

Language Use and Language Attitudes among the Palestinian Arabs of 1948: A Sociolinguistic Study

Prof. Bader S. Dweik

Middle East University
Faculty of Arts and Sciences

Dalin J. Kittaneh

Middle East University
Faculty of Arts and Sciences

Abstract

This study aimed at investigating language use and language attitudes among the Palestinian Arabs of 1948. It is based on the domain and attitude analysis proposed by Fishman (1964) and takes into consideration Fishman's (1989) resolutions concerning the fate of languages in contact. The current study aimed to answer the following questions:

- 1- In what domains of language do the Palestinian Arabs of 1948 use Arabic and Hebrew?
- 2- What are the attitudes of the Palestinian Arabs of 1948 toward Arabic and Hebrew?

To achieve the goal of this study, the researchers selected a purposive sample that comprised 70 Palestinian Arabs of 1948. The subjects were chosen from Palestinian Arabs of 1948 in different cities and villages. They covered different ages, genders, educational and professional backgrounds . Data

were collected by means of a sociolinguistic questionnaire that included

a demographic background, language use, and language attitudes toward both Arabic and Hebrew.

Results of the study revealed that the Palestinian Arabs of 1948 use both languages in their daily life: Arabic is used at home, mosque, neighborhood, school, media, and inner speech, while Hebrew is used at work and for business transactions. Furthermore, the results showed that the Palestinian Arabs of 1948 have positive attitudes toward both languages.

الاستعمالات والاتجاهات اللغوية عند فلسطينيي عرب 1948: دراسة لغوية اجتماعية

ملخص الدراسة

هدفت هذه الدراسة الى معرفة الاستعمالات والاتجاهات اللغوية عند فلسطينيي عرب 1948 و بُنيت هذه الدراسة على نظرية فثمان التحليلية (1964) لمجالات الاستعمالات والاتجاهات اللغوية، وقد أخذت الدراسة بعين الاعتبار نظرية فثمان (1989) المتعلقة بمصير اللغة التي هي على اتصال مع لغة أخرى، وركزت الدراسة تحديدا على اجابة السؤالين التاليين:

1 - في أي المجالات و الأطر يستخدمون اللغة العربية و اللغة العبرية ؟

2 - ما هي اتجاهاتهم و آراؤهم نحو اللغة العربية و اللغة العبرية؟

و للاجابة على هذين السؤالين قام الباحثان باختيار عينة قصدية من فلسطينيي عرب 1948 تكونت من 70 مواطنا فلسطينيا من عرب 1948 من مدن و قرى مختلفة. وقد شملت العينة أعمارا، و أجناسا، و خلفيات ثقافية و وظيفية مختلفة. و لقد تم جمع البيانات بوساطة استبانة لغوية اجتماعية تتضمن معلومات شخصية و اجتماعية عن المشاركين و الاستعمالات اللغوية للغتين العربية و العبرية و الاتجاهات نحو اللغتين العربية و العبرية.

أظهرت النتائج أن فلسطينيي عرب 1948 يستخدمون اللغتين في حياتهم اليومية: فاللغة العربية هي اللغة المستخدمة في المنزل و المسجد و الجوار و المدرسة و في تعبيرهم العاطفي عن الذات؛ بينما تستخدم اللغة العبرية في أماكن العمل و في المعاملات التجارية. و بينت الدراسة أن لديهم اتجاهات و آراء ايجابية نحو اللغتين.

Introduction

One of the central concerns of sociolinguists has been the situation of minority languages which for various reasons are in danger of disappearing from usage either globally or locally.

Although investigations of language use and language attitudes among indigenous groups have been conducted in many places around the world, there is a shortage of studies in this area of the Middle East. Most investigations focused on immigrating languages, e.g. Dweik (1999) and Al-Khatib (2005), but few of them tackled the issue of indigenous languages in contact with conquering languages. The current study is an attempt to fill this gap. It tackles a case of an ethnic group which became a minority in their homeland, and their language, which was the main language, became a secondary language. This ethnic group is the Palestinian Arabs of 1948.

Amara (2006) has stated that "Arabic is a unique case. It was the main language of the area until the establishment of the state of 1948, ..., it became a secondary language." (p.1) Ayish, Al-Jabi and Jum'a (1983) and many other researchers have examined the historical situation in Palestine and gave an idea about the language situation there. They asserted that from the beginning of the Ottoman control, Arabic was used side by side with Turkish and Persian. They reported that during the Ottoman Empire (1453~1920) there were 3 languages used at that time: Arabic which was used as the primary language of religion; Persian which was the language of art, refined literature, and diplomacy; the Ottoman Turkish which was used at the official level and for the administration of the empire. This is clear in a study conducted by Ayish et al. (1983) which proved that "in Ottoman Palestine, Turkish was the official language of the government and was learned by local people who came in contact with Turkish officials or who themselves served as officials". (p.2)

Moreover, in Palestine in the latter part of the nineteenth century, European languages were being introduced and encouraged by missionary churches and powerful foreign consuls. Hence, multilingualism was common in larger cities; Ma'oz (1975) explained that European missionaries set up schools in the larger cities, such as Bethlehem, Jerusalem, Jaffa and Nazareth, and taught English, French, Italian; German, Spanish and Russian.

By the early years of the 20th century, the Ottoman Empire was weakened, the European powers were entrenching their grip on areas in the eastern Mediterranean including Palestine. Therefore, Britain obtained a mandate over the areas which now comprise Israel, the West Bank, and the Gaza Strip. During the British Mandate which started from 1922, the English language was used officially, and Hebrew became a powerful language and was used side by side with Arabic and English.

In a recent study of language situation in Palestine, Amara (2006) stated that

the end of the Ottoman rule in Palestine in 1917 brought about far-reaching changes in all areas, including language. The British Mandate (1922 - 1948) in Palestine strengthened the status of Hebrew, by then established as the revived language of the Jewish community, and it became an official language alongside Arabic and English. In private schools Arabic, French and Italian were also taught. (p.2)

On November 29, 1947, The United Nations Partition plan was proposed, and the UN General Assembly voted to partition Palestine into two states, one Jewish and the other Arab. As a result, fighting began between the Arab and Jewish residents of Palestine days after the adoption of the UN partition plan. As a consequence of their fighting between 1947 and 1948, over 700,000 Palestinian refugees fled or were driven from their homes; many ended up in refugee camps in Lebanon, Jordan, or other areas, and these camps became

permanent places of residence.

In 1948, between 150,000 - 180,000 Palestinian Arabs remained in the area that became the State of 1948 and they were granted Israeli citizenship. Chairman of the High Follow - Up Committee of the Palestinian Arabs of 1948 explained that

the war of 1948 resulted in the establishment of the Israeli state on 78% of historical Palestine. We found ourselves, those who have remained in their homeland ...within the borders of the Jewish state. Such reality has isolated us from the rest of Palestinian people and the Arab world and we were forced to become citizens of 1948. This has transformed us into a minority living in our historic homeland. (Khateeb, 2006, p.3)

Since "Al-Nakba" or in other words "The Arab tragedy of 1948", or as Palestinians called it "The Catastrophe", and after the establishment of 1948, the language situation has changed and this is clear in a recent study of language practice in 1948 which proved that most 1948i Palestinian Arabs speak Arabic as their first language and use it at home and in their towns and villages, but they use Hebrew at work and in other settings. Amara (2001) stated that

Arabs learn Hebrew for pragmatic reasons: for work, for communication in everyday matters...consequently, Hebrew is an important tool for every Arab citizen in 1948, since it enables him to function effectively in all domains of life. (p.160)

Objectives of the Study

The aim of the current study is to examine language use and language attitudes among the Palestinian Arabs of 1948. It aims to describe the languages which are being used by the Palestinian Arabs of 1948, under what domains, and their attitudes toward their ethnic language (Arabic) and toward the language of the majority (Hebrew).

Significance of the Study

Although a lot of investigations dealt with the minority languages in the Middle East, few studies have focused on the status of the indigenous languages when they are in contact with a conquering language such as Hebrew in Palestine. The present study of the Palestinian Arabs of 1948 aims to fill this gap. This study is expected to help other researchers who want to conduct studies about similar topics. In addition, this study may be very helpful for teachers and parents since it may encourage them to play an effective role in enhancing the ethnic identity among younger generations.

Review of Literature

Language choice has been analyzed from different perspectives: First, the sociological approach which provides a way to subcategorize people's behavior of language choice. Second, the social-psychological approach which offers internal reasons to explain why people make a certain language choice. Third, the anthropological approach which looks for external factors to explain people's language choice.

Sociolinguists such as Fishman (1964; 1989) and Elias – Olivares (1979) were interested in this field. Depending on the sociological approach, Fishman (1964) proposed domain analysis which is based on the idea that one language may be more appropriate than another in certain domains, and usually it is the standard or prestigious language that is used in high domains, while the vernaculars are selected in low domains.

Elias – Olivares (1979) added that certain languages are particularly suited to certain domains. She stated that

In a heterogeneous speech community, with varying degrees of linguistic diversity and social complexity, speakers interact using different speech varieties drawn from a repertoire of choices which for the most part are not random. On the contrary, the distribution of usage of these choices is determined by several

factors in the social communicative system of the community.
(p.121)

Researchers in the Middle East conducted a number of studies about language use and language attitudes among minority groups, e.g. Dweik (1999; 2000), Amara and Mar'i(2002), and Al-Khatib and Al – Ali (2005).

Dweik (1999) conducted a study about the language situation among the Circassians of Jordan. Data were collected from 50 informants residing in Amman. The method which was used in this study is based on the best possible knowledge of the community before beginning the language study. Such knowledge covers different aspects such as social divisions, demographic data, and occupational activities. Moreover, the researcher used a questionnaire which was composed of five parts to examine the language situation among the Circassians of Jordan. The result of this study asserted that the Circassian language and culture have been maintained despite the passage of over one hundred years, and that “the Circassian language did not die in the Circassian community. It has been used side by side with Arabic among third and fourth Circassian generations.”(p.10)

Similarly, Dweik (2000) conducted a study about the linguistic and cultural maintenance among the Chechens of Jordan. The researcher reported that the third and the fourth generations of Chechens- on the contrary of other ethnic groups- had preserved their ethnic language. In his study, the researcher used a simple random sample of 100 subjects to answer a questionnaire that measured their linguistic and cultural maintenance. The results were stated as the following: “Chechens of Jordan have maintained their language and culture despite the passage of over one hundred years”. He added “the third and the fourth generations of Jordanian Chechens are proud of their national origin and their Jordanian national identity.”(p.193)

Another study was performed by Amara and Mar'i (2002) about

the language situation among the Palestinian Arabs of 1948. Here they proved that Arab 1948is were proud of their language. The researchers used a survey among 999 respondents who were high school and college students from various geographical regions in Israel. The results showed that the respondents gave the highest rating to five statements relating to the symbolic importance of Arabic such as “my national language”, “proud of the Arabic language”. Moreover, the results asserted that

within Arab society in 1948, the Arabic language is in use in daily life. It is the language of daily communication in places of work, although many words from Hebrew have taken root as a result of daily contact with the Jewish society.»(p.47)

Al-Khatib and Al – Ali (2005) investigated language and cultural maintenance among the Gypsies of Jordan. Data were collected from 100 speakers by means of a questionnaire and interviews. Evidence is presented that Arabic is used for various functions and Gypsy is still used in a variety of social domains.

Theoretical Framework

Most of the investigations claimed that a language of an ethnic group cannot survive more than three generations; this opinion was proposed by Fishman (1989) who stated that “what begins as the language of social and economic mobility ends, within three generations or so, as the language of the crib as well, even in democratic and pluralism permitting contexts.”(p.206) But this theory cannot be applied in this study because the researchers hypothesized that the Palestinian Arabs of 1948 may not shift to Hebrew. On the contrary, they may preserve Arabic and use Hebrew side by side with their mother-tongue language.

Moreover, the current study is based theoretically on the third resolution which Fishman (1989) proposed about the fate of languages in contact. According to the third resolution, the indigenous language

(i.e. Arabic) is used side by side with the intrusive language (i.e. Hebrew). Each language is used for different reasons and under different circumstances and enjoys different attitudes from its speakers.

Method and Procedures of the Study

The population of this study consisted of Palestinian Arabs of 1948 who became citizens of the State after the war of 1948. A sample of 70 Palestinian Arabs of 1948 was selected purposively from different cities and villages in Israel. It included 39 males and 31 females whose age ranged between 10 and 60 years. They represented different religious and social background. While 67 of them were Moslems, only three were Christians. The majority of them were single (49), the rest of them were married (10), and engaged or divorced. Data were collected by means of a sociolinguistic questionnaire which was composed of three sections: The first section of the questionnaire was a demographic background section (See Appendix A, P.38). It was intended to establish a community profile and serve as a bank of information about the social background of the participants. The second section of the questionnaire (See p.40) aimed at finding out the domains of use for each language. Domains included homes, schools, neighborhoods, workplaces, places outside work, places of worship, media. The third section of the questionnaire (See p.42) solicited the respondents' attitudes and feelings toward Arabic and Hebrew. The informants were offered the option of answering the questions in Arabic or in English. The data were recorded question by question on a summary sheet, analyzed by using simple descriptive and statistical procedures (i.e. percentages) and then interpreted. To insure the validity of the questionnaire, a panel of seven university professors who have teaching experience in linguistics and translation were requested to determine the face and the content validity of the

questionnaire, and reliability of the questionnaire was determined by means of test – retest.

Results and discussion

Results of Question One: *In what domains of language do the Palestinian Arabs of 1948 use Arabic and Hebrew?*

This question dealt with the domains of use of both languages, i.e., Arabic and Hebrew. Eight questions, examining several domains of language use i.e. home, school, neighborhood, workplace, outside work, religion, and media were posited.

Table 1: Language Use at Home

Questions	Arabic only %	Mostly Arabic %	Arabic & Hebrew %	Mostly Hebrew %	Hebrew only %	NR*
1-Language among family members:						
What language do you use at home with	53%	30%	17%	-	-	-
• your father?						
• your mother?	52%	29%	19%	-	-	-
• your brothers?	42%	27%	30%	1%	-	-
• your sisters?	43%	26%	27%	1%	-	3%
• your grandfathers?	67%	25%	7%	-	-	1%
• grandmothers?	73%	24%	3%	-	-	-
• your uncle?	49%	32%	19%	-	-	-
• your aunt?	59%	27%	13%	-	-	1%
• What language do you use when you make a phone call with one of the members of the family?	39%	33%	24%	1%	3%	-
• What language do you use with your other relatives when you talk to them face to face?	37%	31%	31%	-	1%	-
• What language do you use at family meetings?	49%	29%	21%	-	1%	-
• What language do you use when you write a personal letter to your father, mother, or any member of your family?	59%	17%	17%	-	6%	1%

*Key: NR=No Response

Results reported in Table 1 examine the language that respondents use at home and with family members. From Table 1, one can observe that the majority of the Palestinian Arabs of 1948 tend to use Arabic; 83% of them use it with their fathers and only 17% of them use both Arabic and Hebrew with their fathers. Eighty-one percent of them use it with their mothers compared with 19% who use both Arabic and Hebrew with their mothers. Also, 69% of them use it with their brothers and 30% of them use both languages with their brothers. Moreover, 69% of the respondents use it with their sisters compared with 27% of them use both Arabic and Hebrew with their sisters. However, 92% of them use it with their grandfathers and only 7% of them use both Arabic and Hebrew with their grandfathers.

Results reported in Table 2 below examine language use in the domain of school. It is clear that 73% of the Palestinian Arabs of 1948 reported that they use Arabic with their teachers, while 21% of them reported that they use both Arabic and Hebrew with their teachers, and only 6% of them reported that they use only Hebrew with their teachers; perhaps these were respondents who attended Jewish schools. Results reported in Table 2 also indicate that 57% of them use Arabic with their friends, and 37% of them use both Arabic and Hebrew with their friends. Moreover, 6% of the respondents reported that they use Hebrew with their friends. Again this might be due to the fact that these respondents attended Jewish schools and they might have Jewish peers. Results reported in Table 2 also indicate that 68% of them said that Arabic is used in giving school instructions. These respondents attended Arabic schools in the State of 1948. While 26% of the respondents indicated that both Arabic and Hebrew were used in giving school instructions, only 6% of them reported that Hebrew was used in giving school instructions. These might be respondents who attended Jewish schools.

Table 2: Language Use at School

Questions	Arabic only %	Mostly Arabic%	Arabic & Hebrew %	Mostly Hebrew%	Hebrew only %
2- Language at school:					
• What language do you use when you talk to your teachers?	46%	27%	21%	-	6%
• What language do you use when you talk to your friends at school?	31%	26%	37%	3%	3%
• Which language is used in giving school instructions?	50%	18%	26%	2%	4%
• Which language is used in classrooms to explain lessons?	37%	20%	37%	2%	4%
• Which language is used in the schools' curriculum?	30%	14%	50%	-	6%

When asked about the language that is usually used in explaining lessons in the classrooms, 57% of the respondents reported that their teachers use Arabic in explaining lessons, and 37% of them reported that teachers use both Arabic and Hebrew in explaining lessons in the classrooms. Those who attended Jewish schools (6%) reported that teachers use only Hebrew in explaining lessons. Results reported in Table 2 show that while 44% of the respondents reported that Arabic is used in their school's curriculum, 50% of them reported that both languages are used in school curriculum. Those who studied in Jewish schools (6%) reported that Hebrew is used in their school curriculum.

Results reported in Table 3 indicate that both Arabic and Hebrew are used in the neighborhood domain. It shows that 54% of the respondents reported using Arabic when talking to their friends in the neighborhood. These were respondents who lived in towns located in Arab villages or cities. Furthermore, 40% of the respondents use both languages when talking to their friends in the neighborhood.

Those who live in mixed Arab and Jewish towns (6%) reported that they use Hebrew when talking to their friends in the neighborhood.

Results reported in Table 3 also indicate that 72% of the respondents reported that they use Arabic when buying vegetables from the greengrocer in the neighborhood and about 22% of them use both Arabic and Hebrew when buying vegetables from the greengrocer. Only those who live in mixed Arab and Jewish towns 6% use Hebrew when buying from the greengrocer in the neighborhood.

Table 3: Language Use in the Neighborhood

Questions	Arabic only %	Mostly Arabic %	Arabic & Hebrew %	Mostly Hebrew %	Hebrew only %
3- Language in the neighborhood:					
• What language do you use when you meet friends in the neighborhood?	24%	30%	40%	5%	1%
• What language do you use when you want to buy vegetables from the greengrocer at the neighborhood?	37%	35%	22%	6%	-
• What language do you use when you use your mobile in making a phone call in the neighborhood?	24%	30%	40%	3%	3%

When asked about the language used while speaking on their mobiles in the neighborhood, 54% of them answered that they use Arabic and 40% of them indicated that they use both languages. Only 6% of them reported that they used Hebrew when using their mobiles in their mixed Arab - Jewish towns.

Results reported in Table 4 below indicate that Hebrew is the dominant language at the work domain and sometimes it is used side by side with Arabic. It is clear that 19% of the respondents use Hebrew when they talk to their fellow workers at work, whereas 46% of the respondents reported that they use both Hebrew and Arabic with their fellow workers; perhaps these respondents worked as teachers or students in Arabic schools and 29% of the respondents use Arabic in their workplaces. Those were Palestinian Arabs of 1948 who worked

as farmers in Arab villages and as handicraft workers where there is no need to use Hebrew as a means of communication. Furthermore, results reported in Table 4 indicate that 17% of the respondents use Hebrew with their customers; those who worked in the medical, legal and business fields, while 50% of them use both languages; those who worked as teachers in Arabic schools. Arabic is used by 27% of the respondents; those who worked as farmers in Arabic villages or as handicraft workers. Results reported in Table 4 also indicate that 26% of the respondents use Arabic in discussing business and technical topics with their bosses; 41% of them reported that they use both languages when discussing business and technical topics with their bosses and 27% of the respondents asserted that they use Hebrew in discussing such topics with their bosses.

Table 4: Language Use at Workplace (*Key: NR=No Response)

Questions	Arabic only %	Mostly Arabic %	Arabic & Hebrew %	Mostly Hebrew %	Hebrew only %	NR*
4- Language at workplace:	19%	10%	46%	6%	13%	6%
• What language do you use with your fellow workers at work?	19%	8%	50%	4%	13%	6%
• What language do you use with your customers at work?	19%	8%	50%	4%	13%	6%
• What language do you use when you discuss business or technical matters with your boss?	17%	9%	41%	4%	23%	6%
• What language do you use at work when you discuss business or technical matters with your fellow workers?	20%	11%	44%	2%	17%	6%
• What language do you use at work when you discuss general topics (weather, sports, politics) with your fellow workers?	26%	13%	44%	2%	9%	6%
• What language do you use when you write business letters?	20%	6%	24%	10%	34%	6%
What language do you use when you give instructions and directions orally at your workplace?	23%	1%	49%	4%	17%	6%

When responding to the question about the language used in discussing business and technical matters with their fellow workers, 31% reported that they use Arabic and 44% reported that they use both languages and only 19% reported that they use Hebrew.

On the other hand, when responding to the question about the language used in discussing general topics such as weather or sports, the majority of the respondents 44% reported that they use both

Arabic and Hebrew. Whereas, 39% reported that they use Arabic, and only 11% of them use Hebrew; those who lived in mixed Arab-Jewish towns. This result is not surprising at all, since the Palestinian Arabs of 1948 use Hebrew functionally and instrumentally. In writing business letters the majority of the respondents (44%) use Hebrew. Similarly, 24% of them use both languages and 26% of them use Arabic. Results reported in Table 4 also indicate that the majority of the respondents (49%) use both Arabic and Hebrew in giving oral instructions or directions; 24% of them reported that they use Arabic and similarly 23% of the respondents reported that they use Hebrew. Respondents, who are between 10 to 19 and who comprised 6% of the respondents, did not respond to this section.

Results reported in Table 5 below indicate that 47% of the respondents use Arabic in reading books and newspapers for their entertainment, whereas 9% of them use Hebrew for this purpose; (those are the ones who studied in private and public Jewish schools and used to read Hebrew habitually.) Moreover, 44% of the respondents reported that they use both languages in reading newspapers and books for entertainment.

Table 5: Language Use outside Work:

Questions	Arabic only %	Mostly Arabic %	Arabic & Hebrew %	Mostly Hebrew %	Hebrew only %
5- Language outside work					
What language do you use when					
1- You read popular materials (books, newspapers, etc.) for your own entertainment?	30%	17%	44%	3%	6%
2- You read series of literature (novels, plays, etc.)?	51%	19%	24%	3%	3%
3- You read for professional advancement?	12%	12%	36%	11%	29%

Results also indicate that the majority of the respondents (70%) use Arabic in reading plays, novels and literature, compared to only 6% of them who use Hebrew for this purpose; (those are the ones who attended private and public Jewish schools and used to read Hebrew on a daily basis.), and 24% of the respondents use both languages to read novels and plays. When asked about reading for professional advancement, the responses were different. Hebrew was used by 40% of the respondents and 36% of them use both languages, while 24% of the respondents use Arabic for this objective.

Results reported in Table 6 examine language use in the domain of religion. Emphasis was given to the language that the respondents used when they pray and at religious meetings. The questions were meant to test a variety of religious interactions where persons, topics or locals were involved. Table 6 shows that Arabic is dominant in this domain. Results indicate that the categories of “only and mostly Arabic” were highly selected in this domain by the Palestinian Arabs of 1948.

It is clear that 97% of them use Arabic in mosques or churches. In addition, 97% of them reported that they use it for supplication after praying. Moreover, 94% of them use it at religious meetings outside mosques or churches. These results are not surprising and they support the researcher hypothesis about the use of Arabic in the domain of religion because Islam and Arabic have an everlasting bond of co-existence.

Table 6: Language Use and Religion:

Questions	Arabic only %	Mostly Arabic %	Arabic & Hebrew %	Mostly Hebrew %	Hebrew only %
6- Language and religion:					
What language do you use 1-In mosques / Churches?	91%	6%	3%	-	-
2-When you supplicate after praying?	93%	4%	3%	-	-
3-at religious meetings outside your place of worship?	93%	1%	6%	-	-

Results reported in Table 7 indicate that the majority of the Palestinian Arabs of 1948 use Arabic in media domain and a high percentage of them use both languages, Arabic and Hebrew, in this domain. Forty-nine percent of the respondents reported that they prefer watching T.V. programs for entertainment in Arabic, whereas 46% of them reported that they prefer watching T.V. programs for entertainment in both languages. Similarly, 53% of them prefer to listen to radio programs in Arabic compared to 39% who choose to listen to Arabic and Hebrew radio programs. However, 41% of them use Arabic for writing SMS, while 37% of them use both languages. Whereas 45% of them use Arabic in writing electronic mails, 43% of them use both Arabic and Hebrew. Also, 39% of the respondents read newspapers in Arabic compared to 41% of the respondents who read newspapers in both languages. These results are not surprising and they support the researchers' hypothesis about the use of the two languages, i.e., Arabic and Hebrew side by side.

Table 7: Language Use and Media:

Questions	Arabic only %	Mostly Arabic %	Arabic & Hebrew %	Mostly Hebrew %	Hebrew only %
7- Language and media					
1-What is your favorite language for T.V entertainment?	30%	19%	46%	1%	4%
2-What language do you choose when you listen to radio programs?	33%	20%	39%	1%	7%
3-What language do you use when you write an SMS?	34%	7%	37%	4%	17%
4-What language do you use when you write electronic mails?	36%	9%	43%	4%	8%
5-What is the language of the newspaper you read?	29%	10%	41%	6%	14%

Results reported in Table 8 examine language use in four extraordinary situations: when happy, angry, in a hurry and when dreaming. Results indicate that the categories “only and mostly Arabic” were chosen by the majority of the Palestinian Arabs to indicate their response for these situations.

Table 8: Language Use and Emotional Self-Expression:

Questions	Arabic only %	Mostly Arabic %	Arabic & Hebrew %	Mostly Hebrew %	Hebrew only %
8- Language and emotional self-expression					
Which language do you prefer					
1-to express your happiness?	43%	16%	34%	-	7%
2-to use when you are angry, stressed and confused?	40%	16%	37%	1%	6%
3-to use when you are in a Hurry?	41%	16%	37%	-	6%
4-Which language is used in your dreams?	56%	17%	26%	-	1%

Fifty-nine percent use Arabic when they are happy, 56% use it when they are angry and stressed, 57% use it when they are in a hurry and 73% of them use Arabic when they are dreaming. Furthermore, a high percentage of the respondents use both languages in this domain; 34% of the respondents use both Arabic and Hebrew when they are happy, 37% of them use it when they are angry and stressed, 37% of them use it when they are in a hurry and 26% of them use

Arabic when they are dreaming.

These findings support the Palestinian Arabs' use of both languages in most of the situations discussed. A small percentage of the respondents use Hebrew to express their happiness (7%), their anger, confusion and stress (6%), when they are in a hurry (6%), in their dreams (1%); those are respondents perhaps who live in mixed Arab Jewish towns and use Hebrew as a means of communication with other Israeli citizens, or speak Hebrew very frequently in their work domain with their bosses, fellow workers and customers.

Results of Question Two: 2- What are the attitudes of the Palestinian Arabs of 1948 toward Arabic and Hebrew?

This question dealt with the respondents' attitudes toward both languages, i.e., Arabic and Hebrew. The questionnaire comprised sixteen close-ended questions which focused on respondents' attitudes toward Arabic and Hebrew in terms of beauty, usefulness, and preference for learning at schools. The questions also probed the importance of speaking Arabic or Hebrew and the motives behind that. Furthermore, the questions were designed to investigate the views of respondents toward the status of usage of Arabic in their homes and community. It is clear that the Palestinian Arabs of 1948 valued the Arabic language and culture very highly and their attitudes toward Arabic, as shown in Table 9 below, are sentimental.

Results reported in Table 9 suggest that the Palestinian Arabs of 1948 have positive attitudes toward Arabic language and culture. Most of the Palestinian Arabs of 1948 perceived Arabic as the most beautiful language (93%). However, there was a small percentage of the Palestinian Arabs of 1948 who believed that Arabic is not the most beautiful language (3%). Results reported in Table 9 also probed attitudes of respondents concerning the most prestigious language. Results indicated that the overwhelming majority of them

(98%) perceived Arabic as the most prestigious language because it is the language of the Holy Qur'an. Results showed also that all the Palestinian Arabs of 1948 (100%) perceived Arabic as the symbol of their ethnic identity, and as their national language (97%).

Results reported in Table 9 examine the reaction of respondents regarding the usefulness of Arabic. Results indicated that only 11% of them considered Arabic more useful than Hebrew. The vast majority 82% disagreed with the statement that considers Arabic to be more useful than Hebrew. Results also indicate that the majority of the respondents (60%) agreed with teaching Arabic in 1948 schools, whereas 31% disagreed.

Table 9: Language Attitudes toward Arabic.

1- Attitudes toward Arabic	Strongly Agree 5	Agree 4	Undecided 3	Disagree 2	Strongly Disagree 1	NR*
➤ Arabic Language						
• Is the most beautiful language.	57%	36%	4%	3%	-	-
• is the prestigious language because it is the language of the Holy Qur'an.	81%	17%	1%	-	-	1%
• is the symbol of my Arab identity.	86%	14%	-	-	-	-
• is more useful than Hebrew.	4%	7%	6%	41%	41%	1%
• is my national language.	66%	31%	1%	1%	-	1%
• must be taught in all Israeli schools.	31%	29%	9%	27%	4%	-
• must be used officially side by side with Hebrew in all domains.	90%	4%	3%	3%	-	-
• is dying in my home.	13%	13%	4%	27%	42%	1%
• is dying in my community.	16%	24%	3%	30%	27%	-
• is important to be used in all domains.	41%	37%	6%	16%	-	-
• should be used for instructions at school.	67%	25%	1%	7%	-	-
• is important that my children communicate effectively in it.	74%	21%	1%	4%	-	-
• must be used in mosques and religious activities or meetings.	84%	13%	3%	-	-	-
• is the language of my childhood.	68%	24%	4%	3%	-	1%
• Is associated with the Arab heritage and history	68%	27%	1%	3%	-	1%
• reminds me of poverty and suppression.	14%	7%	14%	26%	39%	-

*Key: NR=No Response

Similarly, the overwhelming majority of them 94% agreed with using Arabic officially side by side with Hebrew. Results also asserted that the majority of the Palestinian Arabs of 1948 believed that Arabic is neither dying at their homes (69%) nor in their community (57%). The results also indicated that the overwhelming majority of the respondents (95%) believed that their children must be able to communicate effectively in Arabic. Results reported in Table 9 pointed out the preference of the respondents to the use Arabic for instructions at schools. Results indicated that the majority of the Palestinian Arabs of 1948 (92%) preferred Arabic to be used for instructions at schools. Similarly, the majority of the respondents (78%) preferred Arabic to be used in all domains. Results reported in Table 9 probed the importance attributed to speaking Arabic. The importance of Arabic, as reported here by the Palestinian Arabs of 1948, perhaps is more psychological rather than for other reasons. The majority of the respondents associated Arabic with their childhood (92%) and with Arab culture and heritage (95 %.) It is also clear that the importance of Arabic stemmed from religious background where (97%) of them thought that Arabic must be used in mosques and in religious activities or meetings; again, this is because of the everlasting bond of co-existence between Islam and Arabic. In addition, most of the respondents refused to connect Arabic with poverty and suppression (65%).

Results reported in Table 10 probed attitudes concerning the importance of Hebrew as used in all domains of life. Results indicated that the majority (58%) disagreed with the importance of using Hebrew in all domains of life, whereas 39% of the respondents agreed; perhaps these respondents live in mixed Arab-Jewish towns and attend Jewish schools and therefore, need to use Hebrew in the majority of domains. Similarly, the vast majority of the respondents

(80%) disagreed with the idea that Hebrew must be used in giving school instructions. Those who attended Jewish schools agreed that Hebrew must be used in giving school instruction (16%) but still this percentage is too small to be considered a favorable one. Results reported in Table 10 indicate that the attitudes of the Palestinian Arabs of 1948 toward Hebrew, as shown in Table 10, are instrumental. This assumption is supported by the respondents' answers to the questions that asked about the usefulness of speaking Hebrew and the reasons for the importance of speaking Hebrew. The majority of the respondents (85%) reported that Hebrew is more useful than Arabic, and (83%) of them reported that knowledge of Hebrew is necessary for success in their jobs. Moreover, 77% of them reported that knowledge of Hebrew made it possible for them to advance professionally; 64% of them reported that Hebrew is more important than Arabic in their works; 66% of them reported that learning Hebrew improved their economic status and 63% of them reported that they are attempting presently to improve their skills in Hebrew by formal studying. The majority of the Palestinian Arabs of 1948 (62%) are even aware that their children must be able to communicate effectively in Hebrew because of the preceding instrumental reasons. On the other hand, results reported in Table 10 indicate that the Palestinian Arabs of 1948 had nothing against Hebrew and its speakers; the majority of them (53%) believed that there is no harm to be in contact with Jews in 1948 and 63% believed that there is no harm to speak their language. Results reported in this Table also assert that the Palestinian Arabs of 1948 are not against the Jews; the majority of them 72% rejected the idea of learning Hebrew just because it is the official language of the State; 64% rejected the idea which stated that Hebrew is the prestigious language in the State, and the overwhelming majority of them (70%) believed that Hebrew is a reflection of imperialism.

Table 10: Language Attitudes toward Hebrew

2-Attitudes toward Hebrew	Strongly Agree 5	Agree 4	Undecided 3	Disagree 2	Strongly Disagree 1	NR*
• It is important to me to speak Hebrew in all domains.	10%	29%	3%	46%	12%	-
• I prefer to use Hebrew for instruction at school.	6%	10%	4%	47%	33%	-
• Hebrew is more useful than Arabic.	47%	38%	7%	7%	1%	-
• I hate using Hebrew.	13%	19%	5%	40%	23%	-
• I do not prefer to be in contact with Jews at all.	17%	21%	9%	40%	13%	-
• Hebrew is a reflection of imperialism.	24%	46%	16%	14%	-	-
• Hebrew should be learned and used everywhere because it is the official language of the State.	4%	24%	-	47%	25%	-
• Hebrew is the prestigious language in the State, so it is better to learn it.	10%	23%	3%	32%	32%	-
• Knowledge of Hebrew is necessary for success in my job.	47%	36%	3%	3%	11%	-
• Knowledge of Hebrew made it possible for me to advance professionally.	44%	33%	8%	9%	6%	-
• I am attempting presently to improve my Hebrew by formal study i.e. by studying in a school or in an institute.	17%	46%	11%	9%	16%	1%
• It is important that my children communicate effectively in Hebrew.	23%	39%	4%	24%	7%	3%
• Hebrew is more important than Arabic in my work.	28%	36%	11%	4%	11%	-
• Learning Hebrew improves my economic status.	27%	39%	6%	17%	10%	1%

*Key: NR=No Response

Conclusion

Data obtained indicated that the Palestinian Arabs of 1948 have been using the Arabic language despite the passage of over sixty years. The second generation of the Palestinian Arabs of 1948 is proud of their Arabic identity and their Arabic language and culture.

Moreover, the Palestinian Arabs of 1948 use both languages, each of which is used in specific domains and under different circumstances; Arabic is used in the interaction between family members and relatives; it is the language of intimate relations; it is used in religious activities and supplications after praying; in Arabic schools; in media; in inner speech and in domains outside workplaces, while Hebrew is used mostly in the domain of work, and in interaction between Arabs and Jews in Jewish schools or in mixed Arab Jewish towns. Furthermore, the Palestinian Arabs of 1948 have positive attitudes toward both languages. Their attitudes toward Arabic are positive, sentimental and emotional; whereas their attitudes toward Hebrew are positive and instrumental.

References

- 1- Al-Khatib, M. & Al- Ali, M.(2005). Language and cultural maintenance among the Gypsies of Jordan. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 26, 187- 215
- 2- Amara, M.(2001). Arab language education in the Hebrew state. In B.Spolsky, R. Cooper, E. Shohamy, & J. Walters (Eds.), *New perspectives and issues in educational language policy* (pp.155 - 170). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- 3- ——— (2006). The vitality of the Arabic language in 1948 from a sociolinguistic perspective. *Adalah` s Newsletter*, 29. Retrieved October 11, 2007, from <http://www.adalah.org/eng/>.
- 4- Amara, M. & Mar`i, A. (2002). *Language education policy: The Arab minority in 1948*. Boston: Springer.
- 5- Ayish, H., Al-Jabi, W. & Jum`a, Y. (1983). *Modern and contemporary Arab history*. Beirut: Typo Press.
- 6- Dweik, B. (1999). The language situation among the Circassians of Jordan. *Al-Basaar Journal* 3 (20), 9 - 28.
- 7- ——— (2000). Linguistic and cultural maintenance among the Chechens of Jordan. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, 13(2), 184 - 195.
- 8- Elias- Olivares, L. (1979). Language use in a Chicano community: A sociolinguistic approach. In J. Pride (Ed.), *Sociolinguistic aspects of language learning and teaching* (pp. 120 – 134). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 9- Fishman, J.(1964). Language maintenance and language shift as fields of inquiry. *Linguistics*,9, 32 – 70.
- 10- (1989). *Language and ethnicity in minority sociolinguistic perspective*. England: Multilingual Matters LTD.
- 11- Khateeb, S. (2006). The future vision of the Palestinian Arabs in 1948. Retrieved December 15, 2006, from <http://www.mosawacenter.org>
- 12- Ma`oz, M. (1975). *Studies on Palestine during the Ottoman period*. Jerusalem: The Magnes Press

Appendix A The Sociolinguistic Questionnaire

Section 1: Demographic Data & Social Background:

Please choose one item by putting [x] inside the box provided:

1- Sex:

1- Male: []

2- Female: []

2- Marital Status:

1- Single []

2- Married []

3- Engaged []

4- Divorced []

5- Widowed []

6- Separated []

3- Religion:

1- Muslim []

2- Christian []

3- Other.....

4- Age:

1-Between 10 - 14: []

2- Between 15- 19: []

3- Between 20 - 29: []

4- Between 30 – 39: []

5- Between 40 – 59: []

6- More than 60 []

5- Level of education:

1- Grade 1- 6: []

2- Grade7- 9: []

3- Grade 10 – 12:[]

4 - Two years college: []

5- B.A. or B.Sc.: []

6- M.A, or equivalent []

7-Ph.D, or equivalent []

6- The type of school attended:

1- Private Arabic School []

2- Public Arabic School []

3- Private Hebrew School []

4- Public Hebrew School []

7- Place of living:

- 1- In an Arab village []
 2- In an Arab city []
 3- A mixed Arab - Jewish town []
 4- A non-mixed Arab - Jewish town []

8- The language of your mother:

- 1- Arabic: []
 2- Hebrew: []
 3- English: []
 4-Other: []

9- The language of your father:

- 1- Arabic []
 2- Hebrew []
 3- English []
 4- Other []

10 -The monthly income:

- 1- Below 5000 ILS: []
 2- Between 5001- 10000 ILS: []
 3- Between 10001 –20000 ILS: []
 4- Above 20000 ILS: []

11- Professional Background:

- 1- Farming: []
 2 - Business []
 3- Education []
 4- Medical field: []
 5- Legal services: []
 6- Handicraft field []
 7- No occupation
 8- Other:[]

Section 2: Language Use:

Please complete the following grid by putting [x] under one of the following categories (Arabic only; Arabic mostly; Arabic and Hebrew; Hebrew only; Hebrew mostly).

Questions	Arabic only	Mostly Arabic	Arabic & Hebrew	Mostly Hebrew	Hebrew Only
1-Language Use among Family Members:					
➤ What language do you use at home with					
• your father?					
• your mother?					
• your brothers?					
• your sisters?					
• your grandfathers?					
• grandmothers?					
• your uncle?					
• your aunt?					
• What language do you use when you make a phone call with one of the members of the family?					
• What language do you use with your other relatives when you talk to them face to face?					
• What language do you use at family meetings?					
• What language do you use when you write a personal letter to your father, mother, or any member of your family?					
2- Language Use at School:					
➤ Which language is used					
• to talk to your teachers?					
• to talk to your friends at school?					
• in giving school instructions?					
• in classrooms to explain lessons?					
• in the schools' curriculum?					
3- Language in the Neighborhood:					
➤ What language do you use when					
• you meet friends in the neighborhood?					
• you want to buy vegetables from the greengrocer at the neighborhood?					
• you use your mobile in making a phone call at the neighborhood ?					

4- Language at Workplace:					
➤ What language do you use					
• with your fellow workers at work?					
• with your customers at work?					
• when you discuss business or technical matters with your boss?					
• when you discuss business or technical matters with your fellow workers?					
• when you discuss general topics(weather, sports..) with your fellow workers?					
• when you write business letters?					
• when you give instructions and directions orally at your workplace?					
6-Language outside Work					
➤ What language do you use when you read					
• popular materials (books, newspapers, etc.) for your own entertainment?					
• series of literature (novels, plays)					
• for professional advancement?					
6- Language and Religion:					
➤ What language do you use					
• in mosques / Churches?					
• when you supplicate after praying?					
• at religious meetings outside your place of worship?					
7- Language and Media					
• What is your favorite language for T.V entertainment?					
• What language do you choose when you listen to radio programs?					
• What language do you use when you write a personal letter?					
• What language do you use when you write an SMS?					
• What language do you use when you write electronic mails?					
• What is the language of the newspaper you read?					
8- Language and Emotional Self-Expression					
➤ Which language do you prefer					
• to express your happiness?					
• to use when you are angry, stressed and confused?					
• to use when you are in a hurry?					
• Which language is used in your dreams?					

Section 3: Language Attitudes toward Arabic and Hebrew:

Please read the following statements. Then choose one of the following answers by putting [x] in the proper box.

1- Attitudes toward Arabic	Strongly Agree 5	Agree 4	Undecided 3	Disagree 2	Strongly Disagree 1
➤ Arabic Language					
• is the most beautiful language.					
• is the prestigious language because it is the language of the Holy Qur'an.					
• is the symbol of my Arab identity.					
• is more useful than Hebrew.					
• is my national language.					
• must be taught in all Israeli schools.					
• must be used officially side by side with Hebrew in all domains.					
• is dying in my home.					
• is dying in my community.					
• is important to be used in all domains.					
• should be used for instructions at school.					
• is important that my children communicate effectively in it.					
• must be used in mosques and religious activities or meetings.					
• is the language of my childhood.					
• is associated with the Arab heritage and history					
• reminds me of poverty and suppression.					
2-Attitudes toward Hebrew					
• It is important to me to speak Hebrew in all domains.					
• I prefer to use Hebrew for instruction at school.					
• Hebrew is more useful than Arabic.					
• I hate using Hebrew.					
• I do not prefer to have contact with Jews at all.					
• Hebrew is a reflection of imperialism.					
• Hebrew should be learned and used everywhere because it is the official language of the State.					
• Hebrew is the prestigious language in the State, so it is better to learn it.					
• Knowledge of Hebrew is necessary for success in my job.					
• Knowledge of Hebrew made it possible for me to advance professionally.					
• I am attempting presently to improve my Hebrew by formal study, i.e., by studying it in a school or in an institute.					
• It is important that my children communicate effectively in Hebrew.					
• Hebrew is more important than Arabic in my work.					
• Learning Hebrew improves my economic status.					