no control over Israeli workplaces (Farsakh 2005).

In the case of the Palestinian refugees, especially those who ended up in camps registered with UNRWA, forced dispossession caused the men to transform from peasants into a floating wage-labour force very quickly. In the case of day-migrant workers more generally (not all of them are refugees), release from local employment was caused by demographic pressures, the transition to hybrid modes of production, forced relocation, and colonising policies in the West Bank and Gaza Strip since 1967 (Farsakh 2005). However, what enabled the workers to migrate was a re-writing of the 'sexual contract' (Pateman 1988), the reshuffling of kinship relations with separate gender roles. While the men brought home wages, women who had previously worked as farmers' partners now engage in unwaged subsistence work that maintains the camp community (Moors 1996). This picture, however, is replete with seeming contradictions: while young men are expected to become wage-labourers as soon as they are physically able, young women are expected to study and attain higher education. A few white-collar jobs are open to women, for instance in UNRWA-run educational and health institutions (Blome Jacobsen 2004). However, Palestinians have also maintained one of the highest birth rates in the Arab world, higher than in Egypt, for instance, where the average number of years of schooling attained by women is much lower than in the Palestinian Territories, and the GDP per capita was little more than half the Palestinians' until recently (Blome Jacobsen 2004).

The extended families in which relations are established and negotiated through marriage serve as the social security net for workers who have no protection against accident, illness or border closures preventing them from working (Hovdenak et al 1997). After 1991, the new permit system, described in

the section on Tulkarem refugee camp above (1.4), the checkpoints and the policy of periodic closures of the West Bank and Gaza Strip caused labour shocks the corollary of which was high intermittent unemployment. 1996 and 2002 were peak years for closures. Since the Second Intifada began in 2000 the jobs in Israel that do remain are precarious, and the unemployed male workers must rely more than ever on the unwaged subsistence labour of the women and children at home.

The sexual contract established in the years of regular work in Israel has been broken. What Carole Pateman calls “the sexual contract” can be fruitfully viewed as an aspirational ideal of upper-middle-class moralism, which was only possible for some residents of the refugee camps to uphold during the short-lived years of relative plenty when work in Israel made women’s home-based position affordable (Fraser 1993). Now, high male unemployment and increased poverty are translated in increased inter-sex collaboration to bring a wage home. On the other hand, domestic violence has also increased (Human Rights Watch 2006). The shorthand to describe this fluid relationship in this thesis will be “gender contract”.

Chart 2: Closures and fluctuating employment. Correlating days of closure per annum – when movement between Palestinian localities and between Palestinian localities and Israel are restricted by the Israeli army – with fluctuations in the number of Palestinian workers employed in Israel. Since it only covers the period until 2004, the chart does not reflect the blanket ban on all movement from the Gaza Strip, imposed by the Israeli blockade since June 2007.



(Graphs based on UNCTAD 2006.)

1.6 Experience of Israeli prisons

According to Palestinian prisoner solidarity campaigners, about 40% of Palestinian men alive today in the West Bank and Gaza have experienced imprisonment in Israel for political or military reasons since 1967 (Palestine Monitor 2008). Though imprecise, such a figure indicates the Palestinian perception of the significance of incarceration in the course of resistance to the Israeli occupation.

Relevant figures are difficult to obtain: annual reports of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), and monthly statistics provided by the Israel Prisons Service (IPS) and the army, only account for detention figures at specific points in time. For instance, in May 2008, when I concluded my

doctoral fieldwork, the ICRC was following the cases of 11,000 Palestinian prisoners, and the IPS reported 8,550 individuals, of whom 761 were administrative detainees, held without trial or intention of bringing them to trial.

Notwithstanding the lack of a definite picture of Palestinian imprisonment in Israel, it is a salient feature of Palestinian society that detention by Israeli authorities, often in harsh conditions, and subjection to ill-treatment at the hands of guards and interrogators, is recognised as commonplace. For many it is taken as evidence that Palestinian “resistance” to the Israeli occupation in the West Bank and Gaza is active. From the nationalist standpoint, participating in the resistance is prestigious, and since it is assumed that imprisonment on political or security grounds must be related to committing acts of resistance, by extension being a political prisoner is also prestigious. There is no denying that the high rates of imprisonment are a symptom of the Israeli regime of occupation and detention is one of many tactics for controlling the Palestinian population. However, links to actual acts of organised (and effective) resistance are sometimes tenuous.

Many sentences are reached by plea bargain in a military trial whereby the defence lawyer, who does not have access to classified information divulged by the prosecution (the Israeli army) to the judge, comes to an agreement out of court with the prosecution regarding the length of sentence. The defendant pleads guilty to the charge formulated by the army with the understanding that this will permit him (rarely her) to serve a shorter sentence, as agreed by his lawyer with the military

prosecutor. The defendant is put under pressure to do this because pleading not guilty would entail a trial which might take longer than the agreed sentence. On other occasions, the military may resort to administrative detention, which is admissible under military emergency laws but is abused by the Israeli military. In cases of administrative detention, there is no charge, only vague allegations based on information, usually secret, again provided by the army to the military judge. The detention orders are up to six-months long and can be renewed many times. The uncertainty of the situation is psychologically taxing: court procedures in Hebrew, over-worked lawyers, and ill-treatment (documented by Israeli human rights groups such as the Public Committee against Torture in Israel) multiply the pressure on the detainees. Palestinian children aged 16 and 17 are treated as adults in the Israeli military system. Prison visits for family members are restricted because all but one of the prisons are located inside Israel, and obtaining a permit to travel there from the Occupied Palestinian Territories is difficult. Though celebrated as heroes in the Palestinian nationalist narrative, the psychosocial support for detainees after their release is minimal (Cook et al 2004).

According to the prisoners' accounts, prison life has changed since the PA was established in 1994. Prison life has reportedly been de-politicised and individualised since the 1990s. Earlier, prisoners were organised according to their political affiliation and shared "house-keeping" tasks in the prison, including cooking and cleaning, teaching and collective representation. Now, some of the prison services have been privatised, including the canteen, where food and other goods (cigarettes, hygiene products, and paper) can be bought. Whoever can afford more has more, and solidarity

among prisoners has deteriorated. Prisoners affiliated with Fatah are perceived as privileged, supposedly because they receive a better allowance. Educational classes, such as the PFLP study groups on Marxist texts, are not run anymore, though the islamist prisoners apparently still participate in religious study. Many prisoners utilised time inside to finish secondary education or pursue distance courses at Israeli universities, learning Hebrew in the process. This is now exceptional.

Against such descriptions from former prisoners themselves (who count themselves among the earlier generations of better-disciplined prisoners), comes news of organised hunger strikes for better conditions, such as family visits or the supply of Arabic-language newspapers. Palestinian leaders of all factions, such as Marwan Barghouti of Fatah, Ahmad Sa'adat of the PFLP and several elected Hamas parliamentarians command significant authority even while incarcerated. In 2006, imprisoned leaders of different factions jointly issued a "National Conciliation Document", or Prisoners' Document, calling for the reconciliation of the embattled Fatah and Hamas parties with a view to pursuing the common interest of all Palestinians.

1.7 Large-scale context and small-scale context

This chapter aimed to provide a brief account of the relevant characteristics of the context of language practices documented in this study, but also sought to give a sense of the atmosphere in the camps where the fieldwork was conducted. The camp residents are intimately aware of all the external factors described here, which they face as realities that are to be negotiated, accommodated and

challenged, and conceptualised through ideologies, a model explored in chapter 5 of this thesis.

These ideologies, it will be argued, articulate with particular linguistic practices, including borrowing from Hebrew, instances of which will be explored in chapters 3 and 4. Meanwhile, this description of the large-scale context must be supplemented by an account of the interpersonal, immediate, “small-scale” context of the fieldwork in the next chapter, chapter 2, in order to complete the setting for the linguistic practices.

Chapter 2: Interpersonal context

A constant throughout most of the interviews conducted for the fieldwork was my presence: a 27-year-old female student at Oxford University with fluent knowledge of Palestinian Arabic and modern Hebrew. By choice of attire and by accent, I could “pass for” an Arab, or a person with Arabic background, some of the time. (It has also happened that Israelis thought that I was a new Jewish immigrant to Israel. This is because Arabs and Israelis come in a wide spectrum of looks, and because my appearance is usefully unremarkable.) I mention these elements of my personal profile because they are relevant to the linguistic behaviour in the encounters I observed and recorded. This has also been the case during my previous stays in the region, be they for academic or work purposes, despite my not having any direct family connections with the region.

Another constant in the interviews was a degree of awareness of political realities and cultural norms, gained during years of living in the region, which constrained my behaviour. The political and social situation in the refugee camps is delicate, to put it mildly, as outlined in chapter 1. I inevitably appeared naïve to the people I spoke with, though I would like to think that I appeared to be more naïve than I in fact was. To a certain extent I cultivated this appearance in order to permit myself to ask obvious and simple questions about daily life that, I hoped, would elicit Hebrew terms.

In this chapter, after laying out the theoretical basis for countering the “observer's paradox”, I will first examine the constraints imposed by my own and my interviewees' awareness of gender and age norms in Palestinian society. Then I will note the effect my foreign nationality could have had on the

behaviour of the respondents. Thirdly, I will describe how the manner in which I was introduced in the different refugee camps affected how the participants perceived the situation and therefore how they reacted to it. The rest of the chapter will look at the constraints imposed by the taboo status of Hebrew, on an abstract level, in the current political climate. Throughout, I will show what tactics I used to bypass these constraints and what other solutions might be available for taking these constraints into account when studying the data. By necessity I must assume that were the research done by someone else, the results would be different (Nelde 1997) though I have the temerity to submit that the patterns emerging from the results would not contradict my findings.

At the outset I would like to state that all the people I asked to interview were cooperative, hospitable and willing to help, and for that I am grateful. However, it quickly became clear that some were less comfortable with the situation than others, and I feared that this would prevent me from recording the linguistic phenomenon I was looking for: incidents of Hebrew borrowings. Formality of speech negatively correlates with Hebrew borrowings. If the respondents understood the situation to require formal speech, and if they possessed the linguistic resources to produce it, they would do so initially. This would take the form of Palestinian-accented modern educated Arabic. After a few minutes most would realise that my own speech was very informal and they would match it for reasons of convenience and accommodation. However, even those who did maintain a degree of formality until the end of the interview did use some Hebrew borrowings.

2.1 The observer's paradox

2.1.1 Positivism: the researcher is an objective "fly on the wall"

Sociolinguistic research methods have evolved since the early positivist days of William Labov's

pioneering work in New York, in which he studied the independent structures (class, sex, age)

functioning as constraints on language use. In this conceptualisation, it is necessary for the observer

to be self-effacing. S/he must stand outside the equation to be able to observe it from a neutral

perspective. Lesley Milroy notes the advantages of network analysis in attenuating the effects of the

"observer's paradox", since the researcher can achieve acceptance by the network when she enters

its system of reciprocal obligations (Milroy 1980: 69). Once accepted, she can sit quietly in the

kitchens of her objects of study without interfering with their "natural" speech in the way interviews do

(Hamer 2003; Milroy 1980: 40).

Class was the first social category William Labov employed to correlate with patterns of language

variation (Labov 1966; Labov 2001). His enterprise aimed to broaden the sphere of explanation in

structuralist linguistics for rules that govern markers in codes from the purely linguistic sphere to the

social. Staying within structuralism led him to visualise class as an external social structure

constraining language use; a structure that was objectively identifiable by the social scientist. The

definition used to identify class structure is, for Labov, based on measurable characteristics of

speakers: their income, the value of their property, their occupation and the number of years of

education. Others followed Labov with similar definitions to delineate a society where wealth,

education and status accrue at the top of a more-or-less pyramid-shaped structure. The scientist,

from his vantage point, can arbitrarily set, for instance, three cut-off points to divide the pyramid into four classes, named, for instance, middle middle class, lower middle class, upper lower class and lower lower class. Crucially, as Labov's research and variationist linguistics has developed in English-speaking countries, the top layers of this structure are also associated with standard forms of English, and lower layers are assumed to aspire upwards. This is demonstrated in the progression to more standard variants as the respondents speak more carefully, and in the case of speakers from the middle range of classes (lower middle and upper lower), in the crossover graph. These features are explained by 'hypercorrection': the idea that lower middle and upper lower classes produce, in careful speech, more middle class variants than the middle class itself (Labov 2001). These approaches are typical of positivism, or empiricism, the companion of quantitative studies, which has encountered difficulties in its applicability.

Certain aspects of social network analysis can be taken to construct a rather different method. In other studies, for instance in Martha's Vineyard, Labov relied on the implications of group identity rather than class, bringing this research closer to ethnography (Labov 1963). Milroy does acknowledge her sources in the area of ethnography, such as the work of Dell Hymes (Gumperz and Hymes 1972; Milroy 1980: 32). She has suggested that macro-social class structure is too distant from the locus of speech to impinge on it (Milroy 1980: 14). She proposed social network density and multiplexity as an alternative quantifiable correlate of language use with identity of outsider and insider in relation to the network. When speakers live in a close-knit community, which is called a

“dense and multiplex network”, the manner of speech of that community will impinge very strongly on the individuals in it. “Dense” means that everybody knows everybody else in the network, and “multiplex” means that they know each other in a variety of roles: neighbours might also be brothers and co-workers, for instance. In a more open network the speech of individuals can be influenced by diverse factors from outside the community. Her studies were based on fieldwork in Belfast in three neighbourhoods so deprived that they were, according to her account, outside the dynamics of status class (Milroy 1980: 40, 75). Despite her alternative approach, which is reflected in the sampling method based on personal relations of respondents, she still treats social formations as external constraints on language. The role of the researcher is to define them, identify them, observe them and record them discreetly and objectively so as to minimise researcher interference in the data thus collected (Hamer 2003). Susan Gal (1979) equally draws on Hymes and calls for an “ethnography of speaking” (Gal 1979: 4). One of the advantages of this approach is that it admits that since the researcher is inevitably part of the study, the “observer’s paradox” is eliminated. Any mode of speech that the speaker deems appropriate for the occasion is “natural” (Gal 1979: 9). This assertion undermines the basic tenets of the positivist method. This would mean that despite “social network analysis” lending itself to positivist science, where networks are viewed as objective constraints on language usage, it can also be used in an ethnographic way that explores the agents’ life-world from the perspective of agents themselves, that puts emphasis on agents’ immediate experience, agents’ network, and how agents make sense of it through relationships and identities performed in interactions.

2.1.2 Accommodation theory: the tendency to focus on individual instances

“We do not necessarily adapt to the style of our interlocutor, but rather to the image we have of ourselves in relation to our interlocutor.” (Le Page 1997: 28) Being aware of how my age, sex and foreignness impacted on what language my respondents, endowed with agency, deemed appropriate for the occasion as they understood it can help avoid the pitfalls of untrue generalisations. The awareness itself, however, cannot be used as an excuse, a caveat, while otherwise applying a basically positivist method. There is a thin line between constructed patterns and untrue generalisations. Accommodation theory would have it that speakers converge or diverge depending on whether the interaction is polite or hostile, or whether they want to project an image of authenticity or to pander to the interlocutor by sounding like him or her in a patronising manner (Giles and Smith 1979). Giving overriding consideration to speakers' agency in individual interactions brings with it the danger of slipping into “occasionism”, warns Pierre Bourdieu (Myles 1999: 879). The concern ethnography shows for the immediate experience of agents (the “occasion”) denies the importance of the social space that is not contained within that immediacy. I will discuss the ramifications of the conflicting theories in more detail in chapter 5.

2.1.3 Fieldwork in practice: a compromise between participating agent and detached observer

During my fieldwork, for better or worse, I was acutely aware of the observer's paradox, rephrased perhaps as “speakers' accommodating agency”, because my aim was not simply to record whatever

speech was spontaneously produced on each occasion; rather, I was looking for Hebrew borrowings.

By necessity I had to be aware of my identity and how the speakers adapted to it by (linguistically)

projecting an image of themselves in relation to me, following Le Page's principle quoted above. With

this in mind, I had to devise tactics with whatever little agency I had: by controlling my behaviour

outside the immediacy of the "occasion" of the interview, choosing how I was introduced, to whom

and by whom, and by deciding what questions to ask and how to react to the answers. On the other

hand, my mentioning in the introduction that my appearance is unremarkable is an indication that I

consider this to be an advantageous step towards the self-effacement prized by the much-maligned

positivist researchers. The way I dressed, my respect for norms of politeness and decency, and my

pragmatic competence in Palestinian Arabic were all elements of my trying to blend in unobtrusively.

In Shuafat refugee camp, I spent considerable resources ingratiating myself in local networks,

following Milroy's example in the hope that it would mitigate the observer's paradox: I volunteered for

an NGO and taught English at the primary school. I didn't want my particular agency to be so

significant that it would produce idiosyncratic speech, incomparable to speech in other circumstances:

I wanted to elicit Hebrew borrowings in a "natural" way, so that generalisations could be extrapolated.

This "naturalness" is an illusion. Peter Nelde showed in a 1997 study of the bilingual Belgian town of

Arlon that depending on how different researchers dressed, behaved and spoke, they found that

residents spoke either German or French. However, there are observable patterns to the interactions,

albeit with exceptions, which I will now proceed to outline, based on the evidence from my fieldwork.

Their plausibility will be judged by readers with experience in the field.

2.2 A personal account of patterns of interactions

2.2.1 Women of the middle generation (1967 generation)

Women, in general, were more at ease with me than men. Yet they were also more nervous than men about being recorded on tape. In the order from most reticent to most open I will list women of the middle generation (who knew 1967), then the eldest generation (who knew 1948) and finally the most open were the youngest (who grew up during the first and second intifadas). See the Introduction, section 0.1, for the reasoning behind the delimiting of generations in this manner. Middle-generation women in particular joked with me and chatted, and generally took me under their wing until I switched the voice recorder on: then their answers would be short and formal. Towards the end of my research I despaired of ever recording a middle-aged woman using Hebrew borrowings and by the time I reached Tulkarem refugee camp (the last of the three that I visited), I relied more on carefully noted observations. There is one exception to this pattern, the speech of U.A. in Dheisheh refugee camp, which I will discuss as an extraordinary performance in more detail in 4.2.2.

2.2.2 Women of the eldest generation (1948 generation)

I was always introduced to women in the eldest generation by their sons, and this constituted a certain stamp of approval, enabling them to talk with me at ease. Because of the value generally attributed to the story of dispossession in the Palestinian national mythology, the women were proud to transmit their personal story to someone with an interest. They interpreted the situation in such a

way that required them to perform the identity of authentic Palestinian refugee suffering. I do not doubt the authenticity of their story and the hardships they suffered. However, this was not a situation conducive to recording Hebrew borrowings, but there was little I could do about it, because the stage was set by the sons, who remained present, and my challenging the setting would cause offence, since it could be seen as my challenging the value of the refugees' story. In other settings in the course of a casual conversation and an interview, women of this generation did use Hebrew borrowings, following similar patterns to everyone else (as discussed in 4.3.4).

2.2.3 Women of the intifada generation

Young women befriended me easily and talked confidently even with the voice recorder on, whether alone or in the presence of their husband or older women, and, depending on the relationship, sometimes also in the presence of their father. My being a young woman like them made it possible, even desirable, for them especially to explain everything I wished to know, with authority that took precedence over the priority normally attributed to men and to older people. Young women in all three camps are generally better educated than their male counterparts (and better than their mothers or grandmothers), and so they could also identify with me and my requirements as a student. Being educated, except if they were educated in Hebrew, which was the case for some in Shuafat refugee camp, gave them access to more formal Arabic, and jobs in the Palestinian economy that did not require Hebrew, therefore their use of Hebrew borrowings was minimal compared to the other groups. In their presence it was permissible for me to interview their husbands and brothers: the category of

young men that I had least access to, as will be described below.

2.2.4 Men of the 1967 generation

Men resolved the awkwardness of my gender and age in various ways. I believe the awkwardness for men of the two older generations would be present to some degree in most cultures, and so perhaps needs less explaining here. It is the awkwardness of an older man having to submit to a situation – the interview – which is controlled by the younger woman, when the usual template for such relations demands the opposite vectors of power relations. All the middle-generation Palestinian men in the three refugee camps without exception resolved this by ignoring my age and gender and concentrating on my qualifications as a researcher. They appreciated receiving my business card and noted my connection to Oxford University. They were comfortable with the situation defined as an academic research interview (and so was I) and answered my questions helpfully, politely and with respect. They tended towards formality initially but if their character allowed it, would relax after a few minutes.

2.2.5 Men of the 1948 generation

Rather, I should write “a man of the 1948 generation”, as I was only able to interview one, A.M. in Tulkarem refugee camp. Men do, after all, die younger. A.M., however, was worth a whole legion of others. He delivered a passionate three-hour lecture on history and an account of his refugee experience. As described in the section above regarding women of the 1948 generation, this was not

fertile ground for Hebrew borrowings, but I dared not interrupt him, and rather let my appreciation of his story and his presentation of it take precedence over my academic needs. When his wife pleaded with him to let me go, as I was tired and hungry, he exclaimed “No! I will not let her go! We were also tired and hungry. She should hear it.” Eventually he did cook supper for me. The minute I turned off the voice recorder and sat at the table, the situation changed, and he did share an anecdote including Hebrew terms (see 4.3.4). This confirmed my assessment that it was the situation that precluded Hebrew borrowings rather than simply his age and life experience.

2.2.6 Men of the intifada generation

As intimated above, of all the age and sex groups I unfortunately had least access to young men because of cultural norms governing gender behaviour. In order to maintain access to all the other groups, I had to conduct myself with a modicum of respectability, and for that to be the case nothing mattered as much as my behaviour around young men. Oxford University, modest attire, and general politeness could all be jettisoned if I were seen in a café alone with a Palestinian man who was not my husband. I risked it three times, but the young men in question looked so ill at ease with the situation that the experiment did not work. The combination of being in a café with a young woman, and my not behaving like the kind of woman who hangs out in a café with strange men (since I wanted to pay for my own consumption and asked questions about their jobs and politics), was too stressful for them. My and their awareness of the social codes regulating our interaction made relaxed conversation possible only in the most exceptional cases. I was able to talk to a number of young men

under the supervision of their sisters and wives who were my friends. This was not relaxing either: the men's responses were often short and factual, though one or two exceptions will be analysed in chapters 3 and 4. I experimented with abandoning the voice recorder in favour of note-taking after the interview. This sometimes brought results. Finally I delegated the recording of five interviews in Dheisheh refugee camp (out of ten at that location) to a male friend because I hoped that some young men would find it preferable to be interviewed by a man. These recordings turned out to be very formal, as my friend and his respondents strove to satisfy my requirement for precise, "scientific" answers. This is how they interpreted what would be useful in an academic study, but it was the opposite of what I needed.

I will illustrate the dilemma by recounting an emblematic soirée with two young men from Shuafat refugee camp. I was meeting B.N., a youth organiser in the camp whom I had previously heard speaking Hebrew in an ironic way (described in 4.4), at a downtown East Jerusalem café. He brought his friend M.X. along. We had planned to discuss how B.N. could facilitate some interviews with men from his youth group. B.N. asked whether I would mind if M.X. sat with us while we spoke about these work matters; they were on their way to a night out in Israel. M.X. also came from Shuafat refugee camp. He was 19, sported long hair tied at the back and had been working for three years in the southern Israeli town of Eilat for his brother's home decorating firm. When I asked about his job, he answered with a Hebrew term for "home decorating", *šiputsim*: *ana baštġel šiputsim* (I work as a home decorator). I was delighted: of course M.X. could sit with us. He was clearly the person I

needed to record. We ordered lemonade and waterpipes, but I was not offered one of the latter, because it was assumed that people like me do not smoke. M.X. started to chat with B.N. about their plans for the evening; he was using Hebrew terms for “dance club”, *mo’adon*, “gas station”, *taxanat dēlek*, and more that I could not catch because he was ignoring me, sitting at the other end of the table. B.N. started to make panicky gestures at M.X., indicating that he should be quiet and act politely with me, because I was a proper, serious researcher from Oxford, not some woman that you pick up in a café. How I wished that I could transform my identity in a flash and become the kind of “girl” that one bought drinks for and never engaged with in conversation, conversation replete with Hebrew borrowings. B.N. was embarrassed by M.X.’s behaviour, and eventually managed to make the situation – as he wished to manipulate it – understood to his friend, so that the poor man did not speak spontaneously for the rest of the evening, only politely answering my questions about Eilat. As we were leaving I thanked M.X. for paying for my lemonade and he summoned from the depths of his reserves of politeness the rather formal phrase *wala šukr ‘ala wājib* (literally “there is no thanks for an obligation”). After such efforts to make our interaction respectable, I could not invite myself to the dance club, the ultimate fall from respectability. There are limits to what my agency could achieve in terms of controlling and projecting a self-image useful for the research.

2.3 A foreign researcher: a relative advantage

Being a foreigner made it possible for me to ask questions that a Palestinian would be assumed to know the answers to. Some of the questions relating to details of tools or work clothes, permits and

transport did seem strange when much more pressing issues to discuss offered themselves: news of nightly army raids and arrests and water shortages. While not ignoring these, I tried to steer the conversation to topics where Hebrew borrowings were most common, which, as observed, were interview topics related to work in Israel, more rarely to prison time served in Israel, and, in Shuafat refugee camp which is administratively part of Jerusalem, to social services. I could steer the conversation in these directions because as a foreigner, I was evidently ignorant of the ways of their world. A Palestinian in my situation would lose face if he or she were found to be uninformed of these matters. Other incidents of Hebrew – when it is used as slang or ironically – were impossible for me to set the stage for in an interview. These were observed during casual conversations in which I was a participant.

Another advantage to being a foreigner was my relative independence from political groups and familial affiliations that allowed me to talk to anybody I was introduced to without prejudice. A Palestinian researcher in my position would normally identify him- or herself in terms of family connections and a question mark would be raised with regards to his or her political leanings (Nashif 2008: 2-3). This caution has been learnt from years of Israeli intelligence relying on Palestinian informants to identify targets for arrests or killings, and more recently since the Palestinian Authority's crackdown on supporters of Islamist groups.

Being a foreigner also softened the rules governing my gender behaviour. Professional Palestinian women are not uncommon, and they are valued in society, but their behaviour with regards to relations with men is often controlled by relatives. A foreign woman is thought to lack the family

backing that would control her behaviour or discipline others who might infringe the norms ensuring the woman's respectability. Rarely, I would be asked whether I was married and whether I have brothers. I knew that this was actually a question, again, about my respectability. I happen to possess a husband and two brothers: I deployed these three men, though many miles away, to defend my reputation. Little do they know that they have been invoked to threaten to wreak revenge on any man who would dare ask for my telephone number in a non-professional context. This also was one of the tactics I used to conform to established norms in the society where I was a guest, while gaining the trust of the respondents concerned about maintaining our interaction on a respectable level.

Palestinian women themselves know best how to challenge the already fluid gender norms that limit their achievements, and so I was not anxious that my conformity would sabotage Arab women's efforts towards emancipation from familial control.

Foreigners who work in NGOs or as volunteers who broadly support Palestinian rights are a common sight in the Occupied Palestinian Territories, and it was assumed that I resembled this relatively harmless crowd. Most of these foreigners, however, do not speak much Arabic: this was possibly the one disadvantage of being identified as one of them. Shopkeepers and taxi drivers would regularly refuse to accept that a foreign customer could speak Arabic, possibly because speaking Arabic meant that I could drive a better bargain. Yet in an interview context, where the respondents felt more comfortable expressing themselves in their mother tongue, it took just a few minutes' conversation to reassure them that I could understand everything they said. Moreover, I was usually introduced with a half-sentence along the lines of, *btiḥki 'arabi 'ādi, zayyi zayyak* ("she speaks Arabic normally, like you

and me"). Nota bene: throughout this thesis, *btiḥki* ("she speaks") and similar verbs that are written with a final "weak vowel" in Arabic, such as *štara* ("he bought") will not be transcribed with a prolonged final vowel. This transcription corresponds to how the speech is pronounced as distinct from when these verbs take a direct object, as in *štarā* ("he bought it"); see the Introduction for transcription details.

2.4 How to enter the camps and meet people: the importance of introductions

In each camp I tried to establish at least two points of entry in order to avoid being associated only with one family or one political grouping, lending themselves only to one network, which might yield misleading results. I also feared that linking myself only to one network would offend the others and as a consequence pose a risk to my presence in the camps. I was concerned to show that I was simply interested in meeting people and conducting interviews, and that I did not have an agenda to support one or another side in any internal camp rivalries. These considerations are linked to the social realities in the camps, which are described in detail in chapter 1. In hindsight it became clear that some of the contacts who served as entry points into the camps were much more concerned than others that I was exposed to the "right kind" of political message, and chose whom to introduce me to according to their political leanings. Ultimately, this did not particularly bother me as my research did not involve conducting a political opinion survey, but confirmed my view that it was important to approach the camps from several sides. As long as I was able to speak to workers, whether they identified with the nationalist or the socialist movements was not relevant. I was not once introduced

to anyone associated with islamist movements. I assumed this was because islamists, who are forced to keep a low profile in the West Bank where they are in opposition to the governing nationalists, were wary of speaking to an unknown foreigner.

Entering the political minefield of the camps requires much caution: there is no politically neutral ground and so there is no alternative to braving it. I cringe to think of the mistakes I made, especially in the first camp I visited, Shuafat refugee camp. Yet I do not have such an inflated view of my own importance to think that my actions continued to have negative repercussions after I left. In the future, were I to conduct research there again, I would try to concentrate more on exploiting family connections rather than professional organisational or party political contacts, because families can encompass more than one political view, more than one age group and of course, both men and women. Another possibility would be to accost people randomly at routes leading from the workplaces, like buses or queues at checkpoints. Another option would be to meet people at hairdressers, one of the public spaces where women socialise. The equivalent for men might be the mosque or certain shops to which, as a woman, I would not have access.

2.4.1 Shuafat refugee camp

Shuafat refugee camp, which I visited first, spent the most time in and where the use of Hebrew borrowings turned out to be most interesting, was also perhaps the trickiest to enter. It has the reputation of being a rough place, supposedly replete with drugs and criminal violence. Some of my acquaintances through whom I tried to gain a contact in the camp tried to dissuade me from

embarking on the project. Eventually my Arabic teacher remembered that her son had volunteered in a clinic in the camp and gave me the number of a doctor there. S.T. is the director of a physiotherapy clinic in the camp, and widely respected there. Through his connections and members of the clinic's staff I was able to conduct interviews. In return, I helped edit English language funding applications. The clinic building also housed a youth centre where I made useful contacts, for instance with B.N., mentioned above in section 2.2.6. The clinic was loosely associated with the Palestinian nationalist movement.

My second entry point was the boys' primary school where I arranged to teach English to students after regular class hours. I befriended an English teacher, S.X., whose wife facilitated more interviews with her family. This couple was known to be members of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP).

Finally, I paid courtesy visits to the head of the UN Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) office in the camp and to the chairman of the Local Services Committee, K.D.. Since these two contacts did not help with arranging interviews, and embroiled me too much in camp politics for my liking, I subsequently avoided such meetings, though I cannot deny that the experience taught me a lesson.

The head of the UNRWA in Shuafat refugee camp was despised by all prominent organisers who were seeking to improve the conditions in the camp: UNRWA had not been capable of running the waste collection, which is administratively the responsibility of the Jerusalem Municipality, but in practice is expected to be carried out by UNRWA. This had led to serious sanitation hazards. The only purpose of my visiting the head of UNRWA, I was told by friends at the physiotherapy clinic,

should have been to protest against these hazards. K.D., on the other hand, introduced me to politicians in the camp in an effort to raise his own status in their eyes. Mistakenly thinking that I could be useful in promoting Palestinian politicians abroad, he “showed me off” as a prize contact. I fell for his little scheme unawares.

2.4.2 Dheisheh refugee camp

Dheisheh refugee camp has the reputation of being a well-run, welcoming refugee camp. I had previously lived for a year in Bethlehem, which is adjacent to Dheisheh refugee camp, and so felt comfortable there. I already knew young people living in the camp. One of them, a young professional woman who works in a diabetes support centre, made interviews possible with working women from the camp. Another point of entry was a friend in London who put me in touch with two activists in the camp: one, A.A., associated with the PFLP and the other, M.Q., with a Palestinian-Israeli peace organisation. These two contacts introduced me to the camp without my having to court the official powers. As mentioned in 2.2.6, I delegated the conducting of interviews with young men in the camp to a friend.

2.4.3 Tulkarem refugee camp

I had not originally planned to visit Tulkarem, but a chance encounter in Shuafat refugee camp changed my mind. A foreign volunteer for the Ecumenical Accompaniment Programme in Palestine and Israel (EAPPI), a church organisation that acts as a witness to human rights violations, had been

protesting against a house demolition next to Shuafat refugee camp, and came into the physiotherapy clinic on his way back to Jerusalem. He informed me that the EAPPI fields a team in Tulkarem, and gave me the telephone numbers to get in touch with them. Independently, a Palestinian friend from Ramallah told me that in his experience, Palestinians in the northwest of the West Bank use many Hebrew borrowings. The EAPPI team in Tulkarem gave me the telephone number of a local Palestinian woman, S.A., who became my host, guide and friend in the refugee camp. She was a member of a cultural club at the edge of the camp that was loosely associated with the PFLP. Through her, I met people in the camp who were happy to be interviewed, including staff and participants at the sports club and the women's centre, which were linked to the Fatah (Palestinian Liberation Movement) nationalist party. With her I also stopped and questioned workers coming out of the nearby Israeli-run settlement industrial zone Geshuri. Another fruitful terrain was a women's hairdresser, where I spent several hours with a group of women.

My second point of entry was the contact of a fellow student from SOAS at the University of London who was researching for a PhD on Palestinian peace organisations. She introduced me to N.S., who is active in Combatants for Peace, and had previously been a commander in the Fatah armed wing. He arranged interviews with men in the camp, who appeared all to be members of the Fatah party and were awed by my introduction from the former commander himself.

2.5 "Don't mention the war": eliciting Hebrew without speaking Hebrew

Because speech is sensitive to awareness of the interlocutor's expectations, in accordance with

accommodation theory, it is acceptable sociolinguistic practice to disguise the real purpose of the interview in order to be able to, hopefully, record the desired linguistic phenomenon. Moreover, nationalist attitudes to Hebrew (as will be examined in 5.2.1) make the mention of its use by Palestinians somewhat taboo. Thirdly, I did not want to draw attention to the fact that I speak Hebrew, as this would raise a very risky question regarding my trustworthiness: I could be mistaken for an Israeli or a spy for the Israeli enemy. I imagine, as it has never happened to me, that if one were thought to be an Israeli, one would have to go to great lengths to prove that one is harmless, not associated with the military, the government or the secret services, but rather on the contrary that one supports Palestinian rights. In line with this premonition, when asked whether I knew Hebrew, I replied that I had picked up the language during my stays in the region. The stated purpose of my research was to “study how life in the refugee camps had changed economically, socially and linguistically over three generations”.

This, of course, posed a problem for the interviews. I cannot prove a negative, that is, that the respondents politely avoided Hebrew terms that they thought I would not have understood and that they had no idea I was in fact looking for. On many occasions, when they did use Hebrew, they would make an effort to translate it for me, searching for the Arabic equivalent. Sometimes this required extensive mental probing: one young man in Shuafat refugee camp, O.R., was listing to me how Israeli co-workers at his job benefited from privileges that he did not have, such as air conditioning, for which he used the Hebrew *mazgan*. He then racked his brains for the Arabic, eventually coming up

with *il-hawa il-bārid*, which means “cold air”. He could not recall the Arabic for “air conditioning”, *mukayyaf*. On such occasions I used a nod of the head to indicate that I did understand, and that there was no need to translate. I cannot rule out the possibility that, because the respondents adapted to my presumed lack of Hebrew by translating borrowings into Arabic, some of them chose Arabic terms over Hebrew borrowings, which they would have used if speaking to someone else, for the purpose of polite accommodation. Once a Hebrew word was used by the interviewee, I considered it “available” for me to repeat, leading to more Hebrew use. Finally, there are some – very few – Hebrew terms that are assumed to be commonly known, as they are the unmarked variety when given a choice between Arabic and Hebrew. The most widespread of these is *maḥsūm*, meaning “checkpoint”. Less common is *menahēl*, meaning “boss”, also used in an ironic sense. More will be said about these unmarked borrowings in chapters 3 and 4.

2.6 Conclusion regarding the effect of this particular interviewer on the study: a minimal picture of Hebrew borrowings

I have listed here how various aspects of my projected image in the situation of the interviews, and the manner in which I conducted the interviews, affected the responses of the interviewees. I first analysed these effects with regards to my age and gender, and the age and gender of the respondents, in the context of social norms governing interaction between men and women and older and younger people. It appeared that young women were most ready to cooperate with me, yet this was one of the groups less likely to use Hebrew borrowings. Secondly, I showed that my being a foreigner did not have a significant effect on the results of the interviews, but made it easier to justify

the way I conducted them. In the third section I examined how my contacts and introductions in the camps hampered and aided my fieldwork, and suggested ways of making networking smoother in future studies. However, I assessed that political pitfalls in the camps did not seriously affect the results of the interviews, which did not seek political information. Finally, I exposed how the taboo status of Hebrew use, and my efforts to disguise the true purpose of my study, might have caused the respondents to avoid using Hebrew borrowings in conversations with me.

Taken together, these elements point to the possibility that the picture of Hebrew borrowings in Palestinian Arabic that I can paint with the evidence I have gathered could underestimate the spread of Hebrew borrowings in the refugee camps. This research could not have been different, as long as it was conducted by myself, in the circumstances that I found myself in: my identity and the ways I performed it in interactions with the people I met made these results appropriate.

Moving away from the quantitative assessment of whether the study found insufficient instances of Hebrew borrowings or whether one sex-age group uses more Hebrew than another, I propose to classify the Hebrew borrowings qualitatively according to area of contact with Israelis and functionality. After all, everyone used at least a few Hebrew borrowings; the subject of chapters 3 and 4 will be to determine what Hebrew is used to talk about and for what purpose. The data gathered leads me to a qualitative analysis based on identifying patterns of interactions in their social settings. The data sample is both too small, for the reasons described above, and too varied, as will be seen in subsequent chapters, for a quantitative analysis to be viable.

Chapter 3: Patterns of lexical borrowing: By type of contact

3.1 Contact between Israelis and Palestinians in the context of the economy and the state

Building on the account of the political and economic contexts of the relationship between

Palestinians and Israelis in chapter 1, here I present Hebrew borrowings which provide evidence of a certain type of contact in these domains. The data leads towards a categorisation by contact situation.

Fieldwork interviews were able to elicit Hebrew borrowings when the questions turned towards any of

the Israeli-Palestinian contact situations listed in this chapter: Palestinian work in Israel; Israeli

products on the Palestinian market and technology introduced to Palestinians by Israelis; Israeli social

services provided to some Palestinians; and Israeli military procedures that restrict Palestinian

activities. To record such terms in interviews, for example, I asked workers about tools and working

conditions, and information regarding applications for work permits; I asked women about Israeli

social benefits available to residents of Jerusalem and about shopping preferences; and everybody

was ready to talk about travails of daily life under military occupation. This method could lead to a

circular, self-fulfilling, argument regarding the typology of borrowings but when corroborated by

participant observation (and years of learning the languages while living in the region) this

categorisation stands up.

Another method for eliciting Hebrew in interviews, inspired by Labov's strategy of asking about

personal and sometimes extreme experiences in New York to record "casual speech" (1966), was to

ask about work injuries, trouble in reaching the workplace, and disagreements with the employer.

Though “casual speech” is a category that has been criticised because the original study did not take account of the effect of the identity of the researcher on the speech of the respondents, I hoped that questions with emotional resonance would provoke lengthier answers with more lexical content, thus increasing the chances of recording Hebrew use, since the Hebrew borrowing observed is exclusively lexical. The data provides no evidence that emotional content or “casual speech” elicited in this way led to greater Hebrew use in the interview setting than did the simply information-seeking questions.

Some respondents did express surprise at my choice of topics. A construction worker, I.B. in Shuafat refugee camp, for instance, finished the interview in which, prompted by my questions, he had listed types of bolts and pipes that he had used in building projects by expressing disappointment that we had not even had the time to get around to talking about the problems of the camp. This was a manifestation of a common expectation among respondents, that my study of “economic, social and linguistic changes” in the camps, as I stated when introducing myself to interviewees, was primarily aimed at documenting the plight of the refugees. I did not contradict this expectation explicitly but tried to steer the conversation in the manners described above.

The respondents understood the interview, especially if it was recorded with the digital voice recorder, to be an information-providing exercise, from which I would distill the facts I needed for my study, despite their preconceptions about what my study was about. They politely strove to help me achieve this goal by relating both their personal experiences and how processes generally work in the Israeli-

controlled aspects of Palestinian life. If this was explained most conveniently by using a Hebrew term, they would do so, and if they thought I would not understand it, they would translate it. “Unmarked borrowing” is the term I give to a borrowing that, though of recent introduction, is not (or no longer) recognised as a foreign word, and so is not translated into Arabic for the benefit of interlocutors (such as myself) who are not expected to understand Hebrew. This terminology, which is convenient here, is inspired by the classification of marked and unmarked variants, usually of phonetic variables, in variationist sociolinguistics, whereby the marked variant is construed to be the phenomenon in need of explanation, as opposed to a norm in which the unmarked variants prevail. In this thesis, however, the meaning of “marked” as it is applied to lexical items denotes a borrowing which is consciously recognised to be of Hebrew provenance in ordinary Palestinian speech. Were the data gathered of sufficient volume, borrowed items could be systematically classified by their relative (phonetic, morphological) integration into Arabic. As is, the borrowings recorded occur in relatively infrequent instances and consequently the classification relies on observations of the practices in which Hebrew borrowings appear to be accepted by interlocutors and speakers as an unremarkable element of Palestinian speech. Such a classification is by necessity partly subjective.

This chapter will introduce Hebrew borrowings in their immediate context, classified by contact situation. Unmarked borrowings will be highlighted since it can be surmised that if the word is no longer regarded as foreign, it will be passed on in the speech of future generations of Palestinians in the Occupied Territories even if contact with Hebrew speakers further diminishes (see 5.3.1). It can

be said that the borrowings described below constitute part of the “optimal”, minimum level of Hebrew vocabulary found in daily Palestinian speech.

3.2 Contact setting: work

This section presents excerpts from recordings with workers talking about their jobs in Israel, and their immediate context. Most Palestinian workers from the West Bank who are employed in Israel work in two fields: construction and cleaning. These jobs are referred to by their Hebrew names, for which there are examples below: *binyan* for construction and *nekayōn* for cleaning; the Arabic equivalents to these are *buna* and *tanḡīf* respectively, which are also used.

In Shuafat refugee camp, M.A., a teacher in his fifties expressed his worry that if he did not manage to save for his son's university tuition fees, the son would have to work in cleaning or construction.

Researcher - Nancy (N):

inta	xāyif	inno	ibn-	ak	masalan	iza	mā	biṭla'	'a	jāmi'a	rāḥ	yištǧel?
you	worried	that	son	your	for example	if	not	go	to	university	will	work?

You are worried that your son, if he doesn't go to university for example, he will have to work?

M.A.:

rāḥ	yištǧil	bas	miš	rāḥ	yištǧil	iši	kweyyis.	ya'ni	biddu	yištǧil...
will	work	but	not	will	work	something	good.	mean	will	work...

fi	ṭ-	ṭandīf	aw	biddu	yištǧil	'āmil	baṭōn	fi	l-	buna
in	[def. art.]	cleaning	or	will	work	worker	cement	in	[def. art.]	construction

fi	l-	<u>binyan.</u>	law	hūwe	miš	šāṭir	miš	kweyyis	min'ūl	lāzem.
in	[def. art.]	<u>construction.</u>	if	he	not	clever	not	good	say [2 nd pers.plur.]	must.

He would have to work but not in a good job. He would have to work as a cleaner or as a cement

worker in construction, in construction. If he weren't clever, weren't good, we'd say he must.

In this excerpt of speech, M.A. seems to correct himself after using the Arabic term for construction by replacing it with the Hebrew borrowing. It can be interpreted that the Hebrew *binyan* is more precise, giving the additional information that his son would have to work as a construction worker in Israel specifically. In the 30-minute interview this was one of only two words that were uttered in Hebrew, the other being “checkpoint”, or *maḥsūm*.

At a Tulkarem refugee camp hairdresser’s shop, 50-year-old F.T. related her experience of working in Israel. She has been working on a flower farm on the Israeli side of the Green Line for 13 years. One other woman at the hairdresser’s had a similar experience of work in Israel, and sometimes nodded in agreement, though F.T. was the only one still working (in April 2008). The rest of the talking between the seven women present (including the researcher) consisted mostly of an unstructured conversation over a shared task of sorting out mint leaves into bunches for selling at the market. There were no Hebrew borrowings in the unstructured Arabic conversation. Because of previous unsuccessful experiences with using the voice recorder in interviews with women, here I relied on taking notes (see 2.2.1).

N:

ṣār	ʿindik	iṣābet	ʿamal?
happened	to you	injury	work?

Did you have a work injury?

F.T.:

la'	il-	ḥamdu	li-	l-	lāh.	bas	la-	waḥde	ṣaḥibt-	i	ā.
no	[def. art.]	praise	to	[def. art.]	god.	but	to	one	friend [fem.]	my	yes.

indabbat	'alē-	ha	il-	<u>ḥamemōt</u>	fa	injarḥat	īd-	ha.
fell [fem.]	on	her	[def. art.]	<u>greenhouses</u>	and	injured [fem.]	hand	her.

Thank god, no. But a friend of mine did. A greenhouse fell on her and her arm got injured.

N [overlapping with F.T.'s last word]:

ya	ḥarām.	dafa'ū-	l-	ha	ta'wīḍāt?
oh	sinful.	paid [3 rd pers. plur.]	to	her	compensation?

Oh no. Did they pay her compensation?

F.T:

ta'wīḍāt	la'	bas	axadū-	ha	li-	l-	'ilāj	jūwa
compensation	no	but	took [3 rd pers. plur.]	her	for	[def. art.]	treatment	inside

'ala	ḥsāb-	hum.
------	-------	------

on	account	their.
----	---------	--------

Not compensation but they took her for medical treatment inside Israel at their expense.

N:

bi-	balāš	ya'ni?
for	nothing	mean [3 rd pers. sing.]?

For free then?

F.T.:

biṭla'	li-	ḥsāb	fi	āxer	iš-	šahər	'ala	l-	<u>klūš.</u>
appears	[def. art.]	account	at	end	[def. art.]	month	on	[def. art.]	<u>payslip.</u>

The cost appears at the end of the month on the payslip.

The Hebrew borrowing for “payslip”, *klūš*, is only used in relation to officially regulated jobs in Israel or

in Israeli settlements. It is contrasted to unofficial jobs (on the black market), which are referred to as

tahrīb, or “smuggling”, as in *uxti btištġel jūwa tahrīb*, which can be translated idiomatically as “my

sister is smuggled inside Israel to work”. The *klūš* gives workers inside Israel rights and benefits

stipulated by law, such as paid leave. The Hebrew term used by Israelis for “payslip” is *tluš maskoret*,

literally “wage note”, which is sometimes shortened to *tluš*. Outside of this context, *tluš* means

“coupon”, a meaning which has not been borrowed into Palestinian Arabic. As observed, Palestinians

always pronounce it *k/ūš*. There is no linguistic constraint on the Palestinian pronunciation of initial cluster /tʃ/, therefore the rendition of /k/ is probably due to a mistaken perception of the sound that subsequently spread. After listing the benefits and perks (such as an annual employees' day trip) of her job on the farm, and mentioning that the owners of the farm were originally from Tunisia, shared breakfast with the workers and bought Palestinian products, F.T. concluded appreciatively *kul il-iḥtirām ilhum*, "they have all my admiration".

Twenty-two-year-old S.I. in Shuafat refugee camp compared wages earned in Israel to those in the West Bank, using the Hebrew borrowing *maskōret*, "wage".

S.I.:

miš	'ajb-	ak	šuḡul	il-	yahūd?	rūḥ	ištḡel	'ind	il-	'arab
not	like	you	work	[def. art.]	Jews?	go	work	at	[def. art.]	Arabs

u	xud	alf	u	xamas	mīt	šēkel	bi-	š-	šahar	il-	<u>maskōret.</u>
and	take	thousand	and	five	hundred	shekels	in	[def. art.]	month	[def. art.]	<u>wage.</u>

[The employer says] You don't like Israeli work? Go work for the Arabs and get one thousand five hundred shekels per month for your pay.

Also in Shuafat refugee camp, nineteen-year-old I.R. made arrangements with his friend and

colleague F.X., after I had finished interviewing them, regarding their next days of leave, referred to by the Hebrew *xōfeš*.

I.R. to F.X.:

ṭalabēt	yōmēn	<u>xōfeš</u>	min	yōm	il-	itnēn.	uṭlob	inte	kamān.
asked [1 st	two days	<u>leave</u>	from	day	[def. art.]	two.	ask [imp.]	you	also.
pers.sing.]									

I asked for two days of leave from Monday. Ask for the same.

In Tulkarem, by the entrance to the settlement industrial centre known as Geshuri, my host S.A. and I met an approximately 40-year-old worker, X.X, whom we accosted in the street. I was able to question him briefly about his job in the paint factory that is part of the complex.

N:

kīf	ir-	rātib?
how	[def. art.]	wage?

How's the pay?

X.X.:

wallāhi,	hassa	māši.	hassa.
----------	-------	-------	--------

I swear,	now	walks.	now.
----------	-----	--------	------

Well, now it's ok. Now.

N:

kān	aswa'?
was	worse?

It was worse?

X.X.:

kān	taḥt	il-	ḥadd	il-	'adna.	fa	aḍrabna.	mā	sme'tūš?
was	below	[def. art.]	limit	[def. art.]	lowest.	so	went on strike	not	heard [2 nd pers.
							[1 st pers. plur.].		plur.]?

It was below the minimum wage. So we went on strike. Haven't you heard?

N:

fa	fuztu...
and	won... [2 nd pers. plur.]

And you won...

X.X.:

ā.	fa	tadaxxalat	il-	<u>lēška</u>	u	ṭalabat	rātib	qānūni.
yup.	and	intervened	[def. art.]	<u>office</u>	and	demanded	wage	legal.
		[fem. sing.]				[fem. sing.]		

fi	l-	mufāwaḍāt	ma'	il-	<u>manahīl.</u>
in	[def. art.]	negotiations	with	[def. art.]	<u>bosses.</u>

Yup. And the office intervened and demanded legal wages. In the negotiations with the bosses.

The Hebrew for “office”, or “bureau”, pronounced *liška* by Israelis and *lēška* by Palestinians (bold lettering indicates stress), refers to a body at the Israeli Ministry of Industry, Trade and Labour. This Ministry is responsible for the enforcement of workers’ rights according to the laws that govern them.

Another male worker, 20-year-old X.Y., whom we also met at the exit from the Geshuri factory, approached S.A. and myself in Hebrew.

X.Y.:

ken?

yes?

S.A.:

s-salāmu	'aleykum.	lēš	il-	'ibri?	iḥna	'arab.
peace	on you.	why	[def. art.]	Hebrew?	we	Arabs.

Hello. Why the Hebrew? We are Arabs.

X.Y. [unapologetically]:

fakkart-	ku	min	il-	<u>lēška,</u>	ma	<u>lēška.</u>
thought [1 st pers. sing.]	you [plur.]	from	[def. art.]	<u>office,</u>	[whatever]	<u>office.</u>

lissa	mā	ijat	'indna.
yet	not	came [fem. sing.]	to us.

I thought you were from the office, or whatever. It hasn't come around to us yet.

N [introduces herself and her study and asks for permission to ask questions.]:

il-	<u>lēška</u>	hāy,	lēš	mā	ijat	'indku?
[def. art.]	<u>office</u>	this,	why	not	came [fem. sing.]	to you?

This office, why hasn't it come to you?

X.Y.:

miš	'āref.	jāyye	'ašān	il-	iḍrāb.
not	knowing [1 st pers. sing.].	coming [fem. sing.]	because	[def. art.]	strike.

I don't know. It's coming because of the strike.

N:

inte	fi	gešūri	bardo?	ayye	maṣna'?
you	in	Geshuri	too?	which	factory?

You are also working at Geshuri? Which factory?

X.Y.:

maṣna'	i'māš.	bidfa'u	'ašara	šēkel	'a	sē'a.
factory	cloth.	pay [3 rd pers. plur.]	ten	shekel	on	hour.

At the cloth factory. They pay ten shekels per hour.

N:

šū	anwā'	il-	i'māš	illi	biṣna'ū?
what	types	[def. art.]	cloth	that	manufacture [3 rd pers. plur.]?

What types of cloth do they manufacture?

X.Y.:

anwā'	ktīr,	ḥasab	iṭ-	ṭalabāt.
types	many.	depending	[def. art.]	orders.

Many types, depending on the orders.

N:

it-	tijāra	māšiye?	šū	iṭ-	ṭalabāt?
[def. art.]	business	going?	what	[def. art.]	orders?

Business is going well? What are the orders?

X.Y.:

fī	ṭalabāt	min	kul	il-	'ālam,	masalan	maṣr.
there are	orders	from	whole	[def. art.]	world,	for instance	Egypt.

bištru	lāykra,	alfēn	šēkel	il-	<u>glil.</u>
buy [3 rd pers. plur.]	lycra,	two thousand	shekel	[def. art.]	<u>roll.</u>

The orders come in from all over the world, for instance from Egypt. They buy Lycra at two thousand shekels per roll.

Prompted by S.A.'s questions, X.Y. admitted that he was saving up for a wedding, upon which S.A. scolded him, saying that he was too young for that and should pursue his studies. He shrugged. S.A. evidently volunteered her own questions because she found my enquiries about types of cloth, inter alia, unsatisfactory; she expected me to probe the injustices of the "colonial industrial complex", as

she would call it. Instead, the interview transcribed above demonstrates the extensive questioning regarding details of industrial production needed to elicit just one borrowing associated with the workplace: *glil*, a Hebrew term for cylinder or roll. Possibly, if X.Y. were talking with someone with whom it would be more natural to discuss manufacturing processes in detail (another worker, for instance), occurrences of Hebrew borrowing would be more frequent.

3.2.1 Tools

The Hebrew for greenhouses, pronounced by Palestinians *ḥamemōt*, and *glil*, meaning cylinder or roll, are just two technical terms borrowed from Hebrew for which I have examples in my recordings and observations. Many more are in circulation, but as shown above, were difficult for me to elicit in an interview.

J.M., working in a factory that is part of a settlement industrial complex near Tulkarem, listed the various factories that are based in the settlement which straddles the separation wall between the West Bank and Israel. At the start of the extract he is referring to an earlier discussion about the ownership of the land that the settlement is built on. The entire transcript of the interview with J.M. is available in Appendix 2.

J.M.:

ā,	humme	axadū-	ha	u	'emlu	fīha	maṣāni',	'emlu	fīha	maṣna'
----	-------	--------	----	---	-------	------	----------	-------	------	--------

yes,	they	took	it	and	made	on it	factories,	made	on it	factory
------	------	------	----	-----	------	-------	------------	------	-------	---------

il-	ġāz,	maṣna'	illi	baštġel	fīha	ħālīyan	tabā'	gešūri,
[def.art.]	gas,	factory	that	work [1 st pers.sing.]	in it	currently	belonging	Geshuri,

kamān	fataħu	maṣna'	<u>mašaṭīh,</u>	maṣna'	nasīj,	fī	kamān	maṣna'	kartōn.
also	opened [3 rd	factory	<u>pallets,</u>	factory	cloth,	there	also	factory	cardboard
	pers.plur.]					is			.

Yes, they took it [the land] and built factories on it, built a gas factory, the factory that I currently work

in, belonging to Geshuri, they also opened a pallet factory, a cloth factory, and there is also a cardboard factory.

A construction worker in his twenties from Dheisheh refugee camp, D.W., who had worked at a building site in Jabal Abu Ghneim (Har Homa settlement, which lies between Bethlehem and Jerusalem), described an accident that happened to him there.

D.W.:

marra	kān	nfič	fī	ħēṭ	iṭ-	ṭubār.
once	were	stripping [1 st pers.plur.]	in	wall	[def. art.]	formwork.

ma	maṣṣūba	is-	skāla	'ala	li-	ħbāl...
----	---------	-----	-------	------	-----	---------

not	hanging	[def. art.]	platform	on	[def. art.]	ropes...
-----	---------	-------------	----------	----	-------------	----------

ṭābik	it-	ṭālit,	ana	u	uxra	'āmil.
floor	[def. art.]	third,	me	and	another	worker.

w-	eḥna	nfič	fi	l-	ḥeṭa	fi	fībar,
while	we	stripping	in	[def. art.]	wall	by	disc grinder,

haftat	is-	skāla	aža	bidha	tika'	min	šakt-	i
slid	[def. art.]	platform	going	want	fall	from	side	my

u	min	šakt-	a	ṭābta.	fa	hū	masač	il-	ḥabil,
and	from	side	his	stable.	than	he	grabbed	[def. art.]	rope,

ana	masačit	fi	il-	<u>kutsīm</u>	ḥadīd	sitta	mīli
I	grabbed	on	[def. art.]	<u>spikes</u>	metal	six	millimetres

ṭāli'	min	il-	ḥeṭ.	masačit	fī	u	hū
protruding	from	[def. art.]	wall.	grabbed	it	and	he

nafs	il-	'iši	masač	fī-	hen	u	tle'na	'a
same	[def. art.]	thing	grabbed	on	them	and	climbed [1 st pers. plur.]	on

I-	ḥēt	fa	šāf-	na	il-	ma'allim.
[def. art.]	wall	and	saw	us	[def. art.]	boss.

Once, we were stripping the formwork from the wall. The platform wasn't hanging on the ropes... We were at height of the third floor, me and another worker. While we were stripping from the wall with the grinder, the platform slipped and was just about to fall on my side, but was steady on his side. So he grabbed the rope, I grabbed the six millimetre-strong metal spikes that were sticking out of the wall. I held on to them, and he did the same, he held on to them, and we climbed to the top of the wall, and the boss saw us.

The “spikes”, *kutsīm*, from the Hebrew *kotsim*, are the metal bars used in the casting of reinforced concrete. Two other technical terms in the speech, *skāla* (plur. *sakāyil*), “construction platform”, and *fībar*, “disc grinder”, are also not of Arabic origin and are found in Arabic speech in the region of the East Mediterranean. *Skāla* originates in the Italian for ladder, “scala”. The excerpt above is from an interview conducted by a male student under my instructions, who posed the question about accidents at work which led to the answer above. As mentioned in 2.2.6, the interviews conducted by this student were primarily constructed as fact-finding exercises which did not encourage the interviewees to express themselves on their own terms. The excerpt above is relatively exceptional.

Sixteen-year-old O.R. in Shuafat refugee camp did not have much time to answer my questions about his work in Israel.

N:

wēn	šugl-	ak?
where	job	your?

Where do you work?

O.R.:

maṣna'	balāṭ.
factory	tiles

At a tiles factory.

N:

šū	bitsawwi	bi-	z-	ṣabt?
what	do [2 nd pers.sing.]	in	[def. art.]	exact?

What do you do exactly?

O.R.:

ana	basū'	il-	<u>mazleg.</u>	it-	traktōr.
I	drive	[def. art.]	<u>forklift.</u>	[def. art.]	tractor.

I drive a forklift. A tractor.

O.R. thought I would not understand the Hebrew borrowing for “forklift”, *mazleg*, but did not have the time to explain it to me, so simplified it to “tractor”. He follows the pattern common to many of the workers, of translating borrowings from Hebrew that they assumed I would not understand. O.R. probably does not know an Arabic equivalent for “forklift” or he would have used it instead of “tractor”.

There were few people with whom I could discuss what the study of linguistic changes in the refugee camps entailed exactly. One of them was Y.M. from Shuafat refugee camp, a university student who also seasonally worked in construction, with whom I had this conversation:

N:

maṭalan.	awā'i	ḥimāye.	lamma	štaḡalt	fi	l-	buna,
for instance.	clothes	protection.	when	worked [2 nd pers.sing]	in	[def. art.]	construction,

šū	libisət	'ala	rās-	ak?
what	wore [2 nd pers.sing]	on	head	your?

For instance, protective clothing. When you worked in construction, what did you wear on your head?

Y.M. [after a long pause]:

<u>kasda.</u>	mā	batzakkar	illa	il-	kilme	il-	'ibrīye.
<u>helmet.</u>	not	remember [1 st pers.sing.]	except	[def. art.]	word	[def. art.]	Hebrew.

A helmet. I can only remember the Hebrew word.

N:

hāḍa	illi	baḥki	'anno.
this	what	speak [1 st pers.sing.]	about it.

This is what I'm talking about.

This method is obviously not a spontaneous evocation of a Hebrew borrowing, because Y.M. knew what the objective of my question was. Moreover, he was trying to prove that he could, if he wanted, abide by linguistic norms that minimise borrowing from Hebrew, but had to reluctantly admit failure.

Work tools and other implements such as “helmet” – in Hebrew *kasda* – in the example above were difficult to elicit spontaneously in a sociolinguistic interview. Here is how J.M., quoted above, evaded my prompting even as I pointed to a photo of a man wearing a helmet:

J.M.:

hāḍa	ṣāḥb-	i.
------	-------	----

this	friend	my.
------	--------	-----

This is my friend [in the photo].

N:

ā,	ṣāḥb-	ak.	u	šū	lābis	'ala	rās-	o?
ah,	friend	your.	and	what	wearing	on	head	his?

Ah, your friend. And what's he wearing on his head?

J.M.:

hāy...	zayy	ṭunjara	hēk	ḥadīdi...	iši	'a	rās-	o.
this...	like	pot	so	iron...	something	on	head	his.

This is... like a sort of iron pot... thingamajig on his head.

The method of pointing to persons and objects in pictures was only available in this case because the worker, J.M., had produced the album of photographs of his own accord in order to show me the poor work conditions, such as lack of health and safety protection at his workplace. It would not have been appropriate for me to produce a set of images to elicit lexical terms that I suspected had been borrowed from Hebrew, because I could not reveal that the purpose of the interview was to study Hebrew borrowings (see 2.5). Moreover, my aim was to study whether Hebrew borrowings were spreading in Palestinian speech in the refugee camps. The evasion above, in which J.M. prefers to

call the helmet a “thingamajig” rather than use the Hebrew borrowing *kasda*, is indication that there are obstacles to the spread of borrowings, even if the obstacles are the linguistic norms appropriate for an interview with a foreign researcher. It is not surprising under these circumstances that it was not possible to record any instances of other Hebrew borrowings for tools that are known, such as *batišon* for “power drill” and *manof* for “crane”. As shown below, pretending to forget a word for which I knew that a Hebrew borrowing existed sometimes prompted the uttering of the lexical item, here *kfafōt* for “gloves”, in the case of a woman who worked as a cleaner, U.A. On other occasions this method yielded no results, however, as seen in F.T.’s example below in section 3.5.

N [motioning as if to put on gloves]:

u	btilbisi...	ya'ni...?
and	wear [2 nd pers.sing.fem.]	mean...?

And do you wear...?

U.A.:

<u>kfafōt?</u>	a.
<u>gloves?</u>	yes.

Gloves? Yes.

The interview with U.A. is transcribed in full in Appendix 3.

3.2.2 Unmarked borrowing: *menahēl* (manager)

Aside from the mention of managers, or bosses, by X.X. above, *menahēl*, whose masculine plural is

formed by Palestinians in their Arabic speech as *manahīl*, the feminine plural being *menaheḷāt* (in

Hebrew the plurals are *menahelim* (m.) and *menaheḷot* (f.) respectively) was also observed

elsewhere. This interview took place in April 2008 at the Women's Centre in Tulkarem refugee camp

with a woman in her 40s, M.H., who was having breakfast there with two friends. Though other

women were present, M.H. was talking for my benefit.

N [easing into the interview after introductions and tea]:

S.	ḥakat	inn-	ik	štaḡalti	bi-	isra'īl.
S.	said [fem.]	that	you	worked	in	Israel.

S. said that you have worked in Israel.

M.H.:

ā.	štaḡalt	sitte	snīn	<u>nekayōn.</u>
yup.	worked [1 st pers. sing.]	six	years	<u>cleaning.</u>

Yup. I worked as a cleaner for six years.

N:

fi	dūr	in-	nās,	willa...?
in	houses	[def. art.]	people	or...?

In people's houses or... [where]?

M.H.:

fī	mustašfa	a'šāb,	ya'ni,	'ind	il-	majanīn.	šūgul	mrattab.
at	hospital	nerves,	means,	at	[def. art.]	crazy [plur.].	job	well-organised.

aṭla'	'ala	sitte	u	'ala	waḥde	akūn	fī	dār-	i.
I went out	at	six	and	at	one	I was sitting	in	home	my.

u	fī	šahər	āxod	alfēn	šēkel.
and	in	month	took [1 st pers. sing.]	two thousand	shekels.

At a psychiatric hospital, I mean, where the crazy people are. It was a well-organised job. I'd leave the house at six and by one I'd be back. And each month I'd earn two thousand shekels.

N:

mā	kuntīš	itxāfi	min	il-	marḍa?
not	were [2 nd pers. sing. fem.]	frightened	of	[def. art.]	ill [plur.]?

Weren't you afraid of the patients?

M.H.:

la',	humme	baku	yinaḍfu	ğurfet-	hum	laḥālhum...
no	they	would	clean	room	their	on their own...

bištiġlu,	ya'ni,	kulši,	byuḍrubūš	ḥada.
they work,	mean,	everything,	they do not hit	one.

ana	bakēt	anaḍḍef	bas	'ind	il-	<u>menahelāt,</u>
I	would	clean	only	at	[def. art.]	<u>managers [fem.],</u>

fi	l-	makātib.	il-	<u>menahelāt,</u>	ya'ni,	zayy-	ik.
in	[def. art.]	offices.	[def. art.]	<u>managers [fem.],</u>	mean,	like	you.

No, they cleaned their rooms themselves. They work, I mean, [they do] everything; they don't hit

anyone. I was cleaning just the managers' offices. The managers are, I guess, like you. [Fingering the cloth of my sleeve.]

N:

kīf	kānat	il-	<u>menahelāt</u>	ma'-'	āki?
how	were [3 rd pers. fem.]	[def. art.]	<u>managers [fem.]</u>	with	you?

How did the managers treat you?

M.H.:

mnīḥa.	bakat	tištġel	hinne	il-	uxra.
--------	-------	---------	-------	-----	-------

Good.	were [3 rd pers. fem.]	working	they [fem.]	[def. art.]	other.
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Well. They were working too.

M.H. is a widow. When she went to work, her eldest daughter took care of two younger children, all of school age. After the the borders closed in 2000, she lost her job. She looked for a job as a cleaner in Tulkarem or Nablus, but the wages were so low, she claimed, that it was not worth the effort. In Israel she was paid the minimum wage. She lives off charity, both from the UN and from relatives. She compared me to the *menahelāt* on the basis of my dress: though simple, it was of good quality material that cannot be obtained in the refugee camp.

3.2.3 Good relations with Israeli managers

Many workers shared M.H.'s and F.T.'s positive opinion of their managers on a personal level.

Several former workers mentioned that since the Israeli policy now allows very few workers into Israel (none from the Gaza Strip) an important bridge of goodwill towards Israelis has been severed. In the eyes of the workers, a small annual bonus, called *matana*, a Hebrew borrowing literally meaning "present", was evidence of the benevolence of the managers. This interview is with a retired welder in his 50s from Shuafat refugee camp, I.B., who used to work for Israeli companies in the 1970s and 80s.

N:

fa	kuntu	tāxdu	ijāze	sanawīye	u	hēk	ašyā'?
and	used to [2 nd pers.plur.]	take	holiday	annual	and	such	things?

And did you take annual leave and things like that?

I.B.:

kānu	yiḥasbūna	'alēha.
used to [3 rd pers. plur.]	account	for it.

They reimbursed us that.

I.B. continues:

kānu	ya'ṭūna	brīmia,	hadāya,	kul	sane	<u>matana.</u>
used to [3 rd pers. plur.]	give us	bonus,	presents,	every	year	<u>present.</u>

ya'ni	hadīye	ya'ṭūni.	yi'ulli	biddak	maṣārī	wela	hadāya?
means	present	give me.	say [3 rd pers.sing.] to me	you want	money	or	presents?

a'ullo	a'ṭīni	maṣārī.
say [1 st pers.sing.] to him	give me	money.

yi'ulli	tfadḍal	hāy	mītēn	šēkel.
---------	---------	-----	-------	--------

say [3 rd pers.sing.] to me	welcome	here	two hundred	shekels.
--	---------	------	-------------	----------

They gave us a bonus, presents, every year a present. I mean, a present they used to give me. He'd say to me: "You want money or presents?" I'd say to him: "Give me money." He'd say to me: "Here you go, here's two hundred shekels."

Though a resident of Shuafat refugee camp since its establishment in the mid-sixties, I.B. is not entitled to a Jerusalem I.D. card because he was temporarily absent during the Israeli census of the Palestinian population immediately after the 1967 conquest of the West Bank and Gaza. As a holder of a West Bank ID card, to work in Israel he had to rely on his employer and the army renewing his work permit every three months. He was proud of his job, listing the prestigious projects he had worked on, including the Hadassa Hospital.

Another worker, U.A. from Dheisheh refugee camp, a cleaner who boasted that she kept her Israeli customers' homes as clean as her own, also referred to the monetary bonus as evidence of good relations. This excerpt is from the end of the conversation in May 2008, the transcript of which is presented in Appendix 3.

U.A.:

kīf	bat'āmal	ma'hum,	ka-	umm.	bi-	īd	il-	valentāyn
how	relate [1 st pers.sing.]	with them,	as	mother.	on	holiday	[def.art.]	Valentine

šū	sawwēt	ana?	ana	fi	jnēne	barra,	bakatt'ilhum
what	did [1 st pers.sing.]	I?	I	in	garden	outside,	picked for them

la	kul	wāḥad	warda,	bawwasət	il-	banāt	li-	zǧīre,
for	each	one	flower,	kissed [1 st pers.sing.]	[def.art.]	girls	[def.art.]	little,

ṭab'an	il-	awlād,	a'ṭēt-	ilhum	il-	ward.
naturally	[def.art.]	children,	gave [1 st pers.sing.]	to them	[def.art.]	flowers.

ṣaddki	la-	l-	yōm	maḥṭūṭāt	'indhum.
believe [imp. 2 nd pers. sing. fem]	until	[def.art.]	day	hanging [fem. plur]	at them.

kānu	mabṣūṭīn!	ḥakēt-	ilhum	ya'ni	<u>mazal</u>	<u>tōf</u> ,
were [3 rd	happy! [3 rd	told [1 st pers.sing.]	them	mean [3 rd	<u>luck</u>	<u>good</u> ,
pers.plur.]	pers.plur.]			pers.sing]		

ya'ni	in šā' alla	šanṣ	xēr.	ana	bat'āmal	ma'-	hum
mean [3 rd pers.sing]	god willing	luck	good.	I	relate	with	them

miš	bas	inni	barūḥ	anaḏf	il-	bēt,
not	only	that I	go	clean [1 st pers.sing.]	[def.art.]	house,

am	biḥissu	inni	am	bāḡi	'a-	l-	bēt,	xalaš.
[present	feel [3 rd	that I	[pres.cont.]	come [1 st	to	[def.art.]	house,	finished.
continuous]	pers.plur.]			pers.sing.]				

balāki	'a-	t-	tawle	mītēn	šēkel	<u>matana</u>	bi-	l-	īd.
find [1 st	on	[def.art.]	table	two hundred	shekels	<u>present</u>	on	[def.art.]	holiday.
pers.sing.]									

How do I relate to them? As a mother. On Valentine's Day, what did I do? In the garden here outside,

I picked a flower for each one of them. I kissed the little girls, the children of course, and gave them

the flowers. Believe me, they are still displayed at their place. They were happy! I said "mazal tov", I

mean good luck, god willing. I relate to them not only in the sense that I go clean the house, but also

that they feel, that I come to their home, that's it. Then I find two hundred shekels on the table, as a

present, for the holiday.

N:

ā?

yes?

U.A.:

ā,	fī	min-	hum	bi'ayyidu	fa	fī	min-	hum	la.
yes,	there	from	them	give [3 rd pers.plur.] presents	and	there	from	them	no.

Yes, some of them give presents for the holidays and some of them don't.

N:

il-	īd	il-	hum,	ā?
[def.art.]	holiday	to	them,	yes?

For their holiday, right?

U.A.:

kān	il-	<u>bēsah</u>
was [3 rd pers.sing]	[def.art.]	<u>Passover.</u>

It was Passover.

U.A.'s case will be discussed as an extraordinary performance in chapter 4, section 4.2.2. However,

this section itself can be said to be typical of the speech and feelings of several workers who were

happy with their jobs, but whose complaint was that the road to work was made difficult by military

restrictions.

The following is another example of the use of the Hebrew word for present, *matana*, which is only used by Palestinians as a borrowing in the sense of salary bonus, not as a present that would be offered by a Palestinian visitor returning from abroad to their family, for instance. It was spoken by S.I., a young car mechanic, recorded in Shuafat refugee camp in a discussion of changing relations with Israeli managers after the Second Intifada broke out.

N:

bithiss	hāḍa	fi	šugl-	ak,	inno	tgayyar	il-...?
feel [2 nd pers.sing.masc.]	this	in	work	your,	that	changed [3 rd pers.sing.]	[def.art.]...?
Do you feel this at work, that it changed, the...?							

S.I.:

ā	ā	mu'āmalet	il-	yahūd	la-	l-	'arab	tgayyarat.
yes	yes	behaviour	[def.art.]	Jews	to	[def.art.]	Arabs	changed [3 rd pers.sing.fem.]
Yes, yes, the way Jewish Israelis deal with Arabs changed.								

N:

ṭab	kīf?	kīf	kān	awwal?
alright	how?	how	was	before?

OK, how? How was it before?

S.I.:

awwal	kān	ya'ī-	na	ma'āš,	ya'ī-	na	hadāya
before	used to [3 rd pers.sing.masc]	give	us	wage,	give [3 rd pers.sing.]	us	presents

ta'ūn	il-	īd	ta'ūn	il-	yahūd,	masalan	il-	<u>bēsaḥ.</u>
of	[def.art.]	holiday	of	[def.art.]	Jews,	for instance	[def.art.]	<u>Passover.</u>

il-	a'yād	ta'ūnhum	ya'ī-	na	hadīye	<u>matana.</u>
[def.art.]	holidays	of them	give [3 rd pers plur.]	us	present	<u>present.</u>

il-	yōm	fīš,	byi'aṭūš	il-	'arab	rātib	ziyāda.
[def.art.]	day	there [neg.],	give [neg. 3 rd pers. plur.]	[def.art.]	Arabs	salary	extra.

Before, they'd give us a living wage, give us presents for the Jewish holidays, for instance at

Passover. On their holidays they'd give us a present, a gift. Today there's none of that, they don't give

Arabs a bonus salary.

The goodwill that *matana* stands for, as the workers perceive it, is nonetheless indicative of the

unequal relationship between the Israeli employers and Palestinian workers. The flowers that U.A. gave her customer's children are not equivalent to the money that she so badly needs. Giving the flowers and receiving the *matana* are both gestures of servility, reinforced by praising the employer for being kind. If what S.I. says is true, in that changing relations translate into the withholding of bonuses to Arab workers, then it is correct to perceive those Israeli employers who continue to pay the bonuses as generous. Two hundred shekels amount to approximately 35 pounds sterling (in July 2011), a small bonus on an average monthly pay of 2500 shekels for Palestinian manual workers, which is standard practice in Israel.

If it were truly a personal gesture of goodwill, I asked some workers after the fieldwork was finished, would the employers not offer the bonus on Muslim holidays instead of Jewish ones? This was dismissed as absurd. In fact, the unequal relationship is accepted by the workers as inherent to their position as Palestinian employees of Israeli companies. For the most part, there is little awareness of manager-worker relationships based on rights and obligations. What is not accepted, in a general manner, is the harassment by soldiers at checkpoints on the way to work and the difficulty in obtaining work permits (see section 3.5 below).

3.3 Contact setting: the market for Israeli products and technology

These unmarked borrowings testify to the availability of Israeli products on the Palestinian market.

The following three examples were observed during my stays with a family in Dheisheh refugee camp. For many other names of products that are in common use I have no recorded examples,

though they are listed in brief below.

A boy (15 years old) asked his mother, who was cooking dinner for the family:

arūḥ	aštri	šamēnet?
go [1 st pers. sing.]	buy [1 st pers. sing.]	<u>soured cream?</u>

Should I go buy soured cream?

A man (30 years old) asked a child:

zākī	id-	dāni	ya	ḥabīb-	i?
tasty	[def. art.]	<u>pudding</u>	[vocative]	dear	my?

Is the pudding tasty, buddy?

Dani is an Israeli brand of custard desserts, but the term can refer to any similar products of different firms.

A woman in her forties asked a group of guests:

tišrabu	kōla	wila	tapuzīna?
drink [2 nd pers. plur.]	fizzy drink	or	<u>orange drink?</u>

Would you like to drink something fizzy or an orange drink?

Again, Tapuzina is an Israeli brand which dominates the Palestinian beverage market. The word for

coca cola, *kōla*, has also spread to any sweet fizzy drink. Other terms in this category include:

lahmaniya (bun), *bēgel* (pretzel), *šnitse* (escalope in breadcrumbs), and *az'aka* (car alarm). Possibly,

a suitable way of gathering more evidence of such terms would be to go shopping with a family to a

standard Palestinian grocer.

A 30-year-old man from Dheisheh refugee camp, B.F., was driving friends home, including myself and

another man, A.A.

B.F.:

ba'id	ir-	<u>ramzōr</u>	fī	šurṭa.
after	[def. art.]	<u>traffic lights</u>	there is	police.

There are police officers after the traffic lights.

N:

šū	jame'	<u>ramzōr?</u>
what	plural	<u>traffic lights?</u>

What's the plural of "ramzōr"?

B.F.:

<u>ramzōr</u>	miš	'arabi	ya	nānsi.
---------------	-----	--------	----	--------

<u>traffic lights</u>	not	Arabic	[vocative]	Nancy.
-----------------------	-----	--------	------------	--------

“ramzōr” isn’t Arabic, Nancy.

A.A.:

‘alašān	hēk	btis’al,	‘alašān	baḥṭ-	ha.
because	that	asks [3 rd pers.sing.fem.],	because	research	her.

That’s why she’s asking, because of her research.

B.F. [laughing]:

a,	<u>ramzōr</u>	<u>ramzōrāt.</u>	ya’ni,	<u>ramzōr</u>	<u>ramazīr?</u>	la’	binfa’eš.
ok,	<u>traffic lights</u>	<u>traffic lights</u> [plur.].	mean,	<u>traffic lights</u>	<u>traffic lights</u> [other plural form]?	no	not useful.

Alright, “ramzōr”, “ramzōrāt” [traffic lights]. Could it be “ramzōr”, “ramazīr”? No, that doesn’t work.

By pronouncing out loud *ramzōr ramazīr*, B.F. was checking that the form of broken plural CaCaCīC

that is applied to some other Hebrew borrowings with four consonants (checkpoints, *maḥasīm*,

managers, *manahīl*, walkie-talkies, *maxašīl*) was not possible in this case. There is not a sufficient

number of borrowings for which the plural is known to establish the pattern of plurals, but the fact that

B.F. immediately tested this particular distinctive plural form would indicate that CaCaCīC is a typical

form for borrowed Hebrew nouns. This form is foreign to the original Hebrew. It would also be

interesting to investigate whether traffic lights were introduced to Palestinian roads after the military occupation of 1967. *Ramzōr* (which is close to the Hebrew pronunciation) is often pronounced *ramzōn* by Palestinians.

3.4 Contact setting: Jerusalem social services

Exclusive to Shuafat refugee camp, these terms relate to benefits of the welfare state and other Israeli services available to Palestinians who have qualified for Israeli-alloted Jerusalem residency. The examples below give evidence of the problematic relationship with these services, which take on the character of privileges that can be revoked.

I.R. explained to me that she was falling behind in her social security payments and risked accruing a fine.

I.R.:

lamma	twāqq'i	'alā	l-	<u>hitxayvūt,</u>	xalāṣ,	lāzem	tidfa'i.
when	sign [2 nd pers. sing.]	on	[def. art.]	<u>obligation,</u>	enough,	must	pay [2 nd pers. sing.].

When you sign up for social security, that's it, you have to pay.

A doctor in Shuafat refugee camp related the fears of many in the camp, that the Israeli military wall separating the camp from Jerusalem is the first step towards the ghettoization of the camp residents.

They dread that refugees, who carry Jerusalem ID cards, will only be allowed to cross the checkpoint to exit the camp under exceptional circumstances, like Palestinians with West Bank IDs. His evidence was based on the fact that since the wall had been built, a branch of the Israeli public health clinics had opened inside the walled-in area.

S.T. [outraged]:

ba'əd	mā	banu	il-	jidār	fataḥu	<u>kubāt</u>	<u>ḥolīm</u>	jūwa.
after	[relative pronoun]	built [3 rd pers. plur.]	[def. art.]	wall	opened [3 rd pers. plur.]	<u>fund</u>	<u>patients</u>	inside.

lēš?	'alašān	mā	yikūn	'indna	sabab	ninzil	'a-	I-'uds.
why?	so	not	be	for us	reason	descend [1 st pers. plur.]	to	Jerusalem.

awwal	marra	fī	xadamāt	'amma	'ind	l-	muxayyam.
first	time	there	services	public	at	[def. art.]	camp.

ḥatta	bidhum	yiftaḥu	<u>snif,</u>	ya'ni	maktab	barīd	fī	l-	<u>maḥsūm.</u>
even	want [3 rd pers.]	open [3 rd pers.]	<u>branch,</u>	mean [3 rd pers.]	office	post	in	[def. art.]	<u>checkpoint.</u>

plur.]	plur.]		sing.]					
--------	--------	--	--------	--	--	--	--	--

After they built the wall they opened a health clinic inside. Why? So that we'd have no reason to go down to Jerusalem. It's the first time there are public services near the camp. They even want to open a branch, I mean, a post office inside the checkpoint.

Part of the complex status of Shuafat refugee camp is due to its location within annexed East Jerusalem's municipal borders, but functioning as an island where partial UN jurisdiction applies. This is rendered more complex still by the route of the separation wall, which separates not only the camp from the rest of annexed East Jerusalem, but also immediately adjacent Palestinian neighbourhoods which are not under UN jurisdiction. Residents of these neighbourhoods pay municipal tax to the Israeli authorities, referred to by the Hebrew borrowing *arnōna*, while those living within the boundaries of the refugee camp do not. S.I. explained the situation in this way:

S.I.:

hōn	isra'īl	bedha	l-'uds.	u	iṣ-	ṣulṭa	bedha	l-'uds.
here	Israel	wants	Jerusalem.	and	[def.art.]	authority	wants	Jerusalem.

'aṣān	hēk	biṣīr	fī	maṣākīl.
-------	-----	-------	----	----------

because	so	happens	there	problems.
---------	----	---------	-------	-----------

Now, Israel wants Jerusalem. And the Palestinian Authority wants Jerusalem. That's why there are problems.

N:

bidhum	I-'uds.	bas	mā	bidhum	il-	muxayyam.
want [3 rd pers.plur.]	Jerusalem.	but	not	want [3 rd pers.plur.]	[def.art.]	camp.

They want Jerusalem but not the refugee camp.

S.I.:

ana	ba'ol-	lik	lēš	mā	bedhum	il-	muxayyam.
I	say	to you	why	not	want	[def.art.]	camp.

il-	muxayyam	bedfa'eš	<u>arnōna,</u>	bedfa'eš	kahraba.
[def.art.]	camp	does not pay	<u>municipal tax,</u>	does not pay	electricity.

I'll tell you why they don't want the refugee camp. The camp doesn't pay municipal taxes nor does it pay for electricity.

3.5 Contact setting: the military occupation

Since the occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip in June 1967, Israel has maintained

military control over these areas. Certain borrowings show evidence of coming from this domain, though other terms are not borrowed, like the term for the separation fence and wall, which is referred to by Palestinians in Arabic. Describing the difficulties in reaching the workplace is a common trigger for using Hebrew borrowings in this category.

Still at the Tulkarem refugee camp hairdresser's shop, F.T. continued describing her experience of working in Israel in the following way (see section 3.2 above):

N:

btilbisu	malābis	xuṣūṣi	la	l-	'amal?
wear [2 nd pers. plur.]	clothes	specially	for	[def. art.]	work?

Do you wear special clothes for work?

F.T.:

la'	mnilbis	'ādi.	bas	li-	kfūf	bya'ṭū-	na.
no	dress [1 st pers. plur.]	normally.	just	[def. art.]	gloves	give [3 rd pers. plur.]	us.

No, we dress normally. They just give us gloves.

N:

kfūf	'amal?
------	--------

gloves		work?
Work gloves?		

F.T.:

kfūf		maṭṭāṭīye,		zayy		fī		l-		mustašfa.
gloves		rubber,		like		in		[def. art.]		hospital.

tibka		il-		idēn		nḏīfe		'ašān		li-		<u>šmēr</u>
remain		[def. art.]		hands		clean		so that		[def. art.]		<u>guard</u>

yōxəd		il-		bašamāt		'a-		l-		<u>maḥsōm.</u>
takes		[def. art.]		fingerprints		at		[def. art.]		<u>checkpoint.</u>

Rubber gloves, like in a hospital. [Like that] the hands stay clean so that the guard can take [our] fingerprints at the checkpoint.

J.M., a man in his forties also from Tulkarem refugee camp, works in a settlement industrial complex in a factory called Geshuri. He was among those workers who were involved in the strike over pay mentioned above in section 3.2. He spray-paints technical equipment. This is his answer to my question whether he had been doing the same task for the entirety of the seven years of his employment at Geshuri.

J.M.:

fi-	l-	awwal	anā	kunt	dahhān	sayyarāt.
in	[def. art.]	first	I	was	painter	cars.

jūwa	bi-	israīl.	u	lamma	sakrat	it-	ṭuruk
inside	in	Israel.	and	when	closed	[def. art.]	roads
					[fem.]		

u	ṣār	<u>sēger</u>	jīt	'a-	l-	maṣna'	hād.
and	happened	<u>closure</u>	came	to	[def. art.]	factory	this.

Before, I spray-painted cars. Inside, in Israel. And when the roads were closed and the closure happened I came to this factory.

The specific period of closure, or *sēger* that J.M. is referring to, was imposed after the Second Intifada broke out in September 2000 during the subsequent military crackdown on the Occupied Palestinian Territories. Even years later, when the closures were relatively relaxed, it continued to be more difficult to obtain a work permit to enter Israel than to have permission to work in an Israeli settlement in the West Bank.

The following extract was spoken in 2006 by M.A., a nearly 60-year old construction worker from a village near Dheisheh refugee camp. Though he is not a refugee and so his standard of living is better, among other differences, his speech is nevertheless typical of what can be heard in relaxed conversation among Palestinians in refugee camps about the functioning of checkpoints. This was recorded for the purposes of earlier research on Palestinian workers in Israel, but subsequently permission was given to use it in this study also.

M.A.:

bas	lāzem	yikūn	ashal,	il-	murūr.	kāwnu	ya'ṭ-	īk	<u>te'uda</u>
but	should	be	easier,	[def. art.]	passage.	if they	give	you	<u>ID card</u>

min	iš-	šurta	inn-	ak	inte...	fiš	'ind-	ak	wala	<u>nikuda</u>
from	[def. art.]	police	that	you	you...	not	at	you	no	<u>point</u>

inte	'ind-	ak	ṭaṣrīḥ	li-	I-	'amal	fi	isra'īl,	ōke,	xalaṣ,
you	at	you	permit	for	[def. art.]	work	in	Israel,	OK,	enough

šū	il-	muškile?	fiš	muškile.	bišūf	iṭ-	ṭaṣrīḥ,
what	[def. art.]	problem?	there is no	problem	sees [masc.]	[def. art.]	permit

yišūf	il-	bani ādam,	il-	hawīye	tab'at-	o,	<u>bevakaša,</u>	tfaḍḍal.
sees	[def.	human being,	[def.	ID card	of	him,	<u>please,</u>	welcome.
[masc.]	art.]		art.]					

But it should be easier, the passage. If they give you an ID card, from the police, certifying that you don't have any penalty points, you have a permit to work in Israel, then OK, that's enough, what's the problem? There's no problem. He [the soldier at the checkpoint] sees the permit, sees the person, his ID card, here you go, welcome.

The penalty points, given the Hebrew term for "point" or "dot", *nikuda*, that are marked on the ID card can be incurred as a result of any action considered to be a security breach. Another worker, who like U.A. quoted in this chapter was not working in Israel with official permission, explained to me that you could get a *nikuda* on your ID card if you were found in Jerusalem without a permit during a routine stop-and-search operation by the Israeli police. The workers live in fear of being arbitrarily dealt a *nikuda*, because that could hinder their eligibility for a work permit. Many would assure me that they had no problems from a security point of view, meaning that they were not involved in any political activities. The last sentence in M.A.'s extract imagines what an easier passage through checkpoints would look like: the soldier's inspection would be swift and polite, including the polite Hebrew expression *bevakaša* for "you are welcome". The reality M.A. had described earlier in the interview

relayed the opposite.

In Shuafat refugee camp, A.R. described her way home from work and studies through the checkpoint in the years of the Second Intifada. She is speaking in the presence of her husband, H.R. The gradual shift from using the Arabic for checkpoint, *ḥājiz*, as appropriate for educated speech in a recorded interview, to the Hebrew *maḥsūm* is fairly typical for an interview with young people in Shuafat refugee camp. After a while, she renounces on her efforts to avoid Hebrew borrowings and turns to her husband for help to find the Arabic word for “permit”, which is pronounced variably by Palestinians *taṣrīḥ* (as in Standard Arabic), *ṭaṣrīḥ* or *taṣrīḥ*.

A.R.:

kān	ḥājiz	qalandia	iṣ-	ṣābiq.	kānu	yisakru	il-	ḥājiz
was	checkpoint	Qalandia	[def.art.]	previous.	was	closed	[def.art.]	checkpoint

'a	s-	sē'a	sitte,	sitte	u-	nuṣṣ.	mamnū'	il-	wāḥad
at	[def.art.]	hour	six,	six	and	half.	forbidden	[def.art.]	one

yitla'	min	il-	<u>maḥsūm,</u>	min	il-	ḥājiz.
go out	from	[def.art.]	<u>checkpoint,</u>	from	[def.art.]	checkpoint.

[...]

fa	kunt	ana	arawweḥ	min	ij-	jāmi'a
and	was	I	going home	from	[def.art.]	university

'a	s-	sē'a	tamaniye	u	nuṣṣ	u	lamma
at	[def.art.]	hour	eight	and	half	and	when

āzi		arawweḥ,	awa''ef	'a	I-	<u>maḥsūm.</u>
came [1 st pers.sing.]		go home,	stood	at	[def.art.]	<u>checkpoint.</u>

It was the old Qalandia checkpoint. They used to close at six, half past six. It was forbidden for

anyone to pass the checkpoint, from the checkpoint. [...] And I used to come home from university at

half past eight and when I came to go home, I used to stand at the checkpoint.

[...]

fa	kunt	āxod	<u>išūr,</u>	šū	ya'ni?
and	was [1 st pers. sing.]	taking	<u>permit,</u>	what	means?

So I used to get a permit, how to say it? [Turning to H.R.]

H.R.:

taṣrīḥ.

A permit.

A.R.:

taṣrīḥ.	taṣrīḥ.	wara'a	hēk,	inni	ana	ṭālibe	fi	j-	jāmi'a.
permit.	permit.	paper	this,	that	I	student	in	[def.art.]	university.

A permit. A permit. A piece of paper like this, saying that I was a university student.

This excerpt from the interview is slightly abridged. For a fuller version, see Appendix 1.

3.5.1 Unmarked borrowings: *maḥsōm* (checkpoint), *maxšīr* (walkie-talkie).

Throughout this chapter there have figured examples of uses of the Hebrew word for “checkpoint”,

maxsom, pronounced by Palestinians variably as *maḥsōm*, *maxsōm*, or *maḥsūm* (see S.T., F.T. and

A.R. above). It is the most commonly used Hebrew borrowing in Palestinian Arabic. It has acquired

the Arabic plural pattern CaCaCīC to form *maḥasīm* (the Hebrew plural is *maxsomim*). During a recent

stay with a Palestinian family in Bethlehem (in April 2011), I observed an 8-year-old child who heard

the Arabic term for “checkpoint”, *ḥājiz*, and did not understand it. An adult had to explain that it meant

maḥsōm. Ammar Owaineh, a university student in Bethlehem who assisted me with the transcriptions

for this thesis, himself learnt from reading a draft of it that *maḥsūm* was not an Arabic word. Though of

Hebrew origin, it is applied also to checkpoints manned by the Palestinian Authority police (widely

regarded as redundant and subservient to Israeli demands). This word, if any, is a candidate for

bequeathal to future generations of Palestinians.

In Shuafat refugee camp, a clothes shop owner, T.A., described the difficulties in obtaining the stock

he needs and selling supplies to customers who have lost their purchasing power. He responded to a

question posed by other participants in the conversation, his cousin S.T. and his wife X.A.

S.T.:

u	I-	<u>maḥasīm?</u>
and	[def. art.]	<u>checkpoints?</u>

And the checkpoints?

X.A.:

mā	hūwe	it-	taskīr.
what	he	[def. art.]	closure.

That is the closure.

T.A.:

'āmil	iḍ-	ḍiffe	biddo	yištḡil	'ind	isra'īl.	'ind	il-	'arab
worker	[def. art.]	Bank	wants	work	at	Israel.	At	[def. art.]	Arabs

iš-	šugul	maḥdūd	illa	yiṭla'	'ind	isra'īl	yištḡil.	iza	fiš	majāl
[def. art.]	work	limited	unless	go	at	Israel	work.	if	no	possibility

yiṭla'	bi-	I-	<u>maḥasīm</u>	il-	mawjūde,	mā	ažinniš	yib'a
go	in	[def. art.]	<u>checkpoints</u>	[def.art.]	existing,	not	think [1 st pers.sing.]	remain

'ind-	o	daxel	kbīr	ya'ni.	ya dōb	yikaffi	ḥālo.	ba'dēn	il-	<u>maḥasīm</u>
at	him	income	big	mean.	barely	suffice	himself.	then	[def. art.]	<u>checkpoints</u>

ya'ni	il-	mawjūde	bit'aṭṭil	'alēna	iḥna	šaḡlāt.	masalan	iza	biddak
mean	[def. art.]	existing	affect	us	we	things.	for instance	if	you want

trūḥ	'a	l-xalīl	tiṭla'	'a	nāblis	tjīb	biḡā'a	la-	l-	maḥall
go	to	Hebron	go	to	Nablus	bring	stock	to	[def. art.]	shop

btib'a	ša'be	ya'ni.	iza	biddi	alā'i	ashal-	li	aṭla'
remains	difficult	mean.	if	I want	find	easier	for me	go

'a	tal abīb	min	inni	arūḥ	'a	falaṣṭīn.
to	Tel Aviv	than	that I	go	to	Palestine.

Workers from the West Bank want to work for Israelis. The jobs with Arab employers are limited, unless he goes to work for Israelis. If there's no way he can pass the existing checkpoints [to get to work in Israel], I doubt he'll have much money to spare. He'll be glad if he can cover his needs. Also, the existing checkpoints make things harder in some ways for us, too. For instance, if you want to go

to Hebron or to Nablus to bring stock for the shop, it's difficult, you know. If I want to get something it's easier for me to go to Tel Aviv than to Palestine.

Another Hebrew borrowing, *maxšīr*, is used when needed and not translated. The example below reports two young men overheard talking in Shuafat refugee camp. One of them spoke, making motions with his hands to outline the robust body he was referring to and the earbud of a hidden walkie-talkie:

akīd	kānu	min	iš-	<u>šabāk.</u>	ḍxām,	<u>maxašīr.</u>
sure	were [3 rd pers. plur.]	from	[def. art.]	<u>secret police.</u>	stocky [masc. plur.],	<u>walkie-talkies.</u>

They were from the Israeli secret police for sure. Stocky, with walkie-talkies.

3.6 Hebrew borrowings: evidence of limited types of contact between Palestinians and Israelis

This chapter presented the bulk of the findings of Hebrew lexical borrowings in spoken Palestinian Arabic recorded and observed for this study. Some of the observations confirm that semi-structured interviews conducted by a foreign researcher affected the results by minimising the possibilities for spontaneous expression of Hebrew borrowings that could otherwise be used among Palestinians in different situations. Respondents translated Hebrew borrowings into Arabic when they could, or avoided them altogether. A careful reading of this chapter reveals that most instances of Hebrew borrowings were recorded in Shuafat refugee camp, though at least some borrowings were spoken everywhere and by all demographic groups. The weight given to Shuafat refugee camp is supported

by conclusions from participant observations. There may be several reasons for this: first, it has to be acknowledged that the researcher spent more time in Shuafat refugee camp during her fieldwork than in either of the other camps. As a consequence, respondents from Shuafat refugee camp could have been more at ease in the interviews, more acquainted with the researcher's linguistic competences, or simply, more may be observed and recorded over longer periods of time than over shorter ones.

Secondly, in line with what will be proposed as an interpretation for the data, the linguistic behaviour of speakers from Shuafat refugee camp may also be influenced by linguistic norms in Israel, since they have better access to West Jerusalem and other Israeli areas as holders of Jerusalem ID cards.

Another close reading of the chapter will produce the possible generalisation that most of the borrowed vocabulary relates to work in Israel. This is the central proposition of the chapter. However, this vocabulary in particular posed some difficulties for sociolinguistic study, because the terms could rarely be elicited in interviews. The borrowing of this type of vocabulary has been found in other regions: Smeaton recorded borrowings from English in a Saudi Arabic dialect as a result of American and British fuel extraction companies employing local men in their operations (Smeaton 1973). Other studies of borrowings in Arab countries after national governments established independence from European powers focus on the Arabisation of borrowings in a deliberate national linguistic policy (Bentahila 1983). This thesis is not based on quantitative research, and so any reading of this chapter that proposes quantitative conclusions, however tentative, indicating that Shuafat refugee camp residents use more Hebrew borrowings than Palestinians from other refugee camps or that most borrowed vocabulary has its source in work in Israel, must be taken with extreme caution. The

qualitative analysis that is submitted here is based on an exposure of patterns in the types and uses of Hebrew borrowings in Palestinian speech.

One of the questions which imposes itself regarding these borrowings is: “Why these terms and not others?” Some of the theoretical implications of borrowings in the Palestinian circumstances will be discussed in chapter 5. A partial answer will lie in the social context described in chapter 1. Chapter 1 described the structure, the “givens” that Palestinians in refugee camps face, which are the results of prior practices. This structure in turn provides the setting for contact between Israelis and Palestinians in continuously negotiated relationships. The negotiations are practices which both challenge some of the givens and afford other ones continuity. Linguistic practices are one aspect of these negotiations.

For instance, in the context of the Israeli military regime in the West Bank, only specific elements of the military have given rise to borrowings: primarily checkpoints, which became widespread and permanent during the 1990s; by-pass roads for settlements, also mostly established in the 1990s, closures (enforced through destruction of roads and closing of checkpoints), again increasingly used in the 1990s. By contrast, Israeli settlements in the Occupied Palestinian Territories, which started to be built in the late 1960s, are referred to by their Arabic name: *mustawṭanāt*. Similarly, the separation wall, which began to be built in 2003, is always referred to by its Arabic name, *al-jidār*. Both the settlements and the wall were subjects of concerted political protests reported in the media, while no effective campaign was run against the checkpoints. In political speeches, in the media and in official titles for committees and campaigns, Hebrew borrowings are not acceptable. I cannot prove that if

there had been an organised protest against checkpoints, they would be called by their Arabic *ḥawājiz*. Yet out of four significant problems that currently face Palestinians in the West Bank, namely, the settlements, the wall, the checkpoints and closures, the first two are referred to in Arabic and have been the object of official protest, and the second two are referred to in Hebrew and have not been the subject of an effective campaign, I can hypothesise that the correspondence is not coincidental, and that Palestinian politicians and the media have a role to play in spreading specific Arabic terms.

Similarly, with regards to the workers' struggle for equal labour rights, it should be noted that the workers were poorly supported by Palestinian politicians and their efforts were not reported in the Arabic media (Alenat 2010). It is therefore not surprising that they would unselfconsciously use a Hebrew word, *lēška*, to refer to the institution that finally intervened to enforce the laws that protect them. The argument this thesis will put forward is that Hebrew borrowings are the outcome of practices taking place in the negotiation of specific historical relationships between Israelis and Palestinians in a given context. The examples in this chapter refer to concrete practices, such as the requirement to wear a helmet at a construction site or the obligation to stop at a red light. The fact that the terms for "helmet" and "traffic lights" are borrowed from Hebrew indicate that in all likelihood Israelis, in the name of whichever body, were the ones to enforce such practices. If and when the relationships are renegotiated, the linguistic practice will change accordingly. This is different from a linguistic change imposed by national policy in an independent state. The Palestinians do not have a state that would have the power to implement linguistic policy in the way that has been documented in other Arab countries. Nevertheless, such a policy would, theoretically, be only one possible practice of

renegotiation of Palestinian-Israeli relations.

This chapter builds on the previous description of the social context by giving examples of particular types of linguistic practices: borrowings from Hebrew. The social context is not construed as determining what linguistic practice can take place. Rather, the structure is both a result of previous practices and the basis for continuing practices through negotiated relationships between Israelis and Palestinians. The borrowings give evidence of types of limited contact between Israelis and Palestinians, which are inseparable from the political context of the contact. Categorising the straightforward lexical borrowings by the areas of contact makes it easier to expose the connection between the context and the linguistic practice. It will be seen in chapter 5 that the key to analysing this connection is ideology, defined here as a composite of concepts developed by agents to make sense of the world.

Chapter 4: Patterns of lexical borrowing and codeswitching: by function

4.1. Function in sociolinguistics

Halliday offers an analysis of utterances according to each text's 'macrofunctions': ideational, interpersonal and textual (Halliday 1970: 143). He uses the term 'macrofunction' to distinguish this from related functions on other levels of the language, for instance the grammatical function; these levels are not the concern of this chapter, therefore for the present purposes the term 'macrofunction' will be shortened to 'function'. Each text performs an ideational function, which expresses content by using lexis and grammar appropriate for the topic and for the need to build on available information. The interpersonal function organises the relationships between the participants, the authors and interlocutors, in the formation of the text, and expresses attitudes towards the message. The textual function enables the construction of the utterances into a coherent meaningful whole by referring both to the text itself and to the situation. This follows the view common to the London School of the (neo-) Firthians, and systemic linguistics, namely that language is an action that produces meaning in a social and linguistic context. This school builds on other research that views meaning as central to language and social context as crucial to meaning (functional linguistics and André Martinet, the Prague School and Roman Jakobson, pragmatics and Jürgen Habermas, among others).

The parameters of this study simplify Halliday's undertaking of developing a semantically meaningful grammar for texts of social significance by modelling a system of options in the production of texts.

"The task [...] is to specify both the meaning options available in a given [social] context or setting, and the possible combinations of lexicogrammatical options which can realize the semantic choices"

(Butler 1985: 60). In the present study, texts with social significance are chosen by the delimitation of the research: any text containing Hebrew borrowings in Palestinian speech is ipso facto of social significance for the purposes of this study. The question of options (since the meaning of the chosen option is at least in part defined in relation to what was not chosen) is also demarcated by the area of research, and therefore presents itself from the data gathered: the choice to be explained is the use of Hebrew items over Arabic. Thus two major fields of Halliday's inquiry are narrowed down in such a way as to indicate how to proceed with the functional analysis of my findings.

On no account is it suggested that all Hebrew use by Palestinians fulfils the same ideational, interpersonal and textual functions. Rather, in specific cases of Hebrew use it is significant to highlight the ideational function; in others the interpersonal functional component is more prominent. Normally, the ideational function is straightforward: using Saussure's distinction between the sign (here, Hebrew speech) and the signified (what the sign refers to), the linguistic item (usually a lexical item) as a sign is understood as it would be in Arabic, with the additional information that the source of the signified is directly or indirectly Israeli, because the utterance is realised in Hebrew. The interpersonal function organises the direct participants in the interaction in accordance to solidarity and power relations, with an indirect reference to wider social relations in the Palestinian context, in particular relations with Israelis. The textual function is the Hebrew itself: the use of Hebrew draws attention to the chosen language and its meaning for the other functions.

This chapter will use Halliday's functions to group together examples of Hebrew use where patterns of similar functions can be detected. The first is the delineation of 'in-groups' that use Hebrew

borrowings for convenient communication, excluding those who cannot use Hebrew freely for fear of social stigma or have not learnt the relevant terminology because of lack of exposure. The second section expands on a particular 'in-group' that merits special attention: the 'cool trendy youth' of Shuafat refugee camp. The last section deals with the use of Hebrew for ironic purposes, playing on the connotations of Israeli power attributed to Hebrew.

'In-group' is used here primarily to mean a category of people (workers in Israel, ex-prisoners, receivers of Israeli state services, consumerist youth, Palestinians living under military occupation) who are exposed to similar sources of Hebrew vocabulary, and therefore can use this vocabulary amongst themselves with the assumption that it will be readily understood, as "unmarked" borrowings. They are not necessarily a self-defined social group, and certainly not a "community of practice" which purposefully engages in linguistic and social exchange (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992).

Secondarily, the people who do constitute 'in-groups' as termed in this thesis are also conscious of the power of the shared experience to forge solidarities and will be aware that those outside that experience will require translation, transforming the Hebrew terms into "marked" borrowings.

In this chapter we move beyond simple interference such as borrowings to the use of Hebrew phrases for specific purposes in limited instances of codeswitching. Thomason shows that the boundaries between codeswitching and borrowing can be blurry. In general, sociolinguists such as Jeffrey Heath studying Moroccan, found that monolinguals can use borrowings but multilinguals can, additionally, codeswitch (Heath 1989). It is not necessary to enjoy competence in two or more languages in order to borrow individual terms. Codeswitching by bilinguals can sometimes act as a precursor to

permanent adoption of borrowings into a language also by monolinguals (Thomason 2001: 132-3). In this chapter it will be seen that the use of Hebrew for intersentential codeswitching is deliberately playing on distinctive connotations of Hebrew to Palestinians, and so are not likely to be “nativized” in the way the borrowings are (idem: 134). In the previous chapter, I referred to borrowings that are no longer considered foreign, and therefore do not require translation for those who are not expected to be acquainted with the same Hebrew terms that Palestinians know and use, as “unmarked borrowings”. “Marked borrowings”, on the other hand, continue to be recognised as foreign to Arabic, and will be translated if norms of politeness and speech accommodation stipulate so. In this chapter it will be seen that, similarly to codeswitching, marked borrowings can be displayed precisely for the function of their preserved Hebrew overtones.

4.2 Convenient communication among in-groups

Thomason distinguishes seven mechanisms of contact-induced change, three of which engender change in the language of the group that is absorbing the other, the dominant group’s language, and so are relevant here: codeswitching (including mixing), code alternation and passive familiarity.

Second language acquisition can engender change both in the target language, if a large group of learners uses the target language with enduring differences from other groups of speakers, and in the first language through borrowings (Thomason 2001: 129-156).

As revealed in Chapter 3, all Palestinians share borrowed Hebrew vocabulary for certain practices of

the Israeli military and for some commonly used products introduced to the Palestinian market by Israeli firms. This vocabulary constitutes the basic, minimal, level of Hebrew borrowings in use in the Occupied Palestinian Territories, a level considered “optimal” in relation to norms that disapprove of Hebrew interference. It is also the vocabulary that is most likely to remain a feature of Palestinian Arabic. Some of the lexical items have Arabic equivalents that are also commonly used, such as the Hebrew borrowing *sēger*, for closure in the meaning of a temporary military order that forbids passage of Palestinians between Palestinian localities, which competes with the colloquial Arabic *taskīr* and the Standard Arabic *iglāq*. Palestinians who often have to pass checkpoints, like taxi drivers, are more likely to hear *sēger* from Israeli soldiers telling them why they cannot get through, and so they will be more familiar with the term than Palestinians who cross checkpoints less often. Even passive familiarity, when very little is known of the other language, can vary according to exposure.

Hebrew borrowings relating to the military occupation, such as *maḥsōm* (checkpoint), *okef* (bypass road) or *išur* (permit), will be used in the West Bank to simply provide information about the road to work, as in the following example in a minibus near Bethlehem in spring 2003, during the Second intifada.

Passenger:

kīf	it-	ṭuruk	il-	yōm	ya	šufēr?
how	[def. art.]	roads	[def. art.]	day	[vocative]	driver?

How are the roads today, driver?

Driver:

walla	zayy	iz-	zift.	il-	<u>okef</u>	msakkar.
really	like	[def. art.]	dirt	[def. art.]	<u>bypass road</u>	closed.

Really bad. The bypass road is closed.

Driver [to all passengers, in a loud voice]:

fī	ḥada	hōn	fīš	ma'o	<u>išur?</u>
there is	one	here	there isn't	with him	<u>permit?</u>

Is there anyone here who doesn't have a permit?

Another, female, passenger:

la'	walla,	fīš	ma'i.	ma'i	biṭā'at	mustašfa.
no	really	there isn't	with me.	with me	note [+ genitive construct]	hospital.

No, I'm afraid I don't have one. I have a note from the hospital.

Driver [with an exasperated expression]:

ṭayyib	inzili	'abl	il-	<u>maḥsōm.</u>
alright	go down [imp. sing. fem.]	before	[def. art.]	<u>checkpoint.</u>

Alright, you'll get off before the checkpoint.

I overheard this exchange when I was a student of Hebrew and Arabic living in the region; I took note

of it because I was surprised to identify Hebrew in the Arabic speech. I was not the intended

addressee: holders of foreign passports did not need permits to cross checkpoints in the Jerusalem

and Bethlehem regions at the time. The driver's speech fulfils the communicative purpose of the referential function only because the addressees are acquainted with the terms and the realities they refer to. An outsider like me, or Arabs from other countries, or even Palestinians who have lived abroad during the entrenchment of the military occupation, will be assumed to require translation of the marked borrowings. In this situation, the driver, whose nerves were already frayed by difficult transport conditions, did not bother to check that I had understood what was being said (under the circumstances, I was not offended, though theoretically this was impolite). Had there been somebody there who needed translation, I would assume that only the unmarked borrowing *maḥsōm* would have been left untranslated in this example. Convergence of content, a type of polite accommodation requiring one to simplify or explain what might be obscure concepts to an interlocutor, for this particular speaker would have required effort that he was not prepared to make (Giles and Smith 1979: 48).

The fact that most of the borrowed items I could record were initially translated or explained for me, and that others were overheard in conversations between Palestinians, and that very few were used freely, untranslated, in speech addressing me, signals that the speakers were aware that the borrowings fulfil their ideational function of convenient communication only within a specific 'in-group'. The broadest 'in-group' is a very loose category which extends basically to all Palestinians from the Occupied Palestinian Territories, who would understand all borrowings relating to two of the topics described in the last chapter: Israeli products and the military. There are narrower 'in-groups' within

the broadest category: the large subgroup of day-migrant workers in Israel would additionally share use of terms relating to work, the sub-group of political prisoners, and of those using state social services, would share specific terminology from those topics. Since the groups are not in competition nor hermetically self-contained, borrowings leak from sub-group to sub-group and spread to other insiders in the broadest sense, as seen for instance in the spread of the Hebrew borrowing *menahēl*, “boss” from the work topic to a meaning used in a wider range of contexts akin to “the big cheese”, or *maxšīr*, “walkie-talkie”, which spread from the military topic to civilian circles, like taxi businesses. Achieving insider status by an outsider would be signalled by the free use of Hebrew borrowings, enabling convenient informative communication in a range of situations. This would not be a mark of pride, but would reflect sharing the experience of life under Israeli occupation.

The range of situations in which Hebrew borrowings would be convenient is further limited by the perceived formality of the situation. This is related to official attitudes to Hebrew, analysed in 5.2.1.

The more formal the speech required by the situation, the more aware of official attitudes the speaker would normally be, and try to match them by avoiding at least some marked Hebrew borrowings. This is tested in practice, in a limited fashion, in this research, evidenced by the formality required by an interview setting with some speakers (particularly older men, as seen in 2.2.4). Further exploration of the constraints posed by formality on the use of Hebrew would require recording speech in formal settings, which is outside the scope of this thesis. My outsider status compounded the problem, as politeness required convergence towards my presumed linguistic needs.

4.2.1 The political prisoners' 'in-group'

Nevertheless, I was able to witness, again in a limited fashion, that insider sub-group identity can lead to divergence and greater use of Hebrew. I have in mind the three former political prisoners I questioned specifically about their time in prison. The three were least likely to translate Hebrew borrowings for my benefit, and the ex-prisoner from Shuafat refugee camp, Z.Z., used Hebrew borrowings beyond the limits of the prison topic. Early in autumn 2007 I served him and his family tea and cake at my student residence, for instance, and he noted:

inti	ṭabaxti	<u>uga</u>	<u>ka-</u>	<u>zot.</u>
you	cooked [fem.]	<u>cake</u>	<u>like</u>	<u>this.</u>

You made a sort of cake.

(I interpreted it as a compliment.) Later, we were driving around Jerusalem and he remarked to his wife (who was not a former prisoner, was well-educated, and from Jerusalem's Old City) who seldom used Hebrew borrowings:

minliff	'a-	t-	<u>tayēlet</u>	u	minfarjī-	ha	'a-	n-	<u>nof.</u>
go around [1st person plur.]	to	[def. art.]	<u>promenade</u>	and	show [1st person plur.]	her	to	[def. art.]	<u>view.</u>

We will drive around to the promenade and show her the view.

When we reached the promenade, which is known in Hebrew as Ha-Tayelet, he asked me:

šū	rāy-	ik	fi	n-	<u>nof</u>	hāda?
what	opinion	your [fem. sing.]	about	[def. art.]	<u>view</u>	this?

What do you think of this view?

Near Dheisheh refugee camp I spoke with A.A., who became a prisoner representative at meetings with the Israeli prison administration thanks to his good command of Hebrew. He proudly recounted a trick he had played on the Israeli guards: he used a clandestine mobile 'phone to order 75 pizzas from a pizza shop in a nearby town, to be delivered to the prison. When the pizzas arrived the guards searched around for the person who had ordered them. When it became clear that it was none of the Israeli administrators, they sent directly for A.A. They knew that of all the prisoners, only he could have pulled it off because his lack of accent in Hebrew would have fooled the pizza shop into thinking it was a bona fide order from the prison administrators.

K.X. in Tulkarem refugee camp responded to my question on how the political factions maintained discipline within the prisons.

N:

zayy	kīf	il-	'iqāb?
like	how	[def.art.]	punishment?

Like what was the punishment [for breaking party rules]?

K.X.:

il-	'iqāb...	mumkin	inno	yīḡsil	usbū'	<u>magašāt</u>
[def. art.]	punishment...	could be	that	wash [3 rd pers. sing.]	week	<u>trays</u>

u	ṭanājir.	mumkin	inno	yikūn	illo	'azil,
and	pots.	could be	that	he was	to him	solitary,

mamnū'	ḥad	yikalm-	o	fi	haḍāk	il-	laḥza.
forbidden	anyone	talk	to him	in	that	[def. art.]	moment.

fī	šaḡlāt	kfīra	kān	mumkin	yiqūm	fīha.
there are	things	many	was	possible	do	in it.

ṭab'an	aḥamm	ḥāje	inno	xod-	lak	usbū'
of course	most important	thing	that	take	yourself	week

jali	<u>magašāt</u>	u	ṭanājir.
dishwashing	<u>trays</u>	and	pots.

The punishment... could be to wash trays and pots for a week. It could be that he was put in isolation,

it was forbidden for anyone to talk to him for a time. There were many things that could be done. Of

course the most important thing was to impose a week of dishwashing, trays and pots.

I doubt there was any view in the prison, nor cake, since even the pizzas were consumed by the Israeli guards. Yet knowing Hebrew in prison brought clear advantages. The longer one stayed in prison, the better Hebrew one learnt, especially if the prisoners' committees organised lessons, in which case they would have absorbed Hebrew through the mechanism of second-language acquisition. The experience they lived through means they use terms such as *magaš* for a common household item, a tray, in a way that Palestinians spared that experience would never consider. At the same time, the longer the stay in prison, the greater the "badge of honour" awarded to the political prisoner. Since A.A., K.X. and especially Z.Z. used Hebrew borrowings freely with me or others who did not experience Israeli prison conditions, it is highly probable that they use even more when they are among comrades from the political prisoners' in-group with whom they do not need to politely converge for ease of communication. Moreover, in comparison to other men of their age group, the middle generation, the three former political prisoners were comparatively less likely to translate for me and thus engage in polite convergence of content: as mentioned, they used marked Hebrew borrowings freely. This relative divergence could be taken to signal that their Hebrew use is a way of displaying their "badge of honour". If this is true, then Hebrew for the prisoners exerts the attraction of covert prestige.

Of course, this "badge of honour" comes with a heavy load of psychological distress caused by prolonged imprisonment and the damage this causes to relationships; the use of Hebrew can also be

interpreted as yet another social disability the former prisoners acquired in prison. The second interpretation is closer to the norms derived from official negative attitudes to Hebrew, but the first, according to which more Hebrew is a mark of prolonged prison experience and by consequence a source of pride, is nearer to how the prisoners themselves would wish to see it. On the one hand, the political prisoners are highly valued in Palestinian society for their sometimes mythologised role in the Palestinian resistance to the Israeli occupation, yet on the other hand, the Hebrew that marks their speech apart is de-valued. This attitudinal dilemma is probably resolved differently by different former prisoners according to the situation of their speech, but I could only witness how they spoke in my presence. Z.Z.'s wife listed his use of Hebrew as one of the many manifestations of the psychological damage her husband had suffered; Z.Z. himself, who organises an association providing rehabilitative help to released political prisoners and their families, did not mention language as a problem.

4.2.2 The day-migrant workers' 'in-group'

Work in Israel is not a source of pride in the way that prison time is. However, providing for one's family is, especially for male bread-winners. Challenging both the gender stereotypes and the lack of pride at working in Israel is one woman speaker in Dheisheh refugee camp, U.A. Highlighting her as the exception will shed light on the rule, taking the scores of examples provided in chapter 3.2 as the norm of workers' speech. This excerpt of U.A.'s speech is from the beginning of the interview, after introductions and my explanation of the research's objectives; the entire transcript is in Appendix 3. It is immediately preceded by my contact mentioning that I live in London, where I am married. We are

sitting in U.A.'s living room in the presence of her husband and children. We have interrupted her housework.

U.A. [motioning wearily to her husband]:

šūfī-		lo		'arūs.
look [imperative 2nd person sing. fem.]		to him		bride.

Find him a bride.

N [with joking surprise]:

šū,		miš		inti		il-		'arūs?
what,		not		you [fem.]		[def. art.]		bride?

What, aren't you the bride?

U.A.:

kān		<u>mi</u>		<u>zman,</u>		<u>ken.</u>		<u>masbīk,</u>		hāḏa.
was		<u>from</u>		<u>time,</u>		<u>yes.</u>		<u>enough,</u>		that.

That was a long time ago, yes. Enough of that.

bti'rifi,			ana		nsīt		il-		inglīzi		šway.
-----------	--	--	-----	--	------	--	-----	--	---------	--	-------

know, [2 nd pers. sing. fem.]	I	forgot	[def. art.]	English	little.
--	---	--------	-------------	---------	---------

You know, I've forgotten English a bit.

N:

la,	iḥki	bi-	I-	'arabi.	ana	bafham.
no,	speak [imperative 2nd person sing.]	in	[def. art.]	Arabic.	I	understand.

No, speak in Arabic. I'll understand.

U.A.:

ana	dāyman	biddi	aḥki	bi-	I-	'ivrit,	lēš?
I	always	want	speak [1 st pers. sing.]	in	[def. art.]	<u>Hebrew,</u>	why?

I always want to speak in Hebrew. Why?

kul	yōm	baḥki	bi-	I-	'ibrāni.
every	day	speak [1 st pers. sing.]	in	[def. art.]	Hebrew.

Every day I speak Hebrew.

N:

inti	btištiḡli	kul	yōm?
you [fem.]	work	every	day?

You work every day?

U.A.'s husband [butting in]:

isma'i	nānsi,	hiye	lā	btiḡki	lā
listen [imperative 2nd person sing. fem.]	Nancy,	she	not	speak [3rd pers. fem.]	not

'arabi,	wa-	la	inglīzi	wa-	la	'ibrāni.
Arabic,	and	not	English	and	not	Hebrew.

Listen Nancy, she doesn't speak Arabic, English or Hebrew.

N:

kīf	ya'ni?
how	mean [3rd pers. sing.]

What do you mean?

U.A. [impatiently]:

mazbūt,	mazbūt	ya'ni?
true,	true	mean [3rd pers. sing.]?

Is that so?

<u>ma?</u>	ēš	biddik	aḥkī-	lik	inti?
<u>what?</u>	what	want [2nd pers. sing.]	say [1st pers. sing.]	to you [fem. sing.]	you?

What? What do you want me to tell you?

[defiantly]

ana	am	baštaḡel	bi-	isra'īl.
I	[present continuous]	work [1st pers. sing.]	in	Israel.

I work in Israel.

N:

u	šū	šuḡl-	ik?
and	what	job	your [fem.]?

And what's your job?

U.A.:

<u>nikayōn.</u>	bi-	n-	naḏḏāfe,	ya'ni.
<u>cleaning.</u>	in	[def. art.]	cleaning,	mean [3rd pers. sing.].
<u>Cleaning.</u> Cleaning, I mean.				

In retrospect it is clear that at least some of this exchange that nominally took place between U.A. and me was actually for the benefit of the husband. Ongoing themes for teasing each other, her speech and his getting another wife, were revisited in front of me. In both cases I mistakenly thought that they were actually addressing me, and responded as if I were part of the conversation rather than just a proxy for their teasing.

The context for this was given later in the conversation: U.A.'s husband became ill five years ago, and though he receives a small pension, it is not enough to support the family, so U.A. went to look for a wage-paying job for the first time in her life, at the age of 40. She is now the main bread-winner in the family. She is proud of doing a good job at cleaning the private homes of her Israeli customers and gaining their trust to such a degree that they lend her their house keys and confide in her about their children. This trust would not be as special if the customers were not Israelis, who would be expected to look upon all Arabs with suspicion because of their potential allegiance to hostile Palestinian militant groups. Nevertheless, these good customers have not arranged a work permit for U.A. that would allow her to travel through checkpoints into Israel to do her job. Without a permit, she must get up at 3am and walk through the hills to the west of Bethlehem, risking arrest by the Israeli army.

When she returns home in the afternoon, she does the housework. She has no will or energy left after

that to also put effort into the marital relationship. She suggests her husband finds another wife to fulfil the marital duties. U.A. is using Hebrew to remind her husband that she is not a simple housewife but rather she has a wage-earning job in Israel.

Some of U.A.'s use of Hebrew is common, for instance referring to her job as a cleaner as *nikayōn*, which in Hebrew means "cleaning", in the last sentence of the conversation cited above. In

Palestinian Arabic, this is a common term for such a job in Israel, but would not be used to refer to housework. Here, she translates the term for me, indicating that the interview with me has started in earnest, conforming to the pattern of interviews with migrant workers who translated Hebrew terms for me in order to politely accommodate their speech to my linguistic needs.

The prelude, which included unusual Hebrew use, was for the ears of the husband. After her initial salvo of "find him a bride", in other words, "get him a replacement wife because I couldn't be bothered with him any more", she drives it home further with [I was his bride, but] "that was a long time ago, yes. Enough of that." This includes an unusual stretch of Hebrew and, in view of U.A.'s personal background and particular character, and in the absence of evidence showing similar Hebrew use by anyone else in the sample I collected, I would label it idiosyncratic speech. The Hebrew *mi zman*, meaning "a long time ago" is similar to the Arabic equivalent *min zamān*, evidence of the shared Semitic roots of the languages. Her choice of Hebrew over the other can only be motivated by her wish to distinguish herself, as interpreted by accommodation theory: her divergence from how the other women in the camp speak is a social signal to her husband and everyone else who is listening.

The Hebrew *maspik*, which means “enough” has been phonetically arabised by U.A., because Arabic speech sometimes transforms the phoneme [p] into [b] in borrowings, rendering *masbīk*.

He ruminates over his repartee until he comes up with “Listen Nancy, she doesn’t speak Arabic, English or Hebrew” eight sentences down the line. He (and their son; see Appendix 3) is piqued that his wife should want to remind him of her bread-winner status, which he had in the past held, by speaking Hebrew, and so teases her precisely about her language.

In my judgement, U.A. is not complaining that Hebrew interferes in her daily speech: she is too proud to confide any possible distress about her employment situation, except for the tiresome and dangerous route to work. Her complaints focus on the need for a work permit to enter Israel. She is even too proud to admit any regrets she might have entertained about not finishing her studies and learning English, only stoically remarking that they will let their children study. If anything, she is showing off, both with regards to her work and her language skills. The Hebrew she knows and displays, and even goes on to teach her interlocutors at the end of the interview, gives her legitimacy to talk about the nature of Israelis and their politics. She has privileged access to this information through her job as a house cleaner, which is both the cause and the consequence of her use of Hebrew, exemplified in the reported speech with her clients included in the interview. Different interpretations of U.A.’s behaviour are possible; what is presented here is based on observations of the relationship between U.A. and her husband in their common endeavour to provide a certain standard of living – a good education, an open mind towards Israelis, a nutritious diet, a clean house and a beautiful garden – for their children, despite the adverse conditions.

The transcript of the interview with U.A. is provided in Appendix 3. In view of the fact that none of the other respondents in the study used Hebrew in this way, her example is analysed as a unique occurrence. It is to be contrasted with the speech of J.M. in Appendix 2, which exemplifies the standard of minimal Hebrew borrowing practice in an interview setting, similar to all the respondents whose speech is included in Chapter 3.

Taking as a premise that all Palestinians who live under Israeli occupation have some passive knowledge of Hebrew, it appears that some workers, especially contractors, additionally alternate codes between the work setting and the home setting (where the participant observations and the interviews for this study took place). This proposition is supported by instances when a contractor or worker was overheard speaking on the mobile 'phone to his employer in fluent Hebrew appropriate for the work setting, albeit with an accent and simplified grammar. Code alternation occurs when only one language is appropriate for a particular setting, there are multiple settings, and code switching within each setting is unacceptable because of social norms or personal language behaviour (in the case of educated individual bilingual speakers in Thomason's examples; Thomason 2001: 136).

When this happens, it is sometimes difficult for speakers to ignore their knowledge of the other language, and so some interference leaks into the other setting. According to Thomason, "... lexical interference is considerably less prevalent in code alternation than in (for instance) code switching, but this impression is based on such a small amount of data that its validity must be questioned."

(Thomason 2001: 139)

Male migrant workers, and female migrant workers in different personal circumstances from U.A.'s, do not experience work in Israel as a course to emancipation. During my doctoral research and the research for my Masters dissertation that focused on the migrant workers, the most common topic mentioned by them was the precariousness of their employment, the unsafe work conditions, the difficulty in reaching their workplace, and the discrimination experienced there in terms of unequal pay and lack of benefits such as paid leave or injury compensation. Work in Israel is confined to menial jobs and as such are not highly valued in Palestinian society. Work in Israeli settlements in the Occupied Palestinian Territories in particular is disapproved of because it is seen as advancing the dispossession of Palestinians, and has been made illegal by the Palestinian Authority (though no one has so far been prosecuted for it). Furthermore, the migrant workers did accumulate relative wealth during the heyday of work in Israel in the 1980s, and were able to build homes for their families that they would not have been able to afford on Palestinian wages, and not many Palestinians have sympathy for the workers now that their jobs are lost due to restrictive Israeli policies (detailed in Chapter 1).

In this context, and as recorded in my interviews, Palestinian workers use Hebrew with an outsider only for technical terms when there is no Arabic equivalent in their repertoire (detailed in chapter 3, section 3.2). After I had finished my fieldwork I asked a former migrant worker specifically about the linguistic impact of his work in Israel. He reported that sometimes, coming home tired after a day's work in the kitchen of an Israeli restaurant, he would address his mother in Hebrew by mistake. He

laughed at the inappropriateness of it. With insiders, among other Palestinian migrant workers, there is no impropriety at using Hebrew borrowings freely, since they are all in the same situation and not in a position to judge the other. The interpersonal and the ideational functions of Hebrew borrowings reinforce each other. Without being able to witness it, I cannot know whether there is an “optimal level” of Hebrew borrowing beyond which it is judged inappropriate even by other migrant workers.

“Optimal level” is a term adapted from accommodation theory, according to which polite convergence towards the interlocutor’s code can, if carried too far, have the effect of sounding patronising rather than polite, as when a native speaker addresses foreigners as if they were children, or when a politician strives to sound as if he were in touch with street slang (Giles and Smith 1979). In this thesis, ‘optimal level’ is the expression of the theoretical need to define a norm including unmarked Hebrew borrowings, which is accepted by the majority of Palestinian speakers. As indicated above, the “markedness” of Hebrew in Palestinian Arabic is to some degree a subjective assessment, and varies in acceptability from in-group to in-group. In this context, the “optimal level” for a particular in-group would be a norm accepting the free use of some Hebrew vocabulary corresponding to a particular experience, and exceeding this norm (this “optimal level”) would incur non-acceptance, similarly to the effects described in accommodation theory. Some former migrant workers I questioned after the fieldwork indicated that there might be. This level would be somewhere between the use of Hebrew borrowings for convenience of communication among the in-group, perceived as purely ideational function, and the use of Hebrew for signalling an aspiration to consumerist, “trendy” lifestyle (as described in the next section).

4.3 Speech behaviour signalling modern lifestyle

I have hesitated in formulating a title for this section because the connotations of Hebrew slang in Palestinian Arabic are difficult to capture. I toyed with the idea of calling it “aspirations for a youth-oriented modern lifestyle” or “emulating the perceived consumerist lifestyle of Israelis”. No title seemed to do it justice: not only young people used Hebrew in this way, and not only those who espoused consumerism, but also members of older generations, or those getting by on a thrifty existence, could use Hebrew to achieve connotations of all these elements. The patterns of functions can be generalised, however. The ideational functional component, apart from saying what needs to be said to provide information in the conversation, is the added information about the speaker, who is saying something along the lines of “I am cool” and “I rebel against nationalist linguistic norms”. The interpersonal function is to challenge the interlocutor to either join the “cool” and modern trendies by responding linguistically in like fashion, or to reject what their manner of speech stands for. The textual function is the use of Hebrew beyond the minimal, acceptable, level.

4.3.1 “Good boys” don’t get the girls: rebelling against social norms

Unfortunately, “cool slang” is where I have the least evidence and where more fieldwork is needed – preferably to be done by someone young and local who can get closer to the necessary data. This slang can be overheard in Jerusalem from Palestinian youth sitting at the back of buses. They talk of fashion, mobile phones and where to watch girls. In four of the seven families where I did interviews in

Shuafat refugee camp I found younger members of the family, usually in their late teens, who seemed to be more interested than the others in mobile phone ringtones, flashy accessories and consumer-culture symbols in general. These were generally youths who chose their partners and married young (both men and women). They had not completed secondary education and worked hard in menial jobs in Israel. I was discouraged from interviewing them by other members of the family, with the comment, “they aren’t educated” or “they can’t speak seriously”. In the few conversations I managed to have with these youths, they found it difficult to avoid Hebrew expressions: when having the choice between Hebrew and Arabic equivalents, Hebrew would be preferred.

M.X., mentioned in 2.2.6 regarding my difficulties in reaching young men in settings favourable to recording them, is a typical example. His long hair and his plans for the evening gave him away as a “bad boy”. Another one, O.R., who could not remember the Arabic for “air conditioning” after spontaneously uttering the Hebrew borrowing for it, is another case in point (see 2.5). His sister, A.Z., who had introduced us, had warned me that I would not get any useful information out of interviewing him, because he was only interested in shoes. At 16, much of his wages earned in a tile factory in Israel went towards buying trainers. Recently I found out that he had married his teenage sweetheart as soon as they had reached the age of consent. His brother, I.R., close to him in age, also working in Israel, also having dropped out of school at sixteen, lived in the same house and frequented overlapping networks of acquaintances in the family and in their neighbourhood, but being interested in politics and not in shoes, he used no Hebrew except for that conforming to the pattern of migrant workers: minimal and translated for my benefit.

This situation only arose in Shuafat refugee camp. Partly, this contributes to Shuafat refugee camp's bad reputation that I was warned about. I was told that because of Shuafat refugee camp's proximity to West Jerusalem, the young people there had taken on bad Israeli habits. Choosing one's partner at a young age is considered such a habit: "good boys" like I.R. don't get the girls. I.R., 18 years old, arranged for me to interview his best friend, F.X., who was shy and polite, and answered, like I.R., with minimal Hebrew relating to his work in Israel and when he could, he translated it into Arabic for me. My last question was about his plans for the future. He shrugged. As soon as the voice recorder was switched off, he gave his answer, in a surprisingly passionate lengthy outburst. Since I could only take notes a while after I had left the house, I can only reproduce the gist of it. It contained no Hebrew borrowings, but it clarified much about the life choices open to young Palestinian men in Jerusalem: "My future? My future is me keeping my head down and not getting into trouble because the police will use any excuse to lock me up or beat me. And if I'm in prison I can earn no money and money is what I need, everybody just wants me to bring home the dough. That's what I am, I am a donkey pulling the load just to make a living for everyone else and save up, save up, always save up so that if I'm lucky before I'm 40 I'll have enough to marry a nice girl, hopefully nice and not too demanding because otherwise it'll be work work, work work, until I die of some disease from the work conditions I have to put up with, because if I make a fuss I'll lose my job and then there's no money. That's my future and I don't care what plans Fatah or Hamas have for me." I.R. looked at his friend in amazement and at me in amusement, wondering whether I had understood the radical implications of this statement. He evidently agreed with it. Somewhat shocked, I pointed out that they were clever

and could surely enrol in a study programme to improve their chances in life. I was met with silence.

I.R.'s sisters had all completed university and worked in professional vocations. I.R. commented

impassively, "we worked to make that possible." Against the backdrop of the bleak picture F.X.

painted for the men who conformed to social expectations of them, it was not surprising that some

young men rebelled and chose to spend their hard-earned money on whatever they wanted, and be

with the partner of their choice, when they chose. They wanted "the good life". These rebels were the

ones who used Hebrew in the way that I hope to describe in this section, despite the difficulties in

recording it.

4.3.2 Wanting the good life

The most common marker of this type of speech is *bsēder*, "okay", which is used as a tag at the end

of a sentence in the example spoken by a young man, H.H., from Shuafat refugee camp, to his wife

when they decided to take me on a daytrip to Jericho towards the end of my stay in the West Bank.

H.H.:

minṣuff	hōn	u	minrūḥ	'a-	l-	maṭ'am,	<u>bsēder?</u>
park [1 st pers. plur.]	here	and	walk [1 st pers. plur.]	to	[def.art.]	restaurant,	<u>okay?</u>

We'll park here and go to the restaurant, okay?

Bsēder is a particularly easy individual item to adopt and spread as a marker of slang speech,

because it works syntactically like a tag-question, independent of the main proposition, and is

separated from it by an audible pause.

On another occasion, H.H.'s wife invited me to join her on a shopping trip to the Jerusalem Mall:

biddik	tīji	ma'-	i	'a-	I-	<u>kenyon</u>	aštri	fusṭān	la-	dīna?
want [2 nd	come	with	me	to	[def. art.]	<u>shopping</u>	buy [1 st	dress	for	Dina?
pers. sing.]						<u>centre</u>	pers. sing.]			

Do you want to come with me to the shopping centre? I'm going to buy a dress for Dina.

Alas I turned down the invitation due to a prior engagement. It would have been the perfect setting for a sociolinguistic micro-study of the phenomenon that I was slowly beginning to identify. The shopping centre embodies the consumerist lifestyle that the Shuafat camp “bad boys” aspire to but cannot afford. Consumerism and individualism appeals like a glamorous illusion of freedom that in fact makes them all the more dependent on the Israeli economy, both for jobs and consumer products. I have seen the word *kenyon*, Hebrew for “shopping centre”, written in Arabic script on a flier in the Palestinian town of Sakhnin inside Israel (see illustration below, which includes the borrowing from Hebrew, *kenyon* (underlined in the caption), and the borrowing from American English with the same meaning, *mall* (in bold in the caption)). It is therefore possible that it has spread into common use as an unmarked borrowing in Shuafat refugee camp from the speech and written language of Palestinian citizens of Israel.

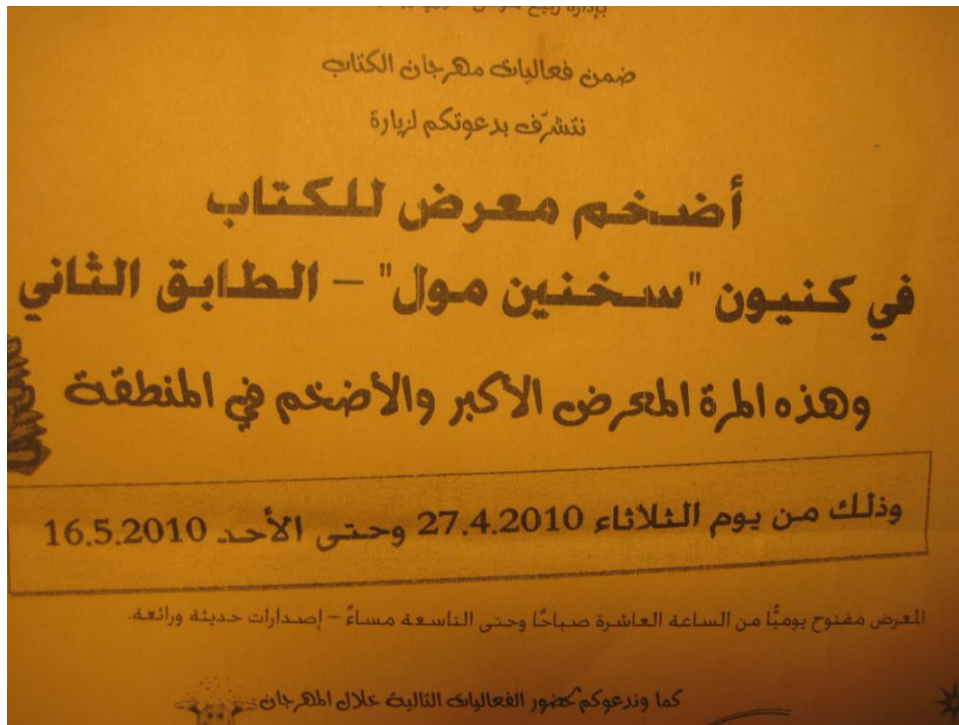


Illustration: Flier inviting to an event at "Kenyon Sakhnin Mall".

Another example linked to the aspirations for “the good life” is the translation of the Hebrew superlative exclamation *xaval al ha-zman*, literally “waste of time”, but used as a mark of approval, along the lines of “it was too good for words so it would be a waste of time to look for terms to describe it”. This distinctive Israeli idiom has been translated into Arabic, giving the calque *xsāra ‘a/-wa’et*. This has entered “cool slang”, as in the following example among my 15-year-old English pupils in Shuafat refugee camp (the calque from Hebrew is in bold to distinguish it from proper borrowings):

ḥḍirət	il-	bond	il-	axīr,	xsāra	'a-	l-	wa'et.
saw [1 st	[def. art.]	Bond	[def. art.]	latest,	waste	of	[def. art.]	time.
pers. sing.]								

I saw the latest Bond film; it was too good for words.

4.3.3 Discourse markers *kvar*, *dafka*, *bidīyuk*

A single woman from Shuafat refugee camp, working as an instructor for children with special needs,

told me:

ṣaḥibt-	i	min	it-	ṭanawīye	<u>kvar</u>	tjawwazat	u	xallafat.
friend	my	from	[def.art.]	secondary	<u>already</u>	married	and	gave birth.
[fem.]						[fem.]		

My friend from secondary school has already gotten married and has children.

There is no convenient word for “already” in Arabic, so the Hebrew borrowing *kvar* fills a lexical gap.

The sense of 'past-with-current-discoursal-relevance' conveyed in English by “already” and Hebrew

kvar would be rendered in formal standard Arabic by the particle *qad*, and in other dialect speech by a

variety of adverbial circumlocutions.

I overheard A.R., a young woman, speaking on the telephone to a friend who could not join her for a

party:

xṣāra	inno	mriḏti	<u>dafka</u>	il-	yōm.
pity	that	fell ill [2 nd pers. sing. fem.]		[def.art.]	day

What a pity that you have fallen ill today of all days.

There is no simple translation of *dafka* into English or Arabic. In French it can be rendered as

“justement” in some contexts, in German as “gerade”. Again, this is a lexical gap filler that one can

manage without, but it is convenient if one can resort to it, for instance by borrowing it from Hebrew, if one doesn't mind sounding slang-like. The interview recorded with A.R. and her husband H.R. is the closest I was able to approach the recording of a young "trendy, modern" couple, their aspirations for "the good life" are reflected in the oft-repeated word *tumūh*, meaning "ambitions"; the transcript of parts of this interview is included in Appendix 1. A.R. worked in the customer service department of a kitchen appliance showroom and H.R. worked in the cleaning unit of a West Jerusalem hotel. They had met at an evening class in computer programming when they were 18 years old, and married a couple of years later, not long before the interview was recorded. The interview testifies to the linguistic struggle to override the tendency towards Hebrew borrowings and adopt a language in line with the norms for a recorded interview. They correct Hebrew borrowings to Arabic, look for translations, including translations into Standard Arabic, use English borrowings from elite, educated cool slang (discussed below), especially in connection with experiences in Ramallah, and laugh in embarrassment when Hebrew nevertheless slips out. The excerpts from the interview reproduced in Appendix 1 show that though the three speakers were at ease with the presence of the researcher, relaxed enough to tease each other, A.R. in particular was aware of the need to project an image of being educated, ambitious and modern, in view of what she assumed I as the researcher would myself value. Some of the linguistic efforts, in particular the display of English and the correction of Hebrew "working class" use, can be attributed to the projection of this image.

When asked how much tax was deducted from his gross salary in Israel, S.I. replied:

biddik	ta'rafi	<u>bidiyuk</u>	'addēš?
want [2 nd pers. sing. fem.]	know [2 nd pers. sing. fem.]	<u>exactly</u>	how much?

You want to know exactly how much?

In contrast to the first two, *bidiyuk* does have a viable Arabic equivalent *bizzabaf*, “exactly”. The use of the Hebrew borrowing is part of the “cool slang” style. This was one of the rare occasions when Hebrew with the connotations of “cool slang” was spoken directly to me in Shuafat refugee camp. I took it as a sign that I was becoming a little bit cool, too.

English borrowings are also cool, but are not subject to the same negative evaluation as the Hebrew borrowings. University-educated youths, also cool, will use *ōlredi* for “already” in the same way as Shuafat “bad boys” (and girls) can resort to *kvar*. English borrowings can connote consumerist aspirations for the educated, professional and relatively wealthy, while Hebrew slang does the same for those with little means in Shuafat refugee camp. The terms for “air conditioning” are another case in point. A sleek young man in Shuafat refugee camp will use the Hebrew *mazgān*, while in Ramallah in an equivalent situation one may hear *kondišən*. I witnessed a conversation in Tulkarem refugee camp in which a man in his early twenties (who conforms to my depiction of “trendy consumerist youths”) was admonished by his grandmother for not picking her up that day to take her to the market.

He replied that he could not drive the car in the heat because it didn't have air conditioning, using the Hebrew term: *mā fi fiha mazgan* (“there is no air conditioning in it”). She retorted that whether it had air conditioning or not, she still needed to go the market to do her shopping, using the Arabic for air

conditioning, *mukayyaf. mukayyaf mā mukayyaf, lāzem arūḥ 'a s-sū' aštri ġrād*. A different grandson of the same woman, who told me he worked in Ramallah, interjected jokingly to expose his errant cousin, turning to the other relatives present: *sme'tu? mā bi'dar yisū' sayyāra fiš fiha kondišən*, “Did you hear? He can’t drive a car without air conditioning”, using the word derived from English, *kondišən*. The grandson using Hebrew was the “bad boy” of the family while the one working in Ramallah was seen as successful.

4.3.4 Older people can be cool too

At a child’s birthday party in Shuafat refugee camp, I witnessed a woman from the 1948 generation using “cool slang”. The grandmother of the child in question had refused to take part in the festivities on the grounds that it had been ruled sinful by some religious edict. Finally she was persuaded to join the fun by the young and trendy parents (who fit my description of consumerist youth outlined above). At the end of the party, the father asked the grandmother in Arabic, *kīf kār?* “How was it?” After a moment’s reflection she answered *yōfi* “fine” in informal Hebrew. He seemed as taken aback as I was to hear an elderly religious lady speak slang, but gathered his wits enough to respond *tōfi*, completing the slang expression *yōfi tōfi*, meaning “okey dokey”. My interpretation is that the woman’s choice of language implied that the party was fine in that trendy, modern, perhaps unislamic, way that the young couple aspired to. He confirmed that he understood that implication when he answered in Hebrew slang. This woman's lifestyle seemed to favour conservatism and religiosity, not shopping and eating out, but she nevertheless could resort to Hebrew to connote young trendiness.

A.M. who entertained me in Tulkarem refugee camp (see 2.2.5) told me over supper of a conversation he had had with an Israeli customer at his son's shop, in the days (during the 1980s) when unhindered travel between the West Bank and Israel was still possible. The customer came often to have his electrical appliances repaired, and waited for the work to be finished while drinking coffee with A.M., who reportedly told him:

miš	iḥna	čilna	abnā'	brahīm?
not	we	all	children	Abraham?

Are we not all children of Abraham?

falešṭīn	lāzem	tinqasim	<u>xētsi</u>	<u>xētsi.</u>
Palestine	must	be divided	<u>half</u>	<u>half.</u>

Palestine must be shared half and half.

A.M. could speak Hebrew: he told me he had learnt it to be able to fill out forms required by the military administration of the West Bank. Yet of the reported Hebrew conversation, only *xētsi xētsi*, “fifty fifty” or “half and half”, appeared, untranslated, in his version of it spoken to me. Perhaps he was especially proud to know such an idiom. Also, *xētsi xētsi* has a ring to it that the Arabic equivalent, *nuṣṣ u-nuṣṣ*, does not have. I would argue that that ring is “cool”, even for A.M.. He was, among all the other things he had told me, showing that he was open-minded, “in touch”, and the opposite of old fashioned: he could be young and hip, too. It was for this reason that he chose specifically this anecdote to recount to me after the long lecture on the plight of the Palestinian refugees, and this

particular Hebrew borrowing to highlight the political point he was making. The Arabic alone could not pass on the message of these connotations to me. By using *xētsi xētsi* and not translating it for me, he was using the interpersonal function of speech to create a common ground, including me in the group of people who would appreciate a certain attitude to life: to generalise as much as I can in this section that evades labelling, this attitude is “moving with the times”.

The new times have brought shopping centres for some as well as checkpoints, and selective rebellion against social norms as well as military repression. Arabic with the same content would not achieve the ideational and interpersonal functions of signalling aspirations to a particular model of modernity.

4.4 The ironic subversion of power

What I call “ironic power speech” always involves an element of teasing, and of using Hebrew’s connotations of Israeli dominance in paradoxical situations. It would seem that the speakers who use it are known to be witty, and have sufficient social status, or at least some advantage over the addressee in the particular situation of the speech, in order to “get away” with using Hebrew in this way. The ideational and interpersonal content in this category is humour, as multifarious as humour is, and in several instances the content is rather dark humour. On the interpersonal side, the function of these utterances, as with humour elsewhere, is to establish a “butt” of the joke, a victim who may not be present, and an audience who may or may not show its appreciation of the humour by

laughing.

In one example, B.N. shouts in Hebrew across the table to a younger man who is a member of the youth group B.N. runs, after a communal meal in Shuafat refugee camp.

<u>efo</u>	<u>ha-</u>	<u>kafe,</u>	<u>xabībi?</u>	<u>axarei</u>	<u>ōxel</u>	<u>tsarix</u>	<u>kafe.</u>
<u>where</u>	<u>[def. art.]</u>	<u>coffee,</u>	<u>man?</u>	<u>after</u>	<u>food</u>	<u>need [sing. masc.]</u>	<u>coffee.</u>

Where is the coffee, man? One must have coffee after a meal.

The younger man smiles perplexedly and asks others at the table:

<u>ajīb</u>	<u>il-</u>	<u>'ahwe,</u>	<u>ya'ni?</u>
<u>bring [1st pers. sing.]</u>	<u>[def. art.]</u>	<u>coffee,</u>	<u>mean [3rd pers. sing.]?</u>

Does he mean I should bring the coffee?

The conversation continues politely after that, and the younger man brings B.N. his coffee. Bantering in Hebrew in this case had the effect of sounding rude and bossy, but in a jokey way and so with no offence taken. In fact, it was possibly too jokey, which would explain why the younger man needed confirmation that he was really asked to bring coffee. This explanation is supported by reports from a friend who witnessed young Palestinian men sitting in a relaxed, friendly setting, imitating an Israeli accent by changing all occurrences of the sound [h] (which is typically Arabic and some Israelis find difficult to pronounce) to [x], calling each other *xabībi*, and falling around laughing. Stereotypical Israelis as perceived by the Palestinians to be rude and bossy are here the butt of the joke.

Xabībi is twice-borrowed. This could be a unique case that would give the lie to Lars Johanson's objection to the sociolinguistic term 'borrowing': the objection that loaning languages do not lose anything and that borrowing languages do not give the used lexical item back (Johanson: 1998). Hebrew borrowed the Arabic *ḥabībī*, which means "my darling", and due to the low prestige of Arabic in Israel, semantic derogation occurred, as well as phonetic nativisation (Masson 1987: 76-7). This rendered the Israeli use of *xabībī*, meaning "my friend", "man" or "mate", used in an derogative way, in, for instance, this sentence said by a policeman to a taxi driver (the borrowing from Arabic to Hebrew is in italics; the Hebrew sentence is not underlined on this occasion because the Hebrew is not a borrowing, it is the recipient language):

tišma	<i>xabīb-</i>	<i>i</i>	mašehu	po	lo	besēder.
listen [imp. 2nd pers. sing.]	<i>friend</i>	<i>my</i>	something	here	not	alright.

Look here, *my friend*, something here isn't right.

The tone suggests a patronising relationship and false familiarity. This Hebrew *xabībī* is then re-borrowed by Palestinians, but only in the derogatory sense, and only used in ironic power speech.

It has been noted in the sociolinguistic literature that this type of humour, which is competitive and aggressive, is used in English-speaking culture for phatic communication among men (Crawford 1995). I have not witnessed ironic power speech used for phatic communication, though the description of "male humour" is close to the jokey, bossy, rude but not offensive, attributes that I associate with it. The connotations of Hebrew due to the Israeli stereotypes of rudeness and power

make it possible for Palestinians with a certain standing to use the language as a resource for bringing about specific actions and in the example of the communal meal, it did have a directive communicative function: the youth leader did obtain his coffee. B.N. could have asked for the coffee politely in Arabic, but he was trying to make a joke about Israelis. The joke fell flat because of the reaction of the younger man. He “did not get it”, and reacted by turning to the supposed audience – the others at the table – with a practical question regarding making coffee. He thus escaped from the roles B.N. was trying to ascribe to him: he was neither the audience of the joke, because he did not laugh, but rather he just looked perplexed. Nor did he let himself be the victim, because he did not take offence at B.N.’s playful rudeness. He did not have the presence of mind or the wish to act as the co-teller, either, which he could have done had he answered in Hebrew along the lines of “Aye aye, captain” and so continued to poke fun at Israeli manners, suspending the rules of Arab politeness. In the event, B.N.’s strategy of using Hebrew for the interpersonal function failed.

The next example of this comes from a DVD rental shop near Dheisheh refugee camp in Bethlehem.

An 18 or 19-year old man, Y.M., walks into the shop and wordlessly browses the computer games section. The shop keeper is a 30-something old man, B.M., who observes this evidently regular customer with a sarcastic smile. He greets the young man with teasing, in Hebrew:

B.M. [with the sarcastic smile]:

<u>ma</u>		<u>nišma?</u>
-----------	--	---------------

<u>what</u>		<u>hear</u> [2 nd pers. plur.]?
<u>What's up?</u>		

The young man decides to ignore the provocation because it does not constitute a real greeting, or maybe he is lost for words.

B.M. [insists on teasing despite the interlocutor's distress]:

<u>avoda,</u>		<u>yeš?</u>
<u>work,</u>		<u>there is?</u>
<u>Do you have a job?</u>		

Y.M. [defensively]:

wallāhi,		dawwarət		bas		fiš-		ši.
god,		search [past 1st pers. sing.]		but		there is not		thing.

I swear I've been looking but there's nothing.

B.M. [with a tone of finality]:

bas		il-		gēmz		fī,		il-		ḥamdu		li-		l-		lāh.
but		[def. art.]		games		there is,		[def. art.]		praise		to		[def. art.]		god.

But thank god there are games.

Not knowing the nature of the relationship between the shopkeeper and the customer outside of the shop setting where I was eavesdropping, I can only guess that the directive purpose of the teasing that had evidently hit a raw nerve was to not allow the young man to fritter away his life at computer games but rather to encourage him to get a job. There is no doubt here who the butt of the joke is, but

I doubt I was the audience, slinking as I was behind the shelves, and professing to know no Hebrew.

Rather, this exchange served to reinforce the paternalistic role of the shopkeeper towards the younger unemployed acquaintance.

Another Palestinian deployment of the Hebrew *ma nišma*, the English equivalent to which is “what’s up” or “how’s tricks”, hit rather closer to home. One of my guides in Dheisheh refugee camp was M.Q., known for his activism in a Palestinian-Israeli peace organisation criticised by some Palestinians for “normalising” relations with Israel prematurely, before the occupation is ended. As we were walking down one of the narrow streets in the camp, a middle-aged man coming from the opposite direction greeted M.Q. with *ma nišma?* M.Q. was embarrassed and glanced at me before responding with the polite Arabic greeting *masa l-xēr*, “good evening”. In view of his embarrassment I decided not to question him about it, but I did analyse it with a Palestinian friend later. There are several interpretations as to why the man decided to use Hebrew *ma nišma* and cause embarrassment to M.Q.: the first interpretation of the message could be “you’ve sold out to the Israelis and you have become like one of them, I will embarrass you in public until you stop your normalisation activism”; and the second interpretation could be “I’m telling that Israeli colleague who is accompanying you that you aren’t that special, we all speak Hebrew, and we know what you’re up to”. The second case implies that I was thought to be Israeli, which could have been risky, but I was never confronted over it. With this we might be entering the terrain of wild speculations, but it is safe to say that there is a provocative message related to M.Q.’s political activities behind the use of *ma*

nišma in this context. It was a political joke, a genre which can often be aggressive, albeit ambiguously, and M.Q. was its victim. Its ambiguity lies in the face-saving option it provided to M.Q., which a direct attack on his politics would not have allowed: he could circumvent the irony by feigning to take the Hebrew greeting literally, or po-faced, and answering “good evening” in Arabic (Drew 1987).

In general, ironic power speech is a witticism that reinforces the speaker’s superior social status or other advantage over the interlocutor. It can give a provocative edge to a judgment on political and social actions. It can be humorous as well as offensive or embarrassing, as some jokes are prone to be.

4.4.1 “The boss”

This section examines the Hebrew word *menahēl* “manager” or “boss”. Usually, it is borrowed by Palestinians to simply mean that – the manager of the workplace – as an equivalent, for instance, to the Arabic *ma’allim*, “foreman”. It is an unmarked borrowing: when used in Palestinian speech addressed to me, it was not translated or explained. (Like the most common unmarked borrowing, *maḥsōm*, it has Arabic plural patterns applied to it: whereas the Hebrew plural of *menahēl* (pronounced in Hebrew with a short vowel) is *menahelim*, and of *maxsom* is *maxsomim*, in Arabic the plurals follow one of the patterns for broken plurals to form *manahīl* and *maḥasīm* respectively.) *Menahēl* has spread from terminology associated with the workplace to general use. One sharp-

tongued prominent woman in Shuafat refugee camp, F.M., used it to describe her brother-in-law who had had the impertinence of snubbing her sister (his wife) by marrying several wives in addition to her. She was outraged that an educated man would do this to a wife “from a good family”, and summed up the baseness of his behaviour by telling me:

F.M.:

tjawwaz	tintēn	'alē-	ha.	u	hūwe	ustāz	fi	l-	jāmi'a!
married	two [fem.]	over	her.	and	he	professor	in	[def. art.]	university!
[sing. masc.]									

hūwe	il-	<u>menahēl</u>	li-	kbīr.
he	[def. art.]	<u>manager</u>	[def. art.]	big.

He married two women on top of her. And he being a university professor! He thinks he's the big cheese.

Taking the word for “boss” in the language of the strongest state that controls the region, and then subverting its meaning to imply illegitimate, self-aggrandising authority, is a way of having a dig at the powers that be. A more explicitly political use of *menahēl* was recorded when I did research for a human rights organisation in a village near Nablus in the northern West Bank which had been demolished by the Israeli army in January 2010. The speaker, an elderly woman, U.F., is a shepherd and cheese-maker. The setting was a tent of plastic sheeting that had replaced her demolished dwelling, and the audience was primarily a group of younger women whom she was entertaining,

though the presence of two foreign female human rights researchers accompanied by the mayor, a middle-aged man who deferred to U.F.'s seniority, had prompted this particular gathering. The women were also from the village and evidently enjoyed U.F.'s wit regularly, and spoke up once in a while to encourage her story-telling.

U.F.:

ijat	il-	jarrafāt	u	ana	bakēt	a'mil	fi	j-	jibne.
came [plur.fem.]	[def.art.]	bulldozers	and	I	was	working	on	[def.art.]	cheese.

il-	'ummāl	u	l-	junūd	u	l-	<u>manahīl</u>	tabā'hum	wikfu
[def. art.]	workers	and	[def. art.]	soldiers	and	[def.art.]	<u>bosses</u>	their	stood

ḥawaley.	ḥačēt-	il-	hum	šū	biddču,	nitfet	jibne?
around.	told	to	them	what	want [2 nd pers. plur.]	morsel [genitive construct]	cheese?

I was making cheese when the bulldozers came. The workers, the soldiers and their so-called bosses

stood all around me. I told them, "What do you want, a bite of cheese?"

The demolition bosses, or *manahīl*, did not inspire respect or fear in U.F. They were mocked, possibly at the time, as they were waiting for her to finish her work in order to demolish her home, and definitely in the account of the event, which was given in derisive tones and accompanied by

dismissive gestures. These connotations could not have been captured by Arabic equivalents such as *ḍubbāt*, “officers”, or *mudarāʾ*, “directors”. To translate the connotations of illegitimacy in the English sentence I inserted the words “so-called”.

The use of Hebrew in this section raises the question of humour. Much has been explained in the literature about gender differences in humour in English-speaking countries (Crawford 1995: 142).

Competitive humour, jousting and joke-telling are said to be markers of male humour, and this would be in line with B.N.’s example at the beginning of this section, or the exchange in the DVD shop.

Those are examples where humour permits the suspension of conventions of politeness (Barbe 1995: 89). Narrative humour is said to be a female genre, as in U.F.’s recounting of the day of the house demolition. Since neither an investigation into humour nor a study of gender differences is the main subject of this thesis, I did not undertake the empirical research to support or challenge any theory.

Moreover, I would have had no access to all-male environments where the jousting supposedly takes place. Narrative humour is common in mixed Palestinian gatherings and in all-women gatherings. (All

I can say is that there is plenty of jousting in all-women environments: in Shuafat refugee camp, I was ‘adopted’ by a family with eleven daughters, the three eldest of whom became my friends. As I was invited to stay for prolonged periods of time, sometimes the teasing and jousting could become rather extreme. On one occasion, with cries of *ana bint il-intifāḍa!* (“I am a child of the intifada!”), countered by my less impressive “I go to the gym twice a week”, A.R. and I actually engaged in arm-wrestling (with inconclusive results). A.R. is a young woman who, together with her husband, was one of my

sources for recording the Hebrew slang described in the section on the language of the “trendy youth” and available in Appendix 1.) Meanwhile, with the evidence I do have, I will limit myself to noting that the two women I observed using *menahēl* in the ways I describe above were also well-known for their verbal wit, which made them popular in both women and men’s company.

Humour is often depicted as an outlet for resisting oppressive political power (Hodge and Mansfield 1985: 197-211). It has also been pointed out that the irreverence of humour can be tolerated by an oppressive power as a sanctioned limited arena for criticism that does not spill over into political change (Eagleton 1981). It is not the Israeli state that would find the humorous use of Hebrew subversive – if Israeli state agents knew about it, they would find it harmlessly tolerable; rather it is those Palestinians who adhere to nationalist norms that frown on extensive borrowing from Hebrew. Yet since Israelis, or activities that are criticised as being pro-Israeli or Israeli-like, are either directly or indirectly the butt of the jokes in the examples found for this research, the nationalists are in a quandary: they can tolerate this humorous, though excessive, use of Hebrew because it is an outlet for criticising stereotypical Israeli manners and illegitimate power, as Palestinians see it.

4.5 Is it justified to classify Hebrew borrowings by function?

In this chapter I have laid out a tentative analysis of Hebrew borrowings and some codeswitching according to their ideational, interpersonal and textual functions. The three categories that emerge from patterns in the data when seen in light of these functions, namely, the allocation of solidarity

within in-groups, the signalling of aspirations to “cool and trendy” consumerist lifestyle, and the expression of irony and political humour, could be usefully developed in further research.

Other theories of linguistic meaning which rely in a substantive way on social context to decode intent and significance assigned to an utterance could have arrived at the same three categories:

pragmatics and speech act theory, for instance, allow for similar analyses. Moreover, within systemic linguistics there are disagreements regarding the types of functions, and the application of Halliday’s rather than Fawcett’s typologies is not an indication of a position taken with regards to this or that argument. As Michael Gregory warns, “[...] we ought to be cautious about attempting to PROVE the existence of meta-functions; this may be falling into the trap of “scienticism”. Rather, we should continue to USE them and see what they can do for us.” (Gregory 1987: 104) I would argue that what Halliday’s functions do for the data in this study is provide prisms of analysis that explain why Hebrew is used over Arabic in specific contexts, summarised below.

Using Hebrew borrowings freely fulfils what is thought to be a straightforward ideational function, that is, imparting content relevant to the linguistic and social situation. Additionally, it organises who is within given groups who share the same life experience and therefore exposure to Hebrew and attitudes towards it. At the borders of these groups some confusion might occur as to who is ‘in’, that is, who understands, and who needs translation. In this case Hebrew borrowings are not only used to provide factual information but also to demarcate shared allegiances and values. If this experience is a source of honour, then the language associated with it can be displayed if the situation warrants it.

This is illuminated by the interpersonal function.

The group of “cool and trendy” youth in Shuafat refugee camp significantly diverges from normative linguistic behaviour that frowns on “excessive” use of Hebrew borrowings. For them, the use of Hebrew is not only a means of organising who is ‘in’ on the jargon, but also to add information about their attitudes. Hebrew borrowings here have the connotations of a modern, consumerist, individualistic lifestyle, free from conservative social norms, and can be used by those who espouse these values to signal their life choices in a lingo that they share. Unfortunately here I was unable to gather much evidence because it was difficult to access the youth that represent this class of speakers.

Another ideational function of using Hebrew is humour either playing on the association of stereotypical Israelis and by extension of Hebrew with bossiness or by passing judgment on activities that may be considered “too Israeli”. Humour is achieved by using specifically Palestinian perceptions, and prejudices, of what it means to be Israeli vis-à-vis the Palestinians, and applying them in paradoxical situations. Nowhere is this more symbolic than in the ironic use of *menahēl*/meaning “manager” or “boss”. The perceptions of power associated with Hebrew are undermined by the ironic use of this word with connotations of self-aggrandisement and illegitimacy. Sarcastic utterances using Hebrew in this way are political jokes that are aggressive towards those who are the butt of them: addressing someone with *ma nišma*, the Hebrew for “what’s up”, could be interpreted as a provocation or even insulting in some circumstances. In humour, norms of politeness can be suspended. In other contexts *ma nišma* may be just a trendy greeting used for phatic communion and expression of solidarity.

From the point of view of the Palestinian speakers in the sample of this research, the functions are abstract: they do not impinge on their linguistic choices in the way that literary Arabic would be a self-conscious choice for reciting an elegy, for instance. Palestinians could, when I consulted them for retrospective analysis, recognise the various functions of Hebrew in their use but would always couch them in the political and social context, which in this case must be central to the research. It is these connotations of Hebrew, and the official attitudes towards it, that come into play both in the deployment of Hebrew and its decoding. Finally, the perspectives afforded by functional analysis link smoothly with one of the theoretical tasks of the next chapter: examining the nexus between ordinary speech as recorded here on the one hand, and ideologies on the other, using the methods of critical discourse analysis (Butler 1985: 148; Berry 1981; Steiner 1985: 226). This approach avoids one of the pitfalls sometimes entrapping critical discourse analysis, namely that of selecting texts for analysis that conform to the bias of the critical discourse analyst. In such cases the analysed text is derived from the theory. On the contrary, this study is based on an inductive method of analysis, proceeding from text (as Palestinian speech) that was gathered in an inclusive sweep – everything containing Hebrew borrowings was deemed socially significant – to analysis and from there to theory, which is developed in the next chapter.

Chapter 5: Describing and modelling language change

Though little in volume, the diversity of Hebrew uses in Palestinian Arabic described in the preceding chapters indicates that several mechanisms of linguistic interference are acting simultaneously. The first section of this chapter will look at key concepts in the study of language contact. Some concepts, in particular, “national identity” and “conflict” will be viewed critically in their application to the Palestinian case. In the second section the central proposition of this thesis will be elaborated, namely that by building on the bridge between functional linguistics and critical discourse analysis, the patterns of Hebrew borrowings in Palestinian Arabic can be explained as articulations of Palestinian and Israeli ideologies concerning power relations in the context of the Israeli state and its economy. The third section examines the role of attitudes to Hebrew and the projected changes in the conditions for language contact in preventing the spread of borrowings. Finally, my own intellectual path will be sketched as a way of reiterating the principal theoretical finding: the proposition that power relations rooted in the political economy of Israel and the Palestinians guide the articulations between ideologies making sense of alterable power relations on the one hand and everyday discourse that uses Hebrew borrowings in Arabic speech on the other.

5.1 Key concepts in the analysis of linguistic borrowing

As implied by the exposure of the political link between borrowings from specific areas of contact between Israelis and Palestinians in chapter 3, and by the categorisations of borrowings (and limited codeswitching) by function in chapter 4, several pressures are acting on Palestinian speakers at once.

Several groups – Palestinians coping with the occupation (the broadest group), Palestinian day workers, political prisoners, and trendy youth – use Hebrew differently and so the models to explain these uses are not the same. The four mechanisms at play in the groups were seen to be: passive familiarity for all Palestinians in the Occupied Palestinian Territories; code alternation for migrant workers; second language acquisition for the political prisoners; and code mixing for the trendy youth. Some general points regarding the analytical framework are needed to introduce key concepts of the academic discipline. The key concepts dealt with are: minority, immigrant and subordinate groups' propensity for language shift; illegitimacy and instability of the subordinate and superordinate positions; "rational choice" of speakers to use a different, more prestigious, code; and national and ethnic identity. It will be argued that some concepts and models used in sociolinguistics are not useful for the Palestinian case; most significantly, the usefulness of the culturalist definition of national identity in analysing interference between languages in contact will be questioned. Instead, prominence will be given to the political economy and the ideologies that make sense of it that fit with the four specific mechanisms of linguistic borrowing.

5.1.1 Minority, immigrant and subordinate groups and language shift

There is no question of a shift from Arabic to Hebrew in the Occupied Palestinian Territories. Large parts of the literature on language contact devoted to speed of shifting from minority to majority or from immigrant to indigenous languages are irrelevant here. If we insisted on seeing the Palestinian-Israeli situation in these terms, we would observe that though Hebrew is the language of the

immigrants (some now fourth- or fifth-generation immigrants), it has strong institutional support in Israel but only in relation to Jews (and to non-Jews who are entitled to Israeli citizenship on the basis of preferential Jewish immigration law). The indigenous Palestinians constitute a large minority in the region controlled by Israel (which includes the West Bank and Gaza Strip) and are divided into three sub-regions which currently have limited contact with each other: Palestinians with Israeli citizenship, Palestinians in the Gaza Strip and Palestinians in the West Bank. However, in each of these areas, Arabic has strong institutional support both in education and the media, and in the Occupied Palestinian Territories in public spheres except for direct dealings with the military administration (for instance when applying for permits or crossing checkpoints). Palestinians share the general attitudes to Hebrew described below in 5.2.1 with regards to the practicality of knowing the language of the dominant power but aversion to its political connotations on an emotive attitudinal level. Furthermore, Hebrew might be the language of the majority and of the dominant group (both socioeconomically and in a direct military sense) in the region Israel controls, but it is a minority language in the Middle East, from where Palestinians draw linguistic resources both symbolically as part of the ideology of Arab solidarity and practically in terms of access to media (especially since the rise of Arabic satellite television), as a basis for school curricula, and as a source of other cultural goods (literature, popular music, etc.; Suleiman 2003). Therefore, we will not find a fit here with Sarah Thomason's outline of conditions for language shift (2001: 23), according to which indigenous superordinate groups will never shift away from their language; migrant superordinate groups might shift towards the indigenous language; indigenous subordinate groups will shift slowly towards the immigrant

superordinate language; and migrant subordinate groups will shift rapidly. Palestinians are an indigenous minority subordinate group but there is no evidence of language shift, just of more or less restricted lexical borrowing used by certain social groups and related to specific topics or styles.

5.1.2 Illegitimacy and stability of the hierarchical situation

Another characteristic of the contact situation that has been found to be relevant in language shift, a type of convergence according to Howard Giles, R.Y. Bourhis and D.M. Taylor (1977: 320), is the stability or instability of the situation, combined with its perceived legitimacy or illegitimacy. If a subordinate group perceives its situation vis-à-vis a dominant group to be illegitimate, it will be motivated to change it rather than adapt to it, or assimilate into it. The strategies of change depend on the stability or instability of the hierarchical situation: some groups have striven to redefine negatively-valued characteristics; others have promoted a new positive distinctiveness, expressed by adjusting their speech. We cannot apply this model to the Palestinians, because it does not account for an illegitimate and stable situation, as it appears to many Palestinians today. Since the end of the Second Intifada in 2004 when Hamas declared the first of a series of unilateral ceasefires, the Israeli army has built the separation wall and more settlements in the West Bank and has been enforcing an ever-stricter blockade on Gaza, and negotiations for a resolution to the conflict have been stalled. In this crushingly stable situation, there are no openings for a linguistic strategy to challenge Israel's dominance. It would be mistaken to conclude that the limited spread of Hebrew amongst Palestinians is itself a manoeuvre, as the theory would have it: "Non-converging speech is an important medium

often used by ethnic groups as a symbolic tactic for maintaining their identity and cultural distinctiveness.” (Giles, Bourhis and Taylor 1977: 323) Palestinians have no difficulty in “maintaining their identity and cultural distinctiveness”, when by this is meant national or ethnic identity and culture, since those who live in the Occupied Palestinian Territories are physically forced to be separated from Israeli society. To varying degrees, large sections of the Palestinian community inside Israel are not integrated in Israeli society either (Smootha 1997).

Two caveats are in order here. On the few occasions when there is cooperation between Palestinians and Israelis, for instance in the guise of small peace groups such as Women in Black, placards saying in English, Hebrew and Arabic “We refuse to be enemies” can be read as a conscious strategy attempting to redefine negative characteristics. The message is addressing the Israeli, Palestinian and international publics with the proposition that Palestinians and Israelis need not behave as enemies if they decide not to define themselves and each other as such. The other redefining message of Women in Black is the physical recasting of women in general and mourners in particular from passive victims of war to active protestors against it. Presumably Giles et al’s model would apply to such strategies if it were a more significant phenomenon and were expressed, for instance, by efforts to rehabilitate the standing of Arabic in Israel and of Hebrew amongst Palestinians. In the current political climate, such hopes are purely theoretical.

The second caveat regarding the problematic applicability of Giles et al’s concepts is more relevant to the study at hand. Assimilation into Israeli society, as intimated above, is not an option available to Palestinians. This is not only because of the physical separation of the two, but also because of

national ideologies of exclusive ethnic identities. There is no pressure exerted by the Israelis on Palestinians to assimilate, rather the opposite. The normative attitudes prescribed by such national ideologies (discussed below in 5.2.1) entail a negative evaluation of linguistic performances and other behaviour that signal emulation of the other ethnicity. Despite emulation not being a path to aspirations for actual assimilation, since that is practically impossible, it is evaluated as if it were of the same order. The Palestinian trendy youth of Shuafat refugee camp described in 4.3 run the risk of incurring negative evaluation by those who adhere to the normative nationalist values when they use Hebrew borrowings beyond an accepted, minimal, “optimum level”, and when they display certain stylistic indexes, for instance when they need to “pass for” an Israeli in order to be admitted to a West Jerusalem dance club, since “such individuals are not always viewed favourably by members of the in-group and are often considered cultural traitors” (Giles, Bourhis and Taylor 1977: 332). For this reason these young people were introduced to me in dismissive tones, and for the same reason, more generally, I was warned of Shuafat refugee camp’s low status (see 2.4.1). In section 5.1.5 below in the context of an analysis of “identity” it will be argued that these warnings and the individual negative evaluations of Palestinian Hebrew users from respondents in the field, and in academia the models of language contact, rely on national and ethnic definitions of identity. Yet this thesis posits that what is operative in the use of Hebrew by the Palestinian trendy youth and the day-workers are their economic roles as consumers and as labour force respectively in the Israeli economy, not their national identity.

5.1.3 “Rational choice”

The individual Palestinian users of Hebrew borrowings can only be negatively judged according to nationalist norms because of the assumption of the existence of a “rational choice” to use Hebrew borrowings over Arabic equivalents and to use Hebrew for certain functions that Arabic does not fulfil in the same way. “Rational choice” has been critiqued in political economy in relation to analyses of economic migration, also specifically in the case of Palestinian day-migrant workers in Israel (Farsakh 2005). “Rational choice” ignores systemic and structural forces that release labour from its local economy to draw it to jobs elsewhere. Instead, as a component of classical liberal economics, “rational choice” focuses on the calculation of wage differentials that will inform individual workers’ choices of workplace. Following the critical position, Glyn Williams exposes how some of the sociolinguistic literature on contact-induced language change also relies on “rational choice”. Williams refutes the work of Joshua Fishman and Susan Gal in which “...language shift [is seen] as emanating from the rational choice of individuals who seek to emulate the more prestigious members of society and thereby stand to gain in economic, political and cultural status.” (Williams 1992: 107) In Gal’s work on the shift from Hungarian to an Austrian German dialect in the context of urbanisation and industrialisation, capitalism is an opportunity that must be grasped by speaking Austrian German. This depiction is biased in favour of linear progress to capitalist modernity through adopting the language of the group that has progressed further up the line. Williams warns that this can only be sustained by depoliticising the language of the dominant group (the economically more capitalist group) by labelling it as a language of wider communication (Williams 1992: 102). The “irrationality” of sticking to Hungarian, or Palestinian Arabic as the case may be, is then explained in terms of cultural difference,

and this is a conservative explanation that avoids issues of power, economic subordination, and class analysis, as Williams would have it (1992: 120). Unfortunately Williams does not demonstrate how such an analysis would work in a re-evaluation of, for instance, Gal's data.

There are several analytical risks associated with seeing the Palestinian workers and consumers' use of Hebrew as a personal "rational choice". First of all, speakers can then be held personally responsible for their choices and judged as "cultural traitors" by those who adhere to nationalist norms, which are conservative in the same sense as the culturalist academic strand is. On the other hand, these norms do exist and give meaning and power to language as a symbolic tool which has affective significance for many, and they will be examined in this light later in this chapter. Secondly, and more importantly, "rational choice" cannot account for collective and structural phenomena, in sociolinguistics as in economics.

5.1.4 National-culturalist and economistic rules for linguistic borrowing questioned

There are few studies of the Hebrew language use of Palestinians. Little sociolinguistic fieldwork has been done, and most reviews seem to be based on unsubstantiated generalisations. According to Bernard Spolsky, Hebrew use among "West Bank and Gaza Arabs", as he calls them, is only instrumentally motivated. In a brief review of the linguistic situation in Israel in 1997, he made the observation that Hebrew had spread to a limited extent among manual labourers who worked in Israel. Hebrew was also taught during the (First) Intifada in the prisons "where the detainees and terrorists were kept." (Spolsky 1997: 142) He goes on to state unequivocally that "[k]nowledge of

Hebrew is inversely correlated with education, for it is those who are willing to work in hotels and restaurants, in the building industry, and in the market-place who learn Hebrew.” (ibid.) I have sympathy for Spolsky’s claims, since I shared these assumptions before I had undertaken any fieldwork, but precisely for that reason I acknowledge them as postulations that must be taken with scepticism and are in need of empirical support. I take exception to the formulation that labourers “are willing to work” in Israel, since will implies meaningful choice. Furthermore, based on my own experience, I would caution that the postulations might be based on the preconception that Palestinian linguistic practices are defined by exclusive nationalist norms and by the conflict with Israel and by extension with Hebrew (in the nationalist view). This pre-eminence attributed to exclusive national identities and to conflict in the study of language contact in the Middle East will be queried later in this chapter.

The most yawning gap in the literature is the paucity of research into the language use of Palestinians with Israeli citizenship. Again, Spolsky does make some general statements, which are close to my own impressionistic observations: borrowing from Hebrew is widespread among Palestinians in Israel. I would not go as far as Spolsky to judge that the proficiency in Hebrew is increasing “even at the cost of Arabic maintenance” (Spolsky 1997: 143), especially not without the backing of in-depth work on the ground among Palestinians in Israel. However, I would venture that Hebrew use among Palestinians in Israel is parallel to use by Palestinians in the Occupied Palestinian Territories as documented and analysed in this thesis, only perhaps in an amplified form: Hebrew borrowings will be

also related to the state's provision of services, and to positions in the political economy, and to ways of understanding these spheres. The attraction of Israeli consumerism will be the same for Palestinians in Israel as among the trendy youths of Shuafat refugee camp that I could observe, only perhaps with more opportunity to flaunt consumption, signalled by the use of Hebrew slang, than in the refugee camp. Palestinians inside Israel will share with Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza Strip the conscious attitudes regarding the pragmatism of learning Hebrew, which is taught as a second language in Palestinian schools in Israel, and regarding the dignity associated with espousing, at least on an emotional level, the values of Palestinian nationalism. Their linguistic practices, in all cases, will be mediated by contradictory ideologies and reflect complex patterns for negotiating, accommodating and resisting power relations within the Israeli state and its economy. The only pattern of Hebrew use that will be subtracted from Palestinians inside Israel as opposed to those in the Occupied Palestinian Territories is the use related to military procedures specific to the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

I suspect that the lack of in-depth studies into the borrowing of Hebrew in Palestinian Arabic is related to the primacy accorded to "national identity" and "conflict" in the literature, because Hebrew borrowing by Palestinians contradicts too profoundly the notion that to take from "the enemy's language" somehow violates the rules of the conflict between two exclusive nationalities, to put it very simply. This thesis suggests to move away from these categories. The few studies that do exist have revealed that this supposedly forbidden, violating practice (namely Hebrew use by Arabic speakers)

does in fact occur, which should not come as a surprise to anyone versant in sociolinguistics of language contact, regardless of how much “national identity” and the Palestinian-Israeli conflict dominate the conceptual field of vision. Two studies which do engage in the collection of sociolinguistic data on Hebrew use among Palestinians are worthy of closer attention. To explain the results, the researchers resorted to viewing Hebrew as the language of modernity and depoliticised communication.

In 1973, less than six years after the Israeli army occupied the West Bank (though this context is not mentioned in the study), linguists from the Hebrew University in Jerusalem conducted research into the connotations of Hebrew and Arabic for Palestinian men from Jericho in the West Bank. Hebrew was thought to be associated with science while Arabic with Islamic morality, and as part of an experiment, arguments for avoiding smoking and drinking were found to be judged as persuasive by the respondents when there was a fit between the arguments, the language they were presented in, and the presumed connotations of that language. Arguments against smoking or drinking that were based on scientific evidence and were presented in Hebrew were convincing to Palestinian men in the experiment, as were arguments founded in morality and given in Arabic. It is clear that the researchers expected Arabic to recede to the domain of religion and Hebrew to take over the domain of modern science in the Occupied Palestinian Territories and constructed the experiment in such a way as to confirm this expectation (Cooper, Fishman, Lown, Schaier and Seckbach 1977: 83-98). Though the flaws of the study cannot be judged by the standards of sociolinguistic methods today, its

biases are a pertinent illustration of Williams' critique.

A more recent study compared Hebrew use in a divided West Bank Palestinian village: one half came under Jordanian administration in 1949; the other became part of Israel. Villagers on the Israeli side of the border, which had been open since 1967, used more Hebrew in sociolinguistic interviews and were less likely to tick the box marked "Palestinian" in a survey than their counterparts on the eastern side of the border. The authors of the study consider borrowing Hebrew a manifestation of speakers' construction of their Israeli identity, and in turn consider this to be causal in the political action of not participating in the (First) Intifada (Amara and Spolsky 2001: 273-288). The authors do not address critical issues that could undermine the plausibility of their interpretation; for instance, fear of legal problems in Israel as a consequence of declaring oneself "Palestinian" in the study's survey (there is a selectively applied ban on Palestinian national symbols in Israel, which was strictly enforced during the First Intifada immediately preceding this study of 1992); or the adjustment of the respondents' speech to the perceived aims of the sociolinguistic research; or, as I propose, that the operative "identity" affecting Hebrew use is not national and ethnic affiliation, but the function of a particular role in the political economy of Israel.

Yet, using economy rather than national culture as an explanatory principle does not prevent all pitfalls of the schema that would have the languages of modern, developed groups expand and the languages of less developed groups recede. Florian Coulmas makes his normative position explicit

when he states that there are two motivations to borrow words from other languages. If the borrowing language is that of a society whose economy is more developed along the capitalist path it will borrow from less developed societies for prestige and fashion, but it does not need to remedy any “real lexical deficit” (Coulmas 1992: 266). On the other hand, if the borrowing language belongs to a less developed economy, lexical borrowing from a more developed economy is “crucial” to redress a lack in its lexicon. In his words, “[t]his is exactly what loanwords are: developmental aid for languages which are to a greater or lesser degree referentially inadequate.” (Coulmas 1992: 265) In this deterministic schema, the flow of borrowing from economically developed societies to less developed ones is inevitable: in this way, Coulmas removes the speakers’ “rational choice” from the argument but replaces it with a deterministic rule that stigmatises languages with loanwords. There is a sense in which such an assertion is operative in the reality of borrowing: with economic power comes a feeling of entitlement, expressed in the expectation that the poor must learn the language of the rich because they are in debt to them. Despite what Coulmas may assert, this is not inevitable and automatic, and it is contended here that depicting it as such masks the power relations that actually make borrowing happen: power relations in which positions such as Coulmas’ play an active role by normalising them.

5.1.5 “Identity” and “conflict”

The simple equation of a single, and “pure”, language with a unique national identity is common among some linguists as well as speakers of certain languages, but especially among monolinguals.

In his programmatic study on how to reverse language shift, Joshua Fishman advocates the vision of

being “Xmen [ethnic identity] via Xish [language]” in opposition to “Xmen via Yish”, whom he diagnoses as suffering from “identity uncertainty/self-hatred” (Fishman 1991: 83). Though linguistic minorities exist in many Arab-speaking countries, most Arabs in the Middle East, including Palestinians, are monolingual and are educated to consider Arabic as an essential component of the cultural heritage associated with Arab nationality. This understanding of identity is made more acute by the conflict with Israel, giving a strong emotional value to Palestinians’ sense of nationhood and by implication their attachment to Arabic (Suleiman 2004).

In sociolinguistics, this nexus between language and ethnicity is mirrored in the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. According to the strong version of this theory, the language one speaks determines the concepts one is capable of thinking, and therefore each nation speaking its language inhabits its own cognitive world, its culture. Adopting words from another language, that is, another culture, means departing from the nation’s worldview: treason. Undermining this culturalist theory, which holds much currency in forming official language policies and the normative nationalist attitudes, is the humanist idea that every language has the linguistic resources to somehow express all concepts that are humanly thinkable. A weaker version of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis claims that the linguistic practices that are in use in a particular society reflect the power relations in that society, power relations which determine the cognitive world. Deliberately changing the language is a way of exposing how these power relations operate, for instance by introducing politically correct terminology. S.A. and M.H., in my account of Palestinian attitudes to Hebrew borrowings in section 5.2.1, are bringing attention to

Israeli dominance in Palestinian life by deliberately avoiding borrowings. This does not imply that speaking pure Arabic will rid the Palestinians of the Israeli military occupation or find the migrant workers alternative jobs. For this to happen, power relations between Palestinians and Israelis would have to change, and this change would also be reflected in the language spoken. In this thesis, the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis is also found to be operative in the weaker sense, but not as a nexus between language and ethnicity. Similarly to the way feminist sociolinguists have identified sexism in some patterns of language practice, reflecting wider gendered power relations in society (Eckert 1996), here the nexus will also be applied to non-ethnic categories: that of the speakers' positions in the political economy.

There is a conflict between Israelis and Palestinians. The Palestinian-Israeli conflict has direct linguistic corollaries: one is the Hebrew renaming of Arabic place names inside Israel (Suleiman 2004). The data collected in this thesis bear evidence of an indirect corollary. It has a trivial direct connection in that had Israel not occupied Palestinian lands, there would have been less contact between Hebrew- and Arabic-speakers. Contact with Hebrew-speakers, though shaped in every aspect by the particular functioning of the Israeli occupation of Palestine, has taken various forms. It is not only the language of the military, and direct contact with the army – “the enemy” in the strictest sense – is but one source of Hebrew terms used daily, such as *maḥsōm*. I have argued throughout this work that the most common form of contact has been that of Palestinian migrant workers with their Israeli employers, and that this has been the most significant source of Hebrew in Palestinian

speech. What is more, the workers have to pass often multiple checkpoints on their way to work as well as use tools for which they know the Hebrew name once they get there, and so the military sources of Hebrew and sources linked to employment add up in their daily experience. Palestinians are also consumers of Israeli products due to the regularisation of the integrated market in a customs union during the 1990s. Youths in Shuafat refugee camp who were observed using Hebrew as a source of “cool slang” also work for Israeli employers. Former political prisoners may have also worked in Israel. For all these groups of speakers, normative nationalist attitudes are valued in an abstract sense but have little practical currency when power relations with Israelis fit with uses of language that diverge from these norms. I have to admit that when I started my research into Hebrew borrowings in Palestinian Arabic, I could not contemplate uses that did not conform to the norms of culturalist national identity. When confronted by evidence from the fieldwork, I had to acknowledge that this model was too simplistic to have explanatory value in this case.

The Palestinian-Israeli conflict is expressed in a conflict over language attitudes. Exclusive nationalism and the conflict have stoked each other's fires. Exclusive nationalism views the use of the enemy's language as suspect, treasonous. The ideology seeks to prescribe negative attitudes towards using the other language and so control the nation's linguistic behaviour. In Israel, this ideology competes with an alternative ideology: that of liberal democracy, according to which Arabic, as the language of a large minority of citizens, is also an official state language. In the Occupied Palestinian Territories, the nationalist ideology competes with the pragmatic view that knowledge of

Hebrew is a practical advantage. These ideologies have overt implications for language use. Other ideologies – consumerism, accepting the standards of cheap labour in an advanced industrial economy, the celebration of Palestinian political prisoners' resistance – have covert implications for language use as described in preceding chapters. In other words, each ideology affects concrete instances of discourse in daily speech depending on which power relations form an articulation in the context.

What is rejected here is the conception of language contact as conflict and the model of linguistic identity as national identity. Because in the Middle East and in Middle East sociolinguistics language is understood to closely index nationality, this thesis avoids using the word "identity", preferring "role" or "position", as in a role or position in the Israeli political economy. Another term used is "performance", for instance when referring to the narration of personal refugee stories as performance, or the linguistic performance of a political ex-prisoner. Though "role" and "position" are sometimes unsatisfactory due to their connotations of agency or lack thereof, I feared that the term "identity" would be misleading as it would be a priori interpreted as national identity. The bias towards seeing all relevant identities in the Israeli-Palestinian context to be essentially national (and sometimes, in equally exclusive ways, essentially religious) could (mis-)lead to an explanation of Hebrew mixing in Arabic, treasonous from the point of view of nationalist Palestinians, as evidence of post-colonial "hybrid" identity from the point of view of post-Zionist academics. Specifically, ironic uses of Hebrew by Palestinians could be claimed to provide indication of "the empire writing back"

(Ashcroft, Griffiths, Tiffin 2002). Hardt and Negri have objected that “post-colonial hybridity” is a concept that masks continuing neo-colonial relations, and this objection must be considered in this case too (Hardt and Negri 2000). For the “empire to write back” with effect, or for the Palestinians to subvert Israeli dominance through ironic use of Hebrew, the empire must hear its postcolonial subjects, and Israelis would have to be aware that their language is put to such uses by Palestinians and experience an epiphany regarding the power relations that lie behind these uses.

5.1.6 Articulation between language use and power relations

The advanced Israeli capitalist economy does not speak Hebrew to the workers in and of itself; nor is Palestinian Arabic “referentially inadequate” simply by virtue of being spoken by a socioeconomically disadvantaged group. Rather, the power relations at the work place are such that Arab workers are not in a position to negotiate rights as their Israeli colleagues are. A recent report that the owner of a chain of Tel Aviv cafes has instructed its employees to speak only Hebrew and specifically avoid Arabic demonstrates that practices effecting the spread of languages of socioeconomically dominant groups can be based on discrimination and coercion (Haaretz.com 2011b). Yet I am not arguing that there is always such a direct cause of Hebrew use by Palestinian workers. Instead, I would like to demonstrate that there is an articulation between the power relations between Palestinians and Israelis, which are constantly negotiated, how these power relations are conceptualised, that is, how ideologies make sense of them, and the way language is used.

Sociolinguistics is in a prime position to test the riddle that has interested many disciplines: the link between agency and structure. The balance of power has been variously attributed to structure, in determining the actions of the individual, or to agents in forming structures, and any number of compromising configurations found between the two poles. “Articulation” is a flexible formulation used in Marxist cultural theory to denote the link that allows for the power inherent in the political economy, and the power of ideologies to make sense of this, to pull social practices in particular directions. “Articulation” also allows for different power relations and their ideologies to “articulate” with different practices, including different linguistic practices, just as the tractor of an articulated vehicle joins with different trailers. This modelling of the link between agent and structure will be tested on the case of Hebrew borrowings in Palestinian Arabic. The reason why sociolinguistics can put the link to the test is that it collects discourse (as language in use) as well as identifies ideologies associated with linguistic practices.

Class and gender as loci of power relations are several of the non-ethnic roles and positions explored in this study to analyse Hebrew use by Palestinians. Another is the role of consumer that will be considered in the section on “trendy youth”. The first two categories have received much attention in sociolinguistics and so a few points must be made here to demarcate their usefulness to this study in particular. Though ideologies making sense of gender relations are not obviously useful in the explanation of patterns of Hebrew borrowing in Arabic presented below, they have been crucial for understanding the context of the study and how the fieldwork on which this thesis is based was

conducted. In this way gender has been integrated in the analysis of borrowings in the preceding chapters, but it will not be taken up further. On the other hand, ideologies addressing class relations are essential to the explanatory model, and so “class” requires definition. In variationist sociolinguistics, class has been understood in the Durkheimian sense of status that provides aspirational standards. This seems to be the meaning that Susan Gal adopts in the critiqued study of a Hungarian community in Austria (Gal 1979). However, “class” also carries with it its meaning from historical materialism which sees it as defined by a group’s position vis-à-vis the ownership of the means of production in a capitalist political economy. Susan Gal acknowledges this meaning in a later comment: “Because codeswitching usually involves the use of a state-supported and powerfully legitimated language in opposition to a stigmatised minority language that has considerably less institutional support, it can also provide fresh evidence of what neo-Marxist culture theory (e.g. Williams 1973) identifies as ‘consciousness’: how speakers respond symbolically to relations of domination between groups within the state, and how they understand their historic position and identity within a capitalist world system structured around dependency and unequal development.” (Gal 1988: 247) Though this manifesto is not straightforwardly applicable to the case of the Palestinian workers because of above-mentioned shortcomings of the categories “minority” and “majority” in Israel-controlled territories in particular and the Middle East in general, and institutional support for both Hebrew and Arabic, ‘consciousness’ is one solution to the agency/structure conundrum that can be tested in case studies such as this one. To do this, I would emphasise that the workers’ ‘consciousness’ is manifested in industrial disputes that seek to renegotiate power relations

at the work place. I have intimated that I expect such renegotiations to have linguistic implications, such as increased acceptability of Arabic in work-related interaction in Israel, and the rehabilitation of work in Israel as an acceptable source of Hebrew to be used also in the Palestinian community. Power relations have yet to be renegotiated on a sufficient scale to validate this expectation, but it is clear that here the operative definition of “class” is closer to its historical materialist heritage than “status” traditionally used in sociolinguistics.

Another solution to the agency/structure conundrum, with less Marxist baggage but close to ‘consciousness’ in meaning, is ‘stance’ (Englebretson 2007; Jaffé 2009). In this conceptualisation, a speaker “takes a stance”, as it would be expressed in common parlance, which indexes wider ideologies and positions the speaker towards them. ‘Stance’ is also a tool which allows for functional analysis of utterances, and broadens ‘stance’ to include evaluation of the text itself and its message, corresponding to Halliday’s textual and interpersonal functions (Englebretson 2007: 16). This has been applied explicitly in the work of Simpson, which bridges the gap between the association of functional linguistics with stylistics and literary criticism, and the application of functional linguistics to discourse analysis more broadly (Simpson: 1993). Such an endeavour has been taken up by Young and Harrison (2004), which has been welcomed as a means of basing the political implications of critical discourse analysis firmly in detailed functional analyses of texts. This is meant to counter criticisms, coming from the discipline of conversation analysis, which refuses the notion that any wider social and political conclusions can be drawn from the small-scale texts under examination. This

thesis places itself on the critical discourse analysts' side of the argument and builds on the above-mentioned works' efforts to link Hallidayan functions to ideologies and context, and tackles their political implications. In this chapter, 'articulation' will nevertheless be preferred over 'stance' as an analytical category because of its explicit linking of social context, in particular the political economy, both to ideologies, and to everyday speech. To summarise, what is presented here is not a sociolinguistic study in which the 'class' and 'gender' of speakers is correlated with patterns of linguistic practice. Both class in its historical materialist meaning and gender, with their consequences for employment in Israel, are seen as constituents of the social context in which contact with Hebrew takes place. On another level, the ideology of accepting the situation of cheap labour precariously indebted to the Israeli military system and political economy is where 'class' is operational in drawing speakers to use, or avoid the use, of Hebrew borrowings from the workplace, as will be shown below. The ideology of gender relations does not appear to have that effect on the use of Hebrew except in the immediate interpersonal context of the female researcher's conversations with Palestinian men, as explained in Chapter 2.

5.2 Articulation of ideologies, the context and linguistic practices

It is argued in this section that four ideologies are operative among Palestinians who use Hebrew borrowings: Palestinian nationalism; Palestinian pragmatism; Israeli securitism; and Israeli consumerism. The two first are expressed by Palestinian speakers themselves as conscious attitudes with alleged relevance to linguistic practice. Thomason attributes overriding importance to language

attitudes in the effecting of language change (Thomason 2001: 22). If that were true, those Palestinians adhering to nationalist linguistic norms, which frown on Hebrew borrowings in Arabic, would not use Hebrew, while those who pragmatically accept that they need some Hebrew to get by under Israeli occupation and in the search for jobs on the Israeli labour market (what Spolsky calls the “instrumental motivation”) would use Hebrew freely. Yet the practices observed and recorded were complex and contradictory. It will be more fruitful to link self-professed attitudes to wider Palestinian ideologies, which are operating alongside the pull of other ideologies, the ideologies of Israeli securitism and Israeli consumerism. It must be cautioned that these ideologies are outlined here only insofar as they have explanatory value for the data collected, presented and analysed for this study. In this section, the four ideologies, and possibly more, will be described in conjunction with the linguistic practices presented in the preceding chapters 3 and 4.

5.2.1 Palestinian nationalism, Palestinian pragmatism and attitudes to the borrowing of Hebrew

Throughout the Occupied Palestinian Territories, Hebrew is accepted as a practical necessity. In an abstract way, it is the language of the occupying army, and of a country whose government, supported by the Israeli population, denies Palestinians their human rights and right to self-determination. There is a history of unresolved grievances as well as fears for the future. On a daily level, however, those living in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip since 1967 have learnt and used enough Hebrew to get by on occasions of contact with Israelis, in ways that have resulted in the borrowings and codeswitching described in this thesis. In the 1990s, with the détente of the Oslo

process, two contradictory trends appeared. Hebrew was included in the Palestinian national curriculum formulated in 1996 as an optional course (Palestinian Ministry of Education 2003). This was seen as giving pragmatic students an advantage when dealing with Israelis in the expected peaceful context of the future. Though indicative of a new optimistic mood among some, this attitude was simply a continuation of the prevalent pragmatic approach.

On the other hand, with the establishment of the Palestinian Authority in 1994, a political and economic elite returned to Palestine after years of exile. The returnees had been little exposed to Hebrew. As opposed to the local Palestinians, many of these people had an ideological prejudice against “the language of the enemy”. I have personally heard this attitude expressed in several ways.

In 2002 for an interview with Fatah politician Salah Ta'mari, who had spent years in Yassir Arafat's entourage abroad and in the Israeli-run prison Ansar in southern Lebanon, he was offered a choice of languages to conduct the interview in. He answered that Arabic or English would be fine, but he could not do Hebrew, because he “could never get [himself] to learn that strange-sounding language.”

During conversations in 2010, the adult daughter of another political returnee described how Palestinian citizens of Israel could not speak Arabic properly because they used so many Hebrew terms. At meetings she had attended, this had led to arguments between the Palestinians from the Occupied Palestinian Territories and those from Israel. The latter were made to feel that they had compromised their identity as Palestinians and Arabs because they mixed Hebrew in their speech, and they resented the accusation.

Only two Palestinians whom I have spoken with throughout years of living in the region made a

deliberate decision to exclude all Hebrew terms from their speech. This is noticeable particularly in the case of the word for checkpoint, *maḥsōm*, where the unmarked variant used is the Hebrew one. Using the Arabic equivalent *ḥājiz* in daily speech is making a political point. The first person to make this point to me was my Arabic teacher at Bethlehem University, M.H.. He instructed me not to use the widespread Hebrew borrowing because it signified accepting the terms of the Israeli occupation of Palestinian lands. M.H. himself also teaches Hebrew at Bethlehem University. As his family comes from the Galilee, which lies within Israel, and are Israeli citizens, many of them mix Hebrew in their Arabic speech extensively, as far as I could observe at a family gathering. Unusually for a bilingual, M.H. took a very negative view of such mixing and this can only be attributed to his adherence to nationalist norms, and his formulation of them can be credited to his role as an educator (Edwards 2009: 249).

The other person to warn me against using the word *maḥsōm* was my guide, host and friend in Tulkarem refugee camp, S.A.. Her reasoning was similar to M.H.'s, with the difference that she is monolingual, and that she adopted her didactic responsibilities by virtue of being my guide. This presented a difficulty for my research, as she tended to "correct" the Hebrew usage of the workers I interviewed in her presence, and offer Arabic alternatives. The workers usually ignored her interventions, or looked at her in bemusement, as they saw no reason to accept her self-appointed educational role.

The negative attitudes to Hebrew borrowings expressed above indicate identification with the normative ideology of Arab and Palestinian nationalism. The impression that using Hebrew words is in

some way treasonous is reinforced by revelations that Palestinian negotiator Saeb Erekat had used the Hebrew word for Jerusalem, *Yerushalayim*, to concede to the Israeli side “the largest Jerusalem in history” (Guardian.co.uk 2011: 6). In an argument presented in these terms, the revelation of this study that Palestinian Arabic is relatively free of Hebrew borrowings can be taken as evidence that Palestinian nationalism prevails. The appendices to this thesis which reproduce interviews in which few words are underlined as Hebrew will support that. On the other hand, practically no Palestinian is able to avoid Hebrew borrowings completely: such a purist stance is exceptional, and that fact fuels the argument for the pragmatist attitude. Yet the argument is not presented in these terms: what is negotiated through combinations of nationalism and pragmatism is the pull of Israeli ideologies towards specific Palestinian practices. The following sections turn to this aspect.

5.2.2 Israeli securitism and the pull to Hebrew borrowings relating to military procedures

The conclusion of chapter 3 raised the question of why certain military terms have been adopted while others not. Taking the term exclusively used by Palestinians for the Israeli separation wall, the Standard Arabic *al-jidār*, as a case will demonstrate the application of the idea of “articulation”. Ever since its construction was proposed by the Israeli military in 2002, it was met with rejection from the Palestinian politicians as well as inhabitants affected by it on the ground. Campaigns were coordinated by committees in the communities whose land was being expropriated for the wall, or found themselves isolated from their sources of livelihood. Such a committee is called the “Popular Committee Against the Wall”, *al-lajna aš-ša’biya ʔidd al-jidār*. The protests are widely reported in the

Arabic media. In an official political campaign Standard Arabic is the norm, hence *al-jidār*, though at first other Arabic alternatives were also applied, and any Hebrew equivalent could stand no chance of being borrowed for that purpose. Even Palestinians who are not directly affected by the separation wall will refer to it by this name and also the Arabic for “enclosure wall” or “city wall”, *sūr* (pronounced by Palestinians nearly as *ṣūr*), may not be used for it. A worker interviewed for the present study in Dheisheh refugee camp who used *ṣūr* to refer to the Israeli military’s wall and fence that prevents him from reaching his former workplace in East Jerusalem was corrected by a local student to say *al-jidār*. There is an articulation between the nationalist ideology of protest against the separation wall and implementing the spread of the appropriate term, which could not be Hebrew. The ideology used in the media and by the politicians pulls the language used in daily life towards a borrowing from Standard Arabic.

Another case in point is the words for closure. The Israeli army enforced closures increasingly in the 1990s, when the PLO led by Yassir Arafat was negotiating the Oslo accords with the Israeli governments of Yitzhak Rabin and Shimon Peres, and Hamas and Islamic Jihad organisations expressed their rejection of the accords by attacking Israeli civilians and soldiers. The official Palestinian ideology of pragmatic negotiations focused on the benefits of negotiating with the Israeli government while the population experienced worsening unemployment, trade and business, and poverty due to the closures, which were justified by the Israeli military for security reasons. There was no media and political outcry against closures as with the wall, and so Hebrew was not so forcefully

excluded. The domain and register necessary for written media and political speech requires Standard Arabic. In ordinary Palestinian speech the Hebrew *sēger* could take root without pressure from a Standard Arabic alternative, reflecting the daily reality for Palestinians for which a term was needed. Towards the end of the 1990s, when the economic downturn caused by the closures became of great concern, jeopardising to some degree the political negotiations, Palestinian economic analysts introduced *iglāq* from Standard Arabic: the Standard pronunciation of the phoneme *qaf* betrays its provenance. There was a dissonance between the initial absence of official protest and the daily needs. Now, *sēger* competes with *iglāq* and *taskīr*, which is the common colloquial term. In an interview setting where the language was relatively informal, the Standard *iglāq* would jar, *taskīr* provided a compromise alternative. The Hebrew borrowing *sēger* continues to be used in discussions of the road to work; the challenge posed by Palestinian economists in formulating an ideology criticising closures (based on the idea that a liberal economy, if allowed to flourish in the absence of closures, would supposedly lead to capitalist development and peace; Farsakh 2005) has not altered the reality of the military practice and its experience by Palestinians: closures are still imposed during Jewish holidays and at times of heightened tensions.

Checkpoints have not been the object of orchestrated protest in the way the separation wall has been, and the Standard Arabic equivalent, *ḥājiz*, compared to the widespread Hebrew borrowing *maḥsōm* is seldom heard. The Israeli military set up permanent checkpoints in the West Bank for the first time in March 1991 during the First Gulf War, at a time when the Israeli public experienced acute security

fears. Responding to public concern with security, Israeli politicians turned to what sociologist and historian Baruch Kimmerling called “securitism” as a unifying ideology (Kimmerling 2001). Israeli sociologist Asher Arian hypothesises that the politicians’ response to public fears was not to take concrete action that would increase security, but to create an atmosphere in which security concerns were emphasised and addressed, including by building checkpoints for Palestinians, though they had practically little to do with the Iraqi missiles being aimed at Tel Aviv (Arian 1994). What is called ‘securitism’ in the Israeli context is by no means unique to that country: many of its features are replicated in the discourse of international security also dated to the 1990s and 2000s (Fairclough 2006: 147). The Oslo negotiations did nothing to assuage securitism, though these negotiations were ostensibly meant to lead to “peace”. Throughout the negotiations the Israeli position insisted on its “legitimate security concerns” to which Palestinian demands must be subordinate and indeed so must all other Israeli needs, following the tenets of securitism, which were never challenged either by the Palestinian negotiators or the international brokers. There is no way of proving that if an official campaign against checkpoints had existed, the Standard Arabic term would have spread, but it can be said that the physical realities of checkpoints, and their name in Palestinian speech, *maḥsōm*, are a product of the Israeli ideology of securitism.

5.2.3 Palestinian nationalism, the calls for boycott of Israeli goods, and the pull to Hebrew borrowings for Israeli products

Some pro-Palestinian campaigners’ call for the boycott of Israeli products has not had an effect on the use of Hebrew borrowings to denote specific products on the Palestinian market. Palestinians in the

Occupied Palestinian Territories can hardly respond to such a call because of the particular trade relation between Israel and the Palestinian areas, which form a customs union according to which nearly all Palestinian imports and exports are regulated by Israeli customs policy. Even the call in 2010 by Palestinian Authority Prime Minister Salam Fayyad for a boycott of Israeli settlement products was met by an Israeli counter-threat to close all Israeli ports to Palestinian exports (Haaretz.com 2010). Under these circumstances there is no prospect that Israeli products will be replaced by other imports, for instance from cheaper sources closer to the standard of living of Palestinians. If this is considered an unfortunate situation, one need only look to the Gaza Strip to see that it could be worse: under strict blockade, very few imports are allowed and no exports. More is smuggled through tunnels from Egypt, causing exorbitant prices. The linguistic corollary of this is probably the last thing on Gazans' minds, though a study might find increased incidence of Egyptian brand names in Gaza since 2007. What is certain is that the ideology of boycott has little effect on the linguistic practices.

5.2.3 The political economy of cheap labour and the pull to Hebrew borrowings from the workplace

Code alternation, in which one language is used at work and another at home, is at present the only acceptable linguistic behaviour for the Palestinian day-migrant workers within the existing relations of power both vis-à-vis the Israeli employers and vis-à-vis the Palestinian communities they live in. The workers must know at least some Hebrew to understand instructions and retain their jobs. "Rational choice" here is meaningless. In the context of high Palestinian unemployment in a depressed

economy, Israeli employers and the Israeli military, which issues a limited number of permits for workers to enter Israel and the settlements for work, see the granting of such jobs to Palestinians as doing them a favour, since the workers are supposedly replaceable. Palestinian politicians negotiating economic arrangements for the newly formed Palestinian Authority in the mid-1990s shared the view that continued Palestinian employment in Israel was a concession to the Palestinian side (Farsakh 2005). The Israeli economy benefited from cheap labour which was socially segregated from Israelis but also supported the local economy by buying Israeli products on the integrated market. As Lewin-Epstein and Semyonov put it, “Israel manages to reap the benefits of employing foreign labour without experiencing the full social burden of incorporating them residentially and institutionally into the society” (Lewin-Epstein and Semyonov 1987: 112).

The understanding of being indebted to their employer for the privilege of being employed is internalised by the workers, who have been willing to accept discriminatory terms of employment and lack of economic mobility. The borrowing that captures this ideological view best is *matana*, which is Hebrew for “gift”, but when used by Palestinian workers refers to a small annual bonus which they take as an indication of the Israeli employer’s generosity (see 3.2.3). There is no record of the nature of communication between Israelis and Palestinians at the workplace, but there is evidence of the existence of different arrangements depending on the type of job and the size of the company. For construction, factory, and agricultural workers, day-labour is often organised by a contractor, who is Palestinian. The owners and managers, who are Israeli, communicate mostly with the contractor who is also the point of contact for the workers. The Palestinian contractor speaks Hebrew well enough to

deal with the Israelis extensively. He passes on instructions to the workers in Arabic peppered with Hebrew borrowings which are transferred (or leaked) from the communication with the Israeli managers. This is acquired by the workers and some of the borrowings leak further from the workplace setting to, for instance, interviews with foreign sociolinguists, where they are recorded in a doctoral thesis.

In smaller workplaces and workplaces which employ Palestinians with Israeli citizenship, who are bilingual through education, and Israelis, alongside the Palestinians from the West Bank, there is direct communication between monolingual Palestinian Arabic speakers and Hebrew speakers. In such cases a pidgin may develop, or the West Bank Palestinians may learn a kind of simplified Hebrew, negotiating Hebrew grammar rules by applying basically spoken Palestinian Arabic grammar with a Hebrew lexicon. Even in the factory setting on occasion direct communication between the Israeli owners or managers and the workers can take place. One worker from Tulkarem working in an Israeli settlement described how the Israeli owner would inspect the factory once or twice a week and chat with the 70 or so Palestinian workers individually in Hebrew. When the workers in this factory went on strike and the Israeli Ministry of Industry, Trade and Labour intervened to enforce minimum wage law, an interpreter was employed in the negotiations with a committee that represented the workers. This is an exceptional example of an alteration of power relations between Israelis and Palestinians with linguistic and economic consequences. The workers' committee could negotiate in Arabic, and was able to hear the Israeli owners' and the Ministry officials' words translated into Arabic for their benefit. Also, in this case, the workers won the right to be paid the minimum wage according

to Israeli law. Appendix 2 presents the transcription of an interview with J.M., one of the workers involved in the strike.

Only recently, after years of campaigning by the Israeli non-governmental organisation (NGO) Kav IaOved (The Worker's Hotline), have Palestinian workers started to organise collectively to demand equal pay. The fact that it is an Israeli organisation is also significant, though some of Kav IaOved's fieldworkers are Palestinian: it means that the linguistic tools available to redress discrimination are also Hebrew. In fact, the workers' efforts to assert their rights are not supported by the Palestinian politicians, including the politicised leadership of the Palestinian General Federation of Trade Unions (PGFTU), who have ignored the problem while signing an agreement with the equally unhelpful Israeli general trade union, the Histadrut. There is a sense, too, that the Palestinian migrant workers' efforts contradict official political discourse affirming that the only solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is separation into two nation-states. When the workers in Israel and in the Israeli settlements demand equal rights their political action points to a different solution. If the workers succeed in redressing discrimination, they will be claiming civil rights from the state of Israel. Taken to its logical conclusion, this would entail an entirely different political agenda from that of separation, coming rather closer to that of a unitary non-discriminatory state. This is purely speculative because the negotiations of the 1990s brought institutional separation (but not the sovereignty of independence for Palestinians), leaving the issue of discriminatory state practices to complex inter-institutional arrangements, such as the agreement between the PGFTU and the Histadrut, but rarely allowing contestation by the workers through the normal channels available to their Israeli co-workers.

Working in Israel under such conditions is not a source of pride for Palestinians; it is a practical necessity. Working in Israeli settlements, which are illegal under international law, is further frowned upon, and was made illegal by the Palestinian Authority in 1996. When returning home from work, then, it is best to cover one's tracks and speak Arabic. If, through collective organisation and recognition of workers' rights and human rights, the power relations do change, translating into increased self-confidence on behalf of the workers, one would expect also the linguistic behaviour to change: Arabic may be acceptable at the work place and Hebrew may not be an embarrassing reminder of one's second-class work status when mentioned at home.

5.2.4 Paradoxes of Palestinian nationalism and the pull to Hebrew use by Palestinian political prisoners

If "rational choice" is applicable anywhere, it is applicable to the case of Palestinian political prisoners studying Hebrew in captivity. Esmail Nashif describes the training organised by Palestinian political factions to enable prisoners to resist divulging sensitive information during interrogations by the Israeli intelligence services, where torture and other ill-treatment is practiced to some degree legally. Nashif emphasises that the epistemic power gained by studying interrogation methods and the collective power from factional organisational support made it possible for the prisoners to withstand pressures exerted on them. There is no reference in Nashif's study to any linguistic component of this training, though Hebrew classes are commonly known to have formed a major part of Palestinian prison life. It is evident that Nashif does consider Hebrew use by political prisoners to be significant to his thesis, though he mentions it only in passing: "The dialogical aspect of the colonial conflict is materialized

discursively on many levels, but most prominently in the use of Hebrew phrases by the colonized, and the presence of Arabic in the Hebrew of the colonizer...” (Nashif 2008: 127-8); and “... language is a crucial aspect of the colonial conflict. Arabic is seen by Palestinians, as well as by other Arabs, as a sign not only of identity but of glorious history. Hence, Palestinians Arabize [sic] Hebrew, they domesticate it in their history.” (Nashif 2008: 216 ff.16) This understanding of identity and conflict, which this study distances itself from, was discussed earlier in the chapter; here it will be noted that Nashif unfortunately gives no account of Hebrew use by political prisoners, though it would have been pertinent to his study. Corroborated by other sources (Cook, Hanieh, Kay 2004), it is plausible to assume that Hebrew lessons in prison constitute one of the methods to give some measure of control to Palestinian prisoners in a situation of extreme physical and psychological vulnerability. They choose to learn Hebrew as a second language in a deliberate, “rational”, decision.

As opposed to the political actions of the workers demanding equal rights to Israelis, the resistance of the prisoners is celebrated as an integral part of Palestinian national discourse (and the excerpts from Nashif’s tract exemplify this celebration). Learning Hebrew – which, in contrast, is an aspect of the workers’ subservience – is cast as a constituent of this resistance. Outside the prison confines, the ex-prisoners no longer need Hebrew to understand interrogation techniques and be prepared for the strain of being at the mercy of Hebrew-speaking guards. Yet there continues to be an articulated fit between the political prisoners’ use of Hebrew and normative Palestinian nationalist ideology, therefore it is permissible for ex-prisoners to use Hebrew borrowings more freely than the workers do.

This articulation also allows for the display of knowledge of Hebrew as testimony to extended imprisonment, which gives the ex-prisoner his political credentials, appreciated by those who adhere to the nationalist consensus. There is an inherent contradiction, because at the same time the nationalist consensus frowns upon use of Hebrew beyond a minimal “optimal” level. Such attraction to language use that diverges from normative uses has been termed “covert prestige” in other contexts (Trudgill 1972). Covert prestige, which operates below the level of individual consciousness, is impossible to square with “rational choice”, which is by definition conscious. Rather, I would submit that several different prestige norms are present at any given time and the political prisoner will choose – with rationale – to adhere to a norm that is appropriate for the situation. I can only imagine that in the circle of political prisoners, the prestige of using prison jargon including Hebrew borrowings will be more attractive than it would be when interviewed by a non-prisoner like myself. Such a hypothesis would need confirmation from a researcher who can access evidence from other circles.

5.2.5 Israeli consumerism and the Hebrew slang of Shuafat refugee camp's young people

My experience from Shuafat refugee camp, where the trendy youth observed for this study live, supports the observation that the rise of consumerism that Amalia Sa'ar describes in relation to Palestinians in Israel is also valid in the camp. Sa'ar contributed to a series of anthropological studies of Israeli society uncovering the patterns of consumerism there, as elsewhere in globalised capitalist societies, during the 1990s (Carmeli and Applbaum 2004). Historically having preferred a protectionist economy focusing on self-sufficiency, Israel turned to free trade and hi-tech business during the

1980s and 90s. Negotiations with the Palestinians (in Madrid and Oslo) and hoped-for regional trade integration were meant to expand this economic change. The domestic corollary was the new availability of consumer products, the promotion of consumerist lifestyle and overall prosperity with widening wealth gaps, described as social embourgeoisement, which also touched the Palestinian citizens of Israel, who generally occupy the lowest echelons of society in Israel (Sa'ar 2004: 126).

Unfortunately Sa'ar does not point to a linguistic process that might have accompanied embourgeoisement among Palestinians in Israel.

There is no study, to my knowledge, of the role consumerism as a practice and ideology plays in the Occupied Palestinian Territories. It would be interesting to know whether the ideology of austerity which was propagated during the Second Intifada and the Israeli military's operation "Defensive Shield", when Yassir Arafat's compound as well as all Palestinian towns were under siege, was just a blip in the rise of consumerism in the West Bank. It is possible that the influx of Palestinians from North America and Europe during the 1990s, and the sponsorship of Palestinian students in Western countries since the 1990s as part of efforts to support the Oslo negotiation process, played a role in importing consumerism to commercial centres such as Ramallah in the West Bank.

Certain themes from Sa'ar's description of Palestinian consumerist practices echo my experience with some of the young people in Shuafat refugee camp: the centrality of the American-style mall to leisure activities, the time devoted to shopping at various places, combining deals in the West Bank with window-shopping in Israel, the popularity of *sahrāt* (men and women socialising at open-air restaurants with musical shows), and, most prominently in Sa'ar's analysis, the alteration of gender

behaviour that consumerism activates. In Shuafat refugee camp, this is manifested by choosing one's partner and marrying young. The majority of the camp residents live in poverty and all of them must put up with defective infrastructure and inadequate housing. Any signs of consumption are focused on indexes such as elaborately decorated fingernails for women, shiny belt buckles for men, jazzy ringtones on mobile 'phones, and the stereotypical activities listed above, which can rarely be afforded but are judged as desirable. In addition to the workplace as a source of Hebrew, camp residents frequent Israeli venues for leisure: the mall, West Jerusalem dance clubs and even Tel Aviv beaches when they have a chance. In contrast, the trendy youths in Ramallah who frequent cafés and clubs there, will resort to English borrowings to signal their own "cool slang". The Jerusalem Mall (referred to in Shuafat refugee camp by its Hebrew name, *kenyon yerushalayim*) where young Palestinian men work as shelf-stackers and cleaners, where they "hang out" in their leisure time, and where they identify with the consumerist lifestyle that the mall itself embodies, is a far cry from conspicuous elite consumption in Ramallah. Mixing Hebrew in Arabic speech is an affordable indicator of aspirations for such a lifestyle. Hebrew mixing is one of the indexes of consumerism, not of becoming Israeli in the national sense; it must give pause if the salient aspect of Israeli, Hebrew-speaking, identity to be emulated is consumerism. In sociolinguistics, this emulation has been termed "crossing": adolescents selectively take on the manner of speaking of another ethnic group to forge solidarities, to mock and address social relations (Rampton 1995). In his study of multiracial vernacular among British youth in a working class district in the 1980s, Ben Rampton states that by code crossing between Creole, Panjabi, and South Asian English, adolescents acknowledge ethnic

heritage but engage in forging allegiances grounded in non-ethnic identities (of the neighbourhood, gender, social role in the group, recreational interest and more; Rampton 1995: 312). Similarly, code crossing in Shuafat refugee camp makes reference to non-ethnic roles. In Shuafat camp, too, the crossing constitutes a challenge to what Rampton calls the ideology of “ethnic absolutism” and what is termed exclusive nationalism in this chapter above. Here the parallel with the situation described and explained by Rampton ends: young adults of Shuafat refugee camps have little opportunity to forge solidarities across ethnic boundaries that the respondents of Rampton’s study do.

Consumerism and nationalism are at odds in the reality of Shuafat refugee camp. Nationalism requires collective action, the suppression of individual differentiation; though as an ideology nationalism is justified in terms of protection of the individuals who make up the nation. Consumption, on the other hand, is an inherently individualistic practice, though consumerism touches masses.

Consumers are not “cultural traitors” because they use Hebrew in code-mixing, but because they value their individual pursuits above collective national uniformity. *Vis-à-vis* the Palestinian community of Shuafat refugee camp, the consumerism of the “trendy youth” is a counter-culture: its practice contradicts the norms of nationalist behaviour including language use. *Vis-à-vis* the Israeli political economy, the performance of the “trendy youth” is in articulation with Israeli consumerism that is on the rise since the 1990s. In the evidence gathered for this study, it is the latter process that wins over the former in the speech of some young Palestinians in Shuafat refugee camp.

In his despairing critique of the modern capitalist system, Herbert Marcuse deplores the “stupefaction” induced by the satisfaction of material comfort disabling any oppositional political action (Marcuse 1970: 23). Avoiding Marcuse’s prescriptive overtones Jean Baudrillard identifies constant systemic dissatisfaction as the driving force of the capitalist economy in which the logic of growth rests upon increased consumption that spurs production. It is not material comfort that stupefies, but the incessant need to acquire more consumer goods functioning as status symbols that does (Baudrillard 1998). There is a sense in which the “stupefaction” of individualistic consumerism would benefit the Israeli state in Shuafat refugee camp in particular, though Baudrillard and Marcuse’s analyses would have it that the entire mass of consumers, including Jewish Israelis, are disenfranchised. The Israeli government’s strategy that denies Shuafat camp refugees their rights as residents of Jerusalem and violates their human rights by arbitrarily limiting their freedom of movement through the construction of the separation wall and the checkpoints, for instance, has not been met with the collective resistance evident in other parts of the West Bank. The relations of power between the state and the refugee camp are operative in promoting the articulation between the ghettoisation of Shuafat refugee camp, the emulation of Israeli individualistic consumerism, and its expression by mixing Hebrew in Arabic.

Consumers might not be as over-determined by their position in the political economy as the above thinkers would have it, and the trendy youth retain some agency in efforts to satisfy needs that

material consumption cannot meet (Soper 1981). Consumerism has given rise to new, emancipatory needs, such as the alteration of gender roles. The need for freedom of movement has to be met for consumerism to take root (one has to be free to physically reach the shopping centre): in this sense, the tailing of Israeli consumerism can generate resistance to closure. All is not lost for the Shuafat camp ghetto.

5.3 Predicting language shift

The question for linguists studying change in patterns of language use is whether the Hebrew borrowings in Palestinian Arabic will last into the speech of future generations. Judging by the evidence in the speech of the youngest generation recorded in my fieldwork, it is likely that some of these words will remain. Sarah Thomason rejects the concept, proposed by Carol Myers-Scotton among others, that there are internal linguistic structural limitations to change brought about by contact between languages. According to her, anything can be adopted by any language; the only necessary – and trivial – social condition is that there must be contact between the languages. Some linguistic constraints make certain adoptions more probable, for instance that vocabulary is borrowed before structure, and if the contact is casual, only non-basic vocabulary is borrowed (Thomason 2001: 69). Thomason does list several social conditions for contact-induced language change to occur but makes clear that these are not determining: cultural pressure for change; duration of contact period; the number of speakers that will maintain a minority or subordinate language; and the socioeconomic dominance of one linguistic group. What is determining, Thomason argues, are attitudes to the

languages in contact and to language change (Thomason 2001: 22). This chapter will look at the future of the social conditions for contact. It will then incorporate Thomason's argument for the overriding importance of language attitudes into the model presented in this thesis which relies on the notion of ideologies and context's articulation into linguistic practice, as a means of reiterating the line of reasoning.

5.3.1 Future of contact situation

The future of contact between Israelis and Palestinians is a matter of Israeli government policy, which is affected by international pressure and internal public opinion, and specifically military opinion, and as such is prone to sudden change. Some basic elements leading to contact look unlikely to change in the short and medium term: the Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories will continue; and the relative disadvantage of the Palestinian economy, which structurally triggers economic migration to Israel, is also a lasting factor. In the long term, Hebrew will remain a minority language in the wider Middle East. Despite these basic elements pointing to continued contact, the following predictions for restriction of contact are based on a reading of historical events.

5.3.1.1 Contact with Israelis

In peak years, such as 1988 and 1992, as much as 45.9% of the Gaza Strip workforce worked in Israel, and 35% of the West Bank's. Today, the flow of migrant workers has been reduced to less than 10% of the Palestinian workforce, mostly through unofficial channels. None can currently get in from

the Gaza Strip because of the Israeli blockade, and unemployment is rife. Precise figures are hard to come by. Israeli government policy since the 1990s has tended to regulate and restrict Palestinian access to Israel and movement within the Palestinian Territories in general and for the workers in particular, in line with the ideology of Israeli securitism, as exemplified by Yitzhak Rabin's speech of April 1994 (quoted in Murphy 1995: 14). Rabin declared the launch of the policy of 'total separation' for security reasons: "We have to free ourselves from our dependency on workers from the territories. This dependency forces us to take decisions which put Israeli lives in danger. The long-term aim is to reduce dramatically the number of Palestinians working in Israel." It is worth noting that Rabin's use of "dependency" is unlike how developmental economists would use the same term; for them, it is the Palestinian economy which is dependent on Israel's capital.

Contact can be analysed in terms of Lesley Milroy's concept of networks, according to which linguistic norms are enforced most effectively through dense and multiplex networks, in which people who see each other often also know each other in a variety of roles (Milroy 1980). Applied to the cases of Dheisheh, Tulkarem and Shuafat refugee camps, it would seem that in the sociolinguistic networks that do include a Hebrew speaker, as the foreman on a construction site for instance, the link to that speaker is, on the contrary, uniplex: that is, the speaker is only known in that one role. Moreover, the network that involves that construction foreman in the example is open: that is, only a few people in the community are in regular contact with him, who act as intermediaries between him and the dense community network. Under these conditions not much Hebrew can spread into Palestinian speech. As the two societies are forced into segregation, it can be predicted that uniplex and open networks

including Israelis will continue to disappear and with them the contact that is the source of Hebrew in Palestinian communities.

5.3.1.2 Contact with Palestinian citizens of Israel

Another source of Hebrew in Palestinian speech in the West Bank is contact with Palestinian citizens of Israel (also sometimes referred to as “1948 Palestinians”, “Palestinians of the inside” or “Israeli Arabs”), who use more Hebrew in their Arabic speech than Palestinians from the Occupied Territories (see Amara 1999). The future of this contact is difficult to gauge. Since it is likely that any possible increase in such contact would take place in the Occupied Territories due to the restrictions placed on West Bankers' and Gazans' access to Israel, it is possible that Palestinian citizens of Israel would come out influenced by norms of speech in the West Bank rather than the other way around. For instance, in 2010 the Israeli army allowed Palestinian citizens of Israel to enter the West Bank city of Nablus in an initiative to boost the market economy there. Palestinian citizens of Israel have an interest in shopping in Nablus because products are cheaper there (Sa’ar 2004). Nablus had been closed to Israeli citizens for more than a decade.

5.3.2 Mea culpa: the researcher’s attitudes

The researcher’s personal attitudes do not have any linguistic impact on the Palestinians’ use of Hebrew, but it does affect how this use is presented in this study and is offered to the academic

community. In the minefield of Palestinian-Israeli relations, and of academic arguments in Middle East studies, any contribution must tread the ground carefully. The prevalence of nationalist understandings of identity means that the findings of the fieldwork itself – the fact that many Palestinians sometimes use Hebrew words – will be unpalatable to some. I must confess that when I embarked on the project I shared some of the nationalist preconceptions I criticise in this chapter, but the evidence gathered during the fieldwork compelled me to reassess my assumptions. I had expected, even hoped, that the only Hebrew uses to be found would be terminology related to the military aspects of the occupation and specific lexical items derived from work in Israel. These borrowings would have been absorbed by the Palestinians mechanically, almost despite themselves; to find otherwise would be to violate nationalist norms that I assumed all Palestinians adhered to. Showing off knowledge of Hebrew, as the political ex-prisoners did, using Hebrew to sound “young and trendy”, and subverting Israeli connotations of power by using Hebrew for irony, all contradicted my expectations. I had to alter my view of speakers as passive victims of Hebrew interference, and the conceptualisation of borrowings as simple reflections of Israeli economic and military dominance, or “colonisation”. To square the facts with the prejudices of nationalist norms I originally formulated the hypothesis that only those Palestinians who are in the advantageous position of not having to rely on Israel for their employment could afford – perhaps literally – to adhere to the normative ideology that excludes Hebrew borrowings supposedly subverting Palestinian identity. It is from an elitist position that one might criticise speakers who extensively use Hebrew borrowings for compromising their Palestinian identity. The facts of life in the Occupied Palestinian Territories, and the way the

occupation has shaped the Palestinian economy as dependent on Israeli capital, means that a significant class of Palestinians have learnt to use some Hebrew simply to get by. Prescribed negative attitudes to Hebrew have little impact on the practice of its borrowing in Arabic as long as the conditions that made the use of Hebrew necessary persist. Simplistically, Hebrew colonised Palestinian Arabic as the Israeli occupation did the Palestinian lands. This model proved too simple.

5.4 Gazing into the crystal ball at the future of Hebrew borrowings

On the one hand, increased segregation of Palestinians from Israelis and impressionistic indications of negative attitudes towards Hebrew in the Occupied Palestinian would suggest that Hebrew borrowings in Palestinian Arabic are headed for extinction. On the other hand, the military occupation remains in place, and with it the economic dependency that draws Palestinian workers to Israeli employers, and these will continue to be a source of Hebrew, albeit reduced. These are the contextual conditions of the Israeli state and its economy for language contact, and they impact on linguistic borrowings in articulation with ideologies, which are in part informed by conscious attitudes to language practices. The patterns of language practices studied in this thesis can be summarised by the following claims. For the Palestinian migrant workers who understand their situation as one of cheap, second-class workers grateful for the privilege of having a job against the background of high Palestinian unemployment, using Hebrew borrowings at work and with co-workers is a means of retaining one's job and sharing that experience with other Palestinian day-migrants. At home in the Palestinian communities, however, the depreciatory view of such menial work, emblematic of

dependency on the Israeli economy – a view in line with nationalist ideology which seeks autonomy from Israel – means that Hebrew borrowings are avoided. Political prisoners, by contrast, are heroes of the nationalist ideology, and their freer use of Hebrew borrowings to parade their political credentials as long-serving captives is acceptable. Trendy young people who have access to the displays of consumerism in the Israeli economy use borrowings as Hebrew slang to signal their consumerist aspirations. For all other Palestinians who live in the Occupied Palestinian Territories, at least as evidenced by the fieldwork results for this thesis, Hebrew is a reflection of the daily negotiation between the necessity of getting by in a political, military and economic situation largely in control of the Israeli government, the dignity and emotional value of adhering to Palestinian nationalism, and the appeal of the pragmatic consensus. The negotiation draws towards the minimal but regular use of Hebrew borrowings, but it can also draw towards the use of Hebrew for humour, irony and sarcasm.

There is no indication that future Hebrew usages will differ from these patterns, but an interesting development to watch will be the rise of consumerism. The contradictions it presents to the ideology of nationalism, and the new needs it engenders, could articulate with changing patterns of language practice. For instance, if Palestinians with Israeli citizenship continue to do their shopping in Nablus, and the consumerist aspirations of some of them are embraced, then Hebrew borrowings could spread into new slang in Nablus. The consumers in that scenario who have the purchasing power also have the advantage in the power relations with the seller, articulating with the spread of consumerist linguistic norms replete with Hebrew borrowings. If, on the other hand, Palestinian

nationalism and the solidarity it expresses between the Palestinians from Israel and the Palestinians from Nablus wins out, then nationalist language norms will be articulated with the minimisation of borrowings from Hebrew. The crystal ball would not reveal which of these scenarios is more likely to unfold, but their exploration nevertheless does serve to illustrate the role of articulation and ideology in the spread or containment of Hebrew borrowings.

6. Conclusion

6.1 Contributions to the field

This thesis on Hebrew borrowings in Palestinian Arabic provided detailed casework from an understudied linguistic situation. It was firmly anchored in empirical results from fieldwork in three refugee camps in the Occupied Palestinian Territories. The results were presented and analysed with reference to concrete speech's immediate interpersonal surroundings and the wider social, political and economic situation. On the basis of this analysis, an explanatory model was proposed that sought a non-deterministic link, termed "articulation", between the structure of the context and the agency of the linguistic practice. This explanatory model moved away from the notions of conflict and national identity often submitted as explanations in sociolinguistics of the Middle East.

Similarly to other sociolinguistic studies of codeswitching and borrowing, emphasis was laid on the impetus for borrowing associated with the migration of workers to a job market speaking a different language. The particularities of the Palestinian case, however, mean that it posed some challenges to existing models. Analytical categories of dominant and subordinate groups, and their languages' advance or retreat, do not fit in a situation where Palestinians are subordinate politically, economically and militarily to the Israeli state but do not have the option of assimilating or integrating into Israeli society. In fact, separation between Palestinians and Israelis is imposed to greater or lesser degrees, and the trappings of political autonomy are promoted through the Palestinian Authority. Culturally, Palestinians draw on linguistic affinities with the wider Arab region. The tensions between the

possibility – and indeed necessity – of Palestinian-Israeli contact due to the Israeli occupation of Palestinian lands and thanks to the attraction of Palestinian labour force threatened by high unemployment rates at home to the Israeli job market on the one hand and the obstacles to contact due to the segregation enforced by Israeli security restrictions on the other mean that the conditions for linguistic contact are uncertain. These tensions and uncertainties inform the context in which the linguistic borrowing documented in this study take place. Predictive models depending on neat categories to capture this context are inadequate.

Yet the relevance of the context to the types and purposes of Hebrew borrowings is inescapable.

Hebrew is used to designate work tools, military procedures, Israeli products and some state services.

Hebrew's connotations to Palestinians can serve to make a joke or infuse speech with political irony,

or they can signify youthful, trendy slang. The level of use of untranslated Hebrew borrowings can

demarcate in-groups, such as migrant workers and political prisoners who use Hebrew more freely

amongst themselves than with outsiders. The traces of the context in these patterns of uses make

themselves evident, but the process through which they arrived there needed explanation. The

explanation suggested here utilised a concept of critical discourse analysis, "ideologies", in the

meaning of discourses, ways of making sense of the world, and another concept from Marxist cultural

theory, "articulation", in the sense of hinge joining a tractor with a trailer. Agents make sense of the

context and of their position in relations of power inherent in the context, through the mediation of

ideologies, which are articulated (now also playing on the sense of articulation as voicing) into

practices, including the linguistic practice of borrowing.

The tractors are ideologies. In this study four ideologies were found to have explanatory value; they are Israeli securitism, Israeli consumerism, Palestinian nationalism and Palestinian pragmatism. A fifth ideology that affected how the field data were collected was the ideology organising gender relations in Palestinian society. The ideologies are articulated with different patterns of use of Hebrew borrowings, which are the trailers. Some young people in Shuafat refugee camp, as an example, are exposed to the pull of Israeli consumerism when they use Hebrew slang to signal adherence to the values of a consumerist lifestyle, for instance by tagging the Hebrew *bsēder*, “okay”, to the end of a question. The use of *bsēder* is not determined by the fact of being a young person in Shuafat refugee camp, but the camp’s proximity to West Jerusalem and the consumerism that is displayed there in the shopping centres and dance clubs draws the linguistic practice in the direction of Hebrew slang. Articulation allows for the flexibility of an explanation that can hook the context, mediated by ideologies, to practices, with the possibility of unhooking and reclaiming a different set of practices. The tractor sets the limits of what the trailer can do, but does not decide what it carries.

The explanation remained rooted in the functions of the state and the economy and as such acknowledged its inheritance from historical materialism. It offered to enrich sociolinguistic analysis of language contact in the Middle East by supplementing explanations based on the concepts of national identity and conflict. This is not to ignore the fact that there is a national conflict between Israelis and

Palestinians; clearly there is a conflict and it does have direct linguistic manifestations, for instance in the conflict over the status of Arabic as an official language in Israel. Recently there was a proposal in the Israeli parliament, the Knesset, to derecognise the official status of Arabic (Haaretz.com 2011a). For Israelis who conceive of their state as a liberal democracy, it is part of this conception that the language of a large, indigenous minority – the Palestinians – should be recognised as an official language. On the Palestinian side, the conflict manifests itself in a conflict over linguistic norms, with the advocates of nationalist linguistic norms minimising borrowing from Hebrew seeking to “correct” the use of Hebrew borrowings, similarly to campaigns for political correctness in languages elsewhere. Their campaign has failed insofar as one Hebrew term, at least, seems to be set to stay in Palestinian Arabic: *maḥsōm*, meaning “checkpoint”. Pragmatically, the Palestinian migrant worker would say, whoever needs to get to work, needs to cross an Israeli army checkpoint, and literally may not be able to afford not to know and use the associated vocabulary. Conflict and national identity were indirectly taken into account in this study as two of several elements of the political economy that inform the operative ideologies in the flexible model proposed, but not as basic explanatory terms.

6.2 Limitations of the study

The study was originally framed by assumptions regarding the crucial role played by Palestinian day-migrant workers in Israel in the adoption and spread of Hebrew borrowings. From this ensued a deterministic view of the context determining the practice: workers learnt Hebrew because it was

required of them by the economic and colonial-like reality. This view was paralleled by the researcher's preconceptions regarding the preeminence of nationalist linguistic norms: Hebrew was expected to be taboo in Palestinian speech, and the workers' pragmatism in learning and using what they needed to get by was actually seen as a subversive alternative eating away at the veneer of nationalist normative propriety. This was to prove the case that the economic base overrode the political superstructure, as orthodox Marxist theory would have it.

In the event, the evidence from the field required a more complex understanding of the link between context and practice, but remnants of the original frame nevertheless linger: Firstly, the fieldwork was conducted in three refugee camps on the basis of the knowledge that these would house the highest proportion of migrant workers. Secondly, the sociolinguistic interviews were oriented towards the topic of work in Israel. Thirdly, and most intangibly, pragmatism and nationalism were repositioned in the explanatory model as Palestinian attitudes that compete with other ideologies in articulation with a variety of patterns of practices, but a certain partiality towards the workers' worldview nevertheless remained. The focus of the study itself on the use of Hebrew borrowings and not on the avoidance of their use, which would have articulated the nationalist preference, betrays the researcher's theoretical favouring of subversion over propriety. Yet this is in good sociolinguistic tradition: a study of Palestinians speaking Arabic with no Hebrew borrowings would not a thesis make, all other things being equal.

The most obvious limitations of the study are beyond the control of this researcher: they lie in the “observer’s paradox”, or how the presence of the researcher affected the speech of the respondents. Social norms regarding gender behaviour that both the researcher and the respondents abided by prevented access to some interesting data spoken by young men, in particular. This, in combination with other political sensitivities, including respect for those very nationalist norms of linguistic practice that Hebrew borrowings were thought to contradict, resulted in a minimal picture of Hebrew borrowings in the data collected. This cannot be fruitfully viewed as a shortcoming, but rather must be considered an integral part of what it means to do sociolinguistic research. A different researcher’s “observer’s paradox” would affect speech in different ways. A male researcher, for instance, would also be faced by gendered constraints on his behaviour, if he chose to follow local social norms, but could have better access to trendy consumerist young men in Shuafat refugee camp. On such a researcher’s lucky day, the young men in question would feel comfortable teasing each other with Hebrew in front of him. This is also a question of method, and in this respect another constraint could be identified: interviews are rarely the settings for teasing, irony or slang. For teasing and expressing other forms of humour norms of politeness are, to some degree, suspended, and for that to be possible to observe, the researcher must invest significant time and effort into participation rather than rely on interviews. The varied patterns of Hebrew use documented in this study were noted during prolonged opportunities for participant observation.

6.3 Possible areas of further enquiry

To fill the gaps of the present study, while pursuing the focus on migrant workers, the research would need to be moved to other locations, out of the refugee camps. An interesting micro-study would be the observation of an Israeli workplace (a construction site, a hospital cleaners' lunch room or a restaurant kitchen for instance) where Palestinians are typically employed. Preliminary enquiries with Israeli architects have indicated that Israeli foremen at construction sites use Arabic borrowings in their Hebrew speech. It would be interesting to find out if a pidgin is negotiated between Palestinian workers and Israeli managers or whether the onus is on the Palestinians to learn Hebrew. More data could be gathered at checkpoints, or at settlement factories' gates. Such focused studies would benefit from depth in settings where Hebrew borrowings are perhaps used more freely than in an interview at home, yet would need to be mindful of the fact that they are probing but one pattern of Hebrew use for Palestinians.

The more comprehensive way forward lies in research taking off from a new frame, without the preconceptions of a focus on migrant workers, and undertaken by a sociolinguist equipped with the ability and opportunity to conduct extensive participant observations. Locations of Palestinian-Israeli contact such as the Jerusalem Mall would reveal different patterns of borrowing, including those guided by consumerist aspirations. A study based at an Israeli public health clinic or at the Jerusalem residency application office would expose the linguistic aspects of the state bureaucracy and some of its services.

As John Myhill has lamented (2004), sociolinguistics is a vibrant discipline in Israel, but not enough fieldwork is being done. What was missed most in the drafting of this thesis was the possibility to refer to a reliable study of linguistic change among Palestinians who have been citizens of Israel since 1948. The neglect of such an extraordinary linguistic situation is surprising, and mirrors the neglect of the Palestinian community inside Israel by both the Israeli state and Palestinian political representatives. Looking further afield, research into the rise of consumerism in the Middle East and elsewhere in the world may provide a fruitful prism through which to study gendered linguistic change connected with the change in gender relations that consumerism seems to stimulate. No one should be surprised to hear an Arab woman hanging up a well-used ornamented mobile 'phone while browsing at a shopping centre with the words *yom tōf*, Hebrew for "take care", in literal translation, "good day". That is an appropriate salutation with which to conclude this thesis.

Appendices

The three appendices are transcripts or excerpts of transcripts of interviews recorded for the doctoral fieldwork. They are offered here as illustrations of the phenomena under discussion in chapters 3 and 4. The sequence of the appendices corresponds to the chronological order in which they were recorded. Hebrew borrowings in the speech are underlined. Any relevant English borrowings are marked in bold. For a list of transcription symbols refer to the introduction.

Appendix 1: A.R.

Recorded: 14 March 2008

Place: Respondent's sister's home, Shuafat refugee camp

Participants: The respondent, unemployed A.R. (21); her husband, a cleaner in an Israeli hotel, H.R. (21); A.R.'s sister R.R. (19); and the researcher – N

Excerpts from the middle of the interview.

A.R.: huwwa ḥass yimkin innu ma fiš 'indi wa'it inni ana adrus ruxša u aštġil fi j-jāmi'a **sory** adrus fi j-jāmi'a u aštġil u aštġil šuġul. 'indi 'an jadd il-wa'it **fol**. kunt ana min iṣ-ṣubeḥ min is-sā'a tamaniye akūn mawjūda fi l-ma'raḍ aw fi š-šuġul u lamma barawweḥ 'ala l-bēt... halla' is-sē'a arba'a illa rubu' atrik iṣ-šuġul arba'a bi z-zaḇṭ akūn fi j-jāmi'a. is-sē'a tamaniye u noṣṣ bi z-zaḇṭ yirinn jaras it-tarwīḥa la j-jāmi'a. awṣal il-bēt 'a t-tis'a tis'a u noṣṣ 'ala asās iṭ-ṭarī' u 'ala asās ḥājjiz. halla' fī sane min is-snīn aw santēn, la' hiyye 'a l-arjaḥ sane sane u noṣṣ. kān ḥājjiz qalandiya iṣ-ṣābiq. kānu yisakru il-ḥājjiz 'a s-sē'a sitte, sitte u noṣṣ. mamnū' il-wāḥad yitla' min il-maḥsūm min il-ḥājjiz. u mamnū' ḥada yitla' aw yidxol fa kunt ana arawweḥ min ij-jāmi'a 'a s-sē'a tamaniye u noṣṣ u lamma āzi arawweḥ awa''ef 'a l-maḥsūm, bti'rif ma' mīn wa'fe akūn wa'tha ma' mīn akūn wā'fe? akūn wā'fe ma' iṣ-šaġile šū ya'nī iṣ-šaġile hadōl il-'āmilīn illi bištīglu 'ind il-yahūd.

*He felt that maybe I didn't have the time to study for a driving licence and work in the university, **sorry**, study at university and work at my job. My schedule was really **full**. I used to start at eight o'clock at the showroom that's the job when I came home... Now at quarter to four I left work and at four on the dot I was at the university. At half past eight exactly the bell would ring for the end of studies. I got home at nine or half past nine because of the road and because of the checkpoint. Now, a few years ago or two years ago, no, at the most one year or one and a half years, it was the old Qalandia checkpoint. It used to close at six, half past six. It was forbidden for anyone to pass the checkpoint, the checkpoint. And I used to come home from university at half past eight and when I came to go home, I used to stand at the checkpoint, you know who I used to stand with in those days? I used to stand there with the workers, what does it mean, the workers, these manual labourers who work for the Israelis.*

N: fi l-buna?

In construction?

A.R.: fi l-buna u t-tanḍīf u hēk ašyā' illi biṭla' u is-sē'a sitte u birja' u bi āxir il-lēl. fā kunt ya'nī atamni ṭūl il-wa't u ana wā'fe 'ala hal-ḥājiz astanna ma'āhom, astanna ma'āhom labēn ma humme yixallūna nidxul ma' il-'ilim kān il-maḥsūm yisakkir sitte u noṣṣ u ana ij-jāmi'a axalliṣ 'a s-sā'a tamaniya u noṣṣ awṣal 'a l-ḥājiz is-sā'a tis'a ta'rīban aw tis'a u noṣṣ ḥasab zurūf iṭ-ṭarī... fa bittamik wā'fe marrāt la s-sā'a 'ašara y'ulūli akūn ana il-bint il-waḥīde marrāt is-sā'a 'ašara ḥda'iš y'ulūli ta'āli inti wēn kunti? fi l-jāmi'a ṭab šū anī jami'a? isra'īliyya kaza ṭayyeb yalla fūti laḥālik. marrāt. marrāt.

In construction and cleaning and things like that, who leave at six in the morning and return late at night. So I used to spend all the time standing at this checkpoint waiting with them, waiting with them for them to let us in with the knowledge that the checkpoint used to close at six thirty and for me the university would end at eight thirty so I got to the checkpoint at nine approximately or nine thirty depending on traffic. So you'd end up standing sometimes until ten o'clock and they'd say to me, I was the only girl, sometimes until eleven, they'd say to me "Come here, where were you?" "At university" "OK what, which university?" "Israeli" and so on. "OK go in on your own." Sometimes. Sometimes.

H.R.: kān fī **styūdint kārđ**.

*There was a **student card**.*

A.R.: ā kān ma'na **styūdint kārđ** u iši mlīḥ mu'taraf fī isra'īl hāda l-iši kān yisa'idni. marrat min b'īd min b'īd mā byirḍu yixallūki t'arbi.

*Yes we had a **student card** and that was a good thing, recognised in Israel, this thing used to help me. Sometimes from far away far away they wouldn't let you go near.*

N: lissa binfa'?

Is it still valid?

H.R.: la' xallaṣ.

No it expired.

A.R.: 'alē tarīx.

It has a date on it.

H.R.: xallaṣ hāda 'adīm... zayy hēk ya'ni, bas 'adīm hāda.

It's finished, this one is old... It was like this one, but this one is old.

A.R.: 'ārfe kīf nānsi innu...

You know Nancy that...

H.R.: ya rēt a'dar aḥṣul 'a kamān waḥada.

I wish I could get another one.

A.R.: fā kunt āxod išūr, šū ya'ni?

So I used to get a permit, how to say it?

H.R.: tašrīḥ.

A permit.

A.R.: tašrīḥ. tašrīḥ. wara'a hēk inni ana ṭālibe fī j-jāmi'a.

A permit. A permit. A piece of paper like this, saying that I was a university student.

N: kamān tašrīḥ fōk il-hāda?

Also a permit on top of this?

A.R.: fō' hāy. halla' marrāt kānu min b'īd yi'ulūlik hēk marrāt yismaḥūlik tiḥki ma'āhom. halla' lamma ma yixallunāš n'arrib niḥki ma'āhom siwa'an ana willa ayy ḥada min iš-šaḡile min in-nās iš-šabāb ir-rijāl hadōl fī ṭarī' kānat wēn il-kassara illi ana waržētik iyāha kunna nrūḥ nihrub. 'alēha jabal jabal. iṭ-ṭalla'i halla' warāki bitšūfi sawād kunna nimro' bi-j-jabal hēk. kānu yilḥa'ūna yiḍrubu 'alēna rašāš ḥayy u yiḍrubu 'alēna qanābil ḡāz musīl la d-dumū' u ktīr moz'ij u bidāye'. kunna nirkud 'a j-jabal ana u kān illi uxt bi l-imāra illi ana baštḡil fiha bi l-ma'raḍ iṣ-ṣuboḥ btištḡil fī bēt ḥanīna bi l-lēl... u kamān kānat tištḡil šaḡlitēn.

On top of this. Now, sometimes they'd tell you from afar and sometimes they'd let you talk to them.

Now, when they didn't let us get close to talk to them, nor me nor any one of the workers, any one of the people, the boys and the men, there was a way where the quarry is that I showed you, we used to escape through there. It's very hilly. Look behind you now you'll see we used to cross hills like those.

They used to ambush us, shoot live bullets at us and throw tear gas canisters, very annoying and distressing. We used to run in the hills and my sister who worked in the same building as the showroom in the mornings and in Beit Hanina [a neighbourhood of East Jerusalem] at night... she also had two jobs.

N: [A.H.] kānat tištḡil hunāk?

[A.H.] used to work there?

A.R.: [A.H.] kānat tištḡil šuḡlēn, šuḡul bi n-nḥār u šuḡul bi l-lēl... 'ārfe kīf? halla lamma kānat trawweḥ hīye bi l-lēl ana w-eyāha marrāt tinzil hīye min bēt ḥanīna ana akūn rākbe bāš hīya tinzil tirkab ma'āy bi nafs il-bāš a'ullu stanna šway uxti bid-ha tirkab u twaṣṣil 'ala qalandiya ma'āha. awa'if ana w-eyāha marrāt 'a l-maḥsūm 'a l-ḥājiz marrāt zayy mā ḥakētlik mnihrub 'a j-jabal bansahāš. [A.H.] kānat bidha titšāwab fī rijilha ana jarī'a u barkud u baxāfiš min il-yahūd btifri'iš 'alēy. fā il-mantiqa illi mnihrub fiha il-yahūd kānu ḥaṭṭīn fiha zayy ka'inno jabal min it-trāb 'ašan yša'bu ir-rakiḍ aw il-hurūb minha. fa ana masakit id [A.H.] u a'dīn mnirkud u leḥ'etna ij-jīb iḥna w-eš-šabāb w-er-rjāl miš bas iḥna ya'ni miš

bas iħna mnihrub u minna nihrub 'ala byūtna ya'ni bass bidna nnām miš aktar ya'ni la'inu šārat is-sā'a ḥda'iš u 'ašara u 'ašara u nuṣṣ... fi marra min il-marrāt kunt biddi amsik id [A.H.] balašu xalaṣ yiqanṣū masakit id [A.H.] u saḥabtha u fi šab min warāha ya'ni dafa'ha hēk u ajat ir-raṣāša fi ijjir iš-šab... u [A.H.] šārat t'ayyit u šārat tibki tibki u t'ullu ya ḥarām u abšar šū u šārat tišrax u hīye tibki allāhu akbar iš-šab bi'ullha min warāha inti rūḥi inti rūḥi uhrubi uhrubi. u iš-šab ya ḥarām masakū ij-jēš... halla' ana u [A.H.] ana xalaṣ š-šab hūwe 'allna uhrubi ya'ni u iš-šab bitammu ahwan min il binit. ana masakit uxti u širit ajur fiha hīye miš 'ādra tirkuḍ min kutr il-xōf širt aḏurha 'ala il-'arḍ banṭalōnha tmazza'... walla banṭalōnha tmazza'... u ana jismāniyyan ya'ni kunt ma'rūfe bēn xawāti inni a'wa min [T.R.] illi akbar minni bi sane u a'wa min [A.H.] illi akbar minni bi santēn. a'wa hēk ya'ni u jarī'a u kaza... fa kānat ya'ni humme biriknu 'aleyy dāyiman lamma bidhom yiḥku fi hēk mawāqif fiha jur'a ana akūn fi l-bidāye u fi wijih il-iši fa ana masaktha u tammētni rākḍe arkuḍ arkuḍ a'ullha txfiṣ ma šārš iši lēš bit'ayti ya'ni tšawab 'ādi ya'ni inti kān mumkin tiṣawabi. halla humme ij-jēš masaku iš-šab u axadū u ḍarabu 'alēna iħna musīl la id-dumū'. ḍarabu 'alēna qanābil gāz musīl la id-dumū'. u iħna tammēna norkuḍ u nḥāwel nimši bšakil asra' ya'ni u labēn ma b'idna bass lamma b'idna 'anhom ktīr ḥassēna ḥālna bti'rafi šū la 'alb byitharrak wala nafas bya'ti ya'ni kunna 'anjad in'aṭa' nafasna. lamma wšilna bētna ka'inu kunna wa'tin bi-mōt u tli'na min il-mōt... lamma abūy šāf hēk 'āl banāti willa ta'līmhom willa šuḡulhom w-il-mašāri? miš 'ārif xalīhom y'u'du 'indi la biddi šuḡul wala biddi jāmi'a wala iši biddi. ana ahamm iši 'indi banāti u rāḥithom u drāsithom xalaṣ balāš minha fa fakkar abūy innu biddu ybaṭṭilna xalaṣ ḥifāzan 'alēna ya'ni. fa iħna qarrarna ma' abūy 'awadna bišakil 'aqlāni innu iħna bidna nkammil u bidna n'tš innu iħna ballašna u t'ibna u jāhadna bti'rifi šū ya'ni u t'ibna u ijtahadna u kunna bidna nmūt 'ašan nu"ud bi l-'āxir bi l-bēt iħna miš hēk lāzim yikūn musta'balna la'. lāzim niṭtahed ašlan humma il-yahūd liḥ'ūna 'ašan yiḍurbu 'alēna raṣāš 'ašan law ma 'atalūnāš yiwa'fūna 'an illi kunna mni'malu ta'līmna u iħna iza wa'afna ta'līmna minkūn sa'adnāhom bi hada l-iši law humme rafaḍu ḡaṣbin 'anhom bidna nḥoṭ fi rāsna nkammil u kammalna kif? uxtna [Z.R.] sākna bi l-muxayyam manṭika āmne tu'tabar fi laḥzitha ma kān fiha maḥsūm u ḥājiz u iši hēk ana kunt dāyiman arawweḥ min ij-jām'a anām 'indha. halla' kān abūy yinayemna 'indha bi ḥukum innu iħna 'inna fi l-islām u iši mišān fi taḥaffuz miš ayya waḥda bitrūḥ min banātina ya'ni tnām 'ind waḥde min xawātha 'ind jōz uxtha.

[A.H.] used to have two jobs, one in the morning and one in the evening... You know? Now, when she went home at night we'd go together, sometimes, she'd be coming down from Beit Hanina and I was in the bus and she'd catch the same bus as me, I'd say to the driver, "Wait a minute, my sister is on her way," and we'd arrive to Qalandia together. We used to stand together at the checkpoint, at the checkpoint. Sometimes, like I said, we escaped through the hills, I will never forget it. [A.H.] nearly got shot in the leg, I am fast and I can run, and I'm not scared of the Israelis, I don't care. And in the area we were escaping through the Israelis put like mounds of dirt so as to make the running more difficult, or the escape. And I held [A.H.]'s hand and we ran and the jeep overtook us, not just us but also the boys and the men, it wasn't just us trying to escape, wanting to escape to our homes to go to sleep, nothing else, because by then it was eleven o'clock, or ten, or ten thirty... And once I caught [A.H.]'s hand and that was it, they started to sweep the area, I caught [A.H.]'s hand and pulled her and there was a boy behind her who pushed her, and the bullet went into the boy's leg... and [A.H.] started to cry and she sobbed and sobbed and said to him "Oh no" and whatever, and she was screaming

"Allahu akbar" while she was crying, and the boy behind her was saying "You go ahead, you go, you escape." And the army caught the boy, sadly. Me and [A.H.], the boy had said to us "Run away" so I was like, that's it, anyway the boys can sort themselves out better than the girls. I got hold of my sister and dragged her along, she wasn't able to run because of the fear, I dragged her on the ground and her trousers got torn. Yes I swear, her trousers were torn. Physically I am known among my sisters that I am stronger than [T.R.] who is two years older than me and stronger than [A.H.] who is one year older than me. Stronger, like this, and faster and so on. And they used to rely on me when there were problems, they'd tell me and I'd go to the front, to face the thing. So I got hold of her and continued to run and run and I told her "Don't be scared, why are you crying, nothing happened, he got injured, it can happen normally, I mean you could've been injured." The army caught the boy and took him away and fired tear gas at us, fired tear gas canisters. And we continued to run and tried to get away faster to get away but when we got far away we felt you know what, like our hearts had stopped and our breath had stopped, we had really stopped breathing. And when we got home we felt as if we had witnessed death, like we had just escaped death. When our dad saw that he said "my daughters or their education or their jobs and the money? I don't know whether to have them sit at home with me, I don't want any jobs, any studies, I don't want anything. The most important is my daughters and their safety nevermind their studies we won't have that." And my father considered stopping us because he wanted to protect us. Then we decided – my dad and us – we went over it in a rational way that we want to complete our studies because we had started and we had put so much time and effort into it already, you know what I mean, and we had already spent so much energy on it and tried hard and we nearly died, and all that just to end up sitting at home, no, that shouldn't be our future. We have to try harder because basically the Israelis did it, if they didn't kill us, in order to stop us from doing whatever we were doing, stopping our education, and if we did stop then we would be helping them achieve that, so despite it all, we would get the education into our heads, and complete our studies. And we did complete our studies; how did we do it? Our sister [Z.R.] lives in the refugee camp in an area that was considered safe at the time, and there was no checkpoint and checkpoint and stuff so I always went home from university to sleep at her place. Now, our dad let us sleep at her place even though in Islam there is protection, like, not any sister can go sleep at her sister's husband's place...

H.R.: jōzha yu'ad ġarīb.

Her husband counts for a stranger.

A.R.: 'ašān jōzha yu'ad ġarīb miš innu ġarīb halla' hūwe šār zayy awlād abūy u kaza, bas it-taħaffoż dīniyyan abūy zalame mitdayyin ya'ni. fa kān 'ašān jōz [Z.R.] rabbāni u ana bint zġire la'inu jōz [Z.R.] 'add immi. kbīr kbīr.

Because her husband counts for a stranger, but he is not a stranger because now he has become like a son of my father and so on, but there is religious protection, my dad is a religious man I mean. And because [Z.R.]'s husband raised me since I was little and because [Z.R.]'s husband is my mum's age. Like really really old.

H.R.: u ibin 'ammha.

And he's her cousin.

A.R.: u jōz [Z.R.] ibin 'ammi ibin 'ammi lazam u bi muṣṭalaḥ wāḍiḥ ya'ni jōzha 'ājiz fiš minno xōf inno inno fhimti kif? u [D.R.] mu'addab jiddan ya'ni dāyiman 'ēnu fi l-arḍ lamma yiḥki ma'āki u xalūq abūy ma kān yixāf 'alēna minnu. kunt ana u [A.H.] marra nrūḥ nnām 'indhom fi l-muxayyam marrāt ana anām 'abēn mā [A.H.] ratabat umūr šuḡulha u ixtalaḥ il-waḍi' ba'dēn šār il-waḍi' is-siyāsi muxtalif ḡayyarū waḍi' il-maḥsūm. il-ḥājiz šār la s-sē'a sab'a sār la s-sē'a tamaniye šār la kaza. fī ba'd il-marrāt abūy u ixwiti u xawāti yiḍṭarru la ba'd il-ḥālāt law kānat id-dinya nhār yisakru il-ḥājiz la asbāb mu'ayyane u ṭārī'a bti'rafi šu hīye kān abūy yinām 'ind waḥda min xawāti u ana 'ind waḥde tānye u xawāti, axūy maṭalan 'ind waḥde tānye.

And [Z.R.]'s husband is my cousin and to put it clearly I mean her husband is disabled, there is no concern that he would, he would, you know what I mean? And [D.R.] is very polite, he always lowers his eyes when he talks to you, and he is moral, my dad was not concerned for us because of him. [A.H.] and I used to sleep at their place in the camp sometimes, sometimes it was just me and [A.H.] sorted out her problems at work and the situation changed, then the political situation changed, they changed the situation at the checkpoint. The checkpoint became until seven o'clock, until eight, until and so on. Sometimes my dad, my brothers and my sisters were sent back even in the day time if they closed the checkpoint for specific and urgent reasons, you know how it is, my dad used to sleep at one of my sisters' and my brother for instance at another one's.

H.R.: kul wāḥad a'rab la šuḡlo.

Each one closer to their job.

A.R.: kul wāḥad la a'rab makān ilo.

Each one to his closest place.

H.R.: la maṣlaḥto.

That is best for him.

A.R.: ya'ni bti'rafi ilḥamdulilāh innu abūy illu banāt mjawwazīn fi kul makān bti'rafi bi jadd. fa širna nitšatat il-'ā'ila šārat titšatat ana šuḡul ṭul in-nhār. ana bti'rfa a'adit fatra ma yuqārib sane aw santēn arawweḥ 'ala bētna hōn ašūf immi ya yōm jum'a kul jum'a marra ya imma kul jum'itēn marra.

You know thank god my dad has daughters married all over the place, you know, seriously. And so we became dispersed, the family became dispersed and I was all day at work. You know there was a period of time, maybe nearly a year or two that I'd go home to my mum here either every Friday or every other Friday.

H.R.: kunti tšufini aktar min immik.

You used to see me more than your mum.

A.R.: u kunt ašūfu bi j-jāmi'a kṭīr. hūwe kān kul ahli bi j-jāmi'a bi l-fi'il. ya'ni ḥasēt innu iẓ-ẓurūf ramatni 'a l-kuliyye u 'a š-šūḡul u ba'datni 'an ahli fiš fiš šū mālik bint 'umurha tisi'ta's aw tamanṭa'šar sana lissa šūḡul jāmi'a fiš ahil kullu rāḥ kullu rāḥ. fi yahūd fi ṭaxx fi māt fi ijtiyahāt fi tarwīḥa mit'axxre fi fē'a bakīr min šalāt iṣ-ṣubiḥ min kukukukū biddik tḥi' šūḡul ma'āš biddik tḥibi biddik tidfa'i... ana uxti [T.R.] akbar minni bi sane mā raddat aw ma 'iblit t'š bi l-waḍi' illi iḥna 'išna hōn aw ma 'iblit t'š bi l-waḍi' illi hīye txayyalat inna rāḥ n'š u bi l-fi'il 'išnā.

I used to see him at the university a lot. He was practically like my family at the university. I mean, I felt that the circumstances threw me towards the college and the job and away from my family there wasn't there wasn't, what do you mean, a nineteen-year-old girl, or still eighteen, job, university, no family, everything's gone, everything's gone. There's the Israeli [army], there's shooting, there are deaths, there are invasions, there's coming home late and getting up early, from the morning prayers, from cock-a-doodle-doo, you have to get up, job, salary, you need to earn, you need to pay... My sister [T.R.] who's one year older than me, she wasn't willing or she didn't accept to live in the situation that we were experiencing here, or she couldn't accept living in the situation that she imagined we would live and that we did in fact experience.

N: bi l-intifāḍa.

During the intifada.

A.R.: ā hīye 'ālat la abūy ana miš rāḥ adrus hōn ana miš musta'idde ba'darš. iza [A.R.] bti'dar u [A.H.] bti'dar ana ba'darš. sāfarat 'ala l-'urdon u riḍyēt inha t'š ḡarībe ba'de miš ḡarībe 'arībe zayyi... ana kunt 'āyše fi l-balad ḡarībe u 'arībe ḡarībe 'a l-bēt ma bāji 'a l-bēt bašūfiš xawāti bašūfiš immi ma' inni 'arībe ma' inni fi l-balad.

Yes she told my dad "I am not going to study here, I am not willing to do it, I can't. If [A.R.] can and [A.H.] can, I cannot." She travelled to Jordan and was willing to live as a distant stranger not a close stranger like me... I was living in the same town as a stranger and close by, a stranger to the home, I didn't go home, I didn't see my sisters I didn't see my mum, even though I was near, even though I was in the same town.

H.R.: ḥatta ḥaṣṣalat ayyām nānsi [T.R.] tiṭla' min il-'uds tiwṣal 'ammān...

There were even days, Nancy, when [T.R.] left Jerusalem and reached Amman...

A.R.: tsāfir 'a l-'urdon...

She travelled to Jordan...

H.R.: 'abil ma iḥna niwṣal la dārna hōn .

Before we reached our homes here.

A.R.: ā ḥaṣṣalat marra. ḥaṣṣalat marra nānsi innu [T.R.] ṭil'it min il-'uds...

Yes it happened once. It happened once Nancy that [T.R.] left Jerusalem...

H.R.: ittaṣlat ana wṣilit iḥna kunna sa'tēn tlāte wa'fin 'ala maḥsūm.

She phoned to say she had arrived and we were standing two or three hours at the checkpoint.

A.R.: wā'fin 'ala ḥājjiz... ya'ni hāda iṣ-šēy' fō' il-xayāl. ana bti'rafi lamma hīye 'ālatli hēk mā ṣada'thāš.
[T.R.] wiṣlit il-'urdon.

Standing at the checkpoint... I mean that's something beyond the imagination. You know, when she told me this I didn't believe her. [T.R.] had arrived in Jordan.

H.R.: tiṭla' is-sā'a ṭna'š tiwṣal tintēn tintēn-u-iṣi iḥna 'a s-sā'a ṭna'š niwṣal arba'a.

She left at twelve o'clock and arrived at two, just after two, and we at twelve and arrived at four.

A.R.: u ana lissa 'a l-ḥājjiz u ana fāy'a 'abilha aw inni ṭal'a ma'ha.

And I'm still at the checkpoint and I got up before her or left with her.

H.R.: btiwṣal 'ammān bti'rifi šu 'ammān.

She arrived in Amman you know what that means, Amman.

A.R.: ḥudūd bti'ṭa'... ḥudūd bēn dawle u dawle u btiwṣal 'abli.

She crosses borders... borders between two states and she arrives before me.

N: ḥudūd dawliyye... 'ašan hēk ana bansā 'āxud jawāzi lamma bamru' 'ala maḥsūm il-muxayyam
la'inu bansā innu fi ḥudūd dawliyye bēn il-maḥsūm bēn il-muxayyam u il-balad.

International borders. Because of that I sometimes forget to take my passport with me when I cross the camp checkpoint, because I forget that there's an international border between the checkpoint, between the camp and the town.

A.R.: ā, lāzem tḡibi il-jawwāz.

Yes, you have to take the passport.

H.R.: dawle zḡire bas fiha millyōn dawle.

It's a little state but there are one million states in it.

[...]

A.R.: bti'rifi ana ma kamaltikīš 'an hāy ir-ruxṣa. kān wa'tha abūy y'ulli innu ya'ni miš wa'tu hāda l-iṣi
'ašan fi awlawiyyāt fi l-ḥayā u kaza ya'ni maṣāri u ašyā'... ana bti'rifi miš dāyman il-wāḥad birud 'ala
ahlo miš la'inu biddōš yirud la'inu fi ṭumūḥ jūwā yimkin ahlu mā yitfahamuhōš. fa ana ḥabbēt inni as'a
wara ṭumūḥi raḡim innu abūy ḥāwal y'ajjilli hāda l-iṣi la ba'dēn. subḥān allah t'ajjalat ma'i laḥālha la'ni

ana kunt... sajal't inni āxud ruxša u kaza.

You know I didn't finish telling you about this driving licence. At the time my dad was telling me "It's not the right time for this because there are priorities in life, and so on, like money and stuff." You know one doesn't always listen to one's parents not because one doesn't want to listen but because one feels ambitions inside that maybe the parents don't understand. And I wanted to follow my ambitions even though my dad tried to postpone this thing until later. And chance would have it that it got postponed by itself because I was... I signed up for driving lessons and everything.

N: wēn sajjalti wēn il-madrasa?

Where did you sign up, where's the school?

A.R.: ā illi bit'allim swā'a fi talbyūt. halla bi'almu swa'a illi hīye d-dawra it-tadribīya dawrit it-ti'ōrya in-nazari.

Yes the one who teaches [fem.] driving is in Talpiot [a neighbourhood in Israeli Jerusalem]. Now, they learn driving that is a training course, a theory course, the theoretical.

H.R.: ā fī faḥṣ nazari.

Yes there's a theory test.

N: tīri test 'indna kamān tīri test.

"Theory test" we also have a "theory test".

A.R.: u 'ala fikra hūwe kamān ma kāniš 'indu ruxša u ana w-eyyah 'adamna ir-ruxša.

And by the way he didn't have a driver's licence either and we both applied for a licence.

R.R.: ana halla' badrus ruxša walla ana badrus halla sa'aṭit bi tistēn.

Now I'm studying for a licence, really I'm studying and I failed two tests.

N: inti kamān?

You too?

R.R.: ā walla sa'aṭit bi tistēn.

Yes I swear I failed two tests.

H.R.: hādi fi j-jām'a mahbōle.

She's a silly university student. [teasing]

R.R.: miš hēk sa'aṭit bi tistēn ana... ma' innu bisa'ṭūni wala 'a iši 'āl marra baṭī'a u marra maskit il-sṭiring xaṭa' ma' innu walla innu hūwe kazzāb it-tistari.

It's not true, I failed two tests... even though they fail me because of pettiness, he said once that I am

*slow and once that I held the **steering wheel** wrong. Even though he's a liar, I swear, the examiner.*

N: mart axūy ʔna'š marra fašlat.

My brother's wife failed twelve times.

R.R.: šāyfa mart axūha ʔna'š marra ana lissa martēn.

You see, her brother's wife twelve times and me only twice.

A.R.: ana marra waḥde ba'dēn min il-marra it-tāniye mnīḥ šār u marra it-tajrube.

Me, once, and after that on the second time it was OK I got it, and once for the experience.

H.R.: ana min awwal tī'ūrya u min awwal test.

I got the theory on the first go and the test on the first go too.

R.R.: y-axi hāda šāṭir hāda zaki hāda.

Goodness this one is clever he's intelligent this one. [teasing]

A.R.: ana min tāni marra ʔabṭat ma'i... halla' ana axadit ir-ruxša bass axadtha ba'id santēn 'ārfa lēš 'ašān kunt dāyiman adfa' la il-'ustāz kul marra dars u kunt kamān ma ala'š wa't u ba'dēn da'irt is-sēr tiḍrib iḍrabāt... il-muhim marra iḍrāb u il-iḍrāb biṭawwil ya'ni byi''ud šahrēn u talāte u kaza u marra ʔd u marra šū ana ma'š mašāri adfa' at'axxar a'adit santēn u ana bajīb ir-ruxša.

It worked out for me on the second go. Now I got the licence but I got it after two years, you know why? Because I paid the teacher lesson by lesson and I didn't find the time for lessons and then the drivers' union went on strike... Basically once it was a strike, and it was a long strike, I mean he sat out two or three months and so on, and once it was the holiday, and another time something else, I didn't have money to pay. Anyway I took a long time, two years to get the licence.

N: ya'ni santēn māši l-ḥāl.

Well two years is ok.

A.R.: bass la'a hūwe lāzim šahar tjiḇīha 'inna.

No-o, here it shouldn't take more than a month.

R.R.: la' ana illi arba' tišhor xamis tišhor.

No, I have been at it for four or five months.

N: mart axūy ʔna'iš sane la' aktar xamišṭa'iš sane.

My brother's wife twelve years, no more, fifteen years.

A.R.: hadōl šikilhom bi s-sane bi'admu marra. intu bi s-sane lāzim t'admu il-imtiḥān marra?...iḥna kul

arba' tišhor marra la' kul arba'ṭa'šar yōm marra iza bidha tit'addam.

It seems that they can only apply once a year. You can apply each year once?... Here we can apply every four months once, no, every fourteen days once if she wants to apply.

N: la' mart axūy la'inu axūy mā kān biddo hīye tsawī ruxša la'inu axūy ma biddo kān yifakkir innu xaṭir la l-kull.

No my brother's wife it was because my brother didn't want her to do her licence, because my brother doesn't want. He thinks it's a danger to everyone.

R.R.: 'ašannu innu hīye btifhamiš.

Because she doesn't understand.

H.R.: xāyif 'ala n-nās minha.

He is worried for the people because of her.

R.R.: zayyi ya'ni ana bixāfu 'aleyy.

Like me they are worried for me.

A.R.: halla' ana kunt xalaš nafsi nafsi asū' ṭumūḥ ṭumūḥ ana baḥib asū' baḥib akūn māske iši aqūdu ya'ni xalaš biddi biddi hāda l-iši. u ḥāwalt axabbi ma'āš axabbi mašrūf a'īm u aḥuṭṭ u kaza.

Now, I was like, that's it, I want to drive. Ambitions, ambitions, I like driving, I like to be holding something I control, I mean that's it, I really want it. And I tried to put aside the salary, put aside spending money, take it out and put aside and so on.

R.R.: zayy ma ana ba'mil halla.

Like I'm doing now.

A.R.: šār mašāri u sawwēt.

I got money and I did it.

N: 'addēš bikallif id-dars?

How much does a lesson cost?

R.R.: wallāhi mīt šekel... u lāzim tāxdi a'al iši talatīn dars xamsa-u-talatīn dars u ana la z-zayyi il-ḡabīya xamsa-u-'arbīn dars.

Actually, one hundred shekels... And you have to take at least thirty or thirty-five lessons and for a stupid one like me forty-five lessons.

H.R.: ma bēn sē'a illa rubi' la sē'a aw arbīn d'ṭ'a taqrīban.

For between forty-five minutes to an hour or forty minutes approximately.

A.R.: arbʿīn daqīqa.

Forty minutes.

N: arbʿīn daqīqa.

Forty minutes.

A.R.: il-muhimm axadit ir-ruxṣa fī yōm min il-ayyām.

Anyway I got the licence finally.

N: xamsa-u-ʿarbʿīn dars ʿādi miš ktīr.

Forty-five lessons is normal, not too much.

R.R.: ā ana ḥāsse ḥāli miš ktīr bass ana ʿašān tūl ʿumri nājḥa bi ḥayāti yaʿni fa ḥāsse innu ṭawwal hāda l-iši.

I feel that it's not much, but because all my life I'm successful, so I feel this is taking long.

A.R.: il-ḥayā il-ʿamalīye miš zayy li-drāse.

Practical life isn't like studying.

R.R.: lēš? mahu barḍo hāda drāse miš bass ḥayā ʿamalīya.

Why? Isn't this also studying not just practical life.

A.R.: la' bass tsū'i siyāra miš drāse barḍu.

No but driving a car isn't studying either.

R.R.: bass il-ḥayā il-ʿamalīya šuḡul u ana njiḥet bi šuḡli yaʿni kamān innu miš bass fī...

But practical life is work and I was successful at work I mean, too, not only in...

N: la kull wāḥad fī ḥdūd yaʿni.

Every person has his limits, like.

A.R.: bi ẓ-ẓabt... il-muhimm ya nānsi jibet ir-ruxṣa; kānat yaʿni ʿan jadd min akbar najahāt. yaʿni ṭab'an min ba'id it-tawjīhi... min akbar najahāti fi l-ḥayā ana illi hīye najāḥi bi t-tawjīhi... najāḥi bi t-tawjīhi illi kān ʿala ʿidu lamma kān yidarrisni riyāḍiyāt u ba'dēn lamma ana jibit ir-ruxṣa u kān hūwe yixalīni arkaḥ bi s-siyāra marrāt asū'...

Exactly... The most important thing, Nancy, was that I got the licence; it was I mean seriously one of my biggest achievements. I mean of course after the school-leaving exams. My success at the exams which was thanks to him [pointing to H.R.] when he was teaching me mathematics and then when I

was getting the licence and he let me ride in the car, sometimes drive...

H.R.: lamma kunna nidxul maḥsūm hōn mā fī šurṭa.

We entered the checkpoint here when there was no police.

N: xallētha?

You let her?

H.R.: la la' labēn ma a'ullik. lamma kunna nidxul maḥsūm hōn ma fī šurṭa isra'īliye ma fī ḥada yixālif ana kunt adxul il-maḥsūm a'ūm aliff a''ud maḥalha u hīye ti''ud jambi sawwi hēk i'mali hēk leš hēk tlizziš.

No no let me tell you. When we used to enter the checkpoint when there was no Israeli police, there was no one to impose a fine, I used to enter the checkpoint, get out, go around and sit in her place and she sat next to me "Do this, do that, why like this, don't stall."

R.R.: isma'i ya 'ammi inti barḍu 'alamik ḥadd ana mā 'alamnīš ḥadd.

See my friend, somebody taught you [fem.], me, nobody taught me.

N: in-nās bisū'u bidūn qawanīn.

People drive without any rules.

H.R.: ā bass hādi gada'a birtakan 'alēha.

Yes but this one you can rely on her.

A.R.: bass ana basū'...

But I drive...

H.R.: lēš bitsawwī hēk tsawīš ittāla'i 'al mrāy īmi ḥuṭṭi.

"Why are you doing this, don't do it, look in the mirror, take off, put on." [teasing]

N: aktar jidalāt bēn il-azwāj fi s-sīyārāt jūwa is-sīyāra.

Most arguments between couples happen in the car, inside the car.

A.R.: 'a s-swā'a.

About driving.

N: ā 'an is-swāka.

Yes about driving.

A.R.: bass hūwe ma fiš 'indu majāl la hal-ḥaki la'inu ana tilmīzto... ana hūwa illi sawwāni hēk. ya'ni

aḥkīlik ana ba'id akbar najahāti fi ḥayāti najahī fit-tawjīhi ṭab'an kān 'ala īdu.

But he shouldn't be talking like that because I am his pupil... He is the one who made me like this. I'll tell you that one of the biggest achievements in my life is my success at the school-leaving exams and of course that's thanks to him.

R.R.: u najāḥha bi-[H.R.]ha.

And her success with her [H.R.]. [teasing]

A.R.: u inni ḥaṣalit 'a r-ruxṣit is-swā'a u ṭab'an hūwa illi 'allamni... u hūwe illi 'allamni swā'a u ṭab'an... ij-jāmi'a mīye bi mašrū' hūwe illi [...] hūwe mawjūd ṭab'an bi-'ismo... u in-najāḥ ṭab'an il-akbar innu ana w-eyyāḥ halla' bi-bēt wāḥad... il-muhimm innu kammalna ḥayātna ma' ba'aḍ 'a asās inno btiṭ'abi btiṭ'abi btiṭ'abi u bi l-'āxir btinjāḥi.

And that I got the driving licence and of course he's the one who taught me... he's the one who taught me to drive and of course at university, the project one hundred [inaudible] is in his name. And the biggest success that we are together now in one house... And we continued our life together on the basis that you work hard, work hard, work hard and in the end you succeed.

H.R.: biṭṭawišni ktīr ya nānsi waṣīha 'aleyy.

She argues a lot with me, Nancy, talk to her on my behalf. [teasing]

A.R.: bat'ātal ma'o.

I fight with him.

N: šu btiḥkīlak ya'ni... šu bitsawwī?

What does she say to you I mean... what does she do? [joking]

H.R.: bit'ulli baḥibbak.

She tells me she loves me.

N: hādi ṭōše.

Well that's a real fight. [with irony]

A.R.: u hādi hiyya nānsi ḥayātna... iḥna halla' ana w-eyyā 'inna ṭumūḥ. ṭumūḥ ktīr mza''ilna u ana mza''ilni 'alē aktar ana ḥasistū hūwe insān bistāhal ykūn fī mawqi' āxar... miš fi ḥamām yinaḍḍef wala taxt yifriš frāš.

And this is our life Nancy... Him and me, we have ambitions. Many ambitions which upset us, and I am upset because I feel that he is a person who deserves to be in a different position... not cleaning toilets and making beds.

H.R.: bass miš ḡalaṭ iṣ-šugul ḥatta law kān hēk barḍu il-wāḥad mā yiy'as.

But working isn't bad even if it is like this, still one mustn't despair.

A.R.: bass daras u ti'ib u kaza u ijtahad lāzim yištǧil lāzim yištǧil fi š-šahāde.

But he studied and worked hard and everything and made an effort he should work, he should work in his expertise.

H.R.: illi taqrīban sitt əsnīn baštǧil 'ind il-yahūd ḥatta law kān 'išrīn u xamsa-u-'išrīn ana mā ay'asiš min hāda l-iši.

I have been working for six years for Israelis and even if it were twenty years, twenty-five, I'm not going to despair because of it.

H.R.: il-muškil nānsi hōn innu il-waḍi' 'arab aw yahūd ma fi ḥada ya'ṭiki xāṣṣatan 'ind il-'arab aktar. ya'ni ana u [A.R.] ruḥna laffēna 'a šarikāt il-barmaže fi ramalla malyān fi šuǧul bištǧlu 'a mustawa 'āli ma' šarikāt kbīre iši ma' jāva iši bištǧil ma' ōrakil bya'ṭu dawrāt aktar tawajjuhhom lamma 'ālatli lamma kunna a'dīn 'iṣṣit il-wāṣṭa innu ana mudīr masalan ba'raf nānsi abūha masalan aw axūha inti biddik tištǧli ta'āli 'indi biǧaḍ in-naẓar.

The problem here Nancy is that the situation with Arabs or Israelis there is no one who will give you [the benefit of the doubt] especially with the Arabs more. [A.R.] and me we went around to the programming companies in Ramallah [in the West Bank] there are many, there's lots of work at a good level, with big companies. Some with Java, some work with Oracle, they give courses, more their inclination. When she told me, we discussed the matter of the connections, that I am the director for instance, I know Nancy, I know her dad or her brother and you want to work, then "Come to me" regardless.

N: iš-šarikāt li-kbīre?

The big companies?

A.R.: kul iši kul iši.

Every one, every one.

[...]

N: ...'a asās šu bti'raf miš 'a asās mīn inte.

[You want to be judged] on the basis of what you know not on the basis of who you are.

H.R.: biǧaḍ in-naẓar ya'ni ḥāwwalna il-mudīr ba'ullik hāḍa illi ista'balna šū bitsawwu šū btištǧlu šū darastu u kaza miš muškile iḥna mni'dar ḥatta nsa'dku na'ṭiku **poket manī** u tiddarrabu 'inna u iza ḥassēna masalan inku btistafidu u inku bitfidu mumkin innu nitwasaṭilku 'inna bimma innu intu šāhaditku mumkin 'alīle mustawāha miš min mutaṭallab iš-šuǧul nsa'idkum tkamlu bakaloryos. ya'ni

šūf il-ḥaki kīf biṭla' bass lamma ruḥit ana 'ind il-mudīr il-muntij il-mōpayl manijer maktūb 'indu kartes sert aḥki 'ibrāni a'ṭani il-kart taba'o u a'ṭāni kamm mašrū'. 'alli iḥna mništġil wāḥad tnēn talāte iḥna mnista'mil luġat ij-jāva iḥna mništġil aktar iši fi l-**web divilopment** u minsawwī mawāki' internet aktar u mnit'āmal ma' šariket orākil u miš 'ārif šū. u iḥna mništġil 'a barnāmiž mu'ayyan il-barnāmiž hāḍa bas ṭawwaratu šariket orākil u iḥna iṣ-šarīke il-waḥīde takrīban bi ḍ-ḍefa aw fi ramalla wukalā' šariket orākil. iḥna mna'ṭi dawrāt orākil **databēs** dawrāt ktīr šaġlāt ya'ni tawwahnī bi l-'arabi 'alli šū btifham? 'ultillu wāḥad tnēn talāte arba'a 'ultillu bass biddi a'ullak šaġle ana baḥki 'an ḥāli inni ba'dar antij.

*Regardless, I mean we tried with the director, that one I told you about who received us, "What do you do, what did you study, and so on, no problem, we can even help you, give you **pocket money**, and you can train with us and if we feel that you would benefit for instance, and you can contribute, we could find you a place even though your diplomas are maybe not of such a high level, not of the required level for the job, we can help you to go on to a Bachelor's degree." So you see he talked the talk but when I went to see the managing director, the "**mobile manager**" it was written on his card, I am talking Hebrew [embarrassed laughter], he gave me his card and gave me a few projects. He told me, "We are working on one, two, three, we use Java, we work mostly on **web development**, and we make internet sites, and we co-operate with Oracle, and I don't know what else. And we are working on a particular programme, this programme was developed only by Oracle, and we are the only company in the West Bank, or in Ramallah, who are Oracle contractors. We offer courses in Oracle **database** management, courses in many other things," I mean he confused me, in plain Arabic, he said "What do you understand?" I said "One, two, three, four," I said to him, "I just want to tell you one thing, I can say about myself that I can bring results."*

Appendix 2: J.M.

Recorded: 22 April 2008

Place: Respondent's home, Tulkarem refugee camp

Participants: The respondent, male worker J.M. (42); two of J.M.'s acquaintances, M.F. and N.S. (both men, 40+) who introduced the researcher; and the researcher – N

N: fā... 'addēšlak tištēl fi... mašna' gešūrī?

So... how long have you been working in... the Geshuri factory?

J.M.: šārli šaba' snīn fi hāḍa-l-mašna'. ṭab'an... hāḍa-l-mašna' ya'ni fī nās iktīr biqarbo, min naḥiyet 'ummāl, min naḥiyet il-bī'a. fī aḍrār iktīr ya'ni 'a-l-'āmil.

I've been in this factory for seven years. Of course... this factory I mean there are many people near it, in terms of workers and in terms of the environment. It's very harmful to the workers.

N: šū šuḡlak bi-z-ḡabṭ?

What's your job exactly?

J.M.: ana baštēl bōdra. dihhān bōdra. baštēl u... fī aḍrār iktīr, fī zayy iṣ-ṣarṭanāt, fī maraḍ ir-ri'a, maraḍ id-dawālī 'ind ijrēn, kamān, biṣīr dawār bi-l-ijrē iktīr, ana bi-l-'amalīye l-'ām.

I work with powder. Spray-painter with powder. I work and... It's very harmful, there's like cancers, lung diseases, varicose veins in both legs, there's a lot of varicose veins in the legs, I had an operation last year.

N [overlapping with last words]: inte kif ṣiḥtak?

How's your health?

J.M.: u fī 'indi muškile musmār laḥm, fī ijri fī r-rukbe, fī šūret ašā'a, sawwētha kabl usbū', barḍo kamān, min il-waqfe u iṣ-šūḡul il-ḥarake [...].

And I have a callus, on my leg at the knee, there is an x-ray of it, I had it done a week ago, also, from standing at work the movement [inaudible].

N: salāmtak.

May you recover fast.

J.M.: alla yisalmik, fa miš siḥel ya'ni.

Thank you. So it's not easy, you see.

N: fa humme ili biḡattu il-'ilāj?

Do they cover the costs of the treatment?

J.M.: ē... miš kullo. ya'ni mni'dar binkūl, ana marīd, bya'tūni ijāze miraḍīye. ya'ni, sab'in fi-l-mīye. min ir-rātib min il-yōmi taba'ti. fa iza šār-li iṣābet 'amal, bya'tūni mīye bi-l-mīye, bas miš 'a-ṭūl, wakt maḥdūd, wakt m'ayyan, ayyām m'ayyane, ya'ni usbū' aw 'usbu'ēn bas.

Um, not all of it. I mean we could say, I'm ill, and they'll give me sick leave. That's seventy per cent. Of my daily salary. But if I had a work injury, they'd pay one hundred per cent, but not for ever, just a limited period of time, a specific period, specific days, like a week or two weeks only.

N: šū maṭalan iṣābet 'amal.

What's for instance a work injury?

J.M.: iza indabb ḥadīd 'a-l-ijrēn, indabb fi š-šūḡul...

If a weight of iron fell on your legs, if it fell at work...

N: šār fīk iṣi hēk?

Did anything like that happen to you?

J.M.: la.

No.

N: bta'raf 'an ḥada šār fiyo iṣi?

Do you know about anyone who had something like that happen to him?

J.M.: fi wāḥad min irṭāḥ, inraḍḍ rāso hōna, ṭab'an šār 'indo š'ur fi rāso. u la-ḥadd il'ān qā'ed, biṣtigleš. u šaka 'ala-l-ma'allim barḍo kamān.

There's a guy from Irtah, his head got concussed here, of course he got fractures in his skull. Until now he's off work, not working. And he sued the boss as well.

N [overlapping]: u humme...

And they...

J.M.: u ibēn uxti, iṣṭaḡal barḍo [...] ba'rafeš iza sm'eti, hūwe [A.], iza sm'eti fī, iṭṭabaš idē, idē u snāno hōn inṭabašet. il-'urdun 'ala ammān 'ālaḡū. u la hassa, halla mnīḥ maḥkame 'ala-l-m'allim, u biški 'ala-l-m'allim.

And my nephew, he also worked [inaudible]... I don't know if you've heard, he's [A.], if you've heard of him, his arms were broken, his arms and his teeth were broken. They took him to Jordan to Amman for treatment. Until now, now is the court case against the boss, he's suing the boss.

N: maḥkame?

Court case?

J.M.: a. li'anno ndarr iktir, qa'ad taqriban sane u nuşş u yit'älaj.

Yes. Because he suffered a lot, he was out of it for about a year and a half while he was being treated.

N: fa intu tilbisu awā'i himāye... aw...

And do you wear protective clothing... or...

J.M.: la la, fiş himāye.

No, no, there's no protection.

N: fiş?

None?

J.M.: awā'i fişši.

There aren't any clothes.

N: ya'ni tilbisu awā'i xuşuşî?

I mean do you wear special clothes?

J.M.: la', awā'i hinne zayy əkmāş zeyy hēke, bantalōn u qamīs azrak, bas. kmāş. mā fi işi 'āzil 'an il-ħarāra, u 'āzil 'an iş-şugul, hēk fiş. il-malābis hīye 'aley, ya'ni.

No, the clothes are just cloth like this, blue trousers and shirt, that's it. Cloth. There's nothing to protect from the heat, and work protection, nothing like that. The clothes are on me, you see.

N: intu bitjibu maṭalan kfūf la-l-...?

Do you bring for instance gloves for...?

J.M.: humme bijībūlna əkfūf. humme.

They bring us gloves. They do.

N: a, humme?

Oh, them?

J.M.: a.

Yes.

N: u-l-bōt maṭalan ...

And the shoes for instance...

J.M.: u-l-bōt, a.

And the shoes, yes.

N: 'a-l-'uyūn fī iši?

On the eyes, is there anything?

J.M.: la, 'a-l-'uyūn fišši. ya'ni ana maṭalan, bidḍi awarīki šuwari, albūm šuwar, biššufi?

No, there's nothing on the eyes. Well I would like to, for instance, I want to show you my photos, a photo album, would you like to see it?

N: a. iza šamaḥt. fa ... sab'a snīn inte btištḡel hunāk? hāḍa min il-bōdra?

Yes please. [pause] You've been working there for seven years? [Looking at a photo where the man is covered in blue paint except for a circle around his eyes.] This is from the powder?

J.M.: hāḍa min il-bōdra.

This is from the powder.

N: la, lāzem ya'tūku iši.

No, they have to give you something.

J.M.: a. hāy ana.

Yes. That's me. [Pointing to an unrecognisable figure.]

N: aha. šū ismo hāḍa illi...

Aha. What's this called? [Pointing to gas mask]

J.M.: hāy kammāme.

This is a gas mask.

N: kammāme. u li-kfūf xušūšī?

Gas mask. And the gloves are special?

J.M.: hāy kfūf 'ādīye, šarāyiṭ hāy. zayy li-kmāš.

These are ordinary gloves, it's rags. Like cloth.

N: u šū hāḍa bisawwi?

And what does this do? [Pointing to spraying machine]

J.M.: hāḍa fard idhān, hāḍa biruš idhān.

That's a paint spray, that sprays paint.

N: u šū illi...

And what is being... [Pointing to large cylinder being sprayed blue.]

J.M.: hāḍa filter tabā mayye.

That's a water filter.

N: u hāḍa?

And that?

J.M.: hāḍa barmīl.

That's a barrel.

N: barḍo inte?

Is that you, too?

J.M.: a... la, hāḍa ṣāḥbi.

That... no, this is my friend.

N: a ṣāḥbak. u šū lābis 'ala rāso?

Ah, your friend. And what's he wearing on his head?

J.M.: hāy... zayy ṭunjara hēk ḥadīdi... iṣi 'a-rāso.

This is... like a sort of iron pot... thingamajig on his head.

N: barḍo minhum. u hād 'aṣān il-bōdra mā tudxul min...

Also from them. And this is so that the powder doesn't get in from the...

J.M.: aywa! 'aṣān mā ašimm il...

That's right! So that I don't breathe in the...

N: u ġēr hēk, lābis bōt 'ādīye?

And apart from that, do you wear ordinary shoes? [Doorbell rings.]

J.M.: la, fī bōt šuġul, byaṭūni bōt šuġul humme. hēk quddāmo illo ḥadīd.

No, there are work shoes, they give me work shoes they do. Like this, in front it has metal.

N: aha. kīf bisammū il-bōt hāy?

Aha. What do they call these shoes?

J.M.: buṣṭār. bisammū.

Work boots. They call them.

N: buṣṭār?

Work boots?

J.M.: a.

Yes.

N: fa, xilāl is-sab'a sanawāt ... 'afwan.

So, during the seven years... [doorbell rings]. Sorry. [J.M. leaves the room.]

M.F.: hād muṣṭibe, hād.

[In J.M.'s absence] *This is a disaster, this is.* [Pointing to the photo album.]

N: a. muṣṭibe muṣṭibe.

Yes. A big disaster.

M.F.: dīr bālik, kul illi biṣṭeġlūha tuṣaddar la-xārij il-bilād. ya'ni mā biṣṭiġlu hāy il-umūr hōn, imā la-amrīka, imā la-ōstrāliya, imā... kulha tiṣaddar barra. ḥatta ajrār ġāz. bidha ajrār ġāz, kulha tuṣaddar barra.

Mind you, what they produce is exported overseas. So they don't use these things here, but in America, or in Australia, or... everything is exported. Even the gas canisters. They need gas canisters, it's all exported outside.

J.M.: ahla wa sahla.

Welcome in my home. [Comes back serving juice.]

N: šukran, yislamu idēk.

Thank you.

M.F.: yislamu abu nasab! šakket [...]

Thank you, mate! [Jokingly.]

N: fa xilāl sab'a sanawāt btiṣṭġel nafs-il-waṣīfe, willa...?

So during the seven years you've been working at the same post, or...?

J.M.: a. hīye, ana a'jirēt min il-asās, ya'ni. fi-l-awwal ana kunt dahhān sayyarāt. jūwa bi-israīl, u lamma sakrat iṭ-ṭuruq u šār sēger, jīt 'a-l-maṣna' hād. sa'alu wēn kunt tiṣṭġel? bidhum dahhān. fa ḥaṭṭūni fī dhān, 'aṭūnīš šuġul tāni, 'ala-l-asās inno dahhān.

Yes, the thing is, I was hired on that basis, you know. Before, I spray-painted cars. Inside, in Israel.

And when the roads were closed and the closure happened I came to this factory. They asked, "where did you work?" They want a painter. So they put me in paints, they didn't give me a different job, on the basis that I am a painter.

N: fa mā bya'tūk taṣrīḥ 'ašān tištḡel jūwa, bas hōn bya'tūk taṣrīḥ?
And they won't give you a permit to work inside [Israel], but here they give you a permit?

J.M.: [overlapping] la. fiš taṣrīḥ jūwa. a. bas hōn. hūwe taṣrīḥ bas la-l-maṣna', 'irifti kīf? jūwa mamnū' tudxul fi.

No, there's no permit for inside. Yes. Just for here. It's a permit just for the factory, you understand? It's forbidden to enter Israel on it.

N: fa... kīf il... il-maṣna', hūwe fi-ḡ-ḡiffe willa jūwa?
So... how is it... the factory, is it in the West Bank or inside?

J.M.: hūwe bi-ḡ-ḡaffe. bas hūwe la-wāḥad yahūdi. 'ala-l-ḥdūd.
It's in the West Bank. But it belongs to an Israeli. On the border.

N: zayy mustawṭane bitkūn.
Like a kind of settlement.

J.M.: aywa!
Right!

M.F.: li-ḥdūd, li-ḥdūd.
On the border, on the border.

N: hūwe jūwa li-jdār willa barra li-jdār?
Is it inside the wall or outside the wall?

J.M.: mbarri j-jidār.
Outside the wall.

N: a, ya'ni lāzem t'aber il-jidār?
Ah, so you have to cross the wall?

J.M.: la, miš lāzem afūt il-jidār ana. baḡal warra warra il-maṣāni'.
No, I mustn't cross the wall, me. I stay behind behind the factories.

N.S.: bas hūwe maḥrūs min ṭarf il-israīlīn, il-maṣna'.

But it's guarded from the Israeli side, the factory.

J.M.: aṣlan hīye il-ard, aḏunni hīye la-mantiqa 'arabiye.

Originally the land itself, I believe it belonged to an Arab area.

N.S.: a, la-l-irtāḥ.

Yes, to Irtah.

J.M.: a, humme axadūha u 'emlu fiha maṣāni', 'emlu fiha maṣna' il-ḡāz, maṣna' illi baštḡel fiha ḥālīyan tabā gešūrī, kamān fataḥu maṣna' maṣatīḥ, maṣna' nasīj, fi kamān maṣna' kartōn.

Yes, they took it [the land] and built factories on it, built a gas factory, the factory that I currently work in, belonging to Geshuri, they also opened a pallet factory, a cloth factory, and there is also a cardboard factory.

N: ya'ni hīye illi bisammūha mantiqa ṣināṭīye?

So it's what they call an industrial zone?

J.M. [overlapping]: mantiqa ṣināṭīye, a.

An industrial zone, yes.

N: u kulha isēmha ēš, il-mantiqa iṣ-ṣinaṭīye? gešūrī, willa iši tāni?

And what's the name of the whole place, the industrial zone? Geshuri, or something else?

J.M.: hīye, bisammūha li'anno gešūrī awwal wāḥad qa'ed hōna. ba'adēn uxrāhum aḏu.

They call it that because Geshuri was the first one to base himself here. Others came later.

N: ēmta fataḥūha?

When did they open it?

J.M.: wallāhi hāy, zamān ṣārlo. wallāhi mā ba'raf ana.

Goodness this one, he's been around a while. I swear I don't know, myself.

N.S.: taqrīban talāt u 'ešrīn.

About twenty-three.

J.M.: gešūrī? a. zamān. awwal wāḥad qa'ed hōna.

Geshuri? Yes. A long time. The first one to base himself here.

N.S.: bi-l-'ešrīnāt, 'ešrīnāt.

In the twenties, twenties.

M.F.: šū, bi-l-'ešrīnāt?

What do you mean, in the twenties?

N.S.: ya'ni šārlo 'ešrīn sane.

I mean it's been twenty years.

M.F.: ya'ni bi-l-tisīnāt.

So in the nineties.

J.M.: a, awwal gešūrī ba'dēn šārat il-mašāni' tīži, lēš? awwal iši, hōn il-īd il-'āmila rxīša. jūwa il-'āmil bikallif iktīr. ya'ni il-'āmil hōn bi-xamse u sab'tīn šēkel, jūwa mītēn šēkel, mīn aḥsan? bitšagğilni ana bi-sab'tīn aw tšagğil wāḥad bi-mītēn šēkel? biqūl hāḍa arxaṣ, bastafīd minno, barbaḥ minno, u nās bakēt u biddo yištğel!

Yes, first Geshuri and then the other factories started coming, why? First of all, here the workforce is cheap. Inside the workers cost a lot. A worker here costs seventy-five shekels, inside two hundred shekels, which one is better? Will you employ me for seventy or employ one for two hundred? He'll say "that one is cheaper, I'll benefit from him, make a profit off him," and people came and wanted to work!

N: ya'ni inte jūwa kunt tirbaḥ mītēn šēkel?

So you used to earn two hundred shekels inside [Israel]?

J.M.: kunt jūwa arbaḥ taqrīban ayyām il-alfēn, bi-sant il-alfēn, alfēn u wāḥad, mīye u xamsīn kunt arbaḥ. miš ektīr.

Inside, I used to earn, in the days of 2000, in the year 2000, 2001, one hundred and fifty I used to earn. Not much.

N: u halla?

And now?

J.M.: il-yōm, mnirbaḥ mīye u xamsīn šēkel ba'd sab'a snīn. ba'd mā 'milna iḍrāb, ya'ni 'ala-l-ḥaki 'milna iḍrāb šuğul, ma' sab'tīn 'āmil, iḍrāb, u waqafna 'an iṣ-šugul taqrīban šahər.

Today we earn one hundred and fifty after seven years. After we went on strike, you know we went on strike over this issue, seventy workers on strike, and we stopped working for about a month.

N: ēmta hāḍa šār?

When did this happen?

J.M.: ē... bi-ramaḍān.

Um... in the month of Ramadan.

N.S.: ramaḍān.

Ramadan.

J.M.: bi-šahər tis'a. šahər tis'a u šahər 'ašara.

In September. September and October.

N: fa fuztu!

And you won!

J.M.: 'milna iḍrāb, u 'milna muškile la-l-ma'allim, u bidnāš ništġel, u sakkar il-mašna', awwal iši kār xalaš, bidkumūš tištġel, balāš, kul wāḥad yōxəd illi illo, u yirawweḥ. bi-l-āxer lamma šāf hēk hēke, qāl xalaš ta'ālu nuk'ud ma' ba'd nitfāham iḥku šū bidkum ana ba'tiku iyāha. li'anno kunna ništġel bi-balāš! awlād bidhum mašārī, bidna nōkəl, 'ala asās wāḥad yidall yimašši umūro fi-l-ḥayā. fa zālna. hūwe [...] il-umūr miš emnīḥa, miš mīye bi-l-mīye, bas emnīḥa.

We went on strike, and we created a problem for the boss, and we didn't go to work, and he closed the factory, at first he was like, "OK, you don't want to work, your problem", let each one take what's his and go home. In the end when he saw we meant business, he said "OK, come let's sit down together and come to an agreement, what do you want, I'll give it to you." Because we had been working for free! The children need money, we need to eat, basically a person needs to keep his life on track. And we persisted. He [inaudible] things aren't great, not one hundred per cent, but better.

N: ya'ni kār iḍrāb munazzam. mīn nažammha, mīn?

So it was a well-organised strike. Who organised it?

J.M.: iḥna, il-lajne. fi 'indna lajne.

We did, the committee. We have a committee.

N: a, fi lajne. bas la ilku, la-l-'ummāl fi gešūrī?

Ah, there's a committee. Just for you, the workers in Geshuri?

J.M.: a, niḥna, a. a mahu, miš fi mašna' ismo yamīt? ya'ni hīye lajniyetna, mukāwane min tlāt ašxāš, ya'ni miš ijtama'na iḥna u iyyāhum qālu bidku tiḍribu, iḥna niḍrib ma'āku.

Yes, us. But isn't there a factory called Yamit? I mean, this is our committee, composed of three persons, I mean didn't we get together, us and them and they said "You want to go on strike, we'll go on strike with you."

N.S.: kīf [Y.Z.] waqt hāḍa?

How was [Y.Z.] at the time?

J.M.: [Y.Z.] mā illo daxal bi-l-mawḍū'. [Y.Z.] rāḥ yidrib ma'āna.
[Y.Z.] has nothing to do with the matter. [Y.Z.] went on strike with us.

N.S.: a? li'anno yahūdi aktar min il-yahūd, [Y.Z.].
Really? 'Cause he's more Israeli than the Israelis, [Y.Z.]

J.M.: kif?
How?

N.S.: yahūdi aktar min il-yahūd.
More Israeli than the Israelis.

N: šū hāda ya'ni?
What does that mean?

J.M.: [Y.Z.] hūwe mas'ul mudir maṣna', bas mā bitdaxxal fi šagle zayy hēke. ya'ni idrāb, idrāb, šū biddo yi'mal, e. bas aṣlan, mā dāwwam nihāyan u kunna m'aṭlīn. ṭul il-waqt u hūwe qā'ed bi-dāro.
[Y.Z.] is the deputy manager of the factory, but he doesn't get involved in something like this. I mean a strike is a strike, what can he do, eh. But basically, he didn't go to work at all while we were off. The whole time he was sitting at home.

N: hūwe min ṭul karem, kamān?
He's also from Tulkarem?

J.M.: a.
Yes.

N: hūwe mas'ul...?
He's the deputy...?

J.M.: hūwe mas'ul 'an il-'ummāl. bas ṣāḥib il-maṣna' yahūdī.
He's responsible for the workers. But the owner of the factory is Israeli.

N: fa-l-mas'ul šū dōro, ya'ni? fi-l-maṣna'.
And the deputy what's his role actually? In the factory.

J.M.: dōro, bišagḡil il-'ummāl, la-hāḍa inte hōn, inte hōn, inte hōn, bas. ana maṭalan 'indi muškile ma' il-m'allim, maṭalan eḥsabāt ma ḥsabāt, il-maṣārī, bišūf il-warake, il-ḥsāb hāḍa fiha muškile, bitsil 'a-l-yahūdi biḥki a, hāy hōn fī 'indna muškile, bidna n'alijha.

His role is, that he hires the workers, says to them, "You're over her, you're here," that's it. For instance, if I have a problem with the manager, for instance accounts or what not, the money, he looks at the piece of paper, "This account here has a problem," he calls the Israeli and says, "Yes, we have a problem here, we want to solve it."

N: šū ya'ni waraket li-ḥsāb?

What does it mean, "account paper"?

J.M.: waraket li-ḥsāb hāy fiha ayyām iṣ-šuḡul, kam yōm štaḡalt u biṭla' il-maṣārī.

"Account paper" that has the work days on it, how many days I worked and adds up the money.

N: fiš ḍarāyeb aw iši hēk tidfa'ūha?

Are there no taxes and things like that you have to pay?

J.M.: e, la.

Er, no.

N: jūwa tidfa'u.

Inside you do pay.

J.M.: jūwa kunna nidfa'. bas, miš muškile iḍ-ḍarāyib. addēš kunna nidfa', arba'in šēkel xamsin šēkel? il-m'allim bifakker fiha hāy. walla marra [inaudible] 'anha. halla, ta'mīn iṣ-ṣiḥḥa barḍo humme bidfa'ūlna iyā.

Inside we used to pay. But the taxes aren't a problem. How much did we pay, forty or fifty shekels? The boss thinks of those things. Not once [inaudible] about it. Now, health insurance as well they pay for that.

N.S.: humme bas bīži ir-rātib il-jāhiz 'indhum. jūwa.

They just get the pay all neat. Inside.

J.M.: akīd. humme mrawḥanīn, illi hōna mrawḥanīn. lēš? il-īd il-'āmle hīye rxīša.

For sure. They're relaxed, the guys here are relaxed. Why? The workforce is cheap.

N: ṣaḥ. fa hume bidfa'u kāš bi-l-...?

True. And do they pay cash in ...?

J.M.: a, keš.

Yes, cash.

N: miš šek ya'ni.

Not a cheque then.

J.M.: la, la. keš.

No, no. Cash.

N: u jūwa kif kānu yidfa'u?

And inside how did they used to pay?

J.M.: bardo. keš. fi šarika tidfa' šēkāt, ḥasab il-... m'allim.

Same thing. Cash. There are companies that pay in cheques, it depends on... the boss.

N: aha.

Ah-ha.

J.M.: a.

Yes.

N: inte iltakēt ma' il-m'allim btā' gešūrī? il-yahūdī?

You've met the boss of Geshuri? The Israeli?

J.M.: a, bašūfo dayman. bīzi kul usbū' marra martēn.

Yes, I see him often. He comes every week once or twice.

N: biḥki ma' il-'ummāl?

Does he speak with the workers?

J.M.: bīzi, kif ḥālak, kif intū, šū axbārak, kif iš-šugul, mabšūṭin miš mabšūṭin? a.

He comes, "how are you, how are you guys, what's new, how's the work going, are you ok, not ok?"

Yes.

N: fi nās biḥkūlo la, miš mabšūṭin?

Does anyone say, "No, not ok"?

J.M.: wallāhi a. fi. maṭalan wāḥad byōxəd yawmīyto maṭalan mīt šēkel aw... u 'indo arba' awlād. bikūl ana miš mabšūṭ li'anno anā, kul iši gālī šār. il-ḥayā gālīye. u ša'b at'aqlam bi-mīt šēkel ma' arba' zḡār u marato kamān ya'ni sitte, u-l-ḥayā ša'be ya'ni, ktīr.

Actually there are some who do [laughter]. For instance one guy earning one hundred shekels per day, or... and he has four kids. He'd say "I'm not happy because I, everything got more expensive. Life is expensive. It's hard to get by on one hundred shekels with four little ones and a wife, that makes six of us. And life is hard, you know, very hard."

N: halla şār aġla, kamān.

Now it just got more expensive.

J.M.: a. bas humme miš miqadrīn hāḍa 'ala-l-iši, humme.

Yes, but they don't take account of that, they don't.

N: tidfa' iši la-l-muwāṣalāt? kīf tōṣil la-l-maṣna'?

Do you pay anything for transport? How do you get to the factory?

J.M. [overlapping]: la, muwāṣalāt, humme bōxdūni bijībūni 'a-ḥsābhum.

No, for transport, they pick me up and bring me back at their own expense.

N: kīf ya'ni? btīzi sayāra min il-...

Like, how? A car comes from the ...

J.M.: a, btīzi sayyāra, la, 'indna sayyāra hōn bi-l-muxayyam, btōxəd 'ummāl, illi fī min il-muxayyam 'ummāl, btōxədhum u bitwaṣelna la-l-maṣna'. u sē'a talāte bitraweḥhum. miš 'indna laḥālna, kul wāḥad bi-manṭiqto. fī nās min iṣ-šwēke, fī nās min irtāḥ, nās min il-muxayyam.

Yes, a car comes, no, we have a car here at the camp, it picks up the workers, the workers that are from the camp, picks them up and brings us to the factory. And at three o'clock it brings them home. Not just for us, each one in his area. There are people from Shweke, there are people from Irtah, people from the camp.

N: addēš fī min il-muxayyam?

How many are there from the camp?

J.M.: wallāhi ma ṣalli 'a n-nabi. ana, u axūy... u [O.M.]...

Goodness gracious, now let me see. Me, my brother, and [O.M.]...

N.S.: xamse aw sitte 'ummāl.

Five or six workers.

J.M.: arba' xamse 'ummāl.

Four, five workers.

N: a, miš ektīr.

OK, not many.

N.S.: axūk...

Your brother...

J.M.: [H.M.].

N.S.: [H.M.].

N: kam 'āmil fī fi-l-maṣna' kullo?

How many workers are there in the whole factory?

J.M.: taqriban sab'īn 'āmil.

About seventy workers.

N: ṣab'īn. u kulhum inḍarabu. ḍarabu.

Seventy. And all of them got hit. Hit. [Stumbling over words.]

J.M.: la, miš kulhum. fī...

No, not all of them. There are...

M.F.: la, aḍrabu.

No, went on strike.

N: aḍrabu!

Went on strike!

J.M.: a, aḍrabu!

OK, went on strike!

N: 'afwan.

Sorry.

J.M.: aḍrabu. a, kulhum, willā? ḥatta il-mas'ūl aḍrab kamān. ma fišši! il-maṣna' kān taskīr kāmīl.

Went on strike. Yes, all of them, what else? Even the deputy went on strike too. There was no other way! The factory was completely closed down.

N: addēš kānu yidfa'u kabl u addēš ba'd?

How much were they paying before and how much after?

J.M.: kān awwal yidfa'ūlna, fī nās yidfa'ūlhūm xamse u ṣab'īn šēkel, fī nās tamanīn, fī nās tis'īn, nās mīye, mīye u 'ašara. ḥasab is-sin tabā'to. ana, kunt āxod mīye u 'ašrīn šēkel.

Before they used to pay us, some people seventy-five shekels, some eighty, some ninety, some one

hundred, some hundred and ten. Depending on his age. Me, I used to get one hundred and twenty shekels.

N: hāḍa aktar iši ya'ni.

So that was the maximum.

J.M.: aktar iši. ana kunt wāṣil marḥalet it-**tob**. ta 'ōṣil mīye u talatīn ḥāsabt biddi 'alfēn u 'ašara.
Maximum. I had reached the top level. To reach hundred and thirty I calculated that I need to wait until 2010. [Another three years of work.]

N: bas inte tidfa' fi ṣiḥtak...

But you are paying with your health...

J.M.: aywa! hāḍa hu kalām iṣ-ṣaḥ. ana, bi-šaher tis'a, yōm iḍrāb, ṭab'an rāḥ yikmil li-ḍrāb, šaher, a, kunt ana marīḍ.

That's right! You hit the nail on the head. Me, in September, at the time of the strike, of course I was going to keep the strike, for a month, right, I was ill.

N: mmm. kif?

Hmmm. How?

J.M.: kānat 'indi muškile fī r-ri'atēn kān 'indi tqīl in-nafas. atnaḥḥas bi-ṣu'ūbe. fa... u ruḥt 'a-l-aṭṭibā u wiṣilt nāblis kamān. u-d-dukṭūr qalli biddak tib'ed 'an iṣ-ṣuḡul, qāl, a'al iši šaher 'ala asās yirja' waḍ'ak ṭabīṭ. fī-l-yōm nzilti ṣuḡul anā, ṣār iḍrāb.

I had a lung problem, it was hard to breathe. Breathing was difficult. I went to the doctors and went all the way to Nablus. And the doctor said to me "You need to get away from work", he said, "at least for a month so that your situation goes back to normal." The day I got to work, the strike started.

N: haha, hāḍa ḥaḏḏak.

Haha, that was your luck.

J.M.: a, hāḍa ḥaḏḏi. u qa'dna taqriban sitte u 'ašrīn yōm, miḍribīn. u aḏu aṣḥābi zayy hēke u ana illi kunt aktar iši aḥki. u kān [Y.M.], kānat ma'o ṣaḥāfiye u kamān ajnabiye, u qālūlo tarjim. u aḏu ṣaḥāfe min isra'īl barḏo kamān. sa'alūni šū 'indak fa tfāja'u inno... u fi'lan, warēthum iṣ-ṣuwar, šū hād! u rāḥu 'a-l-ma'allim barḏo jūwa u qālulo tṭala', inte il-'āmil 'indak hūwe bimūt! bas bimūt šwayy išwayy. mā bimūt marra waḥde. iza bimūt marra waḥde ya'ni bitrayyaḥ. amā šwayy išwayy bimūt. muqābil ēš? muqābil inno yōxəd yawmīye rxīša. fī l-āxer qāl ana bazīdhom u ḡadā u bašūf šū biṣīr ma'i.

Yes, that's my luck. And we were off on strike for about twenty-six days. And my friends came like this and I was the one doing most of the talking. And [Y.M.], he had a journalist with him and she was also a foreigner, and they told him, "Translate". And journalists came from Israel too. They asked me,

"what's wrong with you?" and they were surprised that... and sure enough, I showed them the photos, "What's this!" and they went to the boss inside Israel too and told him "Look, your worker is dying!" But he is dying little by little. He doesn't die in one go. If he died all of a sudden that would mean that he would get some rest. Instead he dies little by little. In exchange for what? In exchange for getting a cheap daily wage. In the end he said "I'll increase it for them, and they'll have lunch and I'll see what happens."

N: u bikafīlak ir-rātīb, biḡaṭṭi il-...

And is the wage enough for you, does it cover the...

J.M.: wallāhi, la, aqūl inno bikaffi mīye bi-l-mīye, la, bas nuṣmod, il-ḥamdulillā. šū bidḍi awaffer mahu fiš tawfir. ha-l-awlād u-l-akl u-š-šurub, awā'i u madrase u kaḍa.

Well actually no, would I say that it's one hundred per cent enough, no, but we'll survive, thank god. Can I make any savings, there is no saving. For the children and the food and the drink, clothes and school and such things.

N: bitrūh kullo.

All of it goes.

J.M.: kullo birūḥ. 'ašān yadōb. ana mašḡūl la-āxer iṣ-šahar. addēš qabaḍti? bi-ḡabt aləf šēkel.

It all goes. Because I can barely make it. I work all month. How much do I get? Exactly one thousand shekels.

N.S.: 'addēš halla btōxəd bi-l-yōm.

How much do you earn now in a day?

J.M.: hassa mīye u xamsīn.

Now one hundred and fifty.

N: inte btōxəd ijāze sanawīye, iṣi?

Do you take annual leave, at all?

J.M.: la. bya'ṭūni iyā bi-maṣāri. by'aṭūni arbata'šar yōm. maṣāri.

No. They give it to me in money. They give me fourteen days. Money.

N: fa halla, iza mumkin tqārin bēn šuḡlak halla bi-l-maṣna' haḍāk, u jūwa, lamma kunt tištḡel jūwa fī israīl.

And now, if you could compare between your job now in this factory and inside, when you used to work inside in Israel.

J.M.: jūwa aḥsan.

It's better inside.

N: a? lēš? min ayy naḥiye ya'ni?

Really? Why? In what way do you mean?

J.M.: jūwa aḥsan u arbaḥ. jūwa. kân fî maṣāri, u kân... ba'd sane bawaṣil mītēn šēkel. iza miš aktar. bas, taskīr u-l-jidār hāḍa, u-l-maḥasīm, ya'ni nutušt iktīr il-'āmil.

Inside it was better and more profitable. Inside. There was money, and there was... After one year I could get to two hundred shekels, if not more. But, what with the closure and this wall, and the checkpoints, it was hard for the workers.

N: fa wēn kunt tištḡel jūwa?

And where did you work inside?

J.M.: netānya.

Netanya.

N: fi karāž ya'ni.

In a garage you mean.

J.M.: a, karāč.

Yes, a garage.

N: fa kân karāž kamān la-wāḥad yahūdī?

Did the garage also belong to an Israeli?

J.M.: la wāḥad yahūdī.

To an Israeli.

N: u kam 'āmil kân yištḡel?

And how many workers worked there?

J.M.: wallāhi kân miš əktīr abu arba' 'ummāl, xaməs 'ummāl.

Actually there weren't that many, some four or five workers.

N: kif 'irifet 'anhum, kif 'irifet 'an...

How did you find out about them, how did you know about...

J.M.: bi-ššudfe hēk, ruḥt 'a šuḡul u yalla, ištaḡalet. ayyāmha. mā ba'raf min wēn...

By chance, like that, I went to work and just like that, I got hired. In those days. I don't know where...

N: 'addēš kunt tištġel hunāk?

How long did you work there?

J.M.: ištaġalət ana 'ind il-yahūd ḥdā'ašar sane. u 'ind [A.J.] taqriban sane, sane u nuṣṣ. u ba'dīha šār sēger, xallašna 'indo.

I worked for Israelis for eleven years. And for [A.J.] about one year, a year and a half. And after that the closure happened, we stopped going to him.

N.S.: awwal ḥda'šar sane ma axadtiš at'ābak?

For the first eleven years you didn't get your severance pay?

J.M.: inṭabaš. il-yahūdi.

He went bust. The Israeli.

N: šū ya'ni inṭabaš?

What does it mean, went bust?

J.M.: inkasar, šār...

Went bankrupt, became...

N.S.: inkasar ya'ni mflāso.

Went bankrupt, like, was broke.

J.M.: sakkar maḥallo. kân yōxəd muxaddarāt.

He closed down. He was taking drugs.

N: kabl-il-karāž, wēn kunt tištġel.

Before the garage, where were you working.

J.M.: dāyman fi-l-karāč, min u ana żġīr. awwal 'ind il-'arab hōn, ba'dēn intaqalet jūwa.

Always in a garage, since I was little. First for Arabs, here, then I moved inside.

N: šū awwal wazīftak kānat?

What was your first job?

J.M.: ē, dahhān siyyarāt.

Er, car painter.

N: addēš kân 'umrak?

How old were you?

J.M.: ballašt azunni min is-sinn il-arbata'sš, hēk iši. arbata'sšar sane, ballašet fiha.

I started I think when I was fourteen, something like that. Fourteen years old, when I started.

N: fa šū kunt tsawwi? lamma kân 'umrak arbata'sš?

And what were you doing? When you were fourteen?

J.M.: a'mal kahwe la-l-ma'allim. lamma kunna awlād ezgār, u kunna ništgel, u... lamma il-walad bit'allam, 'ind il-'arab, miš marra waḥde bi'almū, rūḥ, kannis, 'imil šāy, i'mil kahwe, ba'dīha šwayy ešwayy, il-wāḥad bit'allam.

I made coffee for the boss! [Laughs.] When we were little kids, and we were working, and... when a boy is learning, with Arabs, they don't teach him all in one go, "Go, sweep up, make the tea, make the coffee," after that, little by little, one learns.

N.S.: ...awrāq il-'alamāt?

[Inaudible] ... report card?

J.M.: la, bas...

No, but... [general laughter]

N: lēš btiḍḥaku?

Why are you laughing?

M.F.: axū, [A.N.], zayyo, nafs-iṣ-šan'a. bas hassa tājir sayyarāt hu. ẓabbaṭ ḥālo, a?

His brother, [A.N.], like him, same vocation. But now he's a car dealer. He took care of himself, eh?

J.M.: walla šāṭer hūwe, miš ḡalaṭ inno yizabbiṭ ḥālo il-wāḥad.

Well he's clever, he is. It's not a bad thing for one to take care of oneself.

N.S.: walla fiš ašṭar minno fi kul... falesṭīn. [A.N.]? inṣa l-mawḍū'.

I swear he's the cleverest in the whole of... Palestine. [A.N.]? Forget it.

J.M.: xallīna niḥna, mā ẓabbaṭnāš ḥālنا.

And we're still where we are, we didn't take care of ourselves.

N.S.: tōxəd sayyāra. taksīr.

You'll get a car. Broken.

J.M.: a, nzilna 'a-l-karāč. min ṭufūle zǧīre u qulna xalaṣ, bidnāš nudrus u ḥabbīn iṣ-ṣuġul, u ḥabbīn kaza, u nzilna 'a-ṣ-ṣan'a.

Yes, we went down to the garage. Since we were little children we said "Enough, we don't want to study and we like work, and we like this," and we went down to learn a vocation.

N: fa kif tgayyarat zurūf il-'amal min qabl il-intifāda il-'ūla u ba'dha.

And how did the work conditions change since before the First Intifada and afterwards?

J.M.: tgayyarat id-ḍurūf ektīr.

The conditions changed a lot.

N: kif?

How?

J.M.: kif? ē...

How, er...

N: kānu in-nās yixāfu, šāru yixāfu, il-yahūd yixāfu min il-'ummāl, willa...?

Were the people afraid, did they become afraid, the Israelis were afraid of the workers, or...?

J.M.: aywa. il-yahūd yixāf min il-'āmil il-'arabi, bišaġġelūš 'indo. iza biddo yišaġġlo, lāzem yikūn ya'ni, fi wāṣṭa. wāḥad tāni by'rafo maṭalan, biqūl hāda šāḥbi aw karābi [...] yijībo 'ala asās inno yikūn ḍāmno min šaxṣ tāni.

Yes. The Israelis are afraid of the Arab workers, they won't hire them. They'll only hire him if there is, let's say, if there is a recommendation. Another guy who knows him for instance, says "That's my friend or my relative [inaudible] bring him on the basis that someone else is vouching for him.

N: inte kunt ta'raf ḥada...

And you knew someone...

J.M. [overlapping]: ana walla 'ārif wāḥad u ... bas miš 'ārfo mīye bi-l-mīye. hēk, marḥaba marḥaba, u ruḥt 'alē, qult biddi aštġel u hāda, ḡabbaṭna, fi-l-āxer ḡabbaṭna iṣ-ṣab hāda, šaġġalna 'indo. amā il-yahūd ta yiqbalna rasmi, ṭawwalna. il-yōm miš zayy awwal. il-yōm ṣa'eb. il-yōm, ṣa'eb ṣa'eb jiddan. iza il-'āmil biddo yištġel jūwa bi-isra'īl, yinzil laḥālo, yištġel. aw yiḥki la-l-yahūda hassa 'a-t-telefōn, biddi aštġel, 'imilli taṣrīḥ, biddi anzil 'indak aštġel, ṣa'eb.

Actually I know someone and... but I don't know him one hundred per cent. Just "Hello, hello", and I went to him and said "I want to work and all that" and he sorted us out, in the end he got us sorted, this guy, he got us hired. But for the Israelis to accept us officially, it took a long time. Today it's not like before. Today it's hard. Today it's very very hard. For the worker who wants to work inside in Israel, to go alone and work. Or for him to speak to Yehuda now on the phone, "I want to work, get me

a permit, I want to go down to you to work", difficult.

N: inte jarrabət tōxəd taşrīḥ?

Did you try to get a permit?

J.M.: wallāhi la mā jarrabteš. mā ḥāwalteš ya'ni. iṣ-ṣidiqq...

To be honest, no I didn't try. I didn't attempt it I mean. The truth...

N: u bitfakkir fī ya'ni?

Are you thinking about it?

J.M.: miš mfakkir afūt jūwa li'annu il-ma'bar ġalabe, u tkūm badri u... iṣ-ṣubḥiyyāt, u-l-jēš, irja' u fūt u iṭla', u hāda 'ala mazāj il-jundi, ya'ni. ili biftaḥ il-bāb, biftaḥeš il-bāb. miš nafs il-mašākil, xalaṣ baṣḥa sē'a sitte, barawweḥ sē'a talāte. mazbūt walla ġalabe 'aleyi, ṭa'ab 'aleyi, bas il-wāḥad šū bidde ya'mal, 'ašan iz-zġār awlādo 'ašan yōklu. law il-wāḥad la-ḥālo, a'zāb, biṣaleš. mīt šēkel, hāda fī šaḥar, hāda fī usbū'.

I'm not considering going inside because the crossing is a nuisance, and you have to get up early, at dawn, and the soldiers, "Go back and go in and get out", and that depends on the mood of the soldier, you know. Whether he opens the gate or doesn't open the gate. Not the same problems as here, I get up at six, come home at three o'clock. It's true it's a nuisance, it's tiring, but what's one to do, so that the little ones, the children have something to eat. If one is single, alone, one doesn't ask. A hundred shekels last that one a month, the other one a week.

M.F.: ṭayyib [J.M.], iḥna mna'raf inno maṣna' gešūrī yumkin min axṭar maṣāni' il-mawjūde fi ṭūl karem.

Ok [J.M.], we know that the Geshuri factory is perhaps among the most dangerous factories that exist in Tulkarem.

J.M.: a.

Yes.

M.F.: u bifriz minno šaraṭanāt la-l-mantiqa. šū sawwālak aḍrār jismaniyan?

And cancers spread from it over the area. What types of bodily harm did it cause you?

J.M.: kultilha. 'indi muškilet il-ġabra ri'atēn. bi'amal ḥasasiya bi-il-juyūb il-'anfiye. bi'mal... ama miš bas dāxel il-maṣna' nafso hūwe illi tqarrar, illi b'td 'anno, il-jirān hissa illi ḥawalē l-maṣna' la maddet is-ṣaḥāfe, šarat il-jirān ḥawalē l-maṣna' il-'arab, lāku wāḥad hunāka 'indo, bijōz bi-šaḥar bidfa' mīt šēkel ḥak adwiye.

[pause] *I told her. I have pulmonary problems. It causes an allergy in the nose. It causes... But not only those inside the factory itself does it harm, those who are far from it, the neighbours that are around the factory now some distance, the Arab neighbours around the factory, they found someone*

there, each month he pays maybe one hundred shekels for medicine.

N.S.: il-jīrān biṇḍarru aktar minkum.

The neighbours suffer more than you do.

J.M.: ā, fī wāḥad arba' mīt šēkel bidfa'.

Yes, there's one who's paying four hundred shekels.

N.S.: kul id-duxxān u-l-ḡabra birūḥ b-ittijāhhum.

All the smoke and the dust go in their direction.

J.M.: wāḥad id-daxxūn tā' gešūrī 'a šubbāk dāro! arba' mīt šēkel minšān yištri dawā, arba' mīt šēkel qāl la ṣ-ṣaḥāfe arba' mīt šēkel kul šahar ta-yištri dawa 'ašān ir-ri'atēn u l-baxaxāt.

One guy the chimney of Geshuri is right under the window of his home! Four hundred shekels for him to buy medicine, he said to the newspapers four hundred shekels each month to buy medicine for the lungs and the inhalers.

M.F.: nānsi, niḥna qā'idīn, yumkin il-yōm niḥna fi ijtīmā', niḥna qā'idīn bništḡel 'ala barnāmij ma' mowasase isimha [F.], yumkin mašrū' illi qaddamnā gešūrī. min il-aḍrār illi bikūn fīha 'ala muḥāfaẓat ṭūlkarem. mindūn il-mašāni' il qā'da btifriz aḍrār šaraṭanīa 'ala muḥāfaẓa hūwe l-gešūrī.

Nancy, we are in the process, maybe today we are having a meeting, we are in the process of working on a programme with an organisation which is called [F.], maybe the project we will be putting forward is about Geshuri. About the harms it causes to the governorate of Tulkarem. Of all the factories that emit carcinogenic material we've chosen Geshuri.

J.M.: gešūrī, aktar iši.

Geshuri, most of all.

M.F.: il-mašrū' ili qā'idīn ništḡel hūwe muḥārabet mašna' gešūrī.

The project we are working on is a war against the Geshuri factory.

N: šaraṭanāt ēš?

Cancers of what?

J.M. and M.F. (simultaneously): kulši, kul iši.

Everything, every thing.

J.M.: ya'ni hāy il-māde...

Basically this material...

N.S.: mawwād kimāwīye bifriz.

Chemical materials it discharges.

J.M.: nkatabet qadiye, ir-rīḥ yiwaddi 'ala isra'īl jūwa, 'ala kombanīyāt jūwa, il-yahūd štakku 'ala gešūri.
bas laffu id-daxxūn wēn, 'a-l-'arab.

There was a court case, when the wind blew onto Israel inside, on the gents inside, and the Israelis sued Geshuri. But they turned the chimney towards who, towards the Arabs.

N: kīf laffūha?

How did they turn it around?

J.M.: ya'ni, badāl ma yikūn il-ittijāh 'a-l-ġarba, xallīna šarka.

So, instead of the direction being to the west, let it be to the east.

N: bas hāḡa ḡasab il-hawwā, willa la?

But that depends on the wind, doesn't it?

J.M.: aġlab il-wasax birūḡ la-šarka.

Most of the pollution goes to the east.

N.S.: mahū biddek tiḡsibi ḡsāb nānsi innu il-baḡar bi-ttiġāh il-ġarb fa hawwa il-baḡar bīji bi-ttiġāh iṣ-
šarq, biḡrub hēk il-baḡar.

Nancy you need to take into account that the sea is in the west and the wind from the sea comes towards the east, that's how the sea affects it.

J.M.: hāḡa miš il-hawwa hēk.

This isn't from the wind like that.

N.S.: aġlab il-hawwa ġarbi bikūn.

Most of the wind is western.

J.M.: barḡu kaman maṣna' il-ġāz ya'ni miš sihil. rīḡit il-ġāz...

Also the gas factory isn't good. The smell of the gas...

N: šu il-mawwād il-kemawīya il-. illi biḡḡur illi btistaxdimūha jūwa fi l-maṣna' ya'ni ?

What are the chemical materials that... that are harmful that you use inside in the factory?

J.M.: maṣna' gešūrī... maṣna' gešūrī ana ba'rif innu biṡli'. bi'mil mawwād kīmawīye la z-zrā'a... ana baṡtiġliṡ fi fi illi jambu ana bas hūwe biṡli' mawād kīmawīye la z-zrā'a... amma šū hīye il-mawād illi biṡani'ha ma ba'rif.

Geshuri factory... The Geshuri factory I know it discharges... it makes chemical materials for agriculture. I don't work in it, in the one next to it, but it produces chemical materials for agriculture. But what materials they are exactly I don't know.

M.F.: asmide u šaġlāt zayy hēk.
Fertilizers and stuff like that.

J.M.: asmide.
Fertilizers.

M.F.: u-il-asmide hīye kulha kīmawiyāt u mawwād kīmawīye fa ya'ni hāda biḍor kṭīr jiddan u iši bit'allaq fi l-blāstik u miš blāstik hāda kullu bidxul fi l-iši il-kīmāwi u lamm biṭṭla' il-kīmāwi daxintu btiṭṭla' u bidxul fi jism il-insān... kulha mawwād sāmme.
And the fertilizers are full of chemicals and chemical materials so this is really harmful. And there's something to do with plastics and whatnot and it all goes into something chemical and goes out the chemicals in the smoke and enters the human body... All of them are toxic materials.

J.M.: baqollik mašna' il-ġāz kamān lamma yiftaḥu il-jirār kamān riḥithim miš ṭabi'ya.
I tell you the gas factory, too, when they open the canisters, its smell isn't normal either.

M.F.: ḥatta il-ġabara illi bit'āmalu fiha hāy il-bōdra mawwād kīmawīye.
Even the dust that they work with, this powder is a chemical material.

J.M.: ā, mawwād kīmawīye.
Yes, chemical materials.

N: bti'raf asamīha ya'ni illi btistaxdimūha fi l-bōdra ?
Do you know the names of what you use in the powder?

J.M.: wallāhi la' ya'ni šū il-asmā' illi maktūbe 'a-l-kartōn mā ba'rif.
Goodness, no, I mean what are the names that are written on the box I don't know.

N: inta bas tistaxdim illi fi kartōn?
You just use what's in the box?

J.M.: ā.
Yes.

N: ba'dēn šū bitsawwi fiha?
And then what do you do with it?

J.M.: badīru fī māknit id-dhān u badhanu amma illi bikūn maktūb fī l-īnglīzi ya'ni u hāḍa mā ba'raf aqrā ya'ni.

I mix it in the paint machine and spray paint with it but it's written in English and I don't know how to read that, I mean.

N: bit'abbi il-mākinē?

You fill the machine?

J.M.: ā.

Yes.

N: bi l-bōdra?

With powder?

J.M.: ā.

Yes.

N: ba'dēn...u ya'ni lāzim...tixilṭu ?

And then... and I mean... you have to... mix it?

J.M.: aḥarko? la baḥarkūš, hūwe fī hawwa jūwa biḥarku.

To shake it? No I don't shake it, there's air inside that moves it.

N: ā **ōkey**.

Oh, OK.

J.M.: bas badhanno ana u šāḥib illi. hūwe bidhan hōn w-ana badhan hōn ana w-iyā. hassa il-ḡabar btā'tu 'indi u-l-ḡabara btā'ti 'alē, fhimti kif inti? ya'ni waḍ'u zayy hēk u-l-ḡorfa zayy hēk msakkara hassa kul il-ḡabara jūwātha.

I just spray-paint, me and my friend. He spray paints here and I spray paint here, me and him. Now, the dust from him is on me and the dust from me is on him, do you understand? I mean his position is like this [motioning to a figure facing him] and the room is like this, closed, and all the dust is inside it.

N: u mā fī...

And there aren't any...

J.M.: fī šaffāṭ... bas kul id-dhān ya'ni 'alēna 'a awaṭna kul wujūhna fī ijrēna hōn ya'ni lamma niṭṭhammam il-wāḥad zayy iṣ-ṣabḡa.

There are extractor fans... But all the paint is on us, on our clothes, on all our faces, on our legs, here,

I mean, when we wash it's like dye.

N: u šū ism il-mākiṇe illi btistaxdimūha la-l...

And what's the name of the machine you use for the...

J.M.: bisammū fard id-dhān... mākiṇa fard id-dhān ismu hīye 'ibāra 'an mākiṇa fiha jihāz zayy il-kombyūtar.

They call it paint sprayer... Paint spraying machine, it's a kind of machine that has an instrument inside like a computer.

N: u šū bti'mal in-naqābe fī hāḍa l-mawḍū' maṭalan ma btiddaxxal bi żurūf il-'amal ya'ni?

And what's the workers' union doing on the subject, for instance does it get involved in work conditions at all?

J.M.: wallāhi la' in-naqāba btiddaxxališ. ižu marra 'alēna ta'tn iṣ-ṣeḥḥa min isra'īl min jūwa u 'imlūlna samā' u 'imlūlna faḥiṣ la l-uzun u kaza u 'imlūlna jābūlna jihāz żgīr ḥaṭūlna iyyā hōn ma' faltar mšān yišūf kaddēš ana bōxid id-dhān ya'ni 'a asās ybaṭṭil yōxid dhān. ya'ni sa'alit id-duktōr qultillu la lēš hāḍa qalli hāḍa l-faltar la r-ri'a ta'tak šū btōxid dhān biḥuṭ ir-ri'a btōxid dhān... hassa ba'dīha bi usbū' sa'alto ana aḍa 'indi jāb waraqa baqūlu šū šār qāl biqulli xalaṣ ana baḥki ma' il-m'allim, ba'dīha ba'rifiš šū šār.

No to be honest the union doesn't get involved. Once they came to us from the health service from Israel from inside and they did our hearing, they did a check-up for the ears and all that and they did, they brought us a little contraption, they put it on us here [on the face] with a filter in order to see how much paint I take in so that it would stop taking in paint. So I asked the doctor, I said "What's this for?" he said to me "This is the filter for your lungs to see how much paint they get, puts it on the lung to take the paint." Now, after a week I asked him again, he came over to me and brought a piece of paper, I say to him "What happened?" he said, he says to me "Nevermind, I'll talk to the boss." After that I don't know what happened.

N: hāḍa d-duktōr ya'ni min in-naqābe?

So this is a doctor from the union?

J.M.: hāḍa d-duktōr min jūwa min isra'īl ya'ni tā' iṣ-ṣeḥḥa.

This is a doctor from inside Israel from the health services.

N: ā **okay** ya'ni wizārit iṣ-ṣeḥḥa ba'tat raqabe.

Oh, OK, like the Ministry of Health sent an inspection.

J.M.: ā min 'a-l-mašāni'... bas ma biqūl la l-'āmil šū 'indak. hassa il-waraka hāy maktūbe bi l-'ibrāni. illi byeštḡil biqullo šu kif il-waḍi' fahimna šuḡlit il-mākiṇa hāy šuḡlit id-dhān fī muškila 'inna biṣīr kaza...

biquillo xalaş ana baḥki ma' il-m'allim.

Yes, to the factories... But he doesn't tell the worker what's wrong with him. Now, this piece of paper is written in Hebrew. The one who's working, he tells him "So? How are things? Explain how this machine works, how the paint works" "We have a problem here, this keeps happening," he tells him "Nevermind, I'll talk to the boss."

N: ėmta hāḍa šār?

When did this happen?

J.M.: hāḍa l-ḥaki šār ta'rīban 'abil šahar aw šahar u nuşş.

This thing happened about a month ago or a month and a half ago.

N: ya'ni ba'id il-iḍrāb.

So after the strike.

J.M.: ā ba'id il-iḍrāb ā mahumme il-lajne ṭalbat inno yişir faḥiş illna bass iḥna mā mni'rif şū il-faḥiş la ḥadd hassa ya'ni ġāmiḍ bisammū. ya'ni ḥatta is-samā' illi 'imlūlna iyyā 'a-l-mākina u ḍabḍabāt u hād ma'rifnāş şū.

Yes, after the strike, yes, because in fact the committee demanded that a check-up be done for us but until now we don't know what the check-up is, it's like a mystery they call it. I mean, even the hearing that they did for us on the machines and the vibrations and all that, we don't know what it is.

N: 'aşān fī ḍajje kbīre?

Because there's a big racket?

J.M.: ā ḍajja kbīre jūwa... ḍarb iş-şawakīş u ij-jalex u fī l-makināt.

Yes a big racket inside... the beating of the blades and the hammers and there are the machines.

N: ya'ni fī nās mā byisma'u willa şū?

So there are some people who can't hear or what?

J.M.: fī nās... ana karāybi ibin 'amti sama'u xaff... fī muşkile kul 'āmil 'indu muşkile. bas ḥasab iş-şuġul btā'u. ḥasab waḍ'u fī iş-şuġul fī nās bitḍarrarū mīye bi-l-mīye fī nās bitḍarrarū 'iştirin bi-l-mīye miş il-kull bitḍarrar ktīr mīye fi-l-mīye. amma ḥasab il-waḍi' illi fī. fī nās bikūnu maḥşūrīn fī şuġul u kul id-dawşe 'indo u fī nās bibka yiştġil barra u iş-şōt bitwazza' ya'ni.

There are people... A relative of mine, my cousin, his hearing is weak. There's a problem, every worker has a problem. But it depends on his job. It depends on his location at work, there are people who are harmed one hundred per cent, others twenty per cent, not everyone is hurt the same one hundred per cent. Rather it depends on his location. There are people who are trapped inside and the din is all around them, and there are people outside and the noise is diffused.

N: fa illi biddo yōxid taṣrīḥ 'ašan yištǧil fī gešūri 'addēš lāzim yikūn 'umro? bti'raf?
And whoever wants to get a permit to work in Geshuri how old must he be? Do you know?

J.M.: ṭab'an... a'taqid fōq il-'išrīn.
Of course... I think older than twenty.

N: la'inno jūwa fī isra'īl lāzim xamse-u-talatīn.
Because inside Israel he must be thirty-five.

M.F.: aẓonn talatīn fa mā fōq.
I believe it's over thirty.

J.M.: 'inna hōn fōq il-'išrīn.
Here for us it's over twenty.

M.F.: bass illi biddo yōxid taṣrīḥ la gešūri bixḍa' la ktīr umūr inno la yikūn saǧīn ma 'alehūš umūr amnīya.
But whoever wants to get a permit for Geshuri must meet many conditions, that he wasn't a prisoner and has no security problems.

J.M.: wala axū saǧīn.
Nor that his brother was a prisoner.

M.F.: wala axū wala illo. ya'ni lāzim tibka 'ēlto nḍife min kul iši bixoṣ il-ittijāh il-isra'īli fāhme kīf. [N.S.]
ana biddi anzil 'alēy iǧtimā' bitkamlu hōn.
Nor his brother nor him. That means his family has to stay clean of anything that concerns the Israeli side, you understand what I mean. [N.S.] I need to go I have a meeting, you'll finish up here.

N: ana kamān biddi axalliṣ kaman šwayye.
I'm about to finish in a little bit.

N.S.: inta bitrūḥ w-ana birūḥu la l-xityār.
You go and I, we'll go to the old man.

N: ā **okay** āxir wāḥad.
Oh, OK, last one.

N.S.: u iza biddik tīzi bukra barḍo miš muškile.
And if you want to come tomorrow as well that's not a problem.

N: ṭayyib mnīḥ ya'ni mīn mumkin nšūf bukra?
Good that's nice, I mean who could we see tomorrow?

N.S.: minšūf nās tānyīn.
We'll see other people.

N: ṭab mnīḥ.
OK, good.

M.F.: minrūḥ 'a nās hassa bištiglu fī gešūri. nafs gešūri binrūḥ 'alēhom.
We'll go to people who work in Geshuri now. Right by Geshuri we'll visit them.

N: ana bukra iṣ-ṣuboḥ 'azamūni 'ala warše fī l-markaz in-nasawi.
Tomorrow morning I'm invited to a workshop in the women's centre.

M.F.: 'inna fī il muxayyam ?
In our camp?

N: ā... fa aḥki ma' is-sittāt iṣ-ṣuboḥ ya'ni bikūn is-sā'a 'ašara 'ašara-u-nuṣṣ.
Yes... so I'll talk to the ladies in the morning so that would be at ten or half past ten.

N.S.: ma' [N.A.]... [N.A.] il-warše illi bukra.
With [N.A.]. The workshop tomorrow is with [N.A.].

N: mumkin.
Maybe.

M.F.: btiḥki 'an ij-jandar u ma jandar hādi.
*She talks about **gender** and what not, that one.*

N: mumkin.
Maybe.

M.F.: ṭabb māši ana biddi anzil ā?
OK, that's fine, I'm going down now, yes?

J.M.: u kahwitak ik'ud.
And what about your coffee, sit down.

M.F.: la la biddīš šribit ktīr.

No no I don't want it I drank a lot of it.

J.M.: iṣrab kahwa ba'id il-'aṣīr.

Drink some coffee to wash down the fruit juice.

M.F.: bakdariš ma'i ḍaġt.

I can't, I have high blood pressure.

N: ana bakdar.

I can.

M.F.: šribna ktīr.

We drank a lot.

J.M.: **ōke** [M.F.]

OK [M.F.].

M.F.: **ōke** [J.M.]... biddi arūḥ anzil 'indi ijtīmā'.

OK [J.M.]... *I need to go, I have a meeting.*

J.M.: alla ma'āk.

Good bye.

N: fa axūk ṣiḥtu mnīḥ mnīḥa?

And your brother's health is alright?

J.M.: mliḥa ṣiḥtu 'indu disk kân 'indu disk u 'imil 'amalīye... qabil kam sane min il-maṣna' ṭab'an hāḍa š-šugul diskāt ṭab'an min il-maṣna'.

His health is fine. He has a disc, he had a slipped disc and had an operation... a few years ago from the factory of course, this business with the discs is from the factory.

N: šū bištġil hūwa fī l-maṣna'?

What's his job at the factory?

J.M.: biḍrob ramel biḍrob ramel 'al ḥadīd ṭab'an... hāḍa r-ramel kabl id-dhān biḍurbu ramel ba'dēn iḥna mnidhan.

He sands down the metal of course... the sandblasting is before the paint. They sandblast it and then we paint.

N.S.: kīf ya'ni biḍurbu ramel?

How do they sandblast it?

J.M.: hāḍa l-ḥadīd bīzi bti'rif mṣaddi fī ṣada u fī kaza. fa 'ašān yixallū yiṣīr yilma' yiṣīr zayy hēk lōno ya'ni fiḍḍi, biḍurbu ramel hassa ma bixalṣu ramel bijibūlna iyā... iḥna ṭab'an wazīfitna n'alko u innafxo u nidhano.

The metal comes, you know, rusty, and there's rust and stuff. In order for it to be shiny, like this colour, I mean silver, they sandblast it, and as soon as they're done with the sand they bring it to us... And our job of course is to hang it up, blow it clean and paint it.

N: u šū ṣār fi ḍahro?

And what happened to his back?

J.M.: 'imil 'amalīye.

He had an operation.

N: bas kīf ya'ni ṣārat il-iṣābe?

But how did the accident happen?

J.M.: min ḥamil il-ḥadīd u l-baramīl.

From carrying the metal and the barrels.

N: hūwa byiḥmil hēk bi-īdo?

He carries it like that in his hands?

J.M.: hūwa ā ṭab'an fī ṣaḡlāt biḥmilha bi-īdo jūwa ḡurfit ir-ramel hāy. biddu yidrub maṭalan barmīl biddu yiliffu bi-īdo u yiḥmilu bi-īdo yinkilo min maṭraḥ la maṭraḥ 'abēn ma yixallī šuḡlo u bijīb il-mazlēk... ṭab'an hāḍa bi-istimrār biṣīr il-wāḥad 'indo muškile. hassa ya'ni ana 'indi muškile bi-ḍahri bas 'a-l-xaff... bas ana aktar muškile 'indi fi ijrē aktar muškile.

He does, yes, of course there are things he carries in his hands inside the sanding room. He wants to sand down a barrel for instance, he'll rotate it with his hands and carry it in his hands to move it from place to place, rather than leave his work and go get the forklift. Of course repeatedly over a period of time this will cause one a problem. Now I have a problem in my back but not so serious... my biggest problem is in my legs.

N: miš lāzim tilbis iši zayy hāḍa bisā'id?

Shouldn't you be wearing something like this to help?

J.M.: zayy il-gūme?

Like an elastic support?

N: ā.

Yes.

J.M.: wallāhi jābūlna gūme humme bass bi-l-'axīr [...] tā'ha min hōne inkaṭa'.

Actually they brought us an elastic they did, but in the end [inaudible] cut off from here.

N: lāzim ddīr bālak 'a ṣiḥtak la'inno...

You need to be careful about your health because...

J.M.: il-kul bi'ūl dīr bālak.

Everybody says "Be careful."

N: 'addēš 'umrak halla'?

How old are you now?

J.M.: ana tnēn-u-'arbīn sane.

I am forty-two years old.

N: ya'ni biddak tištġil kamān... kam sane?

That means you want to work another... how many years?

J.M.: 'ala alla hāḍa... il-kul bikulli id-duktōr bikulli dīr bālak 'ala ḥālak bas šū biddi adīr bāli 'a ḥāli? ana il-yōm illi badhaniš fi bat'abba ġabara ana iza badhaniš yōm ṣāḥib id-dhān bat'abba ġabara fa ana ya'ni fi jaww kullo ġabara... ma fiš majāl ya'ni fiš majāl inni ahrob min il-ġabara... 'addēš biddi adīr bāli 'a ḥāli yōm yōmēn bas fi l-'axīr mā būqa' illa š-šāṭir zayy mā bikūlu 'ind il-'arab 'al fāḍi... raġm kul il-weqā'ye u [...] bas illa d-dhān biḥargiz.

That's in the lap of the gods... Everybody tells me, the doctor tells me, "look after yourself," but how can I look after myself? If I'm not spray painting then I'm mixing the powder, if I'm not painting for a day, I get full of dust, the air is full of dust. There's no way I can escape from the dust. I can look after myself for a day or two at the most, as the Arabs say, you can stumble even if you are clever... Despite all the precautions the paints get through.

N: muṣībe hāḍa.

It's a disaster.

J.M.: ā il-waḍi' illi iḥna fī ya'ni btikdari tkūli miš mlīḥ kīr... ma'sā fī-š-šugul.

Yes the situation we are in, one could say is not very good. Suffering at work.

N: mā bitfakkir iddawwir 'ala šugul tāni?

You don't think of looking for a different job?

J.M.: wallāhi law illo ʔarīk mlīḥa il-wāḥad bidawwir bass iṭ-ʔarīk si'ba šwayy... ana baštġil fī l-maṣna' qabil ij-jidār ʔab'an u qabil ma yiṣīr hāḍa il-ma'bar, kunt bakdar afūt jūwa 'a isra'īl bas kunt aštġil yōm u a'aṭil 'aṣar-tiyyām ya'ni aštġil yōm u a'aṭil il-baki, ḥarām, hēk yōm yōm baštġil il-ḥamdulilāh maṣṭūra... šū ni'mal hāy il-ḥayā si'be šwayy zġire.

Well if it were easy to get to one I would look but the road is quite difficult... I've been working in this factory since before the wall was built and before this crossing was here, I used to be able to enter inside Israel but I'd work one day and then be out of work for ten days, I mean work for one day and sit out the rest, it was too much, like this I work every day, thank god, we are coping. What can we do, it's life, just a little difficult.

N: lā lāzim awwal iṣi yikūn fī qanūn 'amal hāḍa l-qanūn mamnū' yiḍḍur 'ala ṣiḥḥit il-'umāl.

No, first of all there has to be a law and according to this law it should be forbidden to harm the health of the workers.

J.M.: il-m'allim ṣeḥḥtu ktīr u ġāli amma il-'āmil yimūt.

The boss's health is important and precious but the worker can die.

N: šukran iktīr 'ala kalāmak.

Thank you very much for your words.

J.M.: tislami šukran illek... ʔab iṣrabi kahwe?

You're welcome, thank you. So will you drink coffee?

Appendix 3: U.A.

Recorded: 1 May 2008

Place: Respondent's home, Dheisheh refugee camp

Participants: The respondent, U.A. (43); her husband A.A. (50+); female friend I.X. (40+) who introduced the researcher; several children; N - researcher

N: basma' it-tasjīl, hūwe bas la baḥṭi, miš la ayy majalle, miš la ayy iši, rādiyo, miš iši. bas 'ašān iza bāxod mulāḥazāt, biddo wakit iktīr, biṭṭawwel. fa hāda asra' illi.

I listen to the recording, it's just for my research, not for any magazine, not for anything, radio, nothing. Just because if I take notes, it takes a long time. This is faster for me.

I.X.: lamma tuktub byōxəd wakt əktīr.

When she writes it takes a long time.

A.A.: n'am.

Yes.

N: a, hēk u batzakkar kulši, ya'ni kulši. ba'dēn bāxod il-ma'lūmāt u bastaxdimha fi-l...

Yes, and this way I remember everything, I mean everything. Then I take the information and use it in the...

A.A.: fi-l-baḥṭ.

In the research.

N: fi-l-baḥṭ.

In the research.

A.A.: isma'i, ana bašā'dik fi-l-baḥṭ.

Listen, I'll help you with the research.

N: il-baḥṭ hūwe bas la-l...

The research is only for the...

A.A.: ana bašā'dik.

I'll help you.

N: [Laughs nervously.]

U.A.: iza bitsawwīli niseyōn, baḥki.

If you do an experiment for me, I'll speak.

A.A.: isma'i.

Listen.

I.X.: hiye bti'rafeš 'ibrāni. bti'rafi, nānsi, 'ibrāni?

She doesn't know Hebrew. Nancy, do you know Hebrew?

A.A.: fi imkānīyāt.

There are possibilities.

N: šwayye zǧīre, ya'ni.

A little bit.

U.A.: at mevina?

Do you [fem.] understand?

A.A.: la, šū?

No, what?

U.A.: la, 'am btifhami 'aley, iza ana bididi tašrīḥ, inti 'am btifhami šū?

No, do you [fem.] understand me, if I need a permit, do you understand what I mean?

N: na'm. na'm. inti mā 'indik tašrīḥ? kīf btudxuli?

Yes. Yes. You don't have a permit? How do you get in?

I.X.: miš hēk, [U.A.].

Not like this, [U. A.].

A.A.: inti min ḥuqūq ... inti min munazammet ḥuqūq il-insān?

You are from rights... Are you from a human rights organisation?

U.A.: lā, is'ali.

No, go ahead, ask.

N: la, ana min jāmi'a, ana ṭālibet jāmi'a. ana ba'mal baḥt ...

No, I am from a university, I am a university student. I'm doing research...

U.A.'s son: ṭāliba bidha tsawwi baḥt.

A student who wants to do research.

N: la-l-jāmi'a, u ba'dēn baliff, u ana țile'-li muxayyamāt fi-l-điffe, dhēše, šu'fāt, u țulkarem, u hēk bāxod ma'alūmāt min in-nās, u bidna n'allif kitāb 'an il-wađi'.

For the university, and then I'll go around, I go to refugee camps in the West Bank, Dheisheh, Shuafat and Tulkarem, and like this I get information from people, and we want to do a book about the situation.

A.A.: bāji 'a britāniya basā'dik fi-l-kitāb. bas etšufili šukka, u villa.

I'll come to Britain and help you with the book. Just find me accommodation, and a villa.

N: [laughs.]

U.A.: šūfilo 'arūs.

Find him a bride.

N: šū, miš inti il-'arūs?

What, aren't you the bride?

I.X.: [laughs.]

U.A.: kām mi zman, ken. masbīk, hāđa... bti'rifi, ana nsīt il-inglīzi šway. aktar iši, [A.A.]...

That was a long time ago, yes. Enough of that... You know, I've forgotten English a bit. Mostly, A.A....

N: la, iħki bi-l-'arabi. ana bafham.

No, speak in Arabic. I'll understand.

U.A.'s son: hīya mā btiħki 'arabi wala...

She doesn't speak Arabic or...

U.A.: ana dāyiman biddi aħki bi-l-'ivrit, lēš? kul yōm baħki bi-l-'ibrāni.

I always want to speak in Hebrew, why? Every day I speak Hebrew.

N: inti btištiġli kul yōm?

You work every day?

A.A.: isma'i nānsi, hīye lā btiħki la 'arabi, wala inglīzi, wala 'ibrāni.

Listen Nancy, she doesn't speak Arabic, English or Hebrew.

N: kīf ya'ni?

What do you mean?

I.X.: ... ya'ni?

...mean?

U.A.: mazbūt, mazbūt ya'ni? ma? ēš biddik aḥkīlik inti? ana am baštaḡel bi-isra'īl.

Is that so? What? What do you want me to tell you? I work in Israel.

N: u šū šuḡlik?

And what's your job?

U.A.: nikayōn, bi-n-naḡḡāfe ya'ni.

Cleaning. *Cleaning, I mean.*

N: fi-l-kuds?

In Jerusalem?

U.A.: fi kul isra'īl.

In the whole of Israel.

N: ma' šarīke, aw ma'...?

With a company, or with...?

U.A.: la' la' la'. hēk, ana ḥurra, šuḡli. wēn bikūn munāsib ana 'am baštaḡel.

No no no. Like this, I'm free, it's my job. Where there's an opportunity I work.

N: fi nās bti... bittiṣlu fīki...

There are people who phone you...

U.A.: a, 'indi nās, 'indi kul yōm, min arb'a snīn, ana 'am ba...

Yes, I have people, every day, for four years, I have been...

N: ya'ni illik min arba' snīn btištiḡli...

So you've been working for four years...

U.A.: ya'ni hēk iši.

Well something like that.

N: u qabl hēk kunti btištiḡli?

And before that you used to work?

U.A.: la, kunt bi-d-dār, ana. ya'ni ḥilu iṣ-šuḡul, bas i-ṭ-ṭarīk... ana am bakūm 'a tintēn u nuṣṣ bi-lēl.

No, I was at home, I was. It's good to work, but the road... I have to get up at two thirty in the morning.

N: la!

No! [astounded.]

U.A.: 'a t-talāte bakūn 'a šāri'.

At three I'm on the road.

N: u kīf, ya'ni addēš biddo wakt iṭ-ṭarīk?

How come, I mean, how long does it take to get there?

U.A.: am biddo... mniṭla' talāt, talāte u nuṣṣ, am mniṣal sē'a xamse u nuṣṣ, sitte. biddo se'tēn talāt, ta mniṭla' 'a jbāl, u mnudxul min šikka kadde hēk 'a-l-arəd.

It takes a while. We set out at three, half past three, and we arrive at five thirty, six o'clock. It takes two or three hours for us to get over the hills and we enter through a tunnel this wide, through the ground. [Showing a width of about one metre with her hands.]

N: la!

No!

U.A.: walla. ba'əd ma tiṭla'i jbāl əjbāl. ijrēki, ya'ni.

Swear to god. After climbing proper mountains. Your legs, I mean.

N: inti miš ta'bāne, ya'ni?

Aren't you tired?

U.A.: mōt! mōt! u-l-xōf! u-l-jēš bimiskūna!

Exhausted to death! And the fear! And the army out to catch us!

I.X.: tintēn bi-l-lēl ya'ni btiṣṣa.

She wakes up at two in the night.

U.A.: humme am bisawwu, ya'ni bitxāf.

They do things, you'd be scared.

N: inti sme'ti 'an ḥada šār fiyo iši 'a ṭ-ṭarīk la-š-šūḡul?

Have you heard of something happening to someone on the way to work?

U.A.: walla miš 'am bafham 'alēki.

I don't understand what you're saying.

N: ya'ni inti sme'ti inno il-jēš 'imlu iši fi-l-'ummāl illi rāḥu 'a šuḡul hēk?

I mean, have you heard of the army doing something to workers who went to work like this?

U.A.: ana mā 'am basma' ya'ni iši, bas iza bidhum yimiskūna... marra axadūna 'a š-šurṭa bi-atarōt, ramalla, am biwak'ūna, biwašlūna, bik'adūna māximum xaməs sitt sē'āt, kul il-yōm! taman sē'āt, iza bimiskūna. ša'eb, ša'eb, ya'ni, miš iši... miš iši bašīṭ. ya'ni binxāf, ṭab'an binxāf.

I haven't heard of anything but if they want to catch us... Once they took us to the police in Atarot near Ramallah, they note down our names, take us there, sit us down for five or six hours maximum, all day! Eight hours, if they catch us. Difficult, difficult, I mean, not something... not easy. I mean we are scared, of course we are scared.

N: illik arb'a snīn bitrūḥi nafs iṭ-ṭarīk? u sitt tiyām fi-l-usbū'?

For four years you have been going the same way? Six days a week?

U.A.: aktar iši, sitt tiyām. mā binnām. ya'ni banameš tlāt arba' sē'āt. mā banām. 'a šuḡul barūḥ, barḡa', halla kunt 'am baḥuṭ il-ḡasīl barra. bitšuf bēti, 'indi awlād, illi bit'allamu. bidhum wakt, kullo hād. *At the most, six days. We don't sleep. I don't sleep three or four hours. I don't sleep. I go to work, come back, now I was hanging up the laundry. Mop the house, I have children who are studying. All this takes time.*

A.A.: u illi bi-l-jāmi'a...

And who are at university...

U.A.: u jōzi marīḍ. šuḡul mustašfa, jōzi.

And my husband is ill. My husband is just about good for the hospital, he is.

A.A.: u illi kān fī-s-siḡen.

And who were in prison.

U.A.: ktīr ša'eb 'alēna, lissa bidhum bēt...

It's hard on us, and on top of that they want a house...

N: lēš mā tōxdī tašrīḥ?

Why don't you get a permit?

U.A.: biddi! ma 'am baḥkīlhum humme illi baštaḡel ma'hum. šekilhum bixāfu ya'ni yinḥuṭṭū... iza šār iši...

I want to! I keep telling them, the people I work for. It seems they are afraid to put down... if

something happened...

N: ā, humme illi lāzem yuṭlubu taṣrīḥ.

Ah, it's them who have to apply for a permit.

A.A.: a. ṭab'an.

Yes. Of course.

U.A.: a, isra'īl mā biṭṣā'ed. ma' inno fiš 'indi muškile, ana. čikčak bišīr 'indi taṣrīḥ.

Yes, Israel isn't helpful. Even though I don't have a [security] problem, myself. Quick as a flash, I could get a permit.

A.A.: li'anno iḥna 'amalīyan ya'ni, in-nās...

Because in practice we... I mean, people...

U.A.: am biḥibbūni! mafatīḥ li-l-byūt ma'āy. ana laḥāli barūḥ, baštḡel u barawweḥ.

They love me! I have the keys to their homes. I go by myself, work and go home.

A.A.: a, ma fiš...

Yes, there is no...

N: wēn humme maṭalan hadōl illi btištiḡli 'indhum.

Where are they, for instance, these people you work for?

U.A.: am birūḥu 'a šuḡulhum, humme. hōne iši bi-talbyūt, bi-ramāt šat, 'ind il-kenyon. bti'rafi wēn il-kenyon.

They go to their own jobs. Some of them in Talpiot, some in Ramat Shat, near the shopping centre. You [fem.] know where the shopping centre is.

N: ya'ni fi-l-kuds, bi-l-mālḥa.

In Jerusalem you mean, in Malha.

U.A.: ā, bi-l-mālḥa, kul yōm anā hunāk. ya'ni ḥilu ḥilu il-ḥayā, u š-šuḡul u l-iši.

Yes, in Malha, every day I'm there. I mean life is really good, work and everything.

N: 'addēš bidfa'u, bidfa'u mnīḥ?

How much do they pay, do they pay well?

U.A.: ya'ni ḥasab kaddēš iš-šuḡul, il-wāḥad. by'aṭu bi-s-sē'a xamse u talatīn šēkel, ḥēk iši.

Well, it depends how much work there is for each. They give thirty-five shekels per hour, something

like that.

N: xamse u talatīn bi-s-sē'a? kam sē'a btištiḡli?

Thirty-five per hour? How many hours do you work?

U.A.: ya'ni, aktar iši xams sē'āt, sitt sē'āt. bas baṣrif il-maṣāri kamān, 'a ṭ-ṭarīk. 'a-l-bāṣāt. lēš? am binliff. willa min hōn ana kān ma'āya tasrīḥ hadīk il-yōm ṭala'ūli iyyā xams sitt tiyām bas, hēk bas aḥuṭṭillo 'a-li-kzāz, yalla, čikčak, rūḥi. u kulši xams dakāyik. ma'āya kartis xofši la-l-'ōtobus, isrā'īl. kul zman baži, ya'ni kul wakət bikūn ma'āy. u ya'ni am badxul. bas yōm binliff il-laffe, mōt. ṣa'eb 'alēna. *Well, at most five, six hours. But I spend the money too, on transport. The buses. Why? Because we have to go the long way. Otherwise, from here, the other day I had a permit, they got me one for five or six days only, I just had to show it through the window, quick as a flash, go on, go. The whole thing took five minutes. I have a season ticket for the bus, Israeli. Each time I come, I mean I always have it with me. And I get in. But when we have to go the long way around, it's deadly. It's hard on us.*

A.A.: salamāt.

Bye.

U.A.: mnurkuḍ, miš inno maši.

We run, it's not a walk.

N: bi-l-lēl... u ayy sē'a bitrawḥi?

At night... and what time do you get home?

U.A.: ā, la', iza min iṣ-ṣuḡul badabber ḥāli. waḥde waḥde u nuṣṣ tintēn bakūn mrawḥa.

Oh, no, for the way home I find a way. One o'clock, one thirty, two I'm home.

N: ma' as-salāme, furṣa ṣa'īda.

Good bye. It was nice meeting you. [to A.A.]

U.A.: wēn ya [A.A.]?

Where are you headed [A.A.]?

A.A.: biddi aṭla' fōk.

I want to go up.

U.A.: 'a d-dōḥa?

To Doha? [a neighbourhood near Dheisheh.]

A.A.: a.

Yes.

U.A.: [inaudible]...taṣārīḥ?

...permits?

A.A.: bukra baṭṭṣil fi-l-mustašfa. inšā'alla.

Tomorrow I'll phone the hospital. God willing.

N: inšā'alla. bi-t-tawfīq.

God willing. Good luck.

U.A.'s son: belefōn belefōn.

Mobile phone mobile phone.

N: fa šū in-nikayōn? hāda fi byūt šaxsīye?

And what is the cleaning? Is it in private houses?

U.A.: ā, fi byūt.

Yes, in houses.

N: humme bya'ṭūlik il-adawāt?

They give you the tools?

U.A.: humme mā bikūnu bi-l-bēt, ana banaḍḍef laḥāli u barūḥ.

They're not at home, I clean alone and then I leave.

N: fa šū illi btistaxdemi adawāt, ya'ni. adawāt tanḍīf.

And what tools do you use, I mean. Cleaning tools.

U.A.: 'indi il-hūvər, u ṭab'an il... li-sbonja fantāstik... kul, banaḍḍef li-kzāz, fi ḡaṣīl ana banšuro iza biddi, ya'ni minni ana, basawwīlhum li-frāše. miš kul in-nās zayy ba'aḍ. ana laḥāli, kīf banaḍḍef fi bēti, ta am bitšūfi kīf, ya'ni. lissa il-yōm ma am baš... kunna...

I have the Hoover, and of course the... the mop "fantastic"... everything, I clean the windows, if there's laundry I hang it up, of my own accord I mean, I make their beds. Not everyone's the same. It's up to me, the way I clean my house, you see how, don't you. Even though today I haven't... we were...

N: la, nḍīf, maša'alla.

No, it's clean, amazing.

U.A.: 'alašān mašḡūle ana.

Because I'm busy, I am.

N: a, ṭab'an.

Yes, of course.

U.A.: ...ḥaṭṭēti ṭdik fi-l-bēt əšway. hēk bēn il-bēt u bēn awlādi u bēn šuġli barra u-l-akl. bakūn ta'bāne, bas am baštaġel. ahamm iši.

...need to get around to cleaning the house a little. What with the house, the children, the job and preparing meals. I get tired, but I have a job. That's the most important.

N: u tilbisi... ya'ni...

And do you wear...? [motioning as if to put on gloves.]

U.A.: kfafōt? a.

Gloves? Yes.

N: šū kamān? lāzem tilbisi 'awā'i xusū...

And what else? Do you have to wear special clothes...

U.A.: la la la. blūza u baṇṭalōn ana bakūn lābis, walla iši.

No no no. A shirt and trousers is what I wear, that's it.

N: inti biṭṭibi ma'āki willa mawjūd 'indhum?

You bring it with you or they keep it?

U.A.: kul maḥal, fi illi. aktar iši il-blūze, iza biġaslū-li iyyā ḥarām ya'ni. šū, awlādhum awlādi, bimūtu 'aley. bāy [U.A.], ō, biḥibbūni! biḥkū-li miš inti bas 'am btištiġli 'indna, kul il-bēt ya'ni biḥibbūni.

At each place I have my stuff. Mostly the shirt, if they clean it for me that's too much. What can I say, their children are like my own, they love me. "Bye [U.A.]," oh, how they love me! They tell me "You're not just a person who works for us," the whole household loves me, you know.

N: bi'ezmūki ya'ni marrāt yōklu... tōkli ma'hum?

Do they invite you sometimes, like, they eat... to eat with them?

U.A.: ma humme, šūfi! bi-š-šuġul. am aktar il-wakət bakūn, bikūnu bi-š-šuġul. iza bikūnu bi-l-bēt biḥuṭṭūli ya'ni, mā... bēt, ya'ni. kul marra bitsawwīli kafē, neskafe, iši. ya'ni mufta'a. birūhu 'a š-šuġul, ana baxallis, basakker u barūḥ. la, bi'amlū-li, wala iši wala iši, mā fi muškile.

But, you see, they're at work! Most of the time I'm there they're at work. If they are at home they'll offer me, you know, like at home. Each time she makes me coffee, nescafe, something. Like a surprise. They go to work, I finish, lock up and go. No, they do things for me, not at all, not at all,

there's no problem.

N: kam zabā'in 'indik?

How many customers do you have?

U.A.: 'indi sitte, hēk išī.

I have six, something like that.

N: bidhum iyyāki marra fi-l-usbū' aw martēn bi-š-šahr?

They want you once a week or twice a month?

U.A.: fi... maṭalan kul usbu'ēn marra. 'irifti kīf? u fi sittāt 'am barūḥ 'indhum kul usbū'. il-xamīs 'indhum, il-itnēn maṭalan 'a hādi.

There are some... for instance once every two weeks. You understand? And there are some ladies I go to every week. On Thursdays these, on Mondays for instance that one.

N: ya'ni 'indik lōḥ, bti'rafi kul yōm?

So you have a calendar, you know for each day?

U.A.: ba'raf laḥāli. ba'd bukra ana fi ma'āle adumīm.

I know it by heart. Day after tomorrow I'm in Ma'aleh Adumim [settlement].

N: kīf btōṣali ma'āle adumīm?

How do you get to Ma'aleh Adumim?

U.A.: hīye btōxədni, min elḥana. il-yōm ana štaḡalt ilha, bukra ana 'ind waḥde bi ramāt šeret, yōm it-talāte 'ala bēt yam, btōxədni. a, biḥibbu.

She picks me up from Elhana. Today I worked for her, tomorrow I'm with one in Ramat Sheret, on Tuesday in Bat Yam, she picks me up. Yes they love me.

N: bit'āmalu mnīḥ ma'āki?

They are straight with you?

U.A.: wala waḥde btiḥkīli sawwi hēk sawwi hēk. mā biḥku.

Not one of them says "Do this, do that." They don't speak like that.

N: kīf biḥkūlik, law samaḥti ya'ni?

How do they speak, "Excuse me please", like?

U.A.: a, sliḥa ya'ni, [U.A.], sliḥa. maṭalan 'a telefōn aw išī. maṭalan hiye am btirfa' telefōn, ē, šalom

[U.A.], toda rava ya [U.A.], be'emet be'emet il-bēt naki naki, toda rava. ya'ni am bitrawweḥ maṭalan min iṣ-šugul tabā'ha u bitlāki bēt u btiḥki mavrik mavrik ya [U.A.], beemet!

Yes, "excuse me, [U.A.], excuse me." For instance on the phone or something. For instance she rings up, um, "Hello [U.A.], thank you very much [U.A.], really really the house is clean clean, thank you very much." For instance when she comes home from her job and finds her house and says "Sparkling sparkling [U.A.], really!"

N: ya'ni mabšūṭa min šuglik.
So she's happy with your work.

U.A.: [U.A.]. bithuṭṭ il-maṣāri 'a-ṭ-ṭawle, a, hēk barūḥ, banaḍḍef il-bēt u šalom šalom. mā fī muškile. [U.A.]. *She puts the money on the table, ok, I just go, clean the house and "Shalom shalom". No problem.*

N: humme mabšūṭin min šuglik.
They are happy with your work.

U.A.: zayyma ana banaḍḍef fi bēti, am bitšūfi, walla il-bēt mumkin mā kannasnā il-yōm. šū xaṣ ya'ni il-bēt yikūn əzḡir, bas ya'ni am iṣi yikūn il-wāḥad. lissa kamān šway kunna am bidna nuštuf.
Like I clean my own house, you see it, actually maybe we haven't swept the house today. It doesn't matter if the house is small, but it should have some standards. We still wanted to mop up in a while.

N: lamma bitkūni hunāk, btiṣtri ḡraḍ min 'indhum, il-yahūd? ašyā' btoxdī 'ala dārik?
When you're there, do you buy stuff from them, the Israelis? Things you bring home?

U.A.: la, ana iṣi hēk mā fī min hēk iṣi. ana aktar iṣi am baṣtri... mā baḥrim minhum iṣi. kabl ma awṣil il-bēt bajīb ilhum kulṣi. il-ḥalīb, il-jibne, il-kafe, ayy iṣi baḥibb yikūn 'indhum.
No, I don't do anything like that. Mostly I buy [inaudible]... I don't take anything from them. Before I get home I get everything for them [the family]. The milk, the cheese, the coffee, anything I like them to have.

N: btiṣtriha min jūwa?
You buy it from inside [Israel]?

U.A.: la wallāhi ṣa'eb inni aḥmil. aḥki inno ṣa'eb ṣa'eb. lēš, kamān mā 'indīš taṣriḥ mā baḥibb allif hōne. ma' inno biḥkūš ma'i, mā biftikrunīš inni 'arabīye.
No actually it's hard for me to carry. I'd say it's really hard. Why, also because I don't have a permit I don't like to hang about there. Even though they don't stop me, they don't think I'm an Arab.

N: ā!

Really!

U.A.: 'a-ṭ-ṭarīk bakūn lābse hād, mā bibayyin inno... li'anni mā bakūn ḥāmil hawīye, walla iši. 'ala alla.
I wear this [scarf tied to the back] on the way, it doesn't show that... Because I don't carry my ID card with me. I try my luck.

N: 'ašān mā...

Because they don't...

U.A.: ma' inno baḥkīlhum yisā'du yisā'du. mā biruddu.

Even though I tell them to help. They don't answer.

N: fa lamma tirja'i min iṣ-ṣuḡul, bitliffi kamān willa btōxdi il-bāṣ?

And when you come back from work, do you go the long way around or do you take the bus?

U.A.: la, 'am bīji min bēt jāla, bti'rifi 'a-dīsīyō. bas əktīr... ya'ni hadīk il-yōm nazzalūni, ḥakūli wēn il-hawīya? dāru dāru u iltahu bi-n-nās, u rəḡe't 'a gīlo.

No, it comes from Beit Jala, you know the D.C.O. [the Israeli District Commanding Office]. But often... like the other day they took me off the bus, they said "Where's the ID card?" They turned around and were busy with the other people, and I went back to Gilo [settlement].

N: la!

No!

U.A.: hribət, xofət. bas humme kamān, ... taṣrīḥ in-šā'-alla.

I ran away, I was afraid. But they too [inaudible] permit, god willing.

N: bas lāzem il-ma'allim...

But the boss has to...

U.A.: mā baḥkīlhum kulhum lāzem am yisā'dūni. biḥkūli "ya [U. A.] kīf?" lāzem, mā ba'raf, lāzem 'an ṭarīk maktab, 'an ṭarīk... humma šekilhum xāyfin... ḥakētilhum 'ašān il-māṣāri ana am baṣā'ed, badfa', bas sawwūli. biddi aṣīr aṭla' min il-bēt miš xāyfa, am aḥiss ḥāli inni lābse iši yikūn mrattab, miš min li-jbāl ihna ḥāmlīn bōt əsbōrt aw iši. ṣa'eb amši hēk ana, 'ala-l-mōda, a. jabal am mnimši, jbāl. ktīr injarahna u mnōka'.

But I tell them they must help me. They say "how, [U.A.]?" It has to be, I don't know, through an office, through a... It seems they are afraid. I told them if it's about the money then I'll help, I'll pay, but do it for me. I want to leave the house without being afraid, I want to feel that I'm wearing something decent, not carrying trainers from the mountains or something. It's hard for me to walk around like

this, with no style. We walk through mountains, proper mountains. Often we get injured and fall.

N: btīzi il-jēš marrāt u bitxasim iṭ-ṭarīk?

Does the army sometimes come and block the way?

U.A.: a, a. masakūna marra, jannanūna, jannanūna. tlāt arba' sē'āt u ka'edēt 'a ṭ-ṭawle, u šāru yis'alu fina, u kultilhum ēš ana baḥki, hāy il-... rakam il-hawīya, u ēš ana bastaw'ib ya'ni? bidna nīš, bidna ništḡel ya'ni. am bye'rafu inna ništaḡel, bye'rafu.

Yes, yes. They caught us once, they drove us crazy. Three or four hours I sat at the table and they were interrogating us. I said to them, "What can I say, here's my ID card number, what can I answer? We want to live, we want to work, don't we." They know we are working, they know.

N: 'a ēš btuṣrufi aktar iši maṣārī?

What do you spend most money on?

U.A.: 'ala ēš? awlādi illi birūḥu 'a-l-jāmi'a. 'a-l-madrassa, il-akl.

What on? My children who are at university. The schools. The food.

N: aktar iši il-jāmi'a?

Mostly the university?

U.A.: ā, ṭab'an, il-madāris. walla yōm yōm. hādi marrāt btōxəd drūs **sbešal**, lēš, miš šāṭra! lāzem adīr bāli 'alēha. kamān il-awlād illi fi jāmi'a, bakul ahamm iši. lāzem! immi 'allamatni, alla yirḥamha ya'ni. t'awwadna 'ala-l-iši il-xēr. bas, hēk.

*Yes, of course, the schools. Really, every day. This one sometimes has to take **special** classes, why? [Hugging a child.] Because she isn't clever! I have to take care of her. And the children who are at university, I say, that's the most important. I must. My mother taught me, may she rest in peace I mean. We got used to a certain standard. But, this is it.*

N: āsfe, lāzem as'al, 'addēš 'umrik?

I'm sorry, I have to ask how old you are.

U.A.: la la, lēš axabbī? talāt u arba'in sane.

No, no, why should I hide it? Forty-three.

N: miš embayin 'alēki abadan.

It doesn't show at all.

U.A.: 'am bya'rafu inna bidna nīš! binḥibb nīš. ana baḥkīlhum, ḥarām 'alēku illi bitsawwu fina hēk, iḥna bidna nīš, bidna nrabbi awlādna. ana bakūn mabsūṭa yōm barūḥ baštḡel, bi-ḥiyātik yā nānsi, u

barja' u bibaya iši u awlādi yikūn mabšūṭa. ana mā biddi...

They know we want to live. We love life. I tell them, shame on you who do this to us, we want to live, we want to raise our children. I'm happy when I go to work, I swear on your life Nancy, and I come home and my children are happy. I don't want...

N: kul-il-imahāt hēk...

All mothers are like that...

U.A.: lēš ana bi-isra'īl bat'āmal ma' awlādhum ka'inno awlādi, hēk hēk biḥuḍnūni. kulhum bi-l-aḥḍān biṣu, miš inno bitfakkri, ē, hāy [U. A.], [U. A.] šti kafe, šti iši, tōxli kēk, ya'ni bētik, hāy li-mekarēr, a, kul iši taḥt īdi. ana mā bihimmi illa yikūnu mabšūṭin, biṣu bilāku il-bēt kulši nḍif ʿnḍif, yikūnu mabšūṭin, hēk ana mā bas'al, barūḥ 'a-l-bēt, buker tō buker tō, balāki neskafe biḥuṭṭūli iyyā, am babdā aštḡel. kulhum bikūnu mabšūṭin minni. ya'ni ṭab'an hāḍa šuḡul, u baḥkīlhum... u ana kamān baškurilhum, baḥkīlhum šukran innku fawatūni, ya'ni bētku! maḥbūt willa la? ana mā 'indīš 'alēhum. am bi'amnūni inni adxul il-bēt! ṣaḥ willa la?

Why do I relate to their children like to my own when I'm in Israel, so they embrace me. They come with hugs, not how you think, erm "Hi [U.A.], have some coffee [U.A.], drink something, will you eat some cake, make yourself at home, here's the fridge," yes, everything's available to me. I only care that they're happy, that they come and find their house really clean, that they're happy, I don't ask questions, I come to the house, "good morning, good morning", I find the nescafe they put out for me, and I start working. They're all happy with me. I mean, of course it's a job, and I tell them... And I also thank them, tell them "thank you for letting me in, I mean, it's your home!" Am I right? I don't hold anything against them. They trust me to enter the house. Isn't it true?

N: ṣaḥ. biṭiqu fiki.

True. They trust you.

U.A.: ā, ṭab'an. baḥkīlhum šukran šukran ya'ni. u lāzem... bi-kul il-iḥtirām bat'āmal ma'hum. baḥkīlhum kul akavod, ya'ni. toda rava u iši, am yikūnu mabšūṭin. ya'ni banāthum bijjāmi'āt, am biḥkūli, ya'ni šū il-mašākil illi 'indhum. ṣadkīni kul bēt illi baštḡel fī mā basma' illa mašākilhum. biḥkūli.

Yes of course. I say to them "Thank you, thank you", you know. And one must... I have respect for them. I tell them "You have my respect", you know. "Thank you very much" and everything. So they are happy. Their daughters gather around, and they tell me, you know, what their problems are. Believe me, every home I work in I only hear of the troubles they have. They tell me.

N: šū mašākilhum maṭalan.

What are their problems for instance.

I.X.: [laughs]

U.A.: ya'ni, fi 'indhum, la'. muškilāthum, hādi ḥābba, bidha tuxṭub, hūwe miš mnāḥ, kalb, il-imm btiḥkīli yā [U.A.], ana mā batmanna inno yikūn, e, 'arīs binti hēk. ana 'am baḥkīlha hādi fi bēt laḥem btōxəd duktōr, brofsōr! min kutor banāthum mu'adabbīn jiddan, ya'ni fi isra'īl ana ktīr əktīr am bašūf, miš inno am basma', ya'ni iš-ša'b mā lēš, ana bašūf u 'āyiš bēnhum yōm yōm! ana mā bašūf ahli kad mā bašūf... ta'wadət 'alēhum. ktīr fi mnāḥ, la, ḥarām ya'ni. kamān fi jēš minhum awlād nās mu'addabīn. bas ya 'ammi biḥkūlak, hādi wazīfetna. hēk iḥna.

Well, they do have some, they do. Their problems, she's in love, wants to get engaged, he's no good, a scoundrel, the mother tells me "[U.A.], I don't wish my daughter to have a husband like this." I tell her in Bethlehem this girl would marry a doctor, a professor! Because their daughters are so well brought up, you know I see lots and lots in Israel, it's not just hearsay, nevermind the people, I see for myself and I live with them every day! I don't see my family as much as I see... I got used to them. There are many good people, it's a pity. Even some of the soldiers are the children of good people. They just tell you, "What can we do, this is our job. This is how we are."

N: fi iši sīyāsī, iši?

Is there anything political at all?

U.A.: bas miš lāzem yidḡatu 'alēna ha-l-kadde, ktīr sakkaru 'alēna, miš lāzem. ṣa'eb.

But they shouldn't put so much pressure on us, they closed us in too much, they shouldn't. It's hard.

I.X.: iš-ša'b ḡēr il-ḥukūme, fi ayy dawle.

The people are different from the government, in every country.

U.A.: a, iš-ša'ab biḥkīlik, ana... miš ḡambi ana, miš ḡambi inno hēk am biṣīr. biḥkūli yā [U.A.] iḥna kamān bidna n'īš, iḥna minḥibbik, iḥna minxāf 'alēki. ya'ni fi hēk u fi hēk, nās. kul illi ana mā'hum ktīr mnāḥ ya'ni.

Yes, the people will tell you, "I... it's not my fault, it's not my fault that this is happening." They tell me "[U.A.] we also want to live, we love you, we worry about you." Some are good and some aren't, people. All the ones I am with are very good.

N: kabl arba' snīn, kabl mā ṣurti tištiḡli, mīn kān yijīb ir-rāṭib, min ēš kuntu t'īšu?

Four years ago, before you were working, who earned a wage, what did you live from?

U.A.: ya'ni hūwe jōzi am biṣā'ed, u ana am baṣā'ed bas miš minkaffi, inti šāyfe iḥna wadi'na, bētna.
Well my husband contributes, and I contribute, but it's not enough, you can see our situation, our house.

N: bas il-ḥadīqa ḥilwe...

The garden is beautiful.

U.A.: lissa, 'am bidna nżabbiḥa.
Not enough, we want to improve it still.

I.X.: k̄anat aḥla min halla.
It used to be more beautiful than now.

U.A.: yē, ana kunt dayman 'aini 'alēha, biddi aḥabbiḥa. k̄an 'indi bēt ḥilu ḥilu, kabl. bas ana intahēt, u jōzi mirēḍ.
Oh, I was always taking care of it, wanting to improve it. I had a really beautiful house before. But I got tired, and my husband fell ill.

N: salāmtu.
May his health return.

U.A.: alla yisallimha. ēš biddi aḥkīlha kamān.
God give her health. What else do I want to tell her. [Referring to N.]

N: fa kīf... kīf lakēti šuḡul awwal marra ṭle'ti u dawarti 'ala šuḡul?
And how... how did you find a job the first time you went out and looked for work?

U.A.: am k̄anat wallāhi ṣaḥibti, mā kunt ana 'ārif. mā kunt aḥki Ṭbrānī. t'allamt šweyy iṣwey u dabbart ḥāli, 'irifti? la, il-'ibrāni ashal min il-inglīzi. bansa il-iṣi bi-l-inglīzi. t'allamet bas il-'ibrāni lṣāni aktar byōxəd.
It was a friend of mine, really, I didn't know anything. I didn't speak Hebrew. I learnt little by little and coped, you know? No, Hebrew is easier than English. I forget the things in English. I studied it but Hebrew comes more easily on the tongue.

N: inti darasti il-inglīzi u hēk?
You studied English and all that?

U.A.: k̄an 'alēy sane ḍāyil la-tawjīhi. bas tjawwazt əzḡire ya nānsi, 'ašān hēk. yalla, nxallī awlādna yit'allamu.
I had one year left to finish secondary school. But I married young, Nancy, that's why. Anyway, we'll let our children study.

N: fa miš rāḥ tjawwzi banātik u humme...
So you're not going to marry off your daughters when they are...

U.A.: la, lāzem yit'allamu. 'indi kamān waḥde, m'alme. tjawwazat. m'almet **sbōrt**. jābat binet, hāy ilha šaḥər. wēn iṣ-ṣuwar, biddi afarjīlha. ṣuwar yaēl u... sāra. bya'ṭūli ṣuwar u banāthum əzḡār. a, humme

ktīr mnāḥ, iṣi. ḥayā, ya'ni, hume beni ādmīn, kulna beni ādmīn. bas lāzem yikūn iṣi aḥsan yisawwu la-n-nās.

*No, they have to study. I have another one [a customer], a teacher. She got married. **Sports** teacher. She gave birth to a girl, just a month ago. Where are the photos, I want to show her. The photos of Yael and Sarah. They give me photos of when their daughters were little. They are good people, really. It's life, you know, they are human beings, we are all human beings. But there should be something better done for the people.*

N: kānat ṣaḥbitik axdatik awwal marra lamma dawwarti 'ala šuḡul?
Did your friend take you the first time when you were looking for work?

U.A.: a a, ṣaḥīḥ, hīye 'am btištaḡel min əsnīn.
Yes, that's right, she's been working for years.

N: min il-muxayyam?
From the camp?

U.A.: la, min bēt laḥem. mā kunt ana 'ārīf, ya'ni. ṣārat, axdatni šwayy iṣway u ana t'allamət. šurt arūḥ la-ḥālī, 'ind in-nās.
No, from Bethlehem. I didn't know anything, you know. I gradually learnt, she took me and slowly. I started to go on my own, to the people.

N: fa fi ktīr min il-muxayyam illi birūḥu?
Are there many people from the camp who go?

U.A.: min il-muxayyam, min bēt laḥem...
From the camp, from Bethlehem...

N: sittāt?
Women?

I.X.: lissa qabl it-taskīr kān aktar yā nānsi, dāxil israīl, bas ma' it-taskīr, yin'atallu. ya'ni fi mu'anā.
Before the closure there was even more, Nancy, inside Israel. But what with the closure, they lost their jobs. It means there is suffering.

U.A.: li'anno fiš ṭarīk, fiš ṭarīk.
Because there's no road, no way.

I.X.: hīye btiṭla' is-sē'a tintēn bi-l-lēl ya'ni.
She actually leaves at two in the morning.

U.A.: ana mā banām! mā am banām. ɗahri maksūr. mā fī. hayni biddi aštɣel bi-d-dār ya'ni.
I don't sleep! No sleep. My back is broken. There is nothing. Now I want to do housework.

N: tidfa'i bi-ṣiḥtik!
You're paying with your health!

U.A.: ktīr ana ta'bāne. mā ṭhasbi, ya'ni.
I am very tired. You can't imagine.

N: illi birūḥu ma'āki sē'a tintēn, min il-muxayyam?
Those who leave with you at two, are they from the camp?

U.A.: a, il-jīrān, u ṣāḥbātī, u is-sayyāra am bitlimm u mninzil 'a-š-šāri'.
Yes, the neighbours and my friends. The car collects us and we get off on the main road.

N: u fī... kulhum bištiḡlu nikayōn kamān?
And is there... do they all work in cleaning?

U.A.: [Calling to her son while a child is crying loudly] šū sawwētlo? xalaṣ yammā, xalaṣ.
What did you do to him? Enough, my dear, that's enough.

U.A.'s son: xalaṣ, uskut.
Enough, be quiet.

U.A.: rūḥ iṭḥammam, yalla minnām. a'ṭini il-'awāṭ aḥuttha bi-l-ḡaṣīl.
Go have a wash, we're going to bed. Give me your clothes to put in the wash.

U.A.'s son: uskut!
Be quiet!

U.A.: [Reprimanding her son] wēn ɗarabak, wēn? kul šokolāṭa yammā.
Where did he hit you, where? Have some chocolate, my dear.

N: [admires some handiwork I.X. has been crocheting] māša'alla, yislamu idēki.
Wow, well done.

I.X.: u idēki.
Thank you.

U.A.: ze yafe.

It's beautiful.

I.X.: hīye btifhameš 'ibrānī.

She doesn't understand Hebrew.

N: ba'adēn baṭṭṣil fīki u bas'alik šū il-ma'nā li-l-kalimāt...

[Jokingly] *Afterwards I'll phone you and ask you for the meaning of the words.*

I.X.: u ana ba'rafeš!

[Laughing] *And I won't know!*

U.A.: yafe. at yafa. ḥilwe, ya'ni.

Beautiful. You're beautiful. It means beautiful.

N: fa fī zabūne aḥsan min zabūne?

Are some customers better than others?

U.A.: min illi am baštaḡel ma'hum?

Of the ones I work for?

N: ili btidfa' aktar, aw...

Who pays more, or...

I.X.: biddik tsajli kamān liqā'āt, tšūfi ḥada tāni?

Do you want to record more interviews, see someone else?

N: la, halla mit'axxer, xalaš.

No, it's getting late now, enough.

U.A.: la, humme ya'ni taqrīban nafsi-l-iši. ana mā batmanna ktīr, batmanna inni bakūn mabšūṭa fi šugli. 'irifti? ya'ni bal hāḍa 'āšra šēkel, 'ašrīn šēkel, il-muhimm ana akūn mabšūṭa fi-l-bēt. ya'ni ruḥet alāki nās əzdād kabl šahrēn, ya'ni awal marra ruḥt 'alēhum, 'an ṭarīk waḥde am baštḡel 'indha, min awwal yōm yā nānsi, kān il-mašārī 'a-t-tawle u-l-muftāḥ, awwal yōm badxul il-bēt.

No, they're more or less the same. I don't wish for much, I just wish to be happy with my job. You know? I mean, nevermind ten shekels here, twenty shekels there, as long as I am happy with my home. Well I went to meet new people two months ago, I mean it was the first time I went to them, through someone else I work for, from the first day, Nancy, the money was on the table and the key, the first day I entered the house.

N: šārat 'indik šum'a, innhum kulhum bya'rafu innik mnīḥa. u biḥku la-ba'aḍ

You have a reputation, that everyone knows that you are good. And they tell each other.

U.A.: ā, ṭab'an, šār... [U.A.] bitnaḍḍef il-bēt. mīn? a, [U.A.]. hēk 'am biḥku. šū balāki, bikūn id-dahab 'indhum, miš munaḍ..., walla iši. il-muhimm akūn mabṣūṭa ana, inni aštḡel šuḡul u arawweḥ la-awlādi. hāḍa ili bikūn bi-rāsi. il-ḥamdu li-lla, baḥki hēk.

Yes, of course I have... "[U.A.] cleans the house. Who? Yes, [U.A.]." That's how they talk. What do I find, the gold is there, not cleared..., nothing. The most important is for me to be happy, that I am doing a proper job and I come home to my children. That's what I think about. Thank god, I say.

I.X.: il-hadaḍ, nānsi, la-l-kul...

The aim, Nancy, of every...

U.A.: il-ḥamdulilla, nīš, ana barawweḥ baštri xubēz la-l-awlād. inti 'ārfe šū? bakūl, il-ḥamdu li-llā. bakūl dāiman, il-ḥamdu li-lla. innak tiṭ'am awlādak bi-iši amāni! miš bi-iši.

Thank god, we make a living, I go home and buy bread for the children. You know that? I say, thank god. I always say, thank god. That you can feed your children something proper. Not just anything.

N: šukran iktīr 'ala-l-ma'lūmāt, stafadēt, t'allamēt minnik.

Thank you very much for the information, I benefitted, I learnt from you.

U.A.: il-'afu. ya'ni il-wāḥad hēk biḥki, id-dinya fiḥa iši, ya'ni mā mnikdar niḥki il-'arab u-l-yahūd, u ana ktīr əktīr 'ašān baṭš bēnhum, batmanna, batmanna min alla, 'ašān humme biṭṭsu ma'āna, ktīr biḥku ya rab ya rab yiṣīr iši mnīḥ. u ana baḥki in šā' alla biṣīr iši mnīḥ. li'anno ḥarām ḥarām 'an jad ḥarām hēk. ṣa'eb 'alēna u 'alēhum, am bidhum. ṣadkīni yā nānsi, am bidhum. 'a fikra, biḥibbūna aktar min il-... illi bīžu filibīn, u-l-... il-ityūbiyīn, u-l-... mīn kamān bīži...

You're welcome. One speaks like this, the world has something to it, I mean we can't say the Arabs and the Jews, I really really wish, because I live with them, I wish from god, because they live with us, they often say "Oh god oh god let something good happen." And I say "god willing something good will happen." Because it's a pity and a shame, really, a shame the way it is. It's hard for us and for them, they want it. Believe me, Nancy, they want it. By the way, they love us more than the... the ones who come, from the Philippines, and Ethiopia, and who else comes...

U.A.'s son: ir-rūs.

The Russians.

U.A.: ir-rūs. am biḥibbūna aktar.

The Russians. They love us more.

N: lēš?

Why?

U.A.: am biḥibbūna. awlādhum biḥibbūna aktar. mā ba'raf lēš.

They love us. Their children love us more. I don't know why.

N: 'ašān il-luḡa?

Because of the language?

U.A.: la la la, miš 'ašān il-luḡa.

No no no, not because of the language.

I.X.: ...iš-šugul.

...the work.

U.A.: wala iš-šugul. kif bat'āmal ma'hum? ka-umm. ana bi-l-bēt bat'āmal ma'hum ka-umm. bi-ṭd il-valentāyn, yā nānsi, šū sawwēt ana?

Nor the work. How do I relate to them? As a mother. In the house I relate to them as a mother. On Valentine's Day, what did I do?

U.A.'s daughter: byuḍrub fī.

He's hitting him. [child howling]

U.A.: il-bēt il... baḥkīlik bi-ṭd il-valentāyn šū sawwēt ana? ana fi jnēne barra, bakatilhum la kul wāḥad warda, bawwaset li-l-banāt li-zḡīre, ṭab'an il-awlād, a'ṭethum il-ward, ṣaddki la-l-yōm maḥṭūṭāt 'indhum. kānu mabṣūṭīn! mahu mā fi 'ind il-isrāīlīn valentayn. ḥakētilhum ya'ni mazal tōf, ya'ni in šā' alla šanš xēr. ana bat'āmal ma'hum miš bas inni barūḥ anaḍfi l-bēt, am biḥissu inni am bāzi 'a-l-bēt, xalaṣ. balāki 'a-ṭṭawle mītēn šēkel, matana, bi-l-ṭd.

The house... [calling U.A.'s son] I'm telling you on Valentine's Day, what did I do? In the garden here outside, I picked a flower for each one of them. I kissed the little girls, the children of course, and gave them the flowers. Believe me, they are still displayed at their place. They were happy! Even though Israelis don't celebrate Valentine's. I said "mazal tov", meaning good luck, god willing. I relate to them not only in the sense that I go clean the house, but also that they feel, that I come to their home, that's it. Then I find two hundred shekels on the table, as a present, for the holiday.

N: a?

Yes?

U.A.: a, fi minhum bi'ayyidu, fa fi minhum la.

Yes, some of them give presents for the holidays and some of them don't.

N: il-ṭd ilhum, a?

For their holiday, right?

U.A.: kân il-bēsah.

It was Passover.

N: halla ya'ni, kabl šway.

So it was now, not long ago.

U.A.: il-xamīs, a. miš kulhum am bi'ayyidūni, la. ya'ni zayy il... illi biḥibb bi'ayyid. illi mā biḥibb, ma... baḥki bihimmeš. udxul. lēš tuḍrub fī?

On Thursday. Not all of them give me a present, no. It's like the... Whoever likes to do so gives, whoever doesn't, doesn't. I say it doesn't matter. [to the crying child] Go inside. [to her son] Why are you hitting him?

U.A.'s son: lā ilāha illa l-lā, xalaš.

Goodness gracious, enough.

U.A.: šū sawwa? yā sitti in šā' alla yiṣīr iši mnīḥ. baḥṭik la-l-jāmi'a?

What did he do? Oh well, god willing something good will happen. Your research is for university?

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