CODESWITCHING AS AN INDEX AND CONSTRUCT OF SOCIOPOLITICAL IDENTITY: THE CASE OF THE DRUZE, CHRISTIANS AND MUSLIMS IN ISRAEL

Thesis by Publication

4 Journal Articles

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Dedicated to my son Rolan-my love, my life, my everything…and to the loving memory of my parents Kheir & Anissa who have gone too soon…

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THESIS DECLARATION

I certify that this work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in my name, in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text. In addition, I certify that no part of this work will, in the future, be used in a submission in my name, for any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution without the prior approval of the University of Adelaide and where applicable, any partner institution responsible for the joint-award of this degree.

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Afifa Eve Kheir Ferro

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PUBLICATIONS

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Codeswitching as an Index and Construct of Sociopolitical Identity: The Case of the Druze, Christians and Muslims in Israel

Abstract

Research into codeswitching, generally defined as alternating between two (or more) different languages in the same conversation, has been flourishing over the last few decades. Yet, especially in the field of social, political and collective identity, much is still open for investigation. Although codeswitching research has benefited from the development of models and theories, there is a certain gap in the scholarly literature when it comes to a model that further illustrates the link between codeswitching and sociopolitical identity. Moreover, research into Palestinian Arabic[1] and the dominance of Israeli Hebrew[2] in Israel and its effect on the Arab and Druze sectors and their language is still in its infancy. Consequently, the present thesis by publication has developed a new model of codeswitching and sociopolitical identity, while examining the various aspects of codeswitching behaviour among the Israeli Arab Muslim, Christian and Druze sectors. The findings show clear different codeswitching behaviours across the different sectors, and that such variance has a link to sociopolitical identity, which subsequently has brought about the introduction of the new model.

The present thesis by publication consists of four articles. The first has been published, the second has been revised for publication and the third and fourth have been submitted for publication and are currently being considered. In the first article, I have examined the language of the Druze community in Israel as going through the process of convergence and a composite Matrix Language formation, resulting in a mixed or split

[1] Palestinian Arabic, Palestinian Vernacular Arabic and Arabic will be used interchangeably to refer to the same variety.
[2] Israeli Hebrew, Israeli and Hebrew will be used interchangeably to refer to the same variety.

language, based on Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Turnover Hypothesis (2002). Longitudinal data of Palestinian Arabic/Israeli Hebrew codeswitching from the Israeli Druze community, collected in 2000 and 2017, indicate that there is a composite Matrix Language formation resulting in a mixed language. The second article presents the new mixed language and its special features upon application of Auer (1999) and Myers-Scotton's (2003) theoretical models pertaining to mixed languages arising out of codeswitching. The third article examines the relationship between codeswitching and sociopolitical identity, while testing the various aspects of codeswitching among the Israeli Arab Muslim, Christian and Druze sectors. Drawing insights from intersubjective contact linguistics and indexicality, the paper attempts to offer a model that would facilitate the analyses of codeswitching as an index and construct of sociopolitical identity. Finally, the fourth article examines and compares language and identity among the Druze of the Golan Heights, who were moved from Syrian to Israeli control following the Six-Day War in 1967, and the Israeli Druze. In light of the notion of the interrelatedness of language, social-political situations and identity; this article examines the relationship between codeswitching, mixed varieties of language, sociopolitical situations related to the case study and identity, reporting on a comparative study of the Druze in the Golan Heights and the Druze in Israel. After the application of various theories and concepts from intersubjective contact linguistics, the paper shows how 'sandwiched' communities create new quasi-national identities and language varieties.

1. Project Details

1.1-Introductory Background

It is often the case that whenever two or more languages come into contact, several linguistic outcomes occur. These outcomes may vary from the simple borrowing of lexical items, often defined as *loanwords*, to the extreme point of creating a new dialect or language. One phenomenon that lies in between the extremes is that of alternating between the languages that come in contact, within the same utterance. In linguistics, such a phenomenon is usually referred to as *codeswitching.*

Research into codeswitching has prospered over the last few decades and led linguists in the field of contact linguistics to the commonly accepted approach that bilingualism and multilingualism involve the speakers' tendency to use different linguistic varieties within the same conversation or talk-in-interaction. In other words, bilingual and multilingual speakers tend to switch from one language to another while conversing.

Different approaches for classifying codeswitching have been presented over the last few decades: one such approach is that which attempts to link codeswitching to questions of social identity. Obviously, if one considers native-like competence in different languages, then the choice of actually conveying a message in one language rather than the other is of utmost importance. The present dissertation will therefore focus on one of the codeswitching approaches; namely, codeswitching as an index and construct of identity. More specifically, it introduces a model that facilitates analyses of codeswitching as an index and construct of sociopolitical identity (Kheir, 2020a). Since there has been no thorough research that examines codeswitching and sociopolitical identity among the three sectors within the Arabic speaking population in Israel, the present thesis by publication investigates Palestinian Arabic/Israeli Hebrew codeswitching and identity in the Israeli Arab Muslim, Christian and Druze sectors,

using both quantitative and qualitative methods. While much attention has been given in research to codeswitching, very few investigations of the Arab and Druze sectors in Israel have been carried out, and research into codeswitching and sociopolitical identity has been relatively limited; therefore, it is my hope that this dissertation will contribute to this growing body of research by specifically broadening the scope of previous studies to include four sectors within the Arabic speaking population in Israel[3]: Muslims, Christians and Druze - both the Druze of the Golan Heights and the Israeli Druze. Additionally, this dissertation will introduce a new mixed (split) language and therefore offers a contribution to the sociolinguistics of such languages. Furthermore, to fill the gap in the scholarly literature, it will introduce a new model that will link codeswitching to sociopolitical identity.

The following sections provide a literature review for the suggested study. To demonstrate why the current research focuses on codeswitching and identity, the introductory background begins by presenting the different definitions of codeswitching. It moves on to differentiate between the two different types of codeswitching, as well as their theories and models. The literature review section is then concluded by focusing specifically on various issues related to Israeli Hebrew and Palestinian Vernacular Arabic (PVA), thereby providing an overview of the Arabs and Druze in Israel and presenting the relationship between language and identity.

Section 1.1.1 reviews several approaches to the definition of codeswitching in general. Section 1.1.2 discusses the various types of codeswitching, as well as theories and models, respectively. To demonstrate the relationship between Israeli Hebrew and Palestinian Arabic, Section 1.1.3 presents a general background of both languages, as well as their status in Israel and the connection to the Israeli nation-state law. More specific reference to the native Arabic

[3] By Arabic speaking population/Arabic speaking communities, I refer only to the Muslims, Christians and Druze in Israel and the Golan Heights and not to the Jews of Arab descent.

speakers in Israel is made in Section 1.1.4. Finally, to demonstrate the relationship between language, codeswitching and identity, Section 1.1.5 presents the general connection between them. Section 1.2 starts by stating the specific research questions underlying the aims and objectives of the research. Sections 2, 3, 4 and 5 present the four research articles, respectively, each prefaced by a 'statement of authorship' that clearly identifies the publication status of each paper. Section 6 briefly summarizes the significance of the suggested research to the fields of contact and sociolinguistics. The dissertation is then concluded with the future directions of the research.

1.1.1. Codeswitching

Codeswitching has been defined by many linguists; however, not all linguists use the term in an identical manner, nor are they consistent with the realm covered by terms such as code-mixing, borrowing, codeswitching, code-changing or code-alternation (Pfaff, 1979). Therefore, different classifications and corresponding terminologies have been developed and used in an attempt to define what 'codeswitching' really is. The term code in itself is a relatively neutral conceptualization of a linguistic variety, which can be linked to either a language, dialect, variety or style within a language (Boztepe, 2003). According to Einar Haugen, who was among the first language researchers to develop the concept of codeswitching, "code-switching occurs when a bilingual introduces a completely unassimilated word from another language into his speech" (1956: 40). In her pioneering work on codeswitching, Poplack (1980: 583) defines it as "the alternation of two languages within a single discourse, sentence or constituent," whereas Gumperz (1982: 59) broadens the scope of switching to include linguistic varieties, by emphasizing that codeswitching is linked to "the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to

two different grammatical systems or subsystems". A more recent general definition of codeswitching has been provided by Milroy and Muysken (1995: 7), who define it as "the alternative use by bilinguals of two or more languages in the same conversation". A further general definition is provided by Li, who defines bilingual codeswitching as "the alternation of languages in the same interactional episode" (2005: 275). Following such general definitions, it is widely accepted by scholars of codeswitching that the practice involves the alternating use of two or more languages in a single conversation. However, there is much debate regarding which type of language use and its authentic extent can actually be referred to as codeswitching. In this light, Poplack modifies her previous definition of codeswitching and redefines it as follows: "Code-switching is the juxtaposition of sentences or sentence fragments, each of which is internally consistent with the morphological and syntactic (and optionally, phonological) rules of the language of its provenance. Codeswitching may occur at various levels of linguistic structure (e.g. *sentential, intrasentential, tag*) and it may be *flagged* or *smooth*" (Poplack, 1993: 255-256). Myers-Scotton provides a further specific definition for codeswitching in one of the models that she presents, the Matrix Language Frame Model, where she defines codeswitching as "the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded variety (or varieties) in utterances of a matrix variety during the same conversation" (1997:3). The matrix language, which is referred to as the base language by scholars such as Poplack and her associates (Poplack et al, 1989; Poplack, 1980), is a representation of the main language in codeswitching production; whereas the embedded language plays the role of the other language participating in codeswitching, though less dominantly so. The matrix language sets the morphosyntactic frame of sentences showing codeswitching. That is, it marks out the order of the morphemes and provides the syntactically relevant morphemes, mainly the system morphemes that have grammatical relationships external to their head constituent, in constituents containing

morphemes from both languages; the matrix language as well as the embedded language (Myers-Scotton, 1997). Inspired by Myers-Scotton's definition, Kosta (2015: 116), who asserts that it is useless to start with attempts to define codeswitching as there are as many, or even more, definitions as theories, defines it as "the *use of lexical elements* of a *donating language* (DL) in the grammar of another *receiving language* (RL), accompanied either by the adaptation of the lexical material of the DL onto the morphological and syntactic elements of the RL, or by the exchange of lexical resources, including an exchange at the phonetic and prosodic levels".

As far as the codeswitching structure is concerned, it is accepted that it may be either inter-sentential or intra-sentential. Inter-sentential codeswitching is about alternating languages between sentences, that is, producing a whole clause in one language prior to switching to the other. Intra-sentential switches, which some researchers refer to as code-mixing, occur within the same sentence or clause, with the clause containing elements of the two languages (Myers-Scotton, 1997). The patterns of intra-sentential codeswitching are often different from one another, since there are several distinct processes at work: insertion of material from one language into a structure of another; alternation between structures of the languages; and congruent lexicalization of elements from different lexical inventories into a shared grammatical structure (Muysken, 2000). In the case of word-internally codeswitching, some scholars argue that it is not possible, while others argue against this restriction (Auer & Eastman, 2010), and several researchers, even as early on as Bentahila and Davies (1983), have provided empirical evidence showing that codeswitching is possible at the word level, and even at the level of phonetics (Kosta, 2015). Some authors use the term 'switching' to account for language alternation between sentences or clauses, and 'mixing' for intra-sentential alternation. This is due to the fact that code-mixing, aka intra-sentential

codeswitching, necessitates an integration of the rules of both participating languages (Sridhar & Sridhar, 1980; Kachru, 1983; Singh, 1985; Muysken, 2000; Boztepe, 2003).

In the study of codeswitching, a vigorous debate exists as to whether the code-switchers-the people who alternate between two (or more) languages, perceive the languages as separate from one another or as one repertoire to select from. As Auer & Eastman (2010: 86) put it: "Are the distinctions introduced by the linguist, and held to be relevant under all circumstances (e.g. the difference between two 'languages'), relevant for the speakers, or do the speakers have their own unique perceptions and criteria for assessing what they do when speaking?". In light of this notion, codeswitching has mainly developed in two primary domains, sociolinguistic and structural/syntactic, following the key, pioneering works of Blom and Gumperz (1972) and Poplack (1980) respectively. The structural aspect mainly engages with grammatical, syntactic and morphosyntactic constraints; whereas the sociolinguistic aspect is mainly concerned with the social meanings and functions attributed to codeswitching. Codeswitching, therefore, has developed "into a subject matter which is recognised to be able to shed light on fundamental linguistic issues, from Universal Grammar to the formation of group identities and ethnic boundaries through verbal behaviour" (Auer, 1998: 17).

Codeswitching has been a stigmatized form of speech. Such stigmatization and pejorative attitudes towards codeswitching have been linked to prescriptivism; the notion that a certain language variety has a higher value and status than the other varieties and that this should be deeply ingrained in the speech community (Crystal, 1997), and semilingualism; the notion that bilingual speakers incorporate codeswitching in their speech due to their lack of linguistic competence in the languages they speak (Edelsky et al, 1983). Such delegitimizing notions of codeswitching were promoted by renowned linguists such as Bloomfield (1927) and Weinreich (1978), among others. Although these linguists were reflecting attitudes of the

past, such notions are still prevalent these days, especially in classroom settings where the notion of semilingualism is embodied in the form of negative attitudes of teachers towards those students who incorporate codeswitching in their classroom interactions. As with any other stigmatized variety, codeswitching is perceived as some sort of a deviation from the norm and, in many bilingual classroom settings, as the least acceptable form of discourse (Boztepe, 2003). The notion of codeswitching as a stigmatized form of communication not only stems from the association with deficient language abilities, but also from sociolinguistic motivations. In this study, I link the notion of codeswitching as a stigmatized form of communication with issues of sociopolitical identity and ideology (see Kheir 2020a, 2020b).

Study of the alternating use of languages in the same interactional frame has largely benefited from the development of various theories and models. Such theories and models range from dealing with the structural aspects of codeswitching, which focus on syntactic and morphosyntactic constraints linked to codeswitching, to the sociolinguistic aspects of codeswitching, which focus on social settings, factors, reasons and motivations. The following section presents an outline of various prominent theories and models pertaining to the research into codeswitching.

1.1.2. Types, theories and models of codeswitching

Extensive research on codeswitching has shown that different code-switchers within a certain community may have different switching ways and styles. This has led scholars in the field to distinguish between possible types of codeswitching. Two major approaches exist as to which contact phenomena involving surface level morphemes from more than one language should

be counted as codeswitching. Hence, codeswitching is distinguished by Myers-Scotton as two main types: *classic codeswitching* and *composite codeswitching* (2002; 2006).

Classic codeswitching refers to a speech that includes elements from two (or more) languages varieties in the same clause, but only one of these varieties is the source of the morphosyntactic frame for the clause, that is, the Matrix Language. The speakers, however, can insert content morphemes from the other participating language, that is, the Embedded Language, into mixed constituents of the Matrix Language or insert islands (expressions) from the Embedded Language or both.

Composite codeswitching is a speech in which, even though most of the morphosyntactic structure comes from one of the participating languages, the other language contributes some of the abstract structure underlying surface forms in the clause. The speakers, then, provide the morphosyntactic frame from more than one of the participating languages, resulting in a composite Matrix Language frame, which involves convergence of the morphosyntactic frame, as well as of the features of some grammatical structures (ibid, 2002; 2006). Both classic codeswitching and composite codeswitching can incorporate inter-sentential/inter-clausal codeswitching, as well as intra-sentential/intra-clausal codeswitching.

Such discernment between the different types of codeswitching is crucial in understanding the different motivations for codeswitching, as well as its causes and effects. These are discussed in detail mainly in the third and fourth articles (see Kheir 2020a; Kheir 2020b), where the different types of codeswitching are linked to issues of sociopolitical identity.

Different researchers have developed various theories and models of codeswitching, ranging from structural to sociolinguistic. The structural models are mainly concerned with

certain structural and grammatical constraints pertaining to codeswitching. Although there is no general consensus on universal linguistic constraints, among the most influential models pertaining to the systematic linguistic aspects of codeswitching are Poplack's Free Morpheme and Equivalence constraints model (1980; 1981) and Myers-Scotton's prominent Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model (1997; 2002). Poplack's model incorporates both functional and linguistic factors. The model suggests two syntactic constraints on codeswitching: (a) *The free morpheme constraint*, which posits that "codes may be switched after any constituent in discourse provided that constituent is not a bound morpheme," and (b) *The Equivalence Constraint*, according to which "code-switches will tend to occur at points in discourse where juxtaposition of L1 and L2 elements does not violate a syntactic rule of either language, i.e. at points around which the surface structure of the two languages map onto each other (1980: 585-586)". According to the first syntactic constraint, a switch between two bound morphemes cannot occur unless one of the morphemes has been phonologically integrated into the language of the other. Hence, *the free morpheme constraint* permits prospective switches to occur solely at word boundaries. *The Equivalence Constraint*, on the other hand, inhibits prospective switches from occurring within a constituent generated by a rule of one of the participating languages, as long as it is not shared by the other participating language. Hence, the order of the constituents on both sides of the switch site has to be simultaneously grammatical as regards both participating languages. The equivalence or co-grammaticality of both participating languages in the vicinity of the switch site holds, given that the order of the constituents before and after the switch site is not excluded in either participating language. (Poplack, 1980; 1981; 1993; Sankoff & Poplack, 1981). Although Poplack (1980) proposed both constraints to be deemed generally universal, various criticisms were soon raised about both constraints as several scholars provided evidence of codeswitching violating those constraints (e.g. Bentahila & Davies, 1983; Berk-

Seligson, 1986; Clyne, 1987). Such constraints were further criticized by scholars for lacking the asymmetry concept, which is prominent in cases of language contact. Following this, Joshi (1985), inspired by Sridhar's (1980) paper on the syntax and psycholinguistics of bilingual codeswitching, has identified the need for asymmetry to be recognized in the system. He proposed the terms the *matrix language*, and *embedded language* to account for such asymmetry, with each having corresponding grammars; i.e. the *matrix grammar*, and the *embedded grammar*. Therefore, the mixed sentence contains lexical items from both the *matrix language*, and the *embedded language*, with such sentences being recognized as "coming from" the *matrix language*, and permitting shifting control from the *matrix grammar* to the *embedded grammar*, but not vice versa. Inspired by Joshi's paper, Myers-Scotton (1997) encapsulated the notion of asymmetry in the context of a *matrix language* and an *embedded language* in her renowned *Matrix Language Frame* model.

In the Matrix Language Frame model, further supplemented by the 4-M model of Myers-Scotton and Jake (2001), four types of morphemes are classified: (1) content morphemes and (2) system morphemes that are subdivided into early system morphemes and two types of late system morphemes: (3) bridge late system morphemes and (4) outsider late system morphemes. The matrix language, which is the primary language in codeswitching production, provides the morphosyntactic frame and the late system morphemes, with an exclusivity over the outsider system morphemes, unless there is a case of a matrix language turnover underway that results in a composite matrix language. The matrix language, therefore, determines the structural production of the codeswitched clauses. The embedded language may provide content morphemes and/or embedded language islands; that is, certain expressions. Although Myers-Scotton's model has been criticized for having a rigid understanding of a matrix language, the definition of system morphemes is problematic and the psycholinguistic model is not fully explicit, Myers-Scotton has brought the study of

codeswitching to a deeper explanatory level by combining the psycholinguistic, sociolinguistic and structural perspectives on codeswitching (Muysken, 2000). The MLF and 4-M models, as well as the Matrix Language Turnover Hypothesis, are discussed in detail in the first article (see Kheir 2019a).

Another prominent theory of codeswitching is that of Muysken (2000), who proposes a synthesis grounded in both structural linguistics as well as sociolinguistics, to account for the code-mixing phenomena. Muysken identifies three distinct processes found in the patterns of code-mixing: insertion, alternation and congruent lexicalization. These processes correspond with the dominant models for codeswitching by Myers-Scotton (1997), Poplack (1980) and Labov (1972), respectively. The process of insertion involves the insertion of an alien lexical or phrasal category, such as a noun or noun phrase, into the matrix structure. Approaches departing from the notion of insertion, called insertional code-mixing, view the constraints with respect to a matrix or base structure. In insertional code-mixing, what is inserted is a single, well-defined constituent, such as a lexical item or a phrase. Muysken identifies certain diagnostic properties of insertions: the majority of the insertions are single constituents; they exhibit a nested A B A structure (where A and B refer to the participating languages), with the fragments preceding and following the insertion being grammatically related; the insertions are often content words rather than function words; they are often selected elements and morphologically integrated. The matrix language in insertional code-mixing is maintained and determines the grammatical structure. Whilst for insertion the notion of matrix language is called for, in alternation, on the other hand, it is not. Alternation is a strategy in which the two languages in the clause are separate, a strategy that is similar to the notion of inter-clausal switching, since the switching of codes occurs between utterances. Approaches that depart from alternation, known as alternational code-mixing, view the constraints with respect to the compatibility or equivalence of the participating languages at

the point of language alternation. Myusken identifies a number of features typical of alternation: in alternational mixing the switches can involve several constituents in sequence; they exhibit a non-nested A B A structure where the elements preceding and following the switched string are not structurally related; alternations involve more words and a more complex structure in a switched fragment and, therefore, the activation of a matrix language decreases. The patterns of alternations also exhibit a certain diversity in the switched elements, which include functional elements; discourse particles and adverbs. Alternational code-mixing also involves switches at the periphery of a sentence, tag-switching, flagging and self-repair. Several scholars have focused on the phenomenon of codeswitching resulting from self-repair and other forms of repair (*see* Kosta, 2019). Muysken's distinction between alternational code-mixing and insertional code-mixing coincides with Auer's distinction between codeswitching and transfer/insertion (1995), where transfer involves the insertion of a word or structure from language B into a language A frame: such insertion has a predictable end and does not involve momentary departure from the base language, as opposed to codeswitching. The notion of congruent lexicalization involves a situation in which both participating languages insert elements into a shared grammatical structure, where they share the grammatical structure either fully or in part. The vocabulary comes from both participating languages and may also be shared. This process is characterized by a gradual shift from a base or matrix language to a shared matrix structure. Congruent lexicalization involves several properties. First, there will be linear and structural equivalence between the varieties, since they are identical at the syntactic level. Second, since the syntactic structure is shared by the two participating codes, there will be multi-constituent code-mixing at any point. Third, since the switching involves single elements within a shared grammatical structure, non-constituent or 'ragged' mixing (cf. Poplack, 1980) can be expected. A further feature to be expected in congruent lexicalization is non-nested A B A structures, since the

elements from language B do not need to correspond with one well-defined constituent. In addition, since there is no single matrix language dominating the structure, all categories are expected to be switched, including content and function elements. Congruent lexicalization also involves switching of selected elements, bidirectional code-mixing and back-and-forth switches since there is no single matrix language. Other features that characterize congruent lexicalization include homophonous diamorphs, morphological integration, triggering of codemixing by words from the other participating language, and mixed collocations and idioms. (Muysken, 1995; 2000). This process corresponds with Labov's (1972) study of style shifting and dialect/standard variation since it involves related and similar languages; however, when compared with models relating to other, non-related languages, then it also seems to parallel Myers-Scotton's notion of composite codeswitching and convergence in several respects.

It has been successfully argued by linguists that language choices are of considerable interactional and social significance; therefore, a number of theoretical models have been developed in an attempt to explain the motivations and mechanisms underlying these choices (Li, 2005). While the merely linguistic models of codeswitching pertain to the structural features of the speech, the sociolinguistic models provide an understanding of the social settings, contexts and conditions in which codeswitching takes place. Such models have developed under two primary approaches: *The Rational Choice Approach* and *The Conversational Analysis Approach*. Both approaches were, to a certain extent, influenced by Blom and Gumperz' (1972) pioneering study, in which they found that switching between standard and non-standard varieties in Hemnesberget, a village in Norway, was patterned and predictable, and identified two types of switching: *situational* and *metaphorical*. Situational switching assumes a direct relationship between the language and the social situation, as it involves changes in the interlocutors' definitions of each other's rights and obligations.

Metaphorical switching, however, is affected by specific kinds of subject matter or topic, rather than by change in social situation. In addition, Blom and Gumperz have identified certain types of social constraints that affect switching: *setting*, which refers to the environment where the speakers experience social happenings; *social situation*, which involves activities done by certain participants gathered in a certain setting at a certain time; and *social event,* which refers to certain social definitions of the situation occurring in the same setting and dependent upon opportunities and constraints on both interactions and participants.

The Rational Choice approach to codeswitching argues that bilingual speakers make rational choices in their language use to signal their rational decisions alongside their own identities and attitudes, and that such choices follow rights and obligations that speakers perceive in a certain situation (Li, 2005). The rational choice model that is most explicitly linked to codeswitching is the *Markedness Model* of Myers-Scotton (1993), which was inspired by Fishman's (1965, 1972) approach to code choice and emphasizes that the habitual code choice of multilingual communities is not a random affair and is directly related to the type of speech activity, roles of interlocutors, kinds of occasions and topics. *The Markedness Model* argues for the focal role of cognitively-based valuations in bilinguals' linguistic variety choices. The bilingual speaker is given the option to make the best choice out of an array of given choices. According to the model, rationality indicates the reasons choices are made and paves the speakers' way to make optimal choices for themselves. While doing so, speakers consider their desires, values and prior beliefs (Myers-Scotton, 1999). According to this model, speakers have a markedness evaluator, which refers to the capacity to develop the perception that relevant linguistic choices in a specific interaction fall along a continuum from more socially unmarked to more marked, while recognizing that such choices depend on the interaction type and its development, and speakers have the ability to provide relevant

interpretations for their choices. Such an evaluator indicates which choices are more or less marked for the given interaction; that is, it evaluates potential choices. The interpretations of the linguistic choices are linked to the speakers' persona and relationships with other participants; thus the choices index a desired Rights and Obligations (RO) set amongst the participants, who interpret the choices that index the more unmarked RO sets for a given interaction, which varies according to the speech community. The RO sets are the elements deriving from the societal factors that are salient in the community, as well as the interaction type, and the unmarked choices are the more expected ones, given the salience of the participants and the situational factors. The markedness of an RO set is subject to change for the interaction and the linguistic choice, based on situational components or participants' negotiations. Most frequently, speakers select language choices that index what is conceived to be the more unmarked RO set, thereby accepting the prevailing community views for an appropriate choice. Thus, although speakers make choices as individuals, they generally follow their group, which makes the same or similar language choices, the unmarked choices. However, when speakers do make marked choices, they are negotiating some RO set different from the unmarked one in order to change it; that is, codeswitching will be employed as a marked choice (Myers-Scotton, 1993; 1999; Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai, 2001).

The Conversation Analysis approach to codeswitching was developed against the tendency to explain codeswitching by attributing specific meanings to the switches and assuming certain intentions on behalf of the speakers. It agrees with the Rational Choice Model and the Markedness Model in the notion that bilingual or multilingual speakers are rational individuals, however, they are not motivated by rights and obligations, or attitudes and identities, but rather by selecting conversational structures attempting to convey clear messages in their utterances. Therefore, the speakers themselves arrive at local interpretations

of code choices, based on detailed, turn-by-turn analysis (Li, 2005). The Conversational Analysis (CA) model explores codeswitching under specific social contexts and settings rather than examining grammatical or social patterns that overlook the specific situation of the interaction. That is, it seeks to understand codeswitching practices at the 'micro' sociolinguistic dimension, rather than the grammatical and larger societal, cultural and ideological structures to which code choices are related. The conversational analysis of codeswitching is shown, for example, by the fact that switching is more likely in certain sequential positions than in others, (for instance; responsive turns or components are less suited for switching than initiative ones) or that certain sequential patterns of codeswitching direct participants' interpretations. The CA model applied to codeswitching addresses three main points: relevance, procedural consequentiality and the balance between social structure and conversational structure. It therefore has the advantages of giving priority to the effect of participants' code choice at a particular point on subsequent code choices by the same and other participants, and of limiting the external analysts' interpretation to the participants' mutual understanding of their code choices, as manifest in their behaviour. The CA approach, however, does not imply that 'macro' societal dimensions are irrelevant for the interpretation of codeswitching, rather, it argues that while codeswitching is indeed a socially significant behaviour, the analyst should show how his analyses are demonstratively relevant to the participants, that is, how the extra-linguistic context has conclusive consequences for the specific interaction. It is about balancing the social and conversational structures, therefore, the analyst must not assume that speakers in a given conversation switch codes in order to index speakers' identities, attitudes, power relations, formality, etc.; but rather to demonstrate how such identities and attitudes are presented, understood, accepted, rejected or changed within the interactional processes (Auer, 1984; 1988; 1995; 1998; Li, 2005).

For the purpose of the current study, none of the models provided in the scholarly literature relate closely to the link between codeswitching and sociopolitical identity. Therefore, there is a certain gap in the literature when it comes to a model that further illustrates this link. Drawing on insights from intersubjective contact linguistics and indexicality, the third paper attempts to offer a model that facilitates analyses of codeswitching as an index and construct of sociopolitical identity (see Kheir, 2020a).

There are many factors and motivations to be taken into account when it comes to codeswitching. Codeswitching may be the result of social, political, ideological, historical or economic factors. Such factors are affected by the linguistic resources available in communities, their unequal distribution and the institutions responsible for such distributions. Political-ideological affiliations, as well as social class consciousness, can be reflected in codeswitching (Auer and Eastman, 2010). It is, therefore, of utmost importance to understand the historical and political background of the languages at hand, namely Palestinian Arabic and Israeli Hebrew, and to investigate their legal status and mutual relationship in the given country, as presented in the following section.

1.1.3. Arabic, Hebrew and the Israeli 'Nation-State Law'

As in any multicultural country in the world, Israel has become a multilingual nation: a nation with a plethora of languages, amongst which are Israeli Hebrew, Palestinian Arabic, Russian and Amharic. Since the majority of the population are Israeli Hebrew speaking Jews, the most dominant language is Israeli Hebrew. Native Arabic speakers in Israel constitute the largest non-Jewish minority, making Arabic the dominant minority language in Israel. Many Arab citizens in Israel are trilingual, with Arabic as their first language, Hebrew as their

second and English their third. Most Jewish citizens, however, are bilingual, with the majority of them having Israeli as their first language and English as their second.

Although Israel is multicultural in terms of its society, it is neither considered a multi-cultural civic nation state nor a bi-national state, but rather a Jewish state with a pronounced affiliation with one national community: the Jewish community. Israel is thus an ethnic nation state, with the exception of previously having two official languages rather than the one-official-language policy that characterizes most ethnic nation states. The official languages in Israel were, up until 2018, Hebrew and Arabic respectively (Saban & Amara, 2002).

Palestinian Arabic is a subgroup of Levantine Arabic. It belongs to the Semitic language family and is influenced by different Middle Eastern languages, both ancient and modern, such as Aramaic, Canaanite, Turkish and Hebrew. Its vocabulary is also influenced by European languages, such as Latin, Greek, French, Spanish and English. It is the mother tongue of Israeli Arabs. It is used as a third language by some Israeli Jews.

Israeli Hebrew is a multifaceted Semito-European hybrid language whose grammar is based mainly on Hebrew, and to some extent on Yiddish, Polish, Russian and Arabic. Israeli citizens speak it to varying degrees of fluency. It is used as a first language by most Israeli Jews, as well as by some Israeli Druze and Arabs born and raised in Jewish cities. It is used as a second language by Druze, Muslims, Christians and others in Israel. During the past century, Israeli has turned into the official language in Israel, as well as "the primary mode of communication in all domains of public and private life among Israeli Jews" (Zuckermann, 2008; 2009: 41; 2010; 2020). The first article presents the similarities and differences between the two spoken varieties (see Kheir, 2019a).

Despite the previous legal status of Arabic being a second official language, there have been many questions raised regarding the palpable discrepancy between the *de facto* and *de jure* status of Arabic (Saban & Amara, 2002). Indeed, it is the case that Arabic, on a practical level, is far from experiencing the predominance that the Hebrew language has in the Jewish state. The discrepancy is mainly evident in a variety of public contexts, amongst which are the legal system, the education system, the media broadcasting and higher education institutions in which Arabic has not received an equal status to that of Hebrew. According to Saban & Amara (2002), that discrepancy is due to the fact that the Supreme Court Justice declared Hebrew as the national language of Israel, thus making its supremacy salient.

The status of Arabic in Israel legally changed in mid 2018, following the enactment of the Israeli 'Nation-State Law'. This law downgrades the status of Arabic from an official language into a language with a special status, a status that is currently vague, unclear and unknown, due to the fact that the particulars of this status are left to future regulations. Under Article 4, entitled 'Language', the law specifically asserts that:

(a) Hebrew is the State language.

(b) The Arabic language has a special status in the State; arrangements regarding the use of Arabic in state institutions or vis-à-vis them will be set by law.

(c) Nothing in this article shall affect the status given to the Arabic language before this law came into force (Kenesset, 2018).

According to Yadgar (2020), this amounts to the national demotion or exclusion of Arabic. The undermining-in-practice of Arabic is part of a continuing trend in which Arabic has been perceived as the enemy's language, and as such, threatening the status of Hebrew and the State of Israel. Although Israel had not passed a previous law specifying the state's official languages that were identified by the British mandatory law (English, Arabic and Hebrew), Arabic has historically been described as 'official yet unrecognized', since its status has not

received full application in the Israeli public sphere (Mendel et al, 2016; Yadgar, 2020). Since the previous legal status of Arabic has not been constitutionally protected and it might have been “grasped as a serious threat to axioms of the majority community”, the entire lingual arrangement has made it relatively easily altered (Saban & Amara, 2002: 5). Hebrew, consequently, became the sole official language in the state. The status of Arabic in Israel, on the other hand, has gone through the semiotic process of *erasure*. Irvine and Gal (2000), who have documented this process of linguistic ideology, describe it as a process in which elements go unnoticed or get explained away or in extreme cases, where they fit some alternative threatening picture, are eradicated in case they do not fit the ideological scheme. Such ‘problematic’ elements must be either ignored or transformed or acted against in order to remove the threat. By "erasing" Arabic's status as a co-official language, not only does it cause its national exclusion as a repository of heritage, culture and identity, but also makes the primacy of Hebrew much more evident, and manifests the ideology of the fusion of the exiles, the melting pot according to which the different communities of Jewish immigrants are integrated in one socially and culturally unified nation grounded in Hebrew, the national language and carrier of all Jewish legacies (Ben-Rafael & Brosh, 1991). As Yadgar (2020: 82) points out, the political tension surrounding Israel's 'Jewish identity' "has culminated in a legislative initiative to formulate a constitutional anchoring of this identity through the passing of a basic law that would enshrine Israel's identity as *the* Jewish nation-state".

The basic law, which is parallel to a constitutional amendment, has resulted in tremendous disgruntlement, especially among the Arab and Druze minorities. A plethora of scholarly and non-scholarly critics have deemed the law dangerous, undemocratic, racist and discriminatory against the country's non-Jewish citizens, leaving a great number of them dismayed and with a sense of being tagged as second-class, inferior Israeli citizens. Several

critics perceive the law as carrying dangerous political and legal ramifications, particularly regarding the status and rights of the Israeli Arab citizens. The law is mainly construed as a threat to democratic rights and values, as well as a trigger which deepens discrimination between the Jewish and non-Jewish communities in Israel, since it exhibits explicit bias toward the Jews, and constitutes a serious impediment to achieving equality for the Arab and Druze indigenous minorities. Their protests are particularly based on the fact that the law asserts that "the Land of Israel is the historical homeland of the Jewish people, in which the State of Israel was established (Article 1. A)," and that "the exercise of the right to national self-determination in the State of Israel is unique to the Jewish people (Article 1. C)". It also establishes "the development of Jewish settlement as a national value, and shall act to encourage and promote its establishment and strengthening (Article 7)". It is argued that the law changes the definition of Israel, disregards democracy, and prioritizes the Jewish elements over the democratic ones by prioritizing and accentuating the Jewish character of the state, and violating the democratic right to equal citizenship. Of particular concern and controversy is Article 1. C., which is regarded as a contradiction between the notion of democracy and granting exclusive rights of national self-determination to the Jewish people, hence excluding the one-fifth of the population who constitute substantial indigenous minorities, and transforming them into citizens of a state that denies them the right to claim it as their national home. Critics have also been overtly angered by the stripping of Arabic of its status as a co-official language, which marks the beginning of the erasure of the Arabic language in Israel. Arabic is a repository of the Arab minority's culture, heritage and identity, and downgrading its status inevitably results in downgrading the status of its speakers and their culture. Furthermore, decreeing Hebrew to be the sole official language of the state while demeaning Arabic's status to a "special status" accentuates the division of the Israeli citizens into two types: first-class citizens who are the exclusive owners of the state and

native speakers of the "superior" language; and second-class citizens who are alienated from their own homeland and the character of the state as they are the speakers of the "inferior" language (Abulhawa, 2018; Ben-Youssef & Tamari, 2018; Hass, 2018; Jabreen, 2018; Jamal, 2018; Kenesset, 2018; Jamal, 2019; Kheir, 2020b).

The new demeaned status of Arabic and the indigenous minorities in Israel carries strong implications for the language and its speakers, which, as has been found in the fourth article, which examines the law's initial impact upon some participants from the Israeli Druze community, results in an inevitable gradual construction of an alternate collective identity and sense of belonging (see Kheir, 2020b).

Language change, however, is not merely the result of the status of Arabic in Israel, but more so, of the ongoing language contact situation in Israel between the Arabic speaking communities and the Hebrew speaking community. The Arabs and Druze in Israel experience relatively intensive interaction with the Jewish people, thus experience ongoing language contact with Israeli Hebrew speakers and their culture. Such interaction mainly takes place at work, higher education institutions, public centres and institutions and, for almost all Druze males and some Arab volunteers, in the military. This language contact situation, alongside sociopolitical motivations, has brought about different linguistic practices among the different Arabic speaking communities, as is illustrated in the third and fourth articles (see Kheir, 2020a; 2020b). In cases where intensive language contact exists, the native language will be heavily impacted. As has been found, mainly in the first and second articles (Kheir 2019a; 2019b), in certain Arabic speaking communities (such as the Druze, Bedouins and some Arabs residing in Jewish or Arab/Jewish mixed cities), such language contact situations result in inevitable language erosion and change.

In order to understand the sociopolitical motivation for codeswitching, it is essential to understand the sociopolitical background of the communities in practice; therefore, the next section explores some basic aspects of the Arab and Druze communities in Israel.

1.1.4. The Arabs and Druze in Israel

Arab citizens in Israel are non-Jewish Israeli citizens who are ethnically and culturally identified as Arabs. Most Israeli Arabs are functionally bilingual, their first language being Palestinian Arabic and their second being Israeli Hebrew (for the similarities and differences between the two spoken varieties, see Kheir (2019a)). The Israeli Arab citizens are Muslims and Christians who share a national Palestinian identity, origin and belonging. There is significant debate, however, as to whether or not the Druze people are considered Arabs. Practically, the Druze people in Israel have their own distinct sector, separate from that of the Arabs. The Druze community has gone through a process of gaining a distinctive political and national identity, one that is totally different from the Israeli Arabs. Prior to 1962, all of the communities in the Arab sector, namely the Druze, Christians and Muslims, were legally counted as Arabs. In 1962, however, Israel took a major identity replacement step for the Druze, changing their nationality from 'Arab' to 'Druze', both on their birth certificates and their identity cards, while all the rest were still legally regarded as 'Arabs' (Halabi 2006). In addition to granting the Druze people independent status as a community and a distinctive political and national identity, they were also granted an independent education system, separate from that of the Arabs, thus encouraging the creation of a 'Druze and Israeli' consciousness through education (discussed in more detail in the third article (Kheir, 2020a)). Moreover, in a *Nature* scientific report that investigated the genetic relationships between

Israeli Druze and modern and ancient populations, Marshall et al (2016) show that the Druze exhibit a high affinity to their ancient Armenian and Turkish ancestry. Furthermore, their DNA study shows that the Druze people possess a significantly larger amount of ancient Armenian ancestry (79%) and significantly smaller ancient Levantine ancestry (14.9%) compared with other Levantine populations (36.07%-69.75%), especially Palestinian and Lebanese populations. Another scientific report published by Schaffer et al (2018) shows a genetic link between the Jews and Druze, consistent with other published research employing whole genome data, which report on high genetic similarities between European Jews and Druze, who share similar Turkish-Caucasus origins (See: Atzmon et al, 2010; Behar et al, 2010; Elhaik, 2013).

The total number of the Arab community in Israel is 1,916,000[4], which constitutes around 21% of Israel's total population, and that of the Druze community in Israel, including the Druze of the Golan Heights, is 143,000, which constitutes around 1.6% of Israel's total population (CBS, 2019). Israeli Arabs and Druze mostly reside in the same localities or in adjacent ones. According to Amara and Mar'i (2002), the Israeli Arabs are considered a sociological minority due to the fact that they do not have representation in the political, economic and military elites and are perceived as citizens whose loyalty to Israel is questionable. The Druze, however, exhibit a different reality by having a plethora of such types of representation and are perceived as extremely loyal and patriotic. In contrast with Arab Christians and Muslims, young Druze males are subject to compulsory military service. According to Smooha (1992), the authorities regard the Arabs as potentially disloyal and anti-Israel and, as such, exempt them from compulsory military service. However, many

[4] Data supplied by the Israel Central Bureau of Statistics on 31.12.2019

Bedouins, who also enjoy a separate status from the Arab community, as well as a small number of Christians, enlist in the IDF (Israel Defence Forces) on a voluntary basis.

The primary factor differentiating between Israeli Druze and Israeli Arabs is political. According to Rouhana (1997: 8) “most of the Arabs in Israel define themselves as Palestinians in Israel even when they have the option to choose other self-definitions, such as Israeli Palestinians or Israeli Arabs.” The psychological component of identity, which encompasses attachment to the political system, loyalty, pride and inclusion, comes to the fore. Since Israel is officially defined in exclusive ethnic terms as the state of the Jewish people, which drastically affects the collective identities of its Arab and Jewish populations, many criticise its policies and practices as undemocratic and discriminatory. In practice, the Arabs in Israel have voting rights and use democratic means in electing their representatives to the Knesset, enjoy freedom of expression and a press through which they freely criticise Israel's policies and practices, and enjoy equal social services with the rest of Israel’s citizens. Israel, however, has a unique deep security need and since its establishment has felt that it is a state under siege, with its foremost enemy being the Palestinians. Therefore, if the Arabs emphasize their Arab and Palestinian identities, it would be perceived as promoting the identity of the state’s enemy (ibid, 1997). According to Smooha (1992), the Arabs tend to be seen as a hostile minority as they are sympathetic to the enemy and reject crucial aspects of the fundamental ideology of the Israeli regime, including the implementation of its national goals for the Jewish people and its stance in the dispute with the Arab world and the Arab-Israeli conflict. This situation might be a major force hindering the inclusion of the Arabs within the state’s goals and their integration into the power structure, which, in turn leaves the Arabs with a sense of exclusion from the state power structure and its identity, and

develops their collective identity in reaction to the powerful social and political forces emanating from the state, region, and from within themselves (Rouhana, 1997).

Most of the Druze people, however, do not identify with the narrative of Palestine resonant among the Israeli Arabs. According to Nisan (2010), the Druze are opposed to the Arab political call proposing the nullification of Israel as a Jewish state and reconstructing it as a democratic, bilingual and cultural state denoting bi-nationalism and equality between the Palestinian Arabs and the Jewish people of Israel, as proposed in Arab political manifestos by the Legal Centre for Arab Minority rights in Israel. Instead, the Druze perceive themselves as loyal, patriotic citizens who abide by the Israeli Declaration of Independence and accept Israel as a Jewish and Democratic state. Nisan (2010:585) and Zeedan (2019) continue to stress the disparity of Druze national political identification versus that of the Israeli Arabs by illustrating voting behaviour and party preferences in Israeli elections that unequivocally substantiate that 'Druze vote for Jews, and the Arabs vote for Arabs.' There are, nonetheless, exceptions, such as "The Arab-Druze Initiative Committee" and "The Free Sons of Grace", which identify with the Palestinian cause and oppose the compulsory conscription of the Druze in the Israeli Defence force; however, they are marginal and unable to attract sufficient support among the Israeli Druze since the majority of the Druze do not perceive themselves as Palestinians, do not have any connections or ties to the Palestinian people unlike the Arabs, and take action against the Palestinians as part of their duty in the IDF and other security services (Nisan, 2010; Zeedan, 2019).

As a sign of their assimilation in Israel, most of the Druze people do not tend to associate themselves with the Palestinian Arab identity but rather self-identify mainly as Israeli Druze, making their Israeli identity component salient, in contrast with the rest of the

Arab citizens in Israel. According to research on identity affiliations of the Arabs in Israel conducted by Amara & Schnell (2004), who introduce a multi-dimensional identity model, the majority of the Druze people refuse to identify as Palestinians and perceive the Palestinian identity to be totally irrelevant to their identity repertoire and 'are united in their rejection of the Palestinian identity' (p.183). Most of them feel the same with respect to the Arab identity and attempt to integrate into the Israeli identity instead, which is assigned the highest priority alongside their Druze identity. Similar findings were demonstrated in Halabi's research (2014) and in my third and fourth papers (see Kheir, 2020a; 2020b). Muslims and Christians, however, almost unanimously emphasize the high salience of their Arab identity and 40 per cent of them assign the same salience to their Palestinian identity, while half of them assign the Israeli identity a moderate level of salience whereas the rest consider it either totally irrelevant or highly relevant. Not surprisingly, though, the Christians and Muslims who assign high salience to the Israeli identity are mainly Muslim Bedouins who serve in the Israeli army and Christians who live in Jaffa (Yafo) - a mixed city with a Jewish majority - factors that facilitate the desire to integrate into the Israeli society and disengage from the Palestinian theme. In support of this notion, Horesh (2015) asserts that many of the Arab Christian families in Jaffa prefer sending their children to Jewish schools rather than to Arab schools. It is important to note that, for the Israeli Druze, the Israeli component denotes much more than a civic identity (see Kheir 2020b): it denotes a deep connection to the state and profound sense of belonging that started with a blood covenant (*brit damim)* between the Druze and Jews prior to the establishment of the state of Israel, or in the words of Nisan (2010: 576), "for the Druze, the Israeli identity, not just the formal citizenship, is a special communal badge that indicates that Israeli-ness sustains not only Jews but non-Jews as well".

The Arabs and Druze in Israel have intensive interaction with the Jewish people, thus experiencing ongoing language contact with Israeli Hebrew speakers and their culture. Such interaction mainly takes place at work, higher education institutions, shopping centres, public institutions and for almost all Druze males and few Arab volunteers, in the military. This language contact situation, however, results in different linguistic practices among the communities that result from sociopolitical and historical contexts. Such contexts provide valuable insights into the nature of the identity affiliations and codeswitching behaviours of the different Arabic speaking communities in Israel, as is demonstrated in the third article (see Kheir, 2020a).

The Druze of the Golan Heights constitute yet another distinct community, different in certain aspects from the Israeli Druze. They are different in terms of their cultural practices, customs and habits, collective identity, level of secularism and linguistic practices. The primary factor differentiating between them, however, is ideological. While the Israeli Druze have assimilated in Israel through historic joint forces with the Jews, compulsory military service, adopting state-related ideologies, education and other domains, the Druze of the Golan Heights maintained complex relations with Israel due to a number of socio-historical factors. A brief outline of these factors, as well as the community's linguistic practices and identity affiliations, are discussed in the fourth and final article (see Kheir, 2020b).

In a bilingual speech, the choice of linguistic varieties of one language over the other is of utmost importance. Such choice may reflect the speakers' desire to be seen as belonging to one group rather than the other, reflecting their identity through their speech. Codeswitching

can practically index and shape the relationship between language and identity. Therefore, the next section explores the relationship between linguistic practices and identity, as well as how they influence each other.

1.1.5. Language, Codeswitching and Identity

The word ‘identity’ encapsulates several meanings. One of which is "to pick out as a particular person, category or example" (LePage & Tabouret-Keller, 1985: 2), in the sense that an individual can identify someone as being in a group of others, by certain idiosyncratic features. A further meaning includes the notion of recognizing a certain entity as being a part of a larger entity, in the sense that a person can identify themself with a certain group, cause or a tradition. Both notions are symbiotically related in the sense that a person's idiosyncratic behaviour reflects attitudes towards certain groups, causes or traditions, while, at the same time, it is constrained by certain identifiable aspects (ibid, 1985). Identity matters in all sorts of ways in everyday life and has been applied in various fields of study. It derives from a multiplicity of sources, including age, gender, race, sexual orientation, class, generation, institutional affiliation, geopolitical locale, religion, community, society, status, ethnicity and nationality. Such sources may lead to a conflict in the construction of identity positions that could result in contradictory fragmented identities, based on one's varying positions in the world. Identity, nonetheless, provides the individual with a location in the world and presents the link between the individual and the community and social world in which s/he lives. Therefore, identities facilitate the understanding of social, cultural, economic and political changes, and can be viewed as an interface between subjective positions and cultural and sociopolitical situations. Identities are the manifestation of who we are, how we relate to others, and the ways in which we are similar to others sharing our position or different from

those who have different positions. Identities can generally be marked by difference or oppositions, that is, what is not or what is the opposite; polarization, such as in the forms of national or ethnic conflict; and by inclusion or exclusion, that is, insiders versus outsiders, 'us' versus 'them'. The concept of identity is a significant marker in conflicts over cultural, religious, ethnic, racial and national differences, in which the concept of collective identity has emerged as an outcome of political shaping. Identities can be viewed as ‘fluid’, in the sense that individuals perceive themselves differently across time and social domains; ‘contested’, in the sense that they are connected to power relations; and ‘decentred’ in the way that the individuals’ sense of self is formed by many forces that make them susceptible to change under different circumstances. Reflecting on an individual's sense of self-esteem, security, pride, meaningfulness and sense of being accepted, the quest for collective identity has psychological manifestations in the need to belong to a group that shares experiences, values and destiny, and in many ways may be considered a basic human need that needs to be fulfilled. Belonging to the state, i.e. the civic collective identity, or to an ethnonational group within the state, has the potential to fulfil that need. Therefore, the emotional dimension of group belonging is of utmost importance in conceptualizing ethnonational identities. Citizens of multiethnic states share citizenship as a broader collective identity, while maintaining distinct ethnic, national, religious, or lingual identities, which might lead to conflict situations wherever there is no common and equally meaningful identity with those various ethnonational groups. (Tajfel, 1982; Weedon, 1996; Gilroy, 1997; Rouhana, 1997; Woodward, 1997).

Most experts view identities as nested, non-binary, cumulative, context-dependent, flexible and negotiated; frequently, in fact, negotiated, conveyed and regimented through language. Therefore, linguistic processes are at the core of identity processes, and identity

perceptions and constructions shape the deployment of linguistic resources. Since language varieties and differences can mark the boundaries of ethnic belonging among people, different linguistic elements can be created to mark differentiation of individuals and communities. Language can be used to convey and construct different types of identities, ranging from individual identities to collective identities. Therefore, while an individual may use particular language and linguistic strategies to convey something about their sense of self, language can also serve as a vehicle to construct, convey and negotiate collective identities in the sense that it can create images of groups and communities (De Fina, 2016). Hence, language is central to the production of identity and serves as the vehicle to index multiple ethnic and nationalist stances (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004).

Increased contact among people, and therefore identities, has brought about a plethora of linguistic varieties and resources through which those identities are indexed and conveyed. One such prominent contact phenomenon is codeswitching. According to Auer (2007:2), bilingual minorities may use language in order to establish their identity and have it serve as a natural link to the community's identity. It is "the specific ways in which the majority and/or the minority language are spoken, as well as the various mixing and switching styles, which are considered to be the straightforward, 'natural' expression of the bilinguals' identity". According to Amara and Mar'i (2002), language can reflect an individual's thoughts, ideas and emotions while, at the same time, it has the power to convey his/her identity and group affiliation. Language practices, or the choices among linguistic varieties and languages accessible to a community, express social identity.

Social identity, the individual's sense of self based on group membership, is a concept that links language to the social structure of a given community. This echoes the notion of *acts of identity,* which people make within themselves and with each other, and through

which "the individual creates for himself the patterns of his linguistic behaviour so as to resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he wishes to be identified, or so as to be unlike those from whom he wishes to be distinguished" (LePage & Tabouret-Keller, 1985: 181). In the words of Auer (2005:404), “it allows one to see interactants as being involved in linguistic ‘acts of identity’ through which they claim or ascribe group membership, or more precisely, through certain speaking styles (which usually incorporate certain linguistic ‘variables’)”. In other words, through conversational structure (such as codeswitching and language preference), a social structure (such as identities and group membership) is constituted or changed (Gafranga, 2005).

There are two main approaches to identity: essentialist and non-essentialist. An essentialist approach would suggest that there is one clear, authentic set of characteristics shared by all members of a group, which do not change over time; whereas a non-essentialist approach posits that there are differences, as well as shared characteristics, both between members of a certain group and other groups, and that such characteristics alter across time (Woodward, 1997). According to Bucholtz & Hall (2004), identities are not only attributes of individuals and groups, but also of situations; thus identification is an ongoing social and political process. While identity work involves obscuring differences among groups with a shared identity, it also serves to underscore differences between in-group members and other groups. Thus, for instance, the creation and assertion of political identities are mainly defined by difference and underscoring the boundaries of 'us' versus 'them'. This involves the process of marking out an identity position as ‘not another’, or ‘vis-a-vis the other’, where the sameness, otherness and difference are socially marked through the inclusion or exclusion of certain groups, and symbolically through representational systems. Symbolic systems present new ways of deciphering the experience of inequalities and social divisions and the means by

which certain groups are stigmatized or excluded. The language of identity is apparent when individuals work out how belonging to a group or community can become a dynamic form of solidarity, and where and how the boundaries around a group should be constituted and enforced (Gilroy, 1997; Woodward, 1997). Since language manifests the semiotic processes of practice, indexicality, ideology and performance, more often than not, this is realized through language and repetitive use of specific linguistic variables and styles that consequently symbolize and, iconically, embody the group's distinctive identity and way of being in the world (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004).

Given this notion of the interrelatedness of language, social-political situations and identity, the third article examines the relationship between codeswitching and sociopolitical identity, reporting on a study of three native Palestinian Arabic speaking communities in Israel: Christian Arabs, Muslims and Druze (see Kheir, 2020a). To emphasise the relationship between linguistic practices and collective identities, the fourth article examines such a link through a comparative study of the Israeli Druze and the Druze of the Golan Heights, who have moved from Syrian control to Israeli control following the Six-Day War in 1967 (see Kheir, 2020b).

1.2. A Contextual Statement: Research Aims and Objectives

The gaps in the scholarly literature have indicated the need for the following questions to be asked:

1.2.1. Is there a relationship between codeswitching and sociopolitical identity?

1.2.2. Is there a difference between classic codeswitching and composite codeswitching in terms of the relationship with sociopolitical identity?

1.2.3. Is there a difference in codeswitching behaviour between the different sectors in the Arabic speaking communities in Israel, namely the Druze, Muslims and Christians?

1.2.4. Is there a difference in language behaviour and collective identities between the Israeli Druze and the Druze of the Golan Heights?

1.2.5. Is the language spoken by the Israeli Druze a new hybrid language grown out of a mixture of the grammar and lexicon of Palestinian Vernacular Arabic and Israeli Hebrew?

1.2.6. Is the new hybrid language spoken by the Israeli Druze an outcome of composite codeswitching?

To answer the research questions posed above, the present research has sought to:

a. Examine various aspects of codeswitching behaviour among the Israeli Arab Muslim, Christian and Druze sectors.

b. Examine questions of identity within the Israeli Arab Muslim, Christian and Druze sectors.

c. Examine language behaviour and questions of identity of the previously Syrian-controlled Druze in the Golan Heights.

d. Explore the theoretical approaches that link language and codeswitching to questions of identity.

e. Develop a new model that would facilitate analyses of codeswitching as an index of sociopolitical identity.

f. Examine how this new model can be applied to the Israeli Arab Muslim, Christian and Druze sectors.

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2. Publication 1:

The Matrix Language Turnover Hypothesis: The Case of the Druze Language in Israel

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Abstract

This study examines the language of the Druze community in Israel as going through the process of convergence and a composite Matrix Language formation, resulting in a split language, a.k.a. mixed language, based on Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language turnover hypothesis (2002). Longitudinal data of Palestinian Arabic/Israeli Hebrew codeswitching from the Israeli Druze community collected in 2000 and 2017 indicate that there is a composite Matrix Language formation resulting in a split language. Such a composite involves convergence features in congruence with stage ii of the hypothesis, resulting in a composite morphosyntactic frame. The main features of convergence are the introduction of Israeli Hebrew system morphemes, including early system morphemes, bridge system morphemes and outsider late system morphemes-in some cases appearing independently, but in most cases, in conjunction with content morphemes. There are features of lexical conceptual structures and morphological realization patterns as well. Sociolinguistic factors are suggested as potential motivators for such composite and split language formation.

Keywords

codeswitching - Druze - Arabic - Hebrew - matrix language

1 Introduction

It is widely accepted by linguists that codeswitching involves the alternating use of two or more languages. However, there is a big debate regarding which type of use and to what extent can actually be referred to as codeswitching.

Myers-Scotton (1997: 3), provides a more specific definition for codeswitching in one of the models that she presented, namely the Matrix Language Frame Model, defining codeswitching as "the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded variety (or varieties) in utterances of a matrix variety during the same conversation". The Matrix Language is the main language in codeswitching production, whereas the Embedded Language plays the role of the other language participating in codeswitching, though less dominantly so. The Matrix Language sets the morphosyntactic frame of sentences showing codeswitching. It marks out the order of the morphemes and provides the syntactically relevant morphemes in constituents containing morphemes from both languages-the matrix language as well as the embedded language.

As far as codeswitching structure is concerned, it is accepted that it may be either inter-sentential or intra-sentential. Inter-sentential codeswitching involves alternating two languages between sentences, that is, producing a whole clause in one language prior to switching to the other. Intra-sentential switches occur within the same sentence or clause, with the clause containing elements of the two languages (Myers-Scotton, 1997). According to Auer and Eastman (2010), in the case of word-internal codeswitching, some scholars argue that it is not possible while others argue against this restriction. The present study, alongside many others, demonstrates that it is possible.

In the study of codeswitching, a vigorous debate exists as to whether the code-switchers; people who alternate between two (or more) languages, perceive the languages as separate from one another or as one repertoire to select from. Or as Peter Auer and Carol M. Eastman put it (2010: 86): "Are the distinctions introduced by the linguist, and held to be relevant under all circumstances (e.g. the difference between two 'languages'), relevant for the speakers, or do the speakers have their own unique perceptions and criteria for assessing what they do when speaking?"

Extensive research on codeswitching has shown that different code-switchers within a certain community may have different switching ways and styles. This has led scholars in the field to distinguish between possible types of codeswitching. Two major approaches exist as to which contact phenomena involving surface level morphemes from more than one language should be counted as codeswitching. Hence, codeswitching is distinguished by Myers-Scotton (2002) as two main types: *classic codeswitching* and *composite codeswitching.*

In *classic codeswitching*, the speakers provide the morphosyntactic frame solely from one of the participating languages, namely the Matrix Language. The speakers, however, can insert content morphemes from the other participating language, that is, the Embedded Language, into mixed constituents of

the Matrix Language or insert islands from the Embedded Language or both. In *composite codeswitching,* as opposed to *classic codeswitching,* the speakers provide the morphosyntactic frame from more than one of the participating languages, resulting in a composite Matrix Language Frame which involves convergence of the morphosyntactic frame, as well as of the features of some grammatical structures.

Such discernment between the different types of codeswitching is crucial for understanding the different motivations for codeswitching as well as its causes and effects. For further understanding and illustrations of codeswitching behaviour, different theories and models of codeswitching have been introduced, though they almost all apply to one type of codeswitching, namely classic codeswitching. When it comes to the other type, however, the literature is very limited. One of the very few linguists to propose a theory about composite codeswitching is Myers-Scotton. Myers-Scotton (1998) proposed the Matrix Language Turnover hypothesis in order to test composite codeswitching cases.

In order to test that hypothesis, longitudinal data of the relevant sort is required, therefore, very few studies were conducted to test the hypothesis. The present study attempts to test convergence and a composite Matrix Language formation resulting in a split language, a.k.a. mixed language, through a Matrix Language turnover. To test the hypothesis, the present study examines longitudinal data of Palestinian Arabic/Israeli Hebrew codeswitching, taken from the same community, namely the Israeli Druze community, and some of the same participants from the different data sets overtime (2000 and 2017). In addition, the study examines the possible factors motivating convergence and composite Matrix Language formation resulting in a split language. The phenomena of codeswitching and borrowing in Israel were studied by several researchers (Abu Elhija, 2017; Amara, 2010; 2017; Henkin, 2011; Mar'i, 2013); however, their research was aimed at different groups and localities. Isleem (2016) was among the very few researchers to study Druze codeswitching; however, his research was limited to video recordings taken from different websites and online written communication, unlike the present research which is based on actual fieldwork and longitudinal observations of naturally occurring speech.

2 The Druze

The Druze religion is a monotheistic secretive closed religion that emerged in 1017 under the Fatimid caliphate rule in Egypt and closed its "gates" to new believers in 1043. A common belief among the Druze is that the faith existed

much earlier than its formal revelation in 1017, which coincides with the existence of the Druze prophets dating back to Biblical times. The main and central figure of the Druze faith is the Caliph Al-Ħakim bi-Amr Allah (Arabic: The ruler by command of the Deity), who is perceived by the believers as the divine manifestation of the Deity, though not the Deity itself. According to the Druze faith, God revealed himself several times in human form, with the last revelation being in the form of Al-Ħakim bi-Amr Allah.

The Druze religion is secretive in the sense that its holy book-*Kitab al-Ħikma* 'the book of wisdom', is held secret from everyone except for the highly religious Druze men and women. From a religious perspective, the Druze are divided into *ʕuqqal*/ARAB/PL (religiously) wise people (*ʕaqel*=sgm, *ʕaqela*=sgf) and *Juhhal*/ARAB/PL 'religiously) ignorant people' (*Jahel*= sgm, *Jahela*= sgf). The *ʕuqqal* are the religious and highly revered amongst the two groups and have restricted access to the holy book. Someone who is *Jahel* can turn into *ʕaqel* after undergoing a series of tests and ethical requirements. The Druze people are called *Al-Muwaħidūn,* that is, the unitarians, or those who seek oneness.They are mainly concentrated in the Middle East, especially in Lebanon, Syria and Israel, while the rest are scattered across the different continents worldwide. Their total population worldwide is less than one million.

This paper focuses on the phenomenon of composite codeswitching in the Druze community in Israel. The Druze community in Israel has a distinct speech that differs from that of the Christians and Muslims in the Arab sector. Although the Druze community shares the same first language as the Arabs in Israel, namely Palestinian Arabic, their speech is extremely unique in that it incorporates very extensive and frequent use of Israeli Hebrew. In comparison to Arabs who do not live in mixed cities with a Jewish majority, extensive codeswitching between Palestinian Arabic and Israeli Hebrew is considered the unmarked mode of communication in the case of the Israeli Druze community.

The total number of the Druze community in Israel is 139,000,1 which constitutes around 1.58% of Israel's total population and 35.1% of the so called 'other'2 minorities in Israel. The Druze community in Israel shares many cultural similarities with the Israeli Arabs, however, as opposed to the general belief, the Druze people in Israel are not considered to be part of the Arab sector, but have their own distinct sector. There is a significant Druze population in twenty

1 Data supplied by the Israel Central Bureau of Statistics on 25.04.2017.

2 The Druze statistics are separate from the Arab sector statistics and are included under the category of 'other' religions, which include non-Arab Christians, other religions and people with no religious affiliations in the ministry of interior.

settlements3 in Israel; thirteen of which the Druze constitute the vast majority, while in the rest they reside alongside Arab Christians and Muslims, in some as a majority while in others as a minority. There is only one village4 in Israel in which the Druze constitute a majority while living alongside a minority of Christians and Jews.

The Druze people in Israel have intensive interaction with the Jewish people, thus experience great language contact with Israeli Hebrew speakers and their culture. Such interaction mainly takes place at work, at higher education institutions and in the military. In contrast to Arab Christians and Muslims, young Druze males are subject to the compulsory military service. Many Bedouins, however, enlist in the IDF (Israel Defense Forces) on a voluntary basis.

The Druze community has gone through a process of gaining a distinct political and national identity, one that is totally different from the Israeli Arabs. Prior to 1962, all of the communities in the Arab sector, namely the Druze, Christians and Muslims were legally counted as Arabs. In 1962, however, Israel took a major identity replacement step for the Druze, replacing their nationality from "Arab" into "Druze", both on their birth certificates as well as in their Identity Cards, while all the rest were still legally regarded as "Arabs" (Halabi, 2006). In addition to granting the Druze people an independent status as a community and a distinct political and national identity, they were also granted an independent education system; separate from the Arab one, thus encouraging the formation of a "Druze and Israeli" consciousness. According to Firro (2001), in the early 1970s efforts were made to create an "Israeli-Druze consciousness" through education, in order to counteract a process of "Arabization" among the Druze youth. This consciousness became actualized when the Druze curriculum had been completely separated from the Arab one, creating a distinctive Druze education system.

As a sign of their assimilation in Israel, most of the Druze people self-identify mainly as Israeli, or Israeli Druze. According to a research on identity affiliations of the Arabs in Israel conducted by Amara and Schnell (2004), the majority of the Druze people assign high priority to their religious identity as well as to their citizenship in Israel. According to Nisan (2010: 576), "for the Druze, the Israeli identity, not just the formal citizenship, is a special communal badge that indicates that Israeli-ness sustains not only Jews but non-Jews as well."

3 The thirteen settlements with the vast majority of Druze are: Daliat El-Carmel, Julis, Yarka, Sajur, 'Ein El-Asad, Beit Jann, Jath-Yanuh, Kisra-Smei', Hurfeish, Majdal Shams, Buq'ata, Mas'ada and 'Ein Qinya. The rest are Mghar, Peqi'in, Shefar'am, Kfar Yassif, Abu Snan and Rama.

4 Osfiya is the village in which the Druze live alongside Christians and Jews.

3 Palestinian Vernacular Arabic and Israeli Hebrew

Palestinian Vernacular Arabic (henceforth *PVA*) is a subgroup of Levantine Arabic. It belongs to the Semitic language family and is influenced by different Middle Eastern languages, both ancient and modern, such as Aramaic, Canaanite, Ottoman Turkish, Standard Arabic and Hebrew. Its vocabulary is also influenced by European languages, such as Latin, Greek, French, Spanish and English. It is the mother tongue of Israeli Arabs and Druze and is used as a third language by some Israeli Jews. Arabic is also the mother tongue of some Jews who have migrated to Israel from different Arab countries. Within the native Arabic speaking community in Israel, Arabic is used in all domains of life. According to Amara (2017), the Arabic dialect of the West Bank is very similar to the Arabic dialect spoken in Israel. The differences between the two stem from contact with Hebrew. While native Arabic speakers in Israel start learning Hebrew at a young age and come in contact with Hebrew native speakers in various domains of life, such contact is very limited in the West Bank.

Israeli Hebrew (henceforth *IH)* is a multifaceted Semito-European hybrid language whose grammar is based mainly on Hebrew, and to some extent on Yiddish, Polish, Russian and PVA. The phonetics and phonology of Israeli Hebrew are European, primarily Yiddish. Israeli emerged in *Eretz Yisrael* 'land of Israel' (which at the time was known as Palestine) in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Israeli citizens speak it to varying degrees of fluency. It is used as a first language by most Israeli Jews, as well as by some Israeli Druze and Arabs who are born and raised in Jewish cities. It is used as a second language by Druze, Muslims, Christians and others in Israel. It is also used by some non-Israeli Palestinians, as well as Diaspora Jews. During the past century, Israeli has emerged as the official language in Israel, as well as "the primary mode of communication in all domains of public and private life among Israeli Jews" (Zuckermann, 2006, 2008, 2009: 41, 2010).

Coming from the same language family (West Semitic), PVA and IH share many linguistic similarities, however, they are not mutually intelligible and as such, there are many differences between them. Since the present study focuses solely on the spoken varieties of Arabic and Hebrew in Israel, I briefly outline some of the similarities and differences between those specific varieties.

Articles: Both PVA and IH have definite articles, but no indefinite articles. In Arabic, the definite article is either *al-* or *el-*, and in Hebrew, it is *ha-*. In both languages, the definite articles are clitics prefixed to nouns and adjectives. However, in contrast to Hebrew in which the article has consistent pronunciation, the *l* in the Arabic article maintains its original pronunciation, unless it is prefixed to a word beginning with a sun letter (t, t̲, d, d̲, r, z, s, š, s̲, ḍ, ṭ, z̲, l, n),

with which it assimilates. For example: ***ed****-dahab/*ARAB, ***ha****-zahav/*HEB 'the gold'; ***eṭ****-ṭawle/*ARAB, ***ha****-šolxan/*HEB 'the table'; ***el****-walad/*ARAB, ***ha****-yeled/*HEB 'the boy'

Nouns: Most nouns in Arabic and Hebrew are made of lexical roots. Such roots are put into affix templates to form meaningful nouns. Nouns in Arabic and Hebrew show number and gender (see below, *Agreement)*. Arabic nominals include singular, dual and plural features whereas Hebrew generally uses only singular and plural. As for the gender feature, Arabic and Hebrew have two types of markers: masculine and feminine. The neuter marker is not morphologically encoded in either of them.

Pronouns: pronouns have similar case features in both languages, and they inflect for person, gender and number. Shared cases include: nominative: *neħna/iħna/*ARAB*, ʔanaxno/*HEB 'we'; accusative: *-hon/-hen/*ARAB*, ʔotam/*HEB 'them'; genitive: *tabaʕ-ha/taʕ-ha/*ARAB*, šel-á/*HEB 'her'; and dative: *il-na/*ARAB*, la-nú/*HEB 'to us'.

Adjectives: In both languages, adjectives agree in gender, number and definiteness with the modified nouns (see below, *Agreement*). In the comparative construction, however, Arabic conforms to the $aC_1C_2a(C_3)$ pattern of the masculine singular form across all genders and numbers to form the comparative, whereas Hebrew uses the adjective with either the word *yoter* 'more', or *paxot* 'less' preceding it: *hada el-ħsān* ***aħsan*** *men hadak/*ARAB (this the horse (is) better than that)*, ha-sús haze* ***yoter tov*** *me-ha-šeni/*HEB (the horse this (is) more good than the second) 'this horse is better than that one'. In the superlative form, Arabic uses the same form as in the comparative, whereas Hebrew uses the adjective with the word *haxi* 'the most' preceding it: *hāi* ***aħsan*** *sayyara/*ARAB (this better car)*, ze ha-ʔauto* ***haxi tov****/*HEB (this the car the most good) 'this is the best car'.

Verbs: In the two languages, verbs have either three or four consonants in their simple form, which is called *ʒaḏer/*ARAB, *šoreš/*HEB 'root'. The two languages have three tenses: present, past and future (see below, *Verbal Sentences*). Verbal forms in both languages inflect for person, gender, number and tense. However, unlike Arabic, Hebrew verbs in the present tense inflect only for gender and number, and there is no person distinction (cf. Zuckermann, 2006). In addition to the three tenses, verbs in both languages are conjugated according to person, gender and number in the imperative mood: ***i-ftaħ*** *el-bāb/*2SGM, ***i-ftaħ-i*** *(e)l-bāb/*2SGF, ***i-ftaħ-ō*** *(e)l-bāb/*2PL/ARAB*;* ***ti-ftax*** *et ha-delet/*2SGM, ***ti-ftix-i*** *et ha-delet /*2SGF, ***ti-ftix-ú*** *et ha-delet/*2PL/HEB 'open the door!'

Clitics: In addition to the definite articles, Arabic and Hebrew have other shared clitics. For instance, some of the prepositions act as proclitics in both languages: *ʕa-/*ARAB*, le-/*HEB 'to' ***ʕa****-lquds/*ARAB*,* ***le****-yerušalayim/*HEB 'to

Jerusalem'; *be-/fe-*/ARAB, *ba-*/HEB 'in' ***be****-lbeit/fe-lbeit-*/ARAB, ***ba****-bayet*/HEB 'in the house'; *la-*/ARAB, *le-*/HEB 'for' *fi maktub* ***la****-ʕAnan* /ARAB, *yeš mextav* ***le****-ʕAnan* /HEB (there (a) letter for Anan) 'there is a letter for Anan'. Possessive adjectives in Arabic are attached as enclitics to nouns. Although Standard Hebrew exhibits such enclitics, they are much less frequent in the spoken variety. Instead, the 'of' form (taba'/ARAB shel/HEB=of), which agrees in gender and number with the noun it describes in both Arabic and Hebrew, is more commonly used in spoken Hebrew: *ktāb-****i***/ARAB, *sefr-****i***/HEB (book my) 'my book'; *el-ktāb* ***tabaʕ-i***/ARAB, *ha-sefer* ***šel-i***/HEB (the book of me) 'my book'; *sayyaret-****ha***/ARAB (car her), *ha-auto* ***šel-a*** /HEB (the car of her) 'her car'. Similarly, the Arabic possessive pronouns are attached as enclitics to the word *ʕend* 'at/to', to express the verb 'to have', whereas Hebrew uses *yeš* (there is) before the possessive pronouns, which are also attached to the preposition *l* 'to': ***ʕend-ha*** *beit kbir*/ARAB (at her (a) house big), ***yeš l-a*** *bayet gadol*/HEB (there is to her (a) house big) 'she has a big house.' While Arabic uses direct and indirect pronominal objects as enclitics, such a form is rare in Hebrew: *axadt-****o*** /ARAB, *lakax-ti* ***ʔoto***/HEB '(I) took him'; *ʕmelt-tel-****o*** *akel*/ARAB, *hexant-i* ***lo*** *ʔoxel*/HEB ((I) made for him food) 'I prepared him food'.

Word order: Although the main word order in Arabic is vso and in Hebrew is svo, it is inconstant and changeable in the spoken varieties. *akal-et toffaħa*/ARAB, *axal-ti tapuax*/HEB (ate I (an) apple) 'I ate an apple', *ʔana ba-ʕallem ṭollāb*/ARAB, *ʔani melam-éd stodent-im*/HEB 'I teach students'.

Agreement: Arabic and Hebrew are languages with a rich agreement system. Agreement in Arabic and Hebrew usually involves the person, gender, number and definiteness features. Both Arabic and Hebrew exhibit two gender markers: masculine and feminine. Although both languages do not exhibit gender constraints, in most cases the suffixes *-e* or *-a* in Arabic and *-a* or *-t* in Hebrew indicate the feminine form: *mʕallem*/M, *mʕalm-****e***/F/ARAB; *mor-e*/M, *mor-a*/F/HEB 'teacher'. Number markers in Arabic include singular, plural and dual, whereas in Hebrew the dual form is very rarely used. Generally, the suffixes *-in*/ARAB and *-im*/HEB, as well as the infix *<ā>*/ARAB are used for the masculine plural form; *-āt*/ARAB and *-ót*/HEB are used for the feminie plural form: *mʕalm-****in***/M, *mʕalm-****āt***/F/ARAB; *mor-****im***/M, *mor-****ót***/F/heb 'teachers'. Unlike Hebrew, Arabic exhibits many other plural patterns in the broken plural form, i.e. the irregular form, which are usually formed by changing the pattern of the consonants and vowels of the singular noun. The Arabic dual form is expressed in the suffix *-ēn*: *binet, bint-****ēn****, ban-****āt***/ARAB '(a) girl, two girls, girls'; *yald-a, yelad-****ót***/HEB '(a) girl, girls'. The agreement features hold between subjects and verbs as well as nouns and adjectives: *akal-****et*** *el-binet toffaħa*/ARAB (ate the girl (an) apple) 'the girl ate an apple', *akal-****o*** *el-wl<****ā****>d toffaħ*/ARAB

(ate the boys apples) 'the boys ate apples'; *ha-yald-**a** axl-**a** tapuax/*HEB 'the girl ate (an) apple', *ha-yelad-**im** axl-**ú** tapux-im/*HEB 'the boys ate apples'. Although noun-adjective agreement in both languages involves definiteness, the definite article does not change and has a consistent form across all genders and numbers: ***el**-binet **el**-ħelw-**e**/*ARAB; ***ha**-yald-**a** **ha**-yaf-**a** /*HEB (the girl the beautiful) 'the beautiful girl', ***el**-ban-**āt** **el**-ħelw-**āt**/*ARAB; ***ha**-ban-**ót** **ha**-yaf-**ót** /*HEB (the girls the beautiful) 'the beautiful girls'.

Pro-drop: Arabic and Hebrew are considered pro-drop languages; hence allow the ellipsis of subject pronouns, except for the Hebrew present tense. The agreement elements (person, number and gender) within the verb conjugations make it possible to fully identify the empty category of the subject: *ba**ħeb-ha**/*ARAB '(I) love her', ***ani** ʔohev **ʔota**/*HEB (I love her) 'I love her'; *katab-**It** maktub/*ARAB, *katav-**ti** mextav/*HEB (wrote (I) (a) letter) 'I wrote a letter'.

Nominal sentences: Arabic and Hebrew share many basic sentence structures. In present tense sentences (affirmative and negative), for instance, both Arabic and Hebrew generally have the subject linked with a predicate without using a copula, thus forming nominal sentences, often referred to as equational sentences. For example:

1) *hada ktāb/*ARAB, *ze sefer/*HEB
DEM N/ARAB, DEM N/HEB
this (a) book, this (a) book 'this is a book'

*hada miš ktāb /*ARAB, *ze lo sefer/*HEB
DEM NEG N/ARAB, DEM NEG N/HEB
this not (a) book, this not (a) book 'this is not a book'

Similarly, in both languages, interrogative sentences are formed by changing the intonation and tone of the voice: *hada ktāb?/*ARAB, *ze sefer?/*HEB (this (a) book?) 'Is this a book?'; *hada miš ktāb?/*ARAB, *ze lo sefer? /*HEB (this not (a) book?) 'Isn't this a book?'

Copular sentences: Arabic and Hebrew share the copular sentence structure in which the copulas, when used, agree with the subject in person, gender and number: *Sammy **bicun** ʕamm-i/*ARAB, *Sammy **hú** dod šeli/*HEB (Sammy is uncle mine) 'Sammy is my uncle'; *Einav **bitcun** mʕalmet-na/*ARAB, *Einav **hì** mora šel-ánu/*HEB (Einav is teacher ours) 'Einav is our teacher'. Although Hebrew sometimes maintains the copula in the negative form with the addition of the Hebrew negation marker *lo* 'no/not', Arabic omits the copula and only uses the negation marker *miš* 'not': *Sammy **miš** ʕamm-i/*ARAB (Sammy not uncle

mine)*, Sammy* ***hú lo*** *dod šeli/*HEB (Sammy is not uncle mine) 'Sammy is not my uncle'); *Einav* ***miš*** *mʕalmet-na/*ARAB (Einav not teacher ours)*, Einav* ***hì lo*** *mora šelánu/*HEB (Einav is not teacher ours) 'Einav is not our teacher'.

Verbal sentences, Verbal present tense sentences (I): Both Arabic and Hebrew have an equivalent to the English Present Simple tense. In Arabic, the verbs are conjugated according to the person, gender and number of the subject, whereas in Hebrew they are conjugated only according to gender and number (Zuckermann, 2006): *ʔana b****a****kt-****o****b/b****a****kt-****e****b/*ARAB*, ʔani kot-****e****v/*HEB 'I write'; *neħna mn****u****kt-****o****b/iħna mn****e****kt-****e****b/*ARAB*, ʔanaxno kotv-****im****/*HEB 'we write'.

While Hebrew only adds a time expression to the above form to indicate the Present Continuous tense, Arabic attaches the prefix *ʕam-* to express such a form: *ʔana ʕam-b****a****kt-****o****b/ʕam-b****a****kt-****e****b issa/*ARAB*, ʔani kot-****e****v ʕaxšav/*HEB 'I (am) writing now'; *neħna ʕam-n****u****kt-****o****b issa/iħna ʕam-n****e****kt-****e****b issa/*ARAB*, ʔanaxno kotv-****im*** *ʕaxšav/*HEB 'we (are) writing now'.

Verbal Past tense sentences (II): Both Arabic and Hebrew have an equivalent to the English Past Simple tense. In the Past Simple, the verbs are conjugated according to the person, gender and number of the subject, in both Arabic and Hebrew: *ʔana katab-****It****/*ARAB*, ʔani kat****a****v-****ti****/*HEB 'I wrote'; *neħna/iħna katab-****na****/*ARAB*, ʔanaxno kat****a****v-****nú****/*HEB 'we wrote'. The Past Continuous tense, although common in Arabic, is generally not used in Hebrew. The Past Continuous in Arabic is formed by using the copula *kan* 'was' before the present progressive form. The Arabic copula *kan* agrees with the subject in person, gender and number: *ʔana* ***kun-et*** *ʕam-b****a****kt-****o****b/ʕam-b****a****kt-****e****b/*ARAB 'I was writing'; *neħna* ***kun-na*** *ʕam-n****u****kt-****o****b/iħna* ***kun-na*** *ʕam-n****e****kt-****e****b/*ARAB 'We were writing'.

Verbal Future tense sentences (III): In both Arabic and Hebrew future tense ('will form'), the verbs are conjugated according to the person, gender and number of the subject. In addition to the verb conjugation, Arabic requires an auxiliary before the verb for both the 'will' and 'going to' forms, whereas Hebrew only requires one for the 'going to' form. As opposed to Arabic, Hebrew uses the infinitive verb for the 'going to' form, which does not change for person, gender or number. The auxiliaries used for the 'going to' form are *raħ/*ARAB and *holex le-/*HEB 'going to'. In addition to the auxiliary *raħ/*ARAB, the word *bad-i* (want) 'will', is also used for the 'will' form and is usually shortened in the 1PL from *bad-na* into *na-* (we want) 'we will'. The auxiliary *raħ/*ARAB 'going to' does not change for person, gender or number unlike all the rest, but its following verb does: *ʔana* ***raħ*** *a****k****t-****o****b/****a****kt-****e****b/*ARAB*, ʔani* ***holex le****-xtov/*HEB 'I (am) going to write'; *neħna* ***na-****n****u****kt-****o****b/iħna* ***na****-n****e****kt-****e****b/*ARAB, *ʔanaxno ne-xt****o****v/*HEB 'we will write'; *hunne* ***raħ yu-****k****u****tb-****ū*** */henne* ***raħ ye-****k****e****tb-****ū*** /ARAB, *hem* ***ye****-xt****e****v-****ú*** /HEB 'they will write'.

4 Theoretical approaches

In this study, the language of the Druze community shall be examined as going through the process of convergence and a composite Matrix Language formation, resulting in a split language, based on Myers Scotton's matrix language turnover hypothesis, which necessarily involves composite codeswitching. According to Myers-Scotton (2002), the matrix language turnover hypothesis requires longitudinal data of the relevant sort in order for it to be tested. The present study is based on data sets that were compiled in 2000 as well as 2017. Convergence is defined by Myers-Scotton (2006: 271) as "speech by bilinguals that has all the surface level forms from one language, but with part of the abstract lexical structure that underlies the surface-level patterns coming from another language (or languages)." Convergence occurs when there is a Matrix Language turnover in codeswitching. In between convergence and a complete turnover of the Matrix Language, there lies a stage of a composite Matrix Language formation. Composite Matrix Language formation occurs in a process called *composite codeswitching*. According to Fuller (1996), the defining feature of a converging language is the presence of this composite Matrix Language, which constitutes the second phase of a Matrix Language turnover.

Composite codeswitching is defined by Myers Scotton (2006: 242) as "a bilingual speech in which even though most of the morphosyntactic structure comes from one of the participating languages, the other language contributes some of the abstract structure underlying surface forms in the clause." According to Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame model (2006), in classic codeswitching, only one of the languages participating in the switch provides the morphosyntactic frame; namely the Matrix Language. In *composite codeswitching,* however*,* the morphosyntactic frame is provided from more than one of the participating languages, resulting in a composite Matrix Language frame, which involves convergence of the morphosyntactic frame, as well as of the features of some grammatical structures. Myers-Scotton (2002: 9) states that according to the Asymmetry Principle even if the Matrix Language involves a composite of abstract features from more than one language, "asymmetry still marks the contributory roles of the participating languages" and there is always "a movement toward the morphosyntactic dominance of one variety in the frame." Myers-Scotton (2002) defines split languages as languages that are based on input from two other varieties, showing a split in their basic organization. Such split either occurs in the lexicon and the grammatical system, or within the grammatical system and some types of morphology and phrase structures. According to the Matrix Language

turnover hypothesis, split languages arise when there is a matrix language turnover underway, but it does not reach full completion.

4.1 *The Matrix Language frame model and the 4-M model*

According to Myers-Scotton (2002: 247), "the Matrix Language is a theoretical construct, encapsulating the notion that all CPs (Projection of Complementizer) in any language are structured at the abstract level by a morphosyntactic frame." Such a frame is defined as the Matrix Language. In classic codeswitching, the Matrix Language is the one providing the morphosyntactic frame under the Matrix Language Frame model. In the "classic" Matrix Language Frame model, further discussed in the 4-M model of Myers-Scotton and Jake (2001), four types of morphemes are classified: (1) content morphemes and (2) system morphemes that are subdivided into early system morphemes and two types of late system morphemes: (3) bridge late system morphemes and (4) outsider late system morphemes.

Content morphemes are morphemes that assign or receive thematic roles (theta roles). Given that verbs usually assign theta roles and nouns usually receive them, they are prototypical examples of content morphemes. According to the Matrix Language frame model, such morphemes frequently come from the embedded language. *Early system morphemes*, on the other hand, are morphemes that depend on their head for further information, yet they do not assign or receive theta roles. Such morphemes include plural markings, determiners, and some prepositions called satellites that affect the meanings of some phrasal verbs in English. In Arabic and Hebrew examples of such morphemes include demonstratives that show agreement with their heads in both gender and number, such as (hai/ARAB hazot/HEB=this/SGF). *Bridge late system morphemes* are morphemes that occur between phrases to produce a larger constituent. Examples of such morphemes include the possessive elements, such as *of* and the possessive marker *-s* in English. In Arabic and Hebrew respectively, the possessive elements that show agreement in both gender and number, as well as the possessive suffixes in Arabic, are examples of such morphemes (taba'/ARAB shel/HEB=of). *Outsider late system morphemes* are morphemes which depend on information that is outside the element with which they occur. According to Myers-Scotton and Jake (2017), they are the agreement elements that make more transparent relationships between elements in the clause, especially in their roles as case markers or in co-indexing relations between arguments and verbs. For instance, the form of the agreement marker in subject-verb agreement in English depends on the subject, so whenever there is a third-person singular in the present tense, the suffix *-s* occurs, otherwise, it does not.

Similarly, Arabic and Hebrew subject-verb agreement is expressed through the addition of different clitics, depending on the tense, gender and number and cannot occur otherwise. Quantifiers in Arabic and Hebrew, such as *kull*/ARAB and *Kol*/HEB 'all' "look" outside their maximal projection when they are added to clitics to show gender and number agreement as in *kull-hun/kull-ayat-(h)un*/ARAB/PL and *kol-am*/HEB/M/PL 'all of them'. Also, in both Arabic and Hebrew the object pronouns change depending on case markers and the type of verb that requires them, for instance in *hiye naqalIt-ni*/ARAB*, hi he'vir-a ʔoti*/HEB 'she moved me', both the Arabic suffix *-ni* and the Hebrew object pronoun *ʔoti* appear as the accusative case of 'me'. Whereas in *hiyye šarahIt-li ed-dars*/ARAB, *hi hesbir-a li et ha-še'úr*/HEB 'she explained to me the lesson' both the Arabic suffix *-li* and the Hebrew object pronoun *li* appear as the dative case of 'me'. According to Myers-Scotton (2002: 248) "the late system morphemes are of special interest because they are structurally assigned, called by the grammar rather than accessed to convey speaker intentions." Myers-Scotton (1993) also asserts that in classic codeswitching, the system morphemes coming from the Embedded Language must come in the form of embedded language islands. Such islands include: formulaic expressions and idioms, other time and manner expressions, quantifier expressions, non-quantifier, non-time NPs as VP complements, agent NPs and thematic role and case assigners. Myers-Scotton (2008, 2013), Jake and Myers-Scotton (2009) and Myers-Scotton and Jake (2009, 2017) further emphasize that in classic codeswitching, bridges and outsiders are never provided by the Embedded Language Furthermore, in composite codeswitching, embedded language outsiders do not occur, except in the form of islands, which is also not very common.

Out of the category of system morphemes, one type of system morphemes, namely the outsider late system morpheme, plays a critical role in defining the Matrix Language as is evident in Myers-Scotton's System Morpheme Principle (2002: 59): "in Matrix Language + Embedded Language constituents, all system morphemes which have grammatical relations external to their head constituent (i.e. which participate in the sentence's thematic role grid) will come from the Matrix Language."

According to Myers-Scotton (2002: 248), the outsider late system morphemes are of utmost importance, and when they are provided from the "previous" Embedded language, that is a sign that there is an evident change in the morphosyntactic frame structuring the language. Convergence, which involves the splitting and recombining of abstract grammatical structure, causes the frame to change and receive system morphemes from the second language. Therefore, "a chain of events, beginning with convergence, results in new grammatical outcomes on both abstract and surface levels."

This study examines convergence and a composite Matrix Language formation resulting in a split language, mainly based on system morpheme occurrences. Since both Arabic and Hebrew are Semitic languages that share many similarities in morpheme order, the Morpheme Order Principle5 is sparsely utilized in this study.

4.2 *The Matrix Language Turnover hypothesis*

In opposition to the Matrix Langauge Frame model in which only one language provides the morphosyntactic frame, the Matrix Language turnover hypothesis suggests that there is a phase in which the Matrix Language becomes a composite, that is, both languages make up the morphosyntactic frame. Myers-Scotton (1998, 2002, 2003) and Fuller (1996) further explicate the stages of the Matrix Language turnover hypothesis:

Stage I: In this stage, intra-sentential codeswitching occurs frequently, though the Matrix Language is still the provider of the system morphemes and sets the morphosyntactic frame by itself. As in the "classic" Matrix Language Frame model, the Embedded Language contributes the content morphemes as well as the Embedded Language islands to the Matrix Language Frame. Borrowings from the Embedded Language become core borrowings, and EL structures may become lexicalized in the Matrix Language. Some of the Matrix Language categories may take on the functions of the Embedded Language.

Stage ii: In this stage, composite codeswitching occurs, as both languages begin to converge, causing the previous Matrix Language to lose its undisputed role as the source of the Matrix Langauge Frame in bilingual CPs. Simultaneously, the embedded language gains power. Convergence is represented by the splitting and recombining of abstract lexical structure, having both the Matrix Language and the Embedded Language set the morphosyntactic frame, altogether forming a composite Matrix Language. There are three types of convergence that occur throughout the process of the composite Matrix Language formation:

(1) The 'previous' Embedded Language provides late system morphemes, mainly with content morphemes from the same language. In comparison, bridge and outsider late system morphemes are strictly provided by the Matrix Language, in the case of classic codeswitching;

5 The Morpheme Order Principle of Myers-Scotton (2002: 59): "in Matrix Language + Embedded Language constituents consisting of singly occurring Embedded Language lexemes and any number of Matrix Language morphemes, surface morpheme order (reflecting surface syntactic relations) will be that of the Matrix Language."

(2) A violation of congruence requirements occurs, since both the Matrix language and the Embedded Language provide lexical conceptual structures and morphological realization patterns. Such structures will come out from either or both of the languages, forming a composite language structure;
(3) If the Matrix Language has a diversity of structures, such as word order possibilities, then the preferred structure would be that most resembling the Embedded Language construction.

Stage iii: In this stage, there is a complete turnover of the Matrix Language. Such turnover is characterised by a turnover of the System Morpheme Principle. While in the Matrix Language Frame model the Matrix Language was the main contributor of the system morphemes occurring with content morphemes from the Embedded Language; here it is the complete opposite: The previous Embedded Language, which becomes the new Matrix Language, provides the system morphemes, with the occurrence of content morphemes from the former Matrix Language, i.e. the new Embedded Language. Content morphemes may also come from both languages, though with the new Matrix Language lexical-conceptual and predicate-argument structures.

Myers-Scotton (2002: 249) argues that "split languages represent turnovers that do not go to completion, but stop 'along the way'; where they stop partly determines the form they show today." The main analysis of the data of this study assesses the language spoken by the Druze community in Israel as a composite Matrix Language resulting in a split language, that is, one that is constructed from linguistic varieties of two languages: Palestinian Arabic and Israeli Hebrew. Therefore, the second phase of the Matrix Language Turnover hypothesis is of utmost relevance to the current study.

5 Split languages

Many researchers proposed different definitions as to what counts as a split language, a.k.a. mixed language. Most of the definitions include lists of lexical and grammatical elements. However, Myers-Scotton (2002: 249) contrasts such definitions and proposes two definitions, one strong definition and a less stringent one respectively:

> i-A split language exhibits almost its entire morphosyntactic frame from a different source language from large portions of its lexicon; this frame includes almost all of its late system morphemes from the language of the morphosyntactic frame.

> ii-A split language exhibits a major constituent with its system morphemes and major parts of the morphosyntactic frame from a different source language from that of most of the lexicon and the morphosyntactic frame of other constituents.

Myers-Scotton explains that the overall difference between split languages and other languages lies in the sense that the splits occur not only in features, but also in systems of features. In the case of system morphemes, for instance, they count as a system, whereas late system morphemes count as a subsystem, hence a system of a feature.

When differentiating between a composite Matrix Language that is characterized as such for its composite abstract structure and a split language, she suggests two abstract constructs (2002: 252): (1) the notion of a composite Matrix Language that includes both abstract lexical structure and a split of the source for *grammatically crucial surface-level system morphemes* and the main source for content morphemes, and (2) the notion that this state of affairs begins a Matrix Language turnover, but a turnover that is arrested at some point.

Under such definitions, Myers-Scotton recognizes three languages that count as split languages: I-*Michif*, a unique mixed language which is composed of a mixture of Cree and French, and is spoken by fewer than a thousand people in the provinces of Saskatchewan and Manitoba in Canada, and in North Dakota and Montana in the United States (Bakker, 1997). ii-*Ma'a*, a.k.a. Mbugu, a split language that is spoken in the Usambara district of north-eastern Tanzania. Its structure mainly consists of a Bantu grammar (Pare and Shamba) and a Cushitic lexicon (Mous, 2003). iii-*Mednyj Aleut*, which is a split language of the Copper Island Aleuts (cia) (Vakhtin, 1998). According to Thomason (1997), this language was moribund and was rapidly replaced by Russian. It is composed of Aleut lexicon and Russian grammar.

Such split languages, among the rest, generally come from the same sociolinguistic background. According to Bakker (1997: 203), these languages "are spoken by ethnic groups who were originally bilingual but, for some reason, wanted to distinguish themselves collectively from both groups whose languages they speak. The speakers of each of these languages form a distinct group, either a subgroup of a larger division or a completely different group." Such split language formation stresses the distinctness of the group. Split languages have special names which distinguish them from other languages spoken in the area which consequently form a distinct identity of the speakers of such language. In the case of the Druze community in Israel that is "sandwiched" between the Arabs and Jews, forming a new split language denotes a distinct group, which is distinguished from both groups "whose languages they speak."

6 Data and Examples

6.1 *The data collection*

The data used in this study is based on different data sets from the years 2000 and 2017. All data come from recordings of spontaneous speech, that is, naturally occurring conversations. All the examples involving Hebrew/Arabic codeswitching were audio-recorded in different places in Israel. The fieldwork generated seventeen recordings. Each recording lasted around 60 minutes, and speakers were involved in codeswitching for most of the recordings.

The participants of the present study are ten Druze speakers, 6 females and 4 males, coming from different Druze villages (excluding the Golan Heights) and Arab/Druze mixed villages in Israel, and their language behaviour reflects the language behaviour of the majority of the other residents in their villages. Six recordings include the same participants from the previous data set (2000). All participants are multilingual speakers, highly proficient in both Arabic and Hebrew, with Arabic occupying their L1 and Hebrew their L2. They range in age from 25 to 45. The speakers include 5 professionals (a TV journalist, a teacher, a shopkeeper, a manager and a customer service agent) and 5 students from different departments, at various degree levels. Switching between these languages is extremely common among the Druze community, and almost in all the Druze villages in Israel, it is considered the unmarked mode of communication.

Table 1 Distribution of the Participants by gender, age, occupation and year/years of participation

Participant	Age	Gender	Occupation	Data set 2000	Data set 2017
1	25	F	Student		+
2	35	F	Student		+
3	45	F	Shopkeeper	+	+
4	39	M	Customer service agent	+	+
5	36	F	Student	+	+
6	44	M	Manager	+	+
7	42	M	Teacher	+	+
8	35	M	Student		+
9	33	F	Student		+
10	38	F	TV Journalist	+	+

6.2 *Examples and analysis*

To illustrate the process of convergence and a composite Matrix Language formation through a Matrix Language turnover in the given community, I present tables with data from the different years and analyse different examples of codeswitching between the two languages. The research questions addressed for the following examples are: Is there any difference between the types of codeswitching used in the different data sets? Is there a case of a turnover of the Matrix Language? Is there a case of a split language formation?

The main premises to be supported, especially for these data, are the following: First, codeswitching among the Israeli Druze has been changing over the years from classic codeswitching to composite codeswitching. Second, the turnover does not go to full completion but stops along the way, forming a new split language. Table 2 shows the total number of the sampled CPs,6 as well as morphemes coming from both languages recorded in the previous data sets (2000).

6.2.1 Examples of codeswitching

Examples (2) through (7) illustrate Arabic/Hebrew codeswitching from the previous data sets (2000). All examples are of multilingual speakers fluent in both Palestinian Arabic and Israeli Hebrew, with Palestinian Arabic being their

Table 2 Proportion of the languages in codeswitching (2000)

Language	**Palestinian Arabic**	**Israeli Hebrew**	**Both Languages**
Total number of CPs			602
Total number of morphemes	817	698	1515
Percentage	53.9%	46.1%	100%

6 Myers-Scotton (2010) chooses the CP (projection of complementizer, i.e. a clause with a complementizer, where the complementizer is often null) as a unit of analysis for the following reasons: (i) A CP is the highest unit projected by lexical elements and can be defined in terms of phrase structure. (ii) It is used as a unit of analysis for different syntactic models. (iii) A CP can contain null elements, thus avoids problems regarding the status of constituents with null elements such as exclamations.

native tongue. In classic codeswitching, the Matrix Language sets the morpho-syntactic frame. Embedded Language lexemes, however, are either integrated into the Matrix Language Frame; appear in bare form, or as part of an Embedded Language island. In the Arabic/Hebrew codeswitching data recorded in 2000, such constraints are realized. In (2) there is an instance of a common switch in which the definite article in Palestinian Arabic *el-* or *al-* 'the', which is not a free morpheme but is prefixed to nouns and adjectives in Arabic, is actually prefixed to nouns in Hebrew, thus Hebrew nouns are inserted into an Arabic frame. Hebrew-derived elements are underlined; other elements are from Arabic, morphemes under discussion or focal are in bold.

(2) *šū kanet* ***el-<u>ṭaʕana</u>*** *innu lamma dašar-u awal marra?*
What was the-claim that when split-PST-3PL first time?
'What was the claim when they split the first time?'

In (3) a young Druze lady produces a Hebrew masculine noun inflected with the Arabic feminine plural suffix *-āt*, which is usually suffixed to the feminine singular stem of the nouns in Arabic, thus forming a hybrid plural. In Hebrew, the plural suffix *-im* is added to the masculine singular nouns, thus the word *pkak-im* '(traffic) jams' would be the standard. It is important to note that the word *pkak* '(traffic) jam' is a case of a core borrowing, since Arabic has the viable equivalents *izdiħam*'(traffic) jam' and *izdiħam-āt* '(traffic) jams'. This is a sign of phase I of a Matrix Language turnover since the core borrowing of the Hebrew word *pkak* has its structure becoming lexicalized in the Matrix Language, Arabic, as it is given plural according to the Arabic pattern. Matras (2009) suggests viewing the phenomena of borrowing and codeswitching as related points on a continuum. According to his theory, the word *pkak*, for instance, would have started at one point and moved to the other end of the codeswitching-borrowing continuum.

(3) *<u>Slixa</u> inno tʔakhar-et heik <u>pašūt</u> kan fi ktir* ***<u>pkak-āt</u>*** *ʕa-ṭariq*
Sorry that be late-1SG-PST like that simply was in a lot traffic-PL on-the way
'Sorry that I was late, there was simply a lot of traffic on the way.'

In (4) a Druze male uses an Arabic auxiliary for a verb in the future in Hebrew, in which auxiliaries are not commonly used in such a case, instead, the verb itself is inflected for the future tense. In Hebrew the sentence would be: 'ani ***i-stader*** eito, al tidʔag-i'

(4) *ana* ***raħ*** ***a-stad-er*** *maʕ-o* *al* *tidʔag-i*
I will 1SG-FUT- get/along with-him not worry-2SG-PRS
'I will get along with him, do not worry.'

Example (5) shows a Hebrew verb which is inflected with an Arabic pronominal clitic and followed by an Arabic direct object. In Arabic *a-* is prefixed to the verb after an auxiliary to mark the future tense, whereas in Hebrew *le* is prefixed to the verb in such cases.

(5) *ana raħ* ***a-nak-e*** *el-beit* *issa*
I going to 1SG-clean-FUT the-house now
'I am going to clean the house now'

In Arabic, the sentence would be:
'ana raħ ***a-naḍef*** el-beit issa'
I going to 1SG-clean-FUT the-house now 'I am going to clean the house now'
And in Hebrew, the equivalent would be:
'ani holex-et ***le-nakot*** et ha-bayet 'axshav'
I going to-1SGF INF-clean the-house now 'I am going to clean the house now'

Example (6) shows codeswitching that is reflected in change in word order. In the example below, a Druze lady switches the word order of the Hebrew determiner *ka-zot* and the noun *semla* to match it to the order in Arabic. In Arabic it would be *heik festyan* (such (a) dress), whereas in Israeli Hebrew it would be *semla ka-zot* ((a) dress such) 'such a dress'. In addition, the speaker uses an Arabic copula *kon-et* 'was' with a Hebrew adjective *mogb-elet* 'limited' which shows agreement with the Arabic pronoun 1sgf. This example illustrates the role of Arabic as the Matrix Language, since it sets the morpheme order of the frame.

(6) *ei* *ʕa-lʕaša* *tabaʕ-* *jeb-et* ***kaz-ot*** ***semla*** *bteʕer-fi* *haḍa* *el..* *bteʕer-fi*
ha
Yeah on-the dinner of-her bring-1SG-PST such a dress know-2SG-PRS this the know-2SG-PRS
kon-et ***mogb<e>l-et*** *hai* *el-marra* *ʕašan* *baṭn-i*
was-1SGF limited-1SG this the-time because of (pregnancy) belly-my
'Yeah, I brought such a dress for her dinner party, you know this…you know I was limited this time because of my (pregnancy) belly.'

In (7) there is case in which the speaker uses a Hebrew verb and an adjective that agree with an Arabic pronoun in gender and number. In addition, the speaker uses an associative from Arabic *taʕ-hun* 'their' with a Hebrew noun *ʔofi* 'character'.

(7) ***hunni*** ***ʔoh<a>v-im*** *derexagav* *šeʕmūm* ***hunni*** ***mešaʕmem-im*** ***b-el-ʔofi*** ***taʕ-hun***
They love-3PL-PRS by the way boredom they boring-3PL in-the-character of-them
'They love, by the way, boredom, they are boring in their character.'

From the examples given above, it is evident that this level of codeswitching is part of the first phase of the Matrix Language turnover hypothesis. The first phase is reflected herein by the frequent Arabic/Hebrew codeswitching occurrences, while maintaining the role of the Matrix Language, Arabic, as the main provider of the system morphemes. Hebrew, which is the Embedded Language in this data set, provides content morphemes and Embedded Language islands that fit into the Matrix Language Frame model, thus maintaining its role as an Embedded Language. Table 3 shows the total number of the sampled CPs, as well as morphemes coming from both languages recorded in the present data sets (2017).

In the 1993 version of the Matrix Language Frame model, Myers-Scotton presented one of the principles defining the Matrix Language as being the source of more morphemes in a given discourse sample. However, in her later version (1997), she completely rejected that claim and it no longer appeared in any of her publications ever since. The data presented in table 3, however, explicitly show that Israeli Hebrew is the source of more morphemes in the present sample. That obviously does not define Israeli Hebrew as the Matrix Language, but it definitely adds ambiguity and raises questions about its evident dominance and undermines the role of Arabic as a matrix Language. The data specifically show that Israeli Hebrew is the unmarked choice that quantitatively supplies more morphemes to the discourse than Palestinian Arabic, which appears

Table 3 Proportion of the languages in codeswitching (2017)

Language	**Palestinian Arabic**	**Israeli Hebrew**	**Mixed**
Total number of CPs			1412
Total number of morphemes	1267	1458	2725
Percentage	46.5%	53.5%	100%

Table 4 Breakdown of the types of morphemes (2017)

Language	Palestinian Arabic	Israeli Hebrew	Total	Examples
Content morphemes	571	854	1425	*Eštaret*/ARAB 'bought' *xanoot*/HEB 'shop'
Early system morphemes	401	273	674	*el-*/ARAB 'the' *ze*/HEB 'this'
Bridge system morphemes	102	147	249	*taʕ-hun*/ARAB 'of them=their/ theirs' *šel-i*/HEB 'of me=my/mine'
Outsider system morphemes	193	184	377	*-li*/DAT/ARAB 'for me' *li*/DAT/HEB 'for me'

to be the marked choice in the present discourse sample. Table 4, however, reinforces the dominance of Hebrew and shakes Arabic's role as the Matrix Language since Hebrew introduces a significant number of total system morphemes and more late system morphemes than Arabic. It is important to note that such system morphemes appear both independently and in Embedded Language islands. The introduction of the different system morphemes is a clear indication of a change in the morphosyntactic frame structuring the language. Table 4 shows the total number of the different types of the sampled morphemes used in each language, as well as the total number of the different morphemes coming from both languages recorded in the present data sets (2017).

6.2.2 Examples of codeswitching and convergence (composite codeswitching)

Examples (8) through (23) illustrate codeswitching and convergence to Israeli Hebrew in the present data sets (2017). All examples are of multilingual speakers fluent in both Palestinian Arabic and Israeli Hebrew, with Palestinian Arabic being their native tongue. Six of the participants are the same participants from the previous study conducted in 2000, thus the selected examples are taken mainly from their speech. The present data sets indicate that Hebrew plays a role in setting the morphosyntactic frame, which is a sign of a composite Matrix Language formation. Example (8) illustrates the Arabic determiner *el-* 'the' as a frequently reoccurring early system morpheme followed by Hebrew content morphemes, e.g. *xanoot* and *simla* in this specific example. This mixed DP structure is the most common DP structure found in the data. In (8), there

is also an instance in which the Hebrew content morpheme *ve* 'and', which is usually prefixed to Hebrew morphemes, is actually prefixed to an Arabic content morpheme *eštar-et* 'bought' while assimilating the *e* from both languages. Example (8) also represents convergence of morphological realization pattern as the speaker puts an Arabic possessive phrase, that is, Arabic words, into a Hebrew pattern (*lal-ʕores tabaʕ ʕAnan*/ARAB, *laxatuna šel ʕAnan*/HEB 'for the wedding of 'Anan') instead of the Arabic counterpart (*la-ʕores ʕAnan* 'for 'Anan's wedding'). Hebrew-derived elements are underlined; other elements are from Arabic, morphemes under discussion or focal are in bold.

(8)	*Mbareħ*	*roħ-et*	*ʕala*	***el-***<u>*xanoot*</u>	***ve-***<u>*štar-et*</u>	*hai*	***el-***<u>*simla*</u>	***lal-ʕores***	***tabaʕ***	***ʕAnan***
	Yesterday	go-1SG-PST	to	the-shop	and-buy-1SG-PST	this	the-dress	for the-wedding	of	ʕAnan

'Yesterday I went to the shop and bought this dress for 'Anan's wedding.'

In (9) there is an instance in which the Hebrew connector *ve* 'and' is prefixed to an Arabic preposition *mIn* 'from'. Other common switches show multiple instances in which Hebrew modifiers are used with Arabic elements.

(9)	<u>*az*</u>	*jebet*	*mIn*	*ʕend-ha*	*heik*	*eši*	<u>*meʔod*</u>
	So	bring-1SG-PST	from	at-her	like this	something	very

<u>*ʦamūd*</u> *mIn hoan* ***ve-****mIn hoan byiji* <u>*kaze*</u> *koħli*
tight from here and-from here come-3SG-PRS like this navy blue
'So I brought from her something like this, very tight from here and from here it comes navy blue like this.'

In (10) we have a case of a Druze lady who prefixes the Hebrew preposition *be-* 'in' to an Arabic article prefixed to a Hebrew noun (*be-l-baʕaya*), in addition to using the Arabic grammatical rule of inflecting possessive adjective suffix to a verb while assimilating the consonant, and applies it upon a Hebrew verb (*yetapel-i*). In Hebrew, possessive dative pronouns occur as free morphemes and are not suffixed to verbs. The speaker inflects the possessive dative pronoun *li* 'for me' in Hebrew to a verb in Hebrew while assimilating the consonant *l* instead of using the Hebrew counterpart (***yetapel li*** *baba'aya* 'treat my problem'). In Arabic it would be ***yʕalej-li*** *(e)l-moškle.* This example has two CPs with the Arabic complementizer *ʕašan* 'so that' between them, and the second CP coming mainly from Hebrew.

(10) *roħet la-ʕend el-rofe* ***ʕašan yetapel-i be-l-baʕaya***
Go-1SG-PST to-at the-doctor so that treat-3SG-FUT-for me in-the-problem
'I went to the doctor so that he would treat my problem.'

In (11) we have a case of a Druze lady who uses a Hebrew negation marker *lo* 'not' with an Arabic verb *ħat-eit* 'put'.

(11) *ana* ***lo*** ***ħat-eit*** *yoter medai* *kesef*
I not put-1SG-PST too much money
'I did not [...] put too much money.'

In (12) there is an opposite case in which speaker B uses an Arabic negation marker *miš* 'not' with a Hebrew verb *ʕokevet* 'follow'. In addition, speaker A inflects the Arabic pronominal clitic *b-* to the Hebrew verb *yagiš* 'present', which is an indication of a composite. In Arabic the equivalent would be *be-qadem*, while in Hebrew it would be *mI-giš.*

(12a) *qadei?* *kull waħad keʔelū akam men yom* ***b-yagiš?***
How many? each one as if how many day PRS- present/3SG
'How many (days)? That is, how many days does each one present?'

(12b) *ba-ʕref-eš* *ta-ʔemet ana* ***miš*** ***ʕokev-et*** *wara lo*
1SG-know-PRS-NEG the-truth I not follow-1SG-PRS after not

yodaʕ-at nerʔa li_ yomein fi-l-jomʕa heik eši
know- seems me two days In-the- week like that something
1SGF-
PRS
'I don't know, the truth is I am not keeping track (of them), I don't know, I think two days a week, something like that.'

Example (13) shows a Hebrew bridge system morpheme-the relative pronoun *še-* 'that' being inflected with the Arabic pronoun *neħna* 'we'. In addition, the example shows the use of an Arabic late system morpheme-the pronominal clitic *m-,* which co-indexes the subject, inflected to the Hebrew verb *y-axlif* 'change', thus showing another indication of a composite. The Arabic counterpart would be *m-In-ɣayyer* while the correct Hebrew form would be *n-axlif.*

(13) *ed-dar* *keʔelū* *elli* *neħna* *axrei* ***še-neħna*** *nu-skun*
the-house that is that we after that-we 1PL-live-FUT

fi-ha ***m-n-axlif*** *el-rehūt*
in-it 1PL-FUT-change the- furniture

'The house, that is, that we, after, that we live in, we'll change the furniture.'

Example (14) shows an additional composite case in which a Hebrew negation morpheme *ein* 'not' is used with an Arabic pronoun. The speaker suffixes the Hebrew dative pronoun *li* 'for me' to the negation marker *ein*, a pattern which is generally used in Arabic, but not in Hebrew. In addition, an Arabic early system morpheme—the singular feminine demonstrative *hai*—is used with a Hebrew plural noun, thus the agreement rule for both languages is violated. However, the Arabic feminine demonstrative *hai* was used instead of the masculine demonstrative *hada* to show agreement with the gender of the Israeli noun. However, the Hebrew noun is inflected with the Arabic determiner *el*, which would be incorrect in Hebrew as it will not take a determiner in such cases.

(14) *ana* ***ein-li*** *savlanut* *la* ***hai*** ***el-štuyot***
I not have-for me patience for this-SGF the nonsense-PLF
'I do not have patience for this nonsense.'

In Arabic the sentence would be:
'ana ***ma ʕend-iš*** ṣaber la ***hada (e)l-habal***'
I NEG have-not patience for DEM the-nonesense 'I do not have patience for this nonsense'
In Hebrew the equivalent would be:
'(ani) ***ein li*** savlanut ***la-štuyot ha-ʔelo***'
I not-have for-me patience for-nonesense DEM/pl 'I do not have patience for this nonsense'

Example (15) represents convergence of lexical-conceptual structure that is reflected in change in the semantic meaning of a verb. In this example we have a case in which the Arabic verb *ʕabar* 'crossed' and the Israeli verb *ʕavar* 'passed/ crossed', that are phonetically similar, though not semantically so, is used to covey the meaning of the Hebrew counterpart. The use of this verb is based upon the Hebrew verb *ʕavar,* which conveys two meanings; both 'passed' and 'crossed'. The existing sense of the Arabic verb *ʕabar*, has nothing to do with the meaning of *pass*, like the Hebrew one does.

(15) *hōwi* ***ʕabar*** *el-mevxan* *be-hetstaynūt*
He pass-3SG-PST the-test in-excellence
'He passed the test excellently.'

In (16) there is an example of inter-sentential codeswitching, in which speaker B, who produces a whole clause in Hebrew, uses a Hebrew early system morpheme-the singular masculine demonstrative *ze* 'this' as it would have been used in Arabic, but not in Hebrew though. In Hebrew, the plural form *ele* 'these' would be used whereas in Arabic, it would be the singular form *hai* 'this'. Therefore, the singular element in *ze* is co-indexed with the Arabic singular element of 'life' (ħayā). In addition, late outsider system morphemes in the form of verb agreement are taken from Hebrew, as both speaker A and speaker B use them with Hebrew verbs, showing agreement with Arabic pronouns. Such usage is quite recurrent in the present data.

(16a)	*ken*	*ana*	*ʕar-fe*	***hiye***	*kaman*	*ma-kane-teš*	*lo*	***yad-ʕa***	*le-mtso*	*et* ***ʕatsm-a***
	Yes	I	know-1SGF-PRS	she	also	NEG-is-3SGF-PST	no	know-3SGF-PST	INF-to find	ACC herself-3SGF

'Yes, I know, she also wasn't, didn't know (how) to find her way'

(16b)	***ze***	*šū*	*badd-i*	*qul-ek*	*lo*	***yod-aʕat***	***ze***	***xayim***	*mešaʕmem-im*	*meʔod*
	this	what	want-1SG-PRS	tell-2sgf	no	know-1SGF-PRS	this/DEM	life	boring-PL	very

'This, what can I tell you, (I) don't know, this is a very boring life.'

Example (17) represents convergence of morphological realization patterns that is reflected in change in word order. In the example below, a Druze lady switches the word order of the Arabic adverb *nebqa* 'sometime' and the verb *nrūħ* 'go' to match it to the order in Hebrew. In Arabic it would be *la-wein* ***na-nebqa nrūħ*** (to where we'll sometime go), whereas in Hebrew it would be *leʔan* ***ne-lex mataišeho*** (to where we'll go sometime) 'where we'll go to sometime'. In addition, as in the previous example, the Hebrew outsider system morpheme *-aʕat* is inflected with a Hebrew verb to show agreement with the speaker (1sgf).

(17)	*lo*	***yod-aʕat***	*la-wein*	***nan-rūħ***	**nebqa**
	not	know-1SGF-PRS	to-where	1PL-FUT-go	sometime

'I don't know where we'll go to sometime.'

In (18) there is another example of change in word order, which is reflected in switching the order of a noun and an adjective. In this example the speaker uses the Hebrew adjective *stam* 'nonesense/stupid' with the Arabic noun *šayʏlat* 'things' while flipping the order between the two to match the Hebrew

pattern. In Arabic it would be *šayl-āt taf-ha* (things stupid), while in Hebrew the order of the two would be *stam dvar-im* (stupid things) 'stupid things'. Also, the possessive Hebrew element *-i* occurs as part of the Hebrew island *me-bxenat-i* 'from my perspective' to agree with the Arabic pronoun *ana* 'I'. In addition, as in the previous examples, Hebrew outsider system morphemes are inflected with Hebrew verbs to show agreement with the Arabic pronoun (1SG).

(18) *yaʕni*	***ana***	***me-bxenat-i***	*lo*		***a-škiyaʕ***	*yoter medai*	*a-štri*	*dār*	*ye-še-ye hye-li*
meaning	I	from-perspective-my	not		1SG-FUT invest	too much	1SG-FUT buy	house	and-that-FUT-be-for me

nexes	wa-la	**a-škeyaʕ**	ʕala	**stam**	**šayl-āt**	bteʕer-fi
asset	and-not	1SG- FUT invest	on	stupid	things	know-PRS-2SGF

'That means, from my own perspective, I will not invest too much, I will buy a house so that I will have an asset and I will not invest (money) on stupid things, you know.'

In (19) there is a case in which the quantifier *kol-am* 'all of them', which is an outsider late system morpheme that must look outside its verb for information about its form, is used in Hebrew instead of its Arabic equivalent *kull-hun* or *kull-ayat-(h)un*. Also, as in the previous examples, a Hebrew outsider system morpheme is inflected with a Hebrew verb to show agreement with the Arabic pronoun (1SG).

(19) *hunni*	***kol-am***	*raħ-u*	*ʕal-al-xatuna*	***ana***	*lo*	***rats-iti***		*a-ruħ*	*la-ɣad*
They	all-of them	go-3PL PST	to-the-wedding	I	not	want-1SG pst		inf/to-go	to-there

'All of them went to the wedding; I didn't want to go there.'

Note that in (20) there is a case in which another outsider system morpheme is taken from Hebrew rather than Arabic, this time it is the complementizer *bešvil-a* 'for her', used instead of its Arabic counterpart *ʕašan-ha*. The complementizer *bešvil 'for'*, just like its Arabic counterpart *ʕašan*, has to look for information outside of its verb to shape its form. It is co-indexed with Eman (3sgf). Here again, as in the previous examples, a Hebrew outsider system morpheme is inflected with a Hebrew verb to show agreement with the Arabic pronoun (3sgf).

(20a) *ken w-keef Eman **me-stader-et** ɣad maʕ kull el-laxaʦ w-el-hai?*
Yes and-how Eman PRS- manage-3SGF there with all the pressure and-the-this?
'Yes, and how is Eman managing there with all the pressure and such?'

(20b)

beseder	*besax hakol*	*ein*	*laxaʦ*	*yaʕni*	*šū*	*yaʕni*	*ma?*	*Im-ha*	*kvar*	*ʕemlet*	*el-kababi*	***bešvil-u***	*ʕend*	*oxt-ha*
fine	after all	no	pressure	meaning	what	meaning	what-EXC	mom-her	already	do-3SG-PST	the-Kababi	for-her	at	sister her

'Fine, after all there is no pressure, I mean, what for? Her mom had already done the Kababi (type of food) for her at her sister's.'

Interestingly, in (21) the Hebrew preposition *le* 'to' is prefixed to the Arabic proper name *elquds*, where in Arabic the equivalent *ʕala* is used interchangeably with the inflected form *ʕa-*, thus 'to Jerusalem' would be *ʕala (e)lquds/ ʕa-lquds* in this sentence, whereas in Hebrew it would be *le-yerušalayim.* It is noteworthy that a phonetically similar preposition exists in Arabic *la-* 'to/for'. Such a similarity may pose some confusion regarding the origin of the morpheme. However, the Arabic preposition *la* is not used for places but for people and things. For example: *aʕṭet-ha **la-**ʕanan* 'I gave it to 'Anan'. This shift to Hebrew, the 'old' Embedded language, not only violates the Uniform Structure Principle which gives preference to Matrix Language grammatical elements, but also illustrates a turnover of the system morpheme principle of the Matrix Language Frame. Here again, as in the previous examples, a Hebrew outsider system morpheme is inflected with a Hebrew verb to show agreement with the Arabic pronoun (2PL). It is interesting to note that although the Hebrew VP *taʕvir-u* 'move-2PL/FUT' is elected over the Arabic counterpart *tonoql-u,* it is applied upon an Arabic pattern, since in Hebrew the correct form of the verb in such a sentence would be *le-haʕvir* 'to move'.

(21) *badk-o* ***taʕvir-u*** *et zeh* ***le-lquds****?*
want-2PL/PRS move-2PL/FUT ACC this to-Jerusalem
'Do you want to move this to Jerusalem?'

In (22) there is a case in which the speaker uses a bridge late system morpheme from Hebrew *šel* 'of' with nouns and determiners from Arabic. *šel* is an associative marker that shows agreement in both gender and number. In this example *šel-i* is co-indexed with first person (me) and *šel-xa* is co-indexed with second person (you). This example also contradicts Myers-Scotton's (1993) principle

that the system morphemes coming from the Embedded Language must come in the form of embedded language islands, thus showing another indication that there is a case of composite Matrix Language formation.

(22) *hada* *el-finjan* ***šel-i*** *hadak* ***šel-xa***
this the cup of-me that of-you/2SGM
'This cup is mine, that one is yours.'

In (23) a Druze male uses a Hebrew auxiliary for a verb in the future in Arabic. In addition, a Hebrew outsider system morpheme is inflected with a Hebrew verb to show agreement with the Arabic pronoun (2SGF).

(23) *ana* ***holex*** ***a-ħleq*** *šaʕ-ri* ***ʦrix-a*** *mašho?*
I going to FUT/1SG-cut hair-my need-2SG/PRS something?
'I am going to cut my hair, do you need anything?'

The above examples and tables indicate that there is a case of composite matrix language formation of Arabic and Hebrew. This composite conforms to stage ii of the Matrix Language Turnover hypothesis. It is evident from the examples that both languages play the role of setting the morphosyntactic frame. There is an increase in the Hebrew lexical items and system morphemes are realized also in Hebrew, the previous embedded language, mainly in conjunction with content morphemes drawn from it as well. This significant introduction of Hebrew system morphemes appearing both independently and in embedded language islands shows a breakdown of the role of Arabic as the sole basis of the Matrix Language frame and a formation of a new, composite matrix language. As can be seen in the examples above, the composite language includes Lexical-conceptual and morphological realization structures coming from both languages Arabic and Hebrew. The morpheme order similarity between Arabic and Hebrew makes it hard to categorize this as belonging to either language, thus there are few cases in which it is mentioned. For the reasons mentioned above and the fact that the turnover does not go to full completion but is arrested at some point, we have a case of split language formation.

7 'Palebrew' - a new split language

The data indicate a split language formation as there is a Matrix Language turnover underway which is arrested and does not go to full completion. It is

evident from the examples that Arabic and Hebrew do not entirely change in Matrix Language dominance, but stop through the process to form a composite Matrix Language that is a combination of both languages. The turnover to Hebrew was arrested to the point of having extensive Hebrew morphosyntactic elements, though not to a complete shift. According to the Matrix Language turnover hypothesis and the definitions of split languages, here lies a case of a split language formation. This is reflected in the splits not only in features, but in systems of features as well, such as the split in system morphemes and in late system morphemes as well, with the Hebrew introduction of both bridges and outsiders. This illustrates a split in the morphosyntactic frame itself. Since this split language includes morphosyntactic elements from both Israeli Hebrew and Palestinian Arabic, I shall call it 'Palebrew' (Palestinian +Hebrew). I do not call it 'Israeli Druze Arabic' due to the fact that it might be used by other individuals from the Arabic speaking community in Israel who are not Druze. I also do not call it Arabrew (Arabic + Hebrew) in order to distinguish it from the "variety" that some are trying to ascribe to the language that is spoken by Palestinians and the general Arab citizens of Israel, which is characterized by borrowings from Hebrew and classical codeswitching. (cf. Hawker, 2018).

It is noteworthy that the Israeli Arab citizens code switch as well, however, their codeswitching behaviour conforms to the classic type (Abu Elhija, 2017; Hawker, 2018). Codeswitching among Arabs who live in mixed cities with a Jewish majority and Bedouins who voluntarily serve in the Israeli army is much more intense than that of the rest of the Arab citizens (Christians and Muslims from the North and the Triangle region). However, codeswitching features of the majority of Arabs in mixed cities and the Bedouins also conform to the classic type since they exhibit mainly inter sentential switches and borrowings. The variety that is used by Druze speakers exhibits much more intense codeswitching and mixing of morphosyntactic features and conforms to the composite type that results in the split variety coined herein as 'Palebrew'.

The main structural features that 'Palebrew' includes are: (i) Hebrew and Arabic nouns both occur frequently and indistinctively; (ii) Verbs come mainly from Hebrew; (iii) Arabic definite articles inflected to both Arabic and Hebrew nouns; however, the mixed DP (an Arabic determiner inflected with a Hebrew noun) is the most common DP structure; (iv) Hebrew definite article inflected solely to Hebrew nouns; (v) Hebrew possessive adjectives are used, agreeing in gender and number with both Arabic and Hebrew nouns; (vi) Arabic possessive adjectives are used, agreeing in gender and number with both Hebrew and Arabic nouns; (vii) Hebrew prepositions are used with both Arabic and Hebrew elements; (viii) Arabic prepositions are used with both Hebrew and Arabic elements; (ix) Hebrew adjectives that agree in gender

and number are used with both Arabic and Hebrew nouns; (x) Arabic adjectives that agree in gender and number are used with both Hebrew and Arabic nouns; (xi) Hebrew demonstratives that agree in gender and number are used with both Arabic and Hebrew nouns; (xii) Arabic demonstratives that agree in gender and number are used with both Hebrew and Arabic nouns; (xiii) Adverbs come from both languages; (xiv) Quantifiers that do not agree in gender and number come mainly from Hebrew; (xv) Quantifiers that agree in gender and number come from both languages; (xvi) Numerals come mainly from Hebrew; (xvii) Discourse markers come mainly from Hebrew.

8 Conclusions

The different native Arabic speaking communities in Israel code-switch to varying degrees of intensity. The Arab citizens who reside in mixed cities with a Jewish majority and the Bedouins of the north who voluntarily serve in the Israeli army share much more codeswitching features in their speech than the rest of the Muslims and Christians in Israel. However, codeswitching behaviour of the majority of Arabs in mixed cities and the Bedouins conforms to the classic type since it is characterized mainly by inter sentential switches and borrowings that do not cause major language change. The language of the Druze community in Israel, however, appears to be undergoing a process of language change. This change is reflected in the extensive intra-sentential and word-internal codeswitching between Arabic and Hebrew that has brought about convergence toward Hebrew and a composite, split language formation.

This split language formation can be explained under the Matrix Language turnover hypothesis. Codeswitching between both languages started at phase I of the hypothesis, which is reflected in frequent intra-clausal codeswitching occurrences, as well as core borrowings and lexicalization of embedded language structures in the matrix language. Along the path, a composite language is formed, carrying morphosyntactic elements of both languages in contact, the previous Matrix Language (Arabic) and the former Embedded Language (Hebrew). The Arabic/Hebrew codeswitching data herein indicate that over the years, convergence to Hebrew has brought about significant instances of Hebrew system morphemes brought into Arabic. The system morphemes introduced from Hebrew include all three types of system morphemes as outlined by the 4-M model: early system morphemes, and two kinds of late system morphemes, namely bridge system morphemes and outsider system morphemes. Since the turnover into Hebrew did not go to completion but stopped "along the way", it was a clear sign of a split language formation. Since both

Palestinian Arabic and Israeli Hebrew set the morphosyntactic frame of this composite language, we can call this new split language 'Palebrew'.

Finally, identity factors and language attitudes are possible motivating features for such composite split language formation. In the case of the Druze community in Israel, such factors can play a prominent role in its language change. As the Israeli Druze people are "sandwiched" between the Arabs and Jews, they tend to seek distinctness through their language by forming a new, distinct speech that differs from that of both groups. Such distinct speech is reflected in convergence toward Hebrew and the extensive use of Hebrew lexemes and morphosyntactic structures and up to the point of composite split language formation. By forming this split language, not only do they distinguish themselves from both groups, but also emphasize their distinctness. It is also the case that since the Israeli Druze community generally holds Arabic in lower regard in comparison to Hebrew (Isleem, 2016), it decreases the feasibility of maintaining it and increases the likelihood of either creating a new mixed language, which is the case here, or getting to phase iii of the Matrix Language turnover hypothesis, which is characterized by a complete matrix language turnover, hence a complete shift into Hebrew. At the same time, however, by not having a complete shift to Hebrew, they maintain a separate identity linking back to their historical roots.

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iii. the sum of all co-author contributions is equal to 100% less the candidate's stated contribution.

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3. Publication 2: Passing the test of split: Palebrew-a new mixed language

Abstract

Palebrew is a language variety that is spoken by a majority of the Druze community in Israel and is characterised by a mixture of Israeli Hebrew and Palestinian Arabic. Longitudinal data of Palestinian Arabic/Israeli Hebrew codeswitching from the Israeli Druze community collected in 2000, 2017 and 2018 indicate that Palebrew went through a gradual process of language mixing. The process started with codeswitching, was followed by a composite matrix language formation and ultimately resulted in a mixed language. Some linguists (see Backus 2003; Bakker, 2003) claim that mixed languages cannot arise out of codeswitching. Conversely, others (see Auer, 1999; Myers-Scotton, 2003) have proposed theoretical models to mixed languages as outcomes of codeswitching, and some (see McConvell, 2008; McConvel & Meakins, 2005; Meakins, 2012; O'Shannessy, 2012) have provided empirical evidence under which mixed languages arise out of codeswitching. This research sought to gather further empirical evidence showing that Palebrew is another mixed language that arose out of codeswitching. This study also wished to emphasise the uniqueness of Palebrew, which is a mixture of closely related languages. Such mixtures are scarce in the literature (Auer, 2014). An examination of Palebrew in relation to Auer's and Myers-Scotton's models and general definitions in the literature and comparisons of Palebrew with other widely accepted mixed languages reveals that Palebrew is an excellent example of a mixed language. However, such models and definitions are based on existing languages that have been subject to discussion in the literature. Of these languages, the majority arose from contact between languages from different language families, whereas this study is concerned with investigating a mixed language from the same language family. Thus, this raises the question as to whether such concepts have the same validity for closely related languages.

[Keywords: codeswitching, Druze, Arabic, Hebrew, mixed languages]

1 Introduction

Mixed languages, which are also referred to as split languages, intertwined languages, hybrid languages, fusion languages or *fused lects*, are a linguistically debatable issue. Language contact researchers accept that mixed languages are generally based on input from two different languages or varieties; however, debate continues as to which models of emergence, degree of convergence and structural features can actually be regarded as 'true' mixed languages. Some linguists such as Bakker and Muysken (1994) contend that the basic characteristics of such languages are the features of different whole subsystems and abrupt emergence. Conversely, others like Myers-Scotton (1998, 2002, 2003) and Auer (1998, 1999, 2014) contend that gradual codeswitching–based approaches provide the basis for the genesis of mixed languages. A number of mixed language researchers (see Backus 2003; Bakker 1997, 2003; Muysken, 1997), disapprove of codeswitching–based approaches while others such as McConvell (2008), McConvel & Meakins (2005) and Meakins (2011, 2012, 2013) assert that mixed languages can

indeed be an outcome of codeswitching. These researchers cite the mixed Australian language Gurindji Kriol as a living proof of a language that is a direct result of pervasive codeswitching.

In relation to codeswitching-based approaches, one of the main questions that arises is how mixed languages can be separated from other languages that exhibit intensive codeswitching, code-mixing or convergence. In an attempt to answer this question, codeswitching researchers have developed possible models for codeswitching–based mixed languages. Codeswitching specialists Auer (1999) and Myers-Scotton (2003) have proposed two main models to identify the uniqueness of such languages and distinguish them from other types of contact phenomena.

In a recent study, Kheir (2019) used Myers-Scotton's matrix language turnover hypothesis to show that the language (i.e., Palebrew) of the Druze community in Israel had undergone a process of convergence and composite matrix language formation, which resulted in a mixed language. In the present study, a more thorough testing of Palebrew was undertaken to determine whether it can be categorised as a mixed language. This case study is important, as there is little evidence of mixed languages arising from codeswitching in the literature. Further, unlike the majority of 'true' mixed languages reported in the literature, this particular language comes from the same language family (West Semitic) and comprises a mixture that is scarce in the literature (Auer, 2014). Thus, the results may reveal different mixing styles. Further, the fact that the process of its change is ongoing, may lead to interesting linguistic behaviours in the future, such as a complete language shift to Hebrew or another matrix language turnover back to Arabic. The process of the language change of Palebrew has been well documented by the author from 2000 to present. Thus, the language has been subject to continuous study over time. The present study examined data of Palestinian Arabic/Israeli Hebrew codeswitching and the convergence of the Israeli Druze community under the different models proposed by Auer (1999, 2014) and Myers-Scotton (2003). The data used in this study were based on different data sets from the years 2000, 2017 and 2018. All the data were derived from recordings of spontaneous speech of Druze interlocutors, who are proficient in both Arabic and Hebrew. The recordings were not made in the presence of the researcher. All the examples involving Arabic/Hebrew codeswitching were audio-recorded in different places in Israel.

This paper begins by providing a general overview of the Palebrew language. Next, general definitions of different contact phenomena and examples of mixed languages are provided, after which characterisations and special qualifications of mixed languages under Myer-Scotton's (2003) and Auer's (1999, 2014) models are detailed. Next, Palebrew is examined in relation to these characterisations and qualifications and examples are provided for each. Palebrew is then compared to four languages that have received considerable attention in the literature and that have been classified as true mixed languages (i.e., Michif, Ma'a, Mednyj Aleut and Gurindji Kriol). When considered in relation to Myer-Scotton's and Auer's models and general definitions, Palebrew stands out as an excellent example of a mixed language. Further, compared to the other mixed languages mentioned in this paper, the development and structure of Palebrew most closely resembles the northern Australian language Gurindji Kriol. Based upon the results and the fact that both languages in contact (i.e. Arabic and Hebrew) come from the same language family (West Semitic), I argue in favour of the codeswitching-based approach, but emphasise that there is no one prototype for mixed languages and different contact situations may result in different types of mixed languages with different mixing strategies. Thus, mixed languages that come from unrelated languages must be differentiated from mixed languages that come from the same language family. Further, there is no one perfect universal model that can account for all types of mixed languages.

2 Palebrew: The language of the Druze in Israel

Palebrew is spoken by a majority of the Druze people who reside in the northern part of Israel, especially in the Druze towns of Julis, Daliyat El-Carmel and Osfiya (see figure 1). According to CBS (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 2018), the total number of the Druze community in Israel is 141,000, which constitutes around 1.6% of Israel's total population. The total number of the Druze community in Julis is 6,200, which constitutes 100% of the total population of the village, the total number in Daliyat El-Carmel is 16,500, which constitutes 97% of the total population of the town and the highest number of Druze concentration in Israel, and the total number in Osfia is 9,100, which constitutes 76% of the total population of the town. Palebrew is the main language spoken by the majority of the Druze community in Israel. Speakers under the age of approximately 55 years use it as the primary mode of communication within the community.

Palebrew is a mixture of Palestinian Arabic and Israeli Hebrew. The name 'Palebrew' itself is a mixture of the words 'Palestinian' and 'Hebrew'. The Druze community in Israel experiences ongoing language contact and interaction with Israeli Hebrew speakers, mainly at the workplace, higher education institutions, shopping centres, public institutions, government services facilities and in the military (almost all Druze males are subject to compulsory military service). The Israeli Druze speak Palestinian Arabic (which the speakers consider their first language) and Israeli Hebrew (which the speakers consider their second language). The majority of Israeli Druze are fluent in both languages (for the similarities and differences between the two spoken varieties, see Kheir, 2019). The language-change process started with the incorporation and very extensive and frequent use of Israeli Hebrew, which continued to the point at which extensive codeswitching between Palestinian Arabic and Israeli Hebrew became the unmarked mode of communication, and ultimately resulted in the creation of a new mixed language.

According to Isleem (2012, 2013, 2016), who is among the very few researchers to study Druze language behaviour in Israel, Palestinian Arabic is held in lower regard than Israeli Hebrew by the three major populations of the Israeli Druze community (i.e., the young Druze, those with lower level of education and females). Isleem's findings are not sufficient to determine an equivocal trend; however, they do shed light on the ongoing process of the language change. According to Fishman (2004), when speakers of a certain language hold a language in low regard, this can decrease their desire to maintain it. A lack of desire to maintain a certain language may have a direct link to the process of its language change and the creation of a new mixed language.

The socio-historical origins, formation, development and typological composition of mixed languages have been subject to extensive debate; however, mixed languages can generally be traced to the same sociolinguistic background. According to Bakker (1997:203), these languages 'are spoken by ethnic groups who were originally bilingual but, for some reason, wanted to distinguish themselves collectively from both groups whose languages they speak. The speakers of each of these languages form a distinct group, either a subgroup of a larger division or a completely different group'. The creation of a new mixed language highlights the distinctiveness of a group. Mixed languages have special names that distinguish them from other languages spoken in an area and thus provide the speakers of such languages with distinct forms of identity. According to Kheir (2019), the Druze community in Israel is 'sandwiched' between the Arabs and Jews; thus for them, the formation of a new mixed language (rather than a complete shift to Israeli Hebrew) denotes their status as a distinct group and distinguishes them from both groups 'whose languages they speak'.

Kheir (2019) only recently coined the term ‘Palebrew’. To date, Palebrew has not been the subject of much research or use within or outside the community. It was not called ‘Israeli Druze Arabic’, as it may be used by other speakers from the Arabic speaking community in Israel who are not Druze. It was also not called Arabrew (Arabic + Hebrew), as it can be distinguished from the ‘variety’ that some are trying to ascribe to the language spoken by Palestinians and the other Arab citizens of Israel, which is characterised by borrowings from Hebrew and classic codeswitching (cf. Hawker, 2018). It should be noted that the name of the language is used for research purposes only and was not intended to raise any socio-political issues. Its speakers perceive it as a form of Arabic that is heavily influenced by Hebrew. This paper focuses on this unique language and the community that speaks it, as it is one of the most under-researched communities, particularly in the area of Sociolinguistics.

Taking into account its sociolinguistic and historical background (see §5.2), Palebrew is a prime candidate for a mixed language and can be compared with language varieties that have been identified as such. Like Gurindji Kriol (Meakins, 2012), it is a mixed language that emerged from codeswitching. It is ‘a bilingual mixture, with a split ancestry’ that emerged in a situation of fluent bilingualism (see Matras & Bakker, 2003: 1), and developed as an in-group language rather than for communication-need purposes (see Golovko, 2003), i.e., it emerged not from the need to understand each other, as pidgins do, but as a product of identity construction (see Auer, 2014).

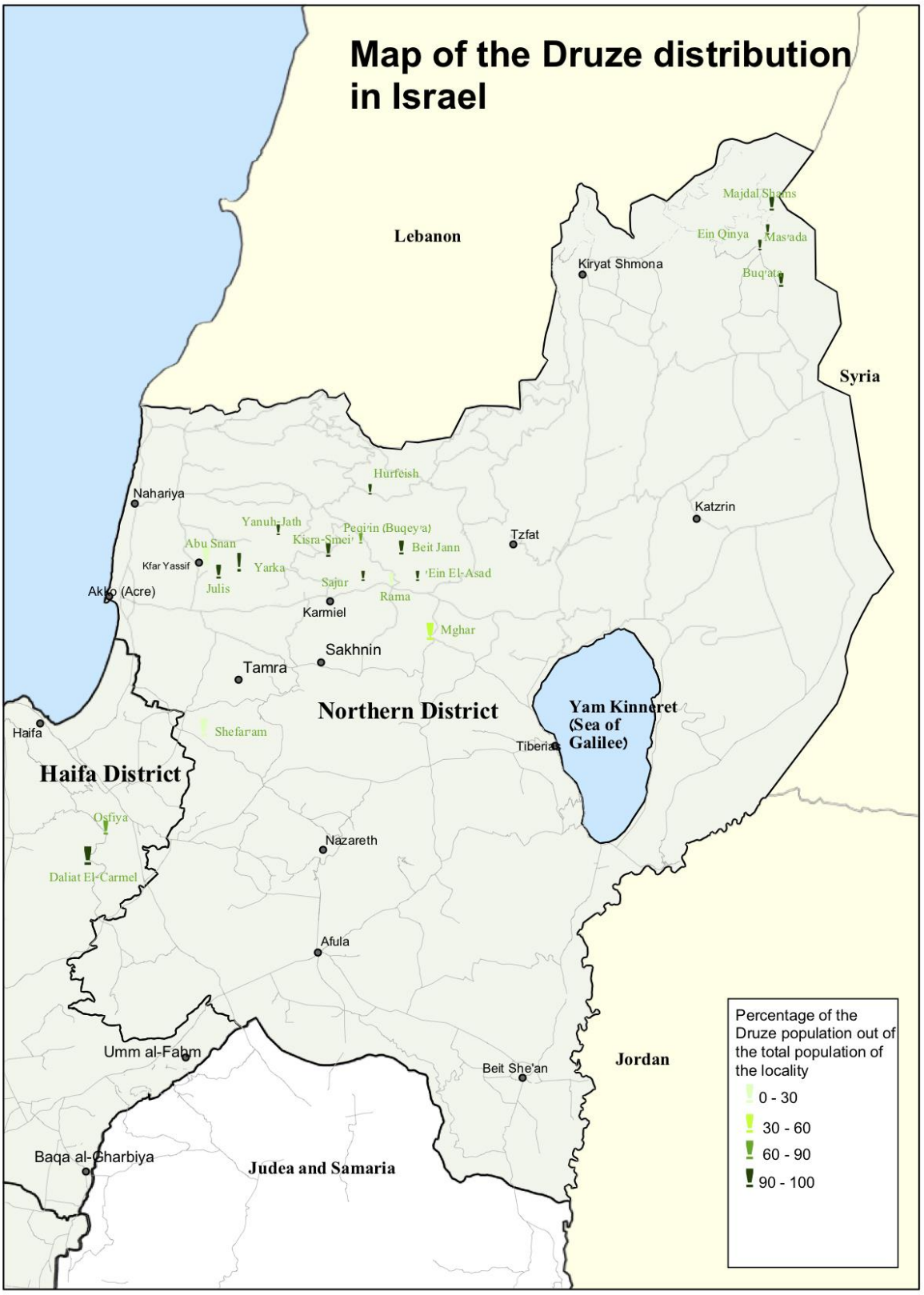

Figure 1. Map of the Druze distribution in Israel 2018. Data retrieved from CBS (2018).

3 Data and Examples

The data used in this study are based on different data sets recorded in 2017 and 2018. All the data were derived from recordings of spontaneous speech (i.e., naturally occurring conversations for which the researcher was not present). All the examples involving Arabic/Hebrew codeswitching and mixing were audio-recorded at different places in Israel. Each recording lasted approximately 60 minutes. Notably, the participants were recorded two at a time and were closely related (e.g., were friends, relatives, colleagues etc.). The researcher gave the participants the recording device, asked the participants to engage in a regular conversation on a topic or topics of their choice and made no mention of codeswitching or language styles. The participants were told that the researcher was conducting an ongoing linguistic research project comparing different naturally occurring conversations over time. The researcher then left the room and returned to collect the device one hour later; thus, the researcher had no effect whatsoever on the nature of the conversations or the codemixing style.

The participants in the present study comprised 20 Druze males and females from different Druze and Arab/Druze mixed villages and towns in Israel. The sampled participants were mostly selected from different villages and towns (Osfiya, Daliat El-Carmel, Kfar Yassif, Julis). All of the participants were highly proficient speakers of both Arabic and Hebrew. The participants' ages ranged from 25 to 45 years, and the participants were a mix of students and professionals.

Table 1: Distribution of the Participants by age, gender, occupation and education

Participant	Age	Gender	Occupation	Education
1	27	F	Student	Tertiary
2	35	F	Student	Tertiary
3	45	F	Shopkeeper	Secondary
4	39	M	Customer service agent	Secondary
5	36	F	Student	Tertiary
6	44	M	Manager	Secondary
7	42	M	Teacher	Tertiary
8	35	M	Student	Tertiary
9	33	F	Student	Tertiary
10	38	F	TV Journalist	Tertiary
11	26	F	Student	Tertiary
12	45	M	Doctor	Tertiary
13	44	M	Passenger transport driver	Secondary
14	45	F	National Service coordinator	Tertiary
15	45	M	Book manager	Tertiary
16	25	F	Student	Tertiary
17	34	M	Police officer	Secondary
18	45	F	caretaker	Secondary
19	27	F	Student	Tertiary
20	44	M	Marketing manager	Secondary

4 Contact phenomena: Lexical borrowing, codeswitching, convergence and mixed (split) languages

When two or more languages come into contact, several linguistic outcomes may occur from the simple borrowing of lexical items, often defined as 'loanwords', to the more extreme creation of a new dialect or language or even a complete language shift. Other outcomes in between these two extremes include codeswitching and convergence. Borrowing refers to the 'long-term incorporation of an item into the inventory of the recipient language' (Matras, 2009:146). Conversely, codeswitching involves the spontaneous alternating use of two or more languages, either between sentences (where a whole clause is produced in one language before switching to the other) or within the same sentence or clause (where one clause contains elements of the two languages). The debate continues as to which type of use and to what extent each type can actually be referred to as codeswitching. Myers-Scotton (1997: 3) provides a more specific definition of codeswitching in her matrix language frame model in which she defined codeswitching as 'the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded variety (or varieties) in utterances of a matrix variety during the same conversation'.

The matrix language is the dominant language in the codeswitching production, while the embedded language plays the role of the other language participating in codeswitching, albeit to a lesser extent. The matrix language sets the morphosyntactic frame of sentences in which codeswitching occurs; that is, it marks out the order of the morphemes and provides the syntactically relevant morphemes in constituents containing morphemes from both languages. Extensive research on codeswitching has shown that different code-switchers within a certain community may have different switching ways and styles. Consequently, scholars in the field have distinguished between various possible types of codeswitching.

Myers-Scotton (2002), divides codeswitching into two main types: *classic codeswitching* and *composite codeswitching.* In *composite codeswitching,* the morphosyntactic frame is provided from both participating languages, resulting in a composite matrix language frame that involves the convergence of the morphosyntactic frame and the features of some grammatical structures. On the more extreme level, convergence involves the splitting of abstract lexical structures in one language and the recombination of them in another language, and thus, the formation of a restructuring of grammatical relations that includes surface-level grammatical morphemes from the stronger group.

There is no general consensus as to what constitutes a mixed language. Indeed, the field is still in transition and under development. However, it is widely accepted by mixed language researchers that such languages exhibit unique mixtures that make them distinguishable from other languages that have intensive contact features. Due to a number of factors, including social, political, ideological, historical or economic factors, which are affected by the linguistic resources available to communities (Auer and Eastman, 2010), types of contact phenomena are usually analysed separately. It has been argued that such contact phenomena stem from the same processes and can be seen as inter-related mechanisms and outcomes on a continuum of an ever expanding language change.

Matras (2009:111) suggests that the phenomena of borrowing and codeswitching should be viewed as related (not separate) points on a continuum. According to Matras, as codeswitching involves an increase in the usage frequency of words and forms from the donor language and their potential adoption by the recipient language, the connection between borrowing and codeswitching is essentially diachronic. However, such a continuum is dynamic, as it not only represents the length of time of lexical items usage, but also 'certain constraints and preferences conditioning its employment in a variety of interaction contexts and settings'. Such constraints and preferences include bilingualism,

compositionality, functionality, specificity, operationality, the regularity of occurrence and structural integration continuums. The continuum emphasises that these contact phenomena are not easily distinguishable and are affected by several criteria that knits them together as related points.

Similarly, as frequent codeswitching might be perceived as the first step towards mixed speaking styles (Auer, 1999, 2014; McConvell, 2008; Myers-Scotton 1988, 1999), and all languages have undergone different degrees of contact-induced changes and many others have undergone considerable restructuring as a result of language contact (Thomason, 2003), it is useful to view the other contact phenomena, such as convergence and mixed (split) language formation, as extreme cases along a continuum of more intensive language mixing. Auer (2014) views mixed languages as extreme cases of borrowing and uses the term *fusion* to describe the process of extensive borrowing into the recipient language and the term *fused lects* to describe the extreme outcome of mixed varieties. The basis of the language fusion is referred to as *language mixing*, which is best known as *codeswitching*.

In this paper, I adopt the continuum view propagated by some mixed language researchers (e.g. Auer, 1999, 2014; Myers-Scotton, 2003; Thomason, 2003) and argue in favour of the codeswitching-based approach. Under this approach, it is feasible to emphasize that intensive codeswitching and language convergence may lead to different levels of mixed languages. Thus, there is no one prototype for mixed languages; rather, different contact situations, including the different structures of the languages that are in contact, may yield different types of mixed languages with different mixing strategies. Mixed languages derived from unrelated languages should be distinguished from mixed languages derived from the same language family; however, they should also be placed side by side at the extreme end of the continuum, as they both stem from identical processes.

4.1 *Mixed Languages: Definitions and Examples*

Many linguists have sought to define mixed languages; however, not all linguists use the term in an identical manner, nor are they consistent in the way in which they employ terms, such as language mixing, intertwined languages, hybrid languages, fusion languages, mixed languages, bilingual mixtures, split languages and fused lects. Different classifications and corresponding terminologies have been developed and used in an attempt to accurately define the term ‘mixed-language’. Meakins (2013: 159) generally defines mixed languages as ‘the result of the fusion of two identifiable source languages, normally in situations of community bilingualism’. Bakker (2000: 30), who was among the first of the mixed language researchers to develop a detailed account of a mixed language, defines intertwined languages as ‘languages which show a dichotomy between the language of origin of the lexicon and the language of origin of the grammatical system. The vocabulary is from language A, and the phonology, morphology, syntax from language B’. Conversely, Thomason (2003:21) defines a mixed language as ‘a language whose grammatical and lexical subsystems cannot all be traced back primarily to a single source language’.

To summarise, most of the proposed definitions of mixed languages include lists of lexical and grammatical elements. However, Myers-Scotton and Auer dissent from such definitions and propose different views. Auer (1999: 321) views a *fused lect* as a fossilised pattern of unmarked codeswitching in which there are massive combinations of elements from both contributing languages and in which new mixed structures are developed that are different from both languages. Myers-Scotton (2002:249) provides two definitions to what she terms as split languages, one strong and the other less stringent respectively: I-A split language exhibits all-or almost all-of its morphosyntactic frame from a different source language from large portions of its lexicon; this frame includes all-or almost all-of its late system morphemes from

the language of the morphosyntactic frame. II-A split language exhibits a major constituent with its system morphemes and major parts of the morphosyntactic frame from a different source language from that of most of the lexicon and the morphosyntactic frame of other constituents. Myers-Scotton explains that the overall difference between mixed languages and other languages relates to the fact that the splits occur not only in features, but also in systems of features. For example, in the case of system morphemes, they count as a system; however, in the case of late system morphemes, they count as subsystems and thus a system of a feature.

When differentiating between a composite matrix language that is characterised as such for its composite abstract structure and a mixed language, Myers-Scotton (2002: 252) suggests two abstract constructs: i) a notion of a composite matrix language that includes both an abstract lexical structure and a split from the source for *grammatically crucial surface-level system morphemes* and the main source for content morphemes; and ii) a notion that this state of affairs begins a matrix language turnover that is arrested at some point.

Both Myers-Scotton (2000, 2003) and Auer (1999) cite three languages, which have received considerable attention in the literature, as true mixed languages: Michif (a mixture of Cree and French), Ma'a, a.k.a. Mbugu (a mixture of Bantu and Cushitic), and Mednyj Aleut a.k.a. CIA (a mixture of Russian and Aleut). McConvel & Meakins (2005), McConvell (2008) and Meakins (2011, 2012, 2013) cite the mixed Australian language Gurindji Kriol as living proof of a mixed language that grew out of codeswitching.

4.1.1 *Michif*

According to Bakker (1997), Michif is a unique mixed language that is composed of a mixture of Cree and French and is spoken by fewer than a thousand people in the provinces of Saskatchewan and Manitoba in Canada and in North Dakota and Montana in the United States. Its uniqueness can be traced to a number of factors: i) Michif speakers are rarely proficient in both languages; ii) Michif is problematic in relation to the 'family tree' model of genetic relations, as it is equally French and Cree; iii) Michif poses a problem for theories of language contact; and iv) Michif poses a problem for all theoretical models of language, as it has two completely different components, different sound systems, morphological endings and syntactic rules.

In terms of its structure, Bakker found that Michif is composed of Cree verbs and verb patterns, demonstratives, personal pronouns, some noun affixes and question words and French nouns and noun-related parts of speech, articles and prepositions. In terms of the development of Michif, Bakker does not accept the hypothesis that it emerged from codemixing, but rather argues that it developed through a process he calls 'language intertwining'; that is, the combining of a grammatical system of one language with the lexicon of another. Conversely, Myers-Scotton (2002) argues that its basis comes from Cree/French codeswitching and convergence. She further argues that in terms of the matrix and embedded language relations, Cree was the matrix language, and French assumed the role of the embedded language.

4.1.2 *Ma'a (Mbugu)*

Ma'a is a mixed language that is spoken in the Usambara district of north-eastern Tanzania. Its structure mainly comprises Bantu grammar (Pare and Shamba) and a Cushitic lexicon. According to

Mous (2003), who distinguishes between 'normal' Mbugu and 'inner' Mbugu (Ma'a), the lexemes come mainly from the Southern Cushitic languages (i.e., Iraqw and Gorwaa). In terms of its origin, Goodman (1971) states that at a certain time, a Bantu and non-Bantu language came into contact. In relation to its development, he hypothesises that throughout the contact process Bantu incorporated a number of words from the non-Bantu language and adapted them to the Bantu grammatical system. Subsequently, the Bantu and the non-Bantu languages gradually became more alike. Later, the non-Bantu forms were favoured over the Bantu forms. Finally, a third linguistic group entered the situation and contributed to mixing them.

Mous (2003) agrees that codeswitching was relevant to the development of Ma'a; however, he argues that it did not play a decisive role in developing the structures of Ma'a. To describe the shift from the Cushitic language, he postulates that: i) speakers of 'Old Kenyan Cushitic' became bilingual in their language and Pare; ii) Pare gained power and had a substantial influence over their language; iii) the vocabulary of the original language became equal to the vocabulary of the empowered Pare and was expanded with non-Bantu material; iv) a move to the Usambara mountains led to frequent contact with the Bantu and the Mbugu from the Pare Mountains; v) both groups became one and went to South Pare for their initiation at which they may have learnt a secret language that contributed to the expansion of the parallel lexicon.

Myers-Scotton (2002), explains the development of Ma'a in terms of the matrix language turnover hypothesis. Specifically, she contends that: i) speakers of Cushitic moved into Tanzania and come in contact with speakers of Bantu; ii) these speakers became bilingual in one of the Bantu languages; iii) despite extensive communication with their neighbours, the Ma'a people wished to maintain their language, and to do so, they used codeswitching as their unmarked mode of communication; iv) codeswitching promoted the convergence of the Bantu languages, especially at the abstract lexical structure level; v) the Ma'a people adopted their normal style as the dominant variety; vi) the abstract grammatical frame of Ma'a was modified, causing a change in the morphosyntactic frame that was characterised by the insertion of surface-level Bantu system morphemes; and vii) Bantuisation occurred gradually, especially in relation to the late system morphemes, which was then followed by the entire grammatical system, and some influence upon the lexicon.

4.1.3 *Mednyj Aleut (CIA)*

Mednyj Aleut is a mixed language of the Copper Island Aleuts that is also referred to as CIA. It is not known whether there are any remaining active speakers of CIA. According to Thomason (1997), this language was moribund and was rapidly replaced by Russian. In terms of its structure, it resembles Michif. In general terms, it is composed of an Aleut lexicon and Russian grammar. According to Vakhtin (1998), Aleut supplies the majority of the verbal stems, noun stems and derivational morphology, while Russian supplies most of the auxiliaries and adverbs and all the verbal morphology. In terms of codeswitching, Myers-Scotton (2002) argues that in both languages, codeswitching was the original mechanism at work; however, in CIA, there was also a process of extensive convergence. Myers-Scotton further explains the development of CIA in terms of the matrix language turnover hypothesis that ended in an arrested shift. Specifically, Myers-Scotton contends that i) unmarked codeswitching became the main mode of communication (with Aleut taking the role of the matrix language and Russian as the embedded language); ii) as the matrix language, Aleut remained the source of the frame elements outside verbal inflections; iii) Convergence occurred at the abstract lexical structure level, changing the morphosyntactic frame with the insertion of late system morphemes from Russian, the previous embedded language; iv) due to the occurrence of mostly Russian inflections, Russian started gaining

power and began to take over as the matrix language; v) the fossilisation of codeswitching occurred when Aleut was largely in place, arresting the shift to Russian, and resulting in a shift back to Aleut, the previous matrix language; and vi) the arrested shift occurred due to social motivations that were established according to structural mechanisms.

4.1.4 *Gurindji Kriol*

Gurindji Kriol is a mixed language from northern Australia and is spoken by the Gurindji people. Gurindji Kriol is the result of contact between non-indigenous settlers and Gurindji people and its source languages are Gurindji (a Pama-Nyungan language) and Kriol (an English-lexified creole language). The speakers of Gurindji Kriol speak both languages. It emerged from Gurindji/Kriol codeswitching that was the predominant mode of communication among adult Gurindji speakers and was passed on as the main input to children in the 1970s. Most adult Gurindji people at the time were fluent in both source languages. The codeswitching started with an alternation between both languages; however, the question of the matrix language was unsettled. The next stage was characterised by the domination of the Kriol verbal structure and a turnover began; however, the turnover was arrested before the full replacement of the Gurindji nominal structure by the Kriol nominal structure. Thus, a full language shift did not occur; rather, there was a formation of a mixed language. The mixed variety emerged as an in-group language rather than out of a need for communication. Structurally, it is mostly composed of a Gurindji nominal structure and Kriol verbal grammar. Although its structure resembles the verb-noun (V-N) mixture described by Bakker's typology (2003), both source languages contribute nouns and verbs. Thus, unlike Michif, it does not completely conform to an equal split between the verbal and nominal systems. Further, as both languages contribute certain amounts of grammar to the grammatical systems in Gurindji Kriol, neither dominates. The lexical items are also relatively even in terms of amounts. Despite the fact that Gurindji Kriol resembles both source languages, some of the forms derived from the source languages function in a unique manner within the context of the mixed language (McConvell, 2008; McConvel & Meakins, 2005; Meakins, 2008, 2011, 2012, 2013; Meakins & O'Shannessy, 2012).

5 Characterization of mixed languages

According to Myers-Scotton (2003), specific features of a language turnover can distinguish mixed languages from other languages showing convergence, i.e. languages that have all the surface-level morphemes of the recipient language, but have parts of the abstract lexical structure of another language. According to the 4-M model of Myers-Scotton and Jake (2001), there are four types of morphemes: i) content morphemes and ii) system morphemes, which are subdivided into early system morphemes and two types of late system morphemes; iii) bridge late system morphemes; and iv) outsider late system morphemes. *Content morphemes* are morphemes that assign or receive thematic roles; for example, verbs usually assign thematic roles and nouns usually receive them; thus, they are defined as content morphemes. *Early system morphemes* are morphemes that depend on their head for further information, but do not assign or receive thematic roles. Examples include plural markings, determiners and some prepositions called satellites that affect the meanings of some phrasal verbs in English. *Bridge system morphemes* are morphemes that occur between phrases to make up larger constituents; for example, the possessive elements, such as *of*, and the possessive marker *-s* in English. *Outsider system morphemes* are morphemes that depend on information outside the element with which they occur; that is, from an element of another constituent in the clause or the discourse. According to Myers-Scotton and Jake (2017), these are agreement elements that make more transparent connections between elements in

the clause. They serve as case markers or co-index relations between arguments and verbs. For example, in English, the agreement marker form in the subject-verb agreement depends on the subject; thus, the suffix *-s* occurs with a third-person singular in the present tense, but otherwise, does not occur.

Myers-Scotton (2003:91) distinguishes mixed languages based on the following features. *First*, all mixed languages have a composite structure that goes beyond a composite at the level of the lexical-conceptual structure (semantics and pragmatics involving content morphemes or early system morphemes). In other words, the changes go beyond changes to the semantic structure of content morphemes and other conceptually based elements, which represent the most frequent form of convergence. Thus, to qualify as a mixed language, the morphosyntactic frame must contain abstract grammatical structures, mainly related to late system morphemes, from both participating languages. According to Myers-Scotton (2002: 248), the outsider late system morphemes are of utmost importance, as languages do not easily take substitutions for them. Further, the provision of outsider late system morphemes from the former embedded language is a sign of an evident change in the morphosyntactic frame that structures the language. Convergence involves the splitting and recombination of the abstract grammatical structure and causes the frame to change and receive system morphemes from the second language. Thus, 'a chain of events, beginning with convergence, results in new grammatical outcomes on both abstract and surface levels'. *Second*, at the morphosyntactic level, all mixed languages exhibit a composite structure in at least one entire component and not simply incidental examples. *Third*, mixed languages represent matrix language turnovers that do not reach completion, but stop along the way before an actual matrix language turnover occurs.

Specific qualifications

In addition to the three specific features (discussed above), Myers-Scotton (2003:92) also suggests three types of scenarios in which languages can qualify as mixed languages if they conform to at least one of the three types. The types are arranged from the strongest to weakest. Type A: *Actual surface-level late system morphemes are derived from the less dominant[5] language in one or more constituent types and function as they would in that language.* Myers-Scotton suggests that the Ma'a and Mednyj Aleut languages (§4.1.2 and 4.1.3) qualify as Type A mixed languages. Type B: *The less dominant language supplies abstract grammatical structure underlying surface-level late system morphemes in one or more constituent types of the dominant language. Loss of surface-level late system morphemes in the more dominant language also can be considered evidence that part of the abstract grammatical structure underlying the realization of these morphemes (their absence) comes from the less dominant language.* Myers-Scotton considers Gangou Chinese (see Zhu, Chuluu, Slater & Stuart, 1997) as a language that qualifies as Type B mixed language. Type C: *Morphemes from the less dominant language appear in the dominant language's frame, but these are reanalysed to function in syntactic roles that are different from those they have in their home language so that some of them may function as late system morphemes*. Myers-Scotton perceives Michif (§4.1.1) as a language that qualifies as Type C mixed language.

Myers-Scotton emphasises that all types contain the same feature: an outside language that supplies some of the abstract lexical structure and directs the realisation of the morphosyntactic frame, which refers to at least one set of late system morphemes. Myers-Scotton claims that this particular adjustment is what

[1] The term dominant language is controversial since it is often perceived as the speaker's L1, however, under certain circumstances this may not hold true; for example, less frequency of usage in comparison to L2. In addition, asking bilinguals to decide which language they think is their more dominant one is also problematic (Myers-Scotton, 2006). The present study takes into account both the speakers' L1 and their own perceptions of what they think their dominant language is, which happen to be concurrent.

distinguishes mixed languages from other types of contact phenomena and emphasises the importance of the role of late system morphemes in determining what counts as a mix, as opposed to the simple allocation of general lists of lexical and grammatical elements. Myers-Scotton's model has certain limitations, as it was based upon pre-existing mixed languages that all come from unrelated or genetically very distant languages. Further, the nature of the usage of outside system morphemes and other grammatical structures might be different to others. Its applicability may be limited to specific types of language mixtures. Thus, the question arises as to whether it can be applied to closely related languages or whether such languages must exhibit different mixing structures to be characterised as mixed.

5.1 *Palebrew-a mixed language?*

To determine whether Palebrew is a mixed language, it is examined in relation to Myers-Scotton's proposed special features of and qualifications for mixed languages. Auer's model is then applied and it is subsequently compared to other matching mixed languages.

First, Palebrew is a language that has a composite structure beyond the lexical-conceptual structure. It shows the convergence of a morphological realisation pattern and the convergence of grammatical structures. Table 1 reinforces the dominance of Hebrew that shakes Arabic's role as the matrix language, as Hebrew introduces a significant number of total system morphemes and more late system morphemes than Arabic. Such system morphemes appear both independently and in embedded language islands. The introduction of the different system morphemes indicates a change in the morphosyntactic frame structuring the language. Table 1 shows the total number of different types of sampled morphemes used in each language and the total number of the different sampled morphemes from both languages recorded in 2017 and 2018.

Table 2: Breakdown of the types of morphemes

Language	**Palestinian Arabic**	**Israeli Hebrew**	**Total**	**Examples**
Content morphemes	2248	3332	5580	*Eštar-ēt/*ARAB 'bought' *xanút/*HEB 'shop'
Early system morphemes	1568	1056	2624	*el-/*ARAB 'the' *ze/*HEB 'this'
Bridge system morphemes	396	528	924	*taʕ-hun/*ARAB 'of them=their/theirs' *šel-í/*HEB 'of me'=my/mine'
Outsider system morphemes	752	696	1448	*-lī/*DAT/ARAB 'for me' *lí/*DAT/HEB 'for me'

Example (1) represents the convergence of the morphological realisation pattern as the speaker inserts an Arabic possessive phrase into a Hebrew pattern (i.e., a recipient language phrase is inserted into a donor language frame). *La-l-ʕores tabaʕ ʕanān* 'for-the-wedding of 'Anan'/ARAB is matched to *la-xatuná šel ʕAnán*/HEB ('for the wedding of 'Anan') instead of the Arabic counterpart *la-ʕores ʕanān* ('for 'Anan's wedding'). Notably, the use of the Arabic possessive exponent *tabaʕ* 'of' is subject to certain restrictions. Such restrictions include: foreign words and words ending in a long vowel that cannot take pronoun suffixes and do not fit into Arabic morphosyntactic patterns and thus do not occur in a construct but with a possessive exponent; duals that generally cannot be used in construct phrases, multi-term annexation (of three or more nouns), the presence of modifying adjectives; parallel phrases with more than one head noun; and professional relationships (Brustad, 2000). However, in the present data, the use of the Arabic exponent is not bound by any restrictions and follows the use of the Hebrew possessive structure that is categorical and consistent throughout the data. Such usage might be related to the extensive usage of Hebrew nouns that are matched to the Hebrew pattern when used to express possession, even if the rest of the phrase is expressed in Arabic (for example: *el-tuxnìt tabʕ-et Einav* 'the show of Einav'). Thus, this usage becomes also automatic for Arabic nouns. It should be noted that in the quotations from the transcriptions, Hebrew morphemes and their glosses are underlined, other morphemes come from Arabic, and morphemes under discussion or focal appear in bold.

(1)

Mbareħ	*roħ-et*	*ʕala*	*el-xanút*	*ve-štar-ēt*	*hai el-simla*	***la-l-ʕores***	***tabaʕ ʕAnān***
Yesterday	go-1SG-PST to		the-shop	and-buy-1SG-PST	this the-dress	for-the-wedding	of ʕAnan

'Yesterday I went to the shop and bought this dress for 'Anan's wedding.' (Kheir, 2019)

Example (2) shows composite codeswitching and convergence in the form of mixed morphology and grammar. The speaker, who produces mixed clauses throughout her conversation with a friend, mixes Hebrew and Arabic tenses as she inflects Arabic auxiliaries with Hebrew verbs as is the case with the mixed, *ʕam-ta-škía?* 'AUX-2SGM/FUT-invest' (are investing) and *ʕam-ya-škía?* 'AUX-3SGM/FUT-invest' (is investing). *ʕam-ta-škía?* and *ʕam-ya-škía?*, which are a combination of the Arabic auxiliary *ʕam* (am/is/are) and the Hebrew verb *le-haškía?* (to invest). In this phrase, the speaker combines an Arabic Present Progressive frame with the Future form of the Hebrew verbs (see Table 3). In Hebrew, the correct form in such a case would be *maškía?* 'invest/PRS'. Similarly, the speaker uses the Hebrew Future verb form *na-gúr* '1PL/FUT-live' (will live) in the 'going to' sense instead of *la-gúr* 'to live' to denote a 'going to' clause. There is also a case of convergence of a lexical-conceptual structure that is reflected in the Arabic/Hebrew mixed expression *ʕmel-et stóp* 'do-1SG/PST stop' (put a stop), which is used to convey the meaning of an Israeli Hebrew expression that does not exist in Palestinian Vernacular Arabic. Additionally, late outsider system morphemes in the form of verb agreement are taken from Hebrew, as the speaker uses them with Hebrew verbs to show agreement with Arabic pronouns (*neħna na-gúr, ente ʕam-ta-škiá?, hoū ʕam-ya-škiá?, hoū ya-mšíx*). Such usage occurred recurrently in the data. According to Myers-Scotton (2002, 2003), the outsider late system morphemes are of the utmost significance. Their provision from the 'previous' embedded language is a sign that there is an evident change in the morphosyntactic frame structuring the language. Thus, it is the nature of late system morphemes in mixed languages that distinguishes them from other languages and contact phenomena.

(2)

kén *ana* *ban-ye* *inno* ***neħna*** *keʔílu meš raħ* ***na-gúr*** *hón* *az befvíl má*

yes I count-1SGF that we as if not going to 1PL/FUT-live here so for what

bexlál ***ente ʕam-ta-škía?*** *la-mīn? issa hoū bid-a fī švúng inno* ***hoū ʕam-ya-škìa?*** *yótér midáí*

at all you AUX-2SGM/FUT-invest to-whom? now he start-PST/1SGM in a drive that he AUX-3SGM/FUT-invest too much

áz ***hoū ya-mšíx*** *ʕem zé ve-áz ana* ***ʕmel-et*** ***stóp!***

so he 3SGM/FUT-continue with this and-then I do-1SG/PST stop

'yes, I am counting that, as if we are not going to live here, so why at all are you investing? What for? Now he was driven into investing too much with that continuously until I put a stop (to it).'

Second, Palebrew shows composite structures in entire components of its morphosyntactic frame and not just incidental examples. For example, Hebrew Future forms are systematically suffixed to the Arabic habitual indicative morphemes *b-* and *m-* to denote mixed imperfective forms. Table 3 shows verbal morphological forms of the Present and Future tenses in the different varieties. Table 3.1 illustrates the Hebrew form, the Arabic form and the mixed Palebrew form of the verb 'wait'. The Hebrew elements of the mixed variety are underlined for further clarity.

Table (3): The verbal morphological forms of Present/Imperfective and Future in the different spoken varieties (the verb 'calculate' is used for illustration)

	Palestinian Arabic (Present/imperfective) **Prefix+Stem+/-Suffix**	**Israeli Hebrew (Present/imperfective)** **Stem+/-Suffix**	**Israeli Hebrew (Future)** **Prefix+Stem+/-Suffix**	**Palebrew** **(Mixed:Present/ARAB+Future/HEB)** **Prefix/ARAB+ Prefix/HEB+Stem/HEB+/-Suffix/HEB**
1SG	b(a)+stem/ARAB (*ba-ħseb* '(I) calculate')	stem/HEB (*mexašév* '(I) calculate')	(y)a/(y)e/(y)i+stem/HEB ((*y)a-xašév* '(I) will calculate')	b(a)+stem/HEB (*b-a-xašév* '(I) calculate')
1PL	men/min/mnā/mne/mni/mnu +stem/ARAB (*mne-ħseb*)	stem/HEB+ím (*mexašv-ím*)	na/ne/ni+stem/HEB (*ne-xašév)*	m+ na/ne/ni+ stem/HEB (*m-ne-xašév*)
2SGM	bet/bit/btā/bte/bti/btu+stem/ ARAB (*bte-ħseb*)	stem/HEB (*mexašév)*	ta/te/ti+stem/HEB (*te-xašév)*	b+ta/te/ti+ stem/HEB (*b-te-xašév*)
2SGF	bet/bit/btā/bte/bti/btu+stem/ ARAB+ī (*bti-ħesb-ī*)	stem/HEB+et/a (*mexašév-et)*	ta/te/ti+stem/HEB+ì (*te-xašv-í)*	b+ta/te/ti+ stem/HEB+í (*b-te-xašv-í*)
3SGM	bi/by/byā/bye/byi/byu+stem/ ARAB (*bye-ħseb*)	stem/HEB (*mexašév)*	ya/ye/yi+stem/HEB (*ye-xašév)*	b+ya/ye/yi+ stem/HEB (*b-ye-xašév*)

3SGF	bet/bit/btā/bte/bti/btu+stem/ ARAB (*bti-ħseb*)	stem/HEB+et/a (*mexašév-et)*	ta/te/ti+stem/HEB (*te-xašév)*	b+ta/te/ti+ stem/HEB (*b-te-xašév*)
3PL	bi/by/byā/bye/byi/byu+stem/ ARAB+ū (*bi-ħesb-ū*)	stem/HEB+ìm (*mexašv-ím*)	ya/ye/yi+stem/HEB+ú (*ye-xašv-ú)*	b+ya/ye/yi+ stem/HEB+ú (*b-ye-xašv-ú*)

Table (3.1): The different forms of the verb 'wait' in vernacular Arabic, Hebrew and the mixed variety

	Palestinian Arabic (Present/imperfective)	**Israeli Hebrew (Present/imperfective)**	**Israeli Hebrew (Future)**	**Palebrew (Mixed)**
1SG	*ba-stana* '(I) wait'	*mamtín* '(I) wait'	*(y)a-mtín* '(I) will wait'	*b-a-mtín* '(I) wait'
2SGM	*bte-stana*	*mamtín*	*ta-mtín*	*b-ta-mtín*
2SGF	*bte-stan-ī*	*mamtin-á*	*ta-mtin-í*	*b-ta-mtin-í*
3PL	*bye-stan-ū*	*mamtin-ím*	*ya-mtin-ú*	*b-ya-mtin-ú*
3SGM	*bye-stana*	*mamtín*	*ya-mtín*	*b-ya-mtín*
3SGF	*bte-stana*	*mamtin-á*	*ta-mtín*	*b-ta-mtín*
1PL	*mne-stana*	*mamtin-ím*	*na-mtín*	*m-na-mtín*

Similarly, Palebrew exhibits a mixture of the Hebrew Future form and the Arabic Present Progressive form to denote a Present Progressive sense. Table 4 illustrates verbal morphological forms of the Present Progressive and Future tenses in the different varieties, and Table 4.1 shows the Hebrew form, the Arabic form and the mixed Palebrew form of the verb 'present/serve'.

Table (4): The verbal morphological forms of Present Progressive and Future in the different spoken varieties (the verb 'calculate' is used for illustration)

	Palestinian Arabic (Present Progressive) **ʕam+Prefix+Stem+/-Suffix**	**Israeli Hebrew (Future)** **Prefix+Stem+/-Suffix**	**Palebrew** **(Mixed:Present Progressive/ARAB+Future/HEB)** **Auxiliary/ARAB+Prefix/HEB+Stem/HEB+/-Suffix/HEB**

1SG **1PL**	ʕam+b(a)+stem/ARAB (*ʕam-ba-ħseb* ‘(I) am calculating’) ʕam+men/min/mnā/mne/mni /mnu +stem/ARAB (*ʕam-mne-ħseb*)	(y)a/(y)e/(y)i+stem/HEB ((*y)a-xašév* ‘(I) will calculate’) na/ne/ni+stem/HEB (*ne-xašév)*	ʕam+b(a)+stem/HEB (*ʕam-b-a-xašév* ‘(I) am calculating’) ʕam+ na/ne/ni+ stem/HEB (*ʕam-ne-xašév*)
2SGM **2SGF**	ʕam+bet/bit/btā/bte/bti/btu+stem/ARAB (*ʕam-bte-ħseb*) ʕam+bet/bit/btā/bte/bti/btu+stem/ARAB+ī (*ʕam-bti-ħesb-ī*)	ta/te/ti+stem/HEB (*te-xašév)* ta/te/ti+stem/HEB+í (*te-xašv-í)*	ʕam+ta/te/ti+ stem/HEB (*ʕam -te-xašév*) ʕam+ta/te/ti+ stem/HEB+í (*ʕam-te-xašv-í*)
3SGM **3SGF** **3PL**	ʕam+bi/by/byā/bye/byi/byu+stem/ARAB (*ʕam-bye-ħseb*) ʕam+bet/bit/btā/bte/bti/btu+stem/ARAB (*ʕam-bte-ħseb*) ʕam+bi/by/(b)yā/(b)ye/(b)yi/(b)yu+stem/ARAB+ū (*ʕam-bi-ħesb-ū*)	ya/ye/yi+stem/HEB (*ye-xašév)* ta/te/ti+stem/HEB (*te-xašév)* ya/ye/yi+stem/HEB+ú (*ye-xašv-ú)*	ʕam+ya/ye/yi+ stem/HEB (*ʕam -ye-xašév*) ʕam+ta/te/ti+ stem/HEB (*ʕam- te-xašév*) ʕam+ya/ye/yi+ stem/HEB+ú (*ʕam-ye-xašv-ú*)

Table (4.1): The different forms of the verb ‘present/serve’ in vernacular Arabic, Hebrew and the mixed variety

	Palestinian Arabic (Present Progressive)	**Israeli Hebrew (Future)**	**Palebrew (Mixed)**
1SG	*ʕam-ba-qadem* ‘(I) am presenting’	*(y)a-gíš* ‘(I) will present’	*ʕam-b-a-gíš* ‘(I) am presenting’
2SGM	*ʕam-bet-qadem*	*ta-gíš*	*ʕam-ta-gíš*
2SGF	*ʕam-bet-qadm-ī*	*ta-giš-í*	*ʕam-ta-giš-í*
3PL	*ʕam-by-qadm-ū*	*ya-giš-ú*	*ʕam-(b)-ya-giš-ú*
3SGM	*ʕam-by-qadem*	*ya-gíš*	*ʕam-(b)-ya-gíš*
3SGF	*ʕam-bet-qadem*	*ta-gíš*	*ʕam-ta-gíš*
1PL	*ʕam-men-qadem*	*na-gíš*	*ʕam-na-gíš*

A further case of such systematic mixed construction can be observed in the mixing of the Arabic auxiliary *raħ* 'going (to)', which is used for Future verbs in the 'going to' construction with Hebrew Future verbs that are used in the 'will' construction. Notably, in Hebrew, the morpheme *holex* 'going' is used before verbs prefixed with *le-* 'to' in order to form the 'going to' construction. This mixed construction is also used alternately, such that the Hebrew morpheme *holex* is conjoined with Arabic verbs. Table 5 shows verbal morphological forms of the different Future constructs of the different varieties, followed by table 5.1 which shows the Hebrew form, the Arabic form and the mixed Palebrew form of the verb 'clean'.

Table (5): The verbal morphological forms of the different Future constructs in the different spoken varieties (the verb 'calculate' is used for illustration)

	Palestinian Arabic (Future-'going to') **Going (to)+Prefix+Stem+/-Suffix**	**Israeli Hebrew (Future-'going to')** **Going (to)+/-Suffix+to+stem**	**Israeli Hebrew (Future-'will')** **Prefix+Stem+/-Suffix**	**Palebrew** **(Mixed:Future-going to'/ARAB+Future-'will'/HEB)//Going (to)/ARAB+Prefix/HEB+Stem/HEB+/-Suffix/HEB**
1SG	raħ+(a)+stem/ARAB (*raħ a-ħseb* '(I am) going to calculate')	holex+le+stem/HEB (*holex le-xašév* '(I am) going to calculate')	(y)a/(y)e/(y)i+stem/HEB ((*y)a-xašév* ' (I) will calculate')	raħ+a+stem/HEB (*raħ a-xašév* '(I am) going to calculate')
1PL	raħ+n/nā/ne/ni/nu +stem/ARAB (*raħ ne-ħseb*)	holx+ím+le+stem/HEB (*holx-ím le-xašév*)	na/ne/ni+stem/HEB (*ne-xašév)*	raħ+na/ne/ni+ stem/HEB (*raħ ne-xašév*)
2SGM	raħ+t/tā/te/ti/tu+stem/ARAB (*raħ te-ħseb*)	holex+le+stem/HEB (*holex le-xašév)*	ta/te/ti+stem/HEB (*te-xašév)*	raħ+ta/te/ti+ stem/HEB (*raħ te-xašév*)
2SGF	raħ+t/tā/te/ti/tu+stem/ARAB +ī (*raħ ti-ħesb-ī*)	holex+et+le+stem/HEB (*holex-et le-xašév)*	ta/te/ti+stem/HEB+í (*te-xašv-í)*	raħ+ta/te/ti+ stem/HEB+í (*raħ te-xašv-í*)
3SGM	raħ+y/yā/ye/yi/yu+stem/ARAB (*raħ ye-ħseb*)	holex+le+stem/HEB (*holex le-xašév)*	ya/ye/yi+stem/HEB (*ye-xašév)*	raħ+ya/ye/yi+ stem/HEB (*raħ ye-xašév*)
3SGF	raħ+t+tā/te/ti/tu+stem/ARAB (*raħ te-ħseb*)	holex+et+le+stem/HEB (*holex-et le-xašév)*	ta/te/ti+stem/HEB (*te-xašév)*	raħ+ta/te/ti+ stem/HEB (*raħ te-xašév*)
3PL	raħ+y/yā/ye/yi/yu+stem/ARAB+ū (*raħ ye-ħesb-ū*)	holx+ím+le+stem/HEB (*holx-ím le-xašév*)	ya/ye/yi+stem/HEB+ú (*ye-xašv-ú)*	raħ+ya/ye/yi+ stem/HEB+ú (*raħ ye-xašv-ú*)

Table (5.1): The different forms of the verb 'clean' in vernacular Arabic, Hebrew and the mixed variety

	Palestinian Arabic (Future-'going to')	**Israeli Hebrew (Future-'going to')**	**Israeli Hebrew (Future-'will')**	**Palebrew (Mixed)**
1SG	*raħ a-nadˁef*	*holex le-nakót*	*ye/a-naké*	*raħ a-naké/ holex a-nadˁef*
2SGM	*raħ t-nadˁef*	*holex le-nakót*	*te-naké*	*raħ te-naké/ holex t-nadˁef*
2SGF	*raħ t-nadˁf-ī*	*holex-et le-nakót*	*te-nak-í*	*raħ te-nakí/ holex-et t-nadˁf-ī*
3PL	*raħ y-nadˁf-ū*	*holx-ím le-nakót*	*ye-nak-ú*	*raħ ye-nakú/ holx-ím y-nadˁf-ū*
3SGM	*raħ y-nadˁef*	*holex le-nakót*	*ye-naké*	*raħ ye-naké/ holex y-nadˁef*
3SGF	*raħ t-nadˁef*	*holex-et le-nakót*	*te-naké*	*raħ te-naké/ holex-et t-nadˁef*
1PL	*raħ n-nadˁef*	*holx-ím le-nakót*	*ne-naké*	*raħ ne-naké/ holx-ím n-nadˁef*

In addition to systematic tense mixing, Palebrew also exhibits the systematic inflection of the Arabic determiner *el-/al-* 'the' with Hebrew nouns, thus forming mixed determiner phrases (DPs). Under the 4-M model, determiners are considered early system morphemes (Myers-Scotton & Jake 2017). Notably, such mixing is the most frequently used form of this type of DP in Palebrew (see §5.2 for more detailed explanation). Similarly, the Arabic conjunction marker *w-* 'and' is usually inflected to Hebrew morphemes and vice versa (i.e., the Hebrew conjunction marker *ve-* 'and' is often inflected to Arabic morphemes). This is evident in the following example as in the prefixing of w- to the Hebrew verb *ʕavar-tí* 'passed', as well as to the Hebrew quantifier *kól* 'all'. Additionally, example (3) illustrates the consistent prefixing of the Arabic determiner to Hebrew nouns.

(3)

qlal elli nevxer-ú la-hai ***el-melgá*** *w-ʔana* ***el-emét*** *kaman* ***el-rékaʕ*** *tabaʕ-ī*

few that select-3PL-PST-PASS for this the-scholarship and-I the-truth also the-background mine

fī ***el-akademía*** *shoɣl-ī fī* ***el-akademía*** ***w-el-maxkár*** *nafso yaʕni ktīr herʃím ʔot-ám*

in the-academy work-my in the-academy and-the-research itself meaning a lot impressed ACC-3PL

w-ʕavar-tí *sedrat mevxan-ím* ***w-kól*** *miné ve-reʔyonót w-hēk w-el-ħamd-ella basóf nevxar-tí*

and-pass-1SG-PST series test-PL and-all sorts and interviews and-such and-the-grace-to God eventually select-1SG/PST

‘very few were selected for this scholarship, and I think that my background in the academy and work experience in the academy as well as the research itself made a good impression on them. I went through a series of tests and all sorts of things and interviews and such and thank God, eventually I was selected.’

Third, Palebrew is an example of a language that went through the phases of the matrix language turnover hypothesis and stopped before an actual matrix language turnover. According to Kheir (2019), longitudinal data illustrates that Palebrew started at phase one of the hypothesis, which is characterised by intensive intra-sentential Arabic/Hebrew codeswitching. In this phase, core borrowings from Hebrew and Hebrew structures became lexicalised in Arabic (the previous matrix language). Such that some of Arabic categories assumed the functions of Hebrew, resulting in utterances that are foreign and mostly incomprehensible to monolingual speakers. In phase two of the hypothesis, which is characterised by composite codeswitching, both languages began to converge. In this phase, Arabic began to lose its role as the only source of the matrix language frame, as the previous embedded language (i.e., Hebrew) gained power. Convergence is represented by the splitting and recombining of the abstract lexical structure. Thus, both Arabic and Hebrew set the morphosyntactic frame and together formed a composite matrix language. However, the turnover into Hebrew did not reach completion; rather, it stopped ‘along the way’, which according to Myers-Scotton (1998, 2002, 2003), is a crucial step in the genesis of a mixed language.

5.1.1 *Palebrew-which type of mix?*

In this section, the applicability of Palebrew to types of mixed languages (from Type A to C) is examined.

Actual surface-level late system morphemes coming from the less dominant language

According to Myers-Scotton (2003, 2008), very few mixed languages meet the Type A definition, as even in situations of intense or long-standing contact, changes in basic structure are resisted and thus, outsiders rarely transfer across languages. Due to the fact that in Palebrew the verbs were mainly derived from Hebrew and the pronouns from Arabic and the Hebrew verbs agree in person, gender and number with the subject, the grammatical elements that knit clauses together frequently come from Hebrew (*neħna lóʊ hetparaʔ-nú* ‘we not go wild-1PL/PST’ (we did not go wild) *lóʊ heʃkaʔ-nú* ‘not invest-1PL/PST’ (we did not invest) , *bad-na na-gúr* ‘want-1PL/PRES 1PL/FUT-live’ (we want to live), *henmax-tí ana* lower-1SG/PST I (I toned down), *ʔipas-tí* ‘reset-1SG/PST’ (I toned down). It should be noted that while Hebrew outsider system morphemes in the form of agreement markers are inflected to Hebrew verbs, they still agree with Arabic pronouns and thus play a major role in knitting together clauses in mixed constituents.

Example (4) illustrates the frequent use of the aforementioned Hebrew late outsider system morphemes in the form of verb agreement in conjunction with Hebrew verbs, showing agreement with Arabic pronouns. In addition, the Hebrew accusative marker *ʔotó* ‘him’, which is another example of an outsider system morpheme encoding agreement in person, gender and number that is frequently used in Palebrew, is co-indexed with the speaker’s partner Eyal. The usage of Hebrew outsider system morphemes in the form of agreement markers, primarily in conjunction with Hebrew content morphemes is the most prevalent structure in the data.

(4)

má še-kén inno ***neħna*** *ló* ***hetparaʔ-nú*** *fī hāi yaʕnī ló* ***heʃkaʔ-nú*** *fī ed-dar halqade kí*

The case is that we not go wild-1PL/PST in this meaning not invest-1PL/PST in the-house that much because

ʕrif-na inno bad-na ***na-qúr*** *barra w-hēk az* ***henmax-tí*** ***ana*** *ktīr* ***ʔipas-tí*** ***ʔotó la-Eyal***

know-1PL/PST that want-1PL/PRES 1PL/FUT-live outside and-such so lower-1SG/PST I a lot reset-1SG/PST him to-Eyal

'the case is that we did not go wild with this, that is, we did not invest in the house that much, because we knew that we are going to live outside (of the village) and such, so I toned him down a lot, toned Eyal down.'

In addition to the verbal agreement and accusative markers, quantifiers in Arabic and Hebrew, such as *kull*/ARAB and *kól*/HEB 'all', look outside their maximal projection when they are added to clitics to show gender and number agreement as in *kull-(h)un/kull-ayat-(h)un*/ARAB/PL and *kul-ám*/HEB/PL 'all of them' (Kheir, 2019). Palebrew speakers tend to use the Hebrew quantifier *kól* 'all' that looks outside its maximal projection when added to clitics; thus, constituting an outsider system morpheme. In Examples (5) and (6) there are cases in which the Hebrew quantifier *kól* is co-indexed with Arabic pronouns, as in *hunni kul-ám* 'all of them', where *kul-ám* is co-indexed with the Arabic pronoun *hunni* 'they'; and in *hoū kul-ó* 'all of him', where *kul-ó* is co-indexed with the mixed pronoun *hoū* 'he', which is a mixture of the Arabic pronoun *hōwi* 'he', and the Hebrew pronoun *hú* 'he'. In addition, as in the previous example, Example (5) shows a Hebrew outsider system morpheme inflected with a Hebrew verb encoding agreement with the Arabic pronoun (1SG).

(5)

hunni ***kul-ám*** *raħ-ū ʕal-al-xatuná* ***ana*** *ló* ***ratʂ-ití*** *a-rūħ la-ɣād*

They all-of them go-3PL PST to-the- wedding I not want-1SG PST INF/to-go to-there

'All of them went to the wedding; I didn't want to go there.' (Kheir, 2019)

(6)

hoū ***kul-ó*** *ʕādi yaʕnī* ***kul-ó*** *meʔód b-teʕerf-ī baxúr tiposí*

he all-of him normal meaning all of him very HAB-know-2SGF guy typical

'he is, all in all, simply normal, I mean he is, all in all, a very typical guy, you know…'

abstract grammatical structure underlying surface-level late system morphemes

Palebrew frequently uses a number of Hebrew complementisers and discourse markers that function as late system morphemes, therefore, it also meets this requirement. Such morphemes include the Hebrew discourse marker *beglál* 'because of' and the complementiser *beʃvíl* 'for' that combine with inflectional markers to express person, gender and number agreement and thus function as late system morphemes. Such Hebrew morphemes are quite often used in Palebrew to co-index relationships with Arabic pronouns. Example (7) shows the Hebrew outsider system morpheme *beʃvil-ó* 'for him' being used in place of its Arabic counterpart *ʕaʃān-o* 'for him'. The complementiser *beʃvil-ó* is co-indexed with the speaker's father. In addition, as in previous examples, Hebrew outsider system morphemes are inflected with Hebrew verbs agreeing with the Arabic pronoun (1SG), as in *ʔasit-í* 'I did', *halax-tí* 'I went' and *hay-ití* 'I was' respectively.

(7)

ana *roħ-et* *ʕa-l-ʔoniversita* ***beʃvil-ó*** ***ʔasit-í*** *tova w-**halax-tí*** *layad ana ló **hay-ití*** ***xayáv***

I go-1SG/PST to-the-university for-ACC/3SGM did-1SG favour and-go-1SG/PST there I not was-1SG obliged/1SGM

bas qolt yalla *še-yihyé* *yihyé* *beséder* *ma* *aní* *ya-gíd* *le-xá*

but said whatever that-will be will be alright what I 1SG/FUT/tell to-ACC/ 2SGM

'I went to the University for him, I did (him) a favour and went there. I did not have to, but I said, whatever, so be it…it will be alright what can I tell you.'

Reanalysed morphemes from the outside language

Arguably, the lenition process of the Arabic emphatic phonemes [tˤ], [sˤ], [dˤ] and [zˤ] that appear to be merging with their non-emphatic counterparts [t], [s], [d], and [ð] respectively could fit into this category. Such merging is seemingly influenced by Israeli Hebrew, which has undergone a complete merger of its historical emphatic consonants and as a result, a loss of emphatics (Horesh, 2015). Such phonological mergers might not appear to be encoding late system morphemes at first glance; however, they have two features that make them feasible as such. First, they are irreversible (i.e, they cause a permanent structural phonological shift in the language). According to AL-Wer (2008:605) 'it is conceptually impossible for native speakers to unmerge a merged word class'; thus, they become, what I call, 'code-imprinted' in the language. Second, they carry a certain degree of prestige, as they reflect a more contemporary and classy style of speech that resembles the country's dominant language that is conceived as a symbol of modernity. Thus, switching phonemes to non-emphatic counterparts demonstrates modernity and currency.

5.2 *Palebrew-from codeswitching via language mixing to fused lects?*

Another model accounting for the transition from codeswitching into a mixed language is presented by Auer (1999) and is elaborated upon through a continuum of language alternation phenomena. At one end of the continuum, Auer posits alternational codeswitching, which is reserved for locally meaningful language alternation. In the middle, Auer uses language mixing to account for globally meaningful language alternation (i.e., a sociolinguistic recurrent pattern, which is equivalent to Myers-Scotton's (1993) notion of codeswitching as the unmarked choice). At the opposite extreme lies the stabilised mixed variety labelled as *fused lects*. The main reasons for the transition from codeswitching to language mixing are sociolinguistic, as it is bound to the speakers' perception of the codes used. Conversely, the transition from language mixing to *fused lects* is primarily grammatical.

In applying Auer's model to Palebrew, a longitudinal study conducted by Kheir (2019) showed that the 2000 data set exhibited codeswitching combined with a certain extent of language mixing (i.e., both codeswitching and language mixing co-occurred). It may be that the juxtaposition of the two languages was characterised by alternational codeswitching at a much earlier stage; however, there is no documentation to support this, rather, the assumption that was made is based on the longitudinal observations of the author. The second phase of the language mixing constituted the language of interaction or the unmarked choice, where 'as a consequence of the frequent intra-sentential juxtaposition of the two languages it [became] difficult to maintain the distinction between insertional and alternational juxtapositions' (Auer, 1999:315). Indeed, in the language mixing stage of Palebrew, the alternational and

insertional strategies converged almost to the point of indistinction, making it difficult to assign a matrix language to a clause. As Examples (8) and (9) show, it is difficult to assign a matrix language, as Arabic and Hebrew provide content morphemes and different types of system morphemes and the alternational and insertional strategies are also indistinctive. Such mixing was quite recurrent in the data.

(8)

ló avál kull el-migiš-ím ana ló ratsi-tí le-hyót migiš-á ʏād mišúm-še

no but all the-presenter-PL I not want-1SG/PST to-be presenter-SGF there because-of

kull el-migiš-ím hunni xayav-ím yī-ju ʕala etˁ-tˁaybe ana ló ló ba-kétaʕ

all the-presenter-PL the must-PL 3PL/FUT-come to the-Taybe I not not in-the-thing

'No, but all the presenters…I did not want to be a presenter there because all the presenters have to go to Taybe, I am so not into this'

(9)

maximum ba-fūt ʕa-s-sayyāra ló baʕayá ana mekav-á innu še-ló te-mšóx

maximum 1SG-enter to-the-car no problem I hope-1SGF that that-not 3SGF/FUT-stretch

el-reʔayón yótèr midaí ve-áz keʔìlú el-tsévaʔ b-ye-tfakšéš

the-interview more too and-then that is the-color IND-3SG-FUT-fall through

'Worst case, I will enter the car, no problem, I hope that she does not stretch the interview too much because it might ruin the (hair) color."

According to Auer (1999), the selection of a mixed mode over a more monolingual mode may have social significance and may index group identity. In the case of Palebrew, the mixed variety reflects the distinct identity of its speakers, who are 'sandwiched' between the Arabs and Jews. The 'Arab/Druze' identity component can be linked back to their historical roots and the fact that they share cultural similarities with the Arab citizens. While the Israeli component of their identity has formed over time due to a combination of social, religious, historical and political factors. These factors are discussed further below.

First, the Druze began joining forces with the Jews in the 1930s and together they fought side by side against the Arab uprising and insurgency. Druze-Jewish cooperative efforts reached a new peak in the War of Independence in 1948 when the Druze volunteered to serve in the Israeli Defence Force (IDF) and share the war with the Jews, which led to the establishment of the Druze unit in the IDF (Azrieli & Abu-Rukon 1989; Gelber 1995; Nisan 2010). Later in 1949, the Israeli army used a Druze religious shrine (the Nabi-Shu'ayb shrine) as the site for its first swearing in ceremony when new Druze recruits were asked to pledge their allegiance to the Jewish state. The prophet Shu'ayb (Jethro according to Judaism) is believed to be the father-in-law of the prophet Moses. This choice symbolised the historical connection between the sons of Shu'ayb (i.e., the Druze) and the sons of Israel (i.e., the Jews).

At the same time, the Israeli media regularly used the terms 'Druzes' and 'Druze community' to highlight the separateness of the community from the country's Arabs (Firro 2001). This step was followed by a declaration that made the conscription of Druze males into the IDF compulsory in 1956.

One year later, just before the *ziyara* (pilgrimage) to the Nabi-Shu'ayb shrine, Israel's minister of religions signed a regulation extending legal recognition to the Druze community as a religious community, making them legally independent from the Arab community. Shortly after, in 1962, Israel made a major identity replacement step in relation to the Druze by changing their nationality from 'Arab' to 'Druze'. Notably, Christians and Muslims were still legally regarded as 'Arabs' (Halabi 2006). One decade later, in 1973, Amal Nassr El-Din founded the Zionist Druze Circle. The movement aimed to encourage the Druze people to support the state of Israel fully and unreservedly (Landau 1993). Shortly thereafter, in 1975, Yusef Nasr El-Din initiated the Druze Zionist Movement to strengthen the ties between the Druze and the Jews and to spark Zionist consciousness among the Druze youth and raise awareness of the historical collaborations and covenants between the two communities through conferences, joint social activities and education. According to Nisan (2010:576), Nasr El-Din recommends that 'the Druze show complete solidarity with Israel by going as far as to adopt the national Zionist ideology of the Jewish people.'

Second, in the early 1970s, efforts were made to create an 'Israeli Druze consciousness' through education (Firro 2001). This consciousness became actualised when the Druze curriculum was completely separated from the Arab curriculum, creating a distinctive Druze education system. The main factors present within the Druze schools that distinguish them from the Arab schools are: 1) Special citizenship education classes that are designed to solidify the Druze sense of belonging to the state of Israel; ii) Special military service preparation programs and workshops that are tailored to strengthen the youth's sense of contribution and commitment to the state of Israel; ii) Special days that are designated to mark both Druze and national ceremonies, such as *yom hazekaron* that signifies the commemoration of the Druze and Jewish soldiers who have lost their lives for the sake of the country. Such commemoration activities deepen the sense of a blood covenant that exists between the Druze and the Jews and create a sense of pride over the shared collective memory that contributes to the Israeli Druze identity; iv) Special symbols of the state of Israel, such as the Israeli flag, the Israeli Declaration of Independence and pictures of Israeli political leaders, that are part of the Druze school landscapes; and v) Hebrew being used alongside Arabic in the Druze school langscape, i.e., the linguistic landscape (for more on the role of Druze high schools in shaping students' identity see Court and Abbas, 2010).

Finally, some of the Druze towns in Israel receive a great number of tourists from the Jewish cities who travel to these towns to enjoy the local Druze markets and special restaurants that offer a great variety of authentic traditional Druze food. This has created very frequent language contact among the older generations who work in these towns. All of these factors made Hebrew a very dominant constituent of the Druze linguistic and identity repertoire and the formation of a new *fused lect*. As Auer (1999:320) argues, in cases of frequent codeswitching, 'the identity-related purposes of this style may become more important than the discourse-related tasks codeswitching has served so far. The prevalent scenario for such a re-evaluation of functions is one in which a bilingual group needs to define its own identity vis-a-vis both contact groups'. For the Israeli Druze, the formation of a new *fused lect* (rather than a shift to Israeli Hebrew) denoted them as a distinct group and distinguished them from both groups 'whose languages they speak'. Auer (2014: 329) suggests that 'the scarcity of examples of radical fusion between two languages from the same family is probably not due to structural factors but rather a result of the social conditions under which such extreme cases arise'.

In the third phase, language mixing involves some measure of structural mixing that contributes to the creation of *fused lects* that differ from language mixing at a deeper grammatical level. A certain degree of structural mix is necessary for a language to qualify as a *fused lect*. *Fused lects* may require structural adaptation to the massive combination of elements from both languages via the development of new structures that are identical to neither language. Auer (1999; 2014) views the complete replacement

of a particle subsystem of one language by another and the 'grammaticalisation' of discourse markers, adverbials or conjunctions as clear cases of fuses. According to Auer (2014:315), 'to speak of a fusion, a substantial part of the system of discourse markers/particles has to be borrowed, not just a single marker, either replacing the system of the receiving language or adding to it'. Palebrew most obviously meets this requirement in its distinctive and almost exclusive use of Hebrew discourse markers and complementisers. Such discourse markers include, inter alia: *kí* 'because'; *avál* 'but'; *afílo* 'even'; *bexol ófen/bexol mekré* 'anyway'; *ma šekén* 'regardless'; *derex ágav* 'by the way'; *keʔelú* 'that is/as if'; *kanerʔé* 'seemingly/so it seems'; *áz* 'so'; *bexlál* 'at all'; *še-* 'that'; *mamáš/legamre* 'totally'; *pašút* 'simply'; *taluì* 'depending'; *basóf/besofó šel davár* 'eventually'; *bemyuxád* 'specifically/especially'; *bertsinút* 'seriously'; *lexʔurā* 'prima facie'. Additionally, a prominent example in Palebrew would be the prevalent usage of the mixed DP construction (an Arabic definite article prefixed to a Hebrew noun/adjective). The uniqueness of this construction does not lie in the fact that it represents a mixture of the two languages in one combined DP, but that it changes the intrinsic rule of prefixing.

Both Arabic and Hebrew have definite articles (*al-* or *el*-in Arabic, *ha-* in Hebrew) which are clitics prefixed to nouns and adjectives. However, while in Hebrew the pronunciation of an article is consistent, the *l* in the Arabic article maintains its original pronunciation unless it is prefixed to a word beginning with a sun letter (t, θ, d, ð, r, z, s, š, sˁ, dˁ, tˁ, zˁ, l, n) with which it assimilates. For example: ***ed-d**ahab/*ARAB, ***ha**-zahav/*HEB 'the gold'; ***et**ˁ-**t**ˁawle/*ARAB, ***ha**-šolxan/*HEB 'the table'; ***el-w**alad/*ARAB, ***ha**-yéled/*HEB 'the boy' (Kheir, 2019). Conversely, in Palebrew, the assimilation constraints are violated. Example (9) shows the assimilation rule applied when prefixing the Arabic definite article *el-* to an Arabic noun beginning with a sun letter *d* (*dār*), thus forming ***ed-d**ār* instead of *el-dar. Notably, when it is prefixed to a Hebrew noun beginning with a sun letter *r* (***r**ehút*), the assimilation rule is violated and ***el-r**ehút* is used instead of ***er-r**ehút*. Such usage is systematic throughout all the data without exception, and it is a structure that is distinct to the mixed variety (i.e., it became part of the language structure of this *fused lect* as it began affecting Arabic nouns as well, in terms of the violation of the assimilation constraints) and thus also qualifies as a *fused lect* under Auer's terms.

Example (9) also considers the use of the Hebrew discourse marker *keʔílu* 'that is', which occurred extremely frequently in the data. The Hebrew bridge system morpheme (the discourse marker *še* 'that') is inflected with the Arabic pronoun *neħna* 'we' and an Arabic late system morpheme (the pronominal clitic *m-*) is used, which co-indexes the subject, and is prefixed to the Hebrew verb *ya-xlíf* 'change'. The Arabic counterpart would be *m-en-ɣayyer* 'we will change' while the correct Hebrew form would be *na-xlíf* 'we will change'.

(10)

ed-d**ār* ***keʔílu *elli neħna* *axré* ***še-neħna*** *no-skon* *fī-ha* ***m-na-xlíf*** ***el-r**ehút*

the-house that is that we after that-we 1PL-live-FUT in-it 1PL-FUT-change the- furniture

'The house, that is, that we, after that we live in, we'll change the furniture.' (Kheir, 2019)

Palebrew also applies the possessive L1 pattern upon the L2 frame. The normal Arabic structure of such a possessive construction is a noun conjoined with an enclitic pronoun or a noun, and in Hebrew, the genitive exponent *šel* 'of' plus a noun or a pronominal suffix; for example, *sayyāret-**ha**/*ARAB 'car her', *ha-óto **šel-á** /*HEB 'the car of her' (her car). In Palebrew, such a possessive phrase takes the form of Hebrew and changes from *sayyāret-**ha**/*ARAB 'car her' to *el-sayyāra **tabaʕet-ha*** 'the car of her', which

is literally copied from the Hebrew expression *ha-óto* ***šel-a*** /HEB 'the car of her' (her car). In Example (11), as in Example (1), the speaker uses the Arabic possessive phrase *el-aʃyaʔ tabʔ-et-ha* 'the stuff of her', which is copied from the Hebrew *ha-dvarím šel-á* 'the stuff of her' instead of the Arabic normal expression *aʃyaʔ-ha* 'stuff hers' to denote the expression 'her stuff'. Both constructions take on the form of outsiders; however, Palebrew copies the Hebrew construction into the Arabic construction; thus, forming converging outsiders towards Hebrew, which are subsequently followed by the complete Hebrew clause *be-nigúd le-harbé axirím* 'in contrast to many others'. Such usage is systematic in Palebrew.

(11)

ana Michal Nagarin b-ħob-eʃ	***el-aʃyaʔtabʔ-et-ha***	***<u>be-nigúd</u>***	***<u>le-harbé</u>*** ***<u>axirím</u>***
I Michal Nagarin HAB-love-NEG-1SG	the-stuff of-her	<u>in-contrast</u>	<u>to-many</u> <u>others</u>

'I don't like Michal Nagarin's stuff (Israeli brand), in contrast to many others'

5.3 *Discussion*

Myers-Scotton's model stresses the grammatical importance that is mainly dependent on late system morphemes as the crucial factor for mixed languages. Conversely, Auer's model stresses that the sociolinguistic factors involved in the fusion process, including their sociolinguistic status and history (i.e., the circumstances that led to such splits), is what makes them unique. The structural concepts of fusion presented in both models are applicable to the data presented herein in many aspects. However, those concepts are mainly based on pre-existent mixed languages coming from contact between languages from different language families and are radically distant. In this study, the fact that the contact languages come from the same language family raises questions as to whether the same structural concepts of mixing have the same validity in relation to such languages or whether different structural concepts are required. Such questions cannot be answered on the basis of a single case study. However, in relation to the sociolinguistic factors stressed by Auer (2014), they appeared to serve as an overriding factor in the creation of this mixed language.

One identified case of a mixture of closely related languages is Barranquenho, which is arguably a fusion of Portuguese and Spanish. According to Clements et al. (2008, 2011), Barranquenho does not exhibit a clear division between the origin of its grammar versus that of its lexicon, but it possesses a good deal of both Portuguese and Spanish phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon. The speakers of this variety belong to a distinct culture, which is neither entirely Portuguese nor entirely Spanish, and have a hybrid Portuguese/Spanish cultural identity. Clements et al. (2008, 2011) argue that Barranquenho is a consequence of this distinct culture and reflects the distinctness of the cultural identity of its speakers. Although Clements et al. argue that Barranquenho is a mixed language, but not a prototypical one, Meakins (2013) doubts its status as such claiming that it is in fact Portuguese with some Spanish influence, and that its close proximity to the Portuguese/Spanish border makes it unclear how it would differ from varieties found along a dialect chain.

Although Palestinian Arabic and Israeli Hebrew are allegedly from the same language family, they are not as closely related as Portuguese and Spanish are, given that Israeli Hebrew exhibits much influence from Indo-European languages. While the traditional views suggest that Israeli Hebrew is Semitic like Palestinian Arabic, some scholars, such as Horvach and Wexler (1997) argue that it is in fact Indo-European, specifically Yiddish relexified (Yiddish using Hebrew lexicon), and Zuckermann (2008)

argues that it is both Semitic and Indo-European. Nonetheless, Palebrew's status as a mixed language is hardly doubtful. Clearly, Palebrew is not a case of Arabic with some Hebrew influence or vice versa, however, it is not a prototypical mixture since Arabic and Hebrew are not radically distant as in most cases of mixed languages. Therefore, there is a need to identify which traits of mixed languages can actually be applicable to mixtures of closely related languages.

Based on the cases of Palebrew and Barranquenho, it can be argued that certain features that apply to prototypical mixtures are also salient in non-prototypical mixtures. For example, unlike pidgins and creoles, the genesis of these languages was a product of expressive needs rather than for communication purposes (Golovko, 2003). Therefore, just as the prototypical mixed languages are created in places where a common language already exists and communication is not an issue (Meakins, 2013), so are the non-prototypical mixtures. More specifically, the speakers of each of these languages wished to form a distinct group, with creating a new mixed language that highlights their distinctiveness and reflects their distinct forms of identity (Bakker, 1997). Thus, the mixed language mainly serves as an expression of a distinct identity. In addition, just as most prototypical mixed languages arise in situations of community bilingualism, and are the native language of a group while still spoken alongside one or more of their source languages (Meakins, 2013), so is the case with the non-prototypical mixtures. Additionally, codeswitching presumably preceded the formation in many mixed languages, and the mixed language may continue to co-exist with codeswitching among the speakers of such languages (ibid, 2013). This has been demonstrated in both cases of Palebrew and Barranquenho.

In terms of structure, however, it seems that in both cases of Palebrew and Barranquenho, the mixtures are a-symmetrical and there is no even lexicon grammar distinction as is the case in most mixed languages. Rather, in both cases the source languages contribute significant amounts of grammar and lexis with varying degrees of mixtures. According to Meakins (2013: 190), 'the maintenance of inflectional morphology from both languages in mixed languages would suggest a relatively equal weighing given to both languages, with neither language definitely stronger.' Inflectional morphology is therefore not selected by one language, but rather the morpho-syntactic frame represents a composite of both languages. As Matras (2003) suggests, a certain feature of mixed languages is the incorporation of grammatical elements such as inflectional morphology, from the other language. Such borrowing, which has been labelled as 'loan proof', constitutes a violation of borrowing processes and therefore, is unique to mixed languages. These include definite articles, bound and personal pronouns, possessive markers, negation markers, demonstratives, existentials and interrogatives among other elements. Such structures are salient in the case of Palebrew.

Eventually, 'what distinguishes mixed languages from other contact varieties is that they emerge as expression of identity rather than a result of a communicative need' (Meakins, 2013: 186). Thus, the question is not whether mixtures of closely related languages can be labelled as mixed languages or not, but whether the same set of traits that is used to test mixtures of radically distant languages can be used to test mixtures of closely related languages or whether there is a need for a different set. I argue that their genesis and general features are nearly identical to the prototypical mixtures, therefore, the same set of traits can be used to test such mixtures. In terms of structure, however, different measures might need to be taken into account. Based on the current case of Palebrew, although its structure conforms to most structural features of prototypical mixtures, I argue that the overriding structural feature that makes it stand out as an excellent example of a mixed language lies in the systematicity of the structural mixtures and as Auer (1999) posited, the development of new unique structures that are identical to neither source language, which makes it an autonomous language.

5.4 *Palebrew in comparison to Michif, Ma'a, Mednyj Aleut and Gurindji Kriol*

Unlike Michif speakers (§3.1), Palebrew speakers are proficient in both languages (i.e., Palestinian Arabic and Israeli Hebrew). They speak Hebrew to varying degrees of proficiency but are generally highly proficient in both. In addition, Palebrew is not equally Arabic and Hebrew; rather, it exhibits asymmetric mixtures from both languages. Unlike Michif, Palebrew's structure is not composed of two subsystems; rather, it shows convergence of mixed morphology and grammatical structures as mentioned above. Thus, according to Bakker's (1997) description of the genesis and composition of Michif, it appears to be very different from the genesis and composition of Palebrew. However, if compared to Myers-Scotton's (2002) view that its basis comes from Cree/French codeswitching and convergence, then it does display resemblance to Palebrew, which has its basis in Arabic/Hebrew codeswitching and convergence.

In terms of its development, Palebrew is more similar to Ma'a than Michif. When compared to the development hypotheses proposed by Goodman (1971) and Mous (2003) (see Section 3.2), Palebrew development is similar in many aspects to that of Ma'a. Notably: i) Druze speakers of Palestinian Arabic became bilingual in their language and Hebrew; ii) Hebrew gained power and had a massive influence over Arabic; and iii) Arabic incorporated Hebrew words and adapted them to the Arabic grammatical system. Similarly, when compared to the development of Ma'a (as per Myers-Scotton's 2002 matrix language turnover hypothesis), Palebrew's development began in the same process of language contact and bilingualism, and then progressed to the phase of codeswitching to become the unmarked mode of communication that later promoted convergence, causing a change in the morphosyntactic frame that was then followed by the formation of a new mixed language.

Structurally, Palebrew differs to Mednyj Aleut (see § 3.3), as it does not conform to the V-N (Verb-Noun) mixture described in Bakker's typology (2003); rather, it has a mixed morphology and grammar composed of both languages. However, when compared to its development under Myers-Scotton's (2002) hypothesis, both languages are similar as: i) In both cases, unmarked codeswitching became the main mode of communication, and the main languages (Aleut, Arabic) took the form of the matrix languages while the secondary languages (Russian, Hebrew) became the embedded languages; ii) Both matrix languages remained the source of frame elements outside verbal inflections; iii) In both cases, convergence occurred, changing the morphosyntactic frame via insertions of late system morphemes from the previous embedded languages; iv) In both cases, the embedded languages started gaining power and began to take over as the matrix languages; and v) The fossilisation of codeswitching occurred in both languages, and the shift to the previously embedded languages was arrested.

Palebrew resembles the northern Australian language Gurindji Kriol (§3.4) more than the above-mentioned languages in most aspects of its development and structure. Both languages emerged in a situation of fluent bilingualism in which codeswitching was the unmarked mode of communication and there was vagueness in relation to the matrix language. In addition, both languages experienced a turnover in progress that was arrested before a full language shift and fossilised at the point of mixed language formation. In terms of structure, in both languages, the source languages (Grundji and Kriol, and Arabic and Hebrew, respectively) contribute nouns, verbs and certain amounts of grammar to the grammatical systems in the mixed varieties, and while the mixed varieties in both cases resemble their source languages, some of the forms function in a special manner in the mixed varieties.

6 Conclusion

Based on Myer-Scotton's (2003) and Auer's (1999) models and the general definitions and qualifications of mixed languages, Palebrew appears to be a mixed language. Palebrew underwent a gradual process that began with a phase of extensive codeswitching between Arabic and Hebrew that brought about convergence towards Hebrew and ended with a phase of composite mixed language formation. This mixed language formation can be explained by both Myer-Scotton's (2003) and Auer's (1999) models. When tested against Myer-Scotton's proposed special characterisations of and qualifications for mixed languages, Palebrew shows a composite structure beyond a lexical-conceptual structure. It displayed a convergence of morphological realisation patterns and the convergence of grammatical structures and composite structures in entire components of its morphosyntactic frame, rather than in incidental examples. In addition, Palebrew is an example of a language that underwent the phases described in the matrix language turnover hypothesis and stopped before an actual matrix language turnover. In testing the applicability of Palebrew to the types of mixed languages, Palebrew can be categorised as the strongest type. When tested against Auer's model, in the first phase, Palebrew began with codeswitching combined with a certain extent of language mixing. In the second phase, language mixing constituted the language of interaction or the unmarked choice, which brought about structural mixing in the form of convergence of a mixed morphology and grammatical structures that were not identical to either source language.

Finally, when compared to other mixed languages that have been the subject of much attention in the literature, Palebrew shows a certain amount of resemblance to Michif, Ma'a and Mednyj Aleut in terms of its development. However, it appears to most resemble the northern Australian language Gurindji Kriol in terms of both its development and structure. Like Gurindji Kriol (Meakins, 2012), Palebrew is a mixed language that emerged from codeswitching as the unmarked mode of communication. It experienced a turnover in progress that was arrested before a full language shift and fossilised at the point of mixed language formation. It is 'a bilingual mixture, with split ancestry' that emerged in a situation of fluent bilingualism (cf. Matras & Bakker, 2003: 1) and developed as an in-group language rather than for communication purposes (cf. Golovko, 2003). In addition, similar to the structure of Gurindji Kriol, in Palebrew, the source languages (Arabic, Hebrew) contribute nouns, verbs and certain amounts of grammar to the grammatical systems in the mixed variety.

Myers-Scotton's model emphasises the importance of late system morphemes as a crucial factor in defining mixed languages. Conversely, Auer's model emphasises the importance of the sociolinguistic factors involved in the mixing process. Despite the fact that the structural concepts of mixing presented in both models are aligned with the data in many aspects, such concepts are largely based on mixed languages that come from different language families and are radically unrelated. As the present case deals with languages that come from the same language family, it raises questions as to whether the same structural concepts of mixing can have the same validity for such languages or whether different structural concepts are required in such cases of language contact. These questions cannot be answered on the basis of a single case study. However, the sociolinguistic factors stressed by Auer appear to have played an overriding role in the creation of this mixed language.

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By signing the Statement of Authorship, each author certifies that:

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4. Publication 3:

To Codeswitch or not to Codeswitch? Codeswitching and Sociopolitical Identity among the Druze and Arabs in Israel

Abstract

Research into codeswitching has been flourishing in the last decades. Yet, especially in the field of social identity, much is still open for investigation. Although codeswitching research has benefited from the development of models and theories, there is a gap in the literature when it comes to a framework that further illustrates the link between codeswitching and sociopolitical identity. In addition, research in Palestinian Arabic and the dominance of Israeli Hebrew in Israel and its effect on the Israeli Arab and Druze sectors and their language is still in its infancy. Drawing insights from intersubjective contact linguistics and indexicality, the present study aims to provide an insight into bilingual minorities' linguistic reaction to and processing of state-centered policies of distinction, inclusion and exclusion, especially in a conflict setting. The findings show clear different codeswitching behaviors among the different sectors, and that such variance indexes sociopolitical identity.

Keywords

codeswitching, Druze, Arabs, Israel, Arabic, Hebrew, sociopolitical identity

1 Introduction

In bilingual speech, the choice of linguistic varieties of one language over the other is of utmost importance. Such choice may reflect the speakers' desire to be seen as belonging to one group rather than the other, reflecting their identity through their speech. Codeswitching, "the alternating use of two or more languages within one conversation" (Auer, 1998:19), can practically index the relationship between language and identity. Many linguists have asserted that there is a clear link between language and identity, with language being central to the production of identity and serving as the vehicle to index multiple ethnic and nationalist stances (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004). According to Auer (2007:2), bilingual minorities may use language in order to establish their identity and have it serve as a natural link to the community's identity. It is "the specific ways in which the majority and/or the minority language are spoken, as well as the various mixing and switching styles, which are considered to be the straightforward, 'natural' expression of the bilinguals' identity." According to Amara & Mar'i (2002), language can reflect an individual's thoughts, ideas and emotions, while at the same time; it has the power to convey his/her identity and group affiliation. Language practices, that is, the choices among linguistic varieties and languages accessible to a community, express social identity.

Social identity, the individual's sense of self based on group membership, is a concept that links language to the social structure of a given community. In the words of Auer (2005:404), 'it allows one to see interactants as being involved in linguistic 'acts of identity' through which they claim or ascribe group membership, or more precisely, through certain speaking styles (which usually incorporate certain linguistic 'variables')'. In other words, through codeswitching and language preference, identities are shaped, reshaped or demonstrated.

According to Auer & Eastman (2010: 90) "whether code-switching occurs in a bilingual group of speakers, which form it takes, and how it is evaluated, is largely a result of political, economic, and historical forces at work." In this respect, a plethora of research on codeswitching indicates that different code-switchers within a certain community demonstrate different switching ways and styles. This has led linguists, such as Myers-Scotton, to distinguish between two main types of codeswitching: *classic codeswitching* and *composite codeswitching.* Classic codeswitching is defined by Myers-Scotton (2006:241) as switching that 'includes elements from two (or more) languages varieties in the same clause, but *only one of these varieties is the source of the morphosyntactic frame for the clause*', that is, the Matrix Language. In comparison, composite codeswitching is defined as a 'bilingual speech in which even though most of the morphosyntactic structure comes from one of the participating languages, the other language contributes some of the abstract structure underlying surface forms in the clause' (Myers-Scotton 2006:242). It is called a composite since it is a combination of codeswitching and convergence. According to Myers-Scotton (1998, 2002, 2003), this type of codeswitching can result in a mixed language formation as demonstrated in her Matrix Language Turnover Hypothesis. Such distinction between the types of codeswitching is crucial for comprehending the various motivations for codeswitching, its causes and effects, and the role it plays in demonstrating identities.

According to Bucholtz & Hall (2004), identities are not only attributes of individuals and groups, but also of situations, thus identification is an ongoing social and political process; and while identity work involves obscuring differences among groups with a shared identity, it also serves to underscore differences between in-group members and other groups. And since language manifests the semiotic processes of practice, indexicality, ideology and performance, more often than not, this is done through language and repetitive use of specific linguistic variables and styles that consequently symbolize and iconically embody the group's distinctive identity and way of being in the world. Given this notion of interrelatedness of language, social-political situations and identity, the present research examines the

relationship between codeswitching and sociopolitical identity, reporting on a study of three native Palestinian Arabic speaking communities in Israel: Christian Arabs, Muslims and Druze. According to Smooha (1992), Rouhana (1997), Amara & Schnell (2004) and Amara (2010, 2016, 2017), collective identities among the Arabs in general and the Israeli Arabs in particular, are the result of a complex sociopolitical context including religious, Pan-Arab, cultural, political-Islamic, national ideological and kinship identities all in the midst of a national and religious conflict. Therefore, I refer to their identity spectrum as sociopolitical identity. Drawing insights from intersubjective contact linguistics and indexicality, the current paper attempts to offer a framework that would serve as a basis for analyses of codeswitching as an index of sociopolitical identity.

2 The ICM: A Sociopolitical Model of Codeswitching

The present study examines the relationship between codeswitching and sociopolitical identity among three native Palestinian Arabic speaking communities in Israel: Christian Arabs, Muslims and Druze. Drawing insights from intersubjective contact linguistics and indexicality, the study presents a theoretical model that attempts to facilitate the analysis of codeswitching as an index of sociopolitical identity. I shall call the model *The Identity Code Model* since it reflects identity issues within the context of codeswitching. This model provides an explication illustrating speakers' sociopolitical motivations as they codeswitch or refrain from codeswitching. It integrates different branches of linguistics with the main ones being sociolinguistics and contact linguistics.

Taking into account the performance and style theory (Eckert, 2004), I suggest codeswitching to be viewed as a stylistic resource that people standing in a variety of positions with respect to conflict/political issues will show variability in the ways in which they select, combine and situationally

deploy it. Eckert (2004) views style not as a thing, but as a practice, that is, an activity through which people create social meanings, making it the visible manifestation of social meaning. In addition, performance, a marked speech event that is more or less sharply differentiated from a mundane interaction is a highly deliberate and self-aware social display that involves stylization in highlighting ideological associations (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004). Based on this view, codeswitching can be embedded in the speaker's linguistic practice as the visible manifestation of sociopolitical identity. According to Eckert (2004), selecting variables is based upon the speaker's interpretation of its meaning potential, and since "a stylistic move is to be put out into a community for the purpose of being interpreted, speakers select resources on the basis of their potential comprehensibility in that community" (p.44). Therefore, I suggest that since the use of codeswitching can be perceived by the speakers as adding the identity dimension affiliated with the state, it will be cautiously selected, combined, situationally deployed and perhaps even amended to match the speaker's ideology. Moreover, Eckert (2004) adds that prestige and stigma have become the primary social meanings associated with variables, bringing a focus on prestige and an attempt to avoid stigma and the speaker may manage style to call upon a certain identity or to create distance. Similarly, Irvine and Gal (2000) have documented a process of linguistic ideology which they term *erasure*; a process in which elements are eradicated in case they do not fit the ideological stance. Such "problematic" elements must be either ignored or transformed or acted against in order to remove the threat. Irvine and Gal have identified another semiotic process called *iconization*, in which linguistic features become the ideological index of a social group's essence. Denoting 'state identity' or a mixed identity, I suggest that codeswitching can presumably be viewed as a stigmatized variant to be avoided by those who wish to create distance from that specific identity, and more radically, to be acted against. Conversely, those who wish to make that identity salient, will embrace it as their iconic style. In a similar notion, Myers-Scotton (1993) asserts that unmarked codeswitching can be viewed as an index of intergroup harmony and marked codeswitching as an indicator of conflict, thus little unmarked codeswitching is expected in places where languages symbolize intergroup conflict.

In addition, Bucholtz & Hall (2004) have explored similar notions in their model *Tactics of Intersubjectivity*-the relations that are created through identity work, which includes three different pairs of tactics that pertain to markedness, essentialism and institutional power. The first set, adequation and distinction, involves the pursuit of socially recognized sameness (via adequation) or difference (via distinction). Adequation can be used as a tool to preserve a community identity in the face of dramatic cultural shift while at the same time as a way of bilingual speakers "to locate themselves simultaneously within two different identity frames, by syncretically combining elements of each language into a single sociolinguistic system" (p. 383). Distinction is one of the sociopolitical relations whereby salient difference is underscored rather than erased. It is a tactic of underscoring differentiation of identity through resisting the assimilating forces of modernity and the nation-state, thus "speakers of minority or unofficial languages often elaborate linguistic differences between their own language and the language of the state" (p.384). Although distinction mainly operates in a binary manner establishing a dichotomy in which social identities are constructed as oppositional or contrastive, it may facilitate a process in which groups establish an alternative to either pole of the dichotomy. The second set, authentication and denaturalization, respectively relate to the construction of a genuine identity and an identity which is non-authentic, and it involves the rewriting of linguistic and cultural history in which the speakers are repositioned as more "authentic" to the historical workings of the nation-state. Accordingly, when the identity of a language and its speakers becomes authenticated through nationalistic rhetoric, the variety then indexes ways of being and belonging to the nation-state, thus people may index multiple ethnic, nationalist and political stances through their linguistic practices. The third set, authorization and illegitimation, involves speakers attempt to legitimate particular identities through co-legitimating an institutional power or authority, or conversely to suppress or withdraw such identities through removing or denying such structural power, therefore, illegitimation can serve as a mode of resistance to the state or the dominant authority.

Drawing insights from the above mentioned theories and the links to codeswitching that I have postulated, I propose a framework that further explicates and specifies the link between codeswitching and sociopolitical identity. *The Identity Code Model*'s fundamental premise is that codeswitching occurs to varying degrees of intensity according to the bilingual/multilingual speaker's wish to make an ideologically-based identity component more salient than the rest out of a set of identity choices, by either excessive codeswitching into the dominant culture's language or conversely, refrain from it. Hence, there is a connection between the linguistic code used, the sociopolitical context and social identity. The model is specifically designed to show sociopolitical motivations found in codeswitching. *The Identity Code Model* is primarily based on a series of studies that was conducted for the purpose of a research project on Palestinian Arabic/Israeli Hebrew codeswitching in the native Palestinian Arabic speaking community in Israel. *The Identity Code Model (ICM)* is composed of a set of theoretical premises that relate to the essence of influences of sociopolitical identity affiliations upon the intensiveness and type of codeswitching used.

First, the ICM presupposes that within a community of bilinguals whose sociolinguistic setting and intensive language contact with the language of the state make them susceptible to intensive codeswitching and language change, differences in sociopolitical identity affiliations position these individuals differently along the codeswitching scale. The levels of the codeswitching scale can be defined as light, moderate and heavy. Light codeswitching is characterized predominantly by borrowings and monolexemic switching, moderate codeswitching by 'classic' codeswitching and heavy codeswitching by intensive codeswitching that approaches convergence and composite codeswitching. It is therefore expected that when bilingual individuals include an identity constituent of the state/dominant culture into their identity repertoire, the more the codeswitching components will prevail within their speech. Specifically, when a bilingual community/individual is highly socially and politically identified with the state/dominant culture, codeswitching by members of that community/that individual into the

state/dominant culture's language would constitute the composite type; for others, codeswitching into the state/dominant culture's language would constitute the classic type. In a similar notion, when a community is highly socially and politically identified with the dominant culture/state, codeswitching by members of that community into the dominant state/culture's language would constitute the unmarked mode of communication; for others, codeswitching into the dominant language would constitute the marked mode of communication. Furthermore, when a community exhibits positive attitudes toward the state/dominant culture's identity, language and codeswitching into its language, it demonstrates high levels of codeswitching into the dominant language. On the other hand, when a community exhibits negative or neutral attitudes towards the state/dominant culture's identity, language and codeswitching into its language, it demonstrates low to medium levels of codeswitching.

The second presupposition is that the higher the degree of a bilingual community's/individual's affiliation with the dominant culture/state, the more prominent its/his codeswitching into the language of the dominant culture/state will be. Therefore, the more included minority communities in a given state will show much higher levels of codeswitching into the state language. Conversely, the lower the degree of a bilingual community's/individual's sense of inclusion in the dominant culture/state, the more refrained a community/individual is from codeswitching into the language of the state-limiting it to a restricted number of borrowings and monolexemic switches (light codeswitching). In addition, the more a community/individual demonstrates an inclination towards sociopolitical convergence with the dominant culture/state, the more the features of language convergence will emerge in its/his speech. The converse notion is that sociolinguistic convergence will be consciously impeded and resisted if a bilingual community/individual is reluctant to affiliate socio-politically with the dominant culture/state. Also, when a community is more socially and politically identified with the dominant culture, it maintains the phonological pronunciation of 'code 2', conversely, when a community is less socially and politically identified with the state/dominant culture, it tends to make phonological adaptations of 'code

2' into 'code 1'. In unique cases, the more a bilingual community/individual demonstrates an inclination towards sociolinguistic convergence with the dominant culture, the more forenames are code-imprinted from the dominant culture, despite the fact that those forenames are alien to the recipient culture/individual.

The final presupposition is that in some cases of minority groups/communities who wish to create an alternative to a dichotomy between contrastive or oppositional identities, a new language or dialect will be created, presumably by mixing both languages, which is often the outcome of extremely intensive codeswitching. According to Bakker (1997:203), mixed languages 'are spoken by ethnic groups who were originally bilingual but, for some reason, wanted to distinguish themselves collectively from both groups whose languages they speak. The speakers of each of these languages form a distinct group, either a subgroup of a larger division or a completely different group.' Therefore, by forming a mixed language or dialect, the group/community stresses its sociopoliticalinguistic distinctness.

3 The Arabs and Druze in Israel

Arab citizens in Israel are non-Jewish Israeli citizens who are ethnically and culturally identified as Arabs. Most Israeli Arabs are functionally bilingual, their first language being Palestinian Arabic and their second being Israeli Hebrew (for the similarities and differences between the two spoken varieties, see Kheir, 2019a). The Israeli Arab citizens are Muslims and Christians who share a national Palestinian identity, origin and belonging. There is a big debate, however, as to whether the Druze people are considered Arabs or not. Practically, the Druze people in Israel have their own distinct sector, separate from the Arab one. As an integral part of their traditional and religious values, the Druze hold loyalty to the state in which they reside by adopting state ideologies, affiliations, identity and nationalism. Therefore, the Israeli Druze community has gone through a process of gaining a distinct political and

national identity as part of the Israeli state's policy to make a clear distinction between the Israeli Druze and Arabs. Prior to 1962, all of the communities in the Arab sector, namely the Druze, Christians and Muslims were legally counted as Arabs. In 1962, however, Israel took a major identity replacement step for the Druze, replacing their nationality from 'Arab' into 'Druze', both in their birth certificates as well as their Identity Cards, while all the rest were still legally regarded as 'Arabs' (Firro 2001; Halabi 2006). In addition to granting the Druze people an independent status as a community and a distinct political and national identity as an act of inclusion vis-à-vis exclusion, they were also granted an independent education system, separate from the Arab one, thus encouraging the creation of a 'Druze and Israeli' consciousness, which in turn, helped shape their collective identity as Israeli Druze, with the Israeli component being inseparable from the Druze one, both consciously and on the sub-conscious level, thus being their unmarked or default collective identity.

The total number of the Arab community in Israel is 1,916,000, which constitutes around 21% of Israel's total population (CBS, 2019). Israeli Arabs and Druze mostly reside in the same localities or in adjacent ones. According to Amara & Mar'i (2002), the Israeli Arabs are considered a sociological minority due to the fact that they do not have representations in the political, economic and military elites and are perceived as citizens whose loyalty to Israel is questionable. The Druze, however, exhibit a different reality by having a plethora of such representations and are perceived by the state as loyal and patriotic. In contrast to Arab Christians and Muslims, young Druze males are subject to the compulsory military service. Many Bedouins, who also enjoy a separate status from the Arab community, and few Christians, however, enlist in the IDF on a voluntary basis. According to Zeedan (2019), a positive peace, which involves a sense of cooperation and integration, was achieved between the state of Israel and the Druze following their integration in the army, whereas a negative peace, the absence of war and violence, is maintained with the Arabs, following the state policy to exclude them.

The Arabs and Druze in Israel have intensive interaction with the Jewish people, thus experience ongoing language contact with Israeli Hebrew speakers and their culture. Such interaction mainly takes place at work, higher education institutions, public centres, public institutions and for almost all Druze males and some Arab volunteers, in the military.

The primary factor differentiating between the Israeli Druze and Israeli Arabs is political. According to Rouhana (1997: 8) "most of the Arabs in Israel define themselves as Palestinians in Israel even when they have the option to choose other self-definitions, such as Israeli Palestinians or Israeli Arabs." Most of the Druze people, however, do not identify with the narrative of Palestine resonant among the Israeli Arabs. According to Nisan (2010), many of the Druze perceive themselves as loyal patriotic citizens who abide by the Israeli Declaration of Independence and accept Israel as a Jewish and Democratic state. Nisan (2010:585) and Zeedan (2019) carry on stressing the disparity of the Druze national political identification versus that of the Israeli Arabs by illustrating voting behaviour and party preferences in Israeli elections that unequivocally substantiate that 'Druze vote for Jews, and the Arabs vote for Arabs.' There are, nonetheless, exceptions such as "The Arab-Druze Initiative Committee" and "The Free Sons of Grace" that identify with the Palestinian cause and oppose the compulsory conscription of the Druze in the Israeli Defence force, however, they are marginal and unable to attract sufficient support among the Israeli Druze since the majority of the Druze do not perceive themselves as Palestinians, do not have connections to the Palestinians unlike the Arabs, and their soldiers take active part in military operations in the territories as part of their duty during their army service (Nisan, 2010; Zeedan, 2019). The exceptional group's identity would therefore count ideologically as the marked choice or highly recognizable in relation to the opposing majority.

As a sign of their assimilation in Israel, many of the Druze people do not tend to associate themselves with the Palestinian Arab identity but rather self-identify mainly as Israeli Druze, in contrast

to the rest of the Arab citizens in Israel. According to a research on identity affiliations of the Arabs in Israel conducted by Amara & Schnell (2004) through a multi-dimensional identity model; the majority of the Druze people refuse to identify as Palestinians and perceive the Palestinian identity to be totally irrelevant to their identity repertoire and 'are united in their rejection of the Palestinian identity' (p.183). Many of them feel the same with respect to the Arab identity and attempt to integrate the Israeli identity instead which is assigned the highest priority alongside their Druze identity. Similar findings were demonstrated in Halabi's research (2014). Muslims and Christians, however, almost unanimously emphasize the high salience of their Arab identity and 40 per cent of them assign the same salience to the Palestinian identity while half of them assign the Israeli identity a moderate level of salience whereas the rest consider it either totally irrelevant or highly relevant. Not surprisingly though, the Christians and Muslims that assign high salience to the Israeli identity are mainly Muslim Bedouins who serve in the Israeli army and Christians who live in Jaffa (Yafo)-a mixed city with a Jewish majority-factors that facilitate the desire to integrate into the Israeli society and disengage from the Palestinian theme. In support of this notion, Horesh (2015) asserts that many of the Arab Christian families in Jaffa prefer sending their children to Jewish schools rather than to Arab schools.

This paper focuses on the phenomena of composite codeswitching among the Israeli Druze community and codeswitching resistance among the Israeli Arab community and their relationship to sociopolitical identity. The Druze in Israel have a distinct speech that differs from that of the Christians and Muslims in the Arab sector who do not reside in mixed cities with a Jewish majority. According to Kheir (2019a, 2019b) although the Druze community shares Palestinian Arabic ('code 1') as the same first language with the Arabs in Israel, their speech is extremely unique in that it incorporates very extensive and frequent mixing of Arabic and Hebrew ('code 2'). In fact, Arabic/Hebrew composite codeswitching is considered the unmarked mode of communication in the case of the Israeli Druze community as opposed to the Arab community in which codeswitching is the marked mode of

communication (excluding the Arabs residing in mixed cities alongside a Jewish majority and the Bedouins). The underlying hypothesis for the current case study is that when speakers include both the Arab/Druze as well as the Israeli component in their identity repertoire, they exhibit more intensive codeswitching between the languages, therefore, there is clear interrelatedness between codeswitching and sociopolitical identification.

4 Data, methodology and Examples

The data used in this study is based on different data sets recorded in 2017, 2018 and 2019. All data come from recordings of spontaneous speech, that is, naturally occurring conversations, without the presence of the researcher. All the examples involving Arabic/ Hebrew codeswitching were audio-recorded in different places in Israel. Each recording lasted around 60 minutes. In addition, after recording the subjects, questionnaires were used to obtain subjective attitudes towards codeswitching and identity (*see* Appendix 1-Questionnaire). The questionnaires included a set of choices to choose from, as well as the option to concoct an answer. It is noteworthy that the participants were recorded two at a time, being closely related (friends, relatives, colleagues etc…), the researcher gave the participants the recording device, asked the participants to have a regular conversation on any topic of their choice without any mention of codeswitching and language styles. The researcher then left the room, returned to pick up the device, gave them questionnaires to fill out, left the room again and went back to collect the questionnaires, therefore, the researcher had no effect whatsoever on the nature of the conversations, codeswitching style and the questionnaire responses. The researcher then asked the subjects a few questions about self-identification and their own perception of their relation to the state. The researcher

shares the same L1 as the participants and had questionnaires in Arabic, translated into Hebrew, for the participants to choose from, add comments and amend to their own understanding and self-expression.

Subsequently, the study also compares the objective data collected from the spontaneous recordings to the participants' subjective responses to the questionnaires and open questions. In addition, the connection between sociopolitical identity and conversational structure (codeswitching, language preference) are examined using data from the spontaneous talk in interaction as well as the questionnaires. Specifically, the main examination regarding the connection between sociopolitical affiliations and codeswitching utterances was checked using the Chi-Square Test. The study examined two key variables: Codeswitching Scale and Attitude to Codeswitching. The aim was to check whether these variables depend on the type of group characterized by religion, self-identity or attitude to specific ethnicity (*see* Appendix 2-Classification and Categorization of the Questionnaire Statements). Different groups could include/exclude the Israeli component, Arab/Druze component, Palestinian component in their identity repertoire and have different attitudes (positive or negative) towards specific entities (Palestinian, Arab, and Israeli). To check if there is such significant dependence, Chi-Square Test was undertaken ($\alpha \leq 0.05$).

The participants of the present study are 60 native Arabic speakers coming from different Arab/Druze mixed villages and towns in Israel. In order to make the comparison as ‘fair’ as possible, sampled participants from the different communities (20 Druze, 20 Christians and 20 Muslims) were mostly picked from the same mixed villages and towns with various majority communities (Osfiya-Druze majority, Kfar Yassif-Christian majority, Rama-Christian majority, Shefar’am-Muslim majority, Abu Snan-Muslim majority, Mghar-Druze majority and Daliat El-Carmel-Druze majority). All participants are multilingual speakers, highly proficient in both Arabic and Hebrew, with Arabic occupying their L1 and Hebrew their L2. They range in age from 25 to 45, both males and females.

5 Arabic/Hebrew Codeswitching among the Muslim and Christian Participants: Borrowing and Classic Codeswitching

The speech data of the Muslim and Christian participants evidenced mainly borrowing and codeswitching of the classic type, mainly inter-sentential. Taking into account the performance and style theory (Eckert, 2004), codeswitching can be perceived as a stylistic resource that people standing in different positions with respect to conflict/political issues will show variability in the ways in which they select, combine and situationally deploy it. As is evident in the following examples, the Christian participants speech data exhibit more usage of Hebrew than their Muslim counterparts whose data yielded very few to no Hebrew usage at all. In fact, when the speakers felt the need to codeswitch, they mainly used English and Modern Standard Arabic elements rather than their Hebrew equivalents. Examples (1) through (6) illustrate borrowing and Arabic/Hebrew 'classic' codeswitching from the Christian participants and examples (7) through (12) are of their Muslim counterparts. All examples are of multilingual speakers fluent in both Palestinian Arabic and Israeli Hebrew, with Arabic being their L1 and Hebrew their L2. According to Myers-Scotton (2002), in classic codeswitching, the Matrix Language sets the morphosyntactic frame. Embedded Language lexemes, however, are either integrated into the Matrix Language frame; appear in bare form, or as part of an Embedded Language island. In the Arabic/Hebrew codeswitching data of the Christian and Muslim participants, such constraints are realized.

Example (1) is taken from a speech of a Christian female student talking to a friend. The speaker self-identified as Arab stating that she tried to refrain from the insertion of Hebrew elements into her speech since it sounds more prestigious without the Hebrew influence. According to Eckert (2004:45) "prestige and stigma have come to be the primary social meanings associated with variables, and formality brings a focus on prestige and an attempt to avoid stigma." In the sociopolitical context of the present case study, codeswitching into Hebrew is associated with 'Israeliness' or a mixed identity and

can presumably be viewed as a stigmatized variant to be avoided. The speaker used the Hebrew word *davkā*, which is a case of Hebrew borrowing into Arabic. The Hebrew word *davká* does not have an equivalent in Arabic since it denotes various meanings and its meaning is contextually bound and therefore count as a cultural borrowing. It has also been phonologically adapted by the speaker by lengthening of the vowel [á] to [ā]. It should be noted that in the quotations from the transcriptions, Hebrew elements are underlined in the transcriptions as well as their glosses; other elements are from Arabic, and morphemes under discussion or focal appear in bold. The transcriptions follow the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) system.

(1)
Wow ʔana bastana-ki <u>*davkā*</u>
Wow I will wait-2SGF <u>actually</u>
'Wow, I will wait for you, actually.'

Example (2) is taken from a speech of a Christian female worker talking to her colleague. In (2) there is a case of inter-sentential codeswitching in which the speaker produced one clause completely in Arabic and the following one completely in Hebrew. It is important to note that within the Hebrew clause there is a usage of the Hebrew loanword *klitʿa* 'reception'. The word *klitʿa* does not have an equivalent in Palestinian Arabic in its technological meaning (mobile phone reception) and it is also used by Arabic speakers in the territories. The technology domain introduced many Hebrew borrowings mainly due to the fact that they are new concepts that fill in a linguistic void in the colloquial Palestinian Arabic dialect. The Hebrew words *harbe* 'a lot of' and *klitʿa*: were phonologically adapted into Arabic as the former is pronounced *'aʁbé* and the latter *klitá* in Israeli Hebrew. The speaker replaced the lax uvular approximant [ʁ] with the alveolar trill [r], the alveolar plosive [t] by the pharygealized [tˤ] and used the lengthened vowels [ē] and [a:] instead of the short [é] and [á] respectively. The speaker self-identified as Israeli-Arab, stating that Israeli represents her civic identity and Christian-Arab her nationality. The speaker

stated that when she inserts Hebrew elements into her everyday speech, it is done as a means of comfort and assimilation.

(2)

ʃu	*maʕak-i*	*ent-i,*	*Orange,*	*Pelephone?*	*b-Orange*	*yeʃ*	***harbē***	***klitʿa:***
What	Have-2SGF	you-2SGF	Orange,	Pelephone?	*in-Orange*	*there is*	*a lot of*	*reception*

'What do you have, Orange, Pelephone (mobile phone brands)? Orange has a good reception'

In (3) a Christian male speaker used the Hebrew expression *bezxut ʕatsmen-u:* 'in our own right', which is more commonly used than its Arabic counterpart *befadʿel-na* due to the fact that the Arabic equivalent is related to Modern Standard Arabic and is therefore considered more formal and less colloquial. The Hebrew word *ʔatsmen-ú* 'ourselves' was phonologically adapted into Arabic as *ʕatsmen-u:* with the speaker changing the glottal plosive [ʔ] into the pharyngeal fricative [ʕ] and lengthening the vowel [ú].

(3)

noʃkor	*Allah, wein*	*eħna*	*mnusʿal*	*meʃ*	***bezxut ʕatsmen-u:***	*laʔen-o*	*Allah*	*raħme*	*w-maħabe*
we thank	God, where	we	reach	not	in our own right	because	God	compassion	and-love

'Thank God, wherever we get to is not in our own right but due to God's compassion and love.'

In example (4) a Christian male hairdresser talking to his client inserted the colloquial Hebrew expression *ma ʃeken* 'that said'. The choice of the Hebrew expression *ma ʃeken* stems from the fact that it does not have an exact equivalent in colloquial Arabic and its meaning is contextually bound; therefore, it is a borrowed Hebrew expression that fills in a lexical gap. The speaker self-identified as a Christian, with Israeli occupying his civic identity. The speaker had mixed feelings about the integration of Hebrew elements into his speech. On the one hand, he felt comfortable doing so, on the other hand he tried to refrain from doing it with certain interlocutors, taking into account its controversial 'role' in reflecting affiliation with the state. According to Eckert (2004), the issues associated with social difference may have been quite different at another time, and the speakers may have deployed the linguistic variables in very different ways. Based on this view, codeswitching may have been deployed very differently if it were not for the conflict setting.

(4)
Ma baʔref kif etˁ-tˁaʔes ɣad w-el-manax tabaʕhen bas ***<u>ma ʃeken</u>*** *istaʕeml-i silicone*

Not know how the weather there and the climate theirs but <u>that said</u> use-2SGF silicone

'I don't know how the weather is like there and their climate but, regardless, use (hair) silicone'

Example (5) shows another instance of inter-sentential codeswitching in which the speaker produced the first clause entirely in Arabic and the following clause entirely in Hebrew. This is a classic example of classical codeswitching, which is mainly charecterised by inter-sentential codeswitching and monolexemic switches and borrowings.

(5)
ɣad ʃu el-ʕemle, dollar? <u>Kama</u> <u>hú</u> <u>ʃavé</u>?

there what the-currency, dollar? <u>how much</u> <u>he</u> <u>worth</u>?

'what is the currency there, dollar? How much is it worth?

Example (6) is taken from a Christian male worker, who resided in a mixed town with a Druze majority, talking to a repeat customer asking her about a relative's mental condition. The speaker showed a much higher level of codeswitching than the other Christian participants. His speech is characterised by the relatively high usage of Hebrew morphemes, which outnumber the Arabic morphemes in many of the clauses that he produced. In a morpheme count of example (6), seven out of the twelve morphemes are taken from Hebrew. It is noteworthy that this specific participant, when asked about self-identification and his relation to the state, he stated that he self-identifies as Israeli-Arab, feeling a sense of inclusion and belonging to the state and is very pleased to be an Israeli citizen, and that he feels detached from the Palestinian theme. This example stresses the benefit of codeswitching in constructing identity which lies in its inherent voicing of various identities simultaneously, such as indexing an affiliation with the local community as well as with one's ethnic heritage in cases where both identities hold value and are thus claimed publicly through language use (Fought, 2006; Woolard, 1998).

(6)

*zé paga*ʕ *la ba-*ʕ*atsabím fi el-mox? Fi* ʃ*u paga*ʕ*?*

This harm-PST for her in the-nerves *in the-brain? In what harmed?*

Did this harm her cranial nerves? What did it harm?

The following examples of borrowing and codeswitching are taken from the Muslim participants. In (7) a Muslim multilingual female student produced three different clauses; the first completely in Arabic, the second using the English expression *Oh my God,* and the third in Arabic with the hesitant insertion of the Hebrew loanword *re*ʔ*ayon* '(job) interview'. The word *re*ʔ*ayon* is borrowed from Hebrew *ʁeayón* since it does not have an equivalent in the vernacular variety and fills in a linguistic void, and has been phonologically adapted primarily in lengthening the vowel [ó] to [ō]. The speaker tried as much as possible to refrain from the use of Hebrew elements until she was faced with no other choice. It is evident in her linguistic choice that even for Hebrew loanwords that are more commonly used than their Arabic equivalents, she nonetheless sticks to the Arabic equivalent, as in her choice of the Arabic word *wad*ʿ*ife* 'assignment'. The Hebrew counterpart ʕ*avodá* 'assignment', has almost replaced the Arabic word *wad*ʿ*ife,* which is much less commonly used among Arabic native speakers, to the point that it is nearly becoming archaic in its academic sense. This participant had proudly self-identified as a Palestinian Arab, stressing her Arab nationality and positive attitude towards Arabic, stressing that since she feels that the language she speaks determines her identity, she tries to avoid insertion of Hebrew items into her speech. Since in this conflict situation codeswitching is perceived to serve both as a linguistic tool as well as an ideological tool, this speaker stressed the fact that she uses it purely for linguistic purposes.

(7)

*t*ʿ*ayeb xali-na neħki* ʕ*an el-**wad*ʿ***ife** *oh my God! ʔay sē*ʕ*a nazl-e* ʕ*ala el….**re*ʔ***ayōn**?*

Ok let us talk about the-assignment oh my God! What hour going down-2SGF to the…interview?

'OK, let us talk about the assignment. Oh my God! What time are you going to the (job) interview?

Example (8) is taken from another Muslim female multilingual student who shows the same pattern as the previous one. The speaker produced three clauses, two completely in Arabic and the last in

Arabic with a hesitant insertion of the borrowed Hebrew phrase *ʃaʕōt kabalā* ‘reception hours’ which is phonologically adapted into Arabic, since the Israeli Hebrew pronunciation is *ʃʔót kabalá*. *ʃʔót kabalá* was borrowed from Hebrew since it does not have an equivalent in Palestinian Vernacular Arabic, therefore, it fills a lexical gap. As in the case of the previous participant, this speaker carefully chose to refrain from Hebrew insertions, even in the case of preferred borrowed Hebrew counterparts, as in the case of her usage of the Arabic word *laʔtˁa* ‘scene’. *laʔtˁa* is much less frequently used than its Hebrew borrowed equivalent *ketáʔ* among the Israeli Arabs and Druze, yet, the speaker remains loyal to the Arabic choice. This speaker self-identified as a Palestinian Arab, stating her nationality as Palestinian while highlighting the importance of Arabic in relation to her identity; further stating that she refrains from insertion of Hebrew elements into her daily speech, as she feels excluded from the state. Therefore, it is probable that the phonetic adaptation of the Hebrew elements by the speaker serves as a vehicle to stress its use for merely linguistic purposes.

(8)
Bas ʔana sˁafan-et ʔen-ha da-tetrek w... baʕref-eʃ. kan-et ***laʔtˁa*** *yaʕni ktir betsˁaffen.*
But I was-shocked that-she want-leave and… know not. was-it scene meaning very shocking.
beʔol-ha taʕal-I ʕala… ***ʃaʔōt*** *el-****kabalā*** *taʕon-i*
he tells-her come-2SGF to… hours the-reception my-1SG
‘but I was shocked that she wants to leave and…I don’t know. It was, I mean, a very shocking scene. He tells her “come to my office hours’’.

Example (9) is taken from a Muslim male student whose speech is also characterised by very few mono-lexemic switches and borrowing. As the in other cases of the Muslim participants, the speaker tried to stick to Arabic even in the case of the alternative more common Hebrew switches; such as *ʕavoda* ‘assignment’, for which he uses the Arabic equivalent *wadˁife*. The speaker, however, inserts the Hebrew adjective *mogzám* ‘too much’ in two separate clauses, which is again, a case of a Hebrew borrowing that is used in the context of an assignment given by an Israeli Jewish lecturer. The Hebrew adjective *mogzám* was phonologically adapted into mogzām by vowel lengthening, presumably to make it sound more

native. The speaker self-identified as Arab who feels excluded, stating his nationality as a Muslim-Arab and stressed the fact that he tries to avoid the use of Hebrew in his speech; expressing his concern of the rising influence of Hebrew upon Arabic and the rising usage of Hebrew by Arabic speakers in the state. Following the performance and style theory (Eckert, 2004), codeswitching can be perceived as a stylistic resource that is carefully selected, combined and situationally deployed according to the positions with respect to the political issues, as is the case here.

(9)
Ktir ktir el-yom hēk. ***mogzām.*** ***wadʿif-tu*** hada Uriel el-**mogzām**
Much much today like this. too much. Assignment-of him this Uriel the-too much
'today is just really too much like this. Too much. The assignment of this Uriel is 'the' too much.

Example (10) is taken from the speech of a Muslim female student sitting in a coffee shop, after her friend read out a public message in Hebrew asking to evacuate the place (the coffee shop) between 12:15pm and 01:30pm. The speaker produced a clause in Arabic with the mono-lexemic insertion of the Hebrew noun *ħēder* 'room'. This is an instance of a common switch in which the definite article in Palestinian Arabic *el-* or *al-* (the), which is not independent, but rather is prefixed to nouns and adjectives in Arabic, is prefixed to a noun in Hebrew, thus the Hebrew noun is inserted into an Arabic frame. In addition, the Hebrew noun *ħēder* is phonologically adapted into Arabic. The Israeli Hebrew pronunciation of the noun is *xedeʁ,* thus the speaker used the pharyngeal [ħ] instead of the voiceless velar fricative [x], the long vowel [ē] instead of the short equivalent [e], and the alveolar trill [r] instead of the lax uvular approximant [ʁ]. The speaker self-identified as Palestinian-Arab and chose to refrain from embedding Hebrew elements in her speech, stating that it is important to keep her Arabic pure, for it reflects her identity. According to Eckert (2004), selecting variables is based upon the speaker's interpretation of its meaning potential, and since this speaker perceives insertions of Hebrew elements as a "stain" to her speech and identity, she attempts to resist it and presumably use phonetic adaptation as a way of "camouflaging" its source.

(10)

*ʔawal marra beʔol-u fadˤu el-**hēder***

First time say-2PL evacuate the room

'It is the first time they ask to evacuate the room.'

In example (11), there is a case in which a Muslim female worker is talking to her co-worker about yet another fellow worker who is unwell due to fasting. The speaker produces four clauses, three of which are completely in Arabic and one with an insertion of a Hebrew verb, which she phonologically adapted into Arabic as *atˤabēl* 'take care of'. The common Hebrew pronunciation is *(y)e/atapél*, which the speaker replaced the alveolar [t] by the pharygealized [tˤ], the vowel [è] by [ē], and the voiceless bilabial [p] by the voiced [b]. The Hebrew verb is a case of a Hebrew borrowing from the domain of health services, which, according to Amara (2010, 2017), is a domain in which the influence exerted by contact with the Jewish culture is evident due to the many Hebrew borrowings from it. The speaker self-identified as Arab, stating her nationality as a Muslim-Arab who feels excluded and tries to resist the integration of Hebrew elements stating that she is against it and against its growing influence on Arabic as she feels that language determines one's identity. It seems that the speaker is following the process of adequation (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004), which is used to preserve a community identity in the face of dramatic cultural change.

(11)

Saħar dayx-a heik taʕban-e ʃwaj. ʔoltel-ha ida meʃ ɣadr-e ifetr-i.

Saħar dizzy like that tired-3SGF a bit. 1SG told-her if not able-2SGF break the fast-2SGF.

*Issa aʔʕod **atˤabēl** ʔana b-moradˤaʔ! ma-liʃ xlaʔ!*

Now start take care of I in-patients?! not-have patience!

'Sahar is kind of dizzy, and a bit tired. I told her if you are unwell, then break the (Ramadan) fast! Now I will start taking care of patients? I do not have the patience (for that)!

Example (12) is taken from a Muslim male worker who did not want to go to work but was reluctant to tell his employer and suddenly the employer calls him to dismiss him from work on that day.

The speaker expressed his happiness to his friend while producing three clauses; the first two completely in Arabic and the third includes an insertion of the phonologically modified Hebrew word *mezalzél* 'irreverent', after a failed attempt to produce an equivalent in Arabic. The Hebrew word *mezalzél* does not have an equivalent in Palestinian Arabic; therefore it fills in a linguistic void. The speaker self-identified as a Palestinian-Arab who feels excluded from the state and connected to the Palestinian nation, and tries not to insert Hebrew elements in his daily speech, seemingly as a way to index his sociopolitical stance.

(12)

el-ħamd-ella	*ʔana*	*mabsutˁ!*	*ma*	*kont-eʃ*	*ʔana*	*bad-i*		*alɣ-i*	*laʔenno*	*men*	*ʒehat-I*	*ʔana*
the-gratitude-God	I	happy!	not	was-not	I	want-1SG		cancel	because	from	side-1SG	I
ba-bajen	*heik...*	*mezalzēl*										
will-seem	like this…	irreverent										

'Thank God! I am happy! I did not want to cancel (it) because from my side it would have seemed kind of… irreverent'

According to the examples above of the Christian and Muslim participants that constitute a typical and comprehensive sample of the rest of the data, it is evident that this level of codeswitching is characterised mainly by borrowing and classic codeswitching, and constitutes the marked mode of communication. It is reflected herein by the infrequent Arabic/Hebrew codeswitching and borrowing occurrences, and maintaining the role of Arabic as the undisputed Matrix Language and the main provider of the system morphemes. Hebrew, which is the Embedded Language in this data, provides some content morphemes and Embedded Language islands that fit into the Matrix Language frame model, thus maintaining its role as an Embedded Language. The findings demonstrate language loyalty, which according to Hesbacher & Fishman (1965:163) and Szecsy (2008:446), denotes a desire to retain an identity that is articulated through the use of that language and maintain the language in question even under adverse conditions and is 'unleashed' in response to an impending language shift, in an attempt to preserve the threatened language. This conforms to Myers-Scotton's (1993:128) notion of markedness,

which expects that “where there is a good deal of intergroup tension and this tension is expressed by language loyalty, little unmarked CS is predicted.”

Recent similar findings are discussed in Abu-Elhija’s (2017) research on borrowings among the Israeli Arabs, and Hawker’s (2018) research on borrowings and codeswitching among the Israeli Arabs. Abu-Elhija (2017) concluded that despite the high intensity of contact between the languages, her data yielded a scarce corpus of borrowings and very restricted types of borrowings. She explained the findings to be a possible result of the political struggle between the Arabs and Jews, and that the political and cultural situation of the Israeli Arabs is what actually hinders the process of borrowing.

Similarly, Hawker (2018) came up with evidence suggesting that the few borrowings and codeswitching data that were traced, were limited by specific forms and pragmatic functions, mainly borrowing of nouns for specialist terminology and inter-sentential codeswitching. She summarised the ideologies into the premise that two languages index two national identities and mixing them might index a subversive mixture of the identities, which is highly controversial among the Israeli Arabs.

6 Arabic/Hebrew Codeswitching among the Druze Participants: Convergence and Composite Codeswitching

In recent studies, Kheir (2019a, 2019b) has examined and proved the language of the Druze community as going through the process of convergence and a composite Matrix Language formation, resulting in a mixed language; based on Myers-Scotton’s Matrix Language Turnover Hypothesis (1998, 2002), Auer’s (1998, 1999) and Myers-Scotton’s (2003) models of mixed languages. Examples (13) through (18) illustrate codeswitching and convergence to Israeli Hebrew from the Druze participants'

data. The speakers are highly proficient in both Palestinian Arabic and Israeli Hebrew, with Palestinian Arabic being perceived by them as their L1. The examples indicate that Hebrew plays a role in setting the morphosyntactic frame, which is a sign of a composite Matrix Language formation.

In example (13), the speaker used the Hebrew connector *vé* 'and', which is usually prefixed to Hebrew morphemes, and prefixed it to the Arabic verb *eštaret* 'bought' while assimilating the *e* from both languages. Example (13) also represents convergence of morphological realization pattern as the speaker inserted an Arabic possessive phrase into a Hebrew pattern, that is, L1 phrase was inserted into an L2 frame. *lal-ʕores tabaʕ ʕanan*/ARAB is matched to *la-xatuná ʃel ʕAnan*/HEB ('for the wedding of 'Anan') instead of the Arabic counterpart *la-ʕores ʕanan* ('for 'Anan's wedding'). In addition, the insertion of the Arabic definite article *el-* 'the' to the Hebrew noun *semla* 'dress', does not conform to the Arabic grammatical rule which states that the *l* in the Arabic article maintains its original pronunciation, unless it is prefixed to a word beginning with a sun letter (t, $t^ʕ$, d, $d^ʕ$, r, z, s, ʃ, $s^ʕ$, $z^ʕ$, θ, ð, l, n), with which it assimilates. Conversely, it follows Hebrew in which the article has consistent pronunciation and does not assimilate, thus conforms to Auer's (1999: 321) characterizations of fused lects, which suggest that "structures from language A and B which are more or less equivalent in monolingual use may develop specialized uses in the fused lect AB. Also, fused lects may have to adapt structurally to the massive combination of elements from A and B by developing structures identical neither to those of A nor B." Furthermore, the assimilation rule was violated using Arabic elements, presumably as a result of the massive combinations of mixed DPs, which in turn, have resulted in automatic violation of the rule in either case. The violation of the rule in Arabic is evident, for instance, in example (14) B, where the speaker did not assimilate the sun letter *d* with the prefixing of the Arabic article, and instead of uttering *fi-**d**-**d**inya* 'in the universe', the speaker said *fi-**l**-**d**inya*. It should be noted that in the quotations from the transcriptions, Hebrew morphemes are underlined in the transcriptions and their glosses; other morphemes come from Arabic, morphemes under discussion are in bold.

(13)

Mbareħ	*roħ-et*	*ʕala*	*el-xanoot*	***ve-****ʃtar-et*	*hai*	***el-simla***	***lal-ʕores***	***tabaʕ***	***ʕAnan***
Yesterday	go-1SG-PST	to	the-shop	and- buy-1SG-PST	this	the-dress	for the-wedding	of	ʕAnan

'Yesterday I went to the shop and bought this dress for 'Anan's wedding.' (Kheir, 2019a)

Example (14) is taken from the speech of two Druze female workers discussing speaker A's new apartment. Their speech is characterised by very intensive intra-sentential and word-internal codeswitching and mixing of constituents of both languages, showing indications of a composite. In addition to the prevalent number of Hebrew morphemes, both speakers mix the morphology of both languages such as the mixing of the discourse marker *afilú*/HEB *iða*/ARAB 'even if', inflecting the Hebrew relative pronoun *ʃé* 'that' which is a bridge system morpheme, with the Arabic pronoun *ento* 'you-2PL' and prefixing the Arabic indicative morpheme *b-* to the Hebrew verb *tamtin-ú* 'wait-2PL/FUT'. It is important to note that in Hebrew the correct equivalent of the mixed *b-tamtin-ú* in such a case would be *mamtin-ím*, therefore, *b-tamtin-ú* exhibits tense mixtures of the Arabic present tense and Hebrew future tense. Speaker A self-identified as Israeli-Druze and speaker B as Israeli, with both speakers expressing their nationality as Druze. Both speakers expressed positive attitude towards Hebrew and the integration of Hebrew elements into their speech stating that they think that the Israeli-Druze speak a special, distinct language. This conforms to Irvine and Gal's (2000) notion of iconization, through which linguistic features indexing social groups appear as iconic representations of them.

(14) A:

neħna	*nan-ruħ*	*n-biʕ-ha*	***afilú iða***	*heye*	*baʕedha*	*meʃ*	*mabniye*	*avál*	*keʔelú*	*bteʕer-fi*			
we	going to	sell-it	even if	it	still	not	built	but	as if	know-2SGF			
zé	*xozé*	*avál*	*heye*	*bebniyá*	*issa*	*avál*	*baʕed-ha*	*meʃ*	*xalsa*	*avál*	*iða*	*bad-na*	*n-biʕ-ha*
this	contract	but	it	being built	now	but	still-it	not	finished	but	if	want-1PL	sell-it
fi	*iffarót*	*ve-áz*	*badak-nú*	*ʃu*	*el-mexirím*	*ve-gili-nú*		*ʃe-zé*	*yaʕni*	*fi*			
there is	possibility	and-then	check-1PL-PST	what	the-prices	and- find out-1PL-PST		that-this	meaning	there is			
revax	*ʃel*	*metein*	*alf*	*shekel*									
profit	of	two hundred	thousand	shekels									

'we are going to sell it even if it is not built yet, but, you know, there is a contract, but it is being built now but is not completed yet, but if we want to sell it, it is possible, so we checked what are the prices and found out that there is a profit of 200,000 shekels.'

B:

ken *ve-kexól* ***ʃé-ento*** ***b-tamtin-ú*** *yotér* *zé* *b-yetlaʕ* *yotér* *ve-yotér* *zé* *haʃkaʔá*

Yes and-as that-you wait-2PL/FUT more this go up more and-more this investment

haxí *meʃtalem-et* ***fi-l-dinya*** *el-nadlán* *elyom* *zé* *ha-txóm*

the most pay off in-the-universe the-real estate today this the-field

'yes, and as you wait longer, it goes up more and more, this is the best investment in the world, real estate is the best area (for investment) nowadays.'

In example (15) there is a case of convergence of lexical-conceptual structure that is reflected in change in the semantic meaning of the Arabic verb *ʕabar* 'crossed' to convey the meaning of the Israeli Hebrew verb *ʕavar* 'passed/crossed'. Although both verbs are phonetically similar, they are semantically different. The Hebrew verb *ʕavar* conveys two meanings; both 'passed' and 'crossed' while the existing sense of the Arabic verb *ʕabar*, has nothing to do with the meaning of *pass*, like the Hebrew one does (Kheir 2019a). This is followed by the mixed DP *el-mevxán* 'the test', and the Hebrew adverb *be-hetstaynút* 'excellently', which makes his utterances predominantly Hebrew and mixed. The speaker self-identified as Israeli-Druze, stating his nationality as Druze and feels proud to incorporate many Hebrew elements into his speech, as he feels it reflects his distinct identity, which is a combination of his religion and his citizenship in a country that he feels proud to be a part of. According to Irvine and Gal (2000), linguistic forms can become an index of the social identities and speakers as well as hearers notice, rationalize and justify those linguistic indices, thereby creating linguistic ideologies, which purport to explain the source, and meaning of such linguistic differences.

(15)

Howi ***ʕabar*** ***el-mevxan*** ***be-hetstaynút***

He *pass-3SG-PST* *the-test* *in-excellence*

'He passed the test excellently.' (Kheir, 2019a)

In (16) there is an example of composite codeswitching and convergence in the form of mixed morphology and grammar. The speaker, who produced mixed clauses throughout her conversation with a friend, had mixed Hebrew and Arabic tenses as she inflected Arabic auxiliaries with Hebrew verbs, as is

the case with the mixed *ʕam-taʃkiáʔ* and *ʕam-jaʃkiáʔ. ʕam-taʃkiáʔ* and *ʕam-jaʃkiáʔ* are a combination of the Arabic auxiliary *ʕam* (am/is/are) and the Hebrew verb *le-haʃkiáʔ* 'to invest', in which the speaker combined an Arabic Present Progressive frame with a Future form of the Hebrew verbs. In Hebrew, the correct form in such a case would be *ma-ʃkiáʔ.* Similarly, the speaker uses the Hebrew Future verb form *na-gúr* 'will live' in the 'going to' sense instead of *la-gúr* 'to live', to denote a 'going to' clause. Additionally, late outsider system morphemes in the form of verb agreement are taken from Hebrew, as the speaker used them with Hebrew verbs, showing agreement with Arabic pronouns as well as with the Hebrew accusative *ʔotó* 'him', which is co-indexed with the speaker's partner Eyal. There is also a case of convergence of lexical-conceptual structure that is reflected in the mixed island *ʕmelet stóp* 'put a stop', to convey the meaning of the Israeli Hebrew expression *ʔasití stop,* which does not exist in spoken Arabic. In addition, the pronoun *hoū* 'he' is in fact a merger of both the Arabic pronoun *howi* and the Hebrew pronoun *hú.* Such usages are quite recurrent in the data of all the Druze participants. The speaker, who has Hebraized her forename-an act which is very common amongst many Druze individuals in Israel, self-identified as Israeli-Druze, and feels a strong sense of belonging to the state, and further senses that it is very natural for her to combine Hebrew elements in her speech. This conforms to Myers-Scotton's (1993) notion that unmarked codeswitching can practically be an indicator of intergroup harmony.

(16)

má ʃe-kén inno ***neħna*** *lo* ***hetparaʔ-nú*** *fi hai yaʕni ló* ***heʃkaʔnú*** *fi ed-dar halqade*

The case is that we not go wild-1PL/PST in that meaning not invest in the-house that much

kí ʕrif-na inno bad-na ***na-gúr*** *barra w-heik áz* ***henmax-tí*** ***ana*** *ktir* ***ʔipast-í*** ***ʔotó***

Because know-1PL/PST that want-1PL to-live outside and-such so lower-1SG/PST I a lot reset-1SG him

la-Eyal *kén* ***ana*** *ban-ye inno neħna keʔelū miʃ raħ* ***na-gúr*** *hoan áz beʃvíl má*

to-Eyal yes I count-1SGF that we as if not going to will-live here so for what

bexlál ***ente ʕam-taʃkiáʔ*** *la-min? issa* ***hoū*** *beda fi ʃvong inno* ***hoū*** ***ʕam-jaʃkiáʔ*** *yoter midaí*

at all you are-investing to-whom? Now he start-PST in a drive that he is-investing too much

az ***hoū*** ***ya-mʃix*** *ʕem zé ve-áz ana* ***ʕmelet stóp!***

So he will-continue with that and-then I made stop

‘the case is that we did not go wild with this, that is, we did not invest in the house that much, because we knew that we are going to live outside (of the village) and such, so I toned him down a lot, toned Eyal down, yes, I am counting that as if we are not going to live here, so why at all are you investing? What for? Now he was driven into investing too much with that continuously until I put a stop (to it).’ (Kheir, 2019b)

Example (17) represents convergence of morphological realization patterns, which is reflected in the change in word order. In the example below, the speaker switched the word order of the Arabic adverb *nebqa* ‘sometime’ and the verb *nrūħ* ‘go’ and applied it to the word order in Hebrew. The original order is *la-wein na-nebqa nrūħ/ARAB* ‘where we’ll go to sometime’, and *leʔán ne-lex mataišeho*/HEB. Additionally, as in the previous example, the Hebrew outsider system morpheme *-aʕat* '1SGF-PRS' is inflected with the Hebrew verb *yodeyá* 'knows', to show agreement with the speaker (1SGF) (Kheir, 2019a).

(17)
ló ***yod-aʕát*** *la-wein* ***nan-rūħ*** **nebqa**

Not know-1SGF-PRS to-where 1PL-FUT-go sometime

‘I don’t know where we’ll go to sometime.’ (Kheir 2019a)

Example (18) is taken from the speech of a Druze male student telling his friend that he went to the University for his father. The example shows another outsider system morpheme that is uttered in Hebrew rather than Arabic. In this case, it is the complementizer *beʃvil-ó* ‘for him’, which was used instead of its Arabic counterpart *ʕaʃan-o*. The complementizer *beʃvíl* ‘for’, just like its Arabic counterpart *ʕaʃan*, has to look for information outside of its head to shape its form (Kheir, 2019a). It is co-indexed with the speaker’s father. Here again, as in previous examples, Hebrew outsider system morphemes are inflected with Hebrew verbs to show agreement with the Arabic pronoun (1SG), as in *ʔasit-í* 'I did', *halax-tí* 'I went' and *hay-ití* 'I was' respectively. His utterance was concluded with an entirely Hebrew clause. The speaker, who self-identified as Druze, stating his nationality as Druze, felt that it is natural for him to incorporate Hebrew elements into his speech; and that language shapes one’s identity, which

he felt that, in his case, is very distinct. This conforms to the notion of distinction (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004), in the sense that the difference is underscored through establishing an alternative to either pole of the dichotomy.

(18)
Ana roħet ʕa-l-ʔoniversitá ***beʃvil-ó*** ***ʔasit-í*** *tová w-****halaxt-í*** *layad ana lo* ***hay-ití*** ***xayáv*** *bas qolt*

I went to-the-university for-3SGM did-1SG favour and-went there I not was-1SG obliged but said

yalla ***ʃe-yihyé*** ***yihyé*** ***beseder*** ***má*** ***aní*** ***yagíd*** ***li-xá***

whatever so be it will be alright what I tell to-you-2SGM

'I went to the University for him, I did (him) a favour and went there. I did not have to, but I said, whatever, so be it…it will be alright what can I tell you.' (Kheir, 2019b)

The above examples of the Druze participants indicate that there is a case of composite matrix language formation of Arabic and Hebrew. As has been proven in a recent research (Kheir, 2019a), this composite conforms to stage II of the Matrix Language Turnover hypothesis of Myers-Scotton. It is evident from the examples that both languages play the role of setting the morphosyntactic frame. There is a plethora of Hebrew lexical items and system morphemes. This significant introduction of Hebrew system morphemes appearing both independently and in embedded language islands shows a breakdown of the role of Arabic as the sole basis of the Matrix Language frame and a formation of a new, composite matrix language. As can be seen in the examples above, the composite language includes lexical-conceptual, morphological realization and grammatical structures coming from both languages: Arabic and Hebrew. The fact that the turnover into Hebrew does not go to full completion, but is arrested at some point, indicates that there is a case of mixed language formation.

In addition, In applying Auer's (1998, 1999) model to the data from the Druze community, Kheir (2019b) shows that the first step of the continuum towards a mixed code started with codeswitching combined with a certain extent of language mixing, the second phase of the language mixing constituted the language of interaction or the unmarked choice, where "as a consequence of the frequent intrasentential juxtaposition of the two languages it [became] difficult to maintain the distinction between

insertional and alternational juxtapositions" (Auer, 1999:315). In the third phase, where language mixing projects some measure of structural mixing that contributes to the creation of fused lects, the language of the Druze community exhibits a split structure in the form of convergence of mixed morphology and grammatical structures that is identical to neither language as well as a distinctive and almost exclusive use of Hebrew discourse markers and complementizers; therefore, it qualifies as a fused lect under Auer's terms as well.

7 Identity Factors and Attitudes

When bilingual speakers choose to codeswitch or not to codeswitch, it usually involves factors outside the structural realm. Such factors range from social to psychological. According to Auer & Eastman (2010: 90), "code-switching can index social class consciousness, political-ideological or ethnic affiliations and preferences, and so on." Obviously, in politically sensitive environments such as in the present study, whenever one chooses to speak one language rather than the other, or include more or less elements from one language rather than the other, it is a clear indication of affinity to one group and distancing from others.

The questions that are relevant to the present study are the following: What are the factors motivating the extensive use of intra-clausal codeswitching and mixed language formation among the Druze community in Israel? What are the factors hampering the process of codeswitching among the Arabs in Israel? My basic premises are: I-In the case of the Druze community, the main reason for selecting extensive codeswitching between Arabic and Hebrew as the unmarked choice causing a mixed language formation is to call up the sociopolitical affiliations that are associated with the 'other' language, the 'dominant code', namely; Israeli Hebrew while at the same time, express distinctness from

both groups. II-In the case of the Israeli Arabs, historical, national ideological conflicts and lack of sense of belonging to the Jewish state is what causes 'codeswitching resistance.'

In order to check the factors motivating the language behaviour of the Arab and Druze communities in Israel, follow-up questionnaires were used to obtain subjective attitudes towards Arabic, Hebrew, codeswitching and identity affiliations (*see* Appendix 1-Questionnaire). It is noteworthy that the questionnaires included a set of choices to choose from, as well as the option to concoct an answer. Chi-Square Test was employed to check the relationship between identity affiliations and codeswitching (*see* Appendix 2-Classification and Categorization of the Questionnaire Statements).

The following results were found:

Codeswitching Scale: As previously mentioned, light codeswitching is characterized predominantly by borrowings and monolexemic switching, moderate codeswitching by 'classic' codeswitching and heavy codeswitching by intensive codeswitching that approaches convergence and composite codeswitching.

1. Codeswitching Scale is independent on Gender $(\chi^2_{(2)} = .310,\ p=.856)$.

Gender * Codeswitching Scale Crosstabulation

			Codeswitching Scale			
			Light	Moderate	Heavy	
Gender	M	Count	12	6	8	26
		% within Gender	46.2%	23.1%	30.8%	100.0%
	F	Count	16	6	12	34
		% within Gender	47.1%	17.6%	35.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	28	12	20	60
		% within Gender	46.7%	20.0%	33.3%	100.0%

2. Codeswitching Scale depends on Religion ($\chi^2_{(4)} = 52.629,\ p<.05$): Most Druze have a heavy Codeswitching Scale whereas most Christians and Muslims' level is only light or moderate.

Religion * Codeswitching Scale Crosstabulation

			Codeswitching Scale			
			Light	Moderate	Heavy	
Religion	1-Druze	Count	0	2	18	20
		% within Religion	0.0%	10.0%	90.0%	100.0%
	2-Christian	Count	10	8	2	20
		% within Religion	50.0%	40.0%	10.0%	100.0%
	3-Muslim	Count	18	2	0	20
		% within Religion	90.0%	10.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	28	12	20	60
		% within Religion	46.7%	20.0%	33.3%	100.0%

3. Codeswitching Scale depends on Self-identity ($\chi^2_{(12)} = 79.363,\ p<.05$): Most participants who self-identify as Israeli-Druze, Israeli and Israeli-Arab exhibit a heavy Codeswitching Scale whereas all the others' level is only light or moderate.

Self-identity * Codeswitching Scale Crosstabulation

			Codeswitching Scale			
			Light	Moderate	Heavy	
Self-identity	Israeli-Druze	Count	0	0	10	10
		% within Self-identity	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	Arab	Count	10	4	0	14
		% within Self-identity	71.4%	28.6%	0.0%	100.0%
	Druze	Count	0	0	2	2
		% within Self-identity	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	Israeli	Count	0	0	6	6
		% within Self-identity	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	Christian	Count	0	2	0	2
		% within Self-identity	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%

	Israeli-Arab	Count	2	6	2	10
		% within Self-identity	20.0%	60.0%	20.0%	100.0%
	Palestinian-Arab	Count	16	0	0	16
		% within Self-identity	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	28	12	20	60
		% within Self-identity	46.7%	20.0%	33.3%	100.0%

4. Codeswitching Scale depends on Self-identity-2 ($\chi^2_{(2)} = 32.889,\ p<.05$) : Most participants with the 'Israeli' identity component exhibit a heavy Codeswitching Scale whereas all the others' level is only light or moderate.

Self-identity-2 * Codeswitching Scale Crosstabulation

			Codeswitching Scale			
			Light	Moderate	Heavy	
Self-identity-2	Israeli	Count	2	6	18	26
		% within Self-identity-2	7.7%	23.1%	69.2%	100.0%
	Not Israeli	Count	26	6	2	34
		% within Self-identity-2	76.5%	17.6%	5.9%	100.0%
Total		Count	28	12	20	60
		% within Self-identity-2	46.7%	20.0%	33.3%	100.0%

5. Codeswitching Scale depends on Attitude to Palestinian Identity ($\chi^2_{(4)} = 50.859,\ p<.05$) : Those who have a negative attitude to Palestinian Identity, exhibit a heavy Codeswitching Scale and vice versa: those who have a positive attitude to Palestinian Identity, exhibit a light Codeswitching Scale.

Attitude to Palestinian Identity * Codeswitching Scale Crosstabulation

			Codeswitching Scale		
			Light	Moderate	Heavy
Attitude to Palestinian Identity	Negative	Count	2	4	20
		% within Attitude to			
	Neutral	Count	6	6	0
		% within Attitude to			
	Positive	Count	20	2	0
		% within Attitude to			
Total		Count	28	12	20
		% within Attitude to			

6. Codeswitching Scale depends on Attitude to Arab Identity ($\chi^2_{(4)} = 46.800,\ p<.05$): Those who have a negative attitude to Arab Identity, exhibit a heavy Codeswitching Scale and vice versa: those who have a positive attitude to Arab Identity, exhibit a light Codeswitching Scale.

Attitude to Arab Identity * Codeswitching Scale Crosstabulation

			Codeswitching Scale		
			Light	Moderate	Heavy
Attitude to Arab Identity	Negative	Count	0	0	12
		% within Attitude to Arab			
	Neutral	Count	0	2	6
		% within Attitude to Arab			
	Positive	Count	28	10	2
		% within Attitude to Arab			
Total		Count	28	12	20
		% within Attitude to Arab			

7. Codeswitching Scale depends on Attitude to Israeli Identity ($\chi^2_{(4)} = 47.143,\ p<.05$): Those who have a negative attitude to Israeli Identity, exhibit a light Codeswitching Scale and vice versa - those who have a positive attitude to Arab Identity, exhibit a heavy Codeswitching Scale.

Attitude to Israeli Identity * Codeswitching Scale Crosstabulation

			Codeswitching Scale		
			Light	Moderate	Heavy
Attitude to Israeli Identity	Negative	Count	18	0	0
		% within Attitude to Israeli			
	Neutral	Count	6	6	0
		% within Attitude to Israeli			
	Positive	Count	4	6	20
		% within Attitude to Israeli			
Total		Count	28	12	20
		% within Attitude to Israeli			

8. Codeswitching Scale depends on Attitude to Palestinian Identity ($\chi^2_{(4)} = 18.462,\ p<.05$): Those who have a negative attitude to Palestinian Identity, exhibit a heavy Codeswitching Scale and vice versa: those who have a positive attitude to Palestinian Identity, exhibit a light Codeswitching Scale.

Attitude to Palestinian Arabic * Codeswitching Scale Crosstabulation

			Codeswitching Scale		
			Light	Moderate	Heavy
Attitude to Palestinian Arabic	Negative	Count	0	0	4
		% within Attitude to			
	Neutral	Count	0	0	4
		% within Attitude to			
	Positive	Count	28	12	12
		% within Attitude to			
Total		Count	28	12	20
		% within Attitude to			

Attitude to Codeswitching:

1. Attitude to codeswitching depends on Gender ($\chi^2_{(2)} = 8.460,\ p<=.05$): Most men have a positive attitude to codeswitching whereas most women have a negative or neutral attitude to codeswitching.

Gender * Attitude to codeswitching Crosstabulation

			Attitude to codeswitching			
			Negative	Neutral	Positive	
Gender	M	Count	10	2	14	26
		% within Gender	38.5%	7.7%	53.8%	100.0%
	F	Count	8	14	12	34
		% within Gender	23.5%	41.2%	35.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	18	16	26	60
		% within Gender	30.0%	26.7%	43.3%	100.0%

2. Attitude to codeswitching depends on Religion ($\chi^2_{(4)} = 28.833,\ p<.05$): Most Druze have a positive attitude to codeswitching whereas most Christians and Muslims have a negative attitude to codeswitching.

Religion * Attitude to codeswitching Crosstabulation

			Attitude to codeswitching			
			Negative	Neutral	Positive	
Religion	1-Druze	Count	0	2	18	20
		% within Religion	0.0%	10.0%	90.0%	100.0%
	2-Christian	Count	8	6	6	20
		% within Religion	40.0%	30.0%	30.0%	100.0%
	3-Muslim	Count	10	8	2	20
		% within Religion	50.0%	40.0%	10.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	18	16	26	60
		% within Religion	30.0%	26.7%	43.3%	100.0%

3. Attitude to codeswitching depends on Self-Identity ($\chi^2_{(12)} = 40.212,\ p<.05$): Most participants who self-identify as Israeli-Druze, Israeli and Israeli-Arab have a positive attitude to codeswitching whereas all the rest have a negative attitude to codeswitching.

Self-identity * Attitude to codeswitching Crosstabulation

			Attitude to codeswitching			
			Negative	Neutral	Positive	
Self-identity	Israeli-Druze	Count	0	2	8	10
		% within Self-identity	0.0%	20.0%	80.0%	100.0%
	Arab	Count	4	6	4	14
		% within Self-identity	28.6%	42.9%	28.6%	100.0%
	Druze	Count	0	0	2	2
		% within Self-identity	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	Israeli	Count	0	0	6	6
		% within Self-identity	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	Christian	Count	0	0	2	2
		% within Self-identity	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	Israeli-Arab	Count	2	4	4	10
		% within Self-identity	20.0%	40.0%	40.0%	100.0%
	Palestinian-Arab	Count	12	4	0	16
		% within Self-identity	75.0%	25.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	18	16	26	60
		% within Self-identity	30.0%	26.7%	43.3%	100.0%

4. Attitude to codeswitching depends on Self-identity-2 ($\chi^2_{(2)} = 14.934,\ p<.05$): Most participants with the 'Israeli'component have a positive Attitude to Codeswitching whereas all the others have a negative/neutral Attitude to Codeswitching.

Self-identity-2 * Attitude to codeswitching Crosstabulation

			Attitude to codeswitching			
			Negative	Neutral	Positive	
Self-identity-2	Israeli	Count	2	6	18	26
		% within Self-identity-2	7.7%	23.1%	69.2%	100.0%
	Not Israeli	Count	16	10	8	34
		% within Self-identity-2	47.1%	29.4%	23.5%	100.0%
Total		Count	18	16	26	60
		% within Self-identity-2	30.0%	26.7%	43.3%	100.0%

5. Attitude to Codeswitching depends on Attitude to Palestinian Identity ($\chi^2_{(4)} = 52.049,\ p<.05$): Those who have a negative attitude to Palestinian Identity, have a positive Attitude to Codeswitching and vice versa: those who have a positive attitude to Palestinian Identity, have a negative Attitude to Codeswitching.

Attitude to Palestinian Identity * Attitude to codeswitching Crosstabulation

			Attitude to codeswitching		
			Negative	Neutral	Positive
Attitude to Palestinian Identity	Negative	Count	2	2	22
		% within Attitude to			
	Neutral	Count	0	8	4
		% within Attitude to			
	Positive	Count	16	6	0
		% within Attitude to			
Total		Count	18	16	26
		% within Attitude to			

6. Attitude to Codeswitching depends on Attitude to Arab Identity ($\chi^2_{(4)} = 28.010,\ p<.05$): Those who have a negative attitude to Arab Identity, have a positive Attitude to Codeswitching and vice versa: those who have a positive attitude to Arab Identity, have a negative Attitude to Codeswitching.

Attitude to Arab Identity * Attitude to codeswitching Crosstabulation

			Attitude to codeswitching		
			Negative	Neutral	Positive
Attitude to Arab Identity	Negative	Count	0	2	10
		% within Attitude to Arab			
	Neutral	Count	0	0	8
		% within Attitude to Arab			
	Positive	Count	18	14	8
		% within Attitude to Arab			
Total		Count	18	16	26
		% within Attitude to Arab			

7. Attitude to Codeswitching depends on Attitude to Israeli Identity ($\chi^2_{(4)} = 45.627,\ p<.05$): Those who have a negative attitude to Israeli Identity, have a negative Attitude to Codeswitching and vice versa: those who have a positive attitude to Israeli Identity, have a positive Attitude to Codeswitching.

Attitude to Israeli Identity * Attitude to codeswitching Crosstabulation

			Attitude to codeswitching		
			Negative	Neutral	Positive
Attitude to Israeli Identity	Negative	Count	16	2	0
		% within Attitude to Israeli			
	Neutral	Count	0	6	6
		% within Attitude to Israeli			
	Positive	Count	2	8	20
		% within Attitude to Israeli			
Total		Count	18	16	26
		% within Attitude to Israeli			

8. Attitude to Codeswitching depends on Attitude to Palestinian Identity ($\chi^2_{(4)} = 12.071,\ p<.05$): Those who have a negative attitude to Palestinian Identity, have a positive Attitude to Codeswitching and vice versa: those who have a positive attitude to Palestinian Identity, have a negative Attitude to Codeswitching.

Attitude to Palestinian Arabic * Attitude to codeswitching Crosstabulation

			Attitude to codeswitching		
			Negative	Neutral	Positive
Attitude to Palestinian Arabic	Negative	Count	0	0	4
		% within Attitude to			
	Neutral	Count	0	0	4
		% within Attitude to			
	Positive	Count	18	16	18
		% within Attitude to			
Total		Count	18	16	26
		% within Attitude to			

7.1 Discussion

The questionnaire responses exemplify how the language behaviour in everyday life is closely related to sociopolitical identity affiliations and notions of distinction, inclusion and exclusion. According to Gal (1988: 247), in order "to explain variation in codeswitching, an integration of conversational, ethnographic and social historical evidence is required." In the case of the Druze community in Israel, a special combination of social, religious, historical and political factors facilitates a situation of convergence and composite mixed language formation.

First, The Druze began joining forces with the Jews in the 1930s fighting side by side against the Arab uprising and insurgency that were mainly catalysed as a result of Muslim assaults against the Druze and murders of prominent Druze personalities who encouraged collaborations with the Jews. Druze-Jewish cooperative efforts reached a new peak in the War of Independence in 1948 when the Druze volunteered to serve in the Israeli Defence Forces (IDF) and share the war with the Jews against the Arabs, which led to the

establishment of the Druze unit in the IDF (Azrieli & Abu-Rukon, 1989; Firro, 1999; Gelber, 1995; Nisan, 2010). In 1949, the Israeli army utilized the Druze religious shrine-al-Nabi Shu'ayb as the site for its first swearing in ceremony, as new Druze recruits were asked to pledge their allegiance to the Jewish state. According to religious beliefs, the prophet Shu'ayb (Jethro according to Judaism), is believed to be the father in law of the prophet Moses, therefore, such choice symbolised the historical connection between the Druze and the Jews.

Concurrently, the Israeli radio and press regularly used the terms 'Druzes' and 'Druze community' to give prominence to the separateness of the community from the country's Arabs (Firro, 2001). Later in 1956, the conscription of the Druze males into the IDF became obligatory. One year later, Israel's minister of religions granted legal recognition to the Druze community as a religious community, making them legally independent from the Arab community. Afterwards, in 1962, Israel took a major identity replacement step for the Druze, replacing their nationality in their identity cards and birth certificates from 'Arab' to 'Druze', whereas the Arab Christians and Muslims were still legally labelled as 'Arabs' (Halabi, 2006). One decade later, in 1973, Amal Nassr El-Din founded the Zionist Druze Circle whose aim was to encourage the Druze people to support the state of Israel fully and unreservedly (Landau, 1993). Following this, in 1975 Yusef Nasr El-Din initiated the Druze Zionist Movement whose aim was to strengthen the ties between the Druze and the Jews and to spark the Zionist consciousness among the Druze youth as well as to raise the awareness of historical collaborations and covenants between the two communities through conferences, joint social activities and education. According to Nisan (2010:576), Nasr El-Din recommends that 'the Druze show complete solidarity with Israel by going as far as to adopt the national Zionist ideology of the Jewish people.'

Second, in the early 1970s, Israeli officials put efforts into creating an 'Israeli-Druze consciousness' through education, in order to counteract the process of "Arabization" (Firro,

2001). This consciousness became actualised in 1977, when the Druze curriculum was completely separated from the Arab curriculum, creating a distinctive Druze education system. The primary factors within the Druze schools that distinguish them from the Arab schools are mainly: (a) Special citizenship education classes that are designed to solidify the Druze sense of belonging to the state of Israel. (b) Special military service preparation programs and workshops that are tailored to strengthen the youth's sense of contribution and commitment to the state of Israel. (c) Special days that are designated to marking both Druze and national ceremonies such as *yom hazekaron* which signifies the commemoration of the Druze and Jewish soldiers who have lost their lives for the sake of the country. Such commemoration activities deepen the sense of a blood covenant that exists between the Druze and the Jews and creates a sense of pride over the shared collective memory which contributes to the Israeli-Druze identity. (d) Special symbols of the state of Israel such as the Israeli flag, the Israeli Declaration of Independence and pictures of Israeli political leaders are part of the Druze school landscapes. (e) Hebrew is used alongside Arabic in the Druze school langscape-linguistic landscape (for more on the role of Druze high schools in shaping students' identity see Court and Abbas, 2010).

Finally, many of the Druze towns in Israel receive a considerable number of Jewish tourists who travel to these Druze towns to enjoy the local markets and special restaurants that offer a great variety of authentic traditional Druze food. This results in frequent language contact among the older generations as well, who work in their own towns, thus contributing to the Israeli-Druze consciousness and positive outcomes on the collective identity. Although the Druze/Arab identity component links the Druze to their historical ethnic roots in addition to sharing cultural and linguistic similarities with the Arabs, the aforementioned factors made Hebrew a very dominant constituent of the Druze linguistic and identity repertoire and contributed to the formation of a new mixed language. As Auer (1999:320) argues, in cases of frequent codeswitching, "the identity-related purposes of this

style may become more important than the discourse-related tasks codeswitching has served so far. The prevalent scenario for such a re-evaluation of functions is one in which a bilingual group needs to define its own identity vis-a-vis both contact groups." On the one hand, the 'Arab/Druze' identity component stresses their historical roots and the sociocultural similarities with the Arabs. On the other hand, the Israeli component of their identity has formed over time due to the aforementioned factors. Therefore, being sandwiched between the Arabs and Jews, the Druze define their identity through their distinct speech which is a combination of both, while at the same time, is different from both.

As opposed to the Druze participants who have in a way marginalized the Arab identity component and completely rejected the Palestinian component and embraced the Israeli identity, the Christian and Muslim participants demonstrate a completely different pattern. The Arab Christian participants alongside the Muslims have almost unanimously embraced the Arab identity while remain divided in including their Israeli and Palestinian identity component. 40% of the Christians included the Israeli identity component as opposed to only 10% of the Muslims. The Muslims, however, have emphasized their sense of belonging to the Palestinian identity by 60% of them choosing it as a main component of their identity as opposed to 20% of the Christians. Codeswitching into Hebrew is consistent with including the Israeli identity component and having a positive attitude towards the Israeli identity, Hebrew and codeswitching. The participants' negative attitude towards codeswitching relates to the fact that they perceive it as a form of *crossing*-a special type of codeswitching in which the 'invading' language is perceived as the language of the 'other'-neither belonging to the speakers nor do they want to be affiliated with (Rampton, 1995; 1999). As in the case of the Druze community in Israel, sociopolitical and historical contexts

provide valuable insights into the nature of the identity affiliations and codeswitching behaviours of the Arabs in Israel.

Prior to the establishment of the Jewish state in 1948, Arabs in Israel were relatively indifferent regarding identity matters. Following the defeat of the Arab states, the Arabs who remained in Israel were faced with a new reality, disconnected from their relatives beyond the closed borders, and influenced by the Jewish majority and the State of Israel while accepting its existence. The Arabs have absorbed education, democratic values and modernization from the Jewish society which in effect have strengthened their Israeli identity while at the same time, being exposed to nationalist and Pan-Arab slogans through the Arab media has fostered the Arab circle among them, thus creating an inner conflict between Israeli and Arab identities (Landau, 1993).

The Palestinian identity dimension became salient among the Arabs in Israel during the Six-Day war of June 1967 in which Israel occupied the West Bank and Gaza, which formed the central focus of the Arab-Israeli conflict and brought about contact between the Arabs in Israel and those in the territories. Such contact contributed to the increasing political consciousness of the Arabs in Israel, especially in the context of Palestinian nationalism, increasing the Palestinian component of their political identity, which became especially salient after the Arab-Israeli war of October 1973-Yom Kippur War, and the international recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as the representative body of the Palestinian people (Tessler, 1977; Lustick, 1993; Tessler & Grant, 1998).

An important landmark contributing to the militancy of Israel's Arabs and stressing Arab nationalism is Land Day protests, which took place on 30 March 1976. The protests

were sparked by the confiscation of Arab land for Jewish settlements. Protest demonstrations of Israeli Arabs took place in many parts of the country, which brought about confrontations with the police and resulted in the deaths of six Arab protesters. Land Day is marked annually as an expression of grievances by the Arabs in Israel (Tessler & Grant, 1998).

Further developments in the 1980s had a critical impact on the political development of the Arabs in Israel which contributed to the creation of a complex sociopolitical identity: the Palestinian *intifada* (uprising) and the emergence of the Islamic movement in Israel. The Palestinian *intifada* broke out in December 1987 in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. The uprising marked the beginning of the rebellion in the territories against Israel. Although the Israeli Arabs did not actively participate in the uprising, they held a general strike to express sympathy for the struggle of their brethren in the territories and supported the intifada and the demonstrators. The Arabs in Israel provided the Palestinians with money, food and medicine, raised PLO banners during protests and strikes, wrote articles, stories and poems about it and felt a sense of pride in its development (Smooha, 1992; Landau 1993; Tessler & Grant, 1998; Al-Haj, 2005). Both the *intifada* and the emergence of the Islamic movement in Israel strengthened the Arab nationalism and the Palestinization of the Israeli Arabs, while at the same time, weakening the Israeli identity component, thus making the Palestinian dimension of their identity extremely salient.

Another major event in the history of the Israeli Arabs was the El-Aqsa intifada-or the second Palestinian intifada, which broke out on 28 September 2000, and brought about the October 2000 events. The Palestinians used weapons and suicide attacks against Israel during the intifada. The Israeli Arabs shared this intifada with the Palestinians from the beginning, declaring a one-day strike, accompanied by demonstrations which spread to

various Arab localities and mixed Jewish-Arab cities. The mass protests in October 2000 escalated into rioting by Israeli Arabs throughout Israel and was met by clashes with the Israeli police and security officers and resulted in the deaths of 13 Arab demonstrators, 12 of which were Israeli Arabs (Al-Haj, 2005). The October 2000 events sharpened the Arab nationalism and their affinity towards the Palestinians alongside their sense of alienation as the citizens of Israel.

The division between the Christians and Muslims regarding their Palestinian identity affiliation can be explained in the context of the rise of political Islam. According to Smooha & Ghanem (1999), the support of political Islam generates tension between Muslim supporters of political Islam, non-Muslims and the state, thus separating them from the Christians and other communities. The rise of political Islam strengthened Islamist tendencies among Palestinians in the territories and the Muslims in Israel, thus causing the Palestinian component to coincide in a way with Islam, which gave rise to discouragement among the Christians to adopt it.

8 Application of the ICM

Testing the ICM shows that the 60 L1 Arabic speakers from the different communities form different groups with various codeswitching behaviour. The groups are mainly dissimilar in the intensity of codeswitching and the type of codeswitching used. The findings show that codeswitching behaviour is linked to sociopolitical identity affiliations. The findings coincide with the ICM presupposition that individuals with different sociopolitical identifications are placed in different spots along the codeswitching scale. The groups are divided into three: the heavy codeswitchers (90% Druze, 10% Christians), the moderate codeswitchers (10% Druze, 40% Christians, 10% Muslims) and the light codeswitchers (50% Christians, 90% Muslims). In alignment with the ICM premises, the

heavy codeswitchers exhibit high affinity and identification with the dominant culture and its identity (Israeli) and demonstrate positive attitudes towards its identity, language (Israeli Hebrew) and codeswitching into its language. The moderate codeswitchers show either neutral or positive attitudes towards the dominant culture's identity, language and codeswitching into its language and moderate to high levels of affinity and identification with the dominant culture and its identity. The light codeswitchers, however, show low to no affinity and identification with the dominant culture and its identity, and demonstrate neutral to negative attitudes towards its identity, language and codeswitching into its language in accordance with the first ICM premise.

Testing 37 most common boys' forenames and 37 most common girls' forenames among the Druze, Christian and Muslims shows predominant Israeli Jewish names among the Druze community whereas no Jewish names at all among the Christian and Muslim communities (CBS, 2016). Among the common Jewish names code-imprinted by Druze are: Eyal, Roni, Raz, Avi, Ilan, Ran, Carmi, Daniel, Tamir and Tomer for boys; Anat, Osnat, Ilana, Sigal, Tamar, Einav, Mirav, Talia and Inbal for girls. The findings support the ICM presupposition that in unique cases, the converging community will code-imprint given names from the dominant culture as a sign of sociolinguistic convergence.

Testing the phonological pronunciation of the code-switched elements reveals that the Druze participants predominantly maintained the Israeli Hebrew pronunciations with a few exceptions, whereas the Christian and Muslim participants made phonological adaptations of the Hebrew elements into Arabic (see the table below). The findings are in alignment with the second ICM premise.

Phonological maintenance/adaptation of Israeli Hebrew pronunciation

Hebrew consonants	Israeli-Hebrew pronunciation	Druze pronunciation	Christian pronunciation	Muslim pronunciation
[ʕ]	[ʔ]	[ʔ/ʕ]	[ʕ]	[ʕ]
[p]	[p]	[p]	[b/p]	[b]
[tˤ]	[t]	[t]	[tˤ]	[tˤ]
[ħ]	[x]	[x]	[ħ]	[ħ]
[r]	[ʁ]	[r/ʁ]	[r]	[r]

In support of the ICM premises, many of the Druze people who had undergone a process of sociopolitical convergence towards the Israeli culture through historical joint forces with the Jews, the compulsory military service, adopting state related ideologies, education and other domains revealed features of language convergence, composite codeswitching and mixed language formation as the unmarked mode of communication. The Christians and Muslims, however, showed no linguistic convergence at all, their codeswitching behaviour was mainly of the classic type and is mostly considered the marked mode of communications. Being ‘sandwiched’ between the Arabs and Jews, the

Druze community has nonetheless created an alternative to the dichotomy by forming a mixed variety which stresses its distinctness from both groups “whose languages they speak”.

9 Conclusion

The goal of this paper has been to to provide an insight into bilingual minorities’ linguistic reaction to and processing of state-centered policies of distinction, inclusion and exclusion and to introduce a theoretical framework of the sociopolitical motivations found in codeswitching, as a result of a comparative study of three native Palestinian Arabic speakers in Israel who experience ongoing language contact: Christian Arabs, Muslims and Druze. The model, termed here the Identity Code Model (ICM), nonetheless, may have a potential general applicability that explains codeswitching as a signal and construct of sociopolitical identity, especially in similar settings with indigenous minorities, as well as the traditional bilingual immigrant communities. It also helps shed light on how bilingualism functions in conflict settings, such as in the present study. It is my hope that the data collection and analysis suggested here will be of use for others interested in investigating the field and ultimately also contribute to the understanding of how dominant languages influence that of minorities, how sociopolitical identity influences language behavior and vice versa, and how specifically the dominance of Israeli Hebrew influences speakers of Palestinian Arabic to varying degrees, depending on sociopolitical affiliations.

The qualitative and quantitative methods used herein, as well as the application of the ICM show that the different communities have clear different codeswitching styles, types and levels resulting from sociopolitical identifications. While the speech of the Christians and Muslims who mainly identify as Arabs and Palestinians and rarely as Israeli exhibit limited borrowings and classic codeswitching maintaining Arabic as the undisputed

Matrix Language, the language of the Druze community who proudly and patriotically identifies as Israeli, appears to be undergoing a process of language change. Such change is evident in the extensive intra-sentential and word-internal codeswitching between Arabic and Hebrew that has brought about convergence toward Hebrew and a composite, mixed language formation. This mixed language formation has been tested under the Matrix Language turnover hypothesis of Myers-Scotton as well as the different models proposed by Auer (1999, 2014) and Myers-Scotton (2003) (see Kheir 2019a, 2019b).

Identity factors and language attitudes have been examined as motivating features for composite mixed language formation in the case of the Druze community, and codeswitching resistance in the case of the Arabs. Upon applying the Chi-Square test, it was found that there is a clear link between sociopolitical identity and attitudes towards languages and codeswitching. In the case of the Druze community in Israel, such factors play a prominent role in its language change, and in the case of the Arabs; they play a role in their language maintenance and purism. As the Israeli Druze people mainly identify with Israel and the Israeli identity, rather than with the Palestinians, they tend to emphasize such affinity through their language by forming a new, distinct speech that differs from that of the other Arab communities in Israel. Such distinct speech is characterised by convergence towards Hebrew and the extensive use of Hebrew lexemes and morphosyntactic and grammatical structures, and up to the point of composite mixed language formation. Through forming this mixed language, they maintain a separate identity denoting their distinctness. According to Bakker (1997), mixed languages are spoken by ethnic groups who wanted to distinguish themselves collectively from other groups whose languages they speak by forming a distinct group, either a subgroup, or a completely different one. The Druze community in Israel is practically ‘sandwiched’ between the Arabs and Jews, thus

forming a new mixed language denotes a distinct group, which distinguishes them from both groups ‘whose languages they speak’ (Kheir, 2019a).

The Israeli Arabs, on the other hand, seem to consciously and explicitly resist borrowings and codeswitching, by trying to stick to Arabic under all circumstances unless they are left with no other choice, as in the case of cultural borrowings that fill in lexical gaps, thus demonstrate language loyalty and purism. According to Pfaff (2003: 209), “mixed varieties may be seen as emblematic of the mixed cultural affiliation” and as feasible as it practically is, mixing both languages is seemingly not taken as an option by the Israeli Arabs since, according to Hawker (2018), the two languages index two national identities, and mixing them might index a subversive mixture of the identities which, from my own long term observations and the participants’ responses, a great number of them are not necessarily interested in.

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One Religion, Two Regions, and Multiple Linguistic Practices and Identities: The Case of the Israeli Druze and the Druze of the Golan Heights

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Abstract

This study examines and compares language and identity among the Druze of the Golan Heights, who have moved from Syrian to Israeli control following the Six-Day War in 1967, and the Israeli Druze. Both communities are 'sandwiched' communities, with the Golan Druze being sandwiched between Israeli and Syrian nationalism; and the Israeli Druze, between Israel and the Arabs. Since collective identities are dynamic and are shaped and reshaped by sociopolitical forces in and outside the state, the present study examines two major political debates happening within the respective communities at the time of fieldwork and their gradual impact on the communities' collective identities. The findings show how being sandwiched between two sides of a dichotomy creates new national identities and new language varieties.

Keywords: identity, undefined, Druze, codeswitching, Golan Heights, Israeli 'nation-state' law, Syrian-Israeli 'Golan deal' speculation

1 Introduction

Identity is defined by Bucholtz & Hall (2004: 382) as 'an outcome of cultural semiotics that is accomplished through the production of contextually relevant sociopolitical relations of similarity and difference, authenticity and inauthenticity, and legitimacy and illegitimacy'. Therefore, in addition to being attributes of individuals and groups, identities are also attributes of situations; thus, identification is an ongoing social and political process. While identity work involves overlooking differences among groups with a shared identity, it also serves to highlight differences between in-group members and other groups. More often than not, since language manifests the semiotic processes of practice, indexicality, ideology and performance, this is done through language and the deployment of specific linguistic features and styles that consequently symbolise and iconically embody a group's distinctive identity and way of being in the world (ibid 2004).

Indeed, many linguists and identity scholars have highlighted the clear link between language and identity, with language being central to the production of identity and serving as the vehicle to index multiple ethnic and nationalist stances (Bucholtz & Hall 2004). Identities are manifested in language as the categories and labels that individuals and collectivities, to signal their belonging, attach to themselves and others—the indexed ways of speaking through which they perform their belonging and the interpretations that are made of such indices (Joseph 2016). According to Auer (2007:2), collectivities are treated as unique quasi-beings that express their identities through linguistic features unique to them and may also use language to establish their identities. Bilingual minorities, for example, may use language to establish their identity and have it serve as a natural link to the community's identity. It is 'the specific ways in which the majority and/or the minority language are spoken, and the various mixing and switching styles, which are considered to be the straightforward, 'natural' expression of the bilinguals' identity'. In a nutshell,

linguistic practices—the choices among linguistic varieties and languages accessible to a community—express, shape and reshape a collectivity's identity.

In light of this notion of the interrelatedness of language, sociopolitical situations and identity, the present study examined the relationship between codeswitching, mixed varieties, sociopolitical situations related to the case study, and identity, reporting on a comparative study of the Druze of the Golan Heights and in Israel. Upon the application of theories and concepts from intersubjective contact linguistics, the current paper shows how 'sandwiched' communities create new national identities and language varieties.

2 The Israeli Druze and the Druze of the Golan Heights

The Druze people, who are called *Al-Muwaħidūn* (the Unitarians, or those who seek oneness), mainly reside in the Middle East, especially in Lebanon, Syria and Israel, while the rest are scattered worldwide. The Druze do not have a homeland, but, as an integral part of their traditional and religious values, they hold loyalty to the state in which they reside by adopting state ideologies, affiliations, identity and nationalism. Therefore, the Israeli Druze adopt Israeli national consciousness, whereas the Syrian Druze adopt Syrian nationalism. In certain cases, such as in the Golan Heights, which passed from Syrian to Israeli control following the Six-Day War (1967), the situation becomes precarious and bears heavy implications and uncertainties upon the community and its collective identity.

The population of the Druze community in Israel, including those in the Golan Heights, is 143,000, which constitutes around 1.6% of Israel's total population. There is a significant Druze population in 20 settlements in Israel, 13 of which the Druze constitute the vast majority, while, in the rest, they reside alongside Arab Christians and Muslims—in some as a majority, while in others as a minority. In the Golan Heights Druze settlements,

namely Majdal Shams, Buq'ata, Masada and Ein Qiniya, the Druze constitute 100% of the total population. The total number of Druze in the Golan Heights is 23,000 (CBS 2019).

The Druze community in Israel has gained a distinct political and national identity as part of the Israeli state's policy to make a clear distinction between the Israeli Druze and Arabs (Firro 2001; Halabi 2006). In 1962, Israel took a major step in identity replacement for the Druze, changing their nationality from Arab to Druze on their birth certificates and identity cards, while the Arab Christians and Muslims were still legally regarded as Arabs. Additionally, the Druze were granted an independent education system—separate from the Arab one—thereby encouraging the formation of a 'Druze and Israeli' consciousness. According to Firro (2001), in the early 1970s, efforts were made to create an 'Israeli Druze consciousness' through education to counteract a process of 'Arabisation' among the Druze youth. This consciousness was reflected in special citizenship education classes, which solidified the Druze sense of belonging to the Israeli state; special military service preparation programs and workshops, which strengthened the youth's sense of contribution and commitment to the Israeli state; special days that marked both Druze and national ceremonies; special symbols of the state of Israel; textbooks in Hebrew; and the use of Hebrew alongside Arabic in Druze schools (for more on the role of Druze high schools in shaping students' identity see Court and Abbas 2010). This process has sandwiched the Israeli Druze between Israel and the Arabs, since they share cultural and linguistic similarities with the Arab citizens, while, conversely, their connection to Israel has formed over time due to a combination of social, religious, historical and political factors (*see* Kheir 2019b, 2020).

As a sign of their assimilation in Israel, most of the Druze people self-identify mainly as Israeli Druze. According to research on identity affiliations of the Arabs and Druze in Israel (Amara & Schnell 2004; Halabi 2014), the majority of the Druze people assign high priority to their religious identity as well as to their citizenship in Israel.

According to Nisan (2010: 576), 'for the Druze, the Israeli identity, is a special communal badge that indicates that Israeli-ness sustains not only Jews but non-Jews as well'.

The Druze of the Golan Heights constitute a distinct community, different in certain aspects from the Israeli Druze. They are different in their cultural practices, customs and habits (such as dress code, exogamy practices, religious practices and attitudes towards consumption of alcoholic beverages, especially among women), collective identity, secularism and linguistic practices. The primary factor differentiating them, however, is ideological: while the Israeli Druze have assimilated in Israel through historical joint efforts with the Jews, compulsory military service and adopting state-related ideologies, education and other domains, the Druze of the Golan Heights have maintained complex relations with Israel due to a number of sociohistorical factors; a brief outline of the main factors follows.

At the end of the Six-Day War (June 1967), the Golan Heights (including the aforementioned four Druze villages) passed from Syrian to Israeli control, and a new border was created between Syria and Israel, which divided Druze families. At the end of 1981, when the annexation of the Golan to Israel was formally accomplished, the Knesset decided to apply Israeli law and regulations to the Golan Heights, an act which resulted in unrest and a non-violent campaign against Israel. This was because, in a way, it imposed upon the Golan Druze a political identification with Israel through receiving Israeli residence or citizenship. The Golan Druze religious leaders, with encouragement and pressure of pro-Syrian parties in the Golan and their relatives in Syria, threatened to ostracise anyone accepting Israeli identity cards and citizenship. Consequently, most of the Golan Druze at the time objected—some willingly, others out of fear of being cast out—to even receiving Israeli residence certificates (Scott Kennedy 1984; Dana 2003).

There were two main factors motivating their objection. First, most Druze families and their fields were split, which resulted in the Golan Druze being pressured by the Syrians to not to collaborate with the Israeli authorities, with the fear that the former's families and

properties might be harmed by Syrian authorities. Second, the Golan Druze feared that the Golan Heights would be returned to Syrian rule one day, which forced them not to identify with Israel in any way—an act that might have had dire consequences, as they would be considered 'traitors' by the Syrians. Fear was reignited following the 1973 Yom Kippur War, during which Syria tried to return the Golan to Syrian control, which resulted in the Golan Druze display of Syrian affiliation and Israeli alienation. This fear also stemmed from the fact that there were already precedents for the return of Israeli-occupied lands, the Israeli Cabinet vote to return the Golan to Syria, declarations of Israeli politicians about palpable options to compromise on the Golan and the Israeli–Syrian peace negotiations (Scott Kennedy 1984; Dana 2003).

The Israeli Druze, headed by the Druze spiritual leader at the time, Shaykh Amin Tarif, tried to close the rift between the Golan Druze and the Israeli authorities but failed to do so as the Golan Druze explained that political circumstances forced them to act with extreme caution. Due to their fears and uncertainties regarding their future, opposition to the Israeli move to grant them Israeli identity cards, which meant Israeli citizenship, continued to grow, and those who accepted them were often shunned by the entire community; therefore, only a few took advantage of the Israeli identification offer. Being caught between Syria and Israel—while both countries in collaboration with local allies had attempted to inculcate Syrian and Israeli national consciousness within the population through a variety of practices and discourses—many remained on the fence, while others attempted to cultivate an alternative form of national consciousness in the Golan (Scott Kennedy 1984; Dana 2003; Phillips 2016). This alternative national consciousness arose mainly as a result of the Syrian state's chronic inability and unwillingness to recapture the Golan and an increasingly growing and publicised speculation that Assad's regime had conducted secret negotiations with Israel and had actually sold the Golan to Israel rather than 'lost a war'. Talks about this 'Golan secret deal' began around 2011 and had been continuously gaining publicity as more

Syrian army generals provided ‘evidence’ of the deal. Golan activists, therefore, called for the Golan Druze to detach their sense of belonging to the Syrian nation from their community’s endorsement of Assad (Al Jazeera Arabic 2015; Phillips 2016).

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Nowadays, things have changed for the Golan Druze, as those who do not have citizenship maintain Israeli permanent residency and, as such, enjoy benefits from the state. Some even claim they are going through a gradual ‘Israelisation’ process. This process is manifested through the assimilation of the younger generation; the adoption of a westernised lifestyle; the growing number of individuals applying for and receiving Israeli citizenship; the permanent move to Israel of those who study and work in Israel; and also in their linguistic landscape, which, in certain towns, is now predominantly Hebrew. While demonstrations still take place on the Syrian national holiday, many locals claim that it is well known to everyone that they are just ‘an act of loyalty out of precaution’. However, it is very important to note that the Golan Heights has passed from a dictatorial regime into a democracy; Syrian nationalism has been instilled in the elders at the conscious and subconscious level, and their love and loyalty to Syria cannot be denied. Many have tried to pass this nationalism on to the next generations; however, while some have succeeded, others have completely failed to do so as, according to the participants in the current study, they have moved out of their parents doctrine into a completely different reality in which they can distinguish between the oppressed way in which their parents have lived and their own freedom of choice. Obviously, as one of the participants has wisely pointed out, ‘there are ever exceptional cases, to either extreme side of the dichotomy’.

3 Theoretical Approaches

Identity matters in all sorts of ways in everyday life and has been applied in various fields of study. It is derived from a multiplicity of sources including age, gender, race, sexual orientation, class, generation, institutional affiliation, geopolitical locale, religion, community, society, status, ethnicity and nationality. Identity provides the individual a location in the world and presents the link between the individual and the society in which they live. Identities can be viewed as 'fluid', in the sense that individuals perceive themselves differently across time and social domains; 'contested', in the sense that they are connected to power relations; and 'decentred', in that an individual's sense of self is formed by many forces that make them susceptible to change under different circumstances. While individual identity addresses the question, 'who am I?', collective identity engages with the issue of 'who are we?' (Weedon 1996; Woodward 1997). Throughout history, collective identities have been shaped by social forces and historical developments, including tribal, religious, family-based, racial, lingual, ethnic, national and civic developments, and they continuously affect and are affected by the evolving political and social forces in and outside the state. In conflict settings, an ethnic group's collective identity can become a major force in their relations with other ethnic groups in the state and with the state itself, and the role of identity becomes inextricably related to the nature of the conflict. However, since identities are fluid and contested, they evolve in response to major social forces as manifested by new loyalties, groupings, identifications and commitments; thus, they simultaneously influence and are transformed in response to sociopolitical change (Rohana 1997).

Most experts have viewed identities as nested, non-binary, cumulative, context-dependent, flexible and negotiated—frequently, in fact, negotiated, conveyed and regimented through language. Therefore, linguistic processes are at the core of identity

processes, and identity perceptions and constructions shape the deployment of linguistic resources. Since language varieties and differences can mark the boundaries of ethnic belonging among people, different linguistic elements can be created to differentiate individuals and communities. Language can be used to convey and construct different types of identities, ranging from individual identities to collective identities; therefore, while an individual may use particular language and linguistic strategies to convey something about their sense of self, language can also serve as a vehicle to construct, convey and negotiate collective identities, in the sense that it can create images of groups and communities (De Fina 2016).

The increased contact among people—and therefore identities—has brought about a plethora of linguistic varieties and resources through which those identities are indexed and conveyed. One such prominent contact phenomenon is codeswitching. Codeswitching involves the spontaneous alternating use of two or more languages: either between sentences (inter-sentential), that is, producing a whole clause in one language prior to switching to the other, or within the same sentence, with the clause containing elements of the two languages. However, there has been big debate regarding which type and to what extent a use can actually be referred to as an instance of codeswitching (Kheir 2019a). Myers-Scotton (1997: 3) provided a more specific definition for codeswitching, defining it as 'the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded variety (or varieties) in utterances of a matrix variety during the same conversation'. The matrix language refers to the dominant language in the speech, and the embedded language plays the role of the other language participating in the speech production, though to a lesser extent. The matrix language sets the morphosyntactic frame of sentences showing codeswitching, that is, it marks out the order of the morphemes and provides the syntactically relevant morphemes in constituents containing morphemes from both languages.

Since extensive research on codeswitching has shown that different code-switchers within a certain community may have different switching ways and styles, it has led scholars in the field to distinguish between various possible types of codeswitching. Myers-Scotton (2002), for instance, distinguished between two main types: classic and composite. In *classic codeswitching* one language, the matrix language provides the morphosyntactic frame, while the embedded language mainly provides content morphemes, such as verbs and nouns, and embedded language expressions. In *composite codeswitching*, the morphosyntactic frame is provided from both participating languages, resulting in a composite matrix language frame.

Such discernment between different types of codeswitching is crucial for understanding the different motivations for codeswitching as well as its causes and effects. Drawing insights from the performance and style theory of Eckert (2004), Kheir (2020) suggested viewing codeswitching as a stylistic resource and that people—standing in a variety of positions with respect to conflict/political issues—will show variability in the ways in which they select, combine and situationally deploy it. According to Eckert (2004), style is not a thing but a practice—that is, an activity through which people create social meaning—as style is the visible manifestation of meaning, and neither are static. In addition, performance is a highly deliberate and self-aware social display that involves stylisation in highlighting ideological associations (Bucholtz & Hall 2004). Based on this view, codeswitching can be thought of as the stylisation that manifests and highlights sociopolitical identity. According to Eckert (2004), the selection of variables is based upon the speaker's interpretation of meaning potential, and, since 'a stylistic move is to be put out into a community for the purpose of being interpreted, speakers select resources on the basis of their potential comprehensibility in that community' (p.44).

Accordingly, since the use of codeswitching can be perceived by the speakers and the community as portraying a state identity dimension, it will be cautiously selected,

combined, situationally deployed and, in certain cases, even amended to match the speaker's ideology and the community's expectations. Moreover, Eckert (2004) added that prestige and stigma have become the primary social meanings associated with variables—bringing a focus on attempts to reflect prestige and avoid stigma—and the speaker may manage style in certain ways to call upon a certain identity or to create distance.

In a different model, Irvine and Gal (2000) have documented a process of linguistic ideology called erasure: a process in which elements go unnoticed, are explained away or, in extreme cases where they fit some alternative threatening picture, are eradicated in case they do not fit the ideological scheme. Such 'problematic' elements must be either ignored, transformed or acted against to remove the threat. Additionally, Irvine and Gal have documented another semiotic process termed iconisation: a transformation of the sign relationship between linguistic features and the social image to which they are linked, and through which linguistic features become the iconic ideological index of a social group's essence. Since codeswitching has the power to denote a state identity or a mixed identity, it can itself potentially be perceived as a stigmatised variant to be avoided by individuals who wish to create distance from that specific identity or, even more radically, a variant to be acted against. Conversely, those who wish to make that identity salient will embrace it as their iconic style (Kheir, 2020). In her Markedness Model, Myers-Scotton (1993) asserted that unmarked codeswitching may be perceived as an index of intergroup harmony; and marked codeswitching, as an indicator of conflict and tension. Thus, little unmarked codeswitching is predicted in places where languages symbolise intergroup conflict or a good deal of tension.

In addition, Bucholtz and Hall have described similar notions in their model Tactics of Intersubjectivity, which describes the relational dimensions of identity categories, practices and ideologies, and includes three different pairs of tactics that pertain to the interrelated concepts central to identity-markedness, essentialism and institutional power.

The first pair, adequation and distinction, involves the pursuit of socially recognised sameness between individuals or groups by setting aside potentially salient differences (via adequation) or by underscoring difference (via distinction). Adequation can be a means for preserving a community identity in the face of dramatic cultural shift while allowing bilingual speakers 'to locate themselves simultaneously within two different identity frames, by syncretically combining elements of each language into a single sociolinguistic system' (p. 383). Adequation can often serve as a basis for political organisation and alliance through either building coalitions across lines of difference or collapsing such boundaries for the sake of a politically motivated strategic essentialism, whereby such unity creates a common identity, which is a social achievement. Distinction is one of the sociopolitical relations whereby salient differences are underscored rather than erased. It can serve as a tactic for underscoring the differentiation of identity through resisting the assimilating forces of modernity and the nation-state; thus, 'speakers of minority or unofficial languages often elaborate linguistic differences between their own language and the language of the state' (p.384). Although distinction most often operates in a binary manner, establishing a dichotomy in which social identities are constructed as oppositional or contrastive, it may facilitate a process in which groups establish an alternative to either pole of the dichotomy.

The second pair of tactics, authentication and denaturalisation, relate respectively to the construction of a genuine or credible identity and of an identity that is non-authentic. These tactics involve the rewriting of linguistic and cultural history by which the speakers of a national language are repositioned as more 'authentic' to the historical workings of the nation-state. Language, then, contributes to nationalist identity formation through bestowing unity and cohesion to speakers of the language. Accordingly, when the identity of a language and its speakers becomes authenticated through nationalistic rhetoric, the variety then indexes ways of being and belonging to the nation-state; thus, people may index multiple ethnic, nationalist and political stances through their linguistic practices.

The third pair of tactics, authorisation and illegitimation, involves speakers attempting, respectively, to legitimate particular identities through co-legitimating an institutional power or authority or, conversely, to suppress or withdraw such identities through removing or denying such structural power. Therefore, illegitimation can serve as a mode of resistance to the state or the dominant authority, while authorisation involves invoking language in ways recognised by the state.

The analysis of the conversational, interview and survey data of this study was mainly framed by an application of these theories and concepts as well as an examination of the micro- and macro-level aspects of language and identity, drawing on insights gained through theories of language and identity contact as well as sociolinguistics.

4 Data methodology and examples

The participants of the present study are 40 individuals coming from different Druze and Arab/Druze mixed villages and towns in Israel (50%) and the four different Druze towns in the Golan Heights (50%). All participants are multilingual speakers, highly proficient in both Arabic and Hebrew. The participants are unevenly males and females (23 females, 17 males), ranging in age from 25 to 55.

The data used in this study were based on different data sets recorded in 2019 and 2020. The data comprised recordings of naturally occurring conversations (without the presence of the researcher), questionnaires and interviews. All the conversations and interviews were audio-recorded in different Druze and mixed Druze/Arab towns and villages in Israel and also in the four Druze towns in the Golan Heights. Each recording lasted between 60 and 90 minutes. After recording the participants, questionnaires were

used to obtain knowledge about identification and subjective attitudes towards codeswitching, identity and affiliations. The questionnaires included a set of choices as well as the option to concoct an answer. The participants, who are closely related (friends, relatives, colleagues etc…), were recorded two to three at a time. The researcher gave the participants the recording device without any mention of codeswitching or language styles. After the conversations, the researcher returned to pick up the device, gave them questionnaires to complete, left the room again, returning only to collect the questionnaires; therefore, the researcher's effect on the nature of the conversations, codeswitching, mixing styles and questionnaire responses was minimised.

The researcher then conducted interviews asking the participants questions about self-identification, group belongings, collective identities and their own perceptions of their relation to the state of Israel and, in the case of the Golan Druze, their relation to and perception of Syria as well. The researcher also engaged the participants with two main political debates happening within their communities at the time of the fieldwork. The researcher shared the same ethnic background and L1 as the participants and had questionnaires in both Arabic and Hebrew for the participants to choose from, add comments to and amend for their own understanding and self-expression.

Subsequently, the study also compared the objective data collected from the spontaneous recordings to the participants' subjective responses to the questionnaires and open-ended interview questions. Additionally, the connection between sociopolitical identity and linguistic practices (e.g. codeswitching, mixing and language preference), was similarly examined. Since the focus was mainly on participants' own views, self-expression, experiences, feelings, perceptions, identification, sense of belonging and affiliations, the present study mainly presents relevant participant statements in their own words.

5 Language and identity among the Druze of the Golan Heights: Classic to Composite Codeswitching and a collective 'Undefined' identity en route to a new proto-national 'Hadʿbawi/Golani' identity

According to Bucholtz and Hall (2004:372), while the unmarking of powerful identities is supported by a variety of supra-local ideologies, the process involves the local level at which 'unmarked identities may be reproduced as well as challenged and reinscribed with identity markings'; therefore, the present study investigated how the 'Syrian–Israeli secret Golan deal' speculation played out in the consciousness of the study's Golan Heights participants and its impact on their collective identity. Following performance and style theory (Eckert 2004), Kheir (2020) suggested codeswitching to be seen as a stylistic resource in which people—with different positions with respect to conflict/political issues—will show variability in terms of the ways they select, combine and situationally deploy it. It is important to note that the Golan Druze experience less language contact than their Israeli Druze counterparts since, unlike the latter, they do not serve in the Israeli army, and they mainly work in their own region. Following Kheir (2020), the levels of the codeswitching scale were defined as light, moderate/average and heavy. Light codeswitching was characterised predominantly by borrowings and monolexemic switching; average codeswitching, by classic codeswitching; and heavy codeswitching, by intensive codeswitching that approached convergence and composite codeswitching. The data yielded five categories, out of which five participants were chosen to be representative, one for each category:

a) 'without citizenship/without nationality', with average codeswitching (15%)
b) 'Druze including the Israeli component, excluding the Syrian component', ranging from average to high codeswitching (15%)
c) 'salient Syrian identity component', with light codeswitching (25%)
d) 'unknown/undefined', ranging from average to high codeswitching (35%)

e) ‘salient Israeli identity component’, ranging from high codeswitching to predominantly Hebrew (10%).

The great majority of the interviewees emphasised the ‘Golani’ identity component: some directly, while most, indirectly. The speech data of most of the Druze participants from the Golan Heights evidenced mainly classic codeswitching with varying instances of composite codeswitching. This is reflected in Examples (1)–(4) by the insertion of Hebrew content morphemes and expressions, and by the maintaining of Arabic as the matrix language and the main provider of relevant morphemes. Hebrew, which is the embedded language in this data, provides content morphemes and embedded language islands that fit into the matrix language frame model (Myers-Scotton 1997, 2002), thus maintaining its role as an embedded language.

Example (1) is taken from the speech of a male participant in his 30s, who stated that he is ‘an individual without citizenship, does not belong to any nationality’ and perceives his identity as ‘undefined’. The participant stated that he grew up in an environment that voiced an issue of a struggle with a ‘sense of belonging’; however, he felt that this issue was not a local issue, but rather a global one or, in his words, ‘the whole world suffers from a sense of belonging and the next step for humanity is a life without national belonging’. When asked about Syria, this participant said he followed the public’s belief in the conspiracy theory according to which Syria had a secret agreement with Israel by which ‘the Syrian authorities sold the Golan to Israel and that all the signs, according to his own experience and the stories of the elders who lived throughout the duration of the war, alongside recent testimonies of Syrian soldiers and commanding generals who took part in the war, prove that the theory is grounded in reality’ and also said that he wishes the Golan ‘never goes back [to Syria], ever’. According to the participant, ‘the public opinion is very powerful in the Golan, and it is a composite of highly educated individuals and those who work down [in Israel]’. According to this participant, the public opinion had been

successfully promoting the collective undefined identity among the Golan Druze to the point that one of the popular bars in Majdal Shams was called ‘Undefined’ and later renamed ‘Why’ by the new owners as a concept of ‘why do we need identity at all, what for, who cares?’ In terms of his language practices, the participant usually integrated Hebrew elements in his speech and said it was natural for him, and he did not think that language had anything to do with identity. His codeswitching style conformed mainly to the classic type: mainly inserting content morphemes and expressions from Hebrew. There were a good number of instances of a composite, such as in Example (1), where he inflected the Arabic habitual pronominal clitic *b-* to the Hebrew future verb *yestadr-ú* ‘get along’, which is an indication of a composite, since it denotes a mixed imperfective form of Arabic and Hebrew tenses. In Arabic, the equivalent would be *b-yetdabar-ū* ‘get along’, while, in Hebrew, the correct form would be *mestadr-ím* ‘get along’. Additionally, the speaker inserted monolexemic switches in the form of nouns, such as *zxoyót* ‘rights’; discourse markers, as in *bexlál* ‘at all’; and the expression *ló kayám* 'non existent'. Hebrew elements are underlined in the transcriptions as well as their glosses, other elements are from Arabic and morphemes under discussion appear in bold. The transcriptions follow the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) system.

(1)

men naħet inno ʔāxð-I ***zxoyót*** *meš ʔāxð-in* ***zxoyót bexlál*** *hāi eš-ši* ***ló***

with regards to that take-PRS-1PL **rights** not take-PRS-1PL **rights at all** this the-thing **not**

kayám *ʕen-na lēš laʔenno wēn matħutˁi-na en-nās hāi elli hon* ***b-yestadr-ú***

exist at-us why because where put-PRS-1PL the-people this that here **FUT-get along-3PL**

‘With regards to receiving rights or not receiving rights, that does not apply at all in our case since we, the people here, will get along anywhere, anyway.”

Example (2) is taken from a female participant in her 50s, who was born when the Golan was still a Syrian territory, but had moved into Israeli control when she was very

young. She stated that Syrian affiliation is not part of her consciousness, but rather, her parents'. 'Other than being historically Syrian, it is completely alien to me', she continued:

> My parents say we are Syrian, but I do not have any ties to the place, I do not know anything about it other than the destruction we see on TV that I do not want to be a part of, I feel very scared to live in a place where it is not safe, and I would choose to stay only here [in Israel], I am happy in my own place, I am a citizen [of Israel], giving my duties to and receiving benefits from the state. Do I feel completely Israeli? No, Do I feel Syrian? No. There is some sense of bewilderment. I do not have a sense of belonging to Syria nor do I feel completely Israeli. I have almost fully assimilated in Israel in terms of work, education, social ties etc., but Israel has this discrimination of first-class and second-class citizens, with the Jews being first-class and everyone else classified as second-class. However, I do perceive myself as a first-class citizen unequivocally. I respect this state, and this state respects us; this is the place I live in, and I belong to my nation—here, to my land, to my town, to Majdal Shams, to my home, to my life. However, the fear [of the Golan returning to Syrian control] is always resonant, so we are on the fence, uncertain about our future and our destiny.

When the participant was asked about self-identification, she stated that, above all, she was a human being, not belonging to geography nor to individuals, but 'in our core definition, we do not really know where we are, undefined'. When asked about the growing suspicion about the Israeli–Syrian deal theory, she said:

> we know for sure that it is true since my parents said [Syrian authorities] told us the Quneitra fell when the Quneitra had not fallen yet; the Quneitra has been sold, all the signs show that [the speculation of selling the Golan] is true.

In terms of her linguistic practices, she integrated many Hebrew elements into her speech, had a positive attitude towards Hebrew and codeswitching, believed that language

plays an extremely important role in determining one's identity and said that it felt natural for her to use Hebrew elements in her daily speech and did it mainly out of comfort and assimilation. Her codeswitching style conformed mainly to the classic type and was characterised by frequent usage of Hebrew nouns, verbs and expressions, with some instances of composite codeswitching, such as in Example (2), where she mixed the Arabic habitual pronominal clitic *b-* with the Hebrew future verb *yeštalev* 'integrate', which is an indication of a composite, as it exhibits a mixture of Arabic and Hebrew tenses that results in a mixed imperfective form. In Arabic, the equivalent would be *b-yenexretˤ*, while, in Hebrew, the correct form would be *meštalev*.

Additionally, the usage of the mixed determiner phrase (DP) construction (Arabic definite article prefixed to a Hebrew noun), as in *el-<u>šinúi</u>* 'the change' and *el-<u>ʦaʕad</u>* 'the step', is another indication of a composite. According to Kheir (2019b), the uniqueness of this construction does not lie in the fact that it represents a mixture of the two languages in one combined DP, but rather in changing the intrinsic rule of prefixing. While both Arabic and Hebrew have definite articles—*al-* or *el-* in Arabic and *ha-* in Hebrew—and they are prefixed to nouns and adjectives, in contrast to Hebrew in which the article has consistent pronunciation, the *l* in the Arabic article maintains its original pronunciation unless it is prefixed to a word beginning with a sun letter (t, θ, d, ð, r, z, s, š, sˤ, dˤ, tˤ, zˤ, l, n), in which case it assimilates. However, in the mixed DPs, the assimilation constraints are violated, as is evident in Example (2), where the assimilation rule was applied when prefixing the Arabic definite article *el-* to an Arabic noun beginning with a sun letter *s* (*siyase*), thus forming ***es-s**iyase* 'the politics' instead of **el-s**iyase*; however, when it was prefixed to a Hebrew noun beginning with a sun letter *š* (*<u>šinúi</u>*), the assimilation rule was violated and, instead of ***eš-**<u>šinúi</u>* 'the change', ***el-**<u>šinúi</u>* was used. The speaker also inserted monolexemic switches, as in the Hebrew adverb *kvár* 'already'. It seems that the speaker was following the process of adequation (Bucholtz and Hall 2004) as a way 'to locate [herself] simultaneously

within two different identity frames, by syncretically combining elements of each language into a single sociolinguistic system'(p. 383).

(2) *el-waħad* ***b-yeštalev*** *ʔāni lamma ʕmelt toʔar rišón w-ʕmelt toʔar šení* ***kvár***

the-one **FUT-integrate** I when did degree first and-did degree second **already**

ʔāni ʕmelt ha ***el-šinúi*** *yaʕni ʔāni bd-īt* ***b-el-ʦaʕad*** *w-ha behem-ni ktir*

I did this **the-change** meaning I start-PST-1SG **in-the-step** and-this important-1SG a lot

el-ʦaʕad *et-taʕlimī paxót siyasi laʔenno* ***es-siyase*** *bħes masˁaleħ fiya-š ħaq w-ʕadl*

the-step the-educational less political because **the-politics** 1SG-PRS-feel interests has-not right and-justice

'the person assimilates, when I did a first degree and a second degree I have already made that change, that is, I have already started that step and it is very important to me, the educational aspect, rather than the political aspect, because I feel that politics is all about self-interests and lacks fairness and justice.'

Example (3) is taken from a female participant in her 40s, who was born when the Golan was already under Israeli control. It is noteworthy, however, that the participant's parent was a pro-Syrian activist during what they termed 'the war of identities' in 1982, following Israel's attempt to grant Israeli citizenship to the Golan Druze in which some, including the participant's parent, had refused to receive it. Therefore, the participant did not hold an Israeli citizenship, but a permanent residency status. The participant described the event as:

> an act of fear and resistance, and we, as *Syrians*, it was as if you are taking away our nationhood from us, and while some have refused to receive it, others have accepted it out of fear over themselves and their children since their children will have automatically received it. We have not [accepted it], we have permanent residency. I am one of the mothers who got doomed as my [parent] have thrown away the identity card and stepped on it. My [parent] was one of the activists. (emphasis in original)

When asked about the suspicion about the Israeli–Syrian deal theory, this participant said, 'we hear about it all the time, but it is not certain, it has not been 100% proven, you

cannot enter this politics and you cannot believe it'. When asked about identification, the participant had a long and enduring sense of bewilderment. She stated:

> we are *Syrians*, and we're in an occupied territory, no one can deny that, it is true that we live here in Israel, but one cannot say I am Arabian-Arabian, nor can he say I am Israeli. I was born in Israel; however, I love Syria, I am Syrian, Hadʿbawiye ['Heightetian', from *Hadʿabe*, 'highland', referring to 'the Heights'], I do not say I am Israeli, the Golan is Syrian; however, we are not traitors, we do not stand with Israel against Syria nor do we stand with Syria against Israel, but there are ever exceptional cases. (emphasis in original)

When asked about Syrian oppression she said:

> it is true that, in Syria, you are not allowed to say 'I am Druze, Muslim or Christian'; you are only allowed to say 'I am Syrian-Arab', which, in a way, although seems oppressive and imposing an identity upon a nation, it is a sign of equity.

After some thought she added:

> I am neither Syrian nor Israeli, I cannot say I am a 100% [Syrian] national because I work with the state, I receive payslips and receive benefits from the National Insurance Institute of Israel for me and my children. Whoever wants to say I am a free Syrian-Arab should not receive benefits from the state, so I cannot say I am Syrian nor can I say I am Israeli. I live in Israel; in fact, I live in the Heights, meaning not Syrian and not Israeli. If I were to state my identity, I will unequivocally say I am Hadʿbawiye, Jolaniye [Golani], I am a Hadʿabe native.

The participant's final statement about her identity immediately sparked an inevitable comparison to the situation in Alsace, which has moved back and forth between German and French control; while both the Germans and the French have tried to instil their own nationalism upon the locals, the people have established their own distinct Alsatian identity which is neither French nor German. When the participant was told about the

situation in Alsace, she said ‘that is exactly the case here, exactly the same case here, for sure’. This is where Bucholtz and Hall’s (2004) process of distinction can be applied: not in the sense of operating in a binary manner, establishing a dichotomy in which social identities are constructed as oppositional or contrastive, but in facilitating a process in which groups establish an alternative to either pole of the dichotomy, with *Hadʿbawi*/*Golani* being the alternative to either Syrian or Israeli. In terms of her linguistic practices, the participant integrated very few Hebrew elements in her speech, had a negative attitude towards Hebrew and did not think that there was any link between language and identity. Her speech yielded only few instances of codeswitching and borrowings, such as in Example (3), where she used borrowings mainly from the technology domain, which had introduced many Hebrew borrowings primarily due to the fact that they were new concepts to fill a linguistic void. Such borrowings include *matʿʕen* ‘charger’ and *maxšír* ‘device’. Notably, the noun *matʿʕen* and adjective *sbēr* ‘spare’ were phonologically adapted into Arabic, as the former is pronounced *matʔén* and the latter, *spéʁ*, in Hebrew. According to Kheir (2020), when a community or an individual is less socially and politically identified with the state or dominant culture, they tend phonologically adapt ‘code-2’ into ‘code-1’. In this participant’s case—as in others who showed more affinity to Syrian nationalism—codeswitching is the marked mode of communication. It seems that the processes of erasure (Irvine & Gal 2000) and illegitimation (Bucholtz & Hall 2004) are applicable to such participants both in language and identity, as both the state’s effort to instil Israeli nationalism as well as the pervasive Hebrew influence upon their language are rendered invisible, suppressed or denied. Since codeswitching has the power to denote a state identity or a mixed identity, codeswitching is presumably viewed as a stigmatised variant to be avoided by those who wish to create distance from that specific identity.

(3)

badd-ek fi ***matʕen*** *θani fik-i tjib-i batˤariye* ***sbēr*** *itzˤalla maʕk-I ʔaw btisʔal-i*

want-PRS-2SGF there is ***charger*** *second can-2SGF bring battery* ***spare*** *stay with-2SGF or ask-PRS-2SGF*

hinaki baʕrefe-š el-iphone btiji batˤariyt-o bti-tɣayar-š ɣēr la-tɣayr-I ***el-maxšír*** *fi iphon-āt hēk*

there know-not the-iphone come battery-its PASS-change-not other until-change-2SGF ***the-device*** *there are iphone-PL like it*

'If you want, there is another charger, you can also bring a spare battery to stay with you, or, you may ask there, I do not know, there are iPhones whose batteries cannot be changed unless you change the device itself.'

Example (4) is taken from the speech of a male participant in his late 20s. The participant, who claimed an unknown or undefined identity, stated that 'our nation is not Syria, we are way before Syria, we are native to this region, we do not come from Syria, it is believed that we are originally Armenian'. The participant's belief coincided with findings in a report in *Nature* that investigated the genetic relationships between Israeli Druze and modern and ancient populations, in which Marshall , Das, Pirooznia, & Elhaik (2016) showed that the Druze exhibit a high affinity with ancient Armenian and Turkish ancestry. Furthermore, their DNA study showed that the Druze possess a significantly greater amount of ancient Armenian ancestry and significantly smaller ancient Levantine ancestry compared to other Levantine populations, especially Palestinians and Lebanese. The participant continued:

> If they tell us the borders are open, go to Syria, we will say 'no way', this is our land, and the land is here. Syria can come, Mozambique, America, England, Jordan—we are here, you are all welcome, we will not move from our land.

The participant stated that there was a huge sense of bewilderment among the people when it came to identity and belonging. He added:

> whenever I am overseas and someone asks me 'where are you from?', do you know how many things flow in my head? It is really very perplexing; some say, 'from Israel', some say, 'from Syria', others say, 'Golan Heights', then they ask 'what is the Golan Heights?' and you start explaining.

He added that the locals had been trying to resolve the issues of collective identity and nationality for a while until they reached the conclusion that 'we do not need an identity, why would we need one? What is identity anyway? "Undefined" or "lacking identity" is the solution'. While telling the researcher about some Golan history and stories, the participant raised the Golan deal theory completely on his own, unprompted. Providing details of testimonies from locals who were active during the war, he said:

> I believe that the Golan has been sold, and I have personally heard the true story of what had actually happened there from a local who was an active soldier in the Syrian army back then. Everything he said made perfect sense and all the signs show that it is true, and the whole world knows that they declared that the Golan has fallen 17 hours before the Israelis even got there and that the Syrian authorities have publicly executed the Syrian soldiers who refused the order to retreat and go back!

He believed that this speculation affected the locals' collective identity in a way that he was unable to explain. In terms of his language practices, he frequently integrated Hebrew elements in his speech and said it was automatic for him and that he is unsure whether or not there is a link between language and identity. He codeswitched frequently, using a good number of Hebrew content morphemes and expressions, with several instances of a composite, such as his frequent use of the mixed DP construction, as in Example (4). Just as in in example (2), the assimilation rule of the definite article *el* 'the' was violated when prefixing the Arabic definite article *el-* to a Hebrew noun beginning with a sun letter, as evident in *b-e**l-t**exat-év-ʔotí* 'in the CC', where normally the *l* would assimilate into *t* and would thus be pronounced as *b-e**t-t**exat-év-ʔotí*. The uniqueness of this mixed DP construction is discussed in detail in Example (2) above.

(4)

hati-hin *feš maʕ-i* *wrāq* ***la-l-<u>medpeset</u>*** *kil ma* *iysīr* *maʕ-i* *<u>ħelek</u>*

give-IMP-them not have-1PS papers **for-the-<u>printer</u>** each that become with-me <u>part</u>

baʕmal *sriká* ***w-ʕa-l-mél*** *el-ek* *w-il-ha* ***b-el-texat-év-ʔotí*** *ʕašan* *t-kūn* *heiy* ***b-el-ʕenyaním***
will do scan **and-to-the-mail** to-2SGF and-to-3SGF **in-the-CC** so that FUT-be she **in-the-matters**

'Give them to me, I do not have papers for my printer, whenever I will have some, I will scan them and send them to your email cc'ing her so that she will be informed as well.'

Example (5) is taken from a female participant in her 40s. The participant had moved permanently to Israel in her early 20s, seeking what she called 'a genuine life'—a life that she wanted to live, a life where people choose to think and not are told what they may or may not think. The participant, who resided in a Druze locality in Israel, stated that she was negatively affected by what she called the 'brainwashing' that she had experienced as a child living through the 'war of identities', in which activists were inculcating Syrian nationalism and hostility towards Israel:

> It really upset me, so I wanted to get away from all that; I wanted to get lost in a city where no one knows who I am, what I am.. I am still deeply affected by it and, until today, I do not like anyone to know who I am or what I am. I usually hide any trace of identity, whether it is Hadʿabe or Druze. Nothing. I only say if I have to once, and I refuse to talk about it any further. I was always rebellious; I was the child that went according to 'not what he has been told' so I have never believed their stories. True, I have felt for them, humanely speaking, but I have always looked for a better place, more neutral, more quiet, more 'lacking stories', 'lacking miseries', so I wanted to be like [Israelis], like them is the Western culture.

In her analogy, the participant compared the situation to a confused child of divorced parents, 'a child who does not know who is right, his mother or his father, what is better for him: here or there?' and she believed that this confusion created a new nation. In her words:

> this creates a new generation, a completely different one, and we can already see this. They are extremely accomplished, desiring to advance, to be different, to be dissimilar, even speaking a different language, everything is different … if we

> compare the situation 35 years ago, in which the place was completely in dire straits and now, they are top-Westernised, secular, highly educated, engineers, high-tech experts etc., and they are completely detached from the whole Syrian theme. They are neither Syrians nor Israelis. They have completely embraced the 'undefined' or 'lacking' identity, and they do not even bother themselves with the whole issue. They do not care, and they have fully assimilated.

When the participant was told about the similarity to the situation in Alsace, she said, 'definitely the same thing here, it is all about the need to be distinct, completely different from all'. When she was asked about her affiliation to Syria, she responded that, other than it being the place to which her parents belong, she had no connection to it whatsoever: no emotional attachment, no affiliation, no sense of belonging. Israel, conversely, was the default for her:

> I am enchanted by the West. I love democracy. I love seeing people advance. I am very proud of this state, and I do very much love Israel, very much. It is enough for me that it is a democratic state; it respects me and my children, and we are all very proud of it, very proud to be Israelis.

When asked about the Israeli–Syrian Golan deal theory, she took a neutral stance at first but later added that 'there are very high chances that there was a deal there, I tend to believe the conspiracy theory'; however, she was unsure in what ways this might have affected the collective identity. In terms of her linguistic practices, her speech was predominantly Hebrew, with very few switches to Arabic, as illustrated in Example (5), and was consistent in her speech and in the interview. The participant, who had a great appreciation of and an extremely positive attitude towards Hebrew in contrast to Arabic, had in fact experienced a complete language shift into Hebrew, which she was very proud of. She believed that language determines the speaker's identity. This is where Bucholtz and Hall's (2004) process of authentication can be applied to both language and identity, as the

participant adopted the national identity (Israeli) and spoke the national language (Hebrew) as a vehicle for authentication practices to index ways of being in and belonging to the nation-state.

(5)

láxaʦ láxaʦ aní gám ʔóved-et me-a-bayet ʔóvedet me-šama ʔóvedet kól a-zmán

pressure pressure I also work-1SGF from-the-house work-1SGF from-there work-1SGF all the-time

*šiší laxúʦ **fī** tkufá **qal-et-lī** a-yaldá má má kará gám ba-bayét*

Friday stressed **there is** period **tell-3SGF-me** the-girl what what happened also at-home

át keʔìlú kól a-yóm b-a-maxšév gám át megiʕ-á meʔuxár má kará

you that is all the-day on-the-computer also you get-2SGF late what happened

*má la-ʔasót **kill-u** kašé zé má še-ʦaríx šúm davár ló kál*

what to-do **all-it** hard this what that-needed no thing no easy

'There is so much pressure, I work at home, as well as there, I work all the time, even on Fridays. There was a time in which the kid has asked me "what is going on? You are working on your computer all the time and you get home late, what is going on?" What can I do? It is all hard, I do what needs to be done, nothing is easy.'

The conversational data, followed by the additional interview data and surveys, sparked an inevitable comparison to the situation in Alsace, a region that has moved back and forth between German and French control, and while both the Germans and the French have tried to inculcate their own nationalism and language upon the locals, the people of Alsace have established their own distinct proto-national Alsatian identity and Alsatian language, both of which are neither French nor German.

Prior to the 'Golan secret deal' theory, the Syrian dimension in the Golan Druze collective identity was extremely salient. It seems, however, that ever since the theory started gaining publicity in 2011, the Syrian component has been gradually declining in salience and, thus, a new collective identity has been emerging. In applying the tactics of intersubjectivity (Bucholtz & Hall 2004), it is evident that, following the tactic of adequation, the Druze of the Golan Heights are establishing political organisation and alliance by setting aside potentially the salient differences that are echoed in pro-Israeli

versus pro-Syrian voices, and are consolidating a unified, seemingly denaturalised, undefined identity through the tactic of distinction. It seems, however, that the process of distinction—in establishing an alternative to either pole of the dichotomy—alongside that of authentication, is cultivating a new authentic, proto-national '*Hadʿbawi*/Golani' identity that is neither Syrian nor Israeli, and a new dialect that is neither Arabic nor Hebrew, but *Hadʿbawi*/Golani. Initial examination shows that certain salient features of the new emerging *Hadʿbawi*/Golani dialect include mixtures of English and Hebrew elements and structures; terminology and slang unique to the region; a lenition process of the Arabic emphatic phonemes [tˤ], [sˤ], [dˤ] and [zˤ] that are merging with their non-emphatic counterparts [t], [s], [d], and [ð] respectively; and emphatic vowel lengthening, among other structures that have yet to be thoroughly examined. Since authorisation can also be a local practice to contest or confirm dominant forms of power, such a variety may confer an 'alternative legitimacy' to its speakers.

6 Language and identity among the Israeli Druze: Composite Codeswitching to a mixed variety and a collective 'Israeli Druze' identity en route to a 'Druze' ethnonational identity

Since collective identity is dynamic and 'affects and is affected by the evolving political and social forces within the state and outside it'(Rohana 1997: 4), the present study tested how Israel's controversial nation-state law plays out in the political consciousness of the Israeli Druze participants and its potential impact on collective identity. The nation-state law has been criticised by many as being racist and undemocratic in that it downgrades the minority rights and the status of the Arabic language in Israel. Most of the participants in this study self-identified as Israeli Druze and believed this to be their collective identity. Similar findings were demonstrated in Amara and Schnell (2004), Halabi (2006, 2014) and Kheir (2020). However, a recurrent component for almost all the participants in this study

was the Druze identity component—they all highlighted that it is not in merely the religious/ethnic sense, but senses beyond that. In terms of linguistic practices, recent studies (Kheir 2019a, 2019b) have shown that the language of the Israeli Druze community is going through the process of convergence and a composite matrix language formation, resulting in a mixed variety, based on Myers-Scotton's matrix language turnover hypothesis (1998, 2002) and Auer's (1998, 1999) and Myers-Scotton's (2003) models of mixed languages. Such findings are consistent with those in the present study, in which the mixed variety was observed to predominantly be the unmarked mode of communication. The data were divided into five main categories, out of which five participants were sampled respectively:

a) 'salient Israeli identity component', with unmarked mixed variety (15%)
b) 'Israeli Druze', with unmarked mixed variety (35%)
c) 'Druze/Arab', ranging from average codeswitching to marked mixed variety (10%)
d) 'Druze', with unmarked mixed variety (25%)
e) 'Israeli Druze', with a predominantly Hebrew speech (15%).

Example (6) is taken from the speech of a female participant in her 30s. The participant identified as Israeli and emphasised that it reflected her sense of belonging to and love of the state, and not merely citizenship per se:

> I feel Israeli at my core being. It reflects who I am and how I was raised; it feels that it is my natural way of being. The Druze have always had a special connection to the state and feel inseparable from it.

When she was asked about her stance towards Israel's controversial nation-state law, which has sparked great disappointment and fury among the Druze and Arabs, who view it as racist and undemocratic, she said she did not understand 'what is the fuss all about'. She felt like it was a reality that had always been there, as Israel had always been a primarily

Jewish state, and Arabic had always been inferior to Hebrew even with its previous 'official' status:

> It does not mean anything, and I do not get it. They took a living reality and made a law out of it. Were people ignorant to the situation that was always like that? It was always a Jewish state, which is good, in my opinion, it is excellent, at least it is a democracy. The Druze in Israel live in a much better place than the Druze who reside in Arab countries that is for sure. The fact that Israel is a Jewish state is what makes it different from the Arab countries. I am grateful to be here, and this law has not changed anything for me and, in my opinion, people just misinterpreted it, that is all.

The participant, whose speech was characterised by a mixed variety of Arabic and Hebrew, had a very positive attitude towards Hebrew and felt that the mixed variety is the default for her:

> When I am overseas and I encounter people from Arab countries with whom I try to speak pure Arabic, I make myself completely conscious about my speech. It is as if I am speaking a foreign language, as if I am making an effort because the mixture is my natural way of speaking. It is effortless, it comes naturally to me. That is my way of speaking, my language.

The process of iconisation (Irvine & Gal 2000) is applicable in this case, in the sense that linguistic features become the ideological index of a social group's essence. Denoting a state identity or a mixed identity, a mixed variety will be embraced by those who wish to make that identity salient as their iconic style (Kheir 2020). In Example (6), the mixed variety is mainly evident in the systematic tense mixture of the Hebrew future form and Arabic past progressive form to denote a past progressive sense, as in *kan-ye-sté* 'was deviating' and *kan-ye-stór* 'was contradicting'. These verb phrases are a combination of the Arabic auxiliary *kān* 'was' and Hebrew future forms of the verbs *ye-sté* 'will deviate' and

ye-stór ‘will contradict’ respectively. In Hebrew, such a construction would be the auxiliary *hayá* ‘was’, with the present forms of the verbs; therefore, their Hebrew equivalents are *hayá soté* ‘was deviating’ and *hayá sotér* ‘was contradicting’, whereas, in Arabic, they would be *kān ye-neħref* and *kān y-naqedˁ*, respectively. Additionally, the pronoun *hoū* ‘he’ is in fact a merger of both the Arabic pronoun *hōwi* ‘he’ and the Hebrew pronoun *hú* ‘he’. Such usages were quite recurrent in the data from all the Israeli Druze participants.

(6)

qult-ilo *fī* *ʦviʕút* *mesuyem-et* *qal-I* *āh* *hai* *meʔa-axúz* *hoū*

1SG-PST-tell-him there is hypocrisy certain-F 3SGM-tell-me yeah this hundred-percent he

kaman ***kān-ye-sté*** *men el-ʕinyán* ***kān-ye-stór*** *et ʕaʦmó* *b-šaɣlāt*

also **was- deviating** from the-matter **was-contradicting** ACC himself in-things

‘I told him there is some kind of hypocrisy, he said, yes, for sure, but he also was deviating from the issue and was contradicting himself in certain ways.’

Example (7) is taken from a male participant in his 40s, who identified as Israeli Druze. The participant believed that:

> the Israeli Druze have a serious issue when it comes to identity and language. On the one hand, they are not Arabs; their mother tongue is not Arabic. And on the other hand, they are not Jewish, and their language is not Hebrew. They are a bit of both, even our education system is neither Arab nor Jewish—it is Druze. It is, as they say [in Hebrew], ‘yoshev ‘al hagader, regel po, regel sham’ (sitting on the fence, one leg facing this way, the other that way)… The Druze, in general, do not have an identity. Historically speaking, since they were coerced, like the Jews, their survival tactic was to assimilate, as ‘in Jordan, I am Jordanian; in Syria, I am Syrian; in Israel, I am Israeli; in Lebanon, I am Lebanese’ etc., meaning ‘a nation without an identity’. They were hiding their true identity, living in secret. Their true religion was only revealed about 2,000 years ago. Only then, they received a definite identity, but they are still affected by that survival tactic, probably a genetic thing.

When asked about the nation-state bill, he said ‘it does not mean nor change anything, it just affirms the Jews’ status in their homeland. It does not undermine the status of the Druze’. He further added:

> some say that the Arab and Left parties incited the Druze against it in order to make them stop voting for the right-wing parties like they usually do. The truth is, the Druze in Israel are a minority, just like they are in the Arab countries, but in contrast to Arab countries, the Druze here are in a much better position: they live in a democracy, they enjoy the freedom of speech, they can complain about the most prominent Jewish figure, be it a president or a prime minister etc.

To reinforce his point, the participant further explained that they also have representations in the government, Knesset, aviation, elite combat units in the military and so on. He furthered his statement by claiming that:

> none of the Arab countries compare to the democracy in Israel, none! And every minority in the world faces discrimination. The Jews themselves face discrimination in other parts of the world, but they are aware of their status as a minority and accept that. At least we are a minority under a democracy, unlike the Druze minorities in the Arab countries.

In terms of language practice, the participant’s unmarked mode of communication was the mixed variety, as evident in Example (7) in *b-yekáx* ‘takes’, where the Hebrew future form *yekáx* ‘will take’ is suffixed to the Arabic habitual indicative morpheme *b-*, thus denoting the mixed imperfective form. In Arabic, the correct form would be *b-yāxod* ‘takes’, whereas, in Hebrew, it would be *lokeyáx* ‘takes’. The speaker also inflected a Hebrew masculine noun with the Arabic feminine plural suffix *-āt*, which is usually suffixed to the feminine singular stem of nouns in Arabic. In Hebrew, the plural suffix *-ìm* is added to masculine singular nouns; thus, the word *kibuʦ-ìm* ‘collective settlements’ would be the standard. There was also an instance in which the Arabic content morpheme *w*, which is

usually prefixed to Arabic morphemes, was prefixed to the Hebrew passive construction *me-tupál* ‘taken care of’.

(7)

harì *bi-ruħ* *el-lakox-ót* *tabaʕ-ono* ***fī-l-kibuʦ-āt***

that is IND-3SG-go the-cient-PL POSS-3SGM **in-the-collective settlement-PL**

b-yekáx *men* ***el-kibuʦ-āt*** *w-me-tupál* *hétev*

IND-3SGM-take from **the-collective settlement-PL** and-PASS-take care-3SGM very well

‘that is, he goes to the collective settlements, his clients are from there, he takes (clients) from the collective settlements and is very well taken care of’

Example (8) is taken from a female participant in her 40s. The participant, who identified as Druze, ‘not in a religious sense but beyond that’, felt deeply hurt by the nation-state law:

> they took away an integral part of our identity. The Druze have always had a deep connection to the state, and now, it is, as if we are being cast away from our Israeliness. I do feel much less Israeli now than I did before, for sure. It is as if we are no longer included there. I hope that Bibi [the current Prime Minister of Israel who passed the law] will be kicked out.

In terms of her language practices, the participant, who had a negative attitude towards Hebrew, exhibited a bit less frequent mixing than the average participant. The participant, who believed that language, in a way, determines identity, stated that she tries to consciously limit the integration of Hebrew elements into her speech, since it sounds more elegant without the Hebrew elements; however, mixing is inevitable, as illustrated in Example (8). Such mixing is evident mainly in the recurrent use of the mixed DP construction as well as in tense mixing, as in *b-a-tlabéš* ‘get dressed’, where the Hebrew future form *a-tlabéš* ‘will get dressed’ is suffixed to the Arabic habitual indicative morpheme *b-*, thus forming the mixed imperfective form. In Arabic, the correct form in such

a case would be *b-albes* ‘get dressed’, while in Hebrew, it is *me-tlabéš-et* ‘get dressed’. According to Eckert(2004:45) , ‘prestige and stigma have come to be the primary social meanings associated with variables, and formality brings a focus on prestige and an attempt to avoid stigma’. In the sociopolitical context of the present study, codeswitching into Hebrew and the mixed variety are associated with ‘Israeliness’ or a mixed identity and can be viewed as a stigmatised variant to be avoided by those who wish to distance themselves from that identity. Additionally, since through linguistic means one can keep their ethnicity salient rather than assimilating fully into the dominant culture (Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai 2001), the participant had attempted to make the mixed variety her marked mode of communication.

(8)

yomet-ha kān fī irúaʕ keʔìlú pridá la-hada ***el-menahél*** ***el-kodém*** *tabaʕ-na*

day-that was in event that is farewell to-this the-manager the-previous POSS-1PL

issa kān etʿ-tʿaqes ħelu w-ʔana dāyman ***b-a-tlabéš*** *tóv w-bemyuxád la-kull*

now was the-weather nice and-I always IND-1SG-get dressed well and-especially for-all

el-irúʕ-ìm ***el-kšur-ìm*** *b-eš-šuɣul*

the-event-PL the-related-PL in-the-work

‘that day there was a farewell party for our previous manager, now the weather was nice and I always dress up, especially for all the work-related occasions.’

Example (9) is from a female participant in her 40s, who identified as Druze. The participant held a neutral stance towards the nation-state law:

> I am not sure about this whole thing. There are both proponents and opponents of it among the Druze; some say it downgrades the Druze status in the state, while others say that Leftist politicians are manipulating the uncertainties surrounding it to incite the Druze against Bibi and the right-wing parties. It is unclear, and before we see its actual impact on the Druze, we cannot really judge it as good or bad. The Druze are Israelis in their core being, and I do not believe that this law is going to affect that in

any way; their love to the state is stronger than that, but you can never know, we shall wait and see.

The participant held Hebrew in very high regard, and this is reflected in her unmarked mixed variety, as in *ʕam-b-ya-ʦdìk* 'is justifying', in Example (9), where she mixes the Hebrew future form of the verb with an Arabic present progressive form and auxiliary to denote a present progressive sense. *ʕam-b-ya-ʦdìk* is a combination of the Arabic auxiliary *ʕam* (am/is/are) and the Hebrew verb *le-haʦdìk* (to justify). In Hebrew, the correct form would be *maʦdìk* 'justify/PRS', whereas, in Arabic, it would be *ʕam-bi-barrer* 'is justifying'. This conforms to Myers-Scotton's (1993) notion that unmarked codeswitching—or in this case, a mixed variety—can practically be an indicator of intergroup harmony. Additionally, the participant exclusively used the merger pronoun *hoū* 'he' throughout her speech, which is a mix of both the Arabic pronoun *hōwi* 'he' and the Hebrew pronoun *hú* 'he'. The merger pronoun *hoū* is followed by an entirely Hebrew clause, which includes yet another merger morpheme-*yaʕní* 'that is', which also has the variation *yaʕnú*. *yaʕní* is originally an Arabic word that was borrowed into Hebrew, and then borrowed back into Arabic from Hebrew.

(9)

b-tij-ī *la-zurūf* *el-bēt* *keʔìlú el-waħad* *meš* ***ʕam-b-ya-ʦdìk*** *avál* ***hoū***

IND-come-2SGF to-circumstances the-house that is the-one not **AUX-IND-3SGM/FUT-justify** but he

apáti *keʔìlú avál* *én* *má* *le-hašvót* ***yaʕní*** *ét-am* *bexlál*

apathetic that is but there not what to-compare **that is** ACC-3PL at all

'you go back to the situation at home, that is, I am not trying to justify it, but he is apathetic, but you cannot really compare it to them at all'

Example (10) is from a male participant in his 20s. The participant, who identified as Israeli Druze, held a very negative stance towards the nation-state law; however, he believed that it had actually strengthened the Druze sense of belonging to the state, as it has emphasised the historic Druze connection to the state. He stated that 'those who thought that

this extremely racist and undemocratic law will take away our Israeliness are so mistaken. We now feel more Israeli than ever before, and we are displaying it publicly. Bibi represents only himself and his followers'. To reinforce the connection of the Druze to the state, he then added that:

> no one can deny the Druze contribution to the state that started even before the establishment of the state. We have fought wars with the Jews and helped them win the wars that they would have lost without us. We are an integral and inseparable part of the state and if people were unaware of our contribution, now everyone knows and they will have to revere us and will amend the law to fix our status.

In terms of his linguistic practices, his speech was predominantly Hebrew, with very few switches into Arabic. In Example (10), he uses almost exclusively Hebrew morphemes, except for two instances of mixtures: *hoū* 'he', a mix of the Arabic pronoun *hōwi* 'he' and the Hebrew pronoun *hú* 'he', and *yaʕni* 'that is', which is originally an Arabic word that has been borrowed into Hebrew and can therefore count as a mix. This conforms to Bucholtz and Hall's (2004) notion of authentication, as the participant's language preference was the national language, and it was used as a vehicle for authentication to index ways of being in and belonging to the nation-state.

(10)

hoū *kafé-misʼadá* *ka-zé* *ve-hém* *os-ìm* *t-a-kafé* *itsl-ám* ***yaʕni*** *anì* *mamáš* *ohév* *ta-makóm* *a-zé*

he café-restaurant like-this and-they do-2PL ACC-the-coffee at-them **that is** I really love the-place the-this

'it is like a coffee restaurant, and they make the coffee in their place. I really love this place.'

The conversational data, followed by the additional interview data and surveys, have highlighted the distinct identity and linguistic practices of the community. Prior to the nation-state bill, the Israeli dimension in the Israeli Druze collective identity was extremely

salient and proudly paraded. However, it appears that, since the bill was enacted in 2018, the Israeli component is becoming less salient, and a new collective identity might potentially be emerging. Following the tactics of intersubjectivity (Bucholtz & Hall 2004), it seems that, in applying the tactic of adequation, the Israeli Druze are pursuing sufficient socially recognised sameness and establishing coalition-building across lines of difference by setting aside potentially salient differences pertaining to the 'more Israeli'/'more Arab' dichotomy, sparked by the nation-state law, and are consolidating a unified Druze identity through the tactic of distinction. This Druze identity is not merely a religious or ethnic identity, but rather a national one. Thus, through the process of distinction, the Israeli Druze are seemingly establishing an alternative to either pole of the dichotomy by cultivating a new authentic, national Druze identity that is neither Israeli nor Arab and a new language variety that is neither Hebrew nor Arabic, but rather a salient mixture of both (for a thorough examination of the features of the mixed variety see Kheir 2019a, 2019b). Subsequently, through the tactic of adequation, they locate themselves simultaneously within both identity frames while maintaining their distinctness through the tactic of distinction: salient differences from both are produced, yet are realised through a binary logic, as differentiation is produced along multiple axes simultaneously. Unlike the Druze in most Arab countries, being in a democratic country facilitates a process in which the local Druze can claim an authentic, collective, national Druze identity. Through the tactic of authentication, the mixed variety indexes ways of being in and belonging to the nation-state; thus, it is all interrelated. At the same time, mixed languages are spoken by ethnic groups who want to distinguish themselves collectively from other groups by forming a distinct group: either a subgroup or a completely different group altogether (Bakker 1997). Since the Israeli Druze community is practically sandwiched between the Arabs and Jews, forming a new mixed variety and a unique identity denotes a distinct group that distinguishes them from both groups whose languages they speak (Kheir 2019a).

7 Conclusion

In light of the interrelatedness of language, sociopolitical situations and identity, the present research examined the relationship between codeswitching, mixed varieties, sociopolitical situations related to the case study and identity, reporting on a comparative study of the Druze of the Golan Heights and the Israeli Druze. Applying theories and concepts from intersubjective contact linguistics and indexicality, the current paper shows how sandwiched communities create new quasi-national identities and language varieties. In the case of the Druze of the Golan Heights, conversational data, followed by the additional interview data and surveys, have revealed similarities to the situation in Alsace, a region that has moved several times between German and French control, each attempting to inculcate their own national consciousness and language upon the locals. However, the locals have established their own distinct proto-national Alsatian identity and their own language. In applying the tactics of intersubjectivity (Bucholtz & Hall 2004), it is evident that, following the tactic of adequation, the Druze of the Golan Heights are establishing alliances by obscuring salient differences of pro-Israeli versus pro-Syrian struggle, mainly reignited by the Israeli–Syrian Golan secret deal theory, and are consolidating a unified, seemingly denaturalised, undefined identity through the tactic of distinction. However, with the tactic of distinction—in establishing an alternative to either pole of the dichotomy—alongside that of authentication, a new authentic, proto-national *Hadʿbawi*/Golani identity is being constructed, alongside the emergence of a new dialect that may confer an alternative legitimacy to its speakers.

In the case of the Israeli Druze, upon application of the same tactics (ibid 2004), it seems that, through the tactic of adequation, the Israeli Druze are pursuing sameness and establishing coalition-building by obscuring differences arising from the ‘more Israeli’/‘more Arab’ dichotomy, mainly reignited by the nation-state law, and are

consolidating a unified quasi-national Druze identity through the tactic of distinction. Thus, through the tactic of distinction, the Israeli Druze are cultivating a new authentic, quasi-national Druze identity and a new mixed variety. Being in a democratic country facilitates a process in which the local Druze can claim an authentic, collective, quasi-national Druze identity. Through the tactic of authentication, the mixed variety indexes ways of being in and belonging to the nation-state. At the same time, however, mixed languages are spoken by ethnic groups who want to distinguish themselves collectively from other groups through the formation of a distinct group (Bakker 1997). Thus, by being sandwiched between the Arabs and Jews, forming a new mixed variety and a unique identity denotes a distinct group that distinguishes the Israeli Druze from both groups whose languages they speak (Kheir 2019a).

Finally, although both the Golan Druze and Israeli Druze are going through similar processes and outcomes (each their own way in terms of identity constructs and language change), it seems that the move from a dictatorial regime into a democracy (that was experienced firsthand by the first-generation Golan Druze and second-hand by the second and third generations) still plays a certain role in their identity construction and language change. While the Israeli Druze easily and proudly incorporate the Druze identity component—beyond the religious/ethnic aspects—as a default in their identity repertoire and also freely mix languages, the majority of the Golan Druze, whose first-generation elders were ‘not allowed’ to identify as Druze, were quite reluctant to do so.

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6. Conclusion

6.1. Significance and Contribution of the Present Study

Much progress has been made in the field of codeswitching research and it has certainly benefited from the development of various codeswitching models and theories in recent years. Yet, especially in the field of social-political identity, much is still open for investigation. In addition, linguistic research into Palestinian Arabic and the dominance of Israeli Hebrew in the state of Israel and its effect on the speakers of Palestinian Vernacular Arabic and their language is still in its infancy. The originality of the thesis stems inter alia from the fact that it explores the sociolinguistics of under-researched minorities, namely the Israeli Druze and Arab Muslims and Christians, as well as the Druze of the Golan Heights who have moved from Syrian control to Israeli control following the Six-Day War in 1967. Each one of the four articles makes its own significant contribution to the science of contact linguistics and sociolinguistics. A brief outline of the contributions of each publication follows.

The first article, entitled "The Matrix Language Turnover Hypothesis: The Case of the Druze Language in Israel", which has been published in the *Journal of Language Contact* (see Kheir, 2019a), is one of the very few pieces of research to test Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Turnover Hypothesis (1998, 2002); the first thorough research of the Israeli Druze sociolinguistics and the first research that shows the typological similarities and differences between the two spoken varieties in Israel: Israeli Hebrew and Palestinian Arabic. The study provides insights into codeswitching in communities, such as the Druze, that are in the process of experiencing language shift.

The second article, entitled "Passing the test of Split: Palebrew, a new mixed language", which is currently being processed for publication in the *Journal of Language Contact* (see Kheir, 2019b), introduces a new mixed/split language after being tested under

different existing models in the scholarly literature. While a number of linguists (Backus 2003; Bakker, 2003) have decried the genesis of mixed languages arising out of codeswitching, others (Auer, 1999; Myers-Scotton, 2003) proposed theoretical models for mixed languages as outcomes of codeswitching and some (McConvell, 2008; McConvell & Meakins, 2005; Meakins, 2012; O'Shannessy, 2012) have provided empirical evidence for such cases. Therefore, this article provides further empirical evidence by giving Palebrew as another living proof of a mixed language arising out of codeswitching, stressing its uniqueness as a mixture arising from closely related languages; a mixture which is scarce in the literature (Auer, 2014).

The third article, entitled "To Codeswitch or not to Codeswitch? Codeswitching and Sociopolitical identity among the Druze and Arabs in Israel" (Kheir, 2020a), is the first thorough research to examine and compare codeswitching and sociopolitical identity among the three sectors within the Arabic speaking communities in Israel: the Druze, Christians and Muslims. As previously mentioned, there is a certain gap in the scholarly literature when it comes to a model that further illustrates the link between codeswitching and sociopolitical identity. The present research will contribute to the general field of codeswitching research, as it introduces a new model that would facilitate the analysis of codeswitching as an index and construct of sociopolitical identity. The model is primarily based on a series of studies that have been conducted for the purpose of the present research project on Palestinian Arabic/Israeli Hebrew codeswitching in the under-researched Arabic speaking communities in Israel. The findings, nonetheless, may have a general applicability that explains codeswitching as a signal and construct of sociopolitical identity.

The fourth and final article, entitled "One Religion, Two Regions, and Multiple Linguistic Practices and Identities: The case of the Israeli Druze and the Druze of the Golan Heights" (Kheir, 2020b), is one of the first attempts to assess the language behaviour and

identity issues of the Druze in the Golan Heights, who have moved from Syrian control into Israeli control following the Six-Day War in 1967, and compare them with those of their Israeli Druze counterparts. Since collective identities are dynamic and are shaped and re-shaped by sociopolitical forces in and outside the state, and both communities are "sandwiched" communities, with the Golan Druze being sandwiched between Israeli and Syrian nationalism and the Israeli Druze between Israel and the Arabs, the article examines two major political debates happening within their communities at the time of the fieldwork and their gradual impact on the communities' collective identity. The findings shed light on how being "sandwiched" between two sides of a dichotomy creates new national identities and new language varieties.

Finally, research of this nature can shed light on important aspects of the Israeli-Arab and Druze societies specifically, and contact phenomena in general, such as majority-minority relationships, culture, belonging, sociopolitical identity and the inevitable effect these have on the languages of their speakers. It is my hope that the data collection and analyses suggested herein will be of use for others interested in investigating the field and ultimately also contribute to the understanding of how dominant languages influence minorities and how sociopolitical identity influences and is influenced by language behaviour, and how, specifically, the dominance of Israeli Hebrew influences speakers of Palestinian Arabic to varying degrees, depending on sociopolitical affiliations.

6.2. Problems Encountered

I have encountered numerous challenges throughout my academic journey, both on the academic as well as the non-academic levels that have inevitably had certain effects on the research and publications processes and outcomes. Since my fieldwork had to be conducted

in Israel, I had to go on several periods of study leave to collect data for my research. The logistics of the fieldwork, however, turned out to be more complicated than expected due to the following reasons: first, some of the participants who had agreed to take part in the study did not attend and so further attempts had to be made to recruit other participants under time constraints, which were not always successful; hence, I had to go on further periods of study leave to conduct more fieldwork, which resulted in certain academic delays. Second, due to the nature of the journey back and forth from Australia to Israel, which required three flights in each direction each time, I have encountered numerous issues such as several cancellations of my flights without prior notice, catching viruses at airports and not being able to get medical support in certain countries due to their refusal to issue me entry permits simply due to my passport's nationality, as well as the long jet lag that I had to suffer from each time, to mention but a few issues. All this and more, had certain effects on my overall wellbeing, which, in turn had certain implications on the study.

In addition, recruiting participants in the Golan Heights has been challenging in itself. Since the Druze community in the Golan Heights lives under constant uncertainty regarding its future and the fear that the Golan Heights would be returned to Syrian rule one day, the process of recruiting participants there has been more complicated than with participants in other regions. Furthermore, some of the participants who were willing to participate were, in fact, relatively reluctant to be fully open to express their true opinions and stances. Above all, it has been nearly impossible to recruit any first and second generation participants with Israeli citizenship in the Golan Heights due to their fears of either being exposed or criticised by the community, despite the fact that they have been notified that all measures will be taken to assure the confidentiality and anonymity of the participants, as well as the protection of their privacy.

6.3. Future Directions

This research has uncovered certain knowledge gaps and opportunities for further research. Based on the findings of this study, research into borrowing, codeswitching, language preferences and their link to both individual and collective identities among the Druze and Arabs in Israel can be expanded by examining larger samples of participants from the different Druze, Arab and mixed Druze/Arab localities in Israel. In addition, the models and analyses suggested herein can be applied for other Arabic speaking communities in Israel who are undergoing language shifts, such as the Bedouins in the north and the Arabs who reside either in mixed Jewish/Arab cities or mainly Jewish cities such as Yafo (Jaffa) and Tel-Aviv. It would be interesting and enriching to investigate such language behaviours and individual and collective identity affiliations among the Arab LGBT communities in Israel, who are generally more assimilated into the Israeli Jewish society than the rest of the Arabs, who do not reside in mixed Jewish/Arab cities or mainly Jewish cities.

Moreover, the models and analyses suggested herein can be more broadly applied for other minorities in the world where tensions and conflicts between governments and ethnic minorities exist, and where such conflicts may raise language conflicts and issues. These, for example, may include Serbs in Croatia, the Hungarian minority in Romania, the Albanian-speaking population in Macedonia, Russian-speaking communities in Estonia and Catalans in Spain, to name but a few.

Since this is the first thorough research of the sociolinguistics of the Druze of the Golan Heights, the preliminary examination shows that a new, distinctive dialect is emerging among the newer generations. Further research can be conducted to investigate and uncover the specific structural features of this dialect, and compare it with that of the older generations. In addition, since the study uncovered a gradual process of gaining a new proto-national identity, future research could examine how it unfolds.

Finally, since the Israeli ‘nation-state’ law was enacted in mid-2018, towards the end of this research, I have only been able to examine its initial impacts upon some participants from the Israeli Druze community. This law, inter alia, downgrades the status of Arabic from an official language into a language with a special status, a status that is currently vague, unclear and unknown, since the particulars of this status are left to future regulations. This is evident under article 4 (b) of the law, which specifically asserts that "the Arabic language has a special status in the State; arrangements regarding the use of Arabic in state institutions or vis-à-vis them will be set by law" (Kenesset, 2018). In many ways, this law acts as a legislative initiative to formulate a constitutional anchoring of Israel's 'Jewish identity' (Yadgar, 2020). Many scholarly and non-scholarly critics have denounced the law as undemocratic, racist and discriminatory toward the country's non-Jewish citizens, leaving them feeling like second-class Israeli citizens (see Abulhawa, 2018; Ben-Youssef & Tamari, 2018; Hass, 2018; Jabreen, 2018; Jamal, 2018; Jamal, 2019). Their claim is particularly based on the fact that the law asserts that "the Land of Israel is the historical homeland of the Jewish people, in which the State of Israel was established," and that "the exercise of the right to national self-determination in the State of Israel is unique to the Jewish people." It also establishes "the development of Jewish settlement as a national value, and shall act to encourage and promote its establishment and strengthening" (Kenesset, 2018). Therefore, future research should specifically focus on the impacts of this law on the Druze, as well as the Arab, communities in Israel, in terms of linguistic practices and individual and collective identities.

Appendix 1: Questionnaire*

***You may change, edit, omit, ignore or add questions/answers/statements/comments at your discretion.**

1-I currently reside in:

a-An Arab village/town: _____

b-A Druze village/town: _____

c-A Jewish town/city: _____

d-other:_____

2-Gender: a-male b-female

3-Age: a-21-30 b-31-40 c-41-50 d-51-60

4-Marital Status: a-single b-married c-other

5-Education: a-primary-junior-high school b-high-school c-vocational education d-University e-other

6-Military Service: a-soldier b-completed military service c-haven't served d-not applicable

7-Arabic Proficiency: a-excellent b-above average c-average d-below average e-low

8- Hebrew Proficiency: a-excellent b-above average c-average d-below average e-low

9- Having high competence in Israeli Hebrew is important for me: a-strongly agree b-agree c-no stand d-disagree e-strongly disagree f-other:_____

10-I would prefer Israeli-Hebrew as my/my children's L1 rather than Palestinian-Arabic: a-strongly agree b-agree c-no stand d-disagree e-strongly disagree f-other:_____

11-I am able to express myself in Israeli-Hebrew more effectively than in Palestinian-Arabic: a-strongly agree b-agree c-no stand d-disagree e-strongly disagree f-other:_____

12-Arabic is imperative to maintaining my Arab identity: a-strongly agree b-agree c-no stand d-disagree e-strongly disagree f-other:_____

13-Israeli-Hebrew speakers are considered more Israeli than Arabic speakers: a-strongly agree b-agree c-no stand d-disagree e-strongly disagree f-other:_____

14-High competence in Israeli-Hebrew is imperative to assimilating in Israel: a-strongly agree b-agree c-no stand d-disagree e-strongly disagree f-other:_____

15-Arabs/Druze who are perfectly competent in Israeli-Hebrew are perceived as more Israeli: a-strongly agree b-agree c-no stand d-disagree e-strongly disagree f-other:_____

16-I naturally express myself better in: a-Palestinian-Arabic b-Israeli-Hebrew c-other:_____

17-Arabs/Druze who mainly express themselves in Israeli-Hebrew with other Arab/Druze interlocutors are more interested in the Israeli identity than in the Arab identity: a-strongly agree b-agree c-no stand d-disagree e-strongly disagree f-other:_____

18-I notice that the Druze in Israel speak a different/special language: a-strongly agree b-agree c-no stand d-disagree e-strongly disagree f-other:_____

19-I notice that the Israeli Druze in general prefer Israeli-Hebrew over Palestinian-Arabic: a-strongly agree b-agree c-no stand d-disagree e-strongly disagree f-other:_____

20- I personally prefer Israeli-Hebrew over Palestinian-Arabic: a-strongly agree b-agree c-no stand d-disagree e-strongly disagree f-other:_____

21-<u>If someone speaks 'pure' Arabic, he can therefore be considered more Arab:</u> a-strongly agree b-agree c-no stand d-disagree e-strongly disagree f-other:_____

22-<u>I prefer to be more competent in Israeli-Hebrew than in Palestinian-Arabic:</u> a-strongly agree b-agree c-no stand d-disagree e-strongly disagree f-not applicable g-other:_____

23-<u>I prefer to send my children to a Hebrew school rather than to a Druze/Arab school:</u> a-strongly agree b-agree c-no stand d-disagree e-strongly disagree f-not applicable g-other:_____

24-<u>I am personally appalled by the ubiquitous integration of Israeli-Hebrew in the speech of the Israeli Druze</u>: a-strongly agree b-agree c-no stand d-disagree e-strongly disagree f-not applicable g-other:_____

25-<u>My nationality is:</u> a-Muslim-Arab b-Christian-Arab c-Druze d-other:_____

26-<u>I identify myself as:</u> a-Arab b-Druze c-Israeli d-Israeli-Arab e-Israeli-Druze f-Palestinian-Arab g-Palestinian-Druze h-Palestinian i-Syrian j-I have no clear identity k-other:_____

27-<u>I feel a strong sense of belonging to the State of Israel:</u> a-strongly agree b-agree c-no stand d-disagree e-strongly disagree f-not applicable g-other:_____

28-<u>I personally prefer using the Palestinian Arabic language in my speech to sound more elegant:</u> a-strongly agree b-agree c-no stand d-disagree e-strongly disagree f-not applicable g-other:_____

29-<u>When I get stuck with words in Arabic, I retrieve them from:</u> a-Hebrew b-English c-other:_____ **<u>reason</u>**: a-ideological b-comfort c-solidarity d-assimilation e-other:_____

30-<u>If I insert much Israeli-Hebrew into my spoken Arabic, that will make me more Israeli:</u> a-strongly agree b-agree c-no stand d-disagree e-strongly disagree f-other:_____

31-<u>I try as less as I can to insert Israeli-Hebrew into my spoken Arabic:</u> a-strongly agree b-agree c-no stand d-disagree e-strongly disagree f-other:_____

32-<u>I usually use Israeli-Hebrew in my everyday speech:</u> a-exclusively Hebrew b-very much c-quite much d-little e-very little f-not at all g-not applicable h-other:_____

33-<u>The language I speak defines my identity:</u> a-strongly agree b-agree c-no stand d-disagree e-strongly disagree f-other:_____

34-<u>My General attitude toward Israeli-Hebrew is:</u> a-positive b-neutral c-negative d-other:_____

35-<u>My General attitude toward Palestinian-Arabic is:</u> a-positive b-neutral c-negative d-other:_____

36-<u>My General attitude toward the integration of Israeli-Hebrew elements in one's spoken Arabic speech is:</u> a-positive b-neutral c-negative d-other:_____

37-<u>My General attitude toward Israeli Identity is:</u> a-positive b-neutral c-negative d-other:_____

38-<u>My General attitude toward Arab Identity is:</u> a-positive b-neutral c-negative d-other:_____

39-<u>My General attitude toward Palestinian Identity is:</u> a-positive b-neutral c-negative d-other:_____

***** Some of the questions were inspired by Isleem's (2012) work.

Appendix 2: Classification and Categorization of the Questionnaire Statements*

*The statement responses follow a three or five-point Likert Scale (1932): **Five-point Likert Scale**: *0-No Stand, 1-Strongly Agree, 2-Agree, 3-Disagree and 4-Strongly Disagree*. **Three-point Likert Scale**: *0-Neutral, 1-Positive, 2-Negative*. Some of the statements had additional categories such as *Other* and *Not Applicable*, the *Other* responses were matched according to the responses where applicable, whereas the *Not Applicable* options were removed from the data.

Category 1: Attitude towards Israeli-Hebrew*

Statement 9: Having high competence in Israeli Hebrew is important for me.

Statement 10: I would prefer Israeli-Hebrew as my/my children's L1 rather than Palestinian-Arabic.

Statement 20: I personally prefer Israeli-Hebrew over Palestinian-Arabic.

Statement 22: I prefer to be more competent in Israeli-Hebrew than in Palestinian-Arabic.

Statement 34: My General attitude toward Israeli-Hebrew is:

***Positive: A total score of between 4-9. Negative: A total score of 11 or higher.**

Category 2: Attitude towards Palestinian-Arabic*

Statement 12: Arabic is imperative to maintaining my Arab identity.

Statement 28: I personally prefer using Palestinian Arabic in my speech to sound more elegant.

Statement 35: My General attitude toward Palestinian-Arabic is:

***Positive: A total score of between 2-5. Negative: A total score of 6 or higher.**

Category 3: Attitude towards Palestinian Identity*

Statement 39: My General attitude toward Palestinian Identity is:

***Positive: A total score of 1. Negative: A total score of 2.**

Category 4: Attitude towards Arab Identity*

Statement 38: My General attitude toward Arab Identity is:

***Positive: A total score of 1. Negative: A total score of 2.**

Category 5: Attitude towards Israeli Identity*

Statement 37: My General attitude toward Israeli Identity is:

***Positive: A total score of 1. Negative: A total score of 2.**

Category 6: Attitude towards Codeswitching*

Statement 24: I am personally appalled by the ubiquitous integration of Israeli-Hebrew in the speech of the Israeli Druze.

Statement 31: I try as less as I can to insert Israeli-Hebrew into my spoken Arabic.

Statement 36: My General attitude toward the integration of Israeli-Hebrew elements in one's spoken Arabic speech is:

***Positive: A total score of 7 or higher. Negative: A total score of between 4-6.**

Category 7: The Link between Language, Codeswitching and Identity**

Statement 13: Israeli-Hebrew speakers are considered more Israeli than Arabic speakers.

Statement 14: High competence in Israeli-Hebrew is imperative to assimilating in Israel.

Statement 15: Arabs/Druze who are perfectly competent in Israeli-Hebrew are perceived as more Israeli.

Statement 17: Arabs/Druze who mainly express themselves in Israeli-Hebrew with other Arab/Druze interlocutors are more interested in the Israeli identity than in the Arab identity.

Statement 21: If someone speaks 'pure' Arabic, he can therefore be considered more Arab.

Statement 30: If I insert much Israeli-Hebrew into my spoken Arabic, that will make me more Israeli.

Statement 33: The language I speak defines my identity.

Category 8: Perception of Self and Community Language Proficiency and Use**

Statement 7: Arabic Proficiency:

Statement 8: Hebrew Proficiency:

Statement 11: I am able to express myself in Israeli-Hebrew more effectively than in Palestinian-Arabic.

Statement 16: I naturally express myself better in:

Statement 18: I notice that the Druze in Israel speak a different/special language.

Statement 19: I notice that the Israeli Druze in general prefer Israeli-Hebrew over Palestinian-Arabic.

Statement 29: When I get stuck with words in Arabic, I retrieve them from:

Statement 32: I usually use Israeli-Hebrew in my everyday speech:

Category 9: Sense of Identity and Belonging**

Statement 23: I prefer to send my children to a Hebrew school rather than to a Druze/Arab school.

Statement 25: My nationality is:

Statement 26: I identify myself as:

Statement 27: I feel a strong sense of belonging to the State of Israel.

****Statements in these categories were used for individual assessment and analysis of the sampled participants in the third and fourth articles.**

BASIC LAW: ISRAEL - THE NATION STATE OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE

(Unofficial translation by Dr. Susan Hattis Rolef)
(Kenesset, 2018)

Basic Principles

1. (a) The Land of Israel is the historical homeland of the Jewish people, in which the State of Israel was established.

(b) The State of Israel is the nation state of the Jewish People, in which it realizes its natural, cultural, religious and historical right to self-determination.

(c) The exercise of the right to national self-determination in the State of Israel is unique to the Jewish People.

State Symbols

2. (a) The name of the State is "Israel".

(b) The State flag is white, with two light-blue stripes close to the edge, and a light-blue Star of David in its centre.

(c) The State emblem is a seven-branched menorah with olive leaves on both sides, and the word "Israel" at its base.

(d) The State anthem is "Hatikvah".

(e) Details regarding the State symbols shall be determined by law.

State Capital

3. Jerusalem, complete and united, is the capital of Israel.

Language

4. (a) Hebrew is the State language.

(b) The Arabic language has a special status in the State; arrangements regarding the use of Arabic in state institutions or vis-à-vis them will be set by law.

(c) Nothing in this article shall affect the status given to the Arabic language before this law came into force.

Ingathering of the Exiles

5. The State shall be open for Jewish immigration, and for the Ingathering of the Exiles.

The Connection with the Jewish People

6. (a) The State shall strive to ensure the safety of members of the Jewish People and of its citizens, who are in trouble and in captivity, due to their Jewishness or due to their citizenship.

(b) The State shall act, in the Diaspora, to preserve the ties between the State and members of the Jewish People.

(c) The State shall act to preserve the cultural, historical and religious heritage of the Jewish People among Jews in the Diaspora.

Jewish Settlement

7. The State views the development of Jewish settlement as a national value, and shall act to encourage and promote its establishment and strengthening.

Official Calendar

8. The Hebrew calendar is an official calendar of the State, and the Gregorian calendar shall serve alongside it as an official calendar; the use of the Hebrew calendar and the Gregorian calendar shall be determined by law.

Independence Day and Memorial Days

9. (a) Independence Day is the official national holiday of the State.

(b) Memorial Day for the Fallen in Israel's Wars, and the Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Day, are official memorial days of the state.

Days of Rest and Statutory Holidays

10. The Sabbath and the Jewish holidays are the established days of rest in the State; non-Jews have the right to observe the days of rest on their days of Sabbath and holidays; details regarding this matter shall be determined by law.

Entrenchment

11. This Basic law shall not be modified except by a Basic Law, passed by a majority of the members of the Knesset.

Appendix 4: CV

Afifa Eve Kheir

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Teaching & Instructing

2019-present **Visiting lecturer and tutor-*Dep. of Linguistics. University of Adelaide-Australia***

- Designing and delivering lectures for BA-level courses in Linguistics (LING 2037; LING 3018-Language in a Global Society-On-campus and Remote Learning Courses (including teaching 150 remote students in China), LING 1102-Introduction to Language in Culture and Society)
- Designing and delivering tutorials in Linguistics (On-campus and Remote Learning tutorials)

2014-2016 **Lecturer- *English as a Foreign Language Dep. University of Haifa-Israel***

- Designing and teaching BA-level courses in Academic English-Advanced levels
- Teaching intensive summer courses

2014-2016 **Lecturer- *Practical Engineering School-The Technion Israel Institute of Technology-Israel***

- Designing and teaching BA-level courses in Technical English-Advanced levels
- Designing and checking tests and projects

2014-2015 **Lecturer- *Gordon College of Education, Haifa-Israel***

- Teaching courses for students enrolled in the B.E.D program (On-campus and Remote Learning Courses)
- Planning lessons and developing teaching materials, assignments and exams
- Teaching intensive summer courses
- Designing and checking tests and projects

2004 – 2017 **Lecturer- Wizo Haifa Academy of Design and Education-Israel**

- Designing and teaching BA-level courses in Academic English-All levels (Basic, Pre-Advanced, Advanced I and II)
- Designing and teaching BA-level courses in Business English
- Designing and checking tests and projects
- Initiating, designing and teaching innovative BA-level **Online and Distance Learning Courses** in Academic English
- Collaborating in research projects aimed at improving the level of

teaching and studying the English for Academic Purposes courses

2005-2015 **Founder and CEO of a *network of schools of languages-Rolan School-Israel***

- Establishing a private network of schools of languages
- Designing and teaching a unique method of teaching English and foreign languages to all ages and levels
- Developing curricula for all courses and centers
- Qualifying, training and instructing teachers in the different centers
- Controlling the schedule and activities of all the centers
- Managing the supply of teaching materials and payment of salaries
- Establishing clear policies for assessing, recording and reporting on student achievement and using these to set the targets for further improvement via constant research
- Writing and publishing books for different ages and levels
- Designing and teaching summer school programs
- Planning and preparing graduation ceremonies and seminars
- Advertising the network via radio and TV interviews, web sites etc...

2005-2006 **English coordinator, teacher and co-manager-High School of Science-Yarka village-Israel**

- Providing leadership in the development of comprehensive standards on the English curriculum
- Developing teaching staff by providing information, educational opportunities and coaching
- Resolving administrative problems
- Preparing educational and instructional materials for use by the teachers and students
- Ensuring that the teachers are clear about the teaching objectives in lessons and providing guidance on the choice of appropriate teaching and learning methods
- Supporting staff in their management of students, both academically and behaviorally with advice and strategies
- Preparing students for the English Bagrut exams (the official Israeli matriculation certificate attesting to graduation from high school)

2004-2005 **Lecturer- *The Pre-Academic Unit- University of Haifa-Israel***

- Designing and teaching BA-level courses in Academic English-Advanced levels
- Designing and checking tests and projects

2003-2004 **English teacher-High School of Professional Education-Daliat El-Carmel-Israel**

- Teaching English and preparing students for the English Bagrut exams (the official Israeli matriculation certificate attesting to graduation from high school)
- Teaching Medical English courses to professionals in the field
- Designing and checking tests and tasks

2003-2004 **English teacher-The Mofet School for the Gifted Students**

- Designing and teaching English courses for gifted and talented students

2002-2003 **English teacher- Ort High School-Osfia-Israel**

- Teaching English and preparing students for the English Bagrut exams (the official Israeli matriculation certificate attesting to graduation from high school)
- Designing and checking tests and tasks

2002-2003 **English teacher- The Community Center-Daliat El-Carmel**

- Designing and teaching English courses for gifted and talented students
- Designing and teaching English courses for adults, spoken English and preparing adults for the Bagrut exams

2001-2002 **English teacher- Elementary and Junior High School-Daliat El-Carmel-Israel**

- Designing and teaching English courses for gifted and talented students as an extra-curricular activity

2000-2001 **English teacher-Community Centers-Tzur Shalom, Kiriat Motzkin and Kfar Yassif-Israel**

- Teaching English to children of all ages

1999-2001 **Research Assistant-The Department of Communication-University of Haifa-Israel**

Other Employment

2008-2010 **Commercial Model and Actress-Freelance-Israel**

- Modelling for different famous Israeli brands Ad Campaigns and acting in short movies and series

2001-2004 **Master of Ceremonies (MC)-Israel**

- Hosting official parties and events

2001-2003 **Radio DJ-Radio Gheir Shekel- Daliat El-Carmel-Israel**

- Producing and hosting my own radio show “DJ In Action with DJ Afifa”

1998-2003 **Professional Translator- Israel**

- Professional translation of scientific articles in three languages in different disciplines.

Volunteering, Peer-Review and Social involvement projects

2019-present **Reviewer-Different International Scholarly Journals**

- Reviewing manuscripts for publications of international peer-reviewed journals

2002-2003 **English teacher-Axioma Educational Achievements-Israel**

- Designing and teaching English courses for high school students and preparing them for the Bagrut matriculation exams

2000-2002 **Mentor and tutor- Junior High School-Daliat El-Carmel-Israel**

- Mentoring and teaching gifted and talented students as an extra-curricular activity

2000-2004 **Social involvement leader-The Social Involvement Project- Yarka High School-Yarka and Ort High School-Osfia-Israel**

- Leading high school students to social and educational success

1999-2004 **Perach Mentor-The Perach Tutoring Project-Primary School B, Daliat El-Carmel-Israel**

- Mentoring children from underprivileged backgrounds helping them realize their potential and blossom into motivated individuals

Education

2016 **Ph.D. Candidate in the Department of Linguistics-The School of Humanities-*University of Adelaide-Australia***

2014 **Diploma in Information and Communication Technologies-The School of Professional Development-*The Mofet Institute*-Tel Aviv-Israel**

2004 **M.A. in English Language and Literature- *University of Haifa-Israel***

2002 **B.A. in Geography and English Language and Literature *University of Haifa-Israel***

Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs)

Language Revival: Securing the Future of Endangered Languages**-AdelaideX**

Natural Language Processing and Natural Language Understanding in Educational Research**-UT ArlingtonX**

Introduction to Artificial Intelligence (AI)**-Microsoft**

Natural Language Processing (NLP)**-Microsoft**

CS50's Understanding Technology**-HarvardX**

Scholarships

Adelaide Scholarship International-The University of Adelaide-Australia

Completion Scholarship-The University of Adelaide-Australia

Publications

Kheir, Afifa Eve. (to appear). Passing the test of split: Palebrew-a new mixed language. *Journal of Language Contact*

Kheir, Afifa Eve. 2019. The Matrix Language Turnover Hypothesis: the case of the Druze language in Israel. *Journal of Language Contact* 12(2): 483-516

Ferro Kheir, Afifa. 2010. *Reading, Speaking and Writing for Adults*. Daliat El-Carmel, Israel: Dar El-kalema

Ferro Kheir, Afifa. 2009. *Reading Comprehension texts and strategies for Primary School*. Daliat El-Carmel, Israel: Dar El-kalema

Ferro Kheir, Afifa. 2008. *Reading Comprehension texts and strategies for High School*. Daliat El-Carmel, Israel: Dar El-kalema

Ferro Kheir, Afifa. 2007. *English Grammar for High School*. Daliat El-Carmel, Israel: Dar El-kalema

Ferro Kheir, Afifa. 2006. *English Grammar for Primary School*. Daliat El-Carmel, Israel: Dar El-kalema

Ferro Kheir, Afifa. 2005. *Welcome to English*. Daliat El-Carmel, Israel: Dar El-kalema

Conference and Seminar Presentations

Ferro Kheir, Afifa Eve. (2019, October 31). 'Passing the test of split: Palebrew-a new mixed language', paper presented at the Linguistics Seminar: Department of Linguistics, University of Adelaide, Adelaide SA.

Ferro Kheir, Afifa Eve. (2018, September 10). 'The Matrix Language Turnover Hypothesis: the case of the Druze language in Israel', paper presented at the Linguistics Seminar: Department of Linguistics, University of Adelaide, Adelaide SA. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1163/19552629-01202008

Ferro Kheir, Afifa Eve. (2015, August 20). 'Foreign Language Learning by Young children.' Rolan School, Israel.

Ferro Kheir, Afifa Eve. (2014, September 14). 'Mother Tongue and Foreign Language Teaching.' Rolan School, Israel.

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Ferro Kheir, Afifa Eve. (2012, August 12). 'English as a Global Language.' Rolan School, Israel.

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Ferro Kheir, Afifa Eve. (2010, July 30). 'Foreign Language Teaching: A New Method for Teachers.' Dalia Community Centre, Israel.

Fieldwork in Linguistics

Sociolinguistic fieldwork, 2020. The Golan Heights and different Israeli Druze towns, Israel.

Sociolinguistic fieldwork, 2019. The Golan Heights and different Israeli Druze and mixed Arab/Druze towns, Israel.

Sociolinguistic fieldwork, 2018. Different Druze and mixed Arab/Druze towns, Israel.

Sociolinguistic fieldwork, 2017. Different Druze and mixed Arab/Druze towns, Israel.

Sociolinguistic fieldwork, 2003-2004. Different Druze and mixed Arab/Druze towns, Israel.

Sociolinguistic fieldwork, 2000. Different Druze and mixed Arab/Druze towns, Israel.

Languages

Arabic	native tongue
English	native-like proficiency at all skills
Hebrew	native-like proficiency at all skills
German	Basic
Spanish	Basic
French	Basic

Learning Management Systems and Video Communications Technologies

Moodle (advanced)

Orbit (advanced)

Canvas (advanced)

Zoom (advanced)

Microsoft Teams (advanced)

Slack (advanced)

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