UNIVERSITA' DEGLI STUDI DI NAPOLI

FEDERICO II

DIPARTIMENTO DI SCIENZE POLITICHE

SCUOLA DI DOTTORATO IN SCIENZE PSICOLOGICHE

PEDAGOGICHE E LINGUISTICHE

DOTTORATO DI RICERCA IN

LINGUA INGLESE PER SCOPI SPECIALI

XXVI CICLO

TESI DI DOTTORATO

**A LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF JEWISH CHILDREN'S STORIES
IN ENGLISH ON THE WEB: FROM LANGUAGE TO IDENTITY**

CANDIDATO

DOTT. ROBERTO IACONO

RELATORE   **COORDINATORE DELDOTTORATO**

PROF.SSA VANDA POLESE   **PROF.SSA GABRIELLA DI MARTINO**

NAPOLI 2014

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 3

Linguistic Features of Written- and Ethno-based Narrative 58

CHAPTER 4

Jewish Children's Stories and Websites:

Towards a Visual Representation of Jewish Identity on the Web 73

LIST OF FIGURES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I would like to express my special appreciation and deepest gratitude to my supervisor, Professor Vanda Polese, who has supported me throughout my years as a PhD student with her patience, offering so much advice, teaching me how to persevere and to research with a critical eye. I would also like to thank her for the great amount of time she has dedicated to the supervision of my doctoral dissertation.

I am equally thankful to Professor Gabriella Di Martino, who put her confidence in me, allowing me to enter this PhD programme and giving me the inestimable opportunity to research on this specific and, I would say, quite unexplored aspect of contemporary (English-speaking) Judaism.

My 'thank you' also goes to all other members of the PhD Board, in particular to Professor Cristina Pennarola and Dr. Amelia Bandini for always giving me precious advice. Moreover, I would like to thank the former Department of *Teorie e Metodi delle Scienze Umane e Sociali*, now *Scienze Politiche* of the University of Naples Federico II for making me feel part of it.

Another 'thank you' goes to Dr. Sole Alba Zollo for her many tips, to my PhD fellows and, of course, Mrs. Mena Vilardi, our secretary, who is always ready to help.

Last but not least, I am very grateful to my parents for supporting me throughout all my studies at University. Without them, I would have never reached this as well as other important life-goals!

INTRODUCTION

For the majority of young people living in the Western World it is nowadays impossible to imagine how it would be like to grow up without some of the most popular technological devices, e.g. the Internet. This is also the case of young Jewish people, who, most often, see the media as an integral part of the culture of contemporary Judaism. Like other world's cultures, Judaism is going through important social changes, including those caused by the advent of the new technological devices, like the World Wide Web, a means that helps contribute, among other things, to the development of identity, including Jewish identity. The Internet, in fact, represents a significant medium for the dissemination and storage of information linked to Jewish culture and identity. Moreover, as a didactic tool, the World Wide Web offers, through playful leisure time activities, the opportunity to enhance Jewish learning. In addition, many of these activities serve the important function to acquaint the Jewish youth with part of their cultural and religious heritage, highlighting Jewish values.

In the light of these brief introductory observations, the analysis of Jewish stories on the Web, ideally targeted at a young Jewish readership of Yiddish-heritage, provides an interesting case study of how new technologies represent a valuable supplemental resource aiming at enriching Eastern *Ashkenazi* Jews[1]' knowledge about their own heritage culture.

The present research study highlights the importance of both verbal and non-verbal resources in this written- and ethno-based type of narrative texts tailored for a young Jewish readership, by analysing different verbal and non-verbal phenomena occurring in the Corpus. With regard to the linguistic analysis, phenomena developing out of language contact situations between English (the 'mainstream language') and Yiddish or Hebrew, traditionally considered the 'heritage languages'

---

[1] The expression 'Eastern *Ashkenazi* Jews' refers to Jews of Eastern European origin who historically spoke and still speak the Judeo-German language, also known as Yiddish. The Hebrew term *Ashkenazi* means 'German' and refers to those Jews who settled along the Rhine-river in Germany before the Middle Ages. '*Ashkenazi* Jews' is, thus, a descriptive term for descendents of German Jews, including those who, for various socio-historical reasons, established communities in Central and Eastern Europe centuries later.

of the majority of English-speaking Jews of Eastern *Ashkenazi* heritage. In particular, the research study aims at providing an answer to the following questions:

1. Which are the linguistic phenomena developing out of language contact situations between the above-mentioned languages that occur within Jewish children's short stories on the Web? More specifically, which linguistic resources do the authors of these stories select and use in the stories they write?

2. Which level or levels of language do these linguistic phenomena involve?

3. Do the authors of Jewish children's short stories on the Web select and use such linguistic resources for a specific purpose? In other words, do online Jewish children's short stories featuring language contact situations between English and Yiddish, or between English and Hebrew, represent a goal-oriented type of child-tailored, written- and ethno-based communication? If so, which goals can be detected to be pursued in the stories under scrutiny?

For this purpose, a Corpus of fifty-five online Jewish children's short stories taken from three different Jewish websites containing stories featuring language contact situations was collected. The linguistic analysis follows the principles of the 'Distinctive Linguistic Repertoire' approach (Benor 2008, 2010), based on the notion of 'Distinctly Jewish Linguistic Repertoire', according to which Jews (in this case, Eastern *Ashkenazi* Jews) ideally have access to a whole array of linguistic resources at all levels of language, in order to distinguish their speech and writing from those of non-Jews.

With regard to the non-verbal resources of the above-mentioned type of texts, the analysis will focus on the role of Jewish visual images occurring in different stories making up the Corpus. More specifically, this type of analysis will focus on how Jewish identity is constructed, expressed and transmitted through the different visual images contained in the stories. Special attention will be paid on the 'cultural work' these powerful non-verbal resources perform within Jewish children's stories. In this case, distinctive Jewish features, strategically portrayed in the images by different illustrators, will be analysed.

The research study consists of five chapters:

- *Chapter One* highlights, following the Anglo-Saxon approach to 'English for Specific or Special Purposes' (henceforth, ESP), some ground theories necessary to include the analysis of narrative texts into ESP. More specifically, the theories are based on the relationships between narrative texts and 'Languages for Specific or Special Purposes', highlighting the importance of a linguistic investigation of narrative (including the one targeted at a young readership) within this specific field of study. Since the linguistic analysis of the present research study focuses on narrative texts available on the Web, targeted at a young readership, the chapter also offers an overview of how nowadays young people make an extensive use of the so-called 'New Media', investigating the reasons that lead to such an extensive use.

- *Chapter Two* investigates the relationships occurring among 'Narrative', 'Language' and 'Identity'. Particular attention is paid to the relationship between children's narrative, socio-cultural and ethnic identity. Furthermore, the chapter focuses on another feature, typical of child-targeted narrative, namely 'Ideology' and the general purposes children's narrative aims at pursuing.

- *Chapter Three* discusses the linguistic features of ethno- and written-based narrative (i.e. Jewish children's short stories on the Web). In this part of the research study, the over-representing concept of 'Ethnolect' is replaced with 'Distinctive Linguistic Repertoire', focusing on the notion of 'Distinctly Jewish Linguistic Repertoire' (cf. Benor 2008, 2010). The latter represents a more realistic approach to studies focusing on 'Jewish languages', especially within written- and ethno-based communication.

- *Chapter Four* provides information about the use of the World Wide Web by Jewish communities and its related purposes. Special attention is given to the three 'Jewish websites' from which the Corpus (i.e. the fifty-five online Jewish children's short stories) of the present research study has been

collected. This part mainly focuses on the goals each of the three Jewish websites aims at pursuing. Moreover, two sections of this chapter are fully dedicated to the important role non-verbal language features (i.e. images) play within children's stories. In particular, one of the two sections will provide information about the role of Jewish images, which can be seen as a valuable aid to the achievement of the goals this specific type of texts set for its readership in Jewish children's narrative. The other section, instead, will focus on the analysis of Jewish images found in the Corpus. As already mentioned, special emphasis will be put on how the above-mentioned non-verbal resources contribute to the construction, expression and transmission of Jewish identity in the stories in which they are embedded.

- *Chapter Five* is dedicated to the linguistic analysis of the collected Corpus and to the discussion of its findings. In particular, following the 'Distinctive Linguistic Repertoire' approach (Benor 2008, 2010), the chapter provides a descriptive analysis of the linguistic phenomena developing out of language contact situations between English and Yiddish, or alternatively, between English and Hebrew, and specifically involving two main levels of language, namely Lexis and Morpho-Syntax. Moreover, the analysis aims at providing an explanation of the use of the different linguistic resources selected by the authors of Jewish children's stories on the Web from their own distinctly Jewish linguistic repertoire.

The last chapter is followed by the *Conclusions*, where a summary of both verbal and non-verbal characteristics of the Corpus will be found. The conclusions are followed by some lines dedicated to future research goals.

The Corpus of the present research study, i.e. the fifty-five Jewish children's stories on the Web, has been included in a separate Appendix, stored at and available from the Linguistic Section of the Department of Political Science of the University of Naples Federico II.

Chapter One
TODAY'S YOUTH AND THE MEDIA

1.1 The Relationships between ESP and Narrative Texts

English for Specific or Special Purposes (henceforth, ESP) (see Howatt / Widdowson 2004) is nowadays a multidisciplinary subject of study that includes many and different teaching and research fields, and thus is different from how it used to be at the beginning, when the only source provided for the design of ESP was register analysis. However, using this source "[...] did not achieve what learners and employers set out to do and new proposals were launched to overcome perceived failures. Target situation analysis then became the guiding objective in ESP course design" (Lopez / Jimenez 2010: 10).

The trends responsible for the birth of this field of study and research were three, namely: the demands of a brave new world, a revolution in Linguistics and a focus on the learner (Hutchinson / Waters 1987). As for the first key reason, i.e. the demands of a brave new world, two main historical periods may be found to lead to the emergence of ESP. The former was the end of World War II that brought with it an "[...] enormous and unprecedented expansion in scientific, technical and economic activity on an international scale for various reasons, most notably the economic power of the United States in the post-war world" (Hutchinson / Waters 1987: 6), by which English gained the role of international language. The latter was the Oil Crisis taking place in the early 1970s. At that time, money as well as knowledge from Western-world countries flew into the countries which were rich in oil. The language employed was English, which, due to the above-mentioned developments, "[...] became subject to the wishes, needs and demands of people other than language teachers" (Hutchinson / Waters 1987: 7).

The second key reason was the revolution taking place in Linguistics. Linguists working on ESP began to focus on how language is used in real communication, rather than describing the features of the English language. Special emphasis was put on one significant discovery, namely on language variation according to context (see Hutchinson / Waters 1987). Consequently, since language was found to vary

according to different contexts, stress was put on "tailoring language instruction to meet the specific needs of learners in specific contexts[2]." Variation enables linguists to determine and describe the features of specific situations and also consider the cognitive processes underlying both linguistic choice and language use.

The third key reason influencing the emergence of ESP focuses on the methods of language instruction rather than on Linguistics. Here, attention is paid on learners acquiring language as well as the different ways through which language is acquired. However, as Lopez / Jimenez (2010: 10) remark, since its earliest developments "[...] there has been a lot of controversy regarding the definition of ESP over the last few decades and even today, it is still in contention as to whether we can specify exactly what ESP should consist of". For these reasons, ESP may be said to cover specific disciplines or to be tailored for a certain age group or ability range, but it is not necessarily so. ESP might be simply seen as an 'approach' to teaching or an 'attitude of mind' (Dudley-Evans 1998). Apart from the most traditional ESPs, like 'English for Academic Purposes' (EAP), 'English for Business Purposes' (EBP), 'English for Occupational Purposes' (EOP), 'English for Professional Purposes '(EPP) and so forth, there are numerous others, often new ones, that are being added to the list. ESP today seems more vibrant than ever as "[...] it now encompasses an ever-diversifying and expanding range of purposes" (Belcher 2006: 134). There are as many types of ESP as specific learner needs and target communities that learners wish to thrive in. Perhaps, the best known of these is 'English for Academic Purposes' (EAP), tailored for the needs of learners at various educational levels.

With regard to the expression 'Language for Specific or Special Purposes', there are two main perspectives on it (see Bloor / Bloor 1986). One considers this type of language as based on and extended from a basic core of general language, known as the 'common core plus'; on the other hand, the other main perspective regards all language existing as one variety or another, without a 'basic core' or language for general purposes. It follows that, a common core, making up the general language used in all areas of life and work, also known as 'basic language', exists. What constitutes the common core of language is, therefore, a general pool of language of high frequency items predominating all uses of languages (cf. Basturkmen 2006).

---

[2]   Cf. http://www.tu-chemnitz.de/phil/english/chairs/didaktik/ESP-EAP.pdf (Latest access: 9th February 2013).

The second perspective, which represents an innovative theory, especially if linked to ESP, sees no common core of language as pre-existing to varieties, since it is

> [...] an essential part of any of the innumerable varieties of the language. In short, 'basic' language is what is present in all varieties of English, where the varieties overlap. There is, thus, no 'basic' variety of English, there is no 'general English' or English for no specific purposes. All English exists as some variety or another. (Basturkmen 2006: 17)

Hence, all language is and aims at specific purposes and every language variety can be considered a self-contained entity. This view also helps highlight a concept that has been long discussed in the field of ESP studies, namely the contraposition between 'Language for Specific or Special Purposes' (LSP) and 'Common Language' or 'Language for General Purposes' (LGP). Most of the times, these two types of language are considered to be opposites. Indeed, it is not easy to define the relationship between LSP and LGP. As Hoffmann (1987: 298) points out, "[i]t is practically impossible to demarcate the size of the so-called common vocabulary, to give a complete list of its elements, or to classify every word of a language as belonging or not belonging to it". Therefore, it would be more appropriate to consider "[...] common language and special languages [...] both subsystems of our *total language system*" (Schröder 1991: 4, italics in the original), using elements as well as structures in specific ways and with specific frequencies of occurrences, depending on three factors, i.e. the intention, purpose and content of both text and discourse. This concept also makes use of what have been defined as 'Sub-language', since this is included within any language system. 'Sub-languages', as special languages belonging to a given field, are, therefore, made up of the totality of linguistic means, used in a relatively limited sphere of communication. This type of communication generally focuses on a restricted subject and enables "[...] cognitive work to be done and mutual information to be conveyed by those acting in the said domain" (Schröder 1991: 4). At this point, another binary definition is worth discussing, namely the ones concerning LSP and ESP and the relationships existing between the two.

Since its birth in the 19th century, traditional LSP research has been based on historical-philological disciplines, which aimed at the preservation of "[...] specific lexis of crafts and trades that were in the process of becoming obsolete" (Gnutzmann

2009: 522). On the other hand, research on modern LSP has traditionally focused on disciplines of Applied Linguistics and uses "[...] an integrative approach to account for facts and problems arising from the interplay of language and subject" (Gnutzmann 2009: 522). Due to the internationalisation of sectors like economy, trade and also education, this discipline, starting from the 1970s, has become more and more important. Over the decades, two different approaches to LSP have developed: one which sees LSP as an equivalent of the German word *Fachsprache*, literally, subject/special language, and another which sees LSP as a much broader and more general applicable term for ESP, since it links the concept of LSP to the sense of the German word *Fachsprache*. LSP can be regarded as a sub-domain of studies focusing on language varieties in Central and Eastern Europe and partly in Scandinavia. Except for a few research areas focusing on terminology and lexicography, a considerable amount of this work has been socio-linguistically motivated (see Thoma 2011: 80-81).

On the other hand, ESP seems to have put more emphasis on applied educational topics, since it is mainly recognised as a field of teaching 'English as a Foreign Language' (Sager *et al.* 1980). The second approach, which sees LSP as an applicable term for ESP, can be viewed as a result of "[...] the dynamic development of English as a medium of worldwide communication affecting more or less all domain's of peoples' lives and activity, especially if these have a non-regional and transnational impact" (Gnutzmann 2009: 517). The development of English as a worldwide lingua franca is mainly due to its extensive use in the technological as well as scientific domains, hence the special focus of ESP on the language of both Technology and Science. However, over the last decades, the humanities and the social sciences have been gievn more and more attention within the field of ESP.

Generally speaking, with both ESP and narrative texts in mind, "[...] it is easy to view any attention to the study of literary texts as unnecessary" (McKay 1986: 191). One of the reasons against the linguistic analysis of narrative texts within this area is the structural complexity and unique use of language of these text types which, appearently, contribute only a little to the above-mentioned needs. Yet, literature may have a place in this field, especially within the field of language teaching, for instance, within 'English for Educational Purposes' or 'English for Academic Purposes'.

For example, with regard to the distinction made between 'language usage' and 'language use' (Widdowson 1978: 3), it is possible to justify the use of literary texts in Linguistics, including the language teaching field, especially in the 'English as a Second Language' (ESL)[3] one.

It is traditionally acknowledged that "*[u]sage* involves a knowledge of linguistic rules, whereas *use* entails knowing how to use these rules for effective communication" (McKay 1982: 191, italics in the original). It follows that literary texts are a means by which it is possible to extend language usage, increasing "[...] all language skills because literature will extend linguistic knowledge by giving evidence of extensive and subtle vocabulary usage and complex and exact syntax" (Povey 1972: 187). As for language use, Literature contains

> [...] language in discourse in which the parameters of the setting and role relationships are defined. Language that illustrates a particular register or dialect is embedded within a social context, and thus, there is a basis for determining why a particular form is used. As such, Literature is ideal for developing an awareness of language use. (McKay 1982: 192)

Beside the invaluable role Literature may play in the educational field, it is also worth highlighting the importance of Literature since and throughout early childhood. As a matter of fact, it is generally recognised that, since early infancy, literary texts represent an extraordinary tool by which the development of language skills as well as the recognition of language use is made possible. Through their works, authors of children's narrative express meaning and, as a consequence, young readers learn that the stories "[...] have recurrent patterns or conventions that occur again and again in literature for all ages. Thoughtful readers learn through the experience of reading, how authors select, arrange and structure language to tell stories and poems and give information" (Stoodt *et al.* 1996: 27). Furthermore, reading also enables children to focus on how stories, poems and information are designed, enabling them to "[...] build implicit understandings about the structural elements of the story – plot, character, setting, theme and style – which they use to construct meaning" (Stoodt *et al.* 1996: 27).

---

[3] 'English as a Second Language' refers to both the use and the study of English by speakers with different native languages and is also known as English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL, English as a Foreign Language (EFL) or English as Additional Language (EAL).

It is generally acknowledged that the promotion of academic and occupational goals represents another main feature of ESP. With reference to this aspect, Literature, "[...] through an overall increase in reading proficiency, actually contributes to these goals, stating that an evaluation of reading proficiency rests on an understanding of what is involved in the reading process". Besides, reading is no longer "[...] as a reaction to a text but as an interaction between writer and reader mediated through the text" (Widdowson 1979: 74). Consequently, the reading process occurs on two levels, the linguistic and the conceptual ones, meaning that "[...] reading necessitates the ability to interact with a text by decoding the language and comprehending the concepts presented. Furthermore, these two levels often interact" (McKay 1986: 192).

Another crucial factor is the cultural perspective that every literary text reflects. With reference to the cultural load of Literature, Chastain (1998: 298) views the teaching of culture as "an integral, organised component of the course content" of a language program. This is clearly due to the inextricably interconnection of language and culture and the significance of an awareness of and tolerance for intercultural differences while studying a foreign or second language through literary texts. Narrative enhances language acquisition through elements such as authentic material and portrays the world in a contextualised situation, opening the door "[...] to the perception that there is a complex and immanent relationship between grammar and a humanistic interactive field that mutates constantly, since it adapts to the needs of its speakers and changes according to their context[4]". Since language receives and transmits the socio-cultural context of the place where it is spoken, also and perhaps especially through Literature, it is possible to provide students with a much closer relationship with both the target language and culture. At this point, as Frye (1964: 129) puts it, "[i]t is clear that the end of literary teaching is not simply the admiration of literature; it is something more like the transfer of imaginative energy from literature to the students." The unfamiliarity with the cultural assumptions in literature may lead to an advantageous confrontation through such assumptions, increasing students' understanding of a given culture. In a few words, "Literature is a facet of a culture. Its significance can be best understood in terms of its culture and its purpose is meaningful only when the assumptions it is based on are understood

---

[4] See http://relinguistica.azc.uam.mx/no007/no07_art09.pdf (Latest access: 21st June 2013).

and accepted" (Allen 1975: 111). Reading literary works leads to a series of benefits, which are "[...] certainly innumerable and widely varied, including […] the importance of the knowledge of human interactions produced by reading literary texts in order to make visible the usually hidden workings of cultural and political power" (Vischer Bruns 2011: 8).

Needless to say, literary works have always been among the main didactic tools, especially on academic level, and are surely worthy of serious scholarly attention. Linguistic investigation of Literature has indeed much to offer. Throughout the years,

> [...] linguistic analysis of literature has revealed incisively features of the language of literature: the very nature of literary language, the interrelationship of some of the syntactic, semantic and figurative resources available and pioneering explanations of not only readers' semantic interpretation of literary language, but also the affective impact of literary language upon them. (Ching *et al.* 1980: 36)

Generally speaking, the linguistic analysis of literary texts deals with several dimensions of Literature. These dimensions are traditionally related to the objectivity of the texts and the creativity of the reader. More specifically, this type of linguistic analysis "[...] is equipped to deal with the language of the text without ignoring the reader's vital role in constructing and reconstructing the multiguous meaning and effect of the text either initiated or permitted by the language of the text" (Ching *et al.* 1980: 7). In a few words, Literature can foster learners' motivation to read and write and this can serve their academic and occupational needs (McKay 1986). Indeed, there are many other reasons to employ Literature in language programs. Analysing Literature in English as a Second Language or English as a Foreign Language classrooms is particularly advantageous due to a number of reasons. In fact, literary texts usually provide meaningful contexts; they involve a profound range of vocabulary, dialogues and prose and also appeal to imagination and enhance learners' creativity; finally, they help students develop cultural awareness and lead to critical thinking. Last but not least, literary texts are in line with Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) principles, an approach to language teaching, which emphasizes interaction as the means and the ultimate goal of study (cf. Van 2009).

Literary works may be sometimes complex and written in a varied use of language. For example, the use of literary devices, such as metaphor, inference, simile, oxymoron, unusual syntactic constructions and so forth, represents most of the times a real challenge for foreign language learners. The above-mentioned devices as well as other types of literary devices are not always exclusively literature-bound, meaning that they can be found in other text types as well. As for the cultural information, reading literary texts can raise in the students "[...] a sharper awareness of the communicative resources of the language being learned" (Widdowson 1975: 83). A literary text can be "[...] a motivator in itself and has the great potential to create empathy, evoke emotional responses and start identification processes in the reader" (Reichl 2012). Moreover,

> [...] exposing readers to these varied uses of language in 'tightly patterned' ways, literary language, which has elements of creativity and art, may be more interesting and enjoyable for language students to encounter than the language used in more accessible but less imaginative informational genres. (Hedgcock / Ferris 2009: 249)

The linguistic as well as the cultural analysis of literary works provides students "[...] with a close-up look at the complexity and potential beauty of the language they are acquiring" (Hedgcock / Ferris 2009: 249). Indeed, "[...] any information about language is useful in studying an art-form whose stuff is language. If Linguistics is defined as the study of language *tout court*, then its contribution is unchallengeable"(Fowler 1997: 45, italics in the original). Furthermore, reading foreign literature is about seeing the learner in her or his own 'third place[5]'(cf. Kramsch 1993). As long as their ability to understand a foreign language develops, learners are able to understand values which are specific of the culture they wish to learn about. Despite their 'closeness' to the foreign culture, learners' understanding of such values differs from that of the native speaker. This means that learning a foreign language and, therefore, learning about a foreign culture,

---

[5] According to Kramsch (1993), in the process of reading foreign literature, learners decentre from their first culture, observe the target culture and, at the same time, they occupy the so called "third place", in which they are able to observe and reflect on both their own and the target culture.

> [...] takes place in a *third place*, which the learner must make for him/herself between their first culture (C1) and the foreign language culture (C2). They must try to adopt four perspectives – how members of the foreign culture see themselves (C2-C2), how they see us and our culture (C2-C1), how we see the foreign culture and their members (C1-C2) and how we see ourselves (C1-C1). This involves the learners in a constant reflection of C1 and C2, and as they choose those meanings that best reflect their personal perspectives, individual interpretations of culture rather than rigid stereotypical notions are promoted. (Thaler 2008: 70-71)

It follows that the 'third place' not only occurs when the learner is situated between cultures, "[...] but rather is indicative of a culture all its own, a learner's culture" (Phipps / Levine 2010: 6).

A significant aspect of literary texts, which asks for a more detailed explanation, is their contribution to intercultural understanding. This aspect still lacks serious scholarly attention and is not very much taken into account by linguists and literates alike, who generally prefer to concentrate almost exclusively on linguistic or literary features of the texts they aim to analyse. Although the term 'intercultural' is not only widely used in disciplines like Applied Linguistics and Language Pedagogy, but in other fields as well, such as Business and Politics, there is not a real field of intercultural theory one can turn to.

Intercultural education, which can be viewed as a discipline aiming at reaching a major awareness of cultural differences, is indeed a fascinating and highly enriching subject of study allowing the teaching of linguistic and cultural aspects through literary texts, especially within ESL and EFL teaching programmes. Therefore, since language and culture are two inseparable entities, foreign literature represents the means by which it is possible to express both linguistic and cultural 'otherness'.

The 'intercultural experience' 'in' and 'as' education might be even richer and promote greater awareness of cultural diversity through the use of what is defined as 'Ethnic Literature'. Nowadays, it is widely acknowledged that one of the main characteristics of contemporary societies is their multi-ethnic population, which implies the co-existence of different languages and cultures in a given territory. This co-existence causes some social phenomena (e.g. multi-culturalism, multi-

lingualism, inter-marriage, integration, assimilation, discrimination, segregation, etc.). To avoid the spread of negative phenomena within multiethnic societies, the reading of works by authors coming from a given culture might be of help.

Education for pluralism aims at helping students comprehend the complexity and heterogeneity of today's societies, giving an insight into what are, for instance, the cultural, socio-economic, religious or linguistic features that distinguish one ethnic community from the others. It should be clear that ethnic communities contribute to the making up of the social, cultural, political, economic, religious and linguistic 'texture' of a nation. It follows that, every society is a mosaic and no individual belonging to this mosaic should be excluded. In this view, cultural diversity represents a resource that produces richness.

In the next part of the present research study, the role of technology both in ESP and in the literary sphere will be discussed. After analysing the effects of technology on the LSP field, a relevant focus will be on the educational aspect of digital literary texts (i.e. children's stories on the Web), which nowadays represent, as this study will show, a more and more important step in the educational pathway of every child. More specifically, the discussion will focus on the role and the effects of the online narrative ideally targeted at Jewish children of Yiddish (cultural/linguistic) heritage.

1.2 The Youth and the Media

The present expansion of ESP in new areas is mainly due to an increasing 'glocalised' (cf. Roberston 1995) world, which has been made possible thanks to the ever-increasing flow of information and technical modernisation. During the second half of the 20th century, scientific and technical discoveries have led to a fast communication, meaning that we are informed about everything just as it happens. This has also led to a relevant change in the way humans interact, thus, affecting both socio-cultural values and intercultural communication. Such changes have caused new social structures, new types of economies and new cultures, which are based mainly on virtuality. These significant events are also leading educators to re-think how to teach disciplinary subjects and students how to re-structure the way to learn

and perform. Besides, it is generally acknowledged that technology and, more specifically, computer-mediated communication plays a central role.

Technology has expanded the space, experiences and modalities for promoting learner comprehension and the Internet, with its many search engines as well as almost unlimited information in any field, serves as a source for empowerment.

Especially in 'English for Educational Purposes' (EEP) and 'English for Academic Purposes' (EAP), media competences are nowadays a pre-requisite and of fundamental importance. The media, e.g. cinema, television, radio, electronic media such as the Internet, mobile phones and computer games, but also the most traditional ones like newspapers, comics, print magazines and so forth, involve a specific environment and should be viewed in the context of a specific culture. In the educational field they are referred to as "texts", a text being any "meaningful cultural form" (Thompson 1995). In fact, apart from their technical use, media also employ another type of sign, that is, the cultural sign. While "[...] the [technical] consists of the technology used to produce media texts and how they influence meaning, the [cultural] are signs we are able to recognise from life" (Scarret 2007: 7-8).

Since the word 'Culture' is here fully involved, it is worth focusing on the meaning of this word. In its broadest sense, culture "[...] is a form of highly participatory activity in which people create their societies and identities. Culture shapes individuals, drawing out and cultivating their potentialities and capacities for speech, action and creativity" (Kellner 1995: 2).

Throughout the latest century, a new form of culture, known as 'Media Culture', has emerged. This type of culture

> [...] is made up of images and sounds and dominates leisure time, shapes political views and social behaviour, and provides the materials out of which people forge their very identities. […] Media culture also provides the materials out of which many people construct their sense of class, of ethnicity and race, of nationality, of sexuality, of "us" and "them".
> (Kellner 1995: 1)

However, media culture, which is one of the outcomes of industrial society, is above all a high-tech culture, which makes use of the most advanced technologies. This type of culture is, therefore, "[...] a form of techno-culture that merges culture and

technology in new forms and configurations, producing new types of societies in which media and technology become organising principles" (Kellner 1995: 2).

Nowadays it is impossible, especially for young people, to imagine how it would be like to grow up without some of the most popular technological devices, such as the Internet, mobile phones or television. Such media are an integral part of the cultures and values of contemporary life in the majority of the world's cultures. Media also shape the way we learn, meaning

> [...] that the division between formal places of learning – such as schools – and the rest of our lives no longer holds, because we are learning all the time. The stories, experiences and practices we encounter in the electronic and digital media are in fact the fodder and teachers through which our lives and identities become sensible. It is in this sense that we mean our lives are mediated today. (Hoechsmann / Poyntz 2012: 18)

Thus, it should not surprise if media devices and digitally-mediated experiences often fulfil roles more traditionally associated with other kinds of places as well as other types of relationships. Today, young people spend a lot of time with the media. The time they spend with some of the new technological devices, e.g. the Internet, is often socially motivated and contributes to the development of identity.

By acting and interacting with and through the new media, children and, more generally, young people, become "[...] a distinctive and significant cultural grouping in their own right – […] a subculture even, and one which often 'leads the way' in the use of new media" (Livingstone 2002: 3).

Media goods offer their young audiences, or 'users', different activities, e.g. communicating and interacting, reading, writing, listening, viewing, playing and so forth. For such reasons,

> [...] parents and children are investing heavily in domestic ICT; parents through their expenditure and efforts to support an informal learning environment for their children, children through the enormous leisure-time energy they put into learning and playing computer games, using the Internet and developing other computer skills – practical, creative, interactive and critical. (Livingstone 2002: 15)

For children and the youth in general, the most advanced types of media, such as the Internet or mobile phones consumed through web spaces or iPods, often surpass the influence of the so-called 'old media', e.g. radio, cinema or television. However, both 'new' and 'old media' still coexist in today's new media environment. Among the new media, the Internet is probably one of – if not 'the most' – beloved ones, by adults and children alike. In fact, the "[d]iffusion of the Internet is proving the fastest in the history of ICT" (Livingstone 2002: 33). As early as 1997 Census data highlighted a trend in the use of the Internet by children and adolescents "[...] to find government, business, health or educational information (76 %), followed by e-mail (57.5 %), chat rooms (32 %), seeking news, weather and sports information (28%), news-groups (5%) and taking courses (3%)" (Singer / Singer 2001: 23). The census shows that already more than 15 years ago, at a time in which the Internet was not yet accessible for a lot of families and even schools, the educational goal on the Internet was already among the main ones.

Going back to 'Media Education', this concept can be said to be developed over the last few decades. Media education

> [...] can be described as the process of the development of personality with the help of and on the material of media, aimed at the shaping of culture of interaction with media, the development of creative, communicative skills, critical thinking, perception, interpretation, analysis and evaluation of media texts, teaching different forms of self-expression using media. (Fedorov 2008: 6)

A great number of widespread terms emerged with this new discipline like, for instance, "information literacy", "information culture", "information knowledge" or "information competency". Hence, the term 'Information' and the concept of "Information Culture", both linked to "knowledge" and, consequently, also to "culture" and "education", seem to fulfil a leading role in this new discipline. "Information Culture" may "[...] be regarded as a system of personality development levels, a component of human culture and the total sum of sustained skills and on-going application of information technologies (IT) in one's professional activity and everyday practice" (Inyakin / Gorsky 2000: 8). Media education is a product of the so-called "Information Age", which developed out of modern technologies and made

the rapid and worldwide proliferation of information possible. Young people themselves live in and are fully part of the "Information Society", or "Knowledge Society", where the exposure to information and media products is increasing. Thus, it is not inappropriate to talk about a "Children's Information Society", especially because "children today are growing up in homes equipped with a range of technological devices much broader than was the case just a few decades ago" (Suoranta / Lehtimäki 2004: 8).

From what has just emerged, "Media Education" and "Information Society" are interrelated more than ever. These two sources of inspiration, once separated, are now re-united and form a single discipline. It is very likely that "Media Education" will be of fundamental importance within the curriculum of schools and other educational institutions and an object of research focusing on pedagogical models and teaching instruments within the next few years.

One of the aims of the present research study is to show how media is affecting English-speaking Jewish communities around the world. In particular, this study will put emphasis on the role of digitally-mediated Jewish education, which takes place, among other things, through Jewish websites and, in particular, Jewish stories on the Web which are geared for a young Jewish audience.

1.3 Learning Informally on the Web

> It's a very grave mistake to think that
> the enjoyment of seeing and searching can be
> promoted by means of coercion and sense of duty.
> (Albert Einstein)

Children education through technology is also made possible in informal learning contexts. When we speak of learning, we often think about formal lessons held in classroom contexts, where children are being taught by trained professionals. These lessons are usually and explicitly structured. However, there are also spontaneous, haphazard, unplanned or incidental learning situations that children encounter in their everyday life. These particular kinds of situations are also known as 'informal

learning'. Informal learning varies according to many factors, like age (pre-school time *vs.* school age), the child's own family and the socio-cultural background of the family members (including relatives such as grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, etc.), friends, members of the community in which the child lives, the child's own personality and especially her/his own level of curiosity (i.e. the predisposition s/he has to discover new things) and several others. These factors have a significant role in the child's own formation process through informal learning experiences and represent a real cultural capital in the making up of a child's own knowledge and education.

The first informal environment in which children first begin to 'learn to learn' is obviously their home and the first informal educators are their parents. In fact, "[c]hildren are conceived by their parents, are raised by them and usually inherit whatever belongs to their parents" (Slee 2002: 11). It is during earliest childhood that children

> [...] experience the richest learning environment they will ever encounter. The amount of knowledge they acquire is phenomenal, about both the *culture* they are born into and its fundamental *intellectual elements*. They learn language, a tremendous feat in itself. They acquire the essential building blocks for science, technology, mathematics, literacy and so on. They learn how to deal with their emotions and accumulate a wide range of social skills. (Thomas 1998: 21, italics in the original)

With concepts like 'intellectual elements' and 'culture' in mind, traditional pre-school story-times represent a perfect example of how 'cultural products', like children's books or stories, do actually contribute to the child's own intellectual development as well as to the socio-cultural formation of the young learner, assuring the transmission and preservation of socio-cultural values. Indeed, socio-cultural formation, which leads to the construction of cultural identity, takes place in the environment in which the child grows up almost immediately and also automatically. This means that children undergo processes of informal cultural learning as well as socialisation by which cultural and social continuity is attained, both through the preservation and the strengthening of socio-cultural values.

Informal education refers to the life-long process whereby people learn from everyday experience. It takes place out of formal systems and is often voluntary and self-directed, based on learners' personal interests. Other features include its episodic nature and its relatively short duration. Informal education is often mediated with a family or other social group and also represents the primary way by which most people learn most of the time. As a term, 'informal' has no negative association, because learning informally often involves fun, an open-style learning environment and personal involvement with one's own ideas (cf. Strohecker / Butler 2004).

There are numerous other characteristics that distinguish informal learning from learning in formal settings, for instance: informal learning is just-in-time, as it usually happens right when the learner can put knowledge or skills to immediate use; it is contextual and individualised, since it meets specific needs, but it may also build directly on the learner's prior knowledge; it is personal and chunked, as it occurs in small chunks and is limited in scope, meaning that it is usually limited in a specific skill or a small bit of knowledge (cf. Hoffman 2005).

Some of the above-mentioned characteristics can even be associated with learning processes occurring among pre-school children. Because of all these aspects, informal education is most often effective and also easily made. Informal learning settings "[...] can help children experience and develop various life skills that may later lead to success in formal school settings" (Lentini 2008: 12).

This type of learning "[...] emphasises confidentiality, personal discipline, learning about sensitive issues and the uniqueness of its targets" (Bekerman *et al.* 2007: 3).

School and any other educational institution actually play very little or no role in informal learning. In fact, this type of learning often takes place outside school and "[...] is often thought of as being a leisure activity, such as playing computer games or using the Internet for communication purposes. Many children and adolescents today have access to these technologies outside of the classroom" (Willoughby / Wood 2008: 11).

It is worth mentioning that, nowadays, informal learning is becoming more and more technology-based, especially if we think of the extraordinary role computer technologies do play in children's life. The home has increasingly become "[...] the site for learning with technologies as parents and children are bombarded with advertisements urging them to buy home computers" (Facer *et al* 2003: 3). With the

aid of technologies, learning informally "[...] is an increasingly cognitive and socialisation agent for contemporary youth" (Arnett 1995: 519).

Children usually start to integrate technologies within their informal learning experiences when they are in their first school age (from 5 or 6 years onwards). When children start using technological devices, they actively shape media content, "[...] a process which offers them new opportunities for emotional growth and intellectual development" (Jenkins 2008: 16). Shaping media content usually starts with the child's own curiosity to learn on the Internet. Learning informally on the Web "[...] sees the child as the active person in this process, because s/he learns knowledge that is represented textually, mathematically, graphically, photographically or as simulation" (Hayes / Whitebread 2006: 8). The access to digital technologies, like the Internet,

> [...] amplifies the processes of informal learning [...]. It lowers the barriers to access to information about emerging interests, it allows easier access to communities that are dedicated to those interests and it offers resources for experimentation, play and feedback. For those children with access to digital technologies outside school, such resources have the potential to intensify the impact and reach of their informal learning. (Facer 2011: 19)

Today, both formal and informal learning imply a wider educational landscape, in which the latter, evoking a personalised learning environment, keeps on growing in importance. However, it should be noticed that informal learning is not seen by children and teenagers as work to do, because imposed by, for instance, a teacher. As a matter of fact, learning through media is, most of the times, a playful learning. This implies fun, i.e. "[...] learning is play and play is learning, and so the net is the place where kids can be kids" (Buckingham 2006: 8). Schools and, in general, any educational institution, will have to recognise the importance of the "changed communicational landscape" (Kress 2000) and the so-called digital culture, which has developed out of this new communicational landscape. The use of new technologies by children

[...] will continue to be extended, and they will bring these experiences to pre-schools and schools. This will impact the ways in which they will want to explore and use what is available in the center or classroom, and educators should take this into consideration when planning learning activities. (Yelland 2010: 20)

Participation in online culture "[...] has become integrally bound up with children's and teenagers' affiliations, identities and pleasures with this kind of participation" (Nixon 2003: 407). Participation requires activity and, therefore, young people have to be considered as active agents in their own developmental and learning processes. Of course, the strong or weak relationship young children may have with the digital media "[...] is influenced by their personal characteristics as well as the dispositions of parents, teachers, caregivers, peers and other individuals with whom the child interacts" (Yelland 2010: 30).

Research on children and the Internet necessitates a specialised field of study. The challenge, in this field, is to theorise children's own engagement with the Internet, taking into consideration any of the many aspects that characterise children's relationship with this powerful technological device. The Internet shapes individuals, families, communities and even societies. As a consequence, it represents a key agent of change in the contemporary world. The Internet means information, but also communication and entertainment. It is a means by which whole communities can re-unite virtually. The World Wide Web requires participation and asks for so much of users' time and attention. It is no wonder that, since early childhood, children "typically develop in front of a screen" (Wartella / Robb 2007). This phenomenonon favours an electronic childhood, in which the media have a decisive influence on their own identities.

The present research study will show, among other things, how given Jewish websites, offering Jewish children's stories, represent a valid example of learning informally *via* the World Wide Web and how these websites are a real cultural capital in the making up of a child's own Jewish identity. In order to analyse the interrelation between online children's stories and the making up of children's identity through the Web-based stories, the following chapter will focus on two main constituting elements of child-targeted narrative: 'Language' and 'Identity' and the relationships these have with children's narrative.

Chapter Two
NARRATIVE, LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY

2.1 Children's Narrative

Over the last forty years, research on children's narrative has brought together scholars from different disciplines, like Literature, Education, Information Science, Linguistics, Cultural and Media Studies. The expression 'Children's Literature' has become a kind of umbrella term encompassing a wide range of disciplines, genres and media" (Nel / Paul 2011: 1). Children's narrative "[...] explores, orders, evaluates and illuminates the human experience – its heights and depths, its pains and pleasures" (Saxby 1987). Literature has the power to enrich, widen horizons and bring joy to children's lives. Beside motivating children to think, children's narrative enhances language and cognitive development. Literature "[...] expands knowledge and experience, helps readers solve problems and plays a significant role in children's developmental journey" (Amspaugh *et al.* 1996: 6).

Since its origins, children's narrative has always represented a means by which it has been possible to educate children into a given culture, namely the culture they belong to. The relationship occurring between Literature and Culture makes clear that an analysis of children's narrative can turn into a very extensive study. It is widely acknowledged that "[c]hildren's books have a very long history around the world, and they have absorbed into themselves elements of folk and fairy tale, and the oral tradition" (Hunt 1999: 5). The content of children's stories may reflect some of the most important elements of the culture in which it is actually produced. Children's stories represent "[...] part of the ideological structures of the cultures of the world, so their history is constructed ideologically" (Hunt 1995: 5). The investigation will now focus on the concept of 'Ideology' and its relationships with children's narrative.

2.2   Ideology in Children's Narrative

The term 'Ideology' was originally coined by Destutt de Tracy (1754-1836) and refers to "the radically empirical analysis of the human mind" (Aiken 1956:16). 'Ideology', especially during the twentieth century, was linked to concepts like 'belief systems', 'political persuasion' and so on, "[...] even though, in the twentieth century, analyses tend[ed] to be primarily socially oriented and to take a distinctive linguistic turn" (Knowles / Malmkjaer 1996: 41).

The relationship between 'Ideology' and 'Children's Literature' becomes particularly worth analysing, since

> [t]he very use of the expression 'children's literature' […] brings with it a whole set of value judgements […]. In addition, discussion of children's fiction has always been characterised by arguments about its purposes. These purposes, or in some cases these denials of purpose, stem from the particular characteristics of its intended readership and are invariably a product of the views held within the adult population about children and young people themselves and their place in society. (Sarland 1996: 9)

Therefore, attention has to be focussed on the power adults have on children. Due to this imbalance of power between young readers and adults (where adults are the ones who write, publish or disseminate children's narrative), a question of politics immediately arises (cf. Sarland 1996). A clear example may be that of parents' and, more generally, adults' role during children's early life-stages. In fact, "[i]n virtue of their greater experience, strength, access to the media and to the essentials and luxuries of life (*via* money and position), and as designers of educational systems, [adults] are more powerful than children socially, economically and physically" (Knowles / Malmkjaer 1996: 43). It follows that, adults have a whole array of means they use to pursue their goals.

Another important definition views Ideology as "meaning in the service of power" (Thompson 1990: 7) through ways in which meanings serve to establish and sustain relations of domination" (Thompson 1990: 56). One of the main ways by which it is possible to maintain relations of power or domination between adults and children is

language. In this context, language is intimately connected with Ideology, since, as a symbolic form employed within specific social contexts, language constructs and conveys meanings (cf. Thompson 1990). Indeed, all sign systems, including language, are based on Ideology. Since all writing is ideological, it "[...] either assumes values even when not overtly espousing them, or is produced and also read within a social and cultural framework which is itself inevitably suffused with values, that is to say, suffused with ideology" (Sarland 1996: 41).

Another significant view focusing on the relationship between Language and Ideology regards language as a "powerful socialising agent" (Halliday 1978). It is namely through language that children learn about the world in general. Through it, they learn about the social customs, institutions and hierarchies of their own culture. In particular, "[t]he language of social texts – including those texts which we read to our children or give them to read for themselves – is [...] a particularly effective agent in promoting the acceptance by the child of these customs, institutions and hierarchies" (Knowles / Malmkjaer 1996: 44). Furthermore, child-targeted language is based on complex codes and conventions and is, therefore, not just a simple, transparent medium. With children's narrative in mind, the language used in this type of communication seems to offer conventionalised discourses 'encoding' content, meaning both story and message (cf. Stephens 1999). The content portrays social situations as well as values. These social processes "[...] are inextricable from the linguistic processes which give them expression. In other words, the transactions between writers and readers take place within complex networks of social relations by means of language" (Stephens 1999: 56). Besides, through children's narrative, young readers are likely to encounter a vast range and variety of language uses. Some of the textual varieties

> [...] will seem familiar and immediately accessible, consisting of a lexicon and syntax which will seem identifiable everyday, but others will seem much less familiar, either because the lexicon contains forms or uses specific to a different speech community […] or because writers may choose to employ linguistic forms whose occurrence is largely or wholly restricted to narrative fiction, or because particular kinds of fiction evolve specific discourses. (Stephens 1999: 56-57)

Linguistic resources and practices, like, for instance, choices in lexis and grammar, use, types and frequency of figurative language, characteristic modes of cohesion, orientation of narrative voice towards the text's existents (cf. Stephens 1999: 57), make the difference and help create a distinctive style, distinguishable from others containing more recurrent patterns or codes.

Since language is a social semiotic (e.g. Halliday 1978; Hodge / Kress 1988; Thibault 1991; Kress / van Leeuwen 1996, 2001), namely "[...] a culturally patterned system of signs used to communicate about things, ideas or concepts" (Stpehens 1999: 58), it is also a system constructed within culture (cf. Stephens 1999), in which the transactions taking place between writers and readers represent "a specialised aspect of socio-linguistic communication" (cf. Stephens 1999). In fact, it can be assumed that

> [t]he forms and meanings of reality are constructed in language: by analysing how language works, we come nearer to knowing how our culture constructs itself, and where we fit into that construction. Language enables individuals to compare their experiences with the experiences of others, a process which has always been a fundamental purpose of children's fictions. The representation of experiences […] occurs in language, and guarantees that the experiences represented are shared with human beings in general. (Stephens 1999: 57-58)

Since children's narrative serves to socialise children, educating and coaxing them into human groups, while shaping their values and world-views, it is easy to recognise the important role of Sociolinguistics within this field of study. It follows that Sociolinguistics "[...] can no longer exclusively be seen in the Labovian way that investigates linguistic variability in relation to major demographic categories such as class, age, gender and ethnicity" (Wack 2005: 5). It should also focus attention on "specific forms, genres, styles of literary practice" (Blommaert 2003: 608).

However, despite the role of Sociolinguistics, children's narrative"[...] can be approached from any specialist viewpoint" (Hunt 1999: 1), since

> [i]ts nature, both as a group of texts and as a subject of study, has been to break down barriers between disciplines, and between types of readers.
> […] Children's books do not exist in a vacuum – they have real

34

argumentative readers and visible, practical, consequential *uses.* (Hunt 1999: 1-2, italics in the original)

Therefore, what is generally assumed to be the most apparently straightforward act of communication, namely children's narrative, is amazingly intricate (see Hunt 1999). Analysing children's narrative means dealing "[...] with fundamental questions of communication and understanding between adults and children, or, more exactly, between individuals" (Hunt 1999: 2). Children's narrative, as any other type of child-targeted communication, represents "[...] a point at which theory encounters real life, where we are forced to ask: what can we say about a book, why should we say it, how can we say it, and what effect will what we say have?" (Hunt 1999: 2). Thus, as a purposeful type of communication, children's narrative requires the use of all appropriate critical techniques and represents a highly interactive area of investigation.

2.3 Children's Short Stories

As already mentioned, this study focuses on the linguistic analysis of a particular form of online narrative targeted at a young Jewish readership, namely short stories available on the World Wide Web. Thus, the present section will provide insights into this literary form, examining some of its main characteristics and the relationships occurring between child-targeted short stories and identity.

It is traditionally acknowledged that 'short stories', as modern literary forms, have existed only since the first quarter of the nineteenth century, although their roots are to be found in ancient tales and narrative. In fact, they are one of the oldest types of literature and existed in many forms, like myths, ballads, biblical parables and fairy tales. At the beginning, short stories existed as a form of oral story-telling. In ancient times, people used to listen to someone's stories, since stories were a form of entertainment and at the same time "[...] a means to ward off fear of the unknown lying outside the stone walls of their enclosure or the perimeter of the firelight" (Werlock 2010: ix). Moreover, "[t]he oral story-telling conjures up in modern readers

a dual image of both community interaction and private individual response" (Werlock 2010: ix-x).

As a modern form, the short story was first developed by the American writers Edgar Allan Poe and Nathaniel Hawthorne, followed by renowned writers such as Katherine Mansfield, Somerset Maugham in Britain and Ernest Hemingway in the United States of America (Bainbridge / Pantaleo 1999).

As a literary form, the short story is quite thriving: "[w]itness its sales, its apparent vogue among high-school students, its increased use in college courses across the curriculum, the proliferation of public short story readings at bookstores [and] the exploration of book clubs" (Werlock 2010: ix). Especially in the United States of America, short stories have "[...] continued to appear in major magazines from the *New Yorker* and *Redbook* to *Esquire*, *Playboy* and *Penthouse*; good stories collections and anthologies are readily accessible through inexpensive paperback reprints" (Werlock 2010: ix, italics in the original). What made short stories so popular is most probably their brief fictional nature. In fact, conventionally, a short story usually focuses on one main event happening in the lives of a small number of characters, although it may also consist of more than just a record of a single incident. The story usually, but not always, ranges from a minimum of 500 words up to a maximum of 15.000 words[6]. Hence, what characterises a short story is its 'limitedness'.

The distinguishing feature of a short story is that "[i]ts setting, characters, structure, meanings as well as the number of its characters must be limited" (Philipps 2002: 84). If the characters are too many, "[...] the reader gets to know none of them well and remains a passive, at best vaguely interested, by-stander" (Philipps 2002: 84). As for the short story's structure, "[...] effective short story's scenes are usually arranged chronologically and show significant events in the life of the main character (or characters) during a few days or less" (Philipps 2002: 84). Because of their limitedness, short stories are often compared to the more extensive nature of novels. However, they do not necessarily have to be considered the novel's impoverished counterpart. It is their limitations, and especially their brevity, which make them powerful. In fact, "[b]ecause they are brief and can be read repeatedly, short stories

---

[6] According to Collins (2009), the ideal short story is one complete a unit. The adjectives 'shortness' or 'brevity', attributed to this type of stories, can only be understood in relation to something else that is not short, which is, specifically, the novel.

can be more compressed, elliptical, symbolic and ambiguous. They can be more demanding of their readers than novels, but very rewarding, too" (Philipps 2002: 84). While, as for their content, generally speaking, an author of a short story focuses the attention "[...] on one facet of man's experience; he illuminates briefly one dark corner or depicts one aspect of life" (see Werlock 2010: ix).

As for its content, a short story may limit itself to some life-events taking place in the city or country, at home or abroad. Besides, "[i]t may concern past events in various regions or look with a prophetic glance into the distant future. It may concern nothing but verifiable truth or be highly imaginative (...) or notably distorted" (Collins 2009: 25). Moreover, short stories, together with other forms of children's narrative, "[...] constitute an important source and reinforcement of identity, invaluable expressions of continuity defining the national experience and character" (Jackson 2006: 17). Stories, which are culturally meaningful and, therefore, culturally oriented, may highlight aspects of ancestral heritage, helping youth maintain (or re-discover) their own ethno-cultural identity. Significant aspects of ancestral heritage are conveyed through language. In fact, authors often decide to use language patterns deriving from the reader's own ancestral language(s). It is important, at this point, to stress the role that language plays in this type of stories, since the strategic use of a particular child-targeted type of language may have the potential to re-connect readers with their own past and, therefore, to strengthen their own cultural identity. Reading elements from one's own ancestral language stimulates mental activity of psychological processes, like the rise of the level of affectivity, leading to the evocation of strong emotional reactions, which evolve in real emotional experiences.

Because of the emotional attachment associated with both the heritage language and culture, authors often want to express personal feelings through the use of linguistic patterns deriving from the heritage language. It is also, and perhaps especially, through emotional *stimuli* that one's own cultural identity can be reinforced. In sum, stories generally create opportunities for children to find an emotional attachment with their own heritage culture[7].

---

[7] Moreover, according to US-based researchers, "[h]eritage languages are worth preserving not only because they serve as a rich emotional, communicative and cultural resource for the group itself, but because they can help solve a growing national problem - [the] need for citizens who are proficient in other languages other than English (see Kendall 2005: 5).

Short stories include genres like 'Folklore', which includes stories representing the interests, faith and ideals of the culture from which they stem. Folkloristic tales are, most often, told for years from the experience and the common sense of ordinary people. Another genre is the "Fable", namely a type of story pointing out virtues and defects in human characters. "Legends" represent another common type of short stories, traditionally passed down to us from a time far beyond our own. In some ways, legends are less simple and direct than folklore stories and founded on actual occurrences. In them, readers often find poetic beauty that gives a story a highly ethical value. Another genre is "Adventure". In this type of stories, startling events, rather than human characters, are generally emphasised. Other genres include "local colour", meaning stories revealing marked characteristics of custom and language as well as the oddities of life to be found in a particular locality; "Mystery", namely stories presenting puzzling problems, which gradually lead their readers to satisfactory solutions; "Supernatural", a genre presenting stories dealing often with ghostly characters and uncanny forces; "Allegory", i.e. stories revealing moral truths, making use of symbolic characters and events; and last but not least, "Character", a story genre putting emphasis on notable personalities, placing stress upon motive and the inner nature rather than upon outer action. Character stories generally aim at clarifying the reader's own understanding of human character (cf. Collins 2009). The ones mentioned above are the most common genres to be found in short stories. The present study will show, among other things, which are the genres of the Jewish children's short stories (henceforth, OJCSSs) selected on the Web and making up the Corpus of the linguistic analysis. The following section will focus specifically on children's stories which, nowadays, can be found on the World Wide Web.

2.4 Children's Stories on the Web

Changes in communication and in the social practices are nowadays influenced by changes finding place in technology. The new electronic devices are affecting profoundly both the study and use of texts in the humanities as well as in other areas of study and research. It is generally acknowledged that electronic versions of texts

are an extremely useful and an important addition to the range of tools available for scholarship in the humanities (cf. Burrows 1999).

The term 'Electronic Text' is used to mean a transcription of a text. More specifically, it is a digitally formatted document. Online or electronic texts (also e-texts) are usually classified into two major categories. One category includes any text presented on a computer screen. The second category, which is also the most common type of electronic text, includes e-texts that are augmented by hyperlinks, hypertext or other additions to the texts. These are generally known as hypermedia. These two types of electronic texts require different reading strategies, if compared with conventional texts. The ones belonging to the first category (i.e. texts simply presented on a computer screen) require some navigational skills, such as turning pages, while multimedia texts (i.e. those belonging to the second category) are quite different from the conventional text. In fact, "[m]ultimedia texts can be connected to all sorts of other representations such as pictures, sound, video, or any combination, and accesses by the reader or automatically played at specific points during reading" (Hoffman / Schallert 2008: 140).

Electronic texts generally offer a series of advantages (cf. Hoffman / Schallert 2008: 141): they are searchable, meaning that the computer can locate a word or a phrase in a large amount of text faster than a human can; electronic texts can be re-sized, changed to a different font, formatted, double-spaced instead of single-spaced or the colour of the print and the background may be different from the original; electronic texts can be transported in compact form or electronically, e.g. *via* CD-ROM disks that can hold hundreds of books in electronic form. Besides, it is possible to send them from one computer to another computer.

Due to the increasing presence of the World Wide Web in households, schools and workplaces, electronic texts have become extremely pervasive in everyone's life. Among the most used electronic texts employed for didactic purposes, online narrative for children can be found as well. This digital literary narrative generates exciting new forms of learning. The growing number of child-targeted websites reflects not only the popularity of children's electronic narrative, but also the central role played by the World Wide Web in children's experience of such story contexts (see e.g. Unsworth 2006).

Today's children are almost naturally attracted to technology, because technology itself is appealing. Nowadays, numerous online libraries, bookstores and websites

offer completely free or low cost e-stories. Most digital literary texts include images or animations. The latter are activated automatically while clicking on the webpage where the story is being told or, on the other hand, they can be controlled by the mouse clicks of the user.

It is possible to make a categorisation of the great variety of literary texts for children and adolescents published on the Web (Unsworth 2006):

- e-stories for early readers: these are texts which utilise audio combined with hyperlinks to support young children in learning to decode the printed text by providing models of oral reading of stories and frequently of the pronunciation of individual words;
- linear e-narratives: these are essentially the same kinds as story presentations which are found in books, frequently illustrated, but presented on a computer screen;
- e-narratives and interactive story contexts: the presentation of these stories is very similar to that of linear e-narratives; however the story context is often elaborated by access to separate information about characters, story setting in the form of maps and links to factual information and/or other stories. In some examples, it is possible to access this kind of contextual information while reading the story;
- hypertext narratives: although frequently making use of a range of different types of hyperlinks, these stories are distinguished by their focus on text, to the almost entire exclusion of images;
- hypermedia narratives: these stories use a range of hyperlinks involving texts and images, often in combination.

Technology and the new digital culture are, therefore, extending children's ideas of text. From the above categorisation, it emerges that, to comprehend electronic texts, young readers must take in information from all over the computer screen, due to the texts' multimodal nature. Children's stories on the Web often combine visual, linguistic as well as spatial design elements. Many of them also incorporate audio and gestural features (e.g. body language in static images). The various design modes that make up these 'cross-media hybrids' (cf. Unsworth 2006) are united in a synergistic way. In fact, "[j]ust as words and pictures interact with one another in a

child's picture-book, so too do words, pictures, audio features, spatial design and gestural features interact with one another in these online and digital texts" (Harris *et al.* 2006: 126). It follows that a new form of literacy, different from the traditional and, thus, non-computer-mediated [8], has emerged, especially among youngsters. This new technologically-derived form of literacy is commonly known as "Digital Literacy" (see Gilster 1997). Its salient feature lies in "[...] the ability to understand and use information in multiple formats from a wide range of sources when it is presented *via* computers" (Gilster 1997: 1). Moreover, it "[...] encompasses the ability required to use computer technologies to read, write and interact with multimedia symbols on computer screens" (Flood / Lapp 1995: 1).

Digital literacy involves "[...] adapting our skills to an evocative new medium, [and] our experience of the Internet will be determined by how we master its core competencies" (Gilster 1997: 6), "[...] which are not merely 'operational' or 'technical' competencies but, rather, complex performances of knowledge assembly, evaluating information content, searching the Internet, and navigating hypertext – which comprise epistemic as well as more 'operational' elements" (Lankshear / Knobel 201: 23).

Because of their multimodal functions, children's stories on the Web may be less difficult to read and understand. Moreover, the appealing images and various functions, make stories even more engaging than a traditional, print-based story and, thus, more likely to be read autonomously by the child.

2.5 Children's Literature and Socio-Cultural Identity

One of the main aims of the present research study is to show how OJCSSs are strongly interrelated with the socio-cultural identity of their young readers. Generally speaking, it is possible to claim that children's narrative represents an important component of culture and the way a society constructs that culture (Hillel / Plastow 2010). In fact, it represents "[...] a singularly privileged vehicle and tool for the

---

[8] Today, 'Literacy' is commonly defined, in a broad way, "[...] by encompassing both traditional notions of literacy, such as reading, writing, listening and speaking, and the consumption and production of non-print texts, such as media and computer texts" (Guzzetti 2007: vii).

search, construction, negotiation and expression of personal as well as collective identity" (Cota / Blayer 2007: 1).

At this point, it is worth analysing the word 'Identity'. As a concept, 'Identity' is central to all the 'human' or 'social' sciences, as it also is in the philosophical as well as religious worlds. As a concept, 'Identity' was rather unthinkable in the pre-modern, still feudal Europe (before the sixteenth century). Nowadays, instead, 'Identity' "[...] is a heavily theorised, academic concept that is a paradigmatic product of its historical conditions, formulated and reformulated in strategic ways by the period or the movement under which it arises and the preoccupations of its theorists" (Benwell / Strokoe 2006: 17).

As Benwell and Stokoe (2006: 3) point out, 'Identity' is an "[...] essential, cognitive, socialised, phenomenological or psychic phenomenon that governs human action". It "[...] is about belonging, about what you have in common with some people and what differentiates you from others" (Weeks 1990: 88). It follows that, 'Identity' is "[...] the recognition of cultural belonging, which is internal to the individual, while culture is external" (Choi / Nunan 2010: 3). Moreover, 'Identity' includes another important concept, that of 'Difference'. People generally use this term to distinguish themselves from other people. This leads to the confirmation of the self as both unique and unified (Meek 2001: viii).

In fact, when

> [...] we acknowledge our common humanity, we also proclaim the singularity and differences of individuals in terms of where they were born and where they now choose to live. A birth certificate, an identity card or a passport can give us both personal and national identity. They allow us to cross frontiers and become strangers in other places with an official attachment to our place of origin. (Meek 2001: viii)

However, 'Identity', as a concept, goes beyond 'national identity'. In fact, 'national identity' is rather "[...] a stylistic way of identifying between 'us' and 'others', chiefly in terms of origins and associations" (Marek 2001: ix). Indeed, 'Identity' also implies other notions, like the one of the self, which includes our "historical-cultural being" (Meek 2001: viii). This also means that 'Identity' can be viewed as a multi-dimensional concept or, as a notion containing multiple voices, like the ones of

'Nation', 'Ethnicity', 'Society', 'Culture', 'Religion' and 'Language'. The association of these terms with the notion of 'Identity' has led to the development of concepts like 'National Identity', 'Ethnic Identity', 'Social Identity', 'Cultural Identity', 'Religious Identity' or 'Linguistic Identity', each of them asking for a different interpretation.

Literature, and especially children's narrative, has always had a strong relationship with the concept of 'Identity'. This is because literary works are powerful: they "[...] do something to the reader, especially when the reader is engrossed in the reading process. [...] Readers can change through vicarious experience" (Alsup 2010: 5). In fact, through books, readers can, among other things, "[...] grow, develop, think new thoughts and feel new emotions" (Alsup 2010: 5).

Reading children's stories containing, for instance, content based on the reader's own heritage culture, may help children explore and discover aspects of their ethnic identity. It is traditionally acknowledged that children's narrative actually promotes processes of enculturation that are strongly tied to culture. For instance, it is through the enculturation (taking place also *via* narrative) that "[...] individuals [in this case, children] grow up with strong beliefs attached to the value of [culture-related] signs; and then learn to react according to *a priori* categorisation" (Katan 2002: 181; italics in the original). The cultural content of children's narrative portrays a particular way of life, often combined with particular patterns of beliefs, values, symbols and so forth, which are shared, lived and expressed within a given community. Authors of children's stories make sure that these cultural specificities emerge throughout their stories, putting strong emphasis on them. Thus, through children's stories, and especially by means of language, the transmission of social knowledge, practices, values, beliefs, cultural norms and memory is likely to take place. While reading, young readers unconsciously experience the strong role that stories have as carriers of culture. Children's narrative can influence and shape identity formation processes in the readers and this since early infancy. In fact, childhood "[...] is conventionally seen as a time of 'structured-becoming', [...] a time defined as preparatory to the values and preoccupations of the adult world" (Jenks 2005: 11). Since reading stories is an integral part of the experiences every child has, it is clear that childhood experiences can be regarded "[...] as the bedrock upon which a child's own identity is built. [...] [Furthermore,] childhood is conventionally seen as a time of 'structured-

becoming', [...] a time defined as preparatory to the values and preoccupations of the adult world" (Jenks 2005: 11).

Cultural resources, such as ethno-culturally-oriented children's stories on the Web, which are usually rich in cultural markers, such as names, traditions, legends, memories, values, myths and so forth, are seen as necessary in this life-stage of every individual, a life-stage that sees children being socio-culturally formed.

There are several theories justifying children's stories' richness in ethno- and socio-cultural content. For instance, Parsons (1961), in his analysis of the 'personality system', the 'social system' and the 'cultural system', posits the individual as being under the control of a hierarchy of nested systems, structured according to the so-called 'functional imperatives' of any society, which are 'pattern maintenance', 'integration', 'goal attainment' and 'adaptation'. The first imperative, the so-called 'pattern maintenance', is, above all others, geared to maintaining the stability of 'patterns of institutionalised culture' and involves an internalisation of values of the society in an individual's (in this case, a child's) own personality. According to this concept, it can be claimed that "[...] children are socialised into key values that are essential for the stability of society. [...] Any society needs its members to be socialised into a recognition of its distinctive identity and to feel loyalty towards this" (Scourfield *et al.* 2006: 25). It follows that societies are able to condition the personality of each of their citizens, so that "[...] the national feeling becomes a highly desirable norm that individuals 'identify' with. The personality system is handled in the main by the family, which embodies the key environment for the successful socialisation and emotional support for a child" (Scourfield *et al.* 2006: 25). The personality formed and emerged in childhood is likely to be stable and unchangeable (cf. Scourfield *et al.* 2006: 25). According to this theory, every person is formed socio-culturally and even nationally since childhood, in and by the socio-cultural environment surrounding her/him. Consequently, "[...] identity can not be understood outside the social context in which it evolves and that gives it its meanings" (Gérin 2011: 6).

The socio-cultural environment also shapes the discursive practice, which is always culturally situated, inscribing both the values and the assumptions of the culture in which any cultural product, like a narrative work, is produced and received. Since "social identities are enacted in discourse" (Duszak 2002: 8), the notion of 'discourse' is central to this research study. However, discourse does not only enact

social identity, but also any other type of identity, (e.g. 'cultural', 'ethnic', 'linguistic' or 'religious identity'). It is possible to define a discourse as a structured collection of texts and as an associated practice of textual production, transmission and consumption, contextualised both historically and socially (see Fairclough 1992). By 'Text', we refer not only to verbal and written transcriptions, but also to "[...] any kind of symbolic expression requiring a physical medium and permitting of permanent storage" (Taylor / van Every 1993: 109), including, for instance, cultural artefacts. In this regard, specific linguistic features, typical of given ethnic communities, always match contextual configurations. Communities were and are still formed because of "[...] a shared code of meanings and by having a similar ability to resource that code in communication. To the extent to which communication means an exchange of meanings it also produces the effect of belonging to a group" (Duszak 2002: 3). Groups are formed because people have concrete social needs and to satisfy such needs they have to develop their own linguistic resources (cf. Duszak 2002: 4), although to a different extent, people "[...] have [...] their own gate-keeping requirements, patterns of socialization, standards and expectations" (Duszak 2002: 5). Furthermore, "[l]anguage does not mirror an independent object world but constructs and constitutes it. [...] Language constitutes material objects and social practices as meaningful and intelligible" (Barker / Galasinski 2001: 1-4). Thus, it is possible to claim that language has an active role within the socio-cultural sphere of every community, due to its centrality in the process of identity construction. It is the means by which the majority of cultural resources are produced within a given part of a society or community, at a specific time and according to accepted socio-cultural norms. In fact, narrative works in general almost never act in isolation, rather they are a cultural product. Cultural resources (or products) are the expressions of the culture that has produced them. In order to express elements of a culture, cultural resources need a vehicle by which it is possible to bring cultural expressions into life. The communicational vehicle is almost always language. The linkage language-identity asks for a much deeper analysis of what are people's choice of language and the way they speak or write, which "[...] do not simply *reflect* who they are, but *make* them who they are – or more precisely, allow them to make themselves" (Joseph 2010: 9, italics in the original).

With Children's Literature in mind, it is important not to forget the role of the authors and, more specifically, the linguistic choices they make. This is especially the case of ethno-based narrative where authors generally 'pepper' their English with linguistic resources deriving from the reader's heritage language or languages. Some of the top qualities each author should have in order to write a good story are a vivid imagination and great creativity. Both qualities help make stories exciting and captivating. Another quality is good speech. The language, including the stylistic features of children's stories that authors decide to adopt, always implies a lot of culture-specific characteristics. The effectiveness of the language used by the author in her/his own work is an indispensible ingredient. Children's stories are created in order to let their young readership respond to what is being told in the story they read. Consequently, the language used must be as effective as possible.

The first characteristic any child-targeted language should possess is to be as comprehensible as possible, namely child-friendly. Another main characteristic is that the language used should try to provide its young readers with joy, letting emotions flow and stimulate cognitive processes of identification (or dis-identification) with one or more characters. A child will be fully involved with a story and motivated to read it until its end only if the language is enjoyable (i.e. easy to read). Language that is child-friendly generates pleasure and increases children's willingness to put forth the energy that the reading process necessitates. In this case, children are likely to cultivate their desire to read on. The more children feel comfortable with a story's language, the higher the chances of learning valuable lessons through story's characters and the cultural values they carry with them will be.

Providing children with emotions while reading a story is another distinguishing aspect of children's narrative. In fact, child-targeted stories should always stimulate emotional responses and feelings, both positive and negative ones, according to what the story tells. For instance, young people may "[...] acquire compassion for others and insight into their own behaviour and feelings from reading. [...] Through stories, children learn about happiness, sadness, warm family relationships, death and loneliness. Indeed, they learn that many life experiences are universal" (Stoodt *et al.* 1996: 8). Emotion can be seen as a form of language encoded in language. As a language, even "[...] emotions emerge as socially shaped and socially shaping in important ways" (Lutz / White 1986: 417). Furthermore, emotional meaning is

embedded both within ideology and social relations and is one "aspect of cultural meaning" (Lutz / White 1986: 408). From a pedagogical point of view, the stories that young people read often help them acquire (culturally-related) affective abilities like the recognition and expression of feelings which vary according to different contexts. In fact, it is generally acknowledged that, "[e]very society has ways of viewing moods, dispositions and emotions, including how they are to be displayed verbally and non-verbally and the social conditions in which it is preferable or appropriate to display them" (Ochs 1986: 8). As a consequence, emotion can be seen "[...] as the infrastructure for child socialization, a processual and dynamic locus for constructing meaning and identity" (Gonzàlez 2005: 49). Language and emotion are, indeed, closely intertwined. It is through language that different kinds of emotions find their way to be transmitted, placing children "within an affective universe" (Gonzàlez 2005: 53). Since this type of transmission is linguistically mediated, it is consequently also culturally situated. Moreover, "[l]anguage and its attendant subjectivities orient the child not only as a 'member of a culture', but as a member of the human species who happens to live within a human group" (Gonzàlez 2005: 51).

Another main characteristic of children's narrative is the sense of identification (or dis-identification) children must feel with the story's characters. This also guarantees a deeper and more personal involvement with the story's plot. It is generally acknowledged that children usually tend to identify themselves with the up and downs of their favourite character(s) or hero(es). This aspect, which is also strongly related with the emotional aspect, leads children to feel empathy towards their hero or, in other words, "[...] a direct identification with, understanding of, and vicarious experience of another person's situation, feelings and motives" (Knowles 2006: 1), generating in the young reader a feeling of compassion, appreciation, concern or sensitivity for what is happening to the character with whom s/he identifies.

Authors of children's stories are aware that what they write represents an important source of readers' own satisfaction. The sense of satisfaction derives from processes of identification with one or more characters, which are likely to increase the reader's own feeling of participation (cf. Cohen 1998: 31). Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that children's stories generally provide their readers "[...] with an opportunity for catharsis, self-knowledge and broadening his psychic experience. The process of reading, identification and participation brings the reader into the reality of the book in dynamic fashion" (Cohen 1988: 31). On the other hand, young

readers may also experience a process of dis-identification, i.e. the identification against something or somebody and the intimate concentration on otherness or the other person (cf. van der Tuin 2007).

These characteristics, along with their related psycho-dynamic processes, are made possible also and, perhaps, especially by the type of language that authors of children's stories adopt while writing their works. In fact, the above-mentioned features also stimulate a series of cognitive processes finding place by means of language. It is worth-mentioning that, since early infancy, children acquire linguistic skills also *via* reading of (or listening to) stories. If compared to oral conversations or story-telling, written-based texts are more suitable for the development of literacy. Narrative provides richer models for language if compared with conversation because authors make use of more elaborate sentences and sumptuous words (see Stoodt *et al.* 1996: 11).

Another aspect that is worth underlining is that if children's stories are associated with the reader's own personal experiences, the reader her- or himself is more likely to learn language from them. This means that children will be able to "[...] relate to the text and build meaning from it. Children will appreciate authors' artistry with language in books and will repeat phrases and sentences they like over and over" (Stoodt *et al*. 1996: 11).

From what has been discussed, it is arguable that transactions between writers and readers "[...] take place within complex networks of social relations by means of language" (Stephens 1999: 2004). Linguistic strategies may include "[...] choices in lexis and grammar, use, types and frequency of figurative language, characteristic modes of cohesion, orientation of narrative voice towards the texts' existents" (Stephens 1999: 57). As any other text type, children's stories are a target-oriented type of communication. It follows that each story has to be adapted according to its young readership. 'Child suitability' (see Ewers 2009) is most probably the basic feature of any child-oriented text. Without it, every form of child-oriented communication would be useless. 'Suitability' involves the adaptation of any text being produced, both in oral and written forms, for its target audience. In the case of children's stories,

> [...] adaptation is inscribed in the linguistic form (simplicity and
> liveliness), the plot and the structure of the book, which produce the

suspense that is so important psychologically, in the theme, the material
and the content, which children must be able to understand, grasp and
empathize with. (Dahrendorf 1967: 393, italics in the original)

Indeed, there are different forms of children's suitability, that "[...] can also be
regarded as 'accommodation', as a divergence from adult or elevated literary
conventions" (Ewers 2009: 147). Sometimes, the linguistic code is insufficient to this
purpose. Therefore, authors of children's stories may decide to use further codes, like
visual or musical ones, which children may be more able to handle (cf. Ewers 2009:
148). Visual codes, such as illustrations, have always been an important feature of
children's narrative. It is generally acknowledged that children usually learn to read
pictures before they learn to read words (cf. Whalley 1996). Images have actually
become one of the main characteristics of this type of narrative. Interestingly, when
the use of illustration began to decline in the adult sphere, it started to become one
of, if not 'the' real landmark of children stories. Furthemore, "[w]ith the lavish
illustration of children's books, which was more extensive the younger the addressee
were, the visual pleasure, the desire of children (and to some extent young people as
well) for pictures that were as colourful as possible was catered to" (Ewers 2009:
148). Illustrations, images or pictures represent the vigour and vitality of children's
books. The fusion of pictures and text is essential for the unity of presentation (cf.
Cummins 2001). Images often merge with the narrative into one single voice telling
the story. They actually act as a visual aid to let young readers better understand the
verbal story. Thus, the information a given image contains completes the meaning of
the words. Moreover, images, which are systems of visual representation, are almost
always and strategically imbued with significant social, cultural and sometimes even
political significance. This may generate cognitive as well as affective processes in
the child herself/himself who is actually able to 'read' the images and understand the
culturally-shaped message they convey and who, consequently, 'absorbs' the norms
of her/his own culture. Images help develop a sense of identity in the child. They
"[...] require concentration, interpretation, a knowledge of symbols, an eye for detail
and an understanding of certain conventions" (Cotton 2000: 29). Since young readers
are still relatively inexperienced with images and their meanings, *via* children's
stories they will "[...] learn how to think about their world and how to see and
understand themselves and others" (Cotton 2000: 30). Consequently, images are "[...]

a significant means by which we integrate young children into the ideology of our culture" (Nodelman 1996: 116), ideology being "[...] an inevitable, untameable and largely uncontrollable factor in the transaction between books and children" (Hollindale 1988: 10). Images are together with verbal language the cultural product of a given culture. Just like language, images are the manifestation of a culture with which people tend to identify.

2.6 Children's Narrative and Ethnicity

With Jewish children's stories in mind, it is necessary to examine another kind of relationship occuring in this specific type of narrative texts, namely the one existing between 'Children's Narrative' and 'Ethnicity'. 'Ethnicity', from ancient Greek *ethnos*, refers to "[...] a range of situations in which a collectivity of humans lived and acted together, and which is typically translated today as 'people' or 'nation'" (Jenkins 1997: 9). Traditionally, 'ethnicity' refers to a common geographic origin by a given ethnic group. Thus, this term first calls to one's mind an idea of 'shared ancestry', implying an historical belonging to a given territory, namely a geographical region, in which the origins of a given ethnic group can be traced and to which it is historically bound. It follows that, an ethnic community consists of a group of people, or collectivity, sharing the same ethnic ancestry. Therefore, the term 'Ethnicity' implies "[...] both a 'sense of a people' and a 'sense of belonging' (identity), implying both social and psychological processes" (Eller 1999: 8). In this context, the concept of 'Ancestry' plays a key role, especially while trying to define the term 'Ethnicity'.

From a more personal and, thus, individual point of view, 'ethnic identity' concerns the question "Who am I?", being "[...] a basic part of the ethnic individual's personality and [...] a powerful contributor to ethnic group formation, maintenance and social ties" (Bernal / Knight 1993: 1). 'Ethnic Identity' deals with a rather psychological matter and consists of "[...] a set of self-ideas about one's own ethnic group membership" (Bernal / Knight 1993: 1). In fact, one aspect worth mentioning which concerns the way by which people view their own ethnic selves is self-identification (see Bernal / Knight 1993). This "[...] refers to the ethnic labels or

terms that people use in identifying themselves, and to the meaning of the labels" (Bernal / Knight 1993: 1).

From a more general perspective, 'Ethnic Identity' refers to an ethnic group as a segment of society, whose members "[...] are thought, by themselves or others, to have a common origin and to share important segments of a common culture [...] [and to] participate in shared activities in which the common origin and culture are a significant ingredient" (Yinger 1994: 3).

A central element of ethnicity is the language that the members of the ethnic group share. A language that is shared within a community alongside the rituals of that community is "[...] particularly implicated in ethnicity: mutual intelligibility of the behaviour of others is a fundamental prerequisite for any group, as is the shared sense of what is 'correct and proper' which constitutes individual 'honour and dignity'" (Jenkins 1997: 10). Thus, language has a leading role in defining 'Ethnic Identity'.

Members of any ethnic group index their own ethnicity and sense of belonging to a given ethnic community by means of language. Language contributes to the separation of one ethnic group from the others and helps maintain and reinforce a sense of belonging to a specific ethnic group. People belonging to different ethnic groups usually tend to make sure that the "intergenerational cultural continuity" (Fishman *et al.* 1985: 4) is guaranteed, also, and especially, by means of language. It is not a case that language factors are not casual within the world of an individual as well as societal human behaviour (cf. Fishman 2011).

As Fishmas *et al.* point out, the analysis of the relationship between 'Language' and 'Ethnicity' "[...] brings us directly to the heart of such sensitive and conflicted issues as inter-generational ethnic continuity and language maintenance in which the symbolic role of language is highlighted again and again" (Fishman *et al.* 1985: xii). Thus, heritage language maintenance, or language loyalty, can be regarded as a linguistic phenomenon referring to "[...] the preservation of a speech community[9]'s ancestral language from generation to generation" (Winford 2003: 11).

---

[9] 'Speech community' is a term that most probably derives from the German *Sprachgemeinschaft* (from the noun *Sprach(e)*, meaning 'language' + the noun *Gemeinschaft*, meaning 'community'). Since language is both an individual and a social possession, a group of individuals is meant to behave linguistically the same way. They are said to speak the same language, dialect or variety, meaning they employ the same code. Thus, these individuals are members of the same speech community (cf. Wardhaugh 2010).

Heritage language maintenance has been a central issue for many ethnic groups. Social phenomena, such as integration and assimilation into the mainstream culture by members of different ethnic groups, lead to incomplete heritage language acquisition and, in many cases, also to language loss and death. Factors such as a predominantly monolingual society dominated by one majority group language in all the major institutional domains – school, TV, radio, newspapers, government administration, courts, work (cf. Holmes 1992) cause language loss and, in some cases, even language death. This phenomenon involves not only a total loss of the heritage language for the individuals concerned but also for the whole community. Although language loss seems in many cases inevitable, there are also cases in which a heritage language can be preserved, for instance, when the "[...] [heritage] language is considered an important symbol of a minority group's identity [or] [when] families from a minority group live near each other and see each other frequently, this also helps them maintain their language" (Holmes 1992: 64).

Cultural memories help avoid language loss. Many times, even social phenomena like discrimination, marginalization and, more generally, xenophobia-related phenomena, make the preservation of a minority group's heritage language more likely to take place.

There are many other ways by which members of a given ethnic group can protect their heritage language and, therefore, maintain their own ethno-cultural identity. For instance, institutional support through law and administration policies as well as education, religion and the media (e.g. periodicals, newspapers, books, TV, radio, websites) is another significant means by which language maintenance can be assured. With reference to the media, ethnic groups may promote the publication of both ethnic-related fiction and non-fiction materials about their groups for children and young adults who are the future generations and, thus, represent the ethno-cultural continuity.The primary goal of 'Ethnic Literature'[10] is "to pass cultural information about a group to the next generation" (Gilton 2007: 7).

---

[10] By the expression 'Ethnic Literature' we traditionally refer to the literary work of authors who are members of minority ethnic groups within a larger mainstream society. Through this type of literature, authors re-call aspects of their and the reader's own heritage language and culture. This may lead to the use of 'hybrid' narrative techniques like, for instance, the use of linguistic features that the authors of such literary texts select from their 'distinctive linguistic repertoire' (this linguistic phenomenon will be discussed later). Generally speaking, 'Ethnic Literature' derives from experiences of diaspora, exile or migration and deals with issues of "identity in flux or movement" (cf. Nelson 2005) in relation to a given mainstream society.

Traditionally, Ethnic Literature, for adults and children alike, is published by ethnic presses, although an increasing number of ethnic literary works is now being published by specialised or mainstream presses and reviewed by the media as well. Thanks to technological modernisation and the ever increasing popularity of technological devices over the last few decades, a great number of literary texts, including ethnic literature, can be found on the Web at low prices (e.g. downloadable as e-books) and another considerable amount of them are downloadable for free. As a result, a number of these ethno-cultural products are now available to the general public as well.

2.7 Ethnic Narrative: A definition

Before focusing on linguistic issues concerning ethnic literary works, a more accurate definition of the expression 'Ethnic Narrative' turns out to be necessary. Nowadays, it is generally acknowledged that there is a long history of publications written in languages other than English or in language varieties developed out of language contact phenomena in the different Anglophone countries around the world. This type of literature is traditionally published within those communities whose members are ethnically, linguistically, culturally and religiously different from those belonging to the 'mainstream culture'. Sometimes, they are said to be members of 'ethnic minority groups'. This is especially the case of English-speaking countries. Traditionally, in the majority of Anglophone countries, the term 'ethnic' is generally used to differentiate people belonging to ethnic minority groups from those belonging to the so-called "White Anglo-Saxon Protestantism" (WASP). As a matter of fact, members of ethnic minorities are traditionally conceived of as those who are not WASPs. According to contemporary ethnic theorists, an ethnic group can be defined as a "[...] named human population with myths of common ancestry, shared historical memories, or one or more elements of common culture, a link with a homeland and a sense of solidarity among at least some of its members" (Hathaway 2007: 441).

The case of ethnic narrative in the United States of America is particularly interesting, because it is probably the most representative one. It is generally

acknowledged that "[t]he story of immigrant absorption is as old as America" (Jacoby 2004: 6) and, perhaps, the fact that the United States of America are traditionally considered the melting-pot[11] *par excellence* proves it. It is arguable that "[...] though it is often regarded as a very minor adjunct to great American mainstream writing, ethnic literature is [...] prototypically American literature" (Sollors 1986: 8), since almost the entire North American population is itself made up of children of immigrants (see Sollors 1986: 8).

Interestingly, while works by writers who are members of minority ethnic groups were once located on the margins of the mainstream culture, today, thanks to the ever-increasing growth of the social, cultural and political awareness by members of minority groups, their position is more central to the core of the mainstream literature (cf. Martin 2011). Surprisingly, as the US-American case has shown, this is not due to an adaptation to the mainstream American culture, but rather to the fact that narrative works written by members of ethnic minorities are actually becoming more ethno-oriented. As a result, "[e]thnic US American writers are creating a center for their literature by reclaiming aspects of their heritage languages and cultures and incorporating them into their work" (Martin 2011: 2), conveying features of their being both US-American citizens and, at the same time, members of a given ethnic minority group within that given Anglophone society. To pursue this goal, writers often use hybrid narrative techniques (cf. Martin 2011). Hence, "[t]he English language and the US mainstream culture hold primary places in US-American ethnic literature, but they have slipped from being the defining center and now must share the stage with other cultural traditions and tongues" (Martin 2011: 2).

Among many ethnic minority groups, and especially those living in Anglophone countries, there is a strong willingness to assure 'ethnic continuity' or, in some cases, to guide people towards an 'ethnic revival'. The use of 'hybrid strategies' (e.g. language mixing, humour, use of figures from myth and legends, folk heroes and tricksters, etc.) in narrative is just one of the means by which ethnic continuity can be achieved. It also follows that, ethnicity is inscribed within this type of narrative.

---

[11] The expression 'melting pot' is used to refer to a place or situation in which large numbers of people, ideas, etc. are mixed together. (From: www.oxforddictionaries.com. Latest access: 13th November 2013).

2.8 Children's Ethnic Narrative

According to Gilton (2007: 27), "[t]he general world of children's literature can be viewed as a tree with many roots and branches", in which each branch of this tree is a category (generally known as 'genre'). Each of these categories differs from the others according to content or other characteristics. Conventionally, children's narrative is classified into the following genres: picture books, traditional literature, modern fantasy, contemporary realistic fiction, multicultural literature, poetry, non-fiction, biographies and award winners (cf. Bergeron 2006: 337). The boundaries of each genre are not fixed. In fact, it is possible for one book to be included in several genres (cf. Bergeron 2006).

Despite the extensive production of literature with ethnic content for adults and children alike, this kind of narrative still lacks an exact definition as well as a categorisation within the umbrella term 'Children's Literature', although some scholars (e.g. Gilton 2007) prefer to consider both the 'multicultural literature[12]' and 'ethnic literature[13]' as two branchlets (subcategories) growing from one single branch (category). This categorisation is appropriate, because both 'Multicultural' and 'Ethnic Literature' can be seen as members of the same family and strongly interrelated. However, despite their interrelated nature, it is worth providing a brief explanation of the two adjectives ('multicultural' and 'ethnic'), which will help better understand this twofold sub-categorisation.

'Multicultural Literature' implies the inclusion of multiple cultures. Over the decades, multicultural literature has gained didactic prestige and, therefore, it is seen as a valuable didactic 'tool' within teaching programmes. Its harmonious relationship with pedagogy may lead to think that 'multicultural literature' has become a pedagogical rather than a literary term. In fact, "[it] can be seen as a pedagogical construct that has the goal of challenging the existing canon by including literature from a variety of cultural groups" (Short / Fox 2007: 222). The pedagogical nature of 'multicultural literature' lies in the fact that it usually "[...] begins with the ability to

---

[12] 'Multicultural Literature' consists of literary works which "[...] are explicitly about multicultural societies [...] [or] are implicitly multicultural in the sense of inscribing readers from other cultures inside their own cultural dynamics" (Dasenbrock 1987: 10).

[13] 'Ethnic Literature' can be defined as "[...] a form of writing focusing on ethnic experience and identity" (Hathaway 2007: 441).

recognize the traits of the world in which we live. The only way to recognize these traits is to have a society to compare and contrast to our world" (Pesce 2011: 13). Thanks to these texts, young people are generally able to develop the ability to recognize characteristics of our world as well as to realise that, even if our world is made up of racism, war and poverty, it also has "[...] colourful choices and fulfilling freedom to be our own individuals and make our own choices" (Pesce 2011: 13).

As a consequence, Multicultural Literature is about recognising differences but also similarities among people with different cultures. As any other type of child-targeted narrative, multicultural literature is about transmitting 'something' to children. However, despite ethnic literature, which aims primarily at the formation of ethnic identities and the transmission of cultural values, a multicultural story enables, first of all, children to understand people ('the others') and appreciate differences. By doing so, people can easily recognise the uniqueness of a given ethno-cultural group, which enriches their society "[...] by adding distinctive flavours to the 'salad bowl' of our common nationality. [...] Carefully selected literature enables children to 'walk in another's moccasins', making literature an excellent medium for building respect for and sensitivity to other cultures" (Stoodt *et al.* 1996: 390).

Unlike 'Multicultural Literature', 'Ethnic Narrative' is not yet considered as a didactic tool, because, as an ethno-culturally oriented type of communication, it is usually, although not exclusively, targeted at specific ethnic communities. It is worth-mentioning that 'Ethnic Narrative', targeted at a both young and adult readership, is the only literary resource providing its readers with elements which are specific of their own culture. The term 'specificity' is very much discussed among theorists and researchers of children's narrative. At times, the term 'specificity' calls into question the 'cultural authenticity' of ethnic stories or books, in general. The concept of 'Cultural Authenticity' itself is hard to define. Rather than defining it, most writers and educators "[...] discuss the complexity of cultural authenticity [...], often arguing that "you know it when you see it" as an insider reading a book about your own culture" (Short 2007b: 102). Readers who are insiders to the culture that is being represented within a given story, are usually able to recognise the cultural experiences being narrated in the story itself. Therefore, they are able to experience a sense of truth in how a given culture is being represented in books (cf. Short 2007b). This is "[...] the most common understanding of 'cultural authenticity'. Insiders

56

know a [story] is 'true' because they feel it, deep down, saying, 'Yes, that's how it is' (Short 2007b: 102).

Children's stories portraying positive and authentic materials not only increase the chances of a search for the self by the child. They also help young people during the whole phase in which they ethno-culturally self-identify. Through ethnic content in stories, children may begin to understand the heritage or the ancestry components of their own ethnicity. In the reading process, children usually become aware of their ethnic cues. This leads to a recognition of themselves as members of a given ethnic group. The expression 'ethnic self-identification' is "[...] used to describe children's accurate and consistent use of ethnic labels, based on their perceptions of themselves as belonging to an ethnic group" (Jones 2012: 306).

Within the sub-category of 'Ethnic Literature', the more traditional stories, e.g. folktales, as well as other forms of orally-transmitted literature, are particularly suitable to the strengthening of ethnic self-identification. For instance, the investigation of folktales involves the exploration as well as the identification of "[...] the cultural subjectivity of a given ethnic group. In fact, a folktale represents a significant means of expressing the identity of a group, as well as, frequently a symbol of that identity" (Bui 2013: 151).

Indeed, anything related to 'folk-culture' represents a means through which the maintenance of cohesive ethnic ties, identity and group consciousness is made possible. Furthermore, folk-culture is likely to reinforce ethnic and cultural pride, since it often narrates of a past which is rich in history, culture and traditions.

The next chapter will focus on what are some of the main linguistic features of the majority of ethno-based narrative works.

Chapter Three

LINGUISTIC FEATURES OF WRITTEN- AND ETHNO-BASED NARRATIVE

3.1 Ethnolect: A definition

Since the present study aims at the linguistic investigation of OJCSSs, which are an ethno-oriented and written-based type of communication, this chapter will focus on the characteristics of the type of language used what is commonly known as 'Ethnic Narrative'.

It is generally acknowledged that migrations of large groups of speakers to another country have produced notable changes in the language behaviours of the speakers (cf. Muysken 2010: 7). Ethnic groups living in a country where the dominant (or 'mainstream') language is different from their heritage language will have to adapt to the dominant one, under the aegis of national integration. It follows that, both "[...] migration and national integration, two facets of the phenomenon of globalisation, have conjointly led to the emergence of ethnic varieties" (Muysken 2010: 7). It is generally assumed that, throughout history, different ethnic groups living in Anglophone countries have developed their own language varieties, known as 'Ethnolects', which are often considered to be uniform, both linguistically and socio-culturally, among the members of the same ethnic group.

'Ethnolects' are generally considered non-standard language varieties, developing out of language contact[14] situations. To better understand the inclusion of ethnic language varieties (i.e. 'ethnolects') within the vast and diversified category (or label) of 'language variety', it is worth focusing on what is acknowledged as 'Language Variety'.

In a broader sense, the label 'Language Variety' is "[...] characterised by speech patterns, comprising grammar, pronunciation, phonology, spelling and so forth, that divert from Standard English" (Jackson 2010: 425). Generally speaking, it can be claimed that no language is homogenous, since each language is made up of different varieties. However, only one of these language varieties usually acquires prestige and

---

[14]'Language contact' is favoured by the use of more than one language in the same place and at the same time (cf. Thomas 2001).

becomes what is commonly known as the 'Standard Language' (cf. Leonard 1996). In fact, "[...] a standard variety is often identified as the very language itself by its own speakers, who automatically look down on its varieties considering them as corruption of the 'pure' standard" (Leonard 1999: 296). For instance, since school age, "[...] children get taught that the standard somehow 'sounds better', is more 'elegant' – even that it transmits thoughts more accurately and is somehow better suited for art, culture, law and government" (Leonard 1999: 296). However, proving that one language variety is 'better' than another one is impossible. In fact, "[t]he reason a particular dialect becomes the supposedly 'pure' standards are accidents of history" (Leonard 1999: 296).

In the literary field, the notion of 'Language Variety' is indicative of a character's own race, class, social background as well as level of education (see Jackson 2010: 425). From a purely historical perspective, the use of ethnic language varieties in literary works has been valued both positively and negatively. One of the reasons that leads to the use of ethnic varieties towards negativity is, for instance, the reinforcement of racist stereotypes and beliefs (cf. Jackson 2007). Traditionally, "[...] proper English symbolises refinement, intelligence, or affluence, [while] non-standard English implies ignorance, poverty, or vulgarity" (Jackson 2010: 427). Thus, it is not a case that "[...] people of colour or low economic status and immigrants have been especially vulnerable to parody because of a general belief that they are a lowly, uneducated group incapable of fully grasping the common language" (Jackson 2010: 427).

As from the 1970s, the term 'Ethnolect' has gradually replaced the expression 'Language Variety', although, still today, especially in North America and Great Britain, 'Language Variety' and 'Ethnolect' are often seen as synonyms (see Muysken 2010). The replacement of the expression 'Language Variety[15]' by the term 'Ethnolect' allows a more specific definition of the word used to refer to both the oral and written language spoken by members of a given ethnic group. It follows that, what differentiates an ethnolect from all other language varieties is its ethno-specific root. More broadly speaking, the general public is not familiar with the notion of 'Ethnolect', and even linguists, working in other areas, are not always familiar with the term (see Muysken 2010).

---

[15] In Sociolinguistics, other language varieties may be influenced by regional- (i.e. 'dialect'), socio-economic or gender-related factors.

The term 'Ethnolect' was first coined in the 1970s within a research study on dialect in a mid-size North American immigrant city to designate "[...] the English of the descendants of immigrant families long after their original language is lost, a language still showing traces of their home (i.e. ancestral) language" (Wölck / Carlcock 1981: 17). The study aimed at describing how language contact features, which survived in the speech of the residents of several ethnic neighbourhoods, were used by the city's population to identify each other's origin and showed how these features could be isolated (cf. Wölck / Carlcock 1981).

However, over the decades, various definitions have been given to the term 'Ethnolect'. Antroutspoulos (2000) defines it as a variety of the majority language (or 'host language') which constitutes a vernacular for speakers of a particular ethnic descent and is marked by certain contact phenomena. Similarly, Clyne (2000) defines 'Ethnolects' as varieties of a language that mark speakers as members of ethnic groups who originally used another language. Deckert and Vickers (2011) refer to ethnolects as language varieties that are used in multilingual communities by members of particular ethnic groups who come from a specific linguistic background.

Wölck (2002) proposes four pre-conditions to which the ethnolectal label can be applied. The first pre-condition is a recent history of community bilingualism (no less than third generation immigrants); the second views the communities as relatively well-defined, stable and contiguous; the third claims that communication among the community membership is close and frequent; the fourth considers ethnolectal features to be recognised, some stereotyped and stigmatised by outsiders, others (sub-consciously) still used as social indices.

In recent sociolinguistic research on ethnolects (Meshtrie 2012: 359-360), it has been claimed that 'Ethnolects' are not static and closed systems, but, rather, they are embedded within a larger linguistic universe. According to this definition, ethnolects are recognisable as forms of the mainstream language, since they share with it a wide range of linguistic elements, like special vocabulary, vowel realisations, morpho-syntax, discourse and other conventions. Moreover, as the research study has shown, each ethnolect is subject to internal variation due to factors such as class, gender and region, and also to characteristics of its speakers, like their age, their level of education or if the speakers are bilingual in both the mainstream and heritage language. These forms of ethnolect are known as basilectal (Meshtrie 2012: 360) and

"[...] are mostly eschewed by acrolectal speakers (younger, middle-class and urban), except in the most informal situations with a basilectal interlocutor" (Meshtrie 2012: 360). When the ethnic community becomes English-dominated (both linguistically and culturally), such contact or lectal differences are transferred into a class continuum, causing a language change which implies changes in the stylistic repertoire of the families over time, and does not necessarily produce new linguistic forms or varieties. The only thing which changes is the proportion of speakers who belong to different lects or styles (Meshtrie 2012: 360).

Another main variation in 'ethnolect' is due to geographical factors, like the region in which members of the same ethnic group reside. A typical example may regard the use of some words typical of certain cities or larger areas, but less common in others (cf. Meshtrie 2012). This may cause some significant differences in lexis, e.g. some words may occur far more frequently in the ethnolect spoken by people living in a given geographical area, rather than by the totality of the speakers who make up the ethnic group. Another factor, which is typical of intra-ethnolect variation, is the ethnolect's own openness to change (cf. Meshtrie 2012). For instance, some phonological features may be typical of young generations and less so among the elderly. Last but not least, also changes in socio-political arrangements may 'hit' the numbers of the speakers of a given 'ethnolect'. In fact, the 'ethnolect' may lose speakers to the mainstream (Meshtrie 2012: 360).

3.2 An Over-representing Term in Written- and Ethno-based Narrative: "Ethnolect"

The features of ethnolects represent much more than a purely academic interest, since ethnolects as a linguistic phenomenon are "[...] heavily loaded in terms of the notions of national identity, language purity and language diversity" (Muysken 2010: 8). It is, therefore, not a wonder that, studies focusing on ethnolects have developed an increasingly important research area within bilingualism and language contact studies in general. However, despite the existence of a considerable amount of written materials, including many ethno-centered narrative works, in which the

linguistic medium is presumably an ethnic language variety, research focusing on language contact has always focused primarily on the oral code.

Textual codes are generally considered as a means through which cultural representation is made possible. Identity is always inscribed within culture-specific texts and, to an even larger extent, within ethno-oriented narrative. Consequently, the presentation as well as representation of ethno-cultural identity is directly related to and depending on language. Since language is so strategic in both the presentation and representation of a given ethno-cultural group and is, thus, so ethno-culturally bound, readers usually expect books or stories to be written in the 'vernacular' (or 'ethnolect') traditionally used within the ethnic group authors of ethnic narrative come from. For instance, more broadly speaking, if a story's content focuses on an Afro-American community and its culture, people may expect the story to be written in 'Black American English' (BAE), which is a language variety that has been variously labelled as 'Non-Standard Black Dialect', 'Black English Vernacular' (BEV), 'African American English' (AAE), 'African American Vernacular English' (AAVE), 'Ebonics', 'Black Communications', 'Black Poverty Language', 'Casual Register English' and 'RAP'. Similarly, if we read books focusing on American-Jewry of Eastern *Ashkenazi* heritage, we might expect them to be written in what is today variously labelled as 'Jewish American English' (JAE), 'Yinglish' or 'Yiddish-influenced (American) English' (YIAE). They are all synonyms of the same language variety or 'ethnolect' and all referring to the type of language that American Jews are supposed to use in their common everyday speech.

Indeed, viewing 'African American English' or 'Jewish American English' as an 'Ethnolect', or 'Language Variety', would be a reification, especially, but not exclusively, when referring to the written medium. In fact, the labels used to refer to the language members of a given ethnic group are supposed to speak, are too inclusive and globalising, since people belonging to the same ethnic group speak differently from one another. Therefore, starting a linguistic investigation on either the oral or the written code used by members of a given ethnic group, considering it a uniform language, would be non-sense and should be kept in mind especially while analysing written-based texts.

The Jewish case is particularly interesting, since Jews do actually share a common ethnic origin. However, at the same time, the 'Jewish folk' is made up of many different groups, each one having its own distinctive historical, cultural, social,

linguistic and religious traits. Several other factors, beside the ones mentioned above, may influence the speech and writing of each of the members belonging to a given Jewish group. Among the most common, it is possible to find variables linked to the age and gender of the speakers. Other factors influencing their speech may be due to the level of integration into mainstream English-speaking society, loyalty to religion, which causes, in the majority of cases, a more extensive use of terms stemming from the Old Hebrew of the biblical or rabbinical Texts, regional speech (e.g. speakers absorb features of local varieties into their way of communicating), personal connection to Israel, which may lead to an increased use of Modern Israeli Hebrew loanwords, having a rather significant impact on lexis and phonology. These features are possessed by any Jew grown up in a bilingual or even semi-bilingual community and make Jews distinctive not only from Jews belonging to other groups (in other words, those who do not share the same linguistic and cultural background), but even by Jews belonging to the same group or community.

The re-conceptualisation of notions like 'Ethnolect' or 'Language Variety' becomes even more realistic if researchers aim at confining their linguistic analyses to language contact phenomena within written-based texts. Similarly to Bakkum's (2009: 319) description of epigraphic material, textual material is "[...] an individual 'utterance', generated as a kind of 'one-sided interaction' directed towards a (conceived) reader". This turns out to be a disadvantage when attempting to analyse language contact situations, since language contact usually presupposes spoken interactions between two or more speakers, involving more than one language.

Another main structural problem is due to the written nature of the material that researchers aim to investigate. Written-based communication is traditionally defined as "[...] an indirect or derived form of language use" (Bakkum 2009: 320). This is because writing is an acquired process. As a consequence, it does not necessarily reflect spoken language at every turn. Thus, the acquirisition of "[...] the art of writing a specific language involves mastering a set of rules associated with the writing of that language and its written tradition" (Bakkum 2009: 320). It follows that written-based communication involves a rather definite set of consciously acquired prescriptions which tell the writer how s/he "[...] should 'translate' a mentally conceived or spoken utterance into one that is acceptable within the written form of that language" (Bakkum 2009: 320). With regard to the variety of literary genres, authors of narrative texts always have to respect some 'rules', more

commonly known as 'literary conventions'. At this point, it is easy to assume that the difference between oral and written communication becomes even bigger. As users of both the spoken and written medium, all humans can testify that there is a gap between the way we speak and the way we write and this gap may be vast, even if this speaking and writing concerns the same utterance (cf. Bakkum 2009). For instance, some of the features of the spoken code do not necessarily belong to the written one, like repetitions, forms of over-marking and so forth. These are seen as unnecessary. On the other hand, other features cannot be used just because this is what the rules say or "[...] because the written language, which is taught and learned, is necessarily more conservative than the spoken language, and therefore by its very existence produces a level-distinction between spoken and written language" (Bakkum 2009: 320).

With literary production in mind, narrative texts, like children's stories, are intellectual 'products' by individuals and are not the product of a whole ethnic group. Authors of narrative texts can manipulate language by creating special effects or meanings, use figurative language, hyperbole, imagery or symbolism, which are all culture-specific features of a language. Furthermore, features of their own distinctive linguistic identity may be incorporated into their own works as well. In sum, writers have at their disposal a whole range of linguistic 'weapons' whereby they not only express some of the norms and values typical of their own culture but also convey their own (ethno-specific) linguistic peculiarities.

3.3 A Written- and Ethno-based Distinctive Linguistic Repertoire in Narrative

So far, the present research study has shed light on how 'ethnolects' are not uniform linguistic entities spoken and written by uniform groups of people, sharing the same ethno-cultural traits. To better analyse linguistic phenomena linked to multilingual communities, both in their oral and written productions, it is important to view at ethnolects from a more realistic perspective. The notion of 'Ethnolect' is still too over-representing or inclusive.

When referring to a given language variety (including both its oral and written production) of a specific ethnic group living, for instance, in a society where English

is the mainstream language, it is worth noticing the existence of inter- and intra-speaker language variation. As already mentioned, language choice by members of the same ethnic community or group usually depends on a series of factors, like ancestral language or languages, gender, age, generation from immigration, integration into mainstream society and so forth. The aforesaid factors generally have a decisive role in one's own way or ways of speaking and interacting with members of the same ethnic group as well as with 'outsiders', namely people who do not belong to the ethnic group.

In written-based and ethno-oriented communication, language choice by individuals (like authors of OJCSSs) necessitates an in-depth investigation on what are some of the distinguishing features of the above-mentioned type of communication. This kind of investigation will help show how written- and ethno-based communication diverges from the oral-based one.

First of all, language choices by writers traditionally depend on literary conventions. Secondly, it can be argued that the language of ethnic narrative is an ethno-oriented idiolect[16]. In fact, writers of ethnic narrative, along with resecting at least some of the literary conventions that they are supposed to follow while mentally organising their stories, they also incorporate linguistic features that are typical of their own idiolect. It is by means of language that cultural elements (values, norms, beliefs, traditions, etc.) are expressed and transmitted to the readers who assimilate words, including the cultural load they carry.

Broadly speaking, it can be claimed that, within written- and ethno-based narrative, cultural resources are expressed through the use of specific linguistic resources. As the linguistic analysis of the present research study will show, the majority of these linguistic resources, actively selected and used by writers of Jewish children's narrative, encapsulate meaningful heritage culture concepts. The linguistic analysis of Jewish children's stories on the Web, which include innumerable instances of language contact between English (the 'mainstream language') and Yiddish (the 'heritage language') or, alternatively, between English and Hebrew (the 'holy language'), will be based on an approach to ethnic language studies which provides

---

[16] In Linguistics, an 'Idiolect' is a variety of language that is unique to a person, as manifested by the patterns of vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation s/he uses. It follows that the language production of any individual is unique.

linguists with a more realistic way to look at ethnic language studies, known as 'Distinctive Linguistic Repertoire' (Benor 2008, 2010).

In a recent study based on ethnic language variation focusing on US-American Jewry (of Yiddish heritage), it has been claimed that "[...] the notion of a bounded linguistic entity used by an ethnic group is fraught with theoretical problems [...]. [In fact,] [n]ot all members of an ethnic group use the ethnolect, and those who do may use some linguistic features and not others" (Benor 2010: 2). Furthermore, the above mentioned factors help better comprehend that the concept of a bounded linguistic entity within a given ethnic group is no longer acceptable. The 'Distinctive Linguistic Repertoire' "[...] is defined as a fluid set of linguistic resources that members of an ethnic group may use variably as they index their ethnic identities" (Benor 2010: 2). Thus, members belonging to a given ethnic group are seen as using the local language (or the 'mainstream language') in conjunction with linguistic resources deriving from the speaker's own distinctive repertoire. The present notion of 'Repertoire' involves a number of linguistic resources that can be selected from all levels of language (i.e. phonology, morphosyntax, prosody, discourse and lexicon, as well as, among bilinguals, code-switching) (cf. Benor 2010).

The notion of 'Distinctive Linguistic Repertoire' is particularly suitable for the aims of the present research study, since the 'Distinctive Linguistic Repertoire' includes the use of language resources that favour language contact situations. It is generally acknowledged that linguistic phenomena developing out of language contact situations can be found both in oral- and written-based communication. In fact, according to Benor's approach, apart from the above-mentioned levels of language, which are fully involved in the process of the 'Distinctive Linguistic Repertoire', linguistic elements reflecting both oral and written language contact features, such as loanwords, lexical options, grammatical constructions and phrases, discourse markers, intonational patterns or regional pronunciations, are involved as well (cf. Benor 2010).

The notion of 'Linguistic Repertoire' in Sociolinguistics (see Gumperz 1964; Blom and Gumperz 1972; Hymes 1986 [1967], among others) seems to put special emphasis on the role of individual speakers (and therefore on 'individual agency'). In terms of language choices, similarly to what authors do while writing their stories, speakers have access to a set of linguistic resources they select from their linguistic repertoire while communicating orally with their interlocutors. The selection of

linguistic resources from one's own linguistic repertoire varies according to the interlocutor.

Apart from the linguistic differences existing between oral and written communication, what differentiates a writer from a speaker in the selection of linguistic resources from her/his repertoire is the higher level of consciousness that writers have while selecting such resources. In fact, it is traditionally acknowledged that speakers select and use linguistic resources in a rather unconscious way (time is limited in oral-based communication and the oral code is more direct and spontaneous than writing). In written-based communication, the selection and consequent use of linguistic resources tends to be more accurate. In other words, wrting is more planned.

The case of Jewish children's stories is particularly interesting, since the language used in them can be said to be of a strategic nature, aiming, as this research study will show, at given Jewish-related purposes. Traditionally, in ethno-oriented children's narrative, language serves, among other things, as a conduit by which ethnic and cultural identity can be expressed. Former studies on the relationships occurring between language and identity (see, among others, Fishman 1977) claim that language is a central means of marking ethnic identity. As also underlined by Duszak (2002: 134), the ethnic identity of a given group, "[...] may be marked within the dominant's group language by a variety of linguistic features."

Furthermore, it can be claimed that, the ethnic marking of language, through the use of linguistic elements stemming from one's own distinctive (i.e. ethno-based) linguistic repertoire can also be analysed in terms of 'psycho-linguistic distinctiveness' (Giles *et al.* 1977), as a means of differentiation from non-group members, varying according to the level of importance assigned to one's own ethnic identity. In other words, "[t]he more salience ethnic group identity has for an individual, the more ethnic group marking could be expected to occur in his/her language" (Duszak *et al.* 2002: 134). This is also the case of the authors of OJCSSs who strategically select and use linguistic resources deriving from their own distinctive linguistic repertoire, as illustrated in Figure 1:

Figure 1. General definition of 'Distinctive Linguistic Repertoire'.

```
                    ┌─────────────────────┐
                    │     Distinctive     │
                    │     Linguistic      │
                    │  Repertoire (DLR)   │
                    └─────────────────────┘
                              │
                              ▼
            ┌───────────────────────────────────────┐
            │     fluid set of linguistic resources │
            │  members of a given ethnic group use  │
            │ variably to index their ethnic identity│
            └───────────────────────────────────────┘
                              │
                              ▼
                           use of
                      ╱              ╲
                    ╱                  ╲
                  ▼                      ▼
      ┌──────────────────┐    ┌──────────────────────┐
      │                  │    │  linguistic elements │
      │ local (or        │    │    selected and      │
      │ mainstream)      │    │ deployed from the DLR │
      │ language (e.g.   │    │                      │
      │ English)         │    └──────────────────────┘
      └──────────────────┘              │
                                        ▼
  ┌────────────────────────────┐   ┌──────────────────────────┐
  │ this psycho-linguistic     │   │ involving all levels of  │
  │ mechanism favours          │◄──│ language,                │
  │ language contact situations│   │ e.g. phonology,          │
  │ in both oral- and          │   │ morpho-syntax,           │
  │ written-based communicative│   │ prosody, discourse,      │
  │ events,                    │   │ lexicon,                 │
  │ e.g through the use of     │   │ code-switching, etc.     │
  │ loanwords, lexical options,│   │                          │
  │ grammatical constructions  │   └──────────────────────────┘
  │ and phrases, discourse     │
  │ markers, intonational      │
  │ patterns, etc.             │
  └────────────────────────────┘
```

3.4 Written and Ethno-based Distinctive Linguistic Repertoire vs. Code-Switching in Narrative

In order to provide a more exact collocation of the 'Distinctive Linguistic Repertoire' (henceforth, DLR) approach (Benor 2008, 2010) within written- and ethno-based narrative, the present section aims at further theorising the concept of DLR, by adding 'Written- and Ethno-based' to the above-mentioned notion. This will limit its use to the analysis of written- and ethno-based communicative texts.

The notion 'Written- and Ethno-based Distinctive Linguistic Repertoire' (henceforth, WEDLR) first aims at distinguishing itself from the more general concept of 'Linguistic Repertoire'. In fact, a 'Linguistic Repertoire' is defined as "[...] the totality of styles (both spoken and written) available to a community [...] in order to fill various communicative needs" (Milroy / Milroy 199: 100). Secondly, the WEDLR concept helps better locate the linguistic distinctiveness of individual members belonging to a given ethnic group within the written dimension of texts, like Jewish children's stories on the Web. This differentiation also favours a more realistic and analytic approach to the analysis of the linguistic resources strategically selected from the writers' own linguistic repertoires.

Generally speaking, the process of selecting resources from the linguistic repertoire while communicating both orally and in writing is considered similar to what speakers do while they use code-switching. Indeed, despite these similarities, a series of structural problems do occur between the use of code-switching, which is traditionally bound to the oral code, and the strategic selection of linguistic resources from one's own linguistic repertoire, a phenomenon that can be best referred to written-based communication. At this point, it is worth highlighting what 'Code-switching' means and analysing some of its main characteristics, in order to understand why the phenomenon of code-switching does not fit into the linguistic analysis of Jewish children's stories on the Web and any other type of written- and ethno-based texts in general. It might be useful to start from the definition of the term 'Code' which originally derives from the fields of Communication and Semiotics (cf. Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics, 1994, Vol. 2).

In Communication Studies, "[...] a code is a rule for converting a piece of information (for example, a letter, a word or a phrase) into another form or

representation, not necessarily of the same sort" (Liu 2006: 2). In Semiotic Studies, the analysis of the concept of 'Code' does play a central role. For instance, de Saussure (1959) emphasises how signs acquire meaning and, thus, value, only when they are interpreted in relation to each other. Consequently, the mental process of interpretation between 'Signifier' and 'Signified[17]' is arbitrary. It follows that "[...] interpreting signs requires familiarity with the sets of conventions or codes currently in use to communicate meaning" (Liu 2006: 3).

The definition of 'Code' in the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (OALD, 2013) is the following: 'Code' is "[...] a system of words, letters, numbers or symbols that represent a message or record information secretly or in a shorter form." Hence, code-switching refers to the use of words and structures deriving from more than one language by the same speaker, within the same speech situation, conversation or utterance (see Callahan 2004: 5). This phenomenon may occur at two levels of language, namely at an inter-sentential and intra-sentential level and it may consist of single words or phrases (see Callahan 2004: 5). In the former ('intersentential code-switching'), "[...] a change of language occurs at a clause or sentence boundary, where each clause or sentence is in one language or the other. In other words, it is a switching at a sentence level" (Gluth 2002: 9). In the latter, insead, ('intra-sentential code-switching'), code-switching phenomena occur within a clause boundary. Therefore, "[i]ntra-sentential code-switching represents switching at the clause, phrase level or at word level if no morphological adaptation occurs and the above mentioned criteria for the distinguishing code-switches and borrowings are observed" (Gluth 2002: 9).

As from the early 1980s, there has been a great amount of discussion concerning the question of what can be considered 'Intra-Sentential Code-Switching', as opposed to other language phenomena which are similar to it (see Poplack 1980; Sankoff and Poplack 1981; Romaine 1989; Schatz 1989; Myers-Scotton 1989, 1990, 1992, among others). Linguists have theorised two main types of code-switching: one known as 'Situational Code-Switching' and another one as 'Metaphoric Code-Switching'.

The first depends on the situation in which the speakers find themselves and, as a result, the languages used vary according to such situations. Conversely, the 'Metaphoric Code-Switching' takes place when a change of topic involves a change
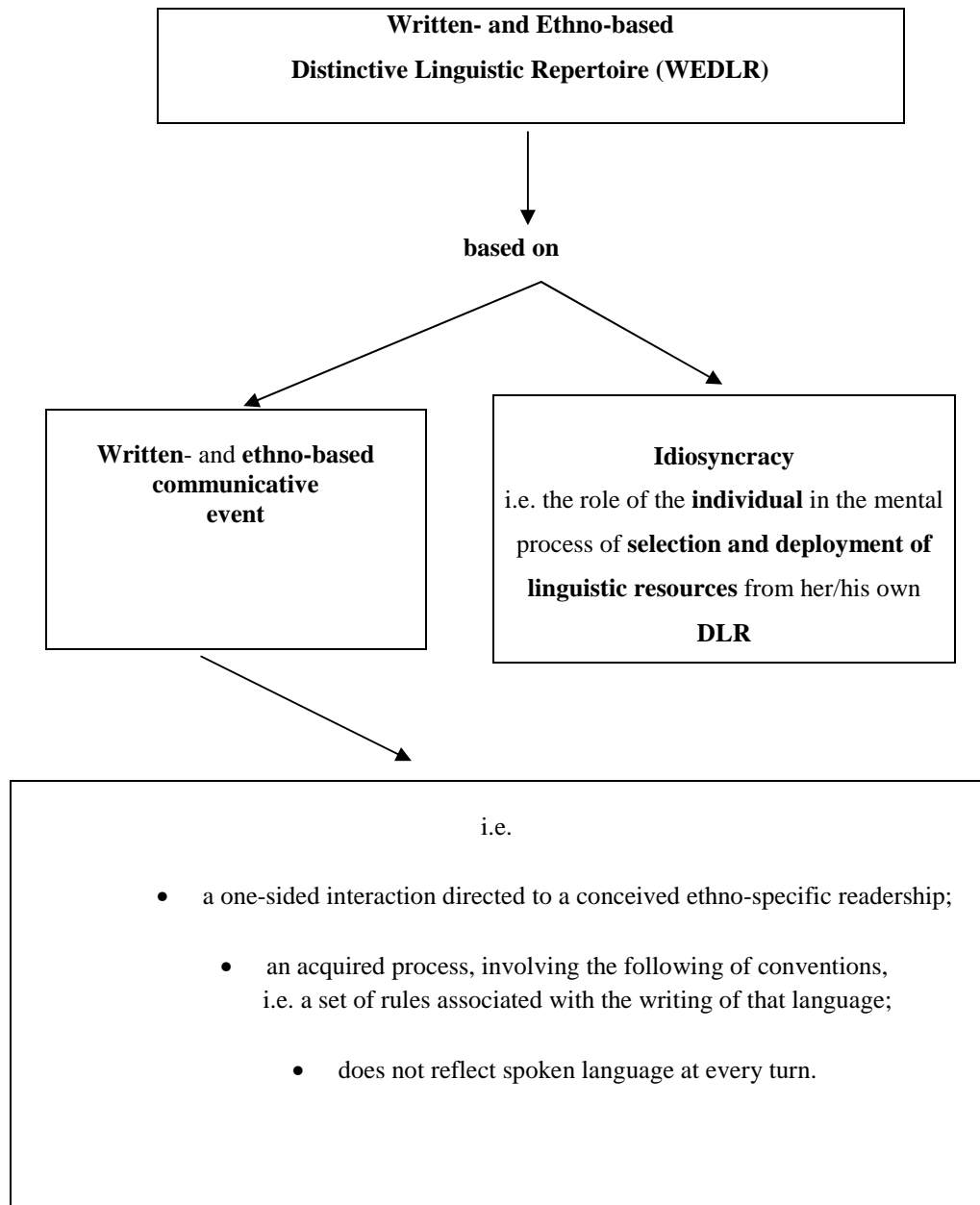
---

[17] As the two parts of a sign, the 'signifier' is the form that the sign will take (it may be a sound or an image), while the 'signified' is the meaning that is conveyed.

in the language which is being used (see Wardhaugh 2010: 101). Besides, it has to be stressed that some topics may be discussed in both codes, but "[...] the choice of code adds a distinct flavour to what is said about the topic. The choice encodes certain social values" (Wardhaugh 2010: 101-102). Still today, despite the immense research on this field, theorists still find it difficult to explain precisely when, linguistically and socially, code-switching occurs (see Wardhaugh 2010).

From what has just been discussed, present-day code-switching has primarily been seen as the main feature of oral communication traditionally carried out by bilingual or multilingual speakers. Thus, code-switching is largely viewed as an oral-bound linguistic phenomenon. This implies a series of features that are typical of oral speech, like the more spontaneous (and less conscious and less planned) way in which code-switching occurs. Spontaneousness is traditionally opposed to written-based communication. In fact, written-based communication is the result of low levels of spontaneity. Written texts are the the result of a more deliberate use of linguistic elements by their authors. As a matter of fact, most linguists researching on code-switching phenomena tend to analyse spontaneous code-switching in oral communication "[...] as a loosely monitored speech mode, circumscribed by basic syntactic restrictions, but largely below the level of conscious awareness" (Lipski 2007: 210).

Over the last decades, linguistic analyses focusing on code-switching within written-based texts have not been as prolific as those carried out on oral-based texts. As a result, theoretical views justifying the use of code-switching in writing are still lacking. The lack of research in this field is due to a general negative attitude towards language contact within written-based texts by the majority of sociolinguists who prefer to focus on the oral peculiarities of code-switching. This is because written-based code-switching does not really reflect the speech of bilingual (or multilingual) speakers and is not seen as naturally occurring and, thus, as not authentic speech. As a result, important theories justifying the use of code-switching in writing are still lacking. The following figure illustrates the concept of WEDLR.

Figure 2. Definition of WEDLR.

```
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│           Written- and Ethno-based           │
│     Distinctive Linguistic Repertoire (WEDLR) │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────┘
                      │
                      ▼
                  based on
                 ╱        ╲
                ▼          ▼
┌──────────────────────┐  ┌──────────────────────────────┐
│  Written- and        │  │        Idiosyncracy          │
│  ethno-based         │  │ i.e. the role of the         │
│  communicative       │  │ individual in the mental     │
│  event               │  │ process of selection and     │
│                      │  │ deployment of linguistic     │
│                      │  │ resources from her/his own   │
│                      │  │           DLR                │
└──────────────────────┘  └──────────────────────────────┘
          │
          ▼
┌──────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                          i.e.                             │
│                                                           │
│  • a one-sided interaction directed to a conceived        │
│    ethno-specific readership;                             │
│                                                           │
│  • an acquired process, involving the following of        │
│    conventions, i.e. a set of rules associated with       │
│    the writing of that language;                          │
│                                                           │
│  • does not reflect spoken language at every turn.        │
│                                                           │
└──────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
```

The next chapter focuses on Jewish children's stories and websites. In particular, the chapter will analyse the role of visual features included in the online Jewish children's stories under scrutiny. Special attention will be paid to the function of 'Jewish images' found in the Corpus and their role, in association with 'distinctly Jewish linguistic resources' in the construction, expression and transmission of Jewish identity.

72

Chapter Four

JEWISH CHILDREN'S STORIES AND WEBSITES: TOWARDS A VISUAL REPRESENTATION OF JEWISH IDENTITY ON THE WEB

4.1 Jewish Children's Stories: An Introductory Overview

It is traditionally acknowledged that children's stories play a crucial role in the socialisation process of any child. As a matter of fact, stories do often act as 'socialising tools', whereby young readers acquire knowledge, skills and behavioural style that enable them to conform to the expectations of their social, cultural and religious environment.

It is also generally acknowledged that Jewish people migrating to new countries brought with them languages, memories and also stories, like any other ethnic group usually does. In order to guarantee Jewish continuity, stories had and still have to be transmitted to future generations. When sharing Jewish stories with young children, culture-related values and concepts are being introduced and then possibly integrated into their lives. Therefore, it is not hazardous to claim tha the majority of Jewish children encounter most of their own knowledge about the norms, customs and values of their heritage culture as well as its millenary memories, legends and traditions through stories whose aim can be said to favour and stimulate young readers' enculturation processes.

In more general terms, Jewish ethno-based children's narrative not only helps develop a deeper sense of the reader's own cultural affiliation and belonging to Judaism, but it can also be seen as an integral constituent of Jewish culture. Since childhood is acknowledged to be the most important formative stage, "[t]he literature which is written and published for children plays a crucial role in the socialization process which is an integral element of childhood. [...] Children's [stories] can not be isolated from the culture in which they are produced" (Pohl 2011: 14). In this regard, Jewish children's stories serve a primary cultural function in allowing Jewish readers to become acquainted with a central part of their ethno-cultural heritage.The majority of Jewish children's stories under scrutiny pursue a common goal – they wish to express Judaism, highlighting Jewish values, and to reinforce that sense of

Jewishness in the child. Handelman and Schein (2004: xvi) remark that Judaism itself "[...] is a religion and culture based on stories. There is a Jewish aspect for every aspect of life and every theme under the sun. [...] Stories help illustrate Jewish values in action [...] [which then] lead to Jewish behaviours." Especially in a time in which both cultural continuity and integrity are at risk, Jewish children's stories may be particularly helpful.

As Schwartz (2008) points out, Jewish stories "[...] are the mirror and the memory of the Jewish soul". Broadly speaking, Jewish children's stories "[...] portray the joy as well as the vicissitudes that have marked Jewish life throughout History" (Silver 2010: xi). The majority of these stories emphasise positivity, because "[...] children deserve to be offered hope and affirmation about Jewish identity and history before learning about the hardships that the Jewish people have endured" (Silver 2010: xi).

As the present study will show, today's Jewish children's stories tend to reflect the pluralism of contemporary Judaism. Their content may range from fully observant to marginally Jewish. In fully observant stories, *Torah* values are central and virtually all aspects of life are portrayed from a Jewish perspective, while in more mainstream stories Jewish individuals are traditionally found in secular settings. Furthermore, some topics faced within stories are more popular than others. This is especially the case of stories focusing on the Bible, holidays and the Holocaust.

4.2 Contemporary Judaism and the Age of the Internet

Nowadays, scholars on disciplinary areas like Communication Studies and Linguistics, have taken deeper interest in what is known as 'New Mass-Media', with special regard to the World Wide Web, "[...] a significant and unique new medium for the dissemination and storage of information" (Sherlick / Hong 2008: 7). In fact, it is widely known that the Internet offers a wide range of opportunities, an ever-increasing quantity of diverse information as well as new communication possibilities, for young and adult people alike. The Web opens up 'new worlds' to everyone and, if used effectively and appropriately, it enhances education. Especially within studies focusing on Pedagogy, investigating on the use that children make of

this powerful tool is of key importance. In fact, the Internet offers vast resources and has a magical appeal, especially among youngsters.

Previous research on Jewish Education (cf. Tornberg / Woocher 1998) has shown that effective methods of online learning have been developed over the last few years and, according to this study, the Internet greatly enhances Jewish learning. Furthermore, the study has shown how, as from the second half of the 1990s, Orthodox branches of Judaism have been dominating the Jewish World Wide Web. For instance, this study points out that, while searching for Jewish-related topics and typing key-words such as 'Judaism', 'Jews' or 'Jewish' in the search tab of a search engine (e.g. google.com and yahoo.com), the majority of websites created in the 1990s were about synagogues, Chabad and Reform Jewish educational institutions. When the Web became a 'tool' available to anyone possessing a computer with an Internet connection, synagogues, Jewish schools, national and international Jewish organisations belonging to different branches of Judaism started to grow exponentially (cf. Tornberg 1998).

However, initially, the Internet was not welcomed by all movements of Judaism. Members of communities belonging to the more conservative branches of Judaism, like the *Haredim*, have taken steps to deal with the ever-increasing use of the Internet among their communities. Despite an initial ban on the use of the Internet in early 2000, a group of prominent Israeli rabbis representing Hasidic, Lithuanian, Sephardic and Mizrahi communities did issue a dispensation for business use, realising that the Internet is indeed an indispensable tool. However, at that time, although the use of the Internet was made available almost exclusively for business purposes, the rabbis specifically noted that its use should, under no circumstances, be available in the home. Things began to change once filters controlling the Internet contents became more advanced. From that moment, *Haredim* began to make a more extensive use of the Internet as well as of other technological devices, using them as a 'tool' for personal communication, among other things. However, some Ultra-Orthodox courts, such as the *Belz Hasidim*, once they realised that their adherents were making use of the Internet regardless, permitted its use under strict supervision only[18].

Nowadays, the Internet plays a major role within almost any Jewish educational field, since, as a 'tool' spreading information, the World Wide Web helps stimulate

---

[18] With reference to Baskin's (2011) *Judaism and Jewish Culture*.

many Jews' motivation to learn about their own ethno-cultural heritage. It is not hazardous to claim that "[t]here is an entire world of Jewish culture and learning that can be discovered online. From a virtual *dreidl*[19] game with an interactive *Chanukah*[20] story to an online *Seder*[21], to information about the Baal Shem Tov, students can investigate almost anything Jewish" (Tornberg 1998: 525). Thus, Jewish ways of learning and teaching are changing. Any type of Jewish text can be read in manifold ways, in other words, in ways that were previously unthinkable. Furthermore, the whole philosophical concept of 'Jewish Education' has changed. One of the most remarkable feautures of the Internet is that it evolves rapidly and constantly. The number of websites, more or less specialised in Jewish heritage and culture, are rapidly and constantly increasing as well. These websites not only offer a focus on any type of Jewish-related subject, but also provide a valuable supplemental material suitable for the enrichment of their visitors' knowledge about Judaism. Additionally, due to Jewish Diaspora, Jewish-related resources can be found in many languages. In the contemporary context of globalisation, representation is of primary importance not only for the virtual dimension, but also for the conditions under which given ethnic groups decide to articulate their needs in the context of a global society. In fact, to let hear one's own voice and to represent oneself on the World Wide Web has become a major goal (Zurawsky 2004: 211).

Consequently, the Internet should be seen as the 'tool' whereby a characterisation of a new stage in Jewish contemporary history is made possible. Besides, "[a]s a virtual form of communications recognising no boundaries [...], [the Web] has enabled Diaspora networking to an extent never before realised" (Cohen 2012: 200). At this point, it is worth examining 'Jewish websites', i.e. websites run by groups of Jewish people or indivual Jews, containing Jewish-related content.

---

[19] A *dreidl* (or *dreidel*, *dreydl*) is a four-sided spinning top, played with during the Jewish holiday of *Hannukah*. The term *dreidl* (including its variants) derives from the Yiddish verb *dreyen*. The latter stems from the German verb *drehen*, meaning "to turn".

[20] *Chanukah* (or *Hannukah*) is an eight-day Jewish holiday, which commemorates the re-dedication of the Holy Temple in Jerusalem at the time of the Maccabean Revolt against the Seleucid Empire of the 2nd century BC. In English, it is also known as the 'Festival of Lights', since this event is observed by the kindling of the lights of the *Menorah*, or *Haniukah*, the nine-branched Jewish candelabrum, consisting of eight branches plus a raised branch, traditionally called *Shamash*.

[21] *Seder* is a word deriving from the Hebrew language, meaning "order" or "sequence". It may refer to Jewish holidays (e.g. Passover Seder), the Hebrew Bible (i.e. a portion of a biblical book in the masoretic text of the *Tanakh*), Talmudic Texts (e.g. one of the six orders of the *Mishnah*), Jewish liturgy (i.e. an order of prayers which constitutes a Jewish liturgy) or Jewish mysticism (i.e. the *Seder hishtalshelus*, a concept in the *Kabbalah* focusing on God).

'Jewish websites' can be classified into three main groups, namely: 'organisational', 'news' and 'commercials' (see Cohen 2012). While analysing Jewish content on the Web, topics linked to Judaism traditionally play a major role. Especially within online-based Jewish education, the religious dimension becomes centrefold. Religious content on the World Wide Web may include the Bible, commentaries, the Talmud as well as codes of the Jewish Law (see Cohen 2012). However, the digitisation of texts through the Internet has raised some important issues within Judaism about the online production of sacred and other religious texts. In fact, traditionally both tradition and teaching instruct religious communities on how religious texts should be interpreted, handled and performed. As a consequence, these instructions make up the basis of a 'philosophy of communication' in which the level of flexibility or rigidity of the interpretation of rules surrounding sacred texts characterises how a given religious group views and treats the written word in general (see Campbell 2010).

Another aspect worth mentioning is related to the loss of control over the kind of information to which Jewish people (especially young people) are being exposed, with special regard to pornography (see Sherlick / Hong 2008). This creates conflicts with religious principles, especially among the most conservative branches of Judaism where any form of modernity and popular culture is rejected. It is no wonder that, when the Internet was first being made available to everybody, leaders of the most conservative branches of Judaism were afraid that, by its use, "[...] popular culture messages from the 'outside world' and the values that they represented would conflict with their own values" (Sherlick / Hong 2008: 6). Furthermore, religious leaders were afraid that the values coming from the 'outside' would affect the control the leaders maintained on their own followers and, in particular, their children (see Sherlick / Hong 2008).

Worldwide movements belonging to different branches making up Modern Orthodox Judaism allow a much greater level of flexibility towards new technological devices and an even greater sense of openness towards the surrounding non-Jewish society (or 'mainstream society'). Such movements provide the opportunity to combine the practice of traditional Jewish values and the participation in a largely non-Jewish society. An interesting example is given by the North American Jewish movements, which "[...] would best be describing as adhering to Jewish Law, known as *Halakah*, and custom on a continuum from the Orthodox – the most strictly observant – to the

Reform – those following Jewish rituals from a more broad-based *Halakah*" (Sherlick / Hong 2008: 10). However, whatever the level of flexibility or rigidity in the different Jewish branches is, it can be claimed that the Internet has already revolutionised contemporary Judaism and led to profound changes within Judaism.

4.3 Jewish Websites

A 'Jewish Website' is "[...] any site that regularly contains overt Jewish content, targets a Jewish audience and self-identifies as Jewish. Jewish websites [...] engage in a larger, evolving and common conversation about Jewish issues" (Kelman 2011: 219). Jewish Websites, through which almost any imaginable aspect of Judaism can be explored, are becoming an increasingly important aspect of Jewish life and, in many cases, they even serve as representative of Jewish communal life (see Kelman 2011).

Thanks to the great appeal of the World Wide Web, people (Jews and non-Jews willing to find out more about general or specific aspects of Judaism) are encouraged to search for information about Jewish topics on the Internet, since this technological device offers its users the chance to enhance their own understanding of Judaism in a rather simple and fast way. Jewish materials on the Web can be accessed in two main ways:

- through the use of a search engine – the most popular ones are google.com and yahoo.com. Once being on one of these search engines, key-words like 'Jewish Stories', 'Jewish Law', 'Jewish Holidays', 'Jewish Organisations' etc. (according to one's own research wishes) can be typed in the search tab of the above-mentioned search web engines. After clicking on 'search', a whole list of links relating to the topic the user wishes to know about will appear;
- by going directly to the website where information about the topic the user wishes to read about is contained. In this case, the fastest way is to type in the address of the website. Otherwise, it is possible to use one of the search engines and type in the address of the website that the user wishes to visit.

Jewish online materials have been growing at an exponential rate since the advent of the Internet in the early 1990s. At that time, the first aggregate of Jewish websites included Andrew Tannenbaum's site *Judaism and Jewish Resources*, which started in 1993, with less than ten links. By 2009, 'Jewish websites' featuring different denominational, commercial, educational or periodical content, were millions. Among other things, it is nowadays possible to find websites containing digital publications of traditional texts, up to materials deriving from popular culture phenomena and nearly everything in-between the two mentioned text types. These online materials come from different parts of the world. However, it is worth mentioning that the majority of Jewish materials are made in Israel and the USA (see Baskin 2011).

4.4 The Jewish Websites in the Corpus

As previously mentioned, the aim of the present research study is to analyse written-based language contact situations occurring between English and Yiddish or, alternatively, between English and Hebrew. Such language contact situations occur in a Corpus which is made up of fifty-five online Jewish children's short stories[22], ideally targeted at a young Jewish readers of Eastern *Ashekenazi* heritage.

In particular, following the principles of the 'Distinctive Linguistic Repertoire' approach (Benor 2008, 2010), the analysis will try to shed light on how different linguistic resources are strategically selected from the authors' own 'distinctly Jewish linguistic repertoire' and then used in the stories making up the Corpus. It can be claimed that, just like in the case of children's stories, the three 'Jewish websites' under scrutiny aim at achieving the same purposes, namely the expression and transmission of Judaism and, to many extents, also the raise of that sense of

---

[22] The selected online (Eastern *Ashkenazi*-oriented) Jewish children's short stories are targeted at children who are in one of the two stages of childhood, generally known as 'Early Childhood' and 'Middle (or Late) Childhood'. 'Early Childhood' is usually described as the period from early infancy to six or seven years of age, while 'Middle or Late Childhood' usually extends from the age of seven or eight to the beginning of puberty, i.e. to the age of twelve or thirteen, when the individual becomes sexually mature. However, the above-mentioned stages are not clear-cut. Different scholars (i.e. pedagogists) refer to different ages to describe these two different childhood stages.

Jewishness, known among Jews of Eastern *Ashkenazi* heritage as *Yiddishkeit*[23] ('yidishkayt' in the phonetic transcription) and this thanks to the material and information these websites display. The present section focuses on the three Jewish websites from which the Corpus was taken, namely:

- www.jewishmag.com[24];
- www.nishmas.org[25];
- www.shemayisrael.com[26].

The above-mentioned Jewish websites convey different kinds of Jewish-related information, as the analysis will show. Their different sections can be read virtually by anyone visiting them. The stories contained in the websites are suitable for children in their early childhood[27] or in their middle (or late) childhood[28].The three websites are targeted at English-speaking Jews, since they are entirely in English, although innumerable situations of language contact (English / Hebrew and English / Yiddish) can be found throughout the different sections making up the three websites.

---

[23] The Yiddish-origin term *Yiddishkeit* derives from the Yiddish adjective "*yidish*" (meaning 'Jewish', from Middle High German (henceforth, MHG) "jüdisch") and the MHG suffix –*keit* (i.e. "-hood"). It means "Jewishness", i.e. "a Jewish way of life". It is widely (but not exclusively) used by *Ashkenazi* Jews to refer to the Yiddish-speaking Jews from Central and Eastern Europe and, more particularly, to Jews belonging to Orthodox branches of Judaism.

[24] jewishmag.com contains stories ideally targeted at Jewish readers in their latest stages of middle or late childhood, due to both their contents and more complex use of language.

[25] nishmas.org contains stories that are ideally targeted at Jewish readers (preferably belonging to the *Chassidic* branch of Judaism) in their middle or late stage of childhood

[26] shemayisrael.com contains stories that are ideally targeted at Jewish readers in their early childhood. In this type of stories, the language used is 'little-child-friendly'. Furthermore, the verbal language is here accompanied by visual images that help children better understand the stories they read or are being told.

[27] Today's children in their early childhood (traditionally beginning from birth until the age of six or seven) are considered to be already literate. In this stage of their childhood, children are supposed to have basic reading skills. They are able to extract and construct meaning from the texts they read, especially if the vocabulary of the child is rich and her/his level of reading proficiency is high. It is well-acknowledged that, in this stage of life of any individual, an extensive reading of children's books plays a decisive role in her/his own developmental process. In fact, a stronger familiarity with children's books leads not only to a greater growth in vocabulary, but also to greater spelling and reading comprehension skills (cf. Connor / Al'Otaiba 2008).

[28] In 'Middle or Late Childhood' (traditionally starting from the age of seven/eight and ending at the beginning of puberty, at the age of twelve/thirteen), reading skills become more advanced. As a consequence, they are expected to comprehend and gain an even greater quantity of knowledge from what they read. This is also due to the fact that they are no longer in a pre-school age and are, thus, used to read far more frequently than during early childhood, due to educational goals.

4.4.1   jewishmag.com

The first website under scrutiny, jewishmag.com (the abbreviation 'mag' stands for 'magazine'), is an Israeli website, based in Jerusalem, entirely in English. This website has been online since 1997 and, thus, as it claims, longer than most web-based Jewish magazines and resources. Furthermore, according to its owners, jewishmag.com is the largest and most popular independent Jewish resource guide on the Web. The owners also claim that, as an independent Jewish resource, jewishmag.com aims at bringing to the public the various expressions of the Jewish experience, to which there is no limit.

Jewishmag.com views Judaism as not confined to one's own religiosity and a Jew as not defined alone by her/his adherence to one form of Judaism or another. Rather, it sees Judaism as the story of an extended family, i.e. the Jewish family, which started with Abraham and has extended thousands of years, in hundreds of Lands, incorporating myriads of cultures and experiences.

In the 'About Us' section, this website puts emphasis on how, throughout the millenary history of Judaism, the Jewish folk has experienced the mighty civilizations' rise and fall, the destructions of the Temples, the exiles from their Land, the Inquisition, the Holocaust and the re-birth of a Jewish State in the territory that makes up today's *Eretz Israel*, i.e. the "State of Israel". The 'About us' section of the website says that Jews have survived Hitler and Stalin and they will survive Iran and what its owners call 'the Islamic threat'.

Jewishmag.com claims its apolitical nature, wishing not to peddle any religious viewpoint within Judaism. No salary is received for the work. The articles contained in the different sections are written by the website's visitors and the bills are covered by the visitors' generous donations. The website is maintained mostly by volunteers whose aim is to bring more articles and, thus, information about the Jewish experience, whether it is in the realm of History, Zionism, *Torah* teachings or humour, food or places. As written in the 'Submission Information' section, the articles being published online should always feature a tie-in with something Jewish, like experiences, commentaries, events or humour. In other words, the Jewish-related articles should contain topics that Jewish visitors may enjoy reading. In addition, the

material that people wish to submit should be original and should not contain negativity against any of the myriads of groups constituting today's Judaism.

Generally speaking, the aims of Jewishmag.com are to provide a warm haven and an opportunity for Jewish readers to share in their own heritage, to enrich and expand their existing spiritual experiences through sharing their ideas and experiences.

While visiting jewishmag.com's homepage, the visitor can easily spot all its ten sections. Each section contains several sub-sections. Figure 3 shows the Home Page of jewishmag.com, with its different sections.

Figure 3. The Home Page of jewishmag.com.

From the Home Page, visitors can retrieve general information about this website. The information includes some interesting details about the website's history as well as its purposes. The Home Page is subdivided into the following subsections: 'About

us', 'Contact us', 'Submit Article', 'Archives', 'Subscribe Free', 'Chronological Archives', 'Donate' and 'Reader Survey'.

Figure 4 shows how visitors can find any of the subsections making up the sections of jewishmag.com.

Figure 4. The Home Page of jewishmag.com with its different subsections.

The section 'Holidays' deals with Jewish holy days. Its subsections include: 'Passover' (whose meaning will be explained later), 'Omer[29]', 'Shavuot[30]', 'Fast Days[31]', 'Rosh HaShannah[32]', 'Yom Kippur[33]', 'Sukot/Simchat Torah[34]', 'Channukah[35]', 'Purim[36]', followed by an extra subsection called 'Misc.' (standing for 'Miscellaneous') which, according to jewishmag.com, conveys information about "holidays that do not fit somewhere else".

Each subsection is rich in articles providing general or detailed information (depending on the articles) about the Jewish holiday to which it is dedicated. For instance, the subsection called 'Passover' provides insights into the history, the customs and the traditions of this Jewish holiday. Traditionally, 'Passover' is an important event that commemorates the Jews' liberation by God from slavery in Ancient Egypt, a Land ruled at that time by the Pharaohs. However, Passover also commemorates the birth of the Jewish Nation under Moses' leadership over 3.300 years ago.

The following section is named 'Places' and is made up of two subsections, namely 'Israel & Archaeology' and 'Diaspora Places'. The former includes articles about historically meaningful places situated in Israel, linked to the History of Judaism. The majority of the articles are written by people who visited the places mentioned in the articles. 'Diaspora Places', instead, contains articles focusing on countries, towns

---

[29] *Omer*, a Hebrew-origin word, is the abbreviation of *Counting of the Omer*, i.e. a verbal counting of each of the forty-nine days between the Jewish holidays of Passover and *Shavuot,* as stated in the Hebrew Bible, Leviticus 23:15-16.

[30] *Shavuot* derives from the Hebrew language and means "weeks". In ancient and *Mizrahi* Hebrew, the *Shavuot* is a Jewish holiday occurring on the sixth day of the Hebrew month of *Sivan* (i.e. late May / early June). Among English-speaking Jews, it is also known as the "Feast of Weeks".

[31] "Fast days" refers to a fast in Judaism whereby Jews abstains from all kinds of food and drinks. Traditionally, Jewish fast days are observed in case someone wishes to repent or to express mourning.

[32] *Rosh Hashannah* is usually translated into English as the 'Jewish New Year'. It is the first of the High Jewish Holy Days and occurs in the early autumn of the Northern Emisphere.

[33] *Yom Kippur* can be said to be the holiest day of the year in Judaism. It is traditionally known as the 'Day of Atonement and Repentance', traditionally celebrated observing about 25 hours of fasting and prayer.

[34] *Sukot* (also *Sukkot*) is a biblical Jewish holiday commemorating the pilgrimage to the Temple in Jerusalem that Hebrews were obliged to make. It is celebrated on the 15th day of the Jewish month of *Tishrei,* (i.e.from late September to late October). *Simchat Torah*, on the other hand, is another Jewish holiday that marks the conclusion of the annual cycle of public Torah readings and, at the same time, the beginning of a new cycle of public Torah readings.

[35] *Channukah* (or *Hannukah*) is a Jewish holiday which traditionally lasts eight days, commemorating the re-dedication of the Holy Temple in Jerusalem during the so-called 'Maccabean Revolt', carried out against the Seleucid Empire of the 2nd century BC.

[36] *Purim* is the name given to another main Jewish holiday, commemorating the deliverance of Jews in the ancient Persian Empire. Traditionally, *Purim* is celebrated by giving gifts of food, but also by giving charity to the poor. It is spent having a traditional meal and the recitation of the so-called 'Scroll of Esther' (i.e. the biblical book of Esther), in which the story of the above-mentioned deliverance is narrated.

and villages in which Jewish communities lived or still live. In this subsection, many of the submitted articles put great emphasis on countries situated in Central and Eastern Europe, where Jewish communities were particularly big before the outbreak of World War II. Some of the articles narrate Jewish-related events that happened in towns like Riga and Prague or, in a much broader sense, in countries like Poland and Russia. However, the section also displays stories focusing on Jewish life in non-European countries, like Cuba, Argentina, Iran, Sudan, India, among many others.

The following section, called 'Humour', is divided into two subsections: 'Humour Pages' and 'Humorous Stories'. Humour has always been central to Jewish life, especially to Yiddish culture. In fact, it is not difficult to find materials dedicated to Yiddish humour on the World Wide Web. The section, which includes some Jewish jokes and funny tales, aims at lighting up its visitor's spirit by letting them have a good laugh, as the subsection claims. Although Jewish humour dates back to the *Torah*[37] and the *Midrash*[38] from the ancient Mid-East, it nowadays refers, almost exclusively, to one specific type of humour, the one that originated in Central and Eastern Europe (i.e. the Yiddish humour), later further developed in North America.

The following section, called 'History', consists of four subsections: 'Ancient', 'Contemporary', 'Holocaust' and 'Biographies'. The last one includes biographies of Jewish personalities from different countries. It displays a list of biographies concerning well-known Jewish religious leaders, politicians, scientists, feminists, poets, philosophers, Holocaust victims as well as ordinary people. Some of these articles focus on Jewish personalities, like the Baal Shem Tov, Rabbi Elizier, Moses Montefiore, Golda Meir, Sigmund Freud, Albert Einstein, Anne Frank, Sarah Froner, Emma Lazarus and so forth.

The section 'Thought' includes the following subsections: 'Zionism', 'Mysticism', 'Ethics', 'Philosophy', 'Self Help', 'Weekly Parsha' and 'Torah Insights'. The term 'Zionism' originally comes from both the Hebrew *Tsiyonut* and the Arabic *Ṣahyouniyyah*. It refers to some forms of Jewish nationalism that supports a Jewish Nation State in the territory making up Israel. Some of the core view-points of this movement are the upholding of Jews' own identity, the opposition to the assimilation

---

[37] *Torah* derives from the Hebrew word "Instruction" or "Teaching". Specifically, *Torah* denotes the first five books of the *Tanakh*, written in Biblical Hebrew. *Tanakh* itself is the term used in Judaism to refer to the Hebrew Bible.
[38] *Midrash* derives from the Hebrew language and refers to the homiletic stories told by Jewish rabbinic sages who explained passages contained in the previously mentioned *Tanakh*.

of Jews in mainstream (i.e. non-Jewish) societies as well as the return of all Jews to Israel, in order to free them from discrimination, persecution and exclusion – social phenomena linked to Anti-Semitism. The section includes articles focusing on important Jewish events and personalities who played an important role within the history of Zionism. Its articles focus on personalities like the Hungarian-born philosopher and politician Theodor Herzl, considered the founder of Zionism. The articles also focus on a series of historically important events that also marked the difficult process of the foundation of the State of Israel.

The following subsection is called 'Mysticism'. Jewish mysticism is traditionally concerned with doctrines of esoteric knowledge and interpretation of the Jewish Holy Bible, namely the *Torah*, as well as several mystical movements born throughout Jewish History. 'Mysticism' includes articles dealing with a wide range of topics linked also to spirituality, *Kabala*[39] and *Chassidut*[40].

The following subsection, i.e. 'Jewish Ethics', discusses a number of moral questions. Its articles aim at providing appropriate answers to several questions. Jewish ethics can be classified as 'normative ethics', since in Judaism the interplay between law and ethics plays a major role.

Similar to 'Jewish Ethics' is the subsection dedicated to and called 'Philosophy'. 'Philosophy' includes the entire philosophical thought expressed by Jews in relation to Judaism. Until the so-called German 'Jewish Enlightenment' (or *Haskalah*) and 'Jewish Emancipation', which took place between the 18th and 19th centuries, Jewish philosophy attempted to reconcile new ideas into the tradition of Rabbinic Judaism, while, as from the integration and the consequent assimilation of Jews into Germany's and later other Western societies, Jews have generally embraced and developed philosophies, which are quite distant from those their forefathers used to adhere to.

The subsection named 'Self Help' helps visitors solve little problems that they may face in everyday life. Through little pieces of advice, this subsection aims at providing solutions to the problems being discussed in any of its articles. The articles

---

[39] *Kabala* (or *Kabbalah*) derives from the Hebrew language and means "receiving tradition". It consists of a set of esoteric teachings aiming at explaining the relationship between an *Ein sof* (no end), which is considered to be unchanging, eternal and mysterious, and his creation, namely the Universe, which is, instead, mortal and finite.

[40] *Chassidut* (also known as 'Chassidism' or 'Hassidism') is a philosophy based on the teachings, interpretations of Judaism as well as mysticism developed by modern Chassidic movements, i.e the branch of Orthodox-Judaism promoting spirituality through the popularisation of Jewish mysticism which is traditionally considered a vital aspect of Jewish faith (at least, among *Chassidim*).

include a wide range of topics, such as sex, marriage, divorce, prevention of sexual abuse and so forth. The following subsection is 'Weekly Parsha'. The term *Parsha* refers to a section of a biblical book in the masoretic text of the *Tanakh*. The subsection invites its readers to read portions of the *Tanakh* on a weekly basis, hence the use of the adjective 'weekly'.

The last subsection, named 'Torah Insights', includes articles offering in-depth looks into some of the issues that are discussed in the first five books making up the *Tanakh*. Moreover, the subsection also includes rabbinic commentaries on it or on the totality of Jewish teachings and practice.

The section 'Customs' is subdivided into two parts: 'Prayer' and 'Traditions'. The first includes articles focusing on Jewish prayers and liturgies, while the articles in the second part focus on the meanings of several Jewish traditions, such as the *Bar Mitzvah*[41], the *Sabbath*[42] and customs concerning Jewish circumcision. In addition, the articles display information about both the origins and meanings of the main Jewish religious objects, like the *Menorah* and the Jewish Calendar. In cultural terms, this section is highly informative.

The next section, named 'Society', includes, *via* its four subsections (i.e. 'Opinion', 'Jewish Life', 'Arab Problem' and 'Cartoons'), a wide range of topics. Some of them, like the 'Opinion' subsection, cover issues regarding the sometimes difficult relationships between Jews and non-Jews. Its articles focus on important historical events in which Jews were involved, most often, as victims. Its subsection named 'Arab Problem' provides information about the contemporary conflict between Palestinians and Israelis, while the last subsection, named 'Cartoons', focuses on satiric political (and also non-political) cartoons by cartoonists like Alex Schumacher, Larry Dersh, Marian Kamensky and others.

The following section is dedicated to Jewish stories and is called 'Writings'. When clicking on 'Writings', visitors encounter four types of stories:
- 'True Stories';
- 'Fiction';
- 'Poems';
- 'Inspiration'.

---

[41] *Bar Mitzvah* is a Jewish ceremony that celebrates a Jewish boy reaching the age of 13. At this age, Jewish boys receive the same religious responsabilities and duties of Jewish adult men.
[42] *Sabbath* (i.e. Saturday) is the day of the week kept by Jews for both rest and worship. The Jewish *Sabbath* is like Sunday for Christians and Friday for Muslims.

The majority of the stories contained in this section have a single plot. The language used is easy to understand and tailored for both young and adult visitors. Some of the stories are enriched with colourful images.

The subsection 'True stories' contains stories based on events that happened to the Jews narrating them. Their content is Jewish. 'Fiction' contains stories that are the product of the authors' imagination. Although some of the stories may seem real, they are not. Their nature is purely fictional.

'Poems' includes poetry, a literary form that makes use of both aesthetic and rhythmic qualities of language. Some of the poems contained in this section are dedicated to Jewish personalities. Some of them focus on historically and mythologically important figures, such as Sarah, Deborah, Joseph, King David, David and Goliath.

'Inspiration' includes two subsections: 'Parable' and 'Inspiration'. The section contains succinct stories in prose aiming at illustrating and instructing Jewish principles and lessons, featuring human characters. Most of the stories tend to highlight Jews' positive characteristics and qualities, like humility and kindness. Figure 5 shows just a partial list of the short stories contained in the subsection 'Fiction', while Figure 6 shows an extract of a short story in the Corpus selected from jewishmag.com.

Figure 5. The subsection 'Fiction' with a partial list of the short stories covered.

Figure 6. An extract from a short story on jewishmag.com included in the Corpus.

As to the extra subsection 'Misc.', which stands for 'Miscellaneous', it is subdivided into three further subsections: 'Miscellaneous', 'Recipes' and 'Jewish Links'. The first (i.e. 'Miscellaneous') includes articles about Jewish people, history and culture; the second is dedicated to Jewish cookery and includes a list of recipes relating to Jewish dishes. Some of them include details about the history of such dishes. Most of these recipes derive from the Eastern *Ashkenazi* cuisine, like *Latkes*[43], *Matza Balls*[44]

---

[43] *Latkes*, also known in English as "Potato Pancakes", are shallow-fried pancakes, usually made of potatoes, flour and eggs. They are sometimes enriched with grated onion or garlic.
[44] *Matzah balls* are a soup dumpling made of unleavened bread, eggs, water and a fat (usually oil margarine or chicken fat).

(also known as *Knaidels* or *Knaidelach*, in its plural forms), *Hamantaschen*[45](plural form), *Kugel*, *Borsht* and so forth. In the third visitors find a list of Jewish websites, which are highly recommended in case they wish to find out more about Judaism and Jewish culture.

4.4.2   Final Remarks

Jewishmag.com is highly informative, suited for visitors wishing to enrich their knowledge about Judaism and Jewish culture, with special regard to Yiddish culture. While browsing this website, visitors easily realise that jewishmag.com is targeted at both young and adult visitors belonging to any branch of Judaism, due to the great variety of its topics concerning any aspect of contemporary Judaism, like history, mysticism, Torah teachings, Zionism and so forth. Generally speaking, each section provides its visitors with a large amount of information.

Jewishmag.com aims at imparting Jewish knowledge to its visitors and strengthening their sense of Jewishness or *Yiddishkeit*. In general terms, it seems reasonable to assume that the website shows many instances of language contact situations and that people writing articles and stories for jewishmag.com make a strategic use of linguistic resources deriving from their own heritage languages.

4.4.3   nishmas.org

The second website under scrutiny, nishmas.org, is a Jewish website run by a rabbi, B. Adilman, and is part of a larger Jewish project called "Nishmas Chayim", aiming at spreading the teachings of the *Chassidut* of the Baal Shem Tov. The term *Chassidut* stems from the Hebrew *hesed*, meaning 'kindness', while the appellation *Hasid* means 'pious', and refers to a person serving God and helping others in a

---

[45] A *Hamantasch* is a three-corner shaped cookie, made with different fillings, e.g. prunes, nuts, apples, cherries, chocolate, caramel and so forth. It is traditionally eaten during the Jewish holiday of *Purim*.

sincere way. Generally speaking, *Chassidut* refers to the teachings and interpretations of Judaism as well as to the mysticism articulated by the Chassidic movement. This was founded in the 18th century and first spread out in different Central and Eastern European countries.

Chassidic Judaism is a branch of Orthodox Judaism that pursues the promotion of spirituality through the popularisation and internalisation of Jewish mysticism, regarded as central to Jewish faith. Apart from its religious component, the Chassidic thought also includes philosophical and theological elements.

Nishmas.org is ideally targeted at Jewish Orthodox visitors, although it is accessible to anyone wishing to find out more about this specific branch of Judaism. The website's stories are included in a section called 'Archive of Chassidic Stories'. The section is fully dedicated to (orally-transmitted) stories stemming from the Chassidic 'universe', written in English, but incorporating many linguistic resources selected from the heritage languages, mostly Hebrew and Yiddish.

Since visitors of this website ideally belong to Chassidic Judaism and a relevant number of them still speak Yiddish as their mother tongue, the extraordinary linguistically hybrid nature of this website, where English is the main language, although it is enriched with linguistic resources deriving from both Yiddish and Hebrew, has to be taken into account.

Although at a first glance nishmas.org seems less articulated and informative than jewishmag.com, they appear to diverge from each other on the grounds of their nature and purposes. In fact, while jewishmag.com has a more inclusive nature, as it collects 'voices' from different branches of Judaism, welcoming any Jewish-related type of topics, nishmas.org is is more conservative. It can be argued that its focus is exclusively on Chassidic Judaism. This website consists of six different sections:

- Business Halacha Page (advanced).
- The Chassidic Library: The Maggid of Mezritch / The Golden Dinasty.
- Month by Month: A guide to Jewish customs in the light of Chassidus.
- B'Ohalei Tzaddikim: Parshas HaShuavah Through the Eyes of the Chassidic Masters.
- Ohev Yisroel.
- Chassidic Stories Archive.

Figure 7 illustrates the Home Page of the website showing its different sections.

Figure 7. The Home Page of nishmas.org with its different sections.
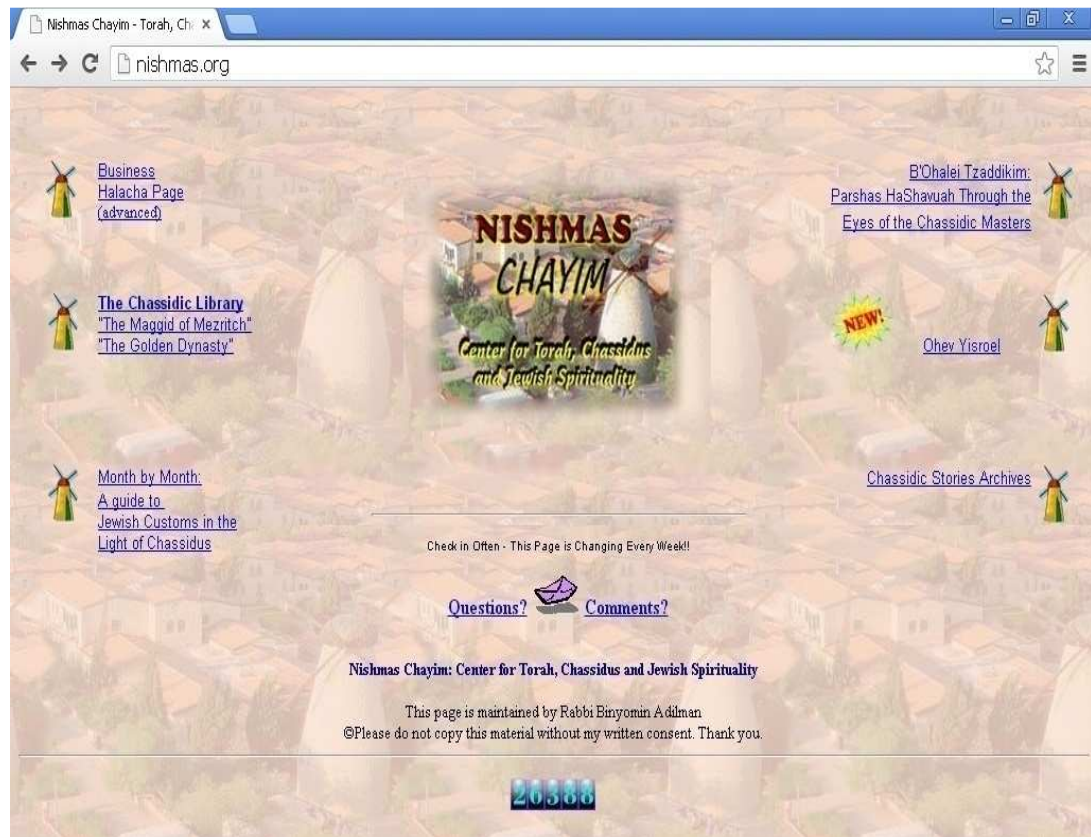
If visitors click on 'Business Halacha Page (advanced)', they will be connected with another website (www.darchenoam.org), entitled 'Judaism in the Workplace: Professional Ethics and *Halakah*[46]. As explained in the 'About us' section of the previously mentioned website, "Judaism in the Workplace' is a project of the 'Jerusalem's Darche Noam Educational Institutions: Yeshivat Darche Noam / David Shapell College of Jewish Studies for Men and Midreshet Rachel College of Jewish Studies for Women". The above-mentioned section informs its visitors about one of the website's main goals, namely the one to teach people how to apply the *Torah*'s teachings to all facets of modern life. Furthermore, the website serves as a learning resource on professional ethics and *Halakah* in two ways:

-   it provides sources in order to approach each issue from the vantage points of both Jewish law and Jewish ethics, including

---

[46] *Halakha* is a collective body of religious laws for Jews. It includes the 613 *mitzvot* (biblical law), the Talmudic and rabbinic law, plus a number of customs and traditions.

selections from the responsa[47] literature, legal codes, basic Talmudic sources as well as explanations of the haggadic passages and selections from moral and ethical literature.

- it also provides its visitors with a list of links and a bibliography, allowing them to read online material relating to professional ethics and *Halakah* as well as with some source materials focusing on contemporary and classical Jewish literature, both in Hebrew and English.

'Chassidic Library' is dedicated to Rabbi Dov Ber, also known as the *Maggid* of Mezritch[48], and the so-called Rizhniner (or, alternatively, Ruzhiner) *Rebbes* (a Yiddish-origin plural term meaning "Rabbis").

'Month by Month: A Guide to Jewish Customs in the Light of Chassidus' informs its visitors about classic Jewish customs that take place every month of the year. It furnishes a concise compendium of customs relevant to the Jewish month and is accompanied by an explanation of the reasons lying behind each of these customs as as well as some advice on how it might be of inspiration for the divine service.

'B'Ohalei Tzaddikim: Parshas HaShavuah Through the Eyes of the Chassidic Masters' is a subsection, which is included in the 'Nishmas Chaim's Parsha and Holiday Archives'. *'B'Ohalei Tzaddikim'* (from Hebrew) means "in the tents of the Righteous", while "*Parshas HaShavuah*" (from Hebrew) stands for "Weekly Torah Reading". When visitors click on this link, they get connected with the home page of the above-mentioned archives. Each archive can be found in a common table, comprising the following six subsections:

- *Bereishis* (also *Bereishit*, *Bereshit*, *B'reshith*, *Beresheet*, *Bereishees*, originally from Hebrew, meaning "in the beginning",

---

[47] *Responsa* are more traditionally known in rabbinic literature as *She'elot ve-Teshuvot* (meaning "questions and answers"), comprising a body of written decisions and rulings by the so-called *poskim*, i.e. the deciders of Jewish Law. *Poskim* are scholars deciding the *Halakha*, i.e. the Jewish Law, in case previous authorities were found to be inconclusive or halakhic precedents do not exist.

[48] The *Maggid* of Mezritch, Rabbi Dov Ber, started a new (Chassidic) rabbinic family tree, giving birth to what is known as, especially among Chassidic Jews, the 'Golden Dynasty', made up of illustrious rabbis. As for the word *Maggid* (originally from the Hebrew language), it refers to a traditional Jewish religious preacher who is skilled as a narrator of the *Torah* and Jewish religious stories.

the first word in the Parshah; therefore, it refers to the first weekly *Torah* portion (a.k.a. *Parshah*) in the annual Jewish cycle of *Torah* reading).

- *Shemos* (also *Shemoth* or *Shemot*, originally from Hebrew, meaning "names", the second word of the *Parshah*, referring to the thirteenth weekly *Torah* portion in the annual Jewish cycle of *Torah* reading as well as the first in the book of Exodus).

- *Vayikra* (also *VaYikra*, *Va-yikra* or *Vayyiqra*, originally from Hebrew, meaning "and He called", referring to the twenty-fourth weekly *Torah* portion in the annual Jewish cycle of *Torah* reading and the first in the book of Leviticus).

- *Bamidbar* (also *Bemidmar*, *BeMidbar* or *B'midbar*, originally from Hebrew, meaning "in the desert", the fifth word in the *Parshah*, referring to the thirty-fourth weekly *Torah* reading in the annual Jewish cycle of the *Torah* reading and the first in the book of Numbers).

- *Devarim* (also *D'varim* or *Debarim*, originally from Hebrew, meaning "words", referring to the forty-fourth weekly Torah portion in the annual Jewish cycle of Torah reading and the first in the book of Deuteronomy).

'Holidays' includes all of the major Jewish holidays, namely: '*Pesach Seder*[49]', '*Lag B'Omer*[50]', '*Shavuos*', '*Tisha B'Av*[51] *and Fast Days*', '*The Month of Elul*[52]', '*Rosh*

---

[49] *Pesach Seder* (from Yiddish, also known among English-speaking Jews as *Passover Seder*) refers to the Jewish ritual feast marking the beginning of the Jewish holiday of *Pesach*, or Passover. As a Jewish ritual, it is performed by a community or several generations of a family in which, among other things, the re-telling of the story of the liberation of Jews from slavery in ancient Egypt takes place.

[50] *Lag B'Omer* (from Hebrew, also known as *Lag LaOmer*) refers to a Jewish holiday marking the *Hillula*, i.e. the anniversary of a person's death. More specifically, *Lag B'Omer* marks the *Hillula* of Rabbi Shimon bar Yochai, who was a famous first century sage in ancient Israel, traditionally attributed with the authorship of the so-called *Zohar*, i.e. the *Kabbalah*'s chief work.

[51] *Tisha B'Av* is a feast in Judaism that commemorates the destruction of the first and second Temples in Jerusalem as well as the exile of the Israelites from Israel.

[52] The month of *Elul* occurs in August-September, according to the Gregorian calendar. *Elul* is the twelfth month of the Jewish civil year and the sixth month of the ecclesiastical year, according to the Hebrew calendar.

Hashanah' (see footnote 27), '*Yom Kippur*' (see footnote 28), '*Sukkos*', '*Chanukah*', '*Tu B'Shevat*[53]', '*Purim*' and '*Rosh Chodesh*[54]'.

The following section, called '*Oheiv Yisroel*' (literally meaning "Lover of Israel") is dedicated to the *tzadik* (Hebrew word for "righteous") Avraham Yehoshua Heshel, also known as the "Apater Rov", "Apter Rav" or "Apter Rebbe", meaning the Rabbi of Apt. Heshel, born in 1748 in Zmigrod, Poland, who became a famous Talmudic[55] scholar, studying under the guidance of Rabbi Elimelech of Lizhensk and Rabbi Yechiel Michl of Zlotchov. He was one of the most illustrious spokesman of the Chasidic movement in Poland. In 1800 he became Rabbi of Apt, or Opatow. During his career as a Rabbi, he held many rabbinic positions, but to the majority of the *Chassidim* he remains the "Apter Rov".

During his rabbinic activity in the town of Mezhbizh, Heshel gained the veneration of thousands of *Chassidim*, among whom prominent rabbis. Due to his strong love for the Jewish folk, Heshel earned the title of *Ohreiv Yisrael*, which is also the title given to the collection of his thoughts, arranged following the parameters of the weekly *Torah* portions. *Ohreiv Yisrael* is considered one of the main chassidic texts. This explains why an entire section of nishmas.org has been dedicated to the 'Apter Rov' and his work. The subsections constituting the "*Ohreiv Yisroel*" section include explanations and answers to questions following the Apter Rov's point of view.

Last but not least, the 'Chassidic Stories Archives' includes Chassidic stories that were orally transmitted to their author, presumably Rabbi Adilman. The stories are targeted at young and adult visitors alike and talk about the life of some Chassidic personalities living in the pre-WWII Eastern European Chassidic 'world'.

Due to their brevity, the Chassidic stories found in nishmas.org are not accompanied by any non-verbal resources like, for instance, images and photographs. However, in some Chassidic stories, it is possible to find hyperlinks connecting visitors with other pages that are rich in details about the characters of the stories. Furthermore, some of these pages also contain photographs of well-known Chassidic figures.

---

[53] *Tu B'Shevat* is a Jewish holiday occurring on the fifteenth day of the Hebrew month of *Shevat*. The Hebrew expression *Tu B'Shevat* means "New Year of the Trees" and is traditionally spent celebrating ecological awarenss.

[54] *Rosh Chodesh* is the name given to the first day of every month in the Hebrew calendar.

[55] From the Hebrew word *Talmud* (i.e. "instruction" or "learning"), the main Text of rabbinic Judaism, referring to the "Six Orders" of the oral Law of Judaism. It consists of two parts, namely the *Mishnah* (i.e. the first compendium of Judaism's Oral Law) and the *Gemara* (i.e. an exemplification of the *Mishna*, plus some rabbinic sages centered on a wide range of subjects).

One of the subsections is called "Miscellaneous Stories". Here, visitors can find stories focusing on a wide range of topics based on the values of *Chassidism*[56]. Figure 8 shows just a partial list of the Chassidic stories that are contained in the 'Archives of Chassidic Stories' on nishmas.org.

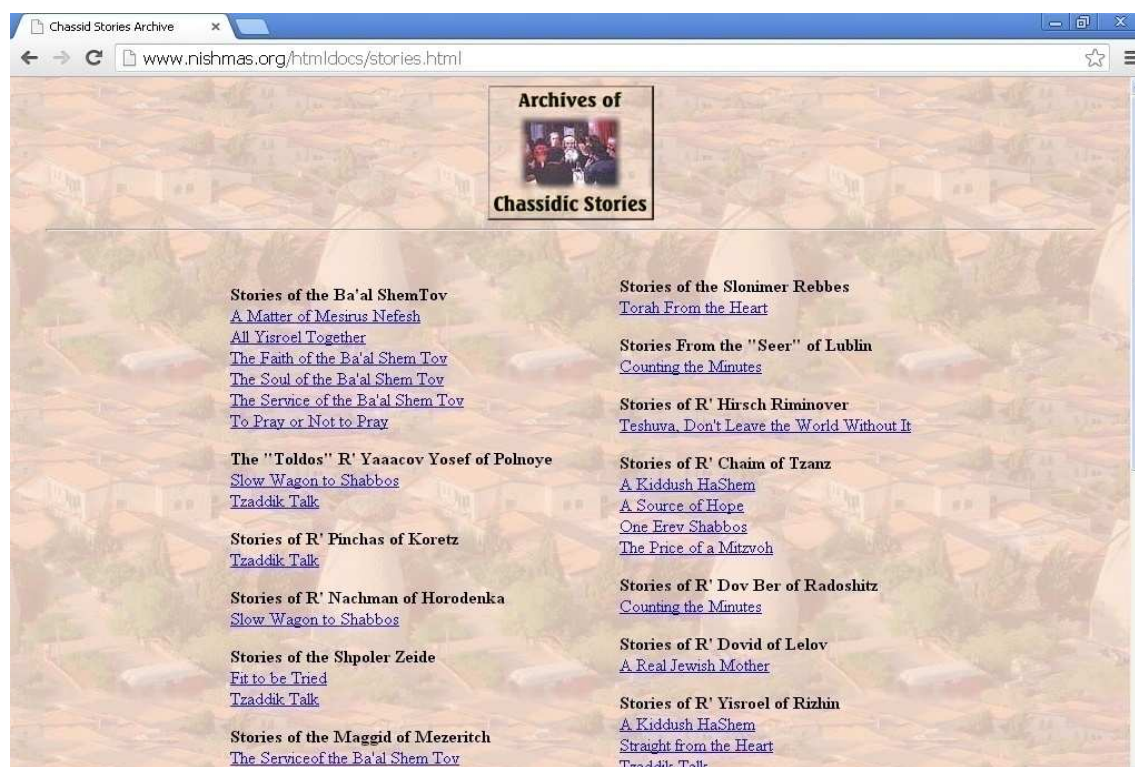Figure 8. The section 'Chassidic Stories Archive' showing a partial list of its Jewish short stories.

Figure 9 shows one of the Chassidic short stories selected from nishmas.org. Here it is possible to see a blue-coloured hyperlink (see 'R'Chaim of Tzanz'). If readers click on it, they will find detailed information about this Jewish Chassidic figure, i.e. R' Chaim of Tzanz. In addition, it is worth noticing that linguistic resources selected from the author's own distinctly Jewish linguistic repertoire, in this case Yiddish-origin words (see, for example, the terms *Shabbos* and *mikveh*) are highlighted in bold or typed using italics.

---

[56] *Chassidim* (also *Chasidim* or *Hasidim*) is the plural of the singular Hebrew word *chassid* (also *Chasid*, or *Hasid*), left in its original Hebrew plural form.

Figure 9. An example of a short story from the 'Chassidic Stories Archive' in nishmas.org included in the Corpus.

4.4.4   Final Remarks

Unlike jewishmag.com, nishmas.org is ideally targeted at people belonging to a given branch of Judaism, namely Chassidic Judaism. In fact, nishmag.org excludes Jewish 'voices' coming from other branches of Judaism. Generally speaking, if compared to the two other websites under scrutiny, nishmas.org is less rich in contents. The same can be said about the poor presence of images which probably make this website less attractive than jewishmag.com and shemayisrael.com.

However, in linguistic terms, nishmas.org is an incredibly rich resource for those wishing to investigate written-based language contact situations occurring between English and Yiddish and between English and Hebrew (see Chapter 5).

4.4.5   shemayisrael.com

The name of the last website under scrutiny is shemayisrael.com. "Shema" and "Yisrael" are two Hebrew terms standing respectively for "Hear" and "Israel". "Shema Yisrael" (a possible translation into English would be: "Hear [O] Israel!") are the first two words of a *Torah* section. Besides, "Shema Yisrael" is also the title given to a prayer, serving both the morning and evening Jewish prayer service.

The website's layout is far more articulated than the layouts of the other two websites. At first sight, for a non-Jewish and a Jewish visitor who has no direct ties with Jewish Orthodoxy, to understand what this website is about might be a real challenge. Although shemayirael.com is targeted at English-speaking Jewish visitors, its home page shows a series of links containing words in Hebrew and Yiddish. As illustrated in Figure 10, the home page of shemayisrael.com can be said to be divided into three different vertical sections.

Figure 10. The Home Page of shemayisrael.com with its different sections.

The first vertical section outlines the purposes of shemayisrael.com's programmes, including some lines that welcome its virtual visitors (see 'Welcome to the Shema Yisrael Website Learning / Continuing Education'), followed by a list of links providing visitors with information about the nature of the courses offered by this website. Under this list, visitors find a link inviting them to sign up for one of the virtual courses that shemayisrael.com offers. At the end of this section, visitors can find detailed information about the goals of shemayisrael.com. From this section, it emerges that shemayisrael.com is part of a larger project, since it co-operates with another project, called 'Pirchei Shoshanim'. Both projects provide free educational information to everyone interested in learning more abouth the *Halakah* or simply in discovering more general issues related to Judaism. People involved in the above-

mentioned projects are committed to helping people to learn *Shulchan Aruch*[57].
Moreover, these programmes aim at teaching anyone about *Torah* and *Halakah* and
help enlighten anyone on how to properly pray, keep a *kosher* kitchen, learn Hebrew
and so forth.

The second vertical section shows a total of nine websites that are probably part of
this large project. It also displays links to the project's Facebook, Twitter and
LinkedIn's web-pages. At the bottom of the homepage, visitors can find a link
inviting them to to donate money for the 'Shema Yisrael Torah Network'.

The third vertical section consists of a number of links connecting visitors to other
websites focusing on different topics. One of the links is named 'Reading Material'.
In this section, visitors can find, among other things, a subsection called 'Children's
Online Reading Room', a virtual space tailored exclusively for children. If visitors
click on this link (namely on 'Children's Online Reading Room'), six 'Shabbat
Books', each containing a Jewish children's short story, will appear. Each story is
enriched with colourful, catchy images, although some of them are in black and
white.

The last two stories, making up this section, are colouring books that can be
downloaded and then printed out. Four of these stories (i.e. 'Yossie's Special
Shabbos', 'Shabbos Treats That Grew', 'The Shalom Zachor' and 'Eli and Ohr') can
be read online. In order to read these stories, children or adults must click through the
page numbers.

Figure 11 shows the cover of a story contained in 'Children's Online Reading
Room'. Next to the image there is a grid displaying numbers on which young or
adult readers will have to click in order to continue with the reading activity.

---

[57] The *Shulchan Aruch* (Hebrew, meaning "Set Table") is considered to be the most authoritative legal
Code of Judaism and is also known as the Code of Jewish Law. It was written by Y. Karo in 1563 in
Safed (Ottoman Eyalet of Damascus) and published in Venice, Italy, in 1565.

Figure 11. An example of a short story from the 'Children's Online Reading Room' in shemayisrael.com included in the Corpus. Step 1.
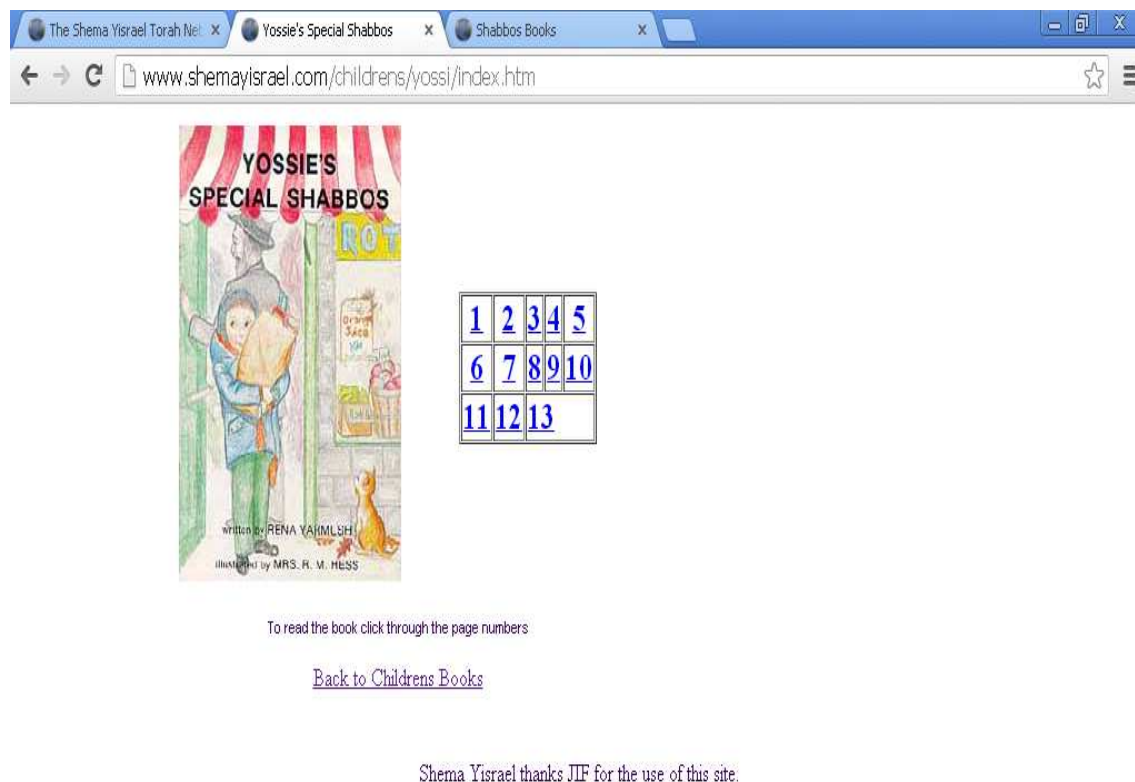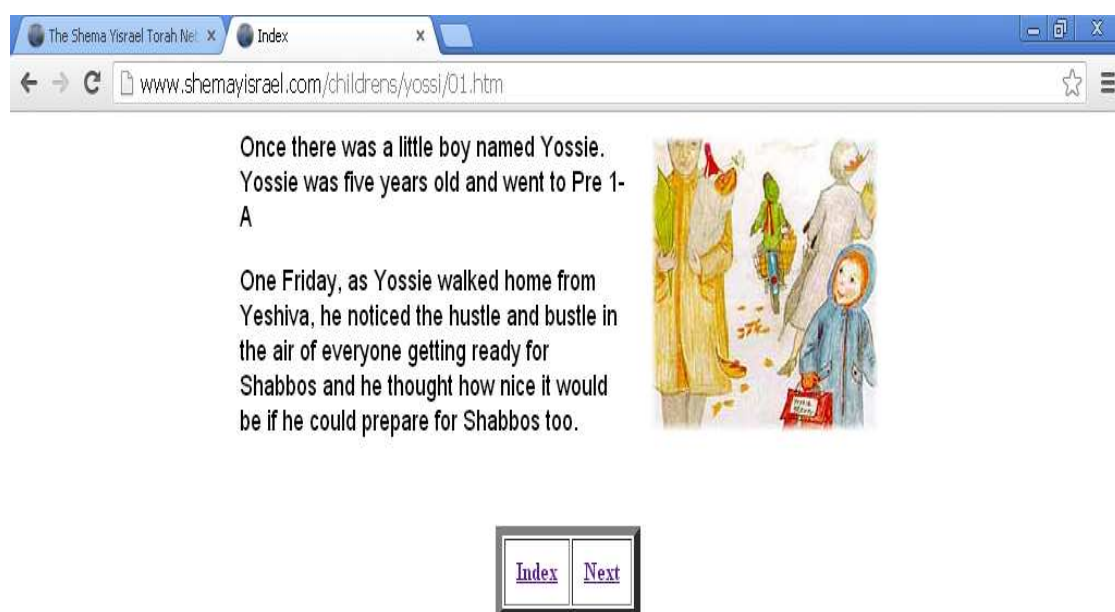

Figure 12 shows the next step. If readers wish to continue reading, they will have to click on 'Next'.

Figure 12. An example of a short story from the 'Children's Online Reading Room' in shemayisrael.com included in the Corpus. Step 2.

The thid vertical section contains testimonials by students who have attended the courses offered by the website. At the bottom of the main page, visitors can find a news section, made up of four subsections: 'News and Media', 'Sunrise Calendars', 'Special Interest Links' and 'Tools and Services'. The four sections are further divided into subsections, consisting of links connecting visitors with external websites.

4.4.6   Final Remarks

Shemayisrael.com is a Jewish website ideally targeted at anyone wishing to learn more about Judaism or wishing to deepen knowledge about Jewish culture. The website focuses almost completely on Jewish education. The innovative materials which can be found on this websites can also be used by Jewish teachers and educators. As for children's stories, due to its catchy graphics and images, shemayisrael.com aims at capturing children's attention to its Jewish-related materials and contents. Clicking through the page numbers, reading small portions of each story and enjoying the many colourful images, help better stimulate both the reading and acquisition processes in the young child.

Generally speaking, from a linguistic point of view, shemayisrael.com can be said to display an English that is strategically enriched with linguistic elements stemming from both Hebrew and Yiddish. The strategic incorporation of these language resources into English helps children discover, in a more profound way, aspects relating to their heritage culture with a role in the construction of (Eastern *Ashkenazi*) Jewish identity.

4.5 The Role of Images in Jewish Children's Stories

From the analysis of the three Jewish websites and, in particular, of the sections containing the stories making up the Corpus of the present research study, it has emerged that in the online stories of two of the three Jewish websites, i.e. jewishmag.com and shemayisrael.com, non-verbal fetaures accompanying verbal language can be found as well. These non-verbal features are Jewish culture-related visual images, traditionally constituting an integral part of Jewish children's stories. For the purpose of this research study, based on the construction, expression and transmission of (Eastern *Ashkenazi*) Jewish identity, taking place through Jewish children's stories available on the Web, the analysis of the above-mentioned visual resources turns out to be necessary.

Visual images, especially those displayed in narrative texts, can be regarded as one of the primary modes of communication within online-based, child-targeted texts. In children's narrative, both printed (e.g. books) and digital (e.g. e-books or e-stories) visual images depict, interpret and enhance meanings conveyed by linguistic features in the texts. It is generally acknowledged that, like the majority of written-based texts, children's narrative is a genre which is traditionally multimodal. Thus, most of the times, written-based children's narrative combines both language and images in an organised and harmonious whole. With regard to this, Scollon / Levine (2004: 1-2) point out that "[…] language in use […] is always and inevitably constructed across multiple modes of communication." In other words, each communicative act needs to be understood, using van Leeuwen's (2004: 8) words, as a "[…] multimodal microevent in which all signs combine to determine its communicative intent", giving birth to coherence among or between the different signs (in the case of Jewish children's stories on the Web, these signs are language and images) constituting the communicative act itself. It follows that, within written-based communication, coherence is achieved through the use of different semiotic resources producing cohesion, a quality that is internal to the communicative act as a whole, i.e. taking into account the sum of all semiotic resources making up the communicative act. Especially in the case of children's narrative, coherence can be said to be essential for the unity of presentation. In fact, "[…] visual material blends with the narrative to serve as one voice telling the story" (Cummins 2001: 398) and "[…] assists young

readers in generating meaning from the story" (Giorgis 2009: 4). It is through this type of narrative that "[…] children learn to negotiate this complex verbal-visual information at an early age" (op de Beeck 2011: 119). It is widely acknowledged that children are able to 'read' images, since they are 'visual literate'[58] (cf. Giorgis 2009). In the majority of cases, they acquire the ability of 'reading' images, becoming 'visual literature', also and perhaps especially through child-targeted narrative. Reading images is an activity that involves physical and intellectual abilities, since both eyes and mind are fully involved in this process. Visual resources embedded in stories can be seen as "[…] cognitive constructs that translate complex reality into more manageable imaginative objects" (Pohl 2011: 35).

It is worth mentioning that interpreting visual images is by no means easier than interpreting verbal texts. In fact, children only gradually learn how to 'read' images, just as they learn to read verbal texts. As underlined by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996), this learning process is most often supported by adults who encourage children to focus on the images being shown and let children verbalise their experience. Furthermore, this process also favours a 'dialogic reading', a concept emphasizing "[…] that visual literacy is strongly connected with language acquisition, since picture books for young children obviously contribute to enlarging the child's early lexicon" (Kümmerling 2011: 8).

Within children's narrative, visual images serve another important function, namely that of arising young readers' interest in what is being read and keep attention to the story's content alive. It is not a case that children, who are usually fascinated by the colours, spaces and shapes contained in the images are immediately drawn to this 'catchy' visual resources even before reading. Through images, young readers are able to envision the story and, at the same time, authors of children's stories are being helped with the telling of a story, finding a remedy to any possible 'gaps' occurring in the story. However, catchy visual material is used not only to let the child learn how to read multimedia sequences of words and pictures, but also to let her/him develop and begin to re-produce the images that are particular to her/his own culture (see op de Beeck 2011: 119), gaining a visual sense of her/his heritage

---

[58] It is worth-mentioning that, apart from 'Visual Literacy', i.e. a literacy based on the 'reading' and comprehension of e.g. images, today's children tend to develop, in a rather quick way, other forms of literacy, like for instance 'Media Literacy', especially 'Computer Literacy' (or other types of technology-mediated literacies), of which visual material is an integral constituent and, often, a distinguishing feature.

culture, as the analysis of Jewish-related visual images contained in the Corpus will show[59].

With regard to the relationships existing between visual images and culture, any multimodal approach always assumes that a communicative act, in this case written-based communication where both verbal and non-verbal resources are coherently co-deployed, is available for cultural representation through which culture-related meanings are produced. Thus, within children's stories, visual materials, such as images, serve a particularly important function, since they are, using Kress (2012: 39) words, 'socially shaped cultural resources'. In fact, they reflect the culture in which they are produced and are, thus, culturally meaningful. Furthermore, their use "[…] helps cultural understanding to transcend the limitations of speech, […] surmounting the boundaries of language and culture (Cotton 2001: 177). This is because visual images, which communicate a wide range of things, encapsulate a great deal of culture-related information and, together with the linguistic patterns making up a children's story, play a key role in sustaining what stories narrate. Thus, it is possible to argue that, through their presence, children start constructing reality, since they generally tend to assume that what is being told in the story is a factual truth. As a matter of fact, children tend to attribute the story's content far more authority than adults actually do. Both verbal and non-verbal texts cannot be easily separated in this type of child-targeted communication, because images are integrated with words and words are integrated with images. Furthermore, it is worth-mentioning that when both words and images appear in a story, the messages they encapsulate are transmitted in a more direct and concrete way, imprinting on the reader cultural concepts that shape her/his own identity. However, as for the analysis of images, it is important to stress that the analogy between words and images, i.e. between verbals and non-verbals, does not imply that visual elements are like linguistic structures. The relation occurring between verbal language and visual or non-verbal language is, indeed, of a more general type.

---

[59] Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 21) point out that "[…] the very first books children encounter may already introduce them to particular kinds of visual literacy". Thus, as for the case of the Jewish images in the stories on the Web, it can be claimed that Jewish children are being 'cultured' into a specific (i.e. ethno-cultural) type of 'visual culture' through a type of images that are 'distinctly Jewish'. It follows that, similarly to what verbal language does, also non-verbal resources (i.e. Jewish images) help achieve heritage culture-related purposes.

It is traditionally acknowledged that

> "[v]isual structures realise meanings as linguistic structures do also, and thereby point to different interpretations of experience and different forms of social interaction. The meanings which can be realized in language and in visual communication can overlap in part, that is some things can be expressed both visually and verbally; and in part they diverge – some things can be 'said' only visually, others only verbally. (Kress / van Leeuwen 1996: 2)

It is for this reason that the analysis of Jewish images within the Corpus turns out to be of great value. Sometimes, the visual resources accompanying the verbal langauge within a story portray important Jewish culture-related information that cannot be or is not expressed verbally by the authors of the stories. Thus, the importance of visual material lies in the fact that images are almost always culturally bound and can be seen as carriers of significant cultural meanings and values. It follows that visual resources constitute an integral part of the stories and their investigation, especially within this type of goal-oriented communication, fully centred on both the verbal and non-verbal construction, expression and transmission of Judaism, is highly relevant for the purposes of the present research study. Furthermore, it is worth-mentioning that images traditionally play a leading role throughout childhood. It is through children's narrative that any individual first encounters a rather high number of culturally significant symbols whose presence leads to a rise of a sense of familiarity with what is being shown and with the concepts that non-verbal resources encapsulate.

From what has just been discussed, it can be argued that, within almost any type of child-targeted text, images do not only serve a merely aesthetic and expressive function, fulfilling the role of catching children's attention to a story but they are also the expression of the socio-cultural dimension of the environment in which images are produced. This point is particularly important, as it reminds us that, within children's narrative, images are almost always affected by ideology and, as such, they represent a coded (i.e. non-transparent) medium of communication (cf. Kress / van Leeuwen 1996).

4.5.1 A Critical Analysis of 'Jewish Images' in the Corpus

In the case of Jewish children's stories on the Web, where the construction, expression and transmission of Jews' heritage culture is at the bottom of this goal-oriented type of communication, the role that images play is fundamental. Visual imagery "[…] creates, promotes and preserves a particular vision of heritage as reality" (Waterton 2010: 156). In fact, the majority of the images displayed in the stories are imbued with meanings and values that are, very much like the resources selected from the authors' own linguistic repertoires, 'distinctly Jewish', used strategically to help shape and reinforce the sense of Jewish identity in the reader. Consequently, it can be claimed that visual imagery is both produced and 'read' socio-culturally and always has to be seen as a socio-cultural phenomenon, fully dependent on the culture in which it was produced.

As the analysis of Jewish images will show, their function is not limited to the enhancement of the meaning of the words. Visual images within the Corpus are, using Sherwin's (2014: xxxiv) terminology, 'transformative', both qualitatively and quantitatively, both in terms of the content these resources strategically display and the efficacy of the emotions and beliefs they may evoke. In fact, images encapsulating a significant cultural load and able to raise emotional feelings that are linked to one's own ethnicity and heritage culture are likely to be embedded and, thus, kept in the young reader's memory. Thus, it can be argued that the use of Jewish visual resources within Jewish children's stories helps achieve the purposes of this specific type of ethno-based communication. Many of the 'Jewish images' in the Corpus depict important Jewish culture-related symbols, like several Jewish ritual objects which not only help construct and express Judaism (in visual terms), but they also do significant cultural work by portraying Jewish cultural and religious practices. In fact, Jewish identity is expressed in the visual representation of symbols linked to Judaism and also in the way Jewish characters perform the above-mentioned practices, for instance, through the use of certain ritual objects. Furthermore, being these symbols so culturally bound, the images in which they are contained become powerful agents, since they continually perform ideological roles that are linked to the culture that they express (see Waterton 2010: 156-57).

Within children's narrative and, to an even greater extent within ethno-based children's narrative, ideology, which cannot be separated from any produced sign, has to be seen, using Fairclough's (2006: 23) words, as a 'modality of power through hegemony'. With Jewish children's stories in mind, the type of 'hegemony' it can be best referred to is 'Cultural Hegemony'. It is generally acknowledged that culture is "[…] a repertoire of customary practices within which individuals become positioned by ways of inculcations/suasions about norms, beliefs, traditions, perspectives, lifestyles and the discourses embodying them" (Cortese 2011: 276). However, it is worth stressing that the notion of 'change' needs to be included into the notion of 'Culture', because culture is not complete in itself. Rather, it is always subject to change and is, therefore, fluid, dynamic and not static (e.g. Hymes 1974: 34-35; Cortese 2011: 276) and, most importantly, always grounded in given social practices. As the anlaysis of visual images contained in Jewish children's short stories on the Web will show, Jewish images have 'shifted' in line with the continually changing socio-cultural practices within Judaism. For instance, the analysis of the images will show that some Jewish characters are no longer depicted physically as 'typical' (i.e. stereotyped) Jews. However, despite the fact that Jews are no longer depicted stereotypically (for instance, having physical characteristics traditionally attributed to Jews, like being dark-haired), the visual material displayed in the stories still tend to promote dominant (or traditional) cultural and religious symbols linked to Judaism and, thus, perpetuating images that are typical of Jewish visual imagery.

 As Kress (2005: 5) points out, images have been part of human cultures even longer than written language. They represent a valuable resource for the investigation of the function of peculiarities linked to a nation or even just an ethnic group. The role that Imagology, a field of study examining both the origin and functions of visual resources (i.e. images) linked to countries and peoples, especially in the way this specific type of resource is presented in narrative texts and with special regard to its genesis, structure and function, is of great importance (see Pohl 2011; Emig 2009; Beller / Leerssen 2007; Firchow 2000, among others). Imagology helps better understand mental configurations of both the self and the other, investigating into the role of visual images, linked to the representation of cultural identification. Mental configurations generally depend on collective features pertaining to a given nation, culture or ethnicity. Yet, on the other hand, the analysis of visual images also sheds light on how these resources are often preconceived and oversimplified collective

phenomena. In other words, they are often stereotyped, as they concern the typification of the self and the other. However, while certain representations are repeatedly reinforced through the persistent use of stereotyped visual images, other representations may experience historical variability, meaning that national, cultural or ethnic representation can change over time (cf. Pohl 2011). This phenomenon is due to changes in the socio-historical contexts (including the political and economic ones). Consequently, images of nations, cultures, races or ethnicities are not static but rather they are dynamic in their own structure, being themselves subject to re-interpretation and re-evaluation according to different historical moments (cf. Pohl 2011: 34). Thus, images (together with other semiotic resources) are continually created in line with the socio-cultural and historical context in which they are produced. At this point, it is worth noticing that, like any other semiotic resource (including language), visual images are strategically deployed to promote given views of the world. Such views are always rooted in a specific socio-cultural soil and historical context, appearing natural to the audience that 'reads' them, for the fact that these resources are perfectly comformed to the society and culture they belong to. Typical Jewish images within the Corpus are particularly evident in the stories collected from shemayisrael.com, a website rich in visual details about Judaism, especially scenes pertaining to aspects of traditional Jewish life, where ritual objects or traditional clothing (generally worn by members of conservative branches of Judaism) are, more than any other object, associated with Judaism and Jewish identity. Both ritual objects and traditional Jewish clothing encode significant Jewish-related meanings. It can be claimed that, in this case, Jewish identity is, using Fairclough (2013) words, 'construed semiotically' through the use of visual images and that both Jewish ritual objects and traditional clothing materially 'enact' Judaism. As culture-heritage objects and carriers of significant Jewish-related meanings, these visual resources do an important cultural work. In fact, through the presence of Jewish ritual objects or traditional Jewish clothing, certain kinds of Jewish practices are displayed while embodying, at the same time, Jewishness in those characters who use such ritual objects and in those dressed according to Jewish Law.

4.5.1.1 Jewish-Orthodox Clothing

The analysis of Jewish images contained in the Corpus starts examining what is typical Jewish-Orthodox clothing, worn, within the stories, by different characters, and representing one of the most eye-catching visual features. For instance, in "Jossie's Special Shabbos", one of the Jewish children's stories contained in shemayisrael.com, the reader can see, among other things, is a type of head covering (or scarf) that Yossie's mother is wearing while being busy cooking and baking the family's favourite food for *Shabbat* (see Figure 13). This scarf is traditionally known, among Orthodox Jews, as *tichel* or *mitpachat*. The *tichel*, or *mitpachat*, covers the hair completely and serves as a constant reminder to Orthodox and Conservative Jewish women that they are married. In fact, in the *Talmud*, the Rabbis define the hair as a sensual and private part of a woman's body and, thus, sexually erotic. Furthermore, the *Talmud* even prohibits Jewish men from praying in sight of a woman's hair. Judaic tradition states that a married woman can show her hair to her husband only in a private context. Apart from being a clear sign of modesty, the wearing of a *tichel* is also considered a symbol of the bond between a Jewish wife and her husband.

Figure 13. From "Yossie's Special Shabbos",
www.shemayisrael.com. © R. M. Hess

The *tichel* is also worn by another character in another story (i.e. "Eli and Ohr"), who is portrayed surrounded by her four children (see Figure 14). Furthermore, another characteristic of Orthodox Judaism are large families where the number of children is quite high (sometimes up to 10-12 in the most pious families). Another feature

worth-discussing, and which is typical of the Orthodox branches of Judaism, is the long dress that Jewish women usually wear (see Figure 14). In fact, in Orthodox Judaism wearing short dresses (e.g. short skirts) and even pants is considered an immodest act. Judaism teaches people to dress modestly, without being 'showy' or provocative.

Figure 14. From "Eli and Ohr",
www.shemayisrael.com. © A. Backman

The majority of images in the stories depict Jewish male children and adults wearing a small cap, more commonly known as *kippah* or *yarmulke*, at all times. This Jewish male head covering is a mark of respect for God. Covering one's head with a *kippah* has been an ancient Jewish practice at all times; today it is still mandatory within Orthodox Judaism, while Reform Jews eliminated this costume entirely but later re-instated the practice of wearing a *kippah* in the Temple (see Bank 2002: 95). The following images show the traditional *kippah* worn by the young male Jewish characters in some of the stories in the Corpus (see Figures 15, 16 and 17).

Figure 15. From "Yossie's Special Shabbos",

www.shemayisrael.com. © R. M. Hess

Figure 16. From "Yossie's Special Shabbos",

www.shemayisrael.com. © R. M. Hess

Figure 17. From "Shabbos Treats That Grew",

www.shemayisrael.com. © Y. L. Gottlieb

The same distinctly Jewish feature can be seen in the image of another story, belonging to another website, namely jewishmag.com, showing Ben, a young Jewish boy, walking to school wearing the *kippah* (see Figure 18):

Figure 18. From "A Cheder Tale",
www.jewishmag.com. © K. Bloomfield

Another distinguishing feature concerning clothing, noticeable in several images of the stories, is that Orthodox Jewish adult men can be seen wearing a black dress suit and a hat. Wearing white shirts under a black dress suit (or a long, black coat) is another distinctive feature of Orthodox-Judaism. This type of clothing is traditionally worn on Jewish holy days, like the *Shabbat*. Men generally wear white shirts in honour of the *Shabbat*. The Jewish tradition of wearing black clothes traces its roots back to Medieval times, when the Church and State demanded that Jews wear black at all times. These were actually laws requiring each social class in the feudal system to wear clothes that were appropriate to their rank. By law, Jews were non-persons and had to wear black clothes so that they could be identified at once. In addition, at that time, Jews also had to wear a yellow armband or star or another distinctive mark. However, black clothes are also known to Jews as a symbolic expression saying *divrai yirah shomayim*, literally "fearing heaven". To Orthodox Jews, life is very serious and the Jew should always be conscious of his relationship to God. Therefore, black symbolises the avoidance of frivolity, placing distance between the wearer and everyone else.[60]

---

[60] See http://jbuff.com/c010804.htm. (Latest access: February 5th 2014).

Images 19, 20, 21 and 22 show adult Jewish men wearing a black dress suit and/or a black hat.

Figure 19. From "The Shalom Zachar",
www.shemayisrael.com. © M. Berg

Figure 20. From "The Shalom Zachar",
www.shemayisrael.com. © M. Berg

Figure 21. From "The Shalom Zachar",

www.shemayisrael.com. © M. Berg

Figure 22. From "Does Norman have a soul?",

www.jewishmag.com. © W. Rabinowitz

4.5.1.2 Jewish Characters' Physical Appearance

As can be noticed in the pictures above, another feature of adult Jewish men is their long beard which makes their identification as Orthodox Jews almost automatic. This custom derives from the *Kabbalah*, the Jewish esoteric text where it is claimed that the beard should not be trimmed, but allowed to grow freely. In kabbalistic terms, a beard is hair that grows down from the head to the rest of the body and is, therefore, the bridge between mind and heart, thoughts and actions, theory and practice, good intentions and good deeds. For this reason, the beard of Jewish men remains uncut, opening a direct flow from the ideals and philosophies of the mind into Jews' everyday life-style[61].

In stories featuring images, the visual is predominantly responsible for characterisation with regard to physical features. In this case, colour acquires an enormous importance and also a significant iconographic value. For instance, the colour of the skin or the hair can hint at ethnicity (cf. Pohl 2011: 42). Traditionally, in visual representations, Jews are portrayed as dark-haired people. However, this is not always the case in the stories available on shemayisrael.com. In fact, apart from some Jewish men, the majority of characters are depicted as blond- or light-brown-haired Jews, some having blue eyes, as the case of Chana, a young Jewish female child, shows (see Figures 23 and 24):

Figure 23. From "Shabbos Treats That Grew",
www.shemayisrael.com. © Y. L. Gottlieb

Figure 24. From "Shabbos Treats That Grew",
www.shemayisrael.com. © Y. L. Gottlieb
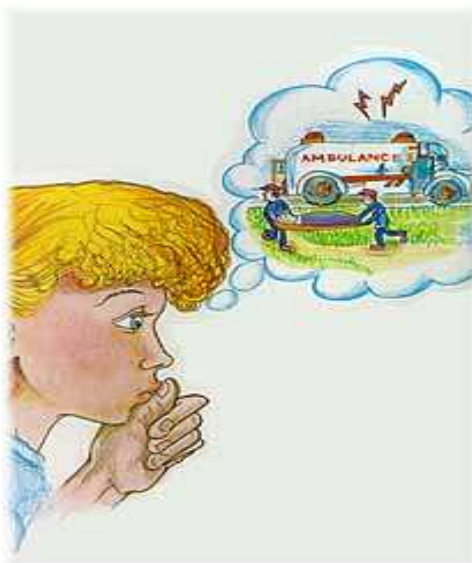
This is also the case of other Jewish characters, for instance, David (see Figure 25) and Mrs. Schwartz, Chana's mother (see Figure 26).

Figure 25. From "Shabbos Treats That Grew",
www.shemayisraeel.com. © Y. L. Gottlieb

Figure 26. From "Shabbos Treats That Grew",

www.shemayisrael.com. © Y. L. Gottlieb

The blond-haired and blue-eyed Jews in the pictures are examples of how visual representations of a given ethnicity can change over time and how characteristics attributed to certain ethnic groups are not fixed and static but subject to re-interpretation and re-evaluation. In this case, Jewish characters are depicted like typical people from Scandinavian countries. It is very likely that the illustrators, through this quite untypical characterisation of Jews, wanted to show how ethnically heterogenous Jewish people are and that, especially among *Ashkenazi* Jews, blond-haired and blue-eyed Jews are not rarities. In fact, 'nordic' physical traits may be less evident in *Sephardi*[62] or *Mizrahi*[63] Jews who, due to their geographical origin, are generally darker than *Ashkenazi* Jews. It is worth-mentioning that the strategic choice to depict Jews as typical 'nordic' people might also represent a reaction against some of the many stereotypes about the physical aspect of Jews, like the one based on the widespread *cliché* that Jews are black-haired, brow-eyed, not as tall as non-Jews, etc. Thus, it can be argued that the way Jewish characters are depicted in several of the Jewish images contained in the stories available on shemayisrael.com highlights the ethnic pluralism of Judaism, the physical heterogeneity of Jews and, thus, the more realistic way to look at Judaism.

---

[62] *Sephardi* Jews is an expression used to refer to the descendants of Jews who lived in the Iberian Peninsula (both Spain and Portugal) until their expulsion in 1492 under the so-called 'Alhambra Decree'. The term *sephardi* means "Spanish" and derives from *Sepharad*, i.e. a Biblical location identified by Jews as the Iberian Peninsula.
[63] *Mizrahi* Jews is an expression used to refer to the descendants of Jews who lived in Jewish communities of the Middle East, i.e. the descendants of Babylonian Jews from modern Iraq, Syria, Bahrain, Dagestan, Lebanon, Afghanistan, Pakistan and so forth.

4.5.1.3 Jewish Ritual Objects

Jewish ritual objects are another main feature of the images contained in the Corpus. Judaism is traditionally viewed as a religion entirely based on Texts. Consequently, Judaism is based on religious practices and rituals. Generally speaking, ritual practices vary widely among different Jewish groups. This is due to the *Galut*, or Jewish Diaspora. In fact, there are many Jewish groups that come from different countries around the world and each Jewish group has developed its own culture. However, it is possible to claim that Jews have maintained standard practices by using objects that constitute Jewish ritual activities, like the *Torah* scroll, the ark, the prayer book, prayer shawls, candles, wine, red ribbons and many others.

The following analysis of Jewish images in the Corpus shows how Jewish ritual objects fulfil a strategic role that help readers cherish the many religious events of Jewish life, by marking the home as the place where Judaism thrives. The Jewish event that more than any other is celebrated together with relatives and close friends is the *Shabbat* or, more specifically, the *Shabbat*'s eve, also known as *Erev Shabbat* (in Hebrew) among religious Jews, namely the Friday evening dinner. It is considered the quintessential *Shabbat* experience. Some of the images (see Figures 27, 28 and 29) portray typical *Shabbat*'s eve scenes in which whole Jewish families gather around a table in order to celebrate this important event. The *Shabbat*'s eve is marked with the lighting of two candles (see Figures 14, 27 and 28), although some households light a candle for every family member. Traditionally, the woman of the house has the honour of lighting the candles and reciting the blessing, although it is also possible for a man to do it. After lighting the candles, the woman performing this ritual usually pulls the warmth of the lights towards herself by waving the hands three times over the flames. Afterwards, she covers her eyes and recites the blessing. As the candle-lighting marks the official beginning of the *Shabbat*, once the blessing has been recited, people traditionally wish each other "*Shabbat Shalom*" or "*Gut Shabbos*", i.e. "A peaceful *Shabbat*" or "A good *Shabbat*" (see Reuben / Hanin 2011: 71).

Figure 27. From "Shabbos Treats That Grew",
www.shemayisrael.com. © Y. L. Gottlieb

Figure 28. From "Yossie's Special Shabbos",
www.shemayisrael.com. © R. M. Hess

Figure 29. From "The Longest Seder",
www.jewishmag.com. © Y. Sredni

מה נשתנה הלילה הזה ?

Another important symbol linked to the *Shabbat* is wine (see the chalices, or wine glasses, in Figures 28 and 29). Reciting a blessing over wine is a ritual held during the *Shabbat*'s eve, although wine is a traditional part of every Jewish holiday, since it is a symbol of joy and sweetness. As both the chalices and the bottle show (see Figure 29), it is red wine that honours *Shabbat*. The blessing over wine on *Shabbat* is the so-called *Kiddush*, i.e. "sanctification", traditionally recited by the man of the house, although a woman can equally recite this blessing. In some Jewish homes, each family member has its own cup of wine, although in other families a single cup is blessed and then passed around for everyone to share. These cups, also known as '*Kiddush* cups', are made of silver, ceramic, pewter or glass, although any cup that is available can be used, since Jews use it to bless wine on *Shabbat* it automatically becomes a '*Kiddush* cup' (see Rueben / Hanin 2011: 72).

4.5.1.4 Final Remarks

The analysis of Jewish images contained in the Corpus has shed light on how Jewish images fulfil an indispensable role within this child-targeted type of texts. In particular, the analysis has focused attention on three main Jewish features concerning visual Jewish images, namely:

- traditional Jewish clothing;
- physical characteristics of the characters being depicted in the stories;
- Jewish ritual objects.

From the analysis of the above-mentioned features, it has emerged that these are constitutive of Jews' cultural identity. Their use in children's stories is strategic, as they aim at reaching the following purposes:

- Jewish features (i.e. physical characteristics, ritual objects and traditional clothing) depicted in the different images help children identify themselves as Jews and, with special regard to ritual objects and traditional clothing, as Jews belonging to conservative branches of Judaism, where the sense of *Yiddishkeit* is traditionally felt much more than in other Jewish branches;

- Jewish ritual objects and traditional Jewish clothing encapsulate significant cultural meanings linked to Judaism, as they teach about the specialness and significance of each Jewish holiday. They serve the important function of connecting children to their Jewish heritage, letting them become acquainted with some of the most important Jewish religious practices and enhancing Jewish spiritual development. They, too, do important cultural and pedagogical work, as they teach children how to live according to Jewish Laws.

Finally, the analysis has also shown another interesting phenomenon concerning the way Jewish characters are visually represented. In particular, the research study has focused on how the physical aspect of Jews has been subject to change, at least within certain stories. In fact, the analys has put emphasis on how Jewish characters are no longer depicted stereotypically in some of the stories and, thus, websites where they are portrayed as typical 'noridc' people. As already discussed, this phenomenon may be due to a desire, felt by several illustrators, to react against long-lasting stereotypes about the physical aspect of Jews.

The analysis has also shown how both traditional Jewish clothing and Jewish ritual objects do important cultural work and are strongly subservient to constructing and maintaining Judaism and Jewish identity. It has shed light on how the use of images ideally aims at pursuing Jewish-related goals, just as the linguistic resources selected from the author's own 'distinctly Jewish linguistic repertoire' do. In fact, Jewish images serve the function to let young readers cherish Jewish traditions, ideals and values which also help construct and maintain *Yiddishkeit*.

The following chapter will analyse how Jewish identity and, in particular, Eastern *Ashkenazi* Jewish identity is constructed and expressed linguistically through language resources that are 'distinctly Jewish', actively selected and used by the authors of the Jewish children's short stories making up the Corpus of this research study.

Chapter Five

LANGUAGE CONTACT IN ONLINE JEWISH CHILDREN'S SHORT STORIES (OJCSSs): TOWARDS A VERBAL REPRESENTATION OF JEWISH IDENTITY ON THE WEB

5.1 Foreword

The aim of the linguistic analysis in this chapter is to investiagte language contact situations between English and Yiddish or, alternatively, between English and Hebrew, found within the fifty-five OJCSSs constituting the Corpus of the present research study. The linguistic investigation follows the principles of the 'Distinctive Linguistic Repertoire' (Benor 2008, 2010) approach, which has been further developed into 'Written- and Ethno-based Distinctive Linguistic Repertoire' (WEDLR) (see section 3.4).

Within language contact studies, the WEDLR helps make a clearer distinction between oral and written-based communicative acts featuring language contact situations. Furthermore, since the 'Distinctive Linguistic Repertoire' is widely applicable also to studies that do not focus on ethnic varieties, the specification 'Written- and Ethno-based Distinctive Linguistic Repertoire' helps limit its research field to the written and ethnic dimensions of language. Both terms ('written' and 'ethnic') imply the use of linguistic resources selected from the writers' own distinctive linguistic repertoire[64]. In the case of the authors of Jewish children's stories, the linguistic repertoire is 'distinctly Jewish'. More specifically, in the present analysis, the distinctly Jewish linguistic repertoire is limited to the linguistic resources deriving from the ancestral language(s) of Jews of Eastern *Ashkenazi* heritage, which were variously and strategically selected by the authors of Jewish stories.

So far, the present work has tried to shed light on the fact that there are as many varieties of a language (including the written ones) as the speakers who speak (and

---

[64] As already mentioned, the concept of 'Distinctive Linguistic Repertoire' may also refer to the embedding of linguistic elements into the speech or writing of non-ethnic language. In fact, the linguistic resources are selected from distinctive linguistic repertoires, which may not always depend on ethnicity, i.e. linguistic elements selected from heritage language(s).

write) it. In addition, as for language varieties concerning ethnic groups, throughout the body of this study, it has been highlighted that any individual speaker or writer makes a selective use of linguistic resources taken from her/his own ethno-based distinctive linguistic repertoire. The ones mentioned above are the two main premises underpinning this research study and linguistic analysis. Furthermore, the analysis follows the principles of Contact Linguistics, a discipline traditionally more concerned with the description of the conditions and consequences of phenomena originating from language contact situations, in this specific case in written-based texts. The research questions on which the entire study is based are the following ones:

- Which are the linguistic phenomena developing out of language contact situations between the above-mentioned languages that occur within Jewish children's short stories on the Web? In particular, which linguistic resources do the authors of these stories select from their 'distinctly Jewish linguistic repertoire' and use in the stories they write?

- Which level, or levels, of language do such linguistic phenomena involve?

- Do the authors of Jewish children's short stories on the Web select and use these linguistic resources for a specific purpose? In other words, do online Jewish children's short stories featuring language contact situations between English and Yiddish or between English and Hebrew represent a goal-oriented type of written- and ethno-based communication? If so, which goals can be detected to be pursued in the online Jewish children's stories under scrutiny?

The linguistic investigation aims primarily at identifying and classifying language contact phenomena to which the different authors of OJCSSs, through the strategic selection of linguistic resources from their 'distinctly Jewish linguistic repertoire', give birth. It is worth-noticing that the linguistic analysis is based on the assumption that idiosyncracy is the most remarkable characteristic of written-based texts and,

although the same linguistic resources stemming from the 'Written- and Ethno-based Distinctive Linguistic Repertoire' (WEDLR) may be selected and used by other authors as well, the research study categorically excludes the use of any of the labels traditionally given to ethnic language varieties to refer to the hybridised type of language found in the Corpus.

As the linguistic analysis will show, the levels of language involved in this type of language contact are two: 'Lexis' and 'Morpho-Syntax'.

As already mentioned, the Corpus includes fifty-five OJCSSs, published *online* between 1997 and 2012:

- 32 from www.nishmas.org;
- 19 from www.jewishmag.com;
- 4 from www.shemayisrael.com.

Apart from the four stories on shemayisrael.com, which were published also as short-story books time before their online publication, it was difficult to determine whether the other stories contained in the Corpus were published elsewhere. Another issue concerns the level of knowledge of the ancestral languages, i.e. Yiddish and Hebrew, possessed by the authors, and whether their Hebrew knowledge is somehow influenced by Modern Israeli Hebrew. It is possible that the majority of the authors of Jewish stories picked up many Yiddish and Hebrew words in their childhood while interacting with or listening to family members (especially to their grandparents) who are/were likely to have a much stronger knowledge of Yiddish and/or Hebrew. The authors of Jewish children's stories now use these linguistic resources to express their Jewishness or *Yiddishkeit*, writing stories to transmit Jewish-related knowledge, values, traditions, beliefs and so forth to future generations.

The linguistic analysis of contact situations between English and Yiddish or, alternatively, between English and Hebrew, within the Corpus aims to offer some insights into what are the features deriving from the above-mentioned language contact situations and, therefore, to establish which linguistic resources, that are currently selected by the authors of Jewish children's stories from their 'distinctly Jewish linguistic repertoire', are read and, thus, assimilated by their readers.

5.2 Language Contact: An Introduction

Before focusing on the analysis of language contact situations found within the Corpus, it is worth-introducing the concept of 'Language Contact'.

Since the publication of Weinreich's *Languages in Contact* (1953), there has been an extensive study concerning language contact, carried out almost exclusively on oral-based contact situations between or among different languages. Despite the great amounts of empirical data, which have been collected around the world, Contact Linguistics, still today, lacks a theory that can be said to account for all or most of the empirical data (see Jahr 1992: 1). Thus, a development of a more advanced framework of theoretical generalisations is especially lacking within that field of Contact Linguistics which focuses on written-based language contact.

The more recent phenomena of globalisation and increased waves of migrations, including the impact that both have had on language, have boosted research activities in languages in contact (see Clyne 2003: 1). Studies on language contact generally require a multidimensional and multidisciplinary predisposition. As the present research study will show, within language contact, "[...] the interrelationships hold the key to the understanding of how and why people use language/s the way they do" (Clyne 2003: 1). Traditionally, the interrelation takes place among three different fields of Linguistics: Structural Linguistics, Sociolinguistics and Psycho-linguistics (see Clyne 2003). This research study aims at showing how this interrelation can also concern other fields of study, i.e. disciplines sometimes considered to be far from Linguistics, like Literature, Paedagogy and Media Studies. Language contact traditionally involves the following major functions of language (Clyne 1991: 3-4, 2003: 2):

- the most important medium of communication, which is traditionally acknowledged to be the oral one, followed by the written medium;
- a means by which people can identify themselves and, at the same time, through which it is possible to identify other people;
- a medium of both cognitive and conceptual development and an instrument of action.

In relation to language contact, linguistic behaviour also expresses the satisfaction of a need to communicate and act within given situations and follows an understanding of language as a resource (see Clyne 2003: 2). Linguistic phenomena deriving from language contact situations can be found in a wide range of domains, e.g. language acquisition, language processing and production, conversation and discourse, social functions of language and language policy, typology and language change, etc. However, most of the work devoted to language contact has been focused almost exclusively on the individual synchronic aspects of bilingualism or on structural diachronic aspects of contact-induced language change (see Matras 2009: 1).

At this point, it is worth providing a definition of 'Language Contact'. In its simplest meaning, 'Language Contact' consists of "[...] the use of more than one language in the same place at the same time" (Thomason 2001: 3). However, more specifically, contact between languages represents "[...] a source of linguistic change whenever a change occurs that would have been unlikely, or at least less likely, to occur outside a specific contact situation" (Thomason 2003: 688). According to this definition, within language contact, it is possible to include the transfer of linguistic items from one language to another as well as innovations which, though not direct interference features, have their origin in a particular contact situation (see Thomason 2003). Through these psycho-linguistic-related phenomena, changes in all or some of the languages may take place, "[...] typically, though not always, at least one of the languages will exert at least some influence on at least one of the other languages. And the most common specific type of influence is the borrowing of words" (Thomason 2001: 10). These linguistic elements, which represent the most remarkable feature of language contact, are commonly known as 'Loanwords' and are typical of both oral and written language contact situations. They can be found in any existing language of the world, so that it can be argued that language contact exists everywhere. Furthermore, "[...] there is no evidence that any languages have developed in total isolation from other languages. [...] [Thus,] [l]anguage contact is the norm, not the exception" (Thomason 2001: 9-10). The case of the English language is particularly interesting when it comes to the analysis of phenomena deriving from language contact. For instance, as for the use of loanwords, "[...] English is known for having large numbers of them by some estimates up to 75% of its total vocabulary, mostly taken from French and Latin" (Thomason 2001: 10). In fact, a large number of French loanwords flooded into the English language after

1066, when the Normans' conquest of England took place. At that time, English was already in close contact with French and evidence of this contact still exists today (Thomason 2001). The case of loanwords represents just one of the several phenomenon developing out of language contact situations and is just one sign of contact with a donor language (Thomason 2001).

As for the case of Jews of Eastern *Ashkenazi* heritage, immigration of large groups of Jews from Central and Eastern Europe to Anglo-Saxon Countries (taking place especially between 1880 and 1940) led to frequent phenomena of language contact between the 'mainstream language' (English) and the heritage language (Yiddish), including its Hebrew-origin components, on the English-speaking soil.

5.3 Written-Based Language Contact

It is now necessary to define what is meant by written-based language contact. As mentioned above, most linguists investigating language contact phenomena devote almost their entire attention to oral-based language contact, analysing the speech of bi- or multilingual speakers.

If compared to its oral-based counterpart, language contact situations occurring through the written medium require a different approach to linguistic analysis. The first reason leading to this divergence lies in the nature of these two means of communication, i.e. the oral and the written one. As for the written medium, it is traditionally more contrived than the informal speech, in which a good deal of thought may lie behind the production of the text (see Adams / Swain 2002: 2). This point also helps highlight how language contact situations occurring in writing are the result of strategies that may make this type of communication even more goal-oriented than the oral-based one.

Written-based texts (including digitally-based ones) featuring elements deriving from more than one language are also generally and, perhaps, erroneously called 'Bilingual Texts' (see Adams / Swain 2002). Indeed, such a definition is not acceptable at all within this type of communicative acts, because what is known as 'Bilingual Text' "[...] cannot necessarily be taken at face value as an indication of the writer's bilingual competence or of the state of one or both of the languages in

contact" (Adams / Swain 2002: 3). Moreover, written texts cannot be approached only from a linguistic perspective. In fact, when analysing written-based texts featuring language contact, it is worth taking into account non-linguistic factors, such as social, cultural, religious or political ones, leading to such contact phenomena (see Adams / Swain 2002).

With regard to language contact between English and Yiddish or English and Hebrew, it is worth-mentioning that different cultures have developed their own alphabet which can be totally different from that of other cultures. This is the case of Yiddish and Hebrew, languages traditionally, but not no longer exclusively, written using the Hebrew alphabet. However, when a second language is imposed on or adopted by members of a given ethnic group, the heritage language may acquire the second alphabet, i.e. the one of the dominant language. For instance, the majority of Yiddish-speaking immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe have picked up the language of the mainstream English-speaking environment. Consequently, once settled in the new country, most Yiddish speakers adopted a new writing system to communicate when writing in their native tongue.

The case of Jewish children's stories shows how the resources selected from the authors' distinctly Jewish linguistic repertoire are not kept using the Hebrew alphabet, but transliterated and, thus, written using the Roman alphabet. The changing of the original alphabet can be seen as another remarkable feature deriving from language contact. A systematic transcription or transliteration of Yiddish and Hebrew words into English became necessary at a time in which Yiddish and Hebrew words started to be introduced and then integrated as loanwords into the English vocabulary (see Steinmetz 1986: 106).

Finally, research on written-based language contact has become particularly significant in the age of globalisation, where evidence of language contact has become greater than ever. In fact, nowadays, language contact can be found in any aspect of life and subjects, e.g. Literature, Law, Medicine, Religion, Media, Trade and so forth. The reasons leading to language contact are "[...] bound up with the identity which a person is seeking to protect on a particular occasion, and 'identity' will come up from time to time" (Adams / Swain 2002: 2).

Within ethno-based language contact, 'Identity' emerges through the strategic use of linguistic resources selected from the speaker's own distinctly (i.e. ethno-based) linguistic repertoire.

As for the case of the authors of Jewish children's stories, the 'Distinctly Jewish Linguistic Repertoire' is defined as "[...] the linguistic resources Jews have access to in order to distinguish their speech or writing from that of local non-Jews" (Benor 2009: 234). Generally speaking, this type of repertoire includes linguistic resources selected from the heritage language or languages of the authors. Furthermore, it can be limited to the addition of a few words from Yiddish and Hebrew or it can be as extensive as a mostly distinct grammar and lexicon (see Benor 2008: 1068).

The analysis of linguistic phenomena deriving from language contact will show how authors of OJCSSs make a selective and strategic use of their distinctly Jewish linguistic resources in order to construct, express and transmit their Jewishness, or *Yiddishkeit*. The use of such resources, which appear to be bound to the heritage culture, is always mediated by ideologies lying behind the selection of such linguistic markers of Jewish identity.

The following section will provide insights into the history of language contact between American English and Yiddish as well as between British English and Yiddish, offering examples of this type of contact that have been recorded throughout history both on the US-American and British soil.

5.4 A Brief History of Language Contact between English and Yiddish

Yiddish words began to be borrowed from English once the first mass migrations of Jews from Central and Eastern Europe took place in the 1880s. At that time, the mass migrations of Jews coming from that area were due to two main events, namely the Russian pogroms of 1881 and the May Laws of 1882.

Within language contact between English and Yiddish, word borrowing "[...] has been both sizable and reciprocal, perhaps to a greater degree than it is customary between languages coming in direct contact through the immigration of one linguistic group into the country of another" (Steinmetz 1986: 1). The present section provides examples of this reciprocal borrowing of linguistic items occurring between the two above-mentioned languages. Apart from a host of religious as well as cultural terms, Yiddish has contributed, especially within American English (henceforth, AmE), to an incredible number of words and locutions (see Steinmetz

1986). This is "[...] an area of the language that is in constant need of fresh forms to replace old forms that have become standard or obsolete [.] [...] Yiddish loans seem to fill this particular need eminently in slangy or informal American speech" (Steinmetz 1986: 2). For instance, as Steinmetz (1986: 57-58) points out, by the 1930s, many Yiddish loanwords, well-known in the American English slang, included words like *makher* ("big operator", "bigwig"), *patsh* ("to slap" or "to smack") and *nu* ("so", "well"). During the 1940s, an even greater number of Yiddishisms became part of the AmE slang, thanks to close contact between Jewish and non-Jewish service-men during World War II. Trendy slang words included, for instance, terms like *nebbish* ("ineffectual", "unfortunate person", "sad sack"), *shnoz* ("nose"), *shmendrik* ("insignificant person", "nobody"), *chutzpah* ("impertinence", "gall"), *shmo* ("simpleton", "nitwit"), *shlemazl* ("unlucky person"), *shnuk* ("dope", "fool"), *shlump* ("sloppy person"), *mentsh* ("decent person"), *megillah* ("long story") and *yenta* ("gossipy woman"). As Emmes (1998: 1) claims, the majority of the above-mentioned terms "[...] capture, succinctly and precisely, the fine details of human character, as well as the great diversity of human characters".

During World War II, due to the arrival of many Yiddish-speaking Jews from Central and Eastern Europe to the United States of America, new Yiddishisms started to become part of the AmE slang. However, the new Jewish immigrants, unlike their predecessors, were, in the majority of cases, educated in both traditional Jewish and secular knowledge and eager to maintain their Jewish religious traits and other aspects linked to Jewish culture. The willingness to keep their cultural identity alive, led to the building of many *yeshivas* [65] and other Jewish educational institutions, where, along with English, Yiddish and Hebrew were or are still today spoken.

In many cases, the prestige of Hebrew, which then became the official language of Israel, caused the re-spelling of many Yiddish words following the Hebrew model. Words such as *Shabbes* ("Sabbath"), now written and pronounced 'Shabbat', *Sholem* ("peace"), now pronounced 'Shalom'. Besides, new Hebraisms entered the English language, e.g. *kibbutz*, *aliya, hora*, *sabra* and so forth.

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, Yiddishisms continued to enter the AmE slang, for instance words like *nash* ("nibble"), *bobkes* ("chicken feed", "nothing"), *shvartse(r)* ("black person"), *shmir* ("bribery", "flattery"), *kvetsh* ("complain"), *klutz* ("clumsy

---

[65] A *Yeshiva* (pl.: *Yeshivas*, from Hebrew, lit. "sitting") is a Jewish educational institute specialised in the study of traditional religious texts, especially the *Torah* and the *Talmud*.

person"), *tsimes* ("big deal", "fuss"), *maven* ("expert", "connoisseur"), *shtik* ("act", "routine", "bit"), *yold* ("dupe", "fool"), *zaftik* ("plump", "buxom"), *kvel* ("be delighted"), *heymish* ("homey", "cozy"), *fonfe* ("to hem and haw") and *khazeray* ("filthy, trashy food"). While, since the 1960s, the following Yiddish words have become popular in AmE: *nakhes* ("pride", "joy"), *tsores* ("troubles"), *kokhlefl* ("busybody", "meddler"), *ay-ay-ay* ("wonderful", "terrific"), *tshatshke* or *tsatske* ("toy", "trinket", "gadget") and *mamzer* ("rascal", "rogue") (see Steinmetz 1986: 56-59). As from the 1880s, Yiddish words became familiar to New Yorkers and Londoners alike (see Steinmetz 1986). In New York City, the Lower East Side became the centre in which such words originated, while, in England, the East End of London became another centre for the dissemination of Yiddish (Steinmetz 1986: 44). In the heart of the American Yiddish-speaking population, i.e. New York, over 150 newspapers, magazines and other periodicals were published between 1885 and 1914. The first daily newspaper was the *Yidishes tageblat*, while the most influential American periodical was the left-party-oriented *Forverts*, also known as the *Jewish Daily Forward*, founded in 1897. Although many Jews became westernised, i.e. americanised, the majority of them decided to keep their Jewish religious and cultural traits. In fact, many Jewish communities built synagogues and Hebrew schools. Members of the most conservative branches of Judaism kept their ritual baths, *kosher* stores and several Jewish charitable institutions. In such places, Yiddish was still the vernacular language. Other worth-mentioning Jewish institutions, in which Yiddish was used, were Jewish Trade Unions and the *Landsmanshaftn*, namely benefit societies of Jewish immigrants from the same European towns or regions (cf. Steinmetz 1986).

Apart from the above-mentioned places, where language contact situations arose, Jewish cuisine also represents another main area that provided English with a remarkable number of terms, like *kishke* ("stuffed derma"), *blintse* ("rolled pancake"), *latke* ("potato pancake"), *knish* ("kind of dumpling"), *kugl* ("noodle" or "potato pudding"), *lokshn* ("noodles"), *farfl* ("pellets of noodle dough"), *flanken* ("cooked flank of beef"'), *matzo ball* ("round dumpling made with matzo meal"), *bialy* ("kind of flat onion roll"), *gefilte fish* ("stuffed boneless cake of fish") and *borsht* (the name given to a soup, originally from Russia, made with vegetables and meat stock). Another meaningful term linked to Jewish cookery is *kosher*, an adjective originally meaning "ritually fit, lawful", nowadays also used in English to

say "all right", "acceptable", "reliable", "satisfactory", "legitimate" and so forth (see Steinmetz 1986: 48-52). The extensive use of borrowed words from Yiddish is probably due to the impossibility to find exact equivalents in the recipient language (i.e. English), as suggested by Weinreich (1953).

Morphological adaption is another main feature of language contact between English and Yiddish. For instance, some Yiddish plurals took on English forms, e.g. *goy-s* instead of *goy-im*, *shtetl-s* instead of *shtet-lekh*, etc. Some verbs acquired English inflections, e.g. *plats-ed* ('burst') and *shtup-ing* ('pushing') (see Steinmetz 1986: 63). Thus, it can be claimed that in future years Yiddish terms are likely to become more anglicised.

Interestingly, AmE also makes use of some Yiddish-derived morphological forms, like the prefix *shm-* which can be found in hundreds of reduplications, like *value-schmalue*, *Oscar-Shmoskar* or *revolution-shmevolution*. Besides, it also makes use of the agent suffix *-nik*, like in *allrightnik*, *no-goodnik*, *holdupnik*, *sputnik* or *nudnik* (see Steinmetz 1986: 65). The last term (i.e. *nudnik*) is a word that reveals how easily Yiddish coins new names for new personality types. In fact, *nudnik* is a "pest"; while a *phudnik* is a *nudnik* with a PhD (see Rosten 1968: xvii). The above-mentioned terms can be said to belong to just some of the many phenomena developing out of language contact situations occurring between English and Yiddish or, alternatively, between English and Hebrew. These phenomena also testify to the powerful influence of Yiddish on a large part of the US-American Jewish (and, to some extents, even not Jewish) population, which still "[...] retains a strong cultural hold on many of the descendents of Yiddish speakers" (Steinmetz 1986: 105).

Nowadays, Yiddish still remains the mother-tongue of large groups of people belonging to the more conservative segments of Judaism. It is particularly spoken in many Jewish Ultra-Orthodox communities, especially in countries like Israel, the USA and in some European nations, like England. Moreover, Yiddish is also spoken by a still undefined number of Jews not belonging to conservative branches of Judaism as well as by Yiddishists.

5.5 Constructing Jewish Identity through Language in OJCSSs

> Jews wear their identities
> on their tongues.
>
> (Sarah Benor / Steven Cohen)

From the analysis of language contact situations occurring between English and Yiddish, it has emerged that every English-speaking Jew of Eastern *Ashkenazi* heritage, grown up in a bi- or at least semi-bilingual (English and Yiddish) environment, has at her or his own disposal a wide range of distinctive Jewish linguistic resources that can be used to express Jewish identity, or *Yiddishkeit*. These resources reflect influences deriving from the heritage language(s) of Eastern *Ashkenazi* Jews, namely Yiddish and their religious ethno-language, namely Old / Textual Hebrew. Although non-Jews (especially those who have strong social ties with Jews) may have acquired a number of these linguistic elements, it can be claimed that, still today, a large number of distinctly Jewish linguistic resources are used almost exclusively by Jews alone (see Benor / Cohen 2009: 13).

The present research study has shed light on how today a large portion of English-speaking Jews of Eastern *Ashkenazi* heritage are continuing the linguistic traditions of their forefathers, by actively selecting resources from their distinctly Jewish linguistic repertoire when communicating both orally and in writing.

A type of relationship occurring within OJCSSs which is worth-discussing is the one occurring between 'Language' and 'Identity Construction'. More specifically, this relationship sees Eastern *Ashkenazi* Jewish identity 'constructed' within the stories by means of language. It will fall to the linguistic analysis of the Corpus to examine and asses the cultural load that these elements carry with them. The analysis of these language resources will help justify their strategic use in the stories in the Corpus. The present section aims to anlayse how "Language" and "Identity" are strongly intertwined in OJCSSs. More in detail, this section will try to identify the linguistic means needed for both the construction and expression of Jewish identity in this type of communicative act. A good starting point for the analysis might be the introduction of the notion that sees language as the main component of identity.

In fact, it is generally acknowledged that language gives members of a given ethnic group, which makes use of linguistic resources deriving from its heritage tongue(s), ethnic and cultural distinctiveness. This is also because language fully reflects a community's cultural cast of mind. A key point in the strategic use of elements stemming from one's own heritage language might be traced back to the total or just partial loss of the heritage language itself. This would lead to the loss of the heritage culture. Furthermore, this phenomenon would lead to a step on the road to assimilation, causing the erosion of an ethnic community's own heritage identity. This is especially the case of Jews who are continually exposed to the influences of the majority culture. Thus, at a time in which Jewish cultural integrity is at risk, the preservation of Jewish identity turns out to be necessary. The maintenance of one's own identity can be achieved through the use of different means, one of them is language, namely a powerful 'conduit', able to verbally construct, express and transmit Jewish identity. Jewish narrative, and in particular Jewish children's stories, are traditionally seen as the 'tool' for the development and maintenance of Jewish identity as from early childhood. This last concept helps us focus on how language is always used strategically in this specific type of narrative context, fully based on ethnicity. Besides, it is worth-noticing that both language and the way people use it are generally taken for granted. There is, in fact, a general tendency to see language as a neutral entity, external, if not even extraneous to identity, whose functions are limited to the formal representation of reality and the exchange of messages (see Archakis / Tsakona 2012: 9). It can be claimed that "[...] just as breathing is to life, language is to identity; it makes us people and makes a sense of self and group belonging possible" (Bilaniuk 2010: 203).

The case of OJCSSs, in which the authors continually make language choices, actively selecting distinctly Jewish linguistic resources from their repertoire, is particularly representative of how language constructs people's ethnic and cultural identity. Authors of Jewish children's stories are culturally influenced by their ways of telling stories, adhering to the Jewish cultural canons, using, among other things, linguistic and rhetoric devices that are often culture-specific. Among such devices, it is possible to find rhetorical features, story schemata, styles and the use of linguistic resources selected from different levels of language. These culturally-based choices also mark the identity of both the authors and the readers. Both linguistic and rhetorical devices, which are set aside from those that are typical of other ethnic

groups, are widely accepted by the majority of members of a specific Jewish ethnic group, in this case Jews of Eastern *Ashkenazi* heritage.

The linguistic analysis is based on the pre-requisite that, within OJCSSs, Jewish ethnic and cultural identity is constructed linguistically and that the conscious process of selecting heritage-language resources is the result of given strategies, variously adopted by the authors, keeping in mind what the purposes of this type of narrative are. In the case of Jewish children's stories in the Corpus, culturally-bound linguistic resources are central to the relationship existing between 'Language' and 'Identity' and their use, within the Corpus, justifies the fact that in this type of narrative (Eastern *Ashkenazi*) Jewish identity is constructed, expressed and transmitted by means of language.

It is necessary to stress that, while creating their stories, authors always tend to position themselves in relation to their readership, looking for strategies that enable them to achieve the goals they set. Authors are generally aware of the great potentials of language and, in the case of OJCSSs, they are aware that the distinctly Jewish linguistic resources play a significant symbolic role. These resources, being so bound to both the heritage culture and religious dimensions of Eastern *Ashkenazi* Jews, acquire an important cultural value. Without them, the construction, expression and transmission of Judaism and the arise of the sense of *Yiddishkeit* would presumably never be achieved. Furthermore, Jewish continuity would lack a chief means for its own survival. Although ethnic and cultural continuity can be kept in diverse ways, following, for instance, a wide range of Jewish religious practices, language still remains the first means for the construction and maintenance of Jewish identity. This is because language is inextricable from culture, fully dependent on it, and *viceversa*.

This last concept can be said to have similarities with one of what Halliday (1985) calls the three meta-functions of language when focusing on the relationships existing between 'Language' and 'Identity'. Halliday views identity as represented in language and *viceversa*, referring to the 'Ideational Metafunction'. The 'Ideational Metafunction' is based on the prerequisite that human beings communicate with each other by making lexico-grammatical choices to enact experiential and logical purposes (see Royce 2013: 107). Consequently, the metafunction of language serves as the representatio*n* of experience of the 'world' that surrounds us. This is also the case of OJCSSs, where the authors communicate a given Jewish-related topic and

while doing so they portray a given 'world', with the aim of achieving Jewish-related purposes that, in the case of Jewish children's stories, can be best achieved by means of language.

The following section will be dedicated to the analysis of the linguistic findings deriving from language contact and will offer a glimpse into what are the current linguistic strategies to be found on the Web used to construct, express and transmit (Eastern *Ashkenazi*) Jewish identity to future generations.

5.6 Findings of the Linguistic Analysis of OJCSSs

5.6.1   Lexical Findings: Loanwords

As the section focusing on the history of language contact between English and Yiddish has shown, it can be claimed that the most remarkable feature of language contact between English and Yiddish is the extensive use of loanwords. These are selected from the authors' own 'distinctly Jewish linguistic repertoire' and can be found in any of the fifty-five OJCSSs.

A premise for the present linguistic analysis is that there are no languages that have not been influenced by at least another language. Lexical borrowing represents the most common type of this type of influence. Traditionally, loanwords are terms with a given lexical meaning, borrowed from one language into another. These words are closely "[...] connected with the history of a definite nation and its relations with other nations more closely than any other part of the lexical inventory" (Buldunciks 1991: 15). However, especially in the case of Yiddish and Hebrew loanwords integrated into the English language, it is worth highlighting the difference between 'Nation', defined as a country or state marked by territorial boundaries as well as as a concept that encapsulates an impersonal and political meaning of the word, and 'nation', defined as a community of people sharing the same traits, such as a common language, culture, ethnicity, descent and history. Yiddish speakers migrating to English-speaking countries have to be included into this last definition of the word 'nation'.

In his work *Languages in Contact* (1968), Weinreich provides several reasons which lead to lexical borrowing, among which, the inexistence of certain words in the recipient language, in this case, English. The research study will show how the extensive use of these lexical resources selected from the authors' own 'distinctly Jewish linguistic repertoire' represents a marker of (Eastern *Ashkenazi*) Jewish identity. Apart from marking writers' (and also readers') own identity as Yiddish-heritage Jews, loanwords fullfil another important role. In fact, they not only provide the importation of lexical items, stemming from the heritage languages in a straight-forwarded way, but their use also favours cultural importation. It is traditionally acknowledged that specific types of words, in particular loanwords, always carry with them a significant cultural load. The two types of importation mentioned above help favour the assimilation of linguistic resources, including Jewish cultural concepts by young readers.

The language strategies adopted by the authors of OJCSSs can be seen as a necessary means through which it is possible to instill in the child that sense of *Yiddishkeit*. Therefore, the different language strategies adopted by the authors, including the use of loanwords from the heritage language(s), represent a powerful means by which young readers' own Jewish identity can be foregrounded. Linguistic strategies serve the important function to orient not only the story but also and especially the young readership in a specific cultural direction. This happens because adults have the power to inculcate cultural values and arise a more profound sense of Jewishness in the young reader. It is by the use of specific culture-related linguistic resources that the authors of OJCSSs aim at achieving given purposes, namely the preservation of the Jewish heritage culture, through the acquisition of Jewish-related knowledge, skills, norms, attitudes, traditions, values and so forth.

The linguistic analysis of the fifty-five OJCSSs will show high occurrences of loanwords in the Corpus. The majority of loanwords stems from Yiddish, followed by a number of words deriving from (Old / Textual) Hebrew, while a few others are Aramaic-origin loanwords. It has to be mentioned that Yiddish incorporates several (Old / Textual) Hebrew as well as a few Aramaic words in its own vocabulary. Loanwords deriving from Yiddish and (Old / Textual) Hebrew are, in the majority of cases, carriers of a significant Jewish cultural load. This also explains their strategic use in OJCSSs.

Loanwords represent an example of how ethno-cultural identity can be textually constructed by means of language. In fact, as the linguistic analysis will show, many of them reflect meaningful Jewish cultural concepts and social relationships. They are strategically used to enhance Jewish cultural aspects, like ways of thinking and means of expression. Furthermore, Yiddish loanwords serve an important function in marking Eastern *Ashkenazi* Jewish cultural distinction in order to strengthen Jewish cultural boundaries linked to *Yiddishkeit*. It can be argued that Yiddish-derived loanwords do function as 'carriers of identity' (see Soldat-Jaffe 2012: 73). As already mentioned, their use becomes even more necessary in a time in which Jewish cultural integrity is at risk. For many English-speaking Jews, it is important to integrate loanwords into their English rather than using the English equivalents of these terms. However, it is also worth-mentioning that, most of the times, English equivalents do not match the original meaning of the Yiddish loanwords, being loanwords themselves lexical elements that are culturally marked.

Within the Corpus, loanwords are often highlighted by the use of italics, as to express the relevance of the cultural concepts they carry. Besides, sometimes it is also possible to find their English equivalents put into brackets after the loanword. However, the Corpus has shown that only a low number of loanwords is followed by their translation into the recipient language (i.e. English). Consequently, it can be assumed that the authors of OJCSSs expect their readers to be familiar with the terms they have selected from their 'distinctly Jewish linguistic repertoire' and, thus, be able to engage meaningfully with the text they read.

The linguistic analysis will investigate whether the loanwords being under scrutiny have already entered both British English (henceforth, BrE) and American English (henceforth, AmE), by passing into general use. In order to do this, two online dictionaries have been consulted, one relating to BrE, namely the online version of the *Oxford Dictionaries* (henceforth, ODs: http://oxforddictionaries.com) which co-operates with the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED), and another one relating to AmE, namely the *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* (henceforth, MWD: http://www.merriam-webster.com). These lexical resources have been grouped into two main categories. The first category has been called 'Jewish Religious Loanwords' (henceforth, JRLs), while the second consists of 'Jewish Cultural Loanwords' (henceforth, JCLs). The former (JRLs) includes loanwords belonging to the semantic field of 'Jewish Religion' and refers exclusively to terms indicating

Jewish religious objects, places, various religious denominations, holidays, rituals, religious books and so forth. On the other hand, the second category (JCLs) includes loanwords not pertaining to the Jewish religious sphere and which are generally used in broader contexts.

5.6.1.1 Jewish Religious Loanwords

Whether in their Yiddish, Hebrew or Aramaic variants, JRLs seem to be the first type of lexical resources stemming from the heritage languages to be passed on to Jewish young generations. Traditionally, Jews attach a rather high value to the use of JRLs, since these lexical elements express Judaism to its fullest. Thus, it is through their use that beliefs, values and other concepts linked to Judaism are expressed and transmitted to the reader.

The majority of JRLs are Yiddish words stemming from (Old / Textual) Hebrew, the 'holy language' of Jews. Jewish children, especially those belonging to the most conservative branches of Judaism, "[...] know and use many Yiddish and Hebrew loanwords, especially those related to rituals in which they take part, like *bracha* ("blessing"), *chasuna* ("wedding") and *negl vaser* (literally "nail water", poured ritually over the hands in the morning)" (Benor 2012: 92). Within Orthodox circles, young children are generally expected to say blessings, celebrate at weddings and participate in morning ablutions. Moreover, young Jewish-Orthodox children use both Hebrew- and Yiddish-stemming loanwords to discuss certain religious concepts (see Benor 2012: 92). This explains why JRLs are so frequently used also by the authors of OJCSSs.

JLRs include a wide range of terms belonging to different semantic areas, as the linguistic investigation will show. For instance, they may refer to holidays, life-cycle events, sacred texts, laws, ritual objects, various religious movements or denominations within Judaism and so forth. In addition, apart from expressing and transmitting Jewish religious identity, some JLRs serve an important function in allowing young readers to become acquainted with some religious practices.

The research study will now start analysing some of the loanwords belonging to this category.

The investigation of JLRs shows that the loanword *rebbe* is one of the JRLs that occurs more frequently in the Corpus, as can be seen in the following excerpts:

1) The ***Rebbe***, R' Yisroel of Rizhin, a great-grandson of the Maggid of Mezeritch, had a unique form of service which was remarkably different than that of his ancestors.

   ("A Kiddush Hashem", www.nishmas.org)

2) "Mendel," Rabbi Singer said, "the ***Rebbe*** thinks it would be a shande – a disgrace for you to be Santa Claus. It does not matter what good intentions you may have, it is wrong to misrepresent yourself. The ***Rebbe*** says no."

   ("Does Norman have a soul?", www.jewishmag.com)

The word *rebbe* is listed by the ODs and MWD, meaning that it has become an integrated loanword in both BrE and AmE. What follows is the entry of the term *rebbe* in the ODs, followed by its entry in the MWD:

ODs

rebbe

Pronunciation: /ˈrɛbə/

noun

Judaism

- a rabbi, especially a religious leader of the Hasidic sect.

Origin:

Yiddish, from Hebrew *rabbī* 'rabbi'

reb·be

noun \\'re-bə\

Definition of *REBBE*

:a Jewish spiritual leader or teacher**:** ^{RABBI}

Origin of *REBBE*

Yiddish *rebe,* from Hebrew *rabbī* rabbi
First Known Use: 1881

From both a linguistic and cultural perspective, the title 'Rabbi' (or *Rebbe*) does not have the same connotation as the terms 'priest' or 'minister', since a *rebbe* is not an intermediary between God and man, as a Catholic priest is, and not even or always a spiritual arbiter, as a Protestant Minister. His position gives him no power, no hierarchical status. Rather, his authority rests on his learning, his character, his personal qualities. Furthermore, a *rebbe* enjoys no priestly privileges. For instance, in Jewish Orthodox worship the *rebbe* rarely leads a religious services. In fact, it is the *chazzan* (i.e. "the cantor") who usually leads the service, although any respected layman may lead it. Traditionally, a *rebbe* is a teacher of the *Torah* (i.e. the Bible, *Talmud* and other rabbinic works). His aim is to spread instruction and enlightenment, uplifting the moral and religious life of the members of his community. Traditionally, a *rebbe* is a graduate of a *Yeshiva*. However, today, Reform, Conservative and an increasing number of Orthodox rabbis also hold degrees from secular universities. The ODs mentions the figure of the Hasidic *rebbe*, who does not necessarily have formal ordination from a seminary or *Yeshiva*. Rather, he often inherits his position from his father or is invited to assume the leadership of a C*hassidic* group thanks to personal qualities. The *Chassidic Rebbe* usually holds a close relationship with his followers and is so venerated by his congregants as to give rise to stories of mystical abilities (see Rosten 1968: 308-309).

Another recurrent loanword within the selected OJCSSs is the term *Reb*, listed by both the online ODs and MWD and, therefore, an integrated loanword into both BrE and AmE.

Here follow some excerpts from the stories, followed by the entries of the term *Reb* in the ODs and MWD:

3) Once the two Tzaddikim, R' Yaacov Yosef of Polonye, the "Toldos", and **Reb** Nachman of Horodenka, were travelling to Mezhibuzh to spend Shabbos with their Rebbe, the Ba'al ShemTov.

("A Slow Wagon to Shabbos", www.nishmas.org)

4) **Reb** Moshe became very wealthy from the printing business. The business later was turned over to his two sons, **Reb** Pinchas and **Reb** Avraham Abba, and it continued to thrive.

("Tzaddik Talk", www.nishmas.org)

ODs

Reb

Pronunciation: /rɛb/

noun

- a traditional Jewish title or form of address, corresponding to *Sir*, for a man who is not a rabbi (used preceding the forename or surname): *I never met Reb Zecharia*

Origin:

Yiddish

MWD

Reb

noun \ˈreb\

Definition of *REB*

: RABBI, MISTER —used as a title

Origin of *REB*

Yiddish, from Hebrew *rabbī* my master, rabbi
First Known Use: 1858

Another loanword worth mentioning (even if it occurs only a few times within the whole Corpus) is the term *Rebbetzin* (or alternatively written *Rebbitsin* or *Rebbitse*n), as the next excerpt shows:

5) The wealthy Chassid went to the ***Rebbitzen*** and inquired whether or not they had the means with which to celebrate the upcoming Pesach. The ***Rebbitzen*** informed him that they had neither meat nor chicken nor fish. Not wine, not candles, not even Matzoh, and no prospects were in sight for obtaining the items. […] The Chassid turned to the ***Rebbitzen*** and offered, "I will provide all the needs for the entire holiday if you will let me be at the seder." The ***Rebbitzen*** readily agreed.

("Tzaddik Talk", www.nishmas.org)

Rebbetzin is listed both by both the ODs and MWD. It has become an integrated loanword into both BrE and AmE and, in the Corpus, it is preferred to its possible English equivalents, e.g. "the rabbi's wife" or "female religious teacher". Traditionally, the *Rebbetzin* has always played a central role in Jewish communities. It follows that this Yiddish-origin loanword carries a significant cultural load with it. The *Rebbetzin* was supposed to be a model of probity and was expected to be a strong right arm to his husband, the *Rebbe*, and a ministering figure to the whole community. She is so important that there is even a saying spread among Jewish communities: "Better close to the *Rebbetzin* than to the Rabbi". In more

contemporary times, the *Rebbetzin* often teaches in the congregational school, lectures on Jewish customs to women's organisations, helps guide the Sisterhood, visits the sick, comforts the bereaved and serves as hostess on many occasions (see Rosten 1968: 310-311). From what has just been mentioned, it can be claimed that in Yiddish-speaking communities, the *Rebbetzin* has played a central role in the life of the community. *Shabbos* (or, alternatively, *Shabbes*) is another JRL integrated into both BrE and AmE (the word is listed in both online dictionaries). Among Eastern *Ashkenazim* (Hebrew plural of *Ashkenazi*, meaning Jews stemming from Central and Eastern Europe), *Shabbos* is a noun referring to the *Shabbat* (from Hebrew: "Rest" or "Cessation of Labour"). This holy day finds its roots in the Fourth Commandment, which says: "Remember the *Shabbat* day to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labour, and do all thy work: but the seventh day is the *Shabbat* of the Lord thy God." As a Jewish holy day, *Shabbos* holds a special status, since it is one of the essential pillars of Jewish identity that pious Jews take care to observe. Soomekh (2012: 23-24) argues that *Shabbos* is the most sacred holiday in the Jewish community, especially with regard to what this holiday involves, i.e. being with the family, preparing meals and petitioning God while lighting the *Shabbos* candles. The importance of cooking on *Shabbos* is particularly noticeable in tradition-oriented Jewish communities. In fact, cooking traditional *Shabbos* food is an important way for women to keep their Jewish identity in the home. In the more traditional Jewish houses, preparing food also functions as an integral element of daily healthcare and holds symbolic significance because it is seen as maintaining ethnic identity. Due to Jewish dietary laws, preparing or cooking food for *Shabbos* can be understood as a religious ritual. Through food preparation women are preserving Jewish identity and tradition. In addition, as Soomekh (2012) remarks, preparing food epitomises women's inter-personal and familial approach to religion, allowing them to fullfil the *mitzvot* and be connected with the Jewish liturgical calendar and symbol system. Within the Corpus, *Shabbos* occurs far more frequently than its English equivalent *Shabbat*. Moreover, this Yiddish-origin loanword is often followed by an English noun which makes it a 'descriptive compound', resembling descriptive phrases, as in the case of *Shabbos table* (≠ "the table of *Shabbos*"), *Shabbos candles* (≠ "the candles of *Shabbos*"), *Shabbos treats* (≠ "the treats of *Shabbos*"), *Shabbos meals* (≠ "the meals of *Shabbos*"), *Shabbos gifts* (≠ the gifts of *Shabbos*") and so forth.

The following excerpts show the occurrence of these descriptive compounds within the Corpus:

6) The children quickly filled a bag with in-honor-of-**Shabbos treats**, and hurried to Nettle Street, where Chana and her mother lived. […] And what kind of Shabbos would Chana and her mother have if they couldn't have these ***shabbos gifts***? [...] After a pleasant **Shabbos meal**, and after Chana had gone to sleep, Mrs. Schwartz and the elderly woman sat together in the dimly lit living room, sipping cups of hot tea.

("Shabbos Treats That Grew", shemayisrael.com)

7) But in the morning the Baal Shem Tov was relaxed and joyful, and he accepted the invitation of one of the locals for the morning **Shabbos meal.**

("A Matter of Mesirus Nefesh", nishmas.org)

The word *Shabbos* is sometimes preceded by the Hebrew noun *erev* (meaning "on the eve of", "before" or "evening") and by no English equivalent of this word. The Hebrew-origin term *erev* has no entry in any of the online dictionaries. It follows that *erev* has not been integrated into either BrE or AmE yet. Its integration into the English language will depend on the intensity of its use in both the oral and written code by those English-speaking Jews who use it in their everyday communication. However, within OJCSSs, through the use of the term *erev*, the authors probably wanted their readers to feel a greater engagement to this holy day (*Shabbos*). This term, in fact, connects readers to the *loshn koydesh* (Hebrew expression for "holy tongue") and, thus, the Sacred Texts.

The following excerpts show the use of *erev* in some of the OJCSSs selected:

8) One chilly ***Erev Shabbos*** afternoon, David Friedman and his younger sister Yehudis were on their way to Mr. Goldstein's grocery. […] "Good ***Erev Shabbos***, Mrs. Krupnick! We brought you a gift for shabbos!"

("Shabbos Treats That Grew", shemayisrael.com)

9) One ***Erev Shabbos*** the Baal Shem Tov appeared in a town unexpectedly. Declining invitations from all the locals, he elected to remain alone in the Shul after Shabbos evening davening.

("A Matter of Mesirus Nefesh", nishmas.org)

Within the Corpus, a similar phenomenon happens to the Hebrew adjective *koydesh* (or *kodesh*), meaning "holy". Similarly to the case of *erev*, the term does not appear in any of the two dictionaries that have been consulted. However, in one of the OJCSSs, and more specifically in a nursery rhyme, this lexical resource has been used and preferred to its English equivalent (i.e. "holy"):

10) Sunday, Monday, Tuesday,
Wednesday, Thursday, Friday,
Every day comes to say:
Shabbos is coming soon!
Remember Shabbos!
Shabbos is coming soon!
Evening, nighttime, morning,
Noon and afternoon,
Every hour tells us:

Get ready for Shabbos soon!
Get ready for Shabbos soon!

Shabbos *Kodesh*,
Shabbos is coming soon!
Shabbos *Kodesh*,
Shabbos is coming soon!
Yes, every day and hour,
Every minute, too,
Ticks away with this to say:

Be ready for Shabbos soon!
Shabbos *Kodesh*,
We're ready for Shabbos-
Shabbos is coming soon!

("Eli and Ohr", www.shemayisrael.com)

Shabbos is a 'fruitful' lexical resource when it comes to language contact. For instance, in some of the OJCSSs, it is possible to find *Shabbos* greetings, like "*Have a good Shabbos*!" This seem to be an anglicised greeting, since the original Yiddish *Shabbos*' greeting is "*Gut Shabbes*" (lit. translated "Good *Shabbat*"), while its Hebrew version is "*Shabbat Shalom!*" (lit. translated : "peace", "completeness", "prosperity", "welfare" and is traditionally used on *Shabbos*). The excerpt below shows the use of both religious greetings linked to the *Shabbat*:

11) Be well, and ***have a good Shabbos***! […] Gratefully my family says thank you, and ***Shabbat Shalom***.

("Eli and Ohr", www.shemayisrael.com)

Another term related to *Shabbos*, found in the Corpus, is the use of the Yiddish-origin adjective *Shabbosdik*, as the following excerpt shows:

150

12) How beautiful the candles looked in their shiny silver candlesticks, with their bright flames flickering. And how warm, clean, bright, and ***Shabbosdik*** the whole house was!

("Shabbos Treats That Grew", www.shemayisrael.com)

The adjective *Shabbosdik*, too, is not listed in the two online dictionaries. It has no exact equivalent in English and needs to be paraphrased as e.g. "appropriate for *Shabbat*" or "in the spirit of *Shabbat*."[66] Within the Corpus, one of the most recurrent terms is the Yiddish-origin noun *Shul*, listed in both the ODs and MWD:

ODs

shul

Pronunciation: /ʃuɪl/

noun
- a synagogue: *she could picture him in shul now*

Origin:

late 19th century: Yiddish, from German *Schule* 'school'

MWD

shul

noun \'shul\

Definition of *SHUL*

:SYNAGOGUE

Origin of *SHUL*

Yiddish, school, synagogue, from Middle High German *schuol* school
First Known Use: 1771

151

Indeed, the origin of this word is Greek (from *schola*). The Hebrew word for a house of prayer is *bet-ha-knesset*, a house of assembly. Similarly, the Greek word *synagogue* means "assembly" and "congregation" (see Rosten 1968: 384). In pre-World War II Yiddish-speaking villages of Central and Eastern Europe, the *shul* represented the centre or the forum of Jewish communal life. Apart from "Synagogue", another synonym for *shul* is the English word "Temple". Within the Corpus, the use of *shul* is generally preferred to its English equivalents (i.e. "synagogue"or "temple").

Here follow a couple of excerpts taken from the Corpus in which this JRL occurs:

13) The gabbai was happy to oblige. "No charge. I'll also make a circle on the holidays when you're supposed to come to **shul** for Yizkor Services. Do you know the kaddish?" The gabbai didn't give me a chance to ask what **shul** or Yizkor meant- I already knew about the kaddish prayer from Sam's dream. The religious official continued. "When you come to **shul** I'll show you the page in the Siddur where you can find the kaddish.."

("An Improved Funeral", www.jewishmag.com)

14) Though she could speak halting English, Mrs. Levy was always more comfortable conversing in Yiddish. What little Hebrew she knew was for **shul** and the Seder table.

("Meat Meat", www.jewishmag.com)

It is likely that through the use of the Yiddish-origin word *shul*, writers may somehow want to nostalgically call to mind this place of learning and worship of pre-WWII *shtetls* (i.e. the Yiddish word used to refer to Jewish towns or villages of pre-World War II Central and Eastern Europe). The *shul* is one of the vital institutions for Jews who wish to practice their religion and is, thus, central in their

life. Traditionally, Orthodox Jews live within walking distance from their *shul*, so that they can always participate in the religious services on important occasions. Besides, members of an Orthodox *shul* experience one another as neighbours and friends. As a place, the *shul* is the main symbol of Jewish identity and, as 'the' main Jewish institution, it is an integral part of Jewish communal life. Observant Jews living close to the *shul* share a complex array of concerns, like the maintenance of the *shul* itself, both as a building and as a community (see Heilman 1998: 5-6). The JRL *mitzvah* can be said to be another recurrent lexical resource worth analyzing in the Corpus. As an integrated loanword into BrE and AmE, *mitzvah* is listed by both the ODs and MWD:

ODs

mitzvah

Pronunciation: /ˈmɪtsvə/

 *noun (plural **mitzvoth** /-vəʊt/)*

Judaism

- a precept or commandment.
- a good deed done from religious duty.

Origin:

mid 17th century: from Hebrew *miṣwāh* 'commandment'

MWD

mitz·vah
noun \ˈmits-və\
plural **mitz·voth** \-vōt, -vōth, -vōs\ *or* **mitz·vahs**

Definition of *MITZVAH*
1
: a commandment of the Jewish law
2
: a meritorious or charitable act

Origin of *MITZVAH*

Hebrew *miṣwāh*
First Known Use: 1650

According to Rosten (1968: 255), *mitzvah* is second only to *Torah* in the vocabulary of Judaism. *Mitzvot* (its Hebrew plural form)

> […] are of various kinds: those of positive performance (caring for the widow and orphan) and those of negative resolve (not accepting a bribe); those between man and God (fasting on Yom Kippur) and those between man and man (paying a servant promptly); those that specify the duties required of rabbis and those that state the special sympathy for suffering required of any Jew. (Rosten 1968: 256-257)

Since the Hebrew-origin word *mitzvah* encapsulates all these meanings and is not semantically fully equivalent to any of its English synonyms (i.e. "precept", "commandment", "good deed" or "meritorious act") it is easy to imagine why the authors opted for the use of this culturally meaningful term in their works. Some examples taken from the Corpus follow:

15) Mrs. Krupnick did a ***mitzvah*** by helping Chana and her mother with the doctor bills and by making an apartment for them. And Chana and her mother did a ***mitzvah*** by keeping Mrs. Krupnick company!
("Shabbos Treats That Grew", www.shemayisrael.com)

16) He was anxious to serve Hashem by providing the water for that the congregants would wash their hands with. Certainly the ***mitzvoh*** was of more value than the profits he would give up.

("From Inspiration to Action", www.nishmas.org)

17) But you can't do that." Yankel said. If you give me anything in return, you'll ruin my **Mitzvah.**

(From "Yankel", www.jewishmag.com)

In traditional Jewish contexts, 'to do a *mitzvah*' or 'to observe a *mitzvah*' means to perform and affirm one's own Jewish identity. This practice is, in fact, seen as central to Judaism and marks "a way of life". In other words, *mitzvah* expresses the real, everyday observance of Jewish practice (see Yadgar 2011: 102). *Mikveh* (also written *mikvah*, *mikva*) is listed in both the ODs and MWD as an integrated Yiddish-or/and Hebrew-origin loanword. It means "a pool of water" or "collection of water". Its presence in the English language dates back to the 19th century. *Mikveh* designates "a bath in which certain Jewish ritual purifications are performed" (ODs). More specifically, it is a "[…] bath, prescribed by ritual, which a Jewish bride took before her wedding, and which religious Jewish women took at the end of their menstrual period, after bearing a child" (Rosten 1968: 247). Nowadays, only strictly religious Jewish women perform a *mikveh*. The following excerpts show the use of this term in some of the stories of the Corpus:

18) After three or four such stops I make my way home, immerse myself in the **mikveh** and prepare for prayer.

(From "You Are Not Who You Think You Are", www.nishmas.org)

19) Along the way he met another young man who had heard R' Chaim of Tzanz speak about Shabbos, and he too was on his way to the **mikveh** to wash in honor of Shabbos! They joyously made their way together to the **mikveh**, but when they arrived they saw that no one else was there.

(From "On Erev Shabbos", www.nishmas.org)

Since the *mikveh*, as a Jewish custom, is observed only by pious Jewish women, the stories in which the term occurs are the ones that are ideally targeted at Jewish Orthodox readers, who are aware of this Jewish custom. In the most observant communities, the importance of the *mikveh* is such that the Jewish Law usually requires that new communities build a *mikveh* before constructing a synagogue. Especially in past times, in case of absence of a *mikveh*, observant women could use a river to immerse themselves, so that marriages could take place. The *mikveh* is, together with synagogues, Jewish schools and the *beit midrash* (i.e. the Jewish study hall located in synagogues) among theplaces which are indispensable for the fulfillment of the so-called *mitzvot* (i.e. the "precepts" or "commandments" by God). It is through the observance of the *mitzvot* carried out in the above-mentioned places that traditional Jewish identity can be fully expressed. The next term under scrutiny is *Beis din* (also *Bes din*, *Beth din*, *Bet din*), listed in the ODs as an integrated loanword into BrE. The online dictionary provides the following definition of this word:

ODs

noun

- a Jewish court of law composed of three rabbinic judges, responsible for matters of Jewish religious law and the settlement of civil disputes between Jews.

Origin:

from Hebrew *bēṯ dīn*, literally 'house of judgement'

The *Beis din* traditionally "[…] deals with religious and local (Jewish community) problems, and with those domestic and commercial disputes (marriage, divorce, inheritance, debts, etc.) in which the disputants sought advice or arbitration" (Rosten 1968: 38-39). The following excerpt shows the occurrence of the term:

> 20) One of the admirers of the Rizhiner was the tzaddik, R' Chaim of Tzanz, the Divrei Chaim. R' Chaim had an illustrious Rabbinic career and in his later years was the Rav of the area of Tzanz and presided over its ***Beis Din*** (rabbinical court)[67]. When he retired, his

---

[67] Translation by the author.

son R' Aharon assumed his position. Once, when R' Aharon was presiding over the **Beis Din**, he rendered a certain decision that displeased the guilty litigant. […] After R' Aharon again refused to reverse the decision of the **Beis Din**, the fellow followed through on his threat by fabricating some story in the eager ears of the local authorities.

(From " A Kiddush Hashem", www.nishmas.org)

Beis Din has a strong religious value within Judaism, since it dates back to biblical times, when Moses appointed elders to help judge and govern the people. Other biblical figures are also said to have had their *batei* (pl.) *din* (see Ehrlich 2009: 419). A *beis din* (or *bet din*) is traditionally engaged in many activities. For instance, it is required to respond to queries on *Halakha* (i.e. "Jewish Law"), advising synagogues and communal institutions on matters of liturgy, *Shabbat* observance, burial procedures and so forth, administering religious divorces, advising in important family matters supervising the *kosher* slaughter of animals, religious institutions and facilities, like, for instance, a *mikvah*, among many others (see Ehrlich 2009: 420). The next term to be analysed is the Aramaic-origin noun *gabbai*, listed only in the MWD. A *gabbai* is traditionally helped by a *shamash* (meaning "servant"). A *gabbai*, like the *shamas*, is a personal assistant of the *rebbe*. Especially in Jewish Chassidic culture, the *shamash* may work as the secretary to a Chassidic *rebbe*, while the *gabbai* is usually concerned with the broader responasbilities of the *rebbe*'s houseld (Schindler 1990: 172). In its more general meaning, the term *gabbai* refers to a beadle or sexton, a person who assists in the running of the *Shul* services. Together with *shamash*, *gabbai* can be said to be another meaningful culture-bound word that finds no exact equivalent in the recipient language, i.e. English. The following excerpt shows its use in one of the OJCSSs of the Corpus:

21) I called the Orthodox synagogue, the most traditional branch of Judaism, and spoke to the **gabbai**, the person in charge of ritual matters. I instructed the **gabbai** to put Sam's English name on it, along with his Hebrew name, Shmuel, so that I could pick out his tablet. […] The **gabbai** informed me of the Hebrew date on which to celebrate Sam's Yahrzeit, the anniversary of his death. […] To make sure I remembered the occasion, I asked the **gabbai** if there

was a Jewish calendar. He said, "of course." I asked him to circle the day of his Yahrzeit. […] The *gabbai* was happy to oblige. "No charge. I'll also make a circle on the holidays when you're supposed to come to shul for Yizkor Services. Do you know the kaddish?" The *gabbai* didn't give me a chance to ask what shul or Yizkor meant--I already knew about the kaddish prayer from Sam's dream.

(From "An Improved Funeral", www.nishmas.org)

As a Jewish figure, the *gabbai* is quite important within Judaism. He can be said to be the most active person during the *Torah*-reading service and probably the leading synagogue-worker. He makes sure that everything runs smoothly during this highly important service. In particular, as Olitzky and Isaacs (1996: 4) point out, the *gabbai* does other things as well, such as under-covering the Torah scroll by removing its mantle, breast-plate and crown (or *rimmonim*) when it is brought to the *bimah* (i.e. an elevated platform found in synagogues) after being carried through the congregation in procession and inviting indivual worshippers to the *Torah* honour in accordance with the synagogue's customary practice. In traditional synagogues, a *cohen* (i.e. a priestly descendant) comes first, followed by a Levite (i.e. an assistant priest) and then come the ordinary Israelites, while in liberal synagogues, where all worshippers are considered equal, *Torah* honours are distributed without regard to ancestry. The Hebrew-origin word *Chasid* (also *Chassid*, *Hasid* or *Hassid*) is one of the most recurrent words within OJCSSs that are ideally targeted at a Jewish Orthodox readership. As an integrated loanword into both BrE and AmE, *Chasid* is listed in both the ODs and MWD:

<u>ODs</u>

Hasid
Pronunciation: /ˈhasɪd/
(also **Chasid**, **Chassid**, or **Hassid**)

 *noun (plural **Hasidim**)*

- 1a member of a strictly orthodox Jewish sect in Palestine in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC which opposed Hellenizing influences on their faith and supported the Maccabean revolt.

- 2an adherent of Hasidism.

Derivatives

Hasidic
Pronunciation: /-'sɪdɪk/
adjective

Origin:

from Hebrew *ḥāsīḏ* 'pious'

MWD

Ha·sid
noun \'ha-səd, 'kä-\
plural **Ha·si·dim** *also* **Cha·si·dim** *or* **Chas·si·dim** \'ha-sə-dəm, kä-'sē-\

Definition of *HASID*
1
:a member of a Jewish sect of the second century B.C. opposed to Hellenism and devoted to the strict observance of the ritual law.
2
also **Has·sid:**a member of a Jewish mystical sect founded in Poland about 1750 in opposition to rationalism and ritual laxity
— **Ha·sid·ic** also **Has·sid·ic** or **Cha·sid·ic** or **Chas·sid·ic** \ha-'si-dik, hä-, kä-\ *adjective*

Variants of *HASID*
Ha·sid also **Cha·sid** or **Chas·sid** \'ha-səd, 'kä-\

Origin of *HASID*
Hebrew *ḥāsīdh* pious
First Known Use: 1812

The Chassidic movement flourished through the Jewish communities of Central and Eastern Europe during the 18th century and was opposed by many rabbis and pietists. The movement was founded by a mystic named Israel ben Eliezer (also known as the 'Baal Shem Tov') who "[…] preached a folk gospel that had enormous appeal to small-town Jews because it opposed the rabbinical emphasis on formal learning, and derogated the endless Talmudic casuistry of the wise man" (Rosten 1968: 73-74). The Baal Shem Tov celebrated the beauties of "simple faith, joyous worship, everyday pleasures" (Rosten 1968: 74). Still today, Chassidic Judaism is one of the main branches of traditional Judaism. Chasidic Jews preserve a distinctive identity and separate themselves not only from non-Jews, but also from what they consider to be "unreligious" Jews or, to be more precise, Jews not following traditions.

The following excerpts show the use of the term *Chassid* in some of the OJCSSs:

22) That Christmas, Mendel the **Chassid** came into the Homewood House in a full, bright red Santa Claus suit, his belly stuffed with pillows, a large bag over his shoulder full of gift for the patients in the day room and a large Star of David on his chest.

(From "Does Norman Have A Soul?", www.jewishmag.com)

23) One day, the **Chassid** and his wife decided that enough was enough. They decided that he would go to beseech the Rebbe once more. This time he resolved that no matter what, he would not take no for an answer. […] When the **Chassid** realized that his Rebbe might actually be speaking to the Almighty face to face, he understood that this was an auspicious moment and he redoubled his efforts to gain a blessing from the Shpoler Zeide. He was so relentless that finally, with more than a trace of aggravation in his voice, the Zeide turned on the **Chassid** with the full force of his presence and assured him that he would never merit to have a child.

(From "Tzaddik Talk", www.nishmas.org)

24) The ***chassid*** noticed that the young rebbe's son was all too aware of his achievements in scholarship and meditative prayer and felt that some cutting down to size was in order.

(From "You Are Not Who You Think You Are", www.nishmas.org)

It is worth-mentioning that many Jews and non-Jews alike associate Jewish authenticity with Chassidic Jewish life and look at Chassidic Judaism as a genuine model of Jewish selfhood. This also explains the high occurrence of terms (e.g. *Chassid*, *Chassidic*, *Chassidim*, etc.) linked to this Jewish branch in many stories in the Corpus.

Another noun, strongly related to the Jewish 'chassidic world', is *Tzaddik* (or, alternatively, *tsaddik*, *zaddik*). The term *tzaddik* is listed in both the ODs and MWD:

ODs

tsaddik

Pronunciation: /ˈtsadɪk/

(also **tzaddik**, **zaddik**)

*noun (plural **tsaddikim** /-kɪm/, **tsaddiks**)*

Judaism

- a Hasidic spiritual leader or guide.

MWD

zad·dik

noun \ˈtsä-dik\
plural **zad·dik·im** *or* **tzad·dik·im** \tsä-ʿdi-kəm\

Definition of *ZADDIK*

1
: a righteous and saintly person by Jewish religious standards
2
: the spiritual leader of a modern Hasidic community

Variants of *ZADDIK*

zad·dik or **tzad·dik** \ˈtsä-dik\

Origin of *ZADDIK*

Yiddish *tsadek,* from Hebrew *ṣaddīq* just, righteous
First Known Use: 1873

As both entries show, a Chassidic leader became known as *tzaddik*, i.e. a person who "[…] became an ecclesiastical bridge between man and God such as rabbis had never been" (Rosten 1968: 74). A *tzaddik* was often asked by his followers to intervene with God during illnesses, crisis and other bad events, inviting him to speak directly to the Almighty. A *tzaddik* often uses talismans and amulets to chase the evil eye. The title of *tzaddik* even became hereditary (see Rosten 1968: 74). The following excerpts show its use within some of the OJCSSs:

25) Letters from all over Russia began to arrive in Shpole. These emergency messages were addressed to the ***Tzaddik***, the Shpoler Zayde, for he had always been able to provide for the poor and downtrodden of his people. […] Then each ***Tzaddik*** left to return to his home town in expectation of the salvation to come.

(From "Fit To Be Tried", www.nishmas.org)

26) R' Hirsh peppered him with more questions to find out of the old Jew could remember any reason that might account for his many years. Maybe there was some special mitzvah that he did once or some experience, maybe he had been to a ***Tzaddik*** on some special occasion.

(From "Teshuva, Don't Leave The World Without It", www.nishmas.org)

27) The boy did indeed change and became a well-known ***tzaddik***, R' Mordechai of Lecovitz, the father of the Slonim dynasty.

(From "Torah From The Heart", www.nishmas.org)

Within Yiddish-culture-based (or also Eastern *Ashkenazi* Jewish) stories, and especially within Chassidic stories, the *tzaddik* is the most predominant and, therefore, the leading figure, because he is seen as a role model within Chassidic Judaism. In Chassidic communities, the *tzaddik* was expected to teach, to preach and, in many cases, to train disciples. His powers were seen as exceptional, since he could, among other things, command charity, make marriages, direct lives, perform miracles and determine penances. This was due to the absolute loyalty that he received by his fellow *Chassidim*. In Blumenthal's (1982: 190) terms, the *tzaddik* was the man's representative to God, the one carrying the whole burden of Jewish life and history upon his own shoulders. Another important figure in traditional Jewish culture is the so-called *Maggid*. This Hebrew-origin word is listed in both the ODs and MWD (as an integrated loanword) and occurs, although to a smaller extent, several times within the Corpus. *Maggid* literally means "preacher". Historically, this figure, typical of Central and Eastern European Jewish communities, played a major role in holding together the religious as well as the cultural strands of life in the *Ashkenazi* Jewish communities. He was a humble, mostly untidy, shabbily clothed country preacher, wandering from *shtetl* to *shtetl*, teaching, preaching and comforting (see Rosten 1968: 222). The excerpts below show occurrences of this term in the Corpus:

28) Once, the **Maggid** of Mezeritch, the main disciple and the successor to the Baal Shem Tov, related how once the Baal Shem Tov was leading the prayers on the first day of Pesach. […] The **Maggid** observed that the Divine Presence of Hashem had descended upon his master, and he did not seem to be at all in this world. The Baal Shem Tov put his Kittel on, and the **Maggid** saw that it was wrinkled on the shoulder.

(From "The Service Of The Baal Shem Tov", www.nishmas.org)

29) R' Shneur Zalman of Liadi, the Baal HaTanya related that he heard from his master, the Great **Maggid** of Mezeritch, that once the Baal Shem Tov was teaching a group of his close disciples. He began to reveal to them secrets and hidden mysteries of the Torah that had

never before been heard by human ears. One must keep in mind as well, said the Baal HaTanya, that the *Maggid*, even before he met the Baal ShemTov was a tremendous sage in his own right.

(From "Torah From Another World", www.nishmas.org)

The authors using words such as *Tzaddik* or *Maggid* narrate about important cultural aspects of pre-World War II Jewish life of Central and East European Yiddish-speaking Chassidic communities. Thus, while reading young readers are fully immersed in their ancestors' history. One of the most meaningful terms within Judaism is *HaShem* (also *Adoshem*), a word used to refer to God. It stems from the Hebrew language and means "the Name", used "when God's mercy is cited" (Rosten 1968: 5). Surprisingly, despite its great importance and, thus, extensive use among Jewish communities, the word is not listed in any of the two online dictionaries. The MWD only lists the Hebrew expressions *Hillul HaShem* (also *Chillul Ha Shem*), meaning "profaning God's name". Its opposite is *Kiddush HaShem* (meaning "sanctification of God's name"). The term *HaShem* occurs quite a few times in the Corpus, as the following excerpts show:

30) The Maggid observed that the Divine Presence of **Hashem** had descended upon his master, and he did not seem to be at all in this world. […] Even after the Baal Shem Tov had left his presence, the Maggid continued to tremble uncontrollably until he beseeched **Hashem** in prayer to stop it since was clearly not yet prepared to have such an experience of the Divine Presence.

(From "The Service of the Ba'al Shem Tov, www.nishmas.org)

31) "Besides," he added, "**Hashem** protects people who go to do mitzvos. […] With **Hashem**'s help he will be home someday. We'll probably have to stay there until my father is strong and healthy again." […] Mrs. Schwartz continued: "I'm sure **Hashem** will help us, but right now I just don't know what to do!"

(From "Shabbos Treats That Grew", www.shemayisrael.com)

32) "I thought we were fishing for fish today, but I think **Hashem** really wanted us to catch something else."

(From "Eli and Ohr", www.shemayisrael.com)

Indeed, *HaShem* is only one of the several substitutes for God's Name. However, in Corpus, it is the most used one. The analysis shows that, in some OJCSSs, it is also possible to find the expression *Chillul Ha Shem* and its opposite *Kiddush Ha Shem* (lit. "sanctification of God's name"), as shown in the excerpt below:

33) "Do you really believe that if one is put into prison because he upheld the Kedushah (holiness) of the Torah by rendering an honest and true judgment, that it is the cause of a **Chilul Hashem**?! Would you label Yosef's sentence in the prison of Pharaoah a **Chilul Hashem**?! Were the twenty-two months that R' Yisroel'tche (the Rizhiner) spent in prison a **Chilul Hashem**?! No! Just the opposite! It was a **Kiddush Hashem**! Both Yosef HaTzaddik and R' Yisroel'tche sanctified the name of Hashem until the highest heights. My dear mechutan, listen to me! Anybody who calls himself a Jew and is not attached body and soul to his Creator every hour of the day - that is **Chilul Hashem**!

(From "A Kiddush Hashem", www.nishmas.org)

Chillul Hashem refers to "[a] deed that leads or encourages others to disbelieve in, or withdraw from, God. A publicly performed transgression" (Rosten 1968: 87). On the other hand, the expression *Kiddush Hashem* encapsulates the concept that "[…] God needs mortal men to hallow His name, and that men become sanctified by following God's commandements" (Rosten 1968: 181). It is worth-noticing that *Kiddush Hashem* involves any generous, noble, altruistic, considerate deed honouring all Jews. This is because there is an old idea based on the fact that all Jews are a 'kingdom of priests' and, as a consequence, every Jew bears perpetual responsibility to act to all other men in such a way to honour all Jewry (see Rosten 1968: 182).

Another word found in the Corpus is the Aramaic-origin noun *Kaddish*, listed in both dictionaries and, therefore, an integrated loanword in English:

ODs

Kaddish

Pronunciation: /'kadɪʃ/

noun

- an ancient Jewish prayer sequence regularly recited in the synagogue service, including thanksgiving and praise and concluding with a prayer for universal peace.
    - a form of the Kaddish recited for the dead.

Origin:

from Aramaic *qaddīš* 'holy'

MWD

kad·dish

noun, *often capitalized* \'kä-dish\
plural **kad·dish·es** *also* **kad·di·shim**

Definition of *KADDISH*

:a Jewish prayer recited in the daily ritual of the synagogue and by mourners at public services after the death of a close relative.

Origin of *KADDISH*
Aramaic *qaddīsh* holy
First Known Use: 1613

The *Kaddish*, which is traditionally recited after completing a reading from the Bible, a religious speech or a lesson, recited at the grave, for eleven months after a death, by the children of the deceased, and each year on the anniversary of death. The *Kaddish* can be referred as to "[…] a doxology that glorifies God's Name, affirms faith in the establishment of His kingdom, and expresses hope for peace within Israel" (Rosten 1968: 165). The word stems from the Aramaic language, i.e. the vernacular spoken by Jews during their Babylonian exile as well as during the days of the Second Temple or Commonwealth.

The following excerpts show its use in the Corpus:

34) He was not well versed and didn't know the meaning of most of his daily prayers, but he always davened with the minyan and he was scrupulous to say Amen, after every blessing of the Chazzan, and to respond Amen, Yehey Shemi Rabboh in the *Kaddish*, and to respond to the Borchu.

(From "From Inspiration to Action", www.nishmas.org)

35) "Ach," Sam grunted. "You could at least have included the *Kaddish*, the traditional prayer for the dead." […] The religious official continued. "When you come to shul I'll show you the page in the Siddur where you can find the *kaddish*.."

(From "An Improved Funeral", www.jewishmag.com)

36) The neighbors said she was not long for the cemetery. Even the Rabbi began thinking of saying *Kaddish* for her. It was one cloudless afternoon that she fell asleep.

(From "The Jewish Moshiach", www.jewishmag.com)

It is worth-noticing that, in many Jewish-American literary works, the *kaddish* has been often treated as

"[…] a signifier of "the essence" of Judaism or Jewishness, as a ritual untouched by the processes of assimilation or accommodation. […] Recited in part, in full, with errors, or only alluded to, the *kaddish* (my italics) becomes a recurrent sign of collective memory and Jewish identity, a religious text turned marker of ethnic origin." (Wirth : 122-123)

Keeping this custom alive helps not only mark Jewish identity but also affirm Jewish continuity through a ritual which is connected with death.

A loanword which is not yet integrated into BrE and AmE (i.e. not listed in either ODs or MWD) is the Hebrew-origin *Teshuva*, meaning "return", used in the way of atoning for sin in Judaism. In the Corpus, *teshuva* has been preferred to its English equivalent term "repentance", as it can be seen in the excerpts that follow:

37) It is brought down that the month of Elul, Rosh HaShanah and Yom Kippur are designated for doing **Teshuva**. A Jew is inspired and cajoled into **teshuva** as he contemplates the awesomeness of the Creator and how we are obligated to Him. It is a **teshuva** based on fear and awe. When Sukkos, the season of our rejoicing comes, the process of **teshuva** takes a new course. In this Festive time the **teshuva** is based on love. […] But as the Neilah prayer drew to a close, the congregation, thoroughly swept up by his singing and roaring as he stormed the gates of prayer to bring in Klal Yisrael in **Teshuva**, felt certain that he could indeed be only an angel.

(From "Awe To Awesome Love", www.nishmas.org)

38) The Ra'shash realized that the baker was correct. What could he do to right the misdeed he had done? How could he demonstrate beyond any doubt, that he indeed wronged the baker and was doing **Teshuva** for it? After a number of heart-aching minutes he knew that he had found the solution.

(From "Absolute Forgiveness", www.nishmas.org)

Teshuva actually conveys a rich constellation of meanings, according to the context in which the term is used. As Meyer (1991: 149) points out, the core meaning of the word is "[…] the abandonment of the wrong behavior, acknowledging the wrong the person has committed, regretting it genuinely and determining never to do it again." The lexical analysis will now focus on the use of terms referring to two of the main Jewish holidays (i.e. *Rosh Hashanah* and *Yom Kippur)* and to three important Texts in Judaism (i.e. *Torah*, *Talmud* and *Halakah*).

The Hebrew-origin term *Rosh Hashanah* (also *Rosh Hashana*, *Rosh Hashonah*, *Rosh Hashona*) is listed by both the ODs and MWD:

ODs

Rosh Hashana

Pronunciation: /ˈrɒʃ həˈʃɑˈnə/

(also **Rosh Hashanah**)

noun

- the Jewish New Year festival, held on the first (and sometimes the second) day of Tishri (in September). It is marked by the blowing of the shofar, and begins the ten days of penitence culminating in Yom Kippur.

Origin:

Hebrew, literally 'head (i.e. beginning) of the year'

MWD

Rosh Ha·sha·nah

noun \ˈräsh-(h)ə-ˈshä-nə, ˈrōsh-, -ˈshō-\

Definition of *ROSH HASHANAH*

:the Jewish New Year observed on the first day and by Orthodox and Conservative Jews also on the second day of Tishri.

Origin of *ROSH HASHANAH*

Late Hebrew *rōsh hashshānāh,* literally, beginning of the year
First Known Use: 1843

Due to its strong Jewish-cultural boundedness, the word *Rosh Hashanah* has been selected by the authors of OJCSSs and, thus, preferred to its English equivalents, among others, "beginning of the year". Generally speaking, within the Corpus, when referring to Jewish holidays, terms deriving from the authors' heritage languages are preferred. In fact, it is rare, if not impossible, to encounter English equivalents of such loanwords referring to Jewish holidays.

The Hebrew-origin expression *Rosh Hashanah* is found in several stories making up the Corpus:

39) It is brought down that the month of Elul, **Rosh HaShanah** and
    Yom Kippur are designated for doing Teshuva.

    (From "Awe To Awesome Love", www.nishmas.org)

40) Selihot announced the arrival of **Rosh Hashanah** and warned that
    Yom Kippur was not far behind.

    (From "A Cheder Tale", www.jewishmag.com)

Rosh Hashanah, together with other Jewish holidays, carries a strong Jewish religious and cultural meaning. In fact, it refers to the anniversary of the creation of the universe by God. Being it the festival of Creation, it also celebrates the birth of human life. *Rosh Hashanah* marks several important events in Judaism, namely the day when Isaac was born to Abraham; the time when God revealed to Moses that the first tribes of Jews would be expelled from their native land of Egypt; besides, it is also considered the day of Judgement, when all people on Earth and those who will have already died will be judged by God. From a more cultural perspective, there are some preliminary rituals for *Rosh Hashanah* which take place in the homes of Jewish families at sunset on the evening before the new year, like the lighting of candles that marks the beginning of the festival and then by the reciting of a blessing before going to the place of worship, i.e. the synagogue. It also begins with the blowing of the so-called *shofar*, a ram's horn, to signal the start of holiday observances. An evening service is usually held by a rabbi, afterwards families go home and eat together. Food plays a significant role on this holiday. In fact, many of the foods are sweet for a sweet year, round to symbolise the year's circle and abundant to symbolise prosperity and productivity. Families prepare *challah* (i.e. round braided bread made with eggs to symbolise the cycle of life) as well as apples dipped in honey, hoping for a sweet year (see Morrill 2009: 5-7).

Another Hebrew-origin term for a Jewish holiday found in the Corpus is *Yom Kippur*, often translated into English as "The Day of Atonement". *Yom Kippur* is an integrated loanword into both BrE and AmE, listed by both ODs and MWD:

<u>ODs</u>

Yom Kippur

Pronunciation: /jɒm ˈkɪpə, kɪˈpʊə/
noun

- the most solemn religious fast of the Jewish year, the last of the ten days of penitence that begin with Rosh Hashana (the Jewish New Year). Also called <u>Day of Atonement</u>.

Origin:

Hebrew

<u>MWD</u>

Yom Kip·pur

noun \ˈyōm-ki-ˈpur, ˈyȯm-, ˈyäm-; -ˈki-pər, -(ˌ)pur\

Definition of *YOM KIPPUR*

:a Jewish holiday observed with fasting and prayer on the 10th day of Tishri in accordance with the rites described in Leviticus 16 - called also *Day of Atonement*.

Origin of *YOM KIPPUR*

Hebrew *yōm kippūr,* literally, day of atonement
First Known Use: 1854

As in the case of *Rosh Hashanah*, its English equivalent ("Day of Atonement") cannot be found in any of the OJCSSs making up the Corpus of this research study. The following excerpt shows its occurrence in the Corpus:

> 41) One of those present that special ***Yom Kippur***, was R' Yaakov Meshullam Orenstein, the author of the work Yeshuos Yaacov.
>
> (From "From Awe To Awesome Love", www.nishmas.org)

The days leading to *Yom Kippur* have a special significance, since they are the ten days of repentance, during which Jews can demonstrate honest repentance. Traditionally, there are five prayer services on *Yom Kippur* and full attendance requires spending most of the day in the synagogue. Each service includes confessionals, some are private while others are communal. The purpose of this day is not only to atone but to reset one's personal priorities and get back on track, so that the new year will be a time of good acts and good thoughts (cf. Firestone 2001). The Hebrew-origin word *Torah* is an integrated loanword into both BrE and AmE. The ODs and MWD provide the following explanations of this term:

<u>**ODs**</u>

Torah

noun

(usually **the Torah**)

- (in Judaism) the law of God as revealed to Moses and recorded in the first five books of the Hebrew scriptures (the Pentateuch).

Origin:

from Hebrew *tōrāh* 'instruction, doctrine, law', from *yārāh* 'show, direct, instruct'.

<u>**MWD**</u>

To·rah
noun

Definition of *TORAH*
1
:the body of wisdom and law contained in Jewish Scripture and other sacred literature and oral tradition.
2
:the five books of Moses constituting the Pentateuch.
3
:a leather or parchment scroll of the Pentateuch used in a synagogue for liturgical purposes.

Origin of *TORAH*
Hebrew *tōrāh*
First Known Use: 1577

The *Torah* is said to be, together with God and Israel, the essence of Judaism, as a religion, a philosophy and a set of values. In fact, every Jew's main ideal was the study of the *Torah*. In order to enable even the least educated Jews to learn *Torah*, a section of the Pentateuch was read in the synagogue each Monday and Thursday morning and each *Shabbat* and holiday. The following excerpts show some occurrences of *Torah* in the Corpus:

42) He began to reveal to them secrets and hidden mysteries of the **Torah** that had never before been heard by human ears.

(From "Torah From Another World", www.nishmas.org)

43) The Maggid hid it in a fortress of **Torah** and prayer, but the thieves from Above, the Yetzer Hara, broke into the fortress to pilfer the gem.

(From "A Kiddush Hashem", www.nishmas.org)

In some OJCSSs, the term *Torah* is sometimes preceded by the Yiddish-origin noun *simchas*. The latter derives from the Hebrew language and stands for "happy occasion" or "celebration". The expression *Simchas Torah* (also *Simchath Torah*, *Simhat Torah*) means "the day of re-joicing the Law". It is a joyful occasion, traditionally celebrated with feasting and dancing, to commemorate the yearly end-and-new-beginning of the consecutive weekly readings of the *Torah* in the synagogue. One specific aspect of this event, regarding children, is that they carry banners, join in the procession of the *Torah* scrolls and are then rewarded with goodies (see Rosten 1968: 390-391).

The excerpt below shows occurrences of *Torah* in the Corpus:

44) **Simchas Torah** was the holiday Ben's older classmates yearned to celebrate. On **Simchas Torah**, the annual cycle of Torah parshiot ends and a new cycle begins with the reading of Bereshit. […] What the boys most looked forward to, was that on **Simchas Torah**, even the youngsters were clandestinely permitted a little wine to ward off the chill and lighten the spirits. One cool night in early October, Ben and his family, walked the short distance from their home to the cheder to celebrate **Simchas Torah**.

(From "A Cheder Tale", www.jewishmag.com)

The next term under scrutiny is the Hebrew-origin noun *Talmud*, which is listed in both the ODs and MWD as an integrated loanword:

ODs

Talmud

Syllabification: (Tal·mud)
Pronunciation: /ˈtälˈmo͝od, ˈtalməd/
noun

(**the Talmud**)

- the body of Jewish civil and ceremonial law and legend comprising the Mishnah and the Gemara. There are two versions of the Talmud: the Babylonian Talmud (which dates from the 5th century AD but includes earlier material) and the earlier Palestinian or Jerusalem Talmud.

Derivatives

Talmudic
Pronunciation: /talˈm(y)o͞odik, -ˈmo͝odik/
adjective

Talmudical

Pronunciation: /tal'm(y)o͞odikəl, -'mŏod-/

adjective

Talmudist

Pronunciation: /'tälmo͞odist, 'talməd-/

noun

Origin:

from late Hebrew *talmūd* 'instruction', from Hebrew *lāmad* 'learn'

MWD

Tal·mud

noun \'täl-'mu̇d, 'tal-məd\

Definition of *TALMUD*

: the authoritative body of Jewish tradition comprising the Mishnah and Gemara
— **Tal·mu·dic** \tal-'mü-dik, -'myü-, -'mə-; täl-'mu̇-\ *adjective*
— **tal·mud·ism** \'täl-'mu̇-'di-zəm, 'tal-, -mə-\ *noun often capitalized*

Origin of *TALMUD*

Late Hebrew *talmūdh,* literally, instruction
First Known Use: 1532

The excerpts below show some of its occurrences within the Corpus:

45) One must keep in mind as well, said the Baal HaTanya, that the
Maggid, even before he met the Baal ShemTov was a tremendous
sage in his own right. He was a master of Halacha and *Talmud* and
there was not a tome of Jewish mysticism that he had not learned at
least 101 times!

(From "Torah From Another World", www.nishmas.org)

46)   The Ra'shash, Rabbi Shmuel Strahsuhn, was one the
leading sages of Vilna and a wealthy man. He was re-known for
his keen insights into the *Talmud*. He asked very tough questions
on every page in the *Talmud*. His famous commentary includes

many of these questions, some answered and some not. Scholars to this day still wrestle with his questions. He became a partner in the printing of the Vilna Shas, one of the first printed editions of the entire ***Talmud***.

(From "Absolute Forgiveness", www.nishmas.org)

Talmud is a particularly meaningful term when referring to Jewish identity, since it is "[…] the defining Jewish text, the basis of religious practice and Jewish law" (Stratton 2008: 17). As from the 16th century, Jews from Eastern Europe and, more specifically, observant Jews, favoured the study of both the *Torah* and *Talmud*. One last term linked to the Jewish Sacred Texts is *Halacha* (also *Halakah*, *Halakha*), listed in both the ODs and MWD as an integrated loanword into BrE and AmE:

ODs

Halacha

Syllabification: (Ha·la·cha)
Pronunciation: /ˈhälä'KHä, hälô'KHə/

(also **Halakah**)

noun

- Jewish law and jurisprudence, based on the Talmud.

Derivatives

Halachic
Pronunciation: /hə'läKHik, hə'lakik/
adjective

Origin:

from Hebrew *hălāḵāh* 'law'

ha·la·cha

noun, *often capitalized* \hä-ʻlä-ḵə, ʻhä-lə-ʻḵä\

Definition of *HALACHA*

:the body of Jewish law supplementing the scriptural law and forming especially the legal part of the Talmud.
— **ha·lach·ic** also **ha·lakh·ic** \hə-ʻla-kik, hä-ʻlä-\ *adjective often capitalized*

Variants of *HALACHA*

ha·la·cha also **ha·la·kha** \hä-ʻlä-ḵə, ʻhä-lə-ʻḵä\

Origin of *HALACHA*

Hebrew *halākhāh,* literally, way
First Known Use: 1856

The *Halacha* can be defined as the Jewish accumulated jurisprudence, namely "[…] the decisions of the sages, but without Biblical citations, notes, references. The *Halacha* simply states the law crisply, as in a code" (Rosten 1968: 152). Its occurrences within the Corpus are exemplified below:

47) One must keep in mind as well, said the Baal HaTanya, that the Maggid, even before he met the Baal ShemTov was a tremendous sage in his own right. He was a master of ***Halacha*** and Talmud and there was not a tome of Jewish mysticism that he had not learned at least 101 times!

(From "Torah From Another World", www.nishmas.org)

48) When you went to the kosher butcher you trusted that anything you bought there came from a healthy animal that was ritually slaughtered by a shochet who had followed ***Halakah*** and done the deed according to tradition.

(From "Meat Meat", www.jewishmag.com)

It can be argued that the *Halakah* functions to highlight both the religious and cultural identity of Jews. Furthermore, it fulfils a significant Jewish-related pedagogical role. In fact, it governs Jews' lives, taking every aspect, like food, dress, sex and so on. It imposes Jewish ways to behave or a life-style, orienting Jews towards the affirmation of their Jewish distinctiveness. Greenberg (1988: 21) argues that the *Halacha*, apart from the sense of over-arching purpose, "[…] offered seasons of joy, strong bonds of family, a sense that the others cared, a system of justice and law", adding that the *Halakah* is indeed "[…] a strategy for getting through history" (1998: 20). Its observance, i.e. the obedience to its commandments, more commonly known as *mitzvot*, is an obligation that pious or believing Jews should always fulfill. This section has analysed the role that JRLs play in transmitting Judaism (i.e. Jewish-based religious values and concepts) to future generations. The attention has been focused on loan nouns in the Corpus deriving from both Yiddish and Hebrew, expressing meaningful religious-based concepts linked, among other things, to Jewish holidays, traditional Jewish figures, Jewish ritual objects and religious texts. Along with imparting significant religious-based concepts, many of the JRLs also serve a strategic function in allowing readers to become acquainted with some of the most important religious practices within Judaism.

5.6.1.2 Jewish Cultural Loanwords

The second category of loanwords (JCLs) consists of a number of terms not strictly related to the Jewish religious sphere or completely extraneous to it. Generally speaking, while the majority of JRLs tends to be in Hebrew, the linguistic analysis shows that JCLs are mostly, if not entirely, Yiddish-origin terms. These words, also known as 'Yiddishisms', call to mind the culture of the so-called *Yiddishland*, which can be defined as an imagined cultural space representing an entire Jewish universe or an entire Jewish way of life typical of pre-World War II Central and Eastern Europe, where Yiddish was widely spoken. An imagined 'Land' that vanished a long time ago. In fact, the *Yiddishland* is located in the European past, but is still today the setting of many Jewish stories, including those targeted at young Jewish readers.

Thus, JCLs recall that sense of *Yiddishkeit*, the Eastern *Ashkenazi* way of being or feeling Jewish. The authors who select JCLs from their 'distinctly Jewish linguistic repertoire' see the maintenance of Yiddish cultural concepts and values as inseparable from the maintenance of its language. In other words, JCLs still are the most significant means used to construct, express and transmit *Yiddishkeit*. The Yiddishisms within the Corpus serve an important function in transmitting Eastern *Ashkenazi* Jewish heritage to future generations. Through the strategic use of JCLs, children are acculturated as Yiddish-heritage Jews. They are likely to assimilate cultural values and concepts encapsulated in almost each of the JCLs they encounter in the reading process. Therefore, along with serving an important cultural function, JCLs also play a significant pedagogical role. In fact, these lexical resources not only impart Yiddish culture-derived knowledge, but also aim at instilling that sense of *Yiddishkeit* in the child, exposing her/him to 'the sights and sounds' of Eastern *Ashkenazi* culture. With JCLs in mind, it is important to stress once again the centrality of language in both the conceptualisation and performance of Jewish cultural identity. The attachment to *Yiddishkeit* takes place by means of language, since *Yiddiskeit* itself cannot be constructed and expressed ewithout language. As for the linguistic findings, the Corpus shows three different types of JCLs which the authors of OJCSSs tend to select from their 'distinctly Jewish linguistic repertoire'. JCLs can be grouped into three categories: 'Nouns', 'Adjectives' and 'Exclamations'. The linguistic analysis focuses on JCLs occurring more frequently within the Corpus and will start analysing the Yiddish-origin word *zeyde* (also *zayde*). This term is listed by the ODs as *zayde* as a loanword integrated into BrE.

ODs

zayde

Pronunciation: /ˈzeɪdə, ˈzeɪdi/

(also **zaide**)

noun

informal

- (in Jewish use) one's grandfather: *as my zayde used to say, what's to worry? [as name]: Zayde, when I was a little girl you bounced me on your knee*

Trying to explain why given authors of OJCSSs use Yiddish-origin words to refer to family members is quite a challenge. One can hypothesise that the authors may want their readers to feel a special type of attachment to important figures as family members are. This type of familial attachment has to be felt in the most Jewish way, namely one recalling the ancestral Yiddish-speaking family. JCLs like, for instance, the term *zayde*, can be said to act as terms affecting an intimate sphere of language. It is worth-mentioning that Yiddish itself is called *mame-loshn* (i.e. "mother- tongue") by many *Ashkenazi* Jews and part of its vocabulary still today makes up the 'intimate' language of many Jews of Yiddish heritage. It is felt like a 'homey' language. JCLs referring to family members give birth to an intimate type of word-borrowing from the *mame-loshn*. The strategic use of such intimate loanwords also serve an important function in expressingand transmitting the traditional strength of the Jewish family. While reading stories, Jewish children 'do' have to feel this warm and strong attachment to the family. It is not surprising that, in the Corpus, the word *zayde* is generally preferred to its English equivalent "grandfather" or "grandpa":

49) Letters from all over Russia began to arrive in Shpole. These emergency messages were addressed to the Tzaddik, the Shpoler ***Zayde***, for he had always been able provide for the poor and downtrodden of his people. He was called the ***Zayde*** (grandfather) on account of his great spiritual and practical benevolence. He himself was in such anguish over the famine that he could only partake of a few bites of bread and some tea for weeks on end. Who could beseech Hashem that the decree be rescinded. Even the Gentiles looked to the Jews for help them, and the Jews looked to the Shpoler ***Zayde***. Still, Hashem wasn't answering prayers for food. The famine spread. The Shpoler ***Zayde*** decided on a bold course of action. He requested 10 of the generation's most venerated Tzaddikim including, Reb Zusha of Anipoli, Reb Shimshon of Shipitovka and Reb Wolf of Zhitomir, to meet with him in Shpole.

(From "Tzaddik Talk", www.nishmas.org)

Quite interestingly, one of the OJCSSs contains the Aramaic-origin word *ima* (or, alternatively, *imma*), instead of the more common Yiddish word *mame* used to refer to "mother", as well as the Aramaic-origin word *abba* (i.e. "father"), instead of its Yiddish equivalent *tateh*. Both *ima* and *abba* are part of the Hebrew vocabulary. The selection of both terms from the author's own 'distinctly Jewish linguistic repertoire' seems to reveal the author's stronger attachment to the Hebrew language and connection with Israel, where (Modern Israeli) Hebrew is spoken. *Abba* is listed in both ODs and MWD, being it an integrated loanword into both BrE and AmE.

ODs

Abba

Pronunciation: /ˈabə/

noun

- 1(in the New Testament) God as father: *'Abba, Father,' he said, 'all things are possible to you'.*

- (in the Syrian Orthodox and Coptic Churches) a title given to bishops and patriarchs.
- 2 (**abba**) *Indian* father (often as a familiar form of address in Muslim families).

Origin:

via Greek from Aramaic *'abbā* 'father'; sense 2 is from Hindi *abbā*, from Arabic *ab*

MWD

ab·ba
noun, *often cap* \ˈabə, aˈbä\
-s

Definition of *ABBA*

:FATHER —a title of honor given variously to the Deity in the New Testament, to bishops and patriarchs in many Eastern churches, and to Jewish scholars in the Talmudic period.

Origin of *ABBA*

ME, fr. LL, fr. Gk, fr. Aram *abbā*

181

Some occurrences of both *ima* and *abba* within the Corpus are shown in the excerpts that follow:

> 50) David and Yehudis certainly didn't know. They were only thinking of helping their ***Imma*** and also, of course, about buying their favorite treats in honor of shabbos […] "Here's the brand that our ***Imma*** always gets- with a hechsher." […] "***Imma***! Guess what!" Yehudis cried as she and David hurried into the kitchen. "A little girl and her ***Imma*** were so poor that they had to wear old, worn-out clothing, and they didn't even have enough money to buy candy for shabbos!" […] "Boruch Hashem, we have so many Shabbos treats. Could we share ours with Chana?" ***Imma*** smiled as David's excellent idea. […] "My ***abba***! He was so sick that he couldn't even stand up! Two men came and took him in an ambulance to the hospital. […] And that is exactly what happened, ***Abba***!" […] David's ***Abba*** gave him a big hug and kissed him good night.
>
> (From "Shabbos Treats That Grew", shemayisrael.com)

The next loanword under scrutiny is the Yiddish adjective *meshuga* (or, alternatively, *meshugga*, *meshugenah*, *meshuggener*, etc.), listed in both ODs and MWD, as an integrated loanword into both BrE and AmE:

ODs

meshuga

Pronunciation: /mɪˈʃʊgə/

(also **meshugga**)

adjective

North American informal

- (of a person) mad; crazy:*either a miracle is taking place, or we're all meshuga*

182

Origin:

late 19th century: from Yiddish *meshuge*, from Hebrew

MWD

me·shuga
adjective \mə-'shu̇-gə\

Definition of *MESHUGA*
: CRAZY, FOOLISH

Variants of *MESHUGA*

me·shuga or **me·shug·ge** also **me·shug·ah** or **me·shug·gah** \mə-'shu̇-gə\

Examples of *MESHUGA*

1. <when your mother is *meshuga* like his was, a lifetime of therapy is pretty much a foregone conclusion>

Origin of *MESHUGA*

Yiddish *meshuge,* from Hebrew *měshuggā'*
First Known Use: 1885

During its history, Yiddish has produced a lot of words able to capture, in a rather succinct and precise way, the fine details of human character and the great diversity of human characters (cf. Emmes 1998). Yiddish-origin words used to describe people represent just one salient feature of Jewish *Ashkenazi* culture. This phenomenon is fully reflected in the stories as well. Here, given Yiddish-origin loanwords, like *meshuga*, provides the best word to describe the most common human characteristics. Their use is also due to the inexistence of English words that tell about human characters quite as well (cf. Emmes 1998). The occurrences of *meshuga* (with its different transliterations) in the Corpus are shown in the next excerpts:

51) "Yossi, are you ***meshugenah.*** Your whole life you've been my son and suddenly now you don't know me!"

(From "Creampuffs and Other Diet Foods", www.jewishmag.com)

52) "***Meshugag***! You, who begrudgingly goes to services three times a
   year. You, who avoids every family simcha like a plague. You
   accepted an invitation from a nameless stranger to join a minyan?"

   (From "A Minyan for Miriam", jewishmag.com)

However, apart from its original meanings (i.e. "crazy", "foolish"), there is also a another nuance relating to *meshuga*. A Jew might say "I never look at the moon through glass. That's my *meshuga*", meaning "my personal idiosyncracy" or, using other words, *meshuga* refers to a genuine, mentally deficiency (cf. Partridge 2002). The following part of the lexical analysis will be centred on the investigation of loanwords stemming from Eastern *Ashkenazi* Jewish cuisine. As Emmes (1998: 57) points out, "[j]ust as Yiddish words and phrases have found their way into common everyday usage, so have Jewish foods". Many OJCSSs focus on traditional Jewish dishes from the *Yiddishland*. Traditionally, Yiddish cuisine represents an important aspect in Eastern *Ashkenazi* Jewish life and culture. Hundreds of loanwords stemming from the Yiddish culinary tradition have entered both the AmE and BrE when the first mass migrations of Jews from Europe took place. Most of the Eastern *Ashkenazi* food has, thus, become part of both the American and British cultures. Its integration into these cultures is so strong that, sometimes, Jewish food is thought to be Anglo-Saxon. Some of these Yiddish-origin foods include types of chicken soups, *bialys*, *lox*, cream cheese, sour crème, *borscht* or *gefilte fish*. Others include German-Jewish delicatessen food, heavy on meat, like *pastrami*, *salami*, *kosher* sausage (see Civitello 2011). Within the English-speaking 'world', religious Jews may frequently eat traditional Jewish food prepared following the strict observance of the Jewish dietary law, the so-called *kosher* food. Other Jews, on the other hand, may observe only major holidays and do not keep *kosher*. The OJCSSs under scrutiny include, almost exclusively, words referring to food deriving from the Yiddish cuisine. Although the cuisine of *Ashkenazim* is far from being homogenous, there is still a recognisable commonality. In fact, *Ashkenazi* Jews originally came from rather cool climates and tended to use similar ingredients, for example: beets, carrots, cabbage and potatoes. Only a low percentage of Jews living in the *Yiddishland* had access to sea. Consequently, Jews can be said to have developed a special love for freshwater

fish. Their shared food traditions are also a by-product of the interaction with members from other Jewish communities, especially through trade, marriage or migrations. Once emigrated to America, their cuisine has become further standardised (see Cohen 2008). It can be argued that the authors of Jewish stories express *Yiddishkeit* also through the use of this specific type of loanwords marking a salient feature of Eastern *Ashkenazi* identity. The first Yiddish-origin cuisine-related loanword to be analysed is *lokhs*, which is not listed in any of the two online dictionaries. In OJCSSs, this term occurs in its plural form (*lokshen*) and is combined with the English word 'pudding': *lokshen pudding*, meaning "noodle-pudding". In the story, in which *lokshen pudding* occurs, the English term 'pudding' has been preferred to its Yiddish equivalent *kugel*. This is actually quite surprising, since food names are traditionally left in their original language, as is the case of other well-known Yiddish-origin foods (e.g. *bagel*, *farfel*, *hamentash*, *borsht* or *blints*). The original Yiddish name of this type of food is *lokshen kugel*, also known as *kugel*. The word *kugel* is a Yiddish-origin loanword fully integrated into both BrE and AmE. The following excerpt shows the occurrence of *lokhsen pudding* in the Corpus:

53) "And wait till you taste the **lokshen pudding**."

(From "The Jewish Moshiach", www.jewishmag.com)

The next culinary term to be analysed is *cholent*. It is a Yiddish-origin loanword integrated into both BrE and AmE, as the entries in the ODs and MWD show:

ODs

cholent

Pronunciation: /ˈtʃʊl(ə)nt, ˈʃɒ-/

noun

[mass noun]

- a Jewish Sabbath dish of slowly baked meat and vegetables, prepared on a Friday and cooked overnight.

185

Origin:

from Yiddish *tsholnt*

<u>**MWD**</u>

cho·lent
noun \ˈchólənt, ˈchəl- *also* ˈsh-\
-s

Definition of *CHOLENT*
:a Jewish Sabbath-day dish of slow-baked meat and vegetables

Origin of *CHOLENT*
Yiddish *tsholnt, tshont, shalet, shalent*

The following entries show occurrences of the term *cholent*:

54) "Look at all the men and women eating ***Cholent***." He whispered, "Smak da vak."

(From "The Jewish Moshiach", www.jewishmag.com)

55) What he missed most now was ***cholent***. He smelled ***cholent*** in his sleep. He tasted succulent potatoes that tasted of meat. He ate meat that was a soft as leather, that came away in pieces as you lifted it up, and he managed to eat more carrots than he had eaten all year.

(From "People Like Mr. Goldstein", www.jewishmag.com)

Traditionally, the *cholent* is a dish made of potatoes, beans, barley, beef bones and stuffed darma, cooked on a low flame for twelve hours (see Remen 2009: 7). During the long and slow cooking, the aroma of the meat is absorbed in the stew. Being it a traditional Shabbat dish and also a delicacy, the *cholent* is usually cooked on Friday

afternoon and kept simmering until the lunch meal that takes place the day after, i.e. on *Shabbat*. Since only a few private homes had an oven, the *cholent* was typically left in the stone oven of the town bakery or in a large private oven (cf. Marks 2010). Nowadays,this dish can be found among many *Ashkenazi* Jewish groups, although its recipe may vary according to the region *Ashkenazi* Jews are originally from. *Kishke* is another Yiddish-origin culinary JCL, integrated into both BrE and AmE, as the entries in both the ODs and MWD show:

ODs

kishke

Pronunciation: /ˈkɪʃkə/
noun

- a beef intestine stuffed with a savoury filling.
  - (usually **kishkes**) *US informal* a person's guts.

Origin:

Yiddish, from Polish *kiszka* or Ukrainian *kishka*

MWD

kish·ke
noun \ˈkish-kə\

Definition of *KISHKE*
:beef or fowl casing stuffed (as with meat, flour, and spices) and cooked

Variants of *KISHKE*
kish·ke also **kish·ka** \ˈkish-kə\

Origin of *KISHKE*
Yiddish *kishke* gut, sausage, of Slavic origin; akin to Polish *kiszka* gut, sausage
First Known Use: circa 1936.

The following excerpt shows its occurrence in the Corpus:

56) He told them all to study the Gemara and left it to them to get on
with it. He was past his days of eating stale fruit and working for
Jewish tailors that took his **_kishkes_** out.

(From "People Like Mr. Goldstein", jewishmag.com)

In the above-mentioned excerpt, the term _kishkes_ (plural of _kishke_) does not refer to a
culinary context, but rather to a working context. In this case, the term, aided by the
use of the English phrasal verb 'to take out', has also acquired a figurative
connotation. In this 'slangy' context, _kishkes_ means "intenstines" or "guts". In
English and, especially in AmE, the term _kishkes_ has not only the literal connotation
of "guts" or "intestines", but also the figurative implication of profound emotion. For
instance, when someone knows "something _in di kishkes_", s/he has a "gut feeling"
(see Marks 2010). The three following words under scrutiny (i.e. _milkhik_, _fleishik_ and
kosher) are Yiddish-origin adjectives linked to Yiddish-origin cookery. The former
(_milkhik_, also _milchig_, _milchedig_) only appears in the MWD as a Yiddish-origin
loanword integrated into AmE:

MWD

mil·chig
adjective \\'mil-ķik\\

Definition of _MILCHIG_
:made of or derived from milk or dairy products

Origin of _MILCHIG_
Yiddish _milkhik,_ from _milkh_ milk, from Middle High German _milch,_ from Old High German
miluh

First Known Use: circa 1928

The same happens to the second term, _fleishik_ (also _fleishig_, _flayshedig, flayshig_), which is
listed in the MWD and has, therefore, become a loanword integrated into AmE:

flei·shig

adjective \ˈflā-shik\

Definition of *FLEISHIG*

:made of, prepared with, or used for meat or meat products

Origin of *FLEISHIG*

Yiddish *fleyshik,* from Middle High German *vleischic* meaty, from *vleisch* flesh, meat, from Old High German *fleisk*
First Known Use: 1943

The use of the two adjectives are shown in the following excerpts:

57) Saying the blessing HaMotzi before each meal and benching afterwards, pausing at the supermarket amidst a world of choice while she designed a menu that was either ***fleshik*** (meat) or ***milchik*** *(*dairy), but certainly not both and scheduling her week around Shabbat.

(From "Meat Meat", www.jewishmag.com)

58) A story? Dan's grandfather always told the most wonderful stories. This was no exception. Dan and his grandfather laughed until it hurt as he talked about how the Butcher chased the cattle through the town and how they climbed onto the roof of a building and kicked over a water barrel that soaked the Butcher. And how the drenched Butcher went home without slaughtering the cattle and had to eat ***milkhik*** instead of ***fleyshik*** for dinner.

(From "Over His Head", www.jewishmag.com)

In order to help non-Yiddish native speakers understand loanwords, the authors of OJCSSs sometimes add a brief explanation or they insert the English equivalent of these words putting them into brackets. However, as excerpt 57 shows, the words put

into brackets ("meat" and "dairy") do not really match the English equivalents of *fleishik* and *milkhik*. In fact, both *fleishik* and *milkhik* are adjectives (i.e. "made of meat" or "meaty" and "made from milk" or "milky") and not nouns. The Yiddish term for "meat" is *fleysh*, while the Yiddish term for "milk" is *milkh*. In Jewish dietary law, *milkhik* is the opposite of *fleyshik*. As Bluestein (1989: 67) claims, there is this

> […] prohibition against mixing milk and meat which derives from an obscure reference that warns against boiling a kid in its mother's milk. It is not clear why anyone should want to do this, but perhaps the point is that here, as elsewhere, Jews pointedly didn't do what some of their neighbours did, in order to establish their unique identity. Orthodox Jews also segregate the utensils, dishes and pots used for milk and for meat dishes.

Another, perhaps, more reasonable explanation of this prohibition may be due to the fact that *milkhik* is feminine, having to do with milk, while *fleyshik* is masculine, having to do with meat. Their injuction in one meal is strictly forbidden by the *kashruth* (i.e. the Jewish dietary law). In fact, according to *kashrut*, the union of *milkh* (milk) and *fleysh* (meat) resembles the sexual act (see Bluestein 1989: 67). Another loanword in the Corpus that is worth analysing is the Hebrew-origin term *kosher*, generally known among many non-Jews as well. *Kosher* is probably "[…] the Hebrew word most widely encountered in English" (Rosten 1968: 195). It is listed by both the ODs and the MWD as an integrated loanword into BrE and AmE:

<u>ODs</u>

kosher
Pronunciation: /ˈkəʊʃə/

adjective

- 1 (of food, or premises in which food is sold, cooked, or eaten) satisfying the requirements of Jewish law: *a kosher kitchen*
  - (of a person) observing Jewish food laws.

- 2 *informal* genuine and legitimate: *she consulted lawyers to make sure everything was kosher*

Origin:

- mid 19th century: from Hebrew *kāšēr* 'proper'

MWD

ko·sher

adjective \ˈkō-shər\

Definition of *KOSHER*

1
a **:** sanctioned by Jewish law; *especially* **:** ritually fit for use <*kosher* meat>
b **:** selling or serving food ritually fit according to Jewish law <a *kosher* restaurant>

2
: being proper, acceptable, or satisfactory <is the deal *kosher*?>

Examples of *KOSHER*

1. Something about this deal is just not *kosher*.

Origin of *KOSHER*

Yiddish, from Hebrew *kāshēr* fit, proper
First Known Use: 1851

It is worth noticing that the word *kosher* occurs far more frequently in the Corpus than other loanwords and its meaning is not limited to Jewish cuisine. The following excerpts show its relation to Jewish food:

59) "Nanna, the sign says bosher bosher, not ***kosher*** bosher." She looked at the child quizzically. "It says 'meat meat,' not ***kosher*** *meat*. You see, both words start with kaf, not a kaf and a bet."

   (From "Meat Meat", www.jewishmag.com)

191

60) He had emigrated from Rumania and liked an "old country" atmosphere and traditional cooking so he picked Fisher's Rumanian Restaurant, a *Glatt*[68] **Kosher** *restaurant* on Fairfax .

(From "The Minyan (Ten Men)", www.jewishmag.com)

61) Preparation for Passover had begun days before. Alan's Grandmother had done the shopping and cleaned out the kitchen. Though their home was not strictly **kosher**[69], as her mother's was, when Passover arrived, out came the special dishes and silverware, and even special pots and pans were brought up from the storage room in the basement.

(From "Just A Box In The Basement", www.jewishmag.com)

62) They aren't under the supervision of a rabbi. See, they don't have a mark on the label showing that they are **kosher**.

(From "Shabbos Treats That Grew", www.shemayisrael.com)

Conversely, the following excerpts show a different use of the term *kosher*:

63) Sam's voice thundered from an indefinite space above my bedroom ceiling. "You did the funeral wrong! I wanted a Jewish service, a fully Orthodox one, with all the **kosher** trimmings.

(From "An Improved Funeral", www.jewishmag.com)

---

[68] The Yiddish-origin word *glatt* means "smooth". In Jewish Law, *glatt* is used to refer to the lungs of animals. After being slaughtered, the animal is opened and examined to determine whether the lungs are smooth. If defects on the lungs are found, the meat is considered *treif* (i.e. "torn", "mortally injured" or "non-*kosher*"). If the lungs are found to be defect-free or smooth, the meat is considered to be *glatt kosher* (see http://kosherfood.about.com/od/kosherbasics/f/glatt.htm. Last access: November 20th 2013).

[69] A '*kosher* home' is a place where everyone keeps *kosher* and the utensils are *kosher*. Many Jews will not eat in someone's house unless the home keeps the laws of *kosher*, a *kosher* home. This includes keeping meat and milk away from each other (along with their utensils), and only bringing food that is certified *kosher* (except for fresh fruit and vegetables, which doesn't require a *hechsher*, reliable *kosher* certification) into the house.
(See http://wiki.answers.com/Q/What_is_a_kosher_home. Last access: November 20th 2013).

64) There wasn't enough time to make sure the arrangements were "***kosher***," one of the few Jewish words I knew before I lived with Sam.

(From "An Improved Funeral", www.jewishmag.com)

In the last two excerpts, the meaning of *kosher* becomes similar to the English adjectives "proper", "legitimate", "legal" or "lawful" (from an exquisitely Jewish perspective). As Rosten (1968: 196) points out, *kosher* is, all in all, the most resourceful Yiddish and Hebrew word in the English language. In fact, as Jewish ethnic heritage has become part of the Anglo-Saxon scene, some Jewish symbols (including given linguistic elements stemming from Jews' heritage language) have become part of the Anglo-Saxon symbols too. In Judaisn, *kosher*, especially in its original sense, is a culturally significant term. For observant Jews, "[…] kosher is more than just food. Meticulous Jews who wish to keep all Jewish rituals aspire to live a kosher life, carefully caring for observance and living each day and seeing it through Jewish eyes" (Isaacs 2008: 63). The observance of the Jewish dietary laws evokes the memory of ancient practices. This helps strengthen Jewish cultural identity and deter cultural assimilation in the surrounding non-Jewish society. The next three terms to be analysed are three typical Yiddish-origin exclamations, namely: *oy a brokh!*, *oy gevalt!* and *shanda!*. Yiddish speakers, including those who do not speak Yiddish as their mother-tongue, but grew up with Yiddish-speaking parents or grandparents, have always felt that this language "[…] is quite unlike any other language and provides them with a highly charged means of expression […] [Its speakers] seem to attribute to this language a life of its own, a mentality, a set of values and attitudes, serving as a source of strength" (Harshav 1990: 89-90). Yiddish-origin exclamations in the English language fit into this context, since they have a special 'flavour' and are often used to spice up (i.e. to intensify) speech, as the analysis of the linguistic findings will show. Yiddish-origin exclamations are generally perceived as a means by which it is possible to make language funnier and, above all, to make it sound 'more Jewish'. Another reason explaining their use in OJCSSs may be the lack of satisfactory English linguistic counterparts that may not sound particularly Jewish. Together with the other types of loanwords, Yiddish-

origin exclamations found in the Corpus are strong markers of Eastern *Ashkenazi* Jewish identity, as they can be said to be an integral part of the Yiddish culture. The first Yiddish-origin exclamation to be analysed is *Oy, a brokh!*. This expression consists of two Yiddish-derived exclamations, namely *oy!* (which can be also an exclamation for itself) and *a brokh!* (another exclamation that can be for itself). Thesame can be said for another Yiddish-origin exclamation found in the Corpus, namely *oy gevalt!* (*oy!* + *gevalt!*). In OJCSSs, the two exclamations *oy!* + *a brokh!* and *oy!* + *gevalt!* are found together. When used together, a deeper sense of fear, astonishment, terror, disgust or similar feelings is expected to be felt by the person reading these expressions. The meaning of the above-mentioned expressions vary according to the context in which they are used. The popular Yiddish *Oy!* (also *oy oy!*, *oy oy oy!*) "[…] is not a word; it is a vocabulary" (Rosten 1968: 280). In fact, it may be

> […] a lament, a protest, a cry of dismay, a reflex of delight. […] It may be employed to express anything from ecstasy to horror, depending on (a) the catharsis desired by the utterer, (b) the effect intended on the listener, (c) the protocol of effect that governs the intensity and duration of emotion required (by tradition) for the given occasion or crisis. (Rosten 1968: 280)

The exclamation *oy!* is often used with the Yiddish-origin word *vay* (literally "woe"). Therefore, the Yiddish expression *Oy vey!* literally means "Oh woe!" or, alternatively, "Oh pain!", but it is often translated into English as "How terrible!" or "That's terrible!" (Emmes 1998: 29). According to Yiddishists, the popular expression *oy vey!* is among the most frequently used exclamations in Yiddish. It is the short form of *oy vay iz mir!*, an *omnibus* phrase for everything from personal pain to empathetic condolences (see Rosten 1968). The exclamation *oy!* is listed in the MWD and is, thus, a Yiddish-origin expression integrated into AmE:

Oy

interjection \'ȯi\

Definition of *OY*

—used especially to express exasperation or dismay <*oy*, what a mess>

Origin of *OY*

Yiddish
First Known Use: 1892

The exclamation *oy vey!*, instead, is listed in the ODs as a Yiddish-origin exclamation integrated into BrE.

ODs

oy vey

Pronunciation: /ɔɪ 'veɪ/

(also **oy** or **oy veh**)

exclamation

- indicating dismay or grief (used mainly by Yiddish-speakers).

Origin:

late 19th century: Yiddish, literally 'oh woe'

The next excerpt shows one of the several meanings of *oy!* in the Corpus:

65) "Hunter? You call that a hunter?"

"That's what they call him. Those two constellations," pointed Dan. "Those are Ursa Major and Ursa Minor – the Big Bear and the Little Bear."

"*Oy*," said his grandfather. "A Hunter and Big Bear and Little Bear? Who taught you that?"

"I read about it in a book."

His grandfather smiled. "A book? Now let me tell you the real story."

(From "Over His Head", www.jewishmag.com)

In this case, the exclamation *Oy* is used by the *zayde* to express surprise or wonder. In fact, the *zayde* is being told by Dan, his grandchild, that there exist two kinds of constellations. As for the exclamation *oy vey!*, the following excerpt shows its occurrence in the Corpus:

66) Now it was the turn of the guest to cry out *"Oy VaVoy"*. R' Zusha was known to all as a holy man and a Tzaddik. Trembling, the guest cried out, *"Oy Vey, Oy Vey! What am I going to do now? What am I going to do now?!"*

(From "Living By Faith", www.nishmas.org)

The exclamations *Oy a brokh!* and *A brokh!* are not listed in any of the two online dictionaries. *A brokh!* can be said to have a purely negative connotation. In fact, it is a curse expressing disgust, misery or a disaster (see Emmes 1998: 30). One of its English equivalents may be "Damn it!". An example of its occurrences in the Corpus is shown in the excerpts that follow:

67) I have waited a long time and joined a long queue with my tsorus.

When we bensch the licht we gather a few crumbs of Yenevelt.

So it was for Mrs Goldstein. Each day she would return home, and she would sink into her little wooden chair, her body collapsing like a clown.

"*Oy a broch!* "She would say, "Dis' a life?"

(From "The Jewish Moshiach", www.jewishmag.com)

As in the case of *Oy a brokh!* and *A brokh!,* also two other exclamations, i.e. *oy gevalt!* and *gevalt!* are not listed in the two mentioned dictionaries. According to Rosten (1968: 136), *gevalt!* (also *gevald!*) may refer to:

- to a cry of fear, astonishment and amazement, e.g. "*Gevalt!* What happened?"
- a cry for help, e.g. "*Gevalt!* Help! Burglars!"
- a desperate expression of protest, e.g. "*Gevalt*, Lord, enough already!"

Rosten (1968) claims that *gevalt* is a versatile, all-purpose word, used both as an expletive and a noun, e.g.: "She opened the door and cried, "*Gevalt!*""; "He took one look at her and let out a *gevalt*! You could hear in New Jersey"; "Now take it easy, don't make a *gevalt*". The English equivalents of *Oy gevalt!* can be expressions like "That's dreadful!" or "Holy shit!". Its occurrence in the Corpus is shown in the following excerpt:

68) "*Oy gevalt*!" she screamed. She woke up in a sweat. The room spinned about.

(From "The Jewish Moshiach", www.jewishmag.com)

The third Yiddish-origin exclamation under scrutiny is *shonda!* (also *shande!*), which is the Yiddish equivalent of the English exclamation "Shame!", although it may also mean "scandal" or "disgrace". The term is not listed in any of the two dictionaries consulted. Its occurrence in the Corpus is shown in the following excerpt:

69) "Such treasures," remarked Alan's Grandfather, "and no one is around to protect and enjoy them. It's a ***shonda*****!** Promise me Alan, that when I'm gone, I won't be just a box in the basement to you."

(From "Just A Box In The Basement", jewishmag.com)

In the above excerpt, the word *shanda!* stands for the English exclamation "Shame!". This section has shown how JCLs call to mind the culture of Jews' forefathers, arising in the reader that sense of *Yiddishkeit*, i.e. the way of feeling Jewish from an Eastern *Ashkenazi* Jewish perspective. Through their strategic use in the stories, meaningful Yiddish cultural concepts and values are expressed and, thus, passed on to the reader who is being acculturated as a Yiddish-heritage Jew.

5.6.1.3 Lexical Findings: Jewish Affective Words

'Jewish Affective Words' belong to the lexical category of 'Loanwords'. It can be argued that this type of words fulfil a special role in OJCSSs. In fact, the analysis will show how the 'Jewish Affective Words' found in the Corpus are conveyors of emotions and feelings and, thus, carriers of a distinctive affective weight. The affective words selected from the 'distinctly Jewish linguistic repertoire' by the different authors of OJCSSs derive from the Yiddish language. 'Jewish Affective Words' are strongly related to Yiddish culture and are, therefore, strong markers of Eastern *Ashkenazi* Jewish identity. Their use in the present Corpus is strategic. It is traditionally acknowledged that, since birth, every child or individual is naturally exposed to human language. As s/he grows up, s/he "[...] is receptive not only to acoustic properties, but to the affective dimensions contained within the parameters of the words" (Gonzalez 2005: 51). Thus, affective words are linguistic entities that the child is able to disassemble "[...] in order to extract the emotional essences being transmitted to her [or him]" (Gonzalez 2005: 52). Generally speaking, words do almost always carry distinct affective properties that vary according to the speaker

and the situation (see Gonzalez 2005). In this specific Jewish-based context, culture can be said to play a leading role, since affective words are imbued with a powerful emotional load associated with ethnicity. These lexical resources are always culturally shaped, meaning that the load of emotion encoded in them and the feelings they arise vary from language to language, and automatically from culture to culture. This happens because every culture has its own ways of "[...] viewing moods, dispositions and emotions, including how they are to be displayed verbally and non-verbally and the [contexts] in which it is preferable or appropriate to display them" (Gonzalez 2005: 49). Jewish children's stories represent one of the most suitable contexts for the display of culturally derived emotions and feelings. The present research study will provide examples of the strategic use of affective words by the authors of OJCSSs and aims at explaining the possible effects these linguistic resources may have on young readers. In particular, the linguistic analysis will show that the authors, when selecting and using affective words, tend to select a specific type of Yiddish-origin affective words, namely the diminutives of nouns and forenames. It follows that linguistic resources from Yiddish are used in what can be considered to be the most affective and emotional sphere in stories. As for the presence of Yiddish diminutives in the Corpus, it is generally acknowledged that diminutives are among the most salient linguistic feautures of affectivity. As for children's narrative, diminutives are traditionally used in a quite strategic way as terms of endearment for children, along with being used as words conveying a relevant amount of affection and a sense of familiarity or intimacy with something or someone. Furthermore, it is also worth-noticing that diminutives generally serve an important function as strong identity markers, as Yiddish-origin diminutives integrated into the English occurring in OJCSSs do. In fact, Yiddish-origin diminutives, which often encapsulate a significant cultural load, are carriers of meaningful concepts linked to the heritage culture of Eastern *Ashkenazi* Jews. In addition, through the use of such linguistic resources, the relationship between language and *Yiddishkeit* becomes even greater. In fact, it is through this type of words that children can experience the most intimate relationship with their heritage culture. The linguistic analysis will show, among other things, that the strategic use of diminutives by the authors of OJCSSs is justified by the fact that the cultural load encapsulated in Yiddish-origin affective words is not transferable to the recipient language (in this case, English) due to a gap existing between the Anglo-Saxon and

199

(Eastern *Ashkenazi*) Jewish cultures. Through the use of these linguistic resources, the authors of OJCSSs aim at ensuring that the original cultural concept that these words carry with them is transmitted to the person who encounter them while reading. The first affective words, or diminutives, to be analysed are two Yiddish-origin common nouns: *bubbala* (also *bubeleh*, bobeleh, etc) and *bubbie* (but usually written *bubbe* or *bubee*). Their English equivalents would be "little grandmother" or "little grandma". However, it is important to point out that *bubbie* itself is the diminutive of the Yiddish-origin diminutive *bubbala* (also *bubbeleh*). Another aspect worth-analysing is that the diminutive *bubbie*, ending in *-ie*, as in the English "dogg*ie*", "kilt*ie*", "Robb*ie*", "Charl*ie*" and so forth represents a case of anglicisation of the Yiddish word (and diminutive) *bubbe*. In fact, *bubbie* is not listed in any of the Yiddish dictionaries in romanised spelling, i.e. Yiddish words (traditionally in Hebrew characters) written in Roman letters. Thus, it is likely that the author who opted for this diminutive, being a native speaker of English, automatically and, thus, unconsciously, anglicised the Yiddish term *bubbeleh* (or *bubbalah*). The anglicised diminutive *bubbie* is listed in the ODs, as the entry below shows:

ODs

Bubbie

Pronunciation: /ˈbʌbi/

noun

US informal

- (in Jewish use) one's grandmother: *as a child, I remember my bubbie singing Yiddish songs [as name]:on Sabbath evenings, Bubbie would do a special kerchief*

Origin:

from Yiddish *bube* 'grandmother'

The above-mentioned entry only provides the anglicised version of this diminutive, meaning that the Yiddish diminutive *bubbala* (or *bubbeleh*) has not entered either BrE or AmE yet. At this point, it is worth-mentioning that, generally, Yiddish diminutives, such as those ending in *-ele* (e.g. *bube-leh*) are sometimes replaced by

the English diminutive suffixes *-ie* or *-y* (often spelled *-i*). Furthermore, the ODs' entry does not indicate the nature of this term (i.e. a diminutive). Surprisingly, although the ODs specifies that *bubbie* is used in informal US English, the term has no entries in the MWD. Another fact worth-mentioning is that the diminutives *bubeleh* (also *bubbala*, *bobeleh*) and *bubbie* (*bubbe*, *bubee*) are multimeaning words. In fact, as affectionate terms of endearment, both diminutives are also widely used as synonyms for the English terms "darling", "dear child", "honey" or "sweetheart". Therefore, both *bubeleh* and *bubbie* can be used, for instance, between a husband and a wife, a parent and a child and so forth (see Rosten 1968: 54). Since Yiddish culture is traditionally quite mother- and also grandmother-oriented, the reason for such an apparently odd use of the diminutives *bubbeleh* and *bubbie* lies in the figures of the Jewish mother and grandmother themselves.

Rosten (1968: 54) points out that

> Jewish mothers call both female and male babies *bubeleh*. This carries the expectation that the child in the crib will one day be a grandparent. It also honours the memory of the mother's mother: in calling a baby 'little grandmother', a mother is addressing the child in the way the child will in time address *its* grandmother – and its child.

One example is given by the following excerpt, in which Rachel, a Jewish mother, calls her son, Morrie, *bubbala*:

> 70) Rochel picked up two small peaches in one hand and asked Morrie, "How many do I have, **Bubbala**? One or two?"
>
> (From "The J Letter", www.jewishmag.com)

While in the following excerpt, the diminutive *bubbie* is used in its original meaning, referring to "grandmother":

71) After a barbecue of overdone hot dogs and underdone burgers, Dan's parents kissed him goodbye and returned to their car – walking arm in arm. Dan could not understand what it meant, but now his vacation was ready to begin! As the soon as the sun set and the sky turned cantaloupe orange his grandma told him that he had better put on a pair of long pants. "I'm not cold grandma." "I said to put on a pair of long pants if you know what's good for you." "But…" "Don't contradict your **bubbie** if you expect anything for Chanukah!" […] His grandfather held up a single finger in front of Dan's face. "Remember what your **Bubbie** said about Chanukah? That goes for me too!" Dan knew that the best thing he could do was to listen to his grandfather's story.

(From "Over His Head", www.jewishmag.com)

The above-mentioned linguistic resources (i.e. Yiddish-origin diminutives) show how words like *bubbala* or *bubbie* are carriers of a significant cultural load. The occurrence in the stories leads to an inextricable relationship among language, culture and affectivity, three elements that are tightly interwoven. The use of Yiddish-origin words, including Yiddish-origin affective words, not only indexes writers' and readers' own cultural heritage but also aim at constructing Jewish identity taking place through a process of cultural identification with what is being read. The use of linguistic resources selected from the writer's own distinctly Jewish linguistic repertoire may help sustain and reinforce the concept that language itself is a strong marker of ethnic and cultural identity. Moreover, even in cases in which Yiddish-origin words are anglicised (e.g. *bubbie*), these resources are still markers of Jewish identity. The next diminutives or affective words to be analysed are *Moishele*, *Yossie* and *Faigie*, all deriving from Yiddish-origin forenames. The first, i.e. *Moishele*, has kept its original Yiddish form. In fact, the Yiddish suffix *-le* is used to express a diminutive (*-le* means "little"). *Moishele* is a diminutive and affective word standing for "Little Moses". It stems from the Yiddish forename *Moishe* ("Moses"). The occurrence of this lexical resource in the Corpus is shown in the excerpt below:

72) "Ya' didn't eat your dessert, **Moishele,**" Rochel complained as her son left the kitchen. "Do you want I should get you some cooked prunes, maybe?"

(From "The Letter J", www.jewishmag.com)

The excerpt is taken from a dialogue occurring between Rochel and his son, whose name is actually "Morrie" and not "Moishele". It follows that, as in the case of *bubeleh* or *bubbie*, the diminutive and affective word *Moishele* is not only used as a diminutive of the forename *Moishe*, but, as a multimeaning word, in its second use, it also stands for English terms and expressions like "dear child", "sweetheart", "darling" or "honey". Unlike *bubeleh* or *bubbie*, the affective diminutive *Moishele* is addressed to men only. The affective diminutives *Yossie* and *Faigie* found in the Corpus are, as the ending *-ie* indicates, anglicised Yiddish-origin affective words. The original Yiddish diminutives are namely *Yossele* (also *Yossel*) and *Faygeleh*. The former derives from the forename "Yosef". Its diminutive, *Yoss-ele*, stands for "Little Joseph". *Faygeleh*, on the other hand, is a Yiddish diminutive whose root (*foygl,* also *feygl*) stems from the German word *Vogel* ("bird") and its Yiddish diminutive from the German *Vögele* ("little bird"). *Faygeleh* designates not only a little bird, but, as a multimeaning word, it is also a girl's name, meaning "dear little", "sweet little", "tiny, helpless, innocent child" (see Rosten 1968: 116). As a name, *Faygeleh* is addressed to little girls only and not to little boys. The following excerpt shows occurrences of both diminutives and affective words in the Corpus:

73) Once there was a little boy named *Yossie*. *Yossie* was five years old and went to Pre 1-A. One Friday, as *Yossie* walked home from Yeshiva, he noticed the hustle and bustle in the air of everyone getting ready for Shabbos and he thought how nice it would be if he could prepare for Shabbos too. When *Yossie* arrived home, he found his mother in the kitchen busy as a beaver. Mrs. Stern was cooking and baking all the family's favorite foods, special for Shabbos. "Mommy," *Yossie* said after giving her a big kiss hello, "please may I help you cook and bake? I want to help prepare for

203

Shabbos." "Oh *Yossie*!" was Mrs. Stern's anxious reply, "you're too little to cook and you could hurt yourself. Just go outside and play. That would be the best help you could give." […] *Faigie* was in the bedroom, dusting the furniture. "*Faigie*," Yossie asked, with little hope in his voice, "may I help you dust the furniture? I want to help get ready for Shabbos." "Oh Yossie!" was *Faigie*'s familiar answer, "you're too little to dust. You wouldn't do a good job and then the house will be dusty all Shabbos. Just go outside and play with your friends."

(From "Yossie's Special Shabbos", shemayisrael.com)

From the analysis of the affective words, it has emerged that, like any other language, Yiddish has its own capacity for tenderness and endearment. Intimacy, affection, emotions and warmth are expressed in unique ways. This is also the reason why many of the affective words found in the Corpus are still kept in their original Yiddish forms. On the other hand, sometimes, due to a long-lasting and well-consolidated history of language contact between English and Yiddish, even diminutives are subject to morphological change.

5.6.1.4 Final Remarks

The present chapter has focused attention on the role of lexis in language contact between English and Yiddish, or alternatively, between English and Hebrew. So far, the analysis has been centered on one specific lexical aspect of contact between languages, namely loanwords, deriving especially from Yiddish. The lexical analysis of the selected OJCSSs has shown an extensive use of loanwords from both Yiddish and Hebrew by the authors of OJCSSs. Yiddish and Hebrew loanwords are an integral part of the resources that make up the 'Distinctly Jewish Linguistic Repertoire'. The selected loanwords are strategically selected and then transmitted to young Jewish readers. In fact, they pursue the goals of arising readers' own sense of

Yiddishkeit or attachment to the Judaism. In particular, the analysis has shown two main types of loanwords, belonging to two different lexical categories:

- 'JRLs', namely those words which refer mainly to religious holidays (e.g. *Shabbos*, *Rosh HaShana*, *Yom Kippur*), places (e.g. *shul*, *beis din*, *mikveh*), religious texts (e.g. *Talmud*, *Torah*, *Halakah*) and figures (e.g. *HaShem*, *Chassid*, *Tzaddik*).
- 'JCLs' includes loanwords which are not strictly related to Jewish religion. In particular, the analysis has focused on terms referring to kinship (e.g. *imma*, *abba*, *zeyde*), Yiddish cookery (e.g. *lokshen pudding*, *milchik*, *fleishik*, *kosher*), typical Yiddish exclamations (e.g. *Oy!*, *Oy Gevalt!*, *Oy a brokh!*, *Shonda!*), and a few others to Yiddish-origin adjectives, used to describe people or peoples' characters (e.g. *meshugah*).

For each of the terms analysed, its entry in the ODs and MWD has been checked in order to prove whether the above-mentioned terms are integrated into both BrE and AmE or, otherwise, into one of the two main 'varieties' of English. As a result, apart from a few exceptions, the analysis has shown that the majority of these lexical resources are listed in both the ODs and the MWD. The second part of the lexical analysis has focused on the 'Jewish Affective Words', more specifically on Yiddish-origin diminutives as well as on process of anglicisation of some of the Yiddish-origin diminutives. In particular, the analysis has been centred on two types of diminutives, i.e. diminutives of common nouns and forenames. The linguistic investigation has shown that some of the diminutives have kept their original Yiddish forms, while others have been anglicised. This last phenomenon may index a sort of double identity (the Anglo- and the Jewish ones) of the authors who tend to anglicise words stemming from the ancestral language(s). Moreover, the analysis has shown how words that may apparently be of little importance (e.g. diminutives) are in the majority of cases culturally meaningful. In addition, the analysis has shed light on how these resources are conveyors of different meanings, as the terms *bubbeleh*, *Moishele* and *Faygeleh* have shown. The analysis of diminutives has also helped focus on how a given language uses its own suffixes to form a diminutive, giving it a precise meaning, and how new diminutives, through language contact phenomena,

can be formed (e.g. *Yoss-ie* and *Faig-ie*). The following Figures (30 and 31) briefly illustrate the lexical findings in the Corpus.

Figure 30. Lexical Findings in OJCSSs (part I).

```
                    ┌─────────────────────┐
                    │                     │
                    │   Lexical Findings  │
                    │                     │
                    └──────────┬──────────┘
                               │
                               ▼
                ┌────────────────────────────┐
                │                            │
                │      Distinctly Jewish     │
                │                            │
                │   Linguistic Repertoire    │
                │                            │
                └──────────────┬─────────────┘
                               │
                               ▼
                    ┌─────────────────────┐
                    │                     │
                    │ Loanwords from      │
                    │ Yiddish             │
                    │ and (Old / Textual) │
                    │ Hebrew              │
                    │                     │
                    └────┬───────────┬────┘
                        ↙             ↘
          ┌──────────────┐     ┌──────────────┐
          │              │     │              │
          │   Jewish     │     │   Jewish     │
          │              │     │              │
          │  Religious   │     │  Cultural    │
          │              │     │              │
          │  Loanwords   │     │  Loanwords   │
          │              │     │              │
          │   (JRLs)     │     │   (JCLs)     │
          │              │     │              │
          └──────────────┘     └──────────────┘
```
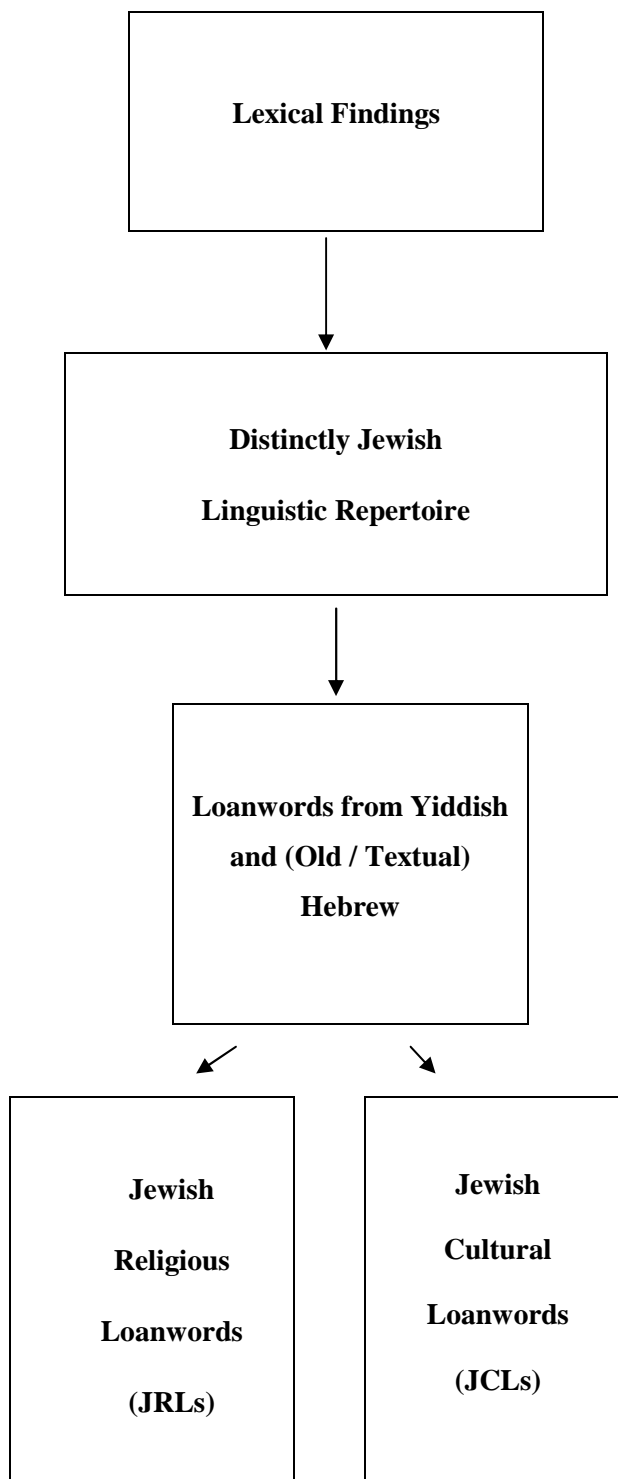
Figure 31. Lexical Findings in OJCSSs (Part II).

Loanwords

from

Yiddish

Jewish Affective Loanwords

Yiddish diminutives

(including diminutives of forenames)

Anglicised Yiddish diminutives

(including diminutives of forenames)

- **distinctive and powerful affective weight**
- **culturally shaped**
- **used as endearment for children**
- **decoded by children in order to extract the emotional essence being transmitted**
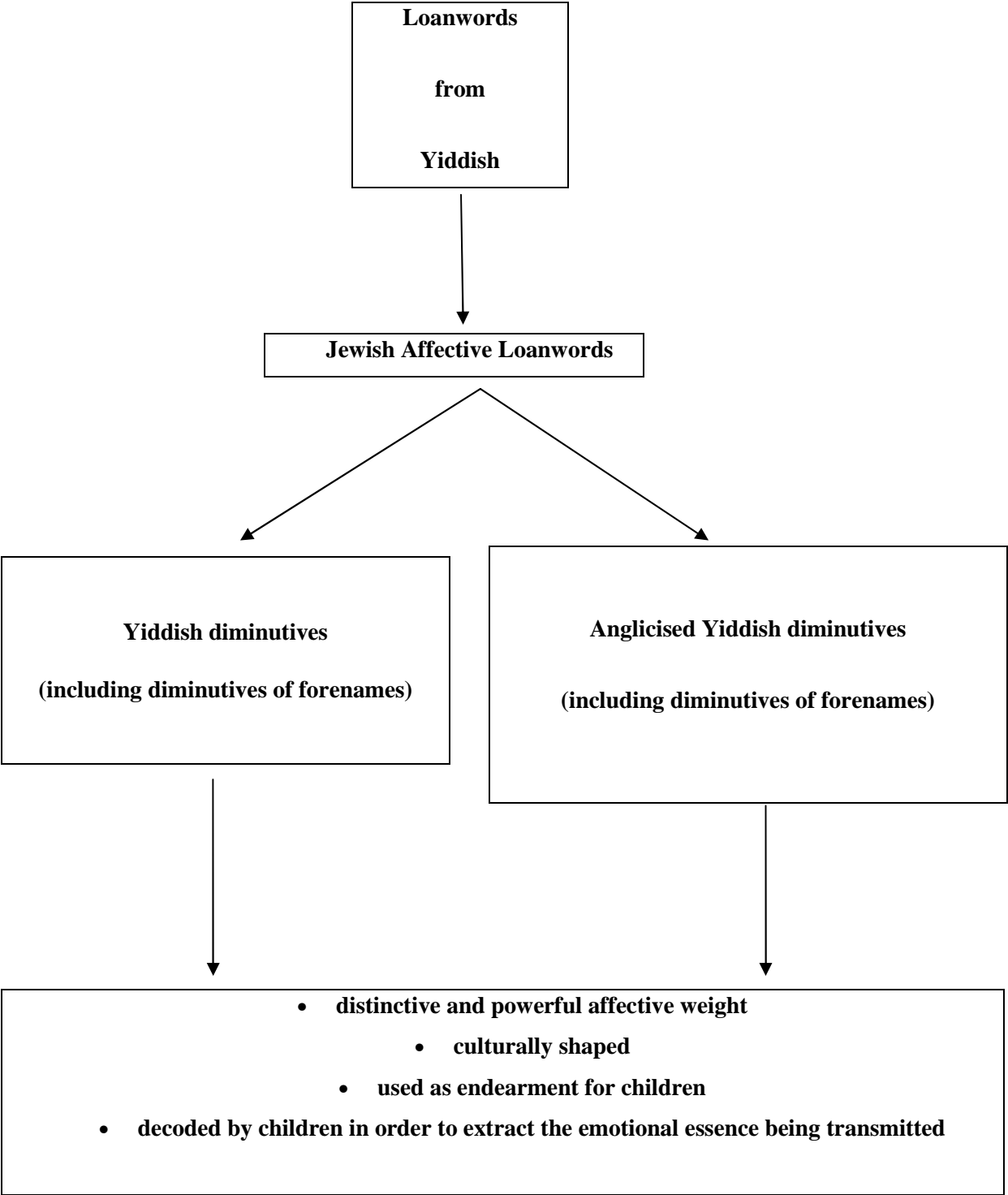
5.6.2   Morpho-Syntactic Analysis and Findings

The present section will show that, apart from following the pattern of loanword use, the authors of OJCSSs also use other language-related strategies for integrating resources stemming from Eastern *Ashkenazi* Jews' heritage culture into the English of their stories. Such strategies involve two other main levels of language, namely 'Morphology' and 'Syntax'. The linguistic phenomena developing out of language contact, linked to the above-mentioned levels of language, are the result of higher degrees of contact between English and Yiddish or, alternatively, between English and Hebrew. In fact, unlike loanwords, which are linguistic resources simply transferred to the grammatical structure of English, morpho-syntactic phenomena deriving from language contact often require the co-existence of morphological patterns from two languages that can be found in a single word or phrase. The analysis of the Corpus will provide several examples of this type of contact-derived phenomena. However, before focusing on this aspect, it is worth-examining the relationships occurring between this specific type of linguistic phenomena and the purposes the OJCSSs aim at achieving through morpho-syntactic resources, i.e. the expression and transmission of Jewish cultural values. First of all, it is worth pointing out that the linguistic phenomena under scrutiny in this section are markers of the Anglo-Jewish identity[70] of the authors (and presumably also of the readers) of OJCSSs who actively select and use morpho-syntactic resources from their 'distinctly Jewish linguistic repertoire'. Generally speaking, this type of double identity (i.e. the Anglo and the Jewish ones) is part of Jewish identity itself. In fact, Jewish identity "[...] exists nowhere in isolation as the sole ethnic identity of an individual" (Herman 1989: 56). In other words, the Jewish identity of an English-speaking Jew can only be understood in the context of a Jew's own way of being, for instance, an American or British Jew. Jewish identity is, thus, associated also with Americanism or Britishness (see Herman 1989: 56). The Anglo-Jewish identity affects the main spheres of Jewish life, especially language, which remains among the most distinguishing features of Jewish groups. An example of how Anglo-Jewish identity is constructed and expressed by means of language is the use of the linguistic

---

[70] 'Anglo-Jewish identity' refers to the dual cultural identity of Jews of Eastern *Ashkenazi* heritage living in English-speaking countries around the world.

resources selected by English-speaking Jews when communicating both orally and in writing. As for the morpho-syntactic features developing out of language contact situations, these can be said to be the result of high levels of social interactions between Jews and non-Jews. The 'hybrid' linguistic morpho-syntactic resources encapsulate the trans-culturality of the majority of Jews of Yiddish heritage living in mainstream Anglophone societies. The linguistic analysis will show that some of the morpho-syntactic features developing out of this written-based type of language contact are influenced especially by morphology from Hebrew, which, as the language of the Sacred Texts, has always been an integral part of Jewish life and, thus, Jewish identity. In fact, "[t]he story of Yiddish cannot be told without reference to Hebrew and the story of Modern Hebrew (and even of late pre-modern Hebrew) cannot be told without reference to Yiddish" (Fishman 1991: 13). Many Hebrew words and expressions are integrated into Yiddish. The majority of Hebrew-origin linguistic resources derive from Old / Textual Hebrew. In fact, in observant Yiddish-speaking communities, Old / Textual Hebrew was and still is the language used to perform religious practices. It follows that, within OJCSSs, linguistic elements deriving primarily from Old / Textual Hebrew always express the Jewish religious dimension. However, it is worth-noticing that, nowadays, many Hebrew words integrated into both Yiddish English also derive from Modern Israeli Hebrew, namely the Hebrew spoken in Israel. According to Benor (2009: 264), dozens to hundreds of Israeli Hebrew loanwords are common among English-speaking Jews, in particular to American Jews. The high or low knowledge of Modern (Israeli) Hebrew depends on their Israel connections or, in other words, their Zionist orientation. However, other factors may contribute to the use of Hebrew words, like the influx of Israeli Hebrew teachers in Jewish schools, contact with Israeli expats and time spent in Israel, among other things (see Benor 2009: 265). Despite the increase of linguistic elements deriving from Modern (Israeli) Hebrew, Old / Textual Hebrew is and will always be an omni-present feature of Jewish life and identity. The reason for the occurrence of words and expressions deriving from Old / Textual Hebrew has already been discussed, i.e. its extensive use in the context of Jewish religious practices, e.g. at rites of passage in the life of the individual and at communal observance of holy days, at weddings and at funerals, at circumcision and naming ceremonies, at *Bar* and *Bat Mitzvah*, where Jews assemble to hear and recite Hebrew prayers (see Wirth 2003: 119-120).

Old / Textual Hebrew is, therefore, the language which better shapes, expresses and accentuates the Jewish religious dimension. It establishes connection to the Sacred Texts and its elements act as a bond that ties readers of OJCSSs to their own religious self. The linguistic analysis will be now based on the investigation of phenomena involving both the morphological and syntactic levels of language. It is well-known that 'Morphology' refers to the study of internal structures of words and their semantic meaning, while 'Syntax' refers to the way in which words are put together in order to form phrases and sentences. Within the Corpus, findings pertaining to the morpho-syntactic level of language can be said to be far less frequent than their lexical counterpart, namely loanwords. However, as the analysis will show, their presence is culturally significant. The morpho-syntactic resources that the authors of OJCSSs select from their distinctly Jewish linguistic repertoire can be categorised into the following five linguistic phenomena:

1. anglicisation of Hebrew-origin nouns into adjectives ending with English suffixes (morphology);

2. pluralisation of loan nouns through morphology from English, Yiddish or Hebrew (morphology);

3. transformation of Yiddish verbs into English verbs (morphology);

4. English noun-formation from Yiddish-origin verbs (morphology);

5. use of 'complex verbs' (English verb + Yiddish/Hebrew-origin noun).

5.6.2.1 Anglicisation of Hebrew-origin nouns into English adjectives

This section will analyse occurrences of adjectives and adverbs deriving from Hebrew nouns, ending with two different types of English suffixes: *-ic* and *-istic*, found throughout the Corpus. The English suffix *-ic* is traditionally used to form adjectives with nouns and indicates "of" or "pertaining to". It originally derives from the Proto-Indo-European *-ikos* or *-ikos*, later borrowed by Latin (*-icus*) and by French (*-ique*). The suffix (*-ic*) is often added to Greek- and Latin-origin words. However, as the analysis will show, it may be also used with words stemming from other languages, such as Hebrew. Within the OJCSSs, four Hebrew-origin adjectives ending in *-ic* have been found, namely: *rabbin-ic*, *chassid-ic* (also *Hasid-ic*), *madrash-ic* and *halach-ic*. The adjective *rabbinic* (*rabbin-*ic) is listed by both the ODs and MWD and is, therefore, an integrated Hebrew-origin adjective into both BrE and AmE:

ODs

rabbinic

Pronunciation: /rə'bɪnɪk/

 adjective
- relating to rabbis or to Jewish law or teachings: *rabbinical studies*

Derivativesrabbinical

adjective

rabbinically

adverb

rab·bin·ic

adjective \rə-ʻbi-nik, ra-\

Definition of *RABBINIC*

1
:of or relating to rabbis or their writings
2
:of or preparing for the rabbinate
3
:comprising or belonging to any of several sets of Hebrew characters simpler than the square Hebrew letters

Variants of *RABBINIC*

rab·bin·ic or **rab·bin·i·cal** \-ni-kəl\

First Known Use of *RABBINIC*

1612

Its occurrence in the Corpus is shown by the following excerpt:

74) A renowned personage of the old Jewish settlement in Jerusalem was the holy R' Dovid Biederman, a scion of ***Rabbinic*** and Chassidic lineage. He was known as a Tzaddik among Tzaddikim. His only concern in life was whether or not he was living up to the expectations of his Creator.

(From "A Real Jewish Mother", www.nishmas.org)

In this excerpt, the author introduces one of the most renowned personalities of ancient Jerusalem, R'Dovid Biedeman, whose ancestors, along with being followers of the Chassidic movement, were also Rabbis, meaning that R' Dovid Biedeman comes from an important rabbinic family.

This example leads to the analysis of another English adjective formed by using another Hebrew-origin noun found in the Corpus, namely: *Chassid-ic,* (or, alternatively *Hasid-ic*). The English adjective *Chasidic* (or *Hasidic*) is listed in both ODs and MWD:

ODs

Hasidic

Pronunciation: /-'sɪdɪk/

adjective

Origin:

from Hebrew *ḥāsīḏ* 'pious'

MWD

Ha·sid

noun \'ha-səd, 'k̠ä-\
plural Ha·si·dim *also* Cha·si·dim *or* Chas·si·dim \'ha-sə-dəm, k̠ä-'sē-\

Definition of *HASID*

1
:a member of a Jewish sect of the second century B.C. opposed to Hellenism and devoted to the strict observance of the ritual law

2
also Has·sid :a member of a Jewish mystical sect founded in Poland about 1750 in opposition to rationalism and ritual laxity

— **Ha·sid·ic** also **Has·sid·ic** or **Cha·sid·ic** or **Chas·sid·ic** \ha-'si-dik, hä-, k̠ä-\
adjective

Variants of *HASID*

Ha·sid also Cha·sid or Chas·sid \'ha-səd, 'k̠ä-\

Origin of *HASID*

Hebrew *ḥāsīdh* pious
First Known Use: 1812

Occurrences of the anglicised adjective *Chassidic* are shown in the following excerpts:

75) The **Chassidic** movement grew ever stronger. Once the task of founding the *Chassidic* movement had been completed, with tens of thousands of faithful adherents following the tenets of the movement, R. Shalom Shachna paved the way for a national revival by restoring the crown of the exile archs. In those troubled times, R. Shalom Shachna single-handedly built a royal house.

(From "A Kiddush Hashem", www.nishmas.org)

76) The great **Chassidic** Rebbe, Reb Dov Ber of Radoshitz, was traveling across the Polish countryside. Night fell, the roads would soon be unsafe, and so he directed his wagon driver to stop at the first Jewish inn that they could find.

(From "Counting The Minutes", www.nishmas.org)

77) R' Yisroel of Ruzhin zt"l once stayed in a town called Sanek during one of his travels. Of course, everybody came out to greet him since the reputation of the Tzaddik preceded him everywhere he went. Among those who came to greet Reb Yisrael were some Jews who were not adherents of the **Chassidic** path.

(From "Straight From The Heart", www.nishmas.org)

The Hebrew-origin English adjective refers exclusively to the Chassidic movement, as the three above-mentioned examples have shown. The adjective *Chassidic* is a powerful word within Judaism, since it encapsulates a whole way of (Orthodox Jewish) life. In fact, Chasidic Jews do not only regard Judaism as a religion, but

rather, as a way of life. This adjective calls to the (Orthodox) Jewish mind a whole culture, typical of this branch of Judaism, and, more specifically, some of its most salient features, like a great enthusiasm for performing the *mitzvos*, ecstasy in prayer and great personal devotion to the individual leader or rabbi. At this point, it is also worth-stressing that the Chassidic movement has split into a myriad of branches, each traditionally led by its rabbi. In Chassidic communities, the leadership is passed down over many generations (see Spitzer 2003: 15-16). The next adjective to be analysed is the Hebrew-derived English adjective *midrashic* (*midrash*-ic). The ODs only list the Hebrew-origin noun, from which the English adjective derives (sing. *Midrash*; pl. *Midrashim*), while the MWD also lists its English adjective (*midrashic*):

MWD

mid·rash

noun \ʼmi-ʻdräsh\
plural **mid·rash·im** \mi-ʻdrä-shəm\

Definition of *MIDRASH*

1**:**a haggadic or halachic exposition of the underlying significance of a Bible text

2**:**a collection of midrashim

3 *capitalized* :
the midrashic literature written during the first Christian millennium
— mid·rash·ic **\mi-ʻdrä-shik** *adjective often capitalized*

Origin of *MIDRASH*

Hebrew *midhrāsh* exposition, explanation
First Known Use: 1613.

An example of its use in the Corpus can be read in the excerpt that follows:

78) ***Midrashic*** tradition holds that God granted a special dispensation
to dogs in Jewish households.

(From "Does Norman Have A Soul?", jewishmag.com)

Both *midrash* and *midrashic* are culturally important terms, as they encapsulate values linked to the Jewish religious sphere. In fact, both the noun and the adjective refer to "[…] a narrative whose events constitute interpretation of a biblical text" (Moss 2004: 8), written by different rabbis who give their own interpretation (i.e. *midrash*) of the verses of the Sacred Scripture. The Rabbis who wrote their *Midrash*

> […] acknowledged that the Bible, as sacred text, is a *living* document. It can have different meanings in different contexts. […] [Moreover, the Rabbis acknowledged that] later generations would look not only at the biblical text but also at these interpretations; these later teachers would write their own *midrashim*, understanding the Bible in the light of their times, their backgrounds, their needs (Katz / Schwartz 2002: 11).

Thus, the *midrashim* (i.e. the Hebrew plural for *Midrash*) constitute a central aspect of Judaism, having a full impact on traditional Jewish culture. With reference to its impact on Judaism and, more generally, the life of strictly observant Jews, Gruenwald (1993: 6) claims that *Midrash* is

> [an] important factor in the development of the religious tradition of the Jews. […] [It] is a form of cognition that supplies terms of reference and channels of perception for people who organize their lives in accordance with a scriptural world of ideas. *Midrash* (italics added) thus helps maintain Scripture as the normative constant of Judaism.

This point helps highlight the fact that, being culturally relevant texts, *Midrashim* have the power to orient given branches of Judaism towards traditional rabbinic culture. The authors of OJCSSs using terms like *midrashic* in their works are aware that such terms encapsulate Jewish concepts that are of great value. Moreover, it can be argued that these words and the meaning they carry fulfill a significant Jewish-didactic role. In fact, along with its hermeneutic enterprise, the *Midrash*'s main function is in educating Jews, especially the Jewish youth. More tradition-oriented stories, like the ones focusing on the *Midrash*, put great emphasis on the necessity to bring up children religiously in order to pass on the heritage of the Jewish faith. Generally speaking, Jewish adults are rabbinically obliged to educate Jewish children observing the values and concepts contained in the *Torah*, so that they will become accustomed to doing this when they reach the age of adulthood (see Singer 1991: 4).

Another Hebrew-derived English adjective ending in *-ic* is *halachic* (*halach*-ic), which was found to occur only a couple of times in the Corpus. It is listed in the ODs:

ODs

Halacha

Pronunciation: /ˈhalɑˈ ˈxɑˈ, həˈlɑˈkə/
(also **Halakha**, **Halakah**)

noun
[mass noun]

- Jewish law and jurisprudence, based on the Talmud: *the Rabbi will discuss current topics in Halacha according to the Halacha*

Derivatives

Halachic
adjective

Origin:

from Hebrew *hălāḵāh* 'law'

As the above-mentioned entry shows, the English adjective *Halachic* derives from the Hebrew-origin noun (*Halakah*) and has no direct equivalent in the English language. Its use is exemplified by the following excerpt:

79) All our parent's neighbors are singing Chag Gad Ya and tucking themselves into bed by 12:30 am and we have barely gotten to the matzah ball soup! Yes, we always manage to eat the afikoman by the ***halachic*** midnight deadline, and yes, I looked it up, it's at 12:43 am this year, but just barely. We should be all wrapped up with the entire seder and be in bed by that time, not just eating the afikoman!" […] "Do you guys know what the word 'Pesach' means?" my dad asked rhetorically. "It can be broken up into two

217

words, Peh-Sach, literally, 'the mouth that speaks'. At the Seder we are not slaves and we are free to speak at length, to take our time and share and enjoy each other's company and offer commentaries and stories about the exodus from Egypt. Sure, we do our utmost to eat the afikoman by *halachic* midnight, but we don't need to rush. That's what I love the most about our family, we don't rush. We're not slaves, we are free! We take our time. As the Haggadah itself says, "The more one tells about the Exodus from Egypt, the more he is praiseworthy!"

(From "The Longest Seder", www.jewishmag.com)

Traditionally, *Halacha* is taught to Jewish children already at an early age. It explains law in life's context and, thus, not law as a profession to embark upon after college (see Pollack 2001: xix). As in the case of the previously analysed Hebrew-origin noun *Midrash* and its English adjective *midrashic*, also *Halacha* and *halachic* are terms referring to Jewish education. In fact, Jewish Law claims that teaching a child is not limited to reading and text skills, but rather, it also includes at least some rudimentary Jewish philosophy as well as theology (see Pollack 2001: xxv). The second category of Hebrew-derived English adjectives includes only one adjective ending with the English suffix *-istic*: *Kabbalistic* (*Kabbal*-istic). The English suffix *-istic* is used to form adjectives from nouns usually ending with *-ism* and *-ist*. Both *-ism* and *-ist* mean "of" or "pertaining to". The Hebrew-derived English adjective *kabbalist-ic* is listed in the ODs and MWD and is an integrated Hebrew-origin adjective into both BrE and AmE:

<u>ODs</u>

Kabbalah
Pronunciation: /kəˈbɑˈlə, ˈkabələ/
(also **Kabbala**, **Cabbala**, **Cabala**, or **Qabalah**)

noun

- the ancient Jewish tradition of mystical interpretation of the Bible, first transmitted orally and using esoteric methods (including ciphers). It reached the height of its influence in the later Middle Ages and remains significant in Hasidism.

Derivatives

Kabbalism

noun

Kabbalist

noun

kabbalistic

adjective

Origin:

from medieval Latin *cabala*, *cabbala*, from Rabbinical Hebrew *qabbālāh* 'tradition', from *qibbēl* 'receive, accept'.

MWD

kab·ba·lah

noun, *often capitalized* \kə-ˈbä-lə, ˈka-bə-lə\

Definition of *KABBALAH*

1
:a medieval and modern system of Jewish theosophy, mysticism, and thaumaturgy marked by belief in creation through emanation and a cipher method of interpreting Scripture.

2
a **:**a traditional, esoteric, occult, or secret matter
b **:**esoteric doctrine or mysterious art
— **kab·ba·lism** \ˈkä-bə-ˈli-zəm, ˈka-\ *noun*
— **kab·ba·lis·tic** \ˈkä-bə-ˈlis-tik, ˈka-\ *adjective*

Variants of *KABBALAH*

kab·ba·lah also **kab·ba·la** or **ka·ba·la** or **ca·ba·la** or **cab·ba·la** or **cab·ba·lah** \kə-ˈbä-lə, ˈka-bə-lə\

Origin of *KABBALAH*

Medieval Latin *cabbala*.

Interestingly, the MWD does not mention the fact that *Kabbalah* stems from the Hebrew language. In fact, the entry traces its roots in the Latin language. The English adjective *kabbalistic* occurs in the following excerpt:

> 80) "Mendel," I asked, "What is a soul?" He stopped twisting his long hanging payyot and smiled before he answered. "There is a long ***Kabbalistic*** understanding of the soul" he said. Then he looked serious. "A soul is like a chain with one end linked into the brain and the other to a certain spiritual source. There are five levels of the soul like the five links in a chain, each one parallel to the spiritual sphere where it exists. However, we only relate to the three bottom links as we have no understanding about the two top ones. The three are 1) Nefesh 2) Ruach 3) Neshama. The nefesh is the spiritual existence which resides in the body and keeps the physical metabolism working and the person alive. The ruach is a connection between the neshama and the nefesh. It is the cause of feelings and personal qualities. The neshama is the spiritual existence which pulls the man towards G-d, to the performance of good deeds, to be pious and humble and to seek knowledge and achievement in spiritual fields. It resides around the head.
>
> (From "Does Norman Have A Soul?",www.jewishmag.com)

In this context, the adjective *kabbalistic* is used to refer to the Jewish theosophical and mystical way to understand and describe the soul. In fact, what follows in the above-mentioned excerpt is the interpretation of the soul according to *Kabbalah*. The adjective *kabbalistic* found in the Corpus refers to the Jewish mystical and esoteric spirituality inspired by a revitalization of Medieval Jewish culture in the study of the *Talmud*, *Halakhah* and the biblical exegesis. Although being a movement that first

originated in Spain, the relationship occurring between *Kabbalah* and Eastern *Ashkenazi* Jewish culture has always been strong. In fact, different religious movements in modern Judaism, such as the Ukrainian-born *Chassidism*, were inspired by the rich imagery and interior spirituality presented in *Kabbalah* (see Jestice 2004: 459), so that it has become one of the leading features of chassidic culture. Gersh (1989: 15) has claimed that "[…] *Chassidism* gave Kabbalah its widest base and most uncritical acceptance". The teachings of Israel ben Eliezer (i.e. the previously mentioned Baal Shem Tov, the founder of *Chassidism*), which were also based on *Kabbalah*, were later carried from his small town in the Ukraine, Medzibierz, throughout Eastern and Central Europe (see Gersh 1989: 15).

5.6.2.2 Pluralisation of loan nouns with English, Yiddish and Hebrew suffixes

This section will focus on loan nouns in the Corpus, that have been pluralised by using morphology from three different languages: English, Yiddish or Hebrew. In particular, the linguistic investigation will show that, although all the three types of pluralisation can be found, the majority of plurals keep their original plural morphology, namely Yiddish plural suffixes. If compared to the number of plurals ending with Yiddish suffixes, cases of English morphological adaptation of loan nouns are not very frequent. Yet, those which have been anglicised are worth analysing, as are the ones ending with their original Yiddish suffixes that have become integrated into English. Furthermore, the present analysis will focus on two specific types of plurals ending with their original Hebrew plural suffix. The morphological analysis will start discussing (Hebrew-origin) Yiddish plural loanwords integrated into the English of the OJCSSs. Within the Corpus, several plurals of Hebrew-origin Yiddish loan nouns integrated into English have been found. These plural loan nouns have been left in their original Yiddish form. In fact, these plurals end with the Yiddish plural suffix *-im*. In Yiddish, the plural suffix *-im* is used to pluralise many Hebrew-origin words integrated into the Yiddish language. The first Yiddish plural loanword to be analysed is *tzaddikim*, a term deriving from the Hebrew singular noun *Tzaddik*. *Tzaddikim* means "very righteous people" and

traditionally refers to chassidic spiritual leaders or guides. The excerpts that follow show occurrences of *Tzaddikim* in the Corpus:

81) Once the two **Tzaddikim**, R' Yaacov Yosef of Polonye, the "Toldos", and Reb Nachman of Horodenka, were travelling to Mezhibuzh to spend Shabbos with their Rebbe, the Ba'al ShemTov. It was Friday, and they set out from Polnoye with their horse and wagon in time to arrive in Mezhibuzh by midday. […] In moments the two **Tzaddikim**, following close behind the carriage of the dignitary, were beyond the sea of soldiers, continuing on the road to Mezhibuzh.

(From "A Slow Wagon To Shabbos", www.nishmas.org)

82) The Shpoler Zayde decided on a bold course of action. He requested 10 of the generation's most venerated **Tzaddikim** including, Reb Zusha of Anipoli, Reb Shimshon of Shipitovka and Reb Wolf of Zhitomir, to meet with him in Shpole. […] For the next three days the **Tzaddikim** fasted and prayed, allowing no one to interrupt them. On the fourth day, wrapped in his Tallis and crowned in his Tefillin, the Shpoler Zayde instructed his attendant to call the court to order. […] Then all the **Tzaddikim** rose to their feet, and declared the verdict aloud three times in unison, sealing the outcome.

(From "Fit To Be Tried", www.nishmas.org)

Within Orthodox-Judaism, *Tzaddikim* are seen as the ones "[…] who sustain the world and [are] able to imitate the creative powers of God. […] [Traditionally, they are] seen as leaders of the community who display a special charisma, wisdom and the ability to render judgments based on Jewish Law" (Davidson / Gitlitz 2002: 651).

One of the main qualities of the *Tzaddikim* is the great ability they have to tell tales concerning the *Torah* and the *Talmud*. This is also a strategic way to draw impious Jews to Judaism. For instance, among *Tzaddikim*, the Baal Shem Tov was said to be "[…] an excellent story-teller who fully appreciated the power of stories. And he used his abilities to great effect with the children." (Buxbaum 2005: 32). Thus, as terms, *Tzaddik* and *Tzaddikim* encapsulate meanings that are of great importance. The next plural term to be analysed is *Misnagdim* (*Misgnagd-im*), a word deriving from the Hebrew noun *Misnaged* or, alternatively, *Mitnaged* (singular), meaning "opponents". Historically, the *Misnagdim* are the opponents of the Jewish-Orthodox movement of *Chassidism*. The following excerpts show occurrences of *Misnagdim* in the Corpus:

83) Among those who came to greet Reb Yisrael were some Jews who were not adherents of the Chassidic path. These ***Misnagdim*** decided to vent their hostility on Reb Yisrael.

(From "Straight From The Heart", www.nishmas.org)

84) Vilna, was the home of the ***Misnagdim***, the opponents of the new Chassidic path. There were those in Vilna who used the competition as an opportunity to fan the flames of contention.

(From "Tzaddik Talk", www.nishmas.org)

Since the above-mentioned stories are ideally written for a chassidic audience, the term *Misnagdim* is used in a rather derogatory way. Several factors led the *Misnagdim* to oppose themselves to the newly emerging chassidic movement. As Laenen (2001: 237-238) points out, the *Misnagdim* feel threatened by the *Chassidim*[71]. In fact, the leadership of the Jewish communities in Central and Eastern Europe rested in the hands of rabbis and scholars focusing on the study of the *Torah*

---

[71] The Hebrew/Yiddish term *Chassidim* is the plural form of the Hebrew/Yiddish term *Chassid*.

and Jewish tradition, while the *Chassidim* were undermining the *Misnagdim*'s authority by attaching greater value to prayer and emotional religious experience than to the intellectual study of *Torah* and traditional rabbinic literature. In the second place, the *Misnagdim* opposed the prayer rite that the *Chassidim* had introduced, i.e. the Isaac Luria's prayer book, which did not correspond to the traditional *Ashkenazi* rite. These were the main factors that led to great rivalry between these two groups. At this point, it is worth-analysing the plural noun *Chassidim* (*Chassid-im*), originally coming from the Hebrew singular noun *Chassid*, meaning "pious people". *Chassisim* occurs several times in the Corpus. They are members of a Jewish mystic movement founded in the 18th century by the Baal Shem Tov who reacted against Talmudic learning, claiming that God's presence was in all of one's surroundings and that God had to be served in every deed and word. Occurrences of this word are illustrated in the following excerpts:

85) The father of the Rizhiner, R. Shalom Shachna of Prohobisht blazed a new trail in Chassidus, which was broadened by his son, R. Yisroel, and followed by many of the Rebbes of the Rizhin-Sadigora dynasty. He conducted himself in a most regal fashion. Instead of the white, silken bekeshe (long Chassidic topcoat) of his forebears, he preferred a stylish woolen outfit, even though the ***chassidim*** shunned woolen garments for fear of sha'atnez (a forbidden admixture of wool and linen).

(From "A Kiddush Hashem", www.nishmas.org)

86) The boy did indeed change and became a well-known tzaddik, R' Mordechai of Lecovitz, the father of the Slonim dynasty. He always told his ***chassidim*** that he first learned Torah from R' Aharon of Karlin, who taught him Torah from the heart.

(From "Torah From The Heart", www.nishmas.org)

87) Reb Beryl Ludmir, one of the elder Boyaner *chassidim* in the
Holy Land once related the following story. "I was chosen to be
one of four ***Chassidim*** of R' Mordechai Shlomo, the Rebbe of
Boyan who was chosen to travel to Haifa to meet the ship which
was bringing the Rebbe from America on one of his later visits to
the Holy Land. Our destination was Tel Aviv, then the home of
dozens of Chassidic Rebbes
who had survived the Nazi inferno, including the Rebbe's cousin,
the Abir Yaacov, Rebbe of Sadigora."

("His Eyes Are Always On The Land", www.nishmas.org)

The next plural noun under scrutiny is *Cohanim* (*Cohan-im*), from the Hebrew
singular noun *Kohen* (also *Cohen*), meaning "members of the priestly family of the
Tribe of Levi, who descend from Aaron". Aaron was the brother of Moses. He
passed the title on to his two surviving sons. Thus, all *Cohanim* are direct
descendants of Aaron and, according to Jewish tradition, "[...] inheritors of a proud
heritage and a unique role among the Jewish people and in the whole world. [...]
Today's *Cohanim* must do everything in their power to insure the continuation of this
blessed lineage" (Kleiman 2004: 137). Within the Corpus, the plural noun *Cohanim*
occurs twice:

88) At this point the old Jew turned his head and stared dreamily out
the window. A moment passed and he let out a deep sigh. R' Hirsh
(who was a Cohen) quickly ordered all of the ***Cohanim*** to
immediately leave the room (***Cohanim*** even today are forbidden
contact with the dead). The old Jew, heaved one more sigh of
remorseful repentance, and left this world for the world to come.

(From "Teshuva, Don't Leave The World Without It", www.nishmas.org)

The term *Cohen* may refer to a priest or to a typical Jewish surname taken by many *Cohanim*. However, in the *Ashkenazi* Jewish 'world', many *Cohanim* have taken some variations of the surname *Cohen*, like: "Kogan", "Cohn" and "Katz". The next plural noun that will be analysed is *Klezmorim* (*Klezmor-im*), from the Hebrew singular noun *Klezmer*, from *kley* ("vessels" or "tools") and *zmer* ("melody"). In Yiddish, *klezmer* literally means "vessels of the music". The plural *Klezmorim* refers to Jewish folk musicians who traditionally performed in small bands. *Klezmer* and *Klezmorim* are, from a Yiddish-related cultural perspective, significant terms. Today, the word *klezmer* denotes both the music instrument (usually violin or *tsimbl*) and the Jewish[72] musician himself. Historically,

> [*k*]*lezmer* music started off as the most secular of all forms of Jewish music, since its players had no association with traditional Jewish music, which was liturgical, and borrowed liberally from the music of Slavic (Polish, Ukrainian), Balkan (Bulgarian, Romanian, Greek), Gyspy and other ethnic groups. [...] Nevertheless, from its beginnings to the present, *klezmer* (my italics) has kept its identity as Yiddish music, since its roots belong to the Yiddish speaking *shtetl* (my italics) culture of Eastern Europe. (Stevens / Steinmetz 2002: 216)

Thus, just like Yiddish represents a 'fusion language', absorbing elements from Romance, Hebrew, Aramaic, Slavic and other languages within its Germanic core, so *klezmer* can be called a 'fusion music' (see Stevens / Steinmetz 2002: 216) with a unique Yiddish accent or, to put it in Rogovoy's (2000: 4) words, *klezmer* is 'Yiddish language in music', by which Jews of Eastern *Ashkenazi* heritage can find their 'musical home'. The word *klezmorim* occurs twice in the Corpus: once as a plural noun (referring to *klezmer* musicians) and a second time, and very surprisingly, as a singular noun (referring to just one *klezmer* musician):

89) Now Klezmer is more than just Jewish jazz. It's locked up in the heart of every Jew. ***Klezmorim*** play everything from hazanut to dance music. That's what happened that morning in the tiny square

---

[72]However, it needs to be stressed that nowadays there are also many non-Jews performing *klezmer* music.

in Josefov. I too became a ***Klezmorim***, and we played until the streetlights came on. We played freylekhs that had the crowd tapping their toes.

(From "The Laughing Clarinet", www.jewishmag.com)

However, in the excerpt, the second occurrence of *klezmorim* has been erroneously used by the author, since *klezmorim* is not the singular form of *klezmer*, rather it is its plural form. Thus, the correct sentence would be: "I too became a *klezmer*". The power of *klezmer* and *klezmorim* lies in the fact that both terms are firmly rooted in the Yiddish culture. Ancient Jews believed that music had some magical powers. They thought music could inspire ecstasy, foretell the future and treat mental illness (see Strom 2002: 2). In more recent times, *Klezmer* music has gained the great potential of becoming one of the means by which Jews can reclaim their identity. The linguistic analysis of the different types of plurals found in the Corpus will now focus on nouns ending with the Yiddish suffix *-s*. Sometimes, the analysis of this type of plurals (i.e. the ones ending in *-s*) in language contact between English and Yiddish may be risky, since both English and Yiddish have plurals ending in *-s*. A lot of attention needs to be paid to the analysis of Yiddish plural loan nouns ending in *-s* which have become integrated into English, in order to establish whether these nouns have been anglicised or left in their original Yiddish plural form. The analysis of Yiddish-origin loan nouns ending in *-s* will start analysing the nouns left in their original Yiddish plural form, namely:

* *Rebbes* (*rebbe-s*), from the Yiddish singular noun *rebbe*, literally "master", referring to chassidic masters or spiritual leaders:

> 90) The father of the Rizhiner, R. Shalom Shachna of Prohobisht blazed a new trail in Chassidus, which was broadened by his son, R. Yisroel, and followed by many of the ***Rebbes*** of the Rizhin-Sadigora dynasty.
>
> (From "A Kiddush Hashem", www.nishmas.org)

91) Stories of the Tzaddikim, the holy and righteous **Rebbes** who founded and fostered the Chassidic movement.

(From "A Source Of Hope", www.nishmas.org)

- *Peyes* (also *Peyos*), from the Yiddish singular noun *peye*, literally "side curl" (typical of a Jewish-Orthodox male). Since it is more common to speak of side curls than just one side curl, the Yiddish plural form *peyes* (also *peyos*) is more frequent than its singular word form. As a matter of fact, the *peye* does not occur in the Corpus.

The excerpts will show occurrences of its singular word form two of the stories making up the Corpus:

92) He dressed before a mirror, an act permitted by the Talmud only to the descendants of Rabban Gamliel. His hair was styled, his **peyos** short, and instead of the old-fashioned pipe, he smoked expensive cigarettes.

(From "A Kiddush Hashem", www.nishmas.org)

93) The photograph of the grandfather, in traditional Chassidic garb with **peyos** and a long beard, was particularly offensive to the young soldier. "That man is a barbarian. Take the picture down", he would shriek.

(From "The Tzaddik Works On Behalf Of His People", www.nishmas.org)

- *Kishkes* (*kishke-s*), from the Yiddish singular noun *kishke*, literally "intestines" or "guts". Interestingly, in Yiddish, the dish of stuffed intestines

is the singular *kishke*, while the body part intestines is usually the plural *kishkes*. Moreover, the plural noun *kishkes* has not only the literal connotation of "guts", but also the figurative implication of profound emotion. Therefore, when you have something *in di kishkes* ("in the *kishkes*"), you have a "gut feeling" (see Marks 2010). The next excerpt shows its use in the Corpus:

94) He told them all to study the Gemara and left it to them to get on with it. He was past his days of eating stale fruit and working for Jewish tailors that took his **kishkes** out.

(From "People Like Mr. Goldstein", www.nishmas.org)

- *Simchas* (Hebrew: *Simcha-s*; Yiddish pl.: *Simkhe-s*), from the singular Hebrew noun *simcha* (Yiddish sing.: *simkhe*), meaning "joyous events" or "holidays". The plural form of *simcha* was found to occur in the excerpt below:

95) "Don't you think I'm brokenhearted, Rivka? I'd be leaving the members I've taken care of for as long as I've been a rabbi. I shared their losses, their **simchas**. I married them. I buried them. You're losing one family. I'm losing two."

(From "The Minyan (Ten Men)", www.jewishmag.com)

- *Yentas* (*yenta-s*), from the singular Yiddish noun *yenta*, whose best English equivalent might be "gossipy women". The name *yenta* probably derives from some unknown gossipy woman who was known as Yenta. It is likely that the name Yenta stems from the Italian word *gentile* (see Hendrickson 2000: 689). An example of its use is shown in the following excerpt:

96) I heard families planning Bar and Bat Mitzvot while they sat around the pool. I heard couples talking about what their Rabbi did or didn't do like so many *yentas*.

(From "A Minyan For Miriam", www.jewishmag.com)

- *Yarmulkes* (*yarmulke-s*), from the Yiddish singular noun *yarmulke* (also spelled *yarmulka* or *yarmelke*), refers to the small skullcaps worn by Jews in a synagogue and also by pious Jews at all times to show respect for God. Its Hebrew equivalent is the more common term *kipah* (also *kippah*), from the Semitic root "bent" or "rounded". The origin of the Yiddish word *yarmulke* remains a mystery. To popular etymology, *yarmulke* is a conflation of two Hebrew/Aramaic words, namely *yarei malka*, meaning "God-fearing". However, the word has sources only from 1608 with no special connection to Jewish rituals. In fact, some trace the origin of *yarmulke* to the Polish skullcap called *jarmulke*, the Ukrainian *yarmulke* or the Turkic yagmurluk, meaning "rain hat" (cf. Allen 2011). The following excerpt shows its use in the Corpus:

97) When the Rabbi entered the sanctuary, there were nine men already assembled wearing their *yarmulkes* and tallises.

(From "The Mynian (Ten Men)", www.jewishmag.com)

The last type of pluralisation of loan words through Yiddish morphology involves terms which make use of the Yiddish plural suffix *-ekh* (the *-lekh is* articulated through the use of a velar spirant [x]). In Yiddish, nouns ending in *-lekh* indicate not only plurality but are also diminutives. The only Yiddish plural noun ending in *-lekh* (or its variant *-lach*) found in the Corpus is *kneydlekh* (also *kneidelach* or *knaydlakh*). The plural noun *kneydlekh* stems from the Yiddish singular *kneydl* (also *knaydl*) and means "dumpling". Its plural diminutive stands for "little dumplings". This Eastern

Ashkenazi Jewish dish is made of matzo-meal and is traditionally served in chicken soup and eaten on Friday night, at the Passover *seder*. A couple of excerpts taken from stories in the Corpus follow:

98) "Of course they're stars! They're certainly not **kneydlekh**", said his grandfather sitting down on the bench beside him. His grandfather pointed to a heavy swatch of stars that ran straight across the center of the sky.

(From "Over His Head", www.jewishmag.com)

99) "So, you want me to tell him to shut up the whole seder?!""No, on the contrary. I remember that Betzalel doesn't like the first course mom serves, the eggs in saltwater, right? He skips it. That's when he can say all his commentaries. He's got a solid seven minutes there. That's when he can go on - from the time the eggs come out until we get to the **kneidalach**."

(From "The Longest Seder", www.jewishmag.com)

The present analysis of plurals will now focus attention on those loan nouns ending with the English suffix *-s* and *-es*, namely the ones which have been anglicised by the authors of OJCSSs. In particular, two Yiddish plural loanwords ending with the English plural suffix *-s* have been found, i.e. *shul-s* and *seder-s*; while, as for the English plural suffix *-es*, only one anglicised Yiddish-origin plural loan noun has been spot, i.e. *tallis-es*. The first English plural noun to be analysed is the Yiddish-origin loanword *shuls*, meaning "synagogues". This pluralised word sderives from the Yiddish-origin noun *shul*. The Yiddish language uses the plural suffix *-n* to render the singular noun *shul* in its plural form. Therefore, the original loanword *shuln* has been anglicised (i.e. *shuls*). The following excerpts illustrate the use of *shuls* in the Corpus:

231

100)   Morrie looked up expectedly. Did Milty do something stupid? he wondered "What Louie doesn't know," Shmuel said," is that none of the *shuls* in Philadelphia are Orthodox."

(From "The J Letter", www.jewishmag.com)

101)   A sound with all the power of the Tikiah Gadolah that reverberates through *shuls* around the world as Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement, comes to an end.

(From "The Laughing Clarinet", www.jewishmag.com)

The next plural noun under scrutiny, i.e. *seders*, stems from the Hebrew-origin singular noun *seder*, often rendered into Yiddish as *seyder*. The term can be translated into English as "order of procedure", "arrangement", "sequence" or "succession". Being a word of Hebrew derivation, its plural form is *sederim* (or, alternatively, *seyderim*). In the Corpus, the anglicised version of its plural (i.e. *seder-s*) occurs only once. The term *seder* is connected with one of the most cherished Jewish holidays, i.e. Passover[73]. The following excerpt contains an occurrence of the word in the Corpus:

102)   Alan's Grandfather slowly walked around the huge table where his family would soon gather and placed a Haggadah at each place setting. He always smiled when he remembered past *Seders*, when there were never more than a few of the same haggadot at the table. […] Morris was less than happy with the way his *Seders* had concluded in recent years.

("Just A Box In The Basement", www.jewishmag.com)

---

[73] See footnote 49, page 95.

The Yiddish-origin noun ending with the English plural suffix *-es* is the word *tallises* (*tallis-es*). Its singular word-form is *tallis*. As a noun deriving from Hebrew, its plural suffix in Yiddish is *taleis-im*. *Talesim* (or *tallises*) are prayer shawls traditionally used by men at religious services. While *Chassidim* and other Orthodox Jews wear long *tallises* (or *taleisim*), Reform Jews wear shorter, less full ones (see Rosten 1968: 395). The use of *tallises* in the Corpus is exemplified in the following excerpt:

> 103)   When the Rabbi entered the sanctuary, there were nine men
>   already assembled wearing their yarmulkes and **tallises**.
>
> (From "The Minyan (Ten Men)", www.jewishmag.com)

It is likely that the plural anglicisation of the three Yiddish-origin nouns (all stemming from Hebrew) in the Corpus is due to their high level of integration into English. In fact, some loan nouns are used more extensively than others, which leads to higher levels of language contact, which in turn favours anglicisation processes. The last two plural nouns under scrutiny may index the authors' (selecting and using these plurals) stronger levels of knowledge of the Hebrew language. In particular, two plural nouns ending with Hebrew suffixes were identified, i.e. *Haggad-ot* and *Pay-ot*. Both nouns, ending with the Hebrew plural suffix *–ot*, are integrated into the English of the OJCSSs. The plural noun *Haggadot* (its Yiddish equivalent is *Haggad-os*) derives from the Hebrew singular noun *Haggadah*. The *Haggadah* is a book containing the order of service of the traditional Passover meal. It draws material from the book of Exodus and the *Talmud*. It includes psalms, prayers, hymns and even amusing jingles, which capture the interest of the children, who must sit through a very long ceremony and feast (see Rosten 1968: 150). The occurrence of *Haggadot* is shown in the following excerpt:

> 104)   Alan's Grandfather slowly walked around the huge table where
>   his family would soon gather and placed a Haggadah at each place
>   setting. He always smiled when he remembered past Seders, when

there were never more than a few of the same ***haggadot*** at the table. […] He knew it was not the Haggadah - though now he had a set of ***haggadot***, so each member of the family could read exactly the same text.

("Just A Box In The Basement", www.jewishmag.com)

The last plural *noun* to be analysed is *Pey-ot*, a term stemming from the Hebrew singular noun *peyah*. Its Yiddish plural equivalent is the previously mentioned term *peyes*. *Peyot* refers to the long, unshorn ear-ringlet hair and sideburn-locks traditionally worn by Ultra-Orthodox Jewish men, including male children. This custom (along with that of wearing a full beard), spread among Orthodox Jewry, derives from an instruction in Leviticus (19: 27), which reads (in its English translation): "Ye shall not round the corners of your heads, neither shalt thou mar the corners of thy beard." One possible reason for the ban on shaving this area of the beard was probably to distinguish Jews from the priests of pagan cults who used to shave certain areas of their faces to designate their sacred status (see Eisenberg 2004: 590). Interestingly, in the Middle Ages, the Church and secular powers often forbade Jews to trim beards so that they could be easily identified (cf. Rosten 1968: 289-90). However, going back to biblical times, as Eisenberg (2004: 590) points out, the beard was also "[...] regarded as a symbol of male attractiveness and virility and a natural feature distinguishing men from women. Thus, a shaved face [and head] was a sign of humiliation." Within the Corpus, *Payot* occurs as *payyot*:

105)   Menachem Mendel Meyer sat quietly in my living room. He twisted his ***payyot*** listening to my question. (…) He stopped twisting his long hanging ***payyot*** and smiled before he answered.

("Does Norman Have A Soul?", www.jewishmag.com)

The *payot* or, alternatively *peyes*, have become a marker of Orthodox and Chassidic identity. *Payot* are generally left long and dangling by some groups, while others tuck them away behind their ears or under their hats or skullcap (also known as *kipah*, *yarmulke* or *kapl*). Some Jewish Ultra-Orthodox groups do not cut the hair of boys until they turn three, i.e. when they celebrate the so-called *upsherin* (lit. "shearing off"). By doing so and along with other distinctive features (e.g. clothing), members of the most conservative branches of Judaism make sure to distinguish themselves from other Jews.

5.6.2.3 Transformation of Yiddish verbs into English verbs

This section will now focus on anglicised Hebrew- and Yiddish-origin verbs. The transformation of Hebrew and Yiddish verbs into English verbs can be said to be among the most interesting language contact features found in the Corpus. This linguistic phenomenon integrates verbs of Yiddish derivation into English by dropping their original infinite endings. One of the most recurrent verbs of this type is the Yiddish-origin English verb "*to daven*", from the Yiddish verb *daven**en*** (meaning "to pray"; "worhip service"). The infinite ending of the Yiddish *daven-en* gets dropped (and, therefore, adapted to the recipient language) once used in English. Its original Yiddish meaning is kept in English. In fact, *to daven* means "to pray" or "to lead the service" (see Goldberg 2001: 90). According to Schachter / Segel (2012: 204), *to daven* (i.e. "to pray") is used especially to chant liturgical prayers in the style of pious Jews. The manner of praying includes spoken, melodic, chanted and cantillated renditions of Jewish liturgical texts (see Dreyfus / Kornhauser 2007: 144). The verb is listed in both the ODs and MWD and has become an integrated loan verb into both BrE and AmE:

daven

Pronunciation: /ˈdɑˈv(ə)n/
verb (**davens**, **davening**, **davened**)
[no object]

- (in Judaism) recite the prescribed liturgical prayers: *he used to daven for a full half hour*

Origin:

Yiddish

MWD

da·ven
intransitive verb \ˈdä-vən, ˈdȯ-\

Definition of *DAVEN*
:to recite the prescribed prayers in a Jewish liturgy

Variants of *DAVEN*
da·ven also **do·ven** \ˈdä-vən, ˈdȯ-\

Origin of *DAVEN*
Yiddish *davnen*
First Known Use: circa 1930

The following excerpts show occurrences of *daven* and its anglicised forms in the Corpus:

106)   He turned to his attendant, questioning, "Nu, was sogst du? (What do you say?)[74] How can we go to the Baal ShemTov empty-handed? We haven't got mitzvos to our credit, nor good deeds. We can hardly learn properly, much less ***daven***!"

(From "To Pray Or Not To Pray", www.nishmas.org)

---

[74] Translation by the author.

107)	R' Eliezer Lippa was a simple but devout Jew who lived in the town of Taranow in Galicia. He was not well versed and didn't know the meaning of most of his daily prayers, but he always *davened* with the minyan and he was scrupulous to say Amen, after every blessing of the Chazzan, and to respond Amen, Yehey Shemi Rabboh in the Kaddish, and to respond to the Borchu.

("From Inspiration To Action", www.nishmas.org)

108)	"He doesn't learn and doesn't *daven* any more. He has had enough of life already, but he just keeps hanging on day after day, week after week, year after year." […] He *davened* in the morning, but his real interest was to get to breakfast. He went to Shul on Shabbos, but the cholent (Sabbath stew) was his goal.

(From "Teshuva, Don't Leave The World Without It", www.nishmas.org)

109)	Suddenly, he saw an old man *davening*, enwrapped in tallis and tefillin, right in his path.

(From "The Tzaddik Works On Behalf Of His People", www.nishmas.org)

110)	Alan's Grandfather wondered how much use they had seen too. *Had* the owner *davened* each morning with the tallis draped across his shoulders and the tefillin wrapped around his arm and the headpiece worn over his forehead as a "frontlet between his eyes," as it was written in the Torah? There was no way to tell.

(From "Just A Basement In The Box", www.jewishmag.com)

111) The park bench he sat on each morning after ***davening*** was just

a few blocks from his apartment.

(From "From Tiny Acoms Grow", www.jewishmag.com)

The excerpts also show how English provides the Yiddish-origin loan verb *daven* with its own inflections that change according to the different tenses, e.g. daven-*ed* or daven-*ing*. *To daven* is a culturally meaningful verb within (Anglo-) Jewry. Dosick / Kaufman (2007: 57) remark that the real meaning of *to daven* is "[…] to come to God with an open heart and soul, with the depths of emotional celebration or need, with soul cries of anguish or joy, with the deepest of desire to touch the Divine". The Yiddish-origin English verb *to schmooze* (also *to shmooze*) is another interesting example of anglicised verbs found in the Corpus. In this case, the Yiddish infinitive ending -*en* gets dropped. The anglicised verb *to schmooze* stems from the Yiddish verb *shmus(e)n*, deriving from the Hebrew word *shemua*, meaning "something heard", "a rumour" (see Prawer 2005: 45). In addition, it is worth-mentioning that the Yiddish verb *shmus(e)n*, while being integrated into the recipient language (English), has been subject to morphemic transformation. In fact, the two verbs, i.e. the Yiddish *shmus(e)n* and the English *schmooze*, are written in two different ways. The verb *schmooze* reflects the way *schmus(e)n* is actually pronounced in Yiddish. Furthermore, *schmus(e)n* has not simply 'migrated' into English with its Yiddish form (using the Roman alphabet), but the anglicised Yiddish-origin verb *schmooze* has also acquired a slightly different meaning, namely "to have a friendly, gossipy, prolonged, heart-to-heart talk." *To schmooze* is listed by both the ODs and MWD, meaning that this Yiddish-origin verb is an integrated (and also anglicised) loan verb into both BrE and AmE:

schmooze

Pronunciation: /ʃmuˈz/

chiefly *North American*

verb

[no object]

- talk intimately and cosily; gossip: *we schmooze about New York, what she misses*
  - *[with object]* talk in a cosy and intimate manner to (someone), typically in order to manipulate them: *she schmoozed every casting agent in town*

noun

- a long and intimate conversation: *we had a wonderful schmooze about the old days*

Derivatives

schmoozer

noun

schmoozy

adjective (**schmoozier**, **schmooziest**)

Origin:

late 19th century (as a verb): from Yiddish *shmuesn* 'converse, chat'

MWD

schmooze

verb \ˈshmüz\
schmoozed *or* **shmoozedschmooz·ing** *or* **shmooz·ing**

Definition of *SCHMOOZE*

intransitive verb
:to converse informally **:** CHAT; *also* **:** to chat in a friendly and persuasive manner especially so as to gain favor, business, or connections
transitive verb
:to engage in schmoozing with <she *schmoozed* her professors>
— **schmooz·er** \ˈshmü-zər\ *noun*

Variants of *SCHMOOZE*

schmooze or **shmooze** \'shmüz\

Examples of *SCHMOOZE*

1. People will have time to *schmooze* during the cocktail hour.
2. <spent every spare minute of the conference *schmoozing* with the industry's power players>

Origin of *SCHMOOZE*

Yiddish *shmuesn,* from *schmues* talk, from Hebrew *shĕmu'ōth* news, rumor
First Known Use: 1884

The excerpts below show occurrences of *schmooze* (or, alternatively, *shmooze*) in the Corpus:

> 112)   One late night, after many consecutive hours of uninterrupted study, the students became weary. They began to ***shmooze*** (converse)[75] amongst themselves. When Torah scholars start ***shmoozing*** they don't talk about just anything! What do they talk about? Stories of the Tzaddikim, the holy and righteous Rebbes who founded and fostered the Chassidic movement.
>
> (From "A Source of Hope", www.nishmas.org)

In the above excerpt, the verb *schmooze* keeps the meaning of "to converse". As in the case of *to daven*, also *to schmooze* is given its own English inflections, as the gerund *shmooz-ing* shows. Generally speaking, the verb *to schmooze*, in its present meaning, which differs slightly from its original Yiddish one, has gained a lot of popularity not only within Anglo-Jewish communities. In fact, it is used by non-Jews alike, especially in the USA, where it is widely used. Lerner *et al.* (2002: 7) probably provide one of the most exhaustive definitions of the contemporary meaning of *to schmooze* in the English-speaking context. In fact, as a verb, *to schmooze* implies "[...] noticing people, connecting with them, keeping in touch with them – and benefiting from relationships with them. *Schmoozing* (italics added) is about

---

[75] Translation by the author.

connecting with people in a mutually productive and pleasurable way". It can be argued that it is an art of semi-purposeful conversation (Lerner *et al.* 2002: 7). Another Yiddish-origin verb integrated into English that is worth-analysing is *to bentsh* (also *to bentsch, to bench*), which derives from the Yiddish verb *bentsh(e)n* (also *bentsch(e)n*), meaning "to bless". The latter is most likely one of the oldest words (verbs) in the Yiddish language, formed by combining an Old Italian form of Latin *benedicere* ("to bless", "to praise"), with the Germanic verb suffix *-en*. The common meaning of *to bentsch* is "to recite the after-meal blessings", also known in English as *the bentshing*. Moreover, generally speaking, it is possible to encounter the word *bentsh* in various phrases adopted from Yiddish as well, as in the case of *to bentsh the likht* (also *licht*), referring to the lightening of the Shabbat or holiday candles with a blessing. This ritual is called either *likht bentshn* (in Yiddish) or "candle-lightening" (in English) (see Steinmetz 2005: 19-20). The verb *to bentsh* is not listed in any of the online dictionaries. The following excerpts show its double meanings in the English of two of the selected OJCSSs:

113)   Saying the blessing HaMotzi before each meal and ***benching*** afterwards, pausing at the supermarket amidst a world of choice while she designed a menu that was either fleshik (meat) or milchik (dairy), but certainly not both and scheduling her week around Shabbat.

(From "Meat Meat", www.jewishmag.com)

114)   When we ***bensch the licht*** we gather a few crumbs of Yenevelt.

(From "The Jewish Moshiach", www.jewishmag.com)

Like any other anglicised Yiddish-origin verb, also *to bentsch* has undergone English inflectional processes, as the gerund *benching* in the above excerpt has shown. The next verb under investigation is *to shmear*, found with just one occurrence in the

Corpus. It derives from the Yiddish verb *shmirn*, meaning "to flatter", "to grease", "to smear". The word has acquired a rather colloquial use in AmE, often in the phrase "the whole *shmear*", meaning "everything (possible)" (see Delahunty 2008: 309). This anglicised verb is listed by both the ODs and MWD, as it is shown in the following entries.

ODs

schmear

Pronunciation: /ˈʃmɪə/

(also **schmeer**, **shmeer**, or **shmear**)

North American informal

noun

- 1an underhand inducement: *he knew the schmear was on when the producer invited him to lunch*

- 2a smear or spread:*a schmear of low-fat cream cheese*

verb

[with object]

- flatter or ingratiate oneself with (someone):*he was buying us drinks and schmearing us up*

Phrases

the whole schmear

everything possible or available;
every aspect of the situation: *I'm going for the whole schmear*

MWD

schmear

noun\ˈshmir\

Definition of *SCHMEAR*
:an aggregate of related things <the whole *schmear*>

Variants of *SCHMEAR*

schmear or **schmeer** \'shmir\

Origin of *SCHMEAR*

Yiddish *shmir* smear
First Known Use: 1965

In OJCSS, the verb *schmear* refers to its English equivalent verb "to grease", as the following excerpt shows:

115)   "Esther, if you don't calm down I'm gonna ***schmear*** butter on the brisket, *spritz* milk on the meat, and put lobster in the latkes."

(From "Harry Meets Aunt Rhona & Uncle Morris, www.jewishmag.com)

To schmear has a slangy or colloquial meaning. Nowadays, it also means "to bribe", in the same sense as the English idiom "to butter up". Furthermore, the English *to schmear* is also used to dishonor one's reputation (see Bukszpan 2012: 69). Another verb is the Yiddish-origin *spritz*, found just once in the whole Corpus (see excerpt 115). The English *to spritz* may derive from both the German verb *spritzen* and the Yiddish verb *shpritsn*. Both verbs have the same meaning. In fact, the Yiddish verb *shpritsn* derives from the German *spritzen* and both verbs mean "to squirt". However, in both ODs and MWD, *to spritz* is listed as an integrated loan verb into both BrE and AmE, deriving from the German *spritzen*:

<u>ODs</u>

spritz

Pronunciation: /sprɪts/
verb
[with object]

- squirt or spray a liquid at or on to (something) in quick, short bursts:*she spritzed her neck with cologne*
    - spray (a liquid) in quick, short bursts:*she spritzed some perfume behind her ears*

noun

- an act of squirting or spraying liquid in short bursts or the liquid sprayed.

Origin:

early 20th century: from German *spritzen* 'to squirt'

<u>**MWD**</u>

spritz
verb \'sprits, 'shprits\

Definition of *SPRITZ*

transitive verb
:SPRAY
intransitive verb
:to disperse or apply a spray
— **spritz** *noun*

Examples of *SPRITZ*

1. Make sure to *spritz* the plants with water every day.
2. She *spritzed* her hair with hairspray.

Origin of *SPRITZ*

German *spritzen* to squirt, spray
First Known Use: 1902

It is, therefore, likely that German-speaking people migrating to Anglophone countries brought this verb into common use a bit earlier than Yiddish-speaking immigrants. Today, in more colloquial contexts, *to spritz* also means "to add a dash of seltzer", beside "to squirt" or "to spray" (cf. Gekoski 2009).

Last but not least, the verb *to kasher*, stemming from the Yiddish *kashern*, means "to make unkosher things kosher[76]." *To kasher* includes three "technical" actions (see Steinmetz 2005: 92):

---

[76] The Yiddish adjective *kosher* derives from the Hebrew adjective *kasher*, meaning "fit", "proper", "appropriate", "permissible". As a Yiddish-Hebrew word, *kosher* generally means "fit to eat", because ritually clean according to the Jewish dietary laws (see Steinmetz 2005).

- to boil pots, dishes, silverware as well as other utensils in hot water (*hagalah*) in order to remove all traces of unkosher use;
- to pass through fire (*libun*) a vessel used normally in fire, until it glows or turns white;
- to scour an unkosher knife or stab it into hard ground ten times.

However, the verb *to kasher* is most commonly used to refer to utensils in which *chometz* (a food made of grain, combined with water) has been cooked or baked and needs to be *koshered* for Passover use while being immersed in boiling water or heated in fire. Additionally, the verb is also used in the sense of "render meat *kosher* for cooking", by soaking, salting and rinsing the meat to remove surface blood. Otherwise, it is also possible to grill the liver (filled with blood) over an open fire until it changes colour or forms a crust (cf. Steinmetz 2005: 92). The verb is listed by the MWD as an loan verb integrated into AmE:

MWD

ka·sher
verb \kä'she(ə)r, -eə\
-ed/-ing/-s

Definition of *KASHER*

transitive verb
:to make (meat or utensils) kosher for use according to Jewish law

Variants of *KASHER*
ka·sher or **ko·sher** \'kōshə(r)\

Origin of *KASHER*

kasher fr. Heb *kāshēr* to make kosher; *kosher* fr. Yiddish, n., kosher, fr. Heb *kāshēr* kosher, fit, proper

In the Corpus, the anglicised Yiddish verb *to kosher* occurs only once in the past tense:

116) He ***kashered*** the shop, with assistance from Rabbi Rubin

and threw a big party for the neighborhood.

(From "Meat Meat", www.jewishmag.com)

In the excerpt, the verb *to kasher*, written in its past inflection (kasher-*ed*), means to render a shop *kosher*, probably referring to the products of the shop. The process of kashering meat traditionally requires the supervision of a *shochet*, a religious slaughterer, who examines animals for signs of infection, disease or abnormality. The *shochet* must dispatch an animal by slashing the throat with one stroke. If the knife binds or sticks, even for an instant, the animal is no longer *kosher*. In addition, *kosher* meat must be stamped or sealed by a supervisor, called *mashgiach* (see Rosten 1968: 197).

5.6.2.4 English Noun Formation From Yiddish-Origin Verbs

This section will focus on English noun-formation from Yiddish-origin verbs. More precisely, the analysis will put emphasis on the way Yiddish-origin verbs are transformed into nouns through processes of anglicisation. In particular, within the Corpus, three English nouns deriving from Yiddish verbs have been identified, namely *to bentsh* (or, alternatively, *to bentch*), *to daven* and *to schmooze* (or, alternatively, *to shmooze*). The Yiddish-origin verbs *to daven* and *to schmooze* have been integrated loan verbs into both BrE and AmE, while the verb *to bentsh* is not yet part of both the BrE and AmE vocabulary. The following anglicised nouns (see the typical English ending suffix *-ing*), deriving from the above-mentioned Yiddish-origin verbs, will now be analysed:

- (the) bentsh*ing* (also (the) bentch*ing*);
- (the) daven*ing*;
- (the) schmooz*ing* (also (the) shmooz*ing)*.

The English noun *bentshing* (or, alternatively, *bentching*) stands for "the grace after meals". In other words, the *bentshing* is a Jewish blessing that was probably instituted during the period of the Second Temple and is traditionally recited after a meal. It begins with the following benedictions:

- thanking God, who provides food;
- blessing the land that produces it;
- expressing hope for the rebuilding of Zion;
- attesting to God's love and kindness.

The above-mentioned blessings are followed by a series of petitions that vary according to the occasion (e.g. for one's guests, relatives, visitors and so forth), plus some verses from the Psalms, ending with a prayer for peace (see Steinmetz 1986: 37). The following excerpt shows the use of *bentching* as an anglicised noun:

> 117) When it came time for **the bentching** (Grace after Meals)[77]
> and the Sheva Brochos (seven blessing said after the festive meals
> in the presence of the bride and groom)[78], you had been all but
> forgotten.
>
> (From "R'Zusia And The Rav", www.nishmas.org)

The anglicised noun *davening*, unlike the anglicised Yiddish-verb from which it stems (i.e. *to daven*), is not yet listed as an integrated loan noun into English by any of the two online dictionaries that have been consulted. The *davening* mentioned in the ODs only refers to the gerund verb form of *to daven*. The anglicised noun *davening* can be translated into English as "prayer(s)" or "the praying". *Davening*, as a noun, occurs several times within the Corpus. Some of the excerpts below show its use in some of the stories:

---

[77] Translation by the author.
[78] As above.

118) One Erev Shabbos the Baal Shem Tov appeared in a town unexpectedly. Declining invitations from all the locals, he elected to remain alone in the Shul after Shabbos evening *davening*.

(From "A Matter of Mesirus Nefesh", www.nishmas.org)

119) But he, knowing that there was nothing to come home to, stayed on at the Beis Medrash for a while after the *davening* before he finally turned for home.

(From "Tzaddik Talk", www.nishmas.org)

120) "Sure enough, right after the *davening*, they showed up with a great meal, everything, just as I like it. [...] "In the morning after the *davening*, they again brought me a good meal with a cholent even better than what I would have gotten at home. I ate my fill and went to sleep."

(From "Teshuva, Don't Leave The World Without It", www.nishmas.org)

The last noun to be analysed is the anglicised *schmoozing*, deriving from the Yiddish-origin verb *shmues(e)n* (*to schmooze* is a result of a phonetical adaptation to English, hence its diffent morphology) and meaning, among other things, "a gossipy chat" or "conversing informally". According to some sources (e.g. Rosten 1968; Stevens / Levine / Steinmetz 2002), the Yiddish-origin word *schmooze* (or *shmooze)* refers to both a verb and a noun. Thus, there are two possible ways to form a noun from the verb *to schmooze*, namely *schmooze* and *schmoozing*. Apart from its traditional meaning, the noun *schmoozing* also means "[...] networking or politicking, possibly by integrating oneself" (Stevens / Levine / Steinmetz 2002: 36). As a consequence, the noun refers to a type of chat or talk pursuing some benefits. However, this last meaning did not originate from Yiddish, but in the AmE. As a

matter of fact, when the loan noun was integrated into AmE, the loan noun "[...] originally meant to have a warm conversation [...] [,] to pass the time chatting" (Boxer 2011: xiii). Afterwards, as in the case of several other loanwords integrated into English, *schmoozing* has been subject to a semantic shift with reference to some of its contemporary meanings. This noun, unlike the anglicised Yiddish-origin verb from which it stems, is not listed in any of the two online dictionaries consulted. Its occurrence within the Corpus is shown in the following excerpt:

121) Then, suddenly R' Chaim walked into the study hall. Immediately he perceived that the students had already left off studying. "And what is ***this schmoozing*** about", he encountered them. Embarrased as they were, they had no choice but to 'confess'. The oldest of the group found to the courage to stammer, "We..we..we..were tr...tr..trading stories of Tza..tza..addikim". "Is that so...", demurred the Rebbe, "then I also have a story to share."

(From "A Source Of Hope", www.nishmas.org)

In the above-mentioned story, the anglicised noun *schmoozing* keeps its original Yiddish meaning, namely 'to converse informally', e.g. a conversation taking place among students. The meaning of *schmoozing* varies according to the context, i.e. with reference to 'how', 'when' and 'to whom' you are talking.

5.6.2.5 Use of 'Complex Verbs' (English Verb + Yiddish / Hebrew-origin Noun)

This section will focus on the strategic use of what are known as 'Complex Verbs'. Before starting to analyse complex verbs developing out of language contact situations between English and Yiddish or, alternatively, between English and Hebrew, it is important to analyse the expression 'Complex Verb'. First of all, the complexity of such verbs lies in their construction. In fact, a complex verb "[...] is a predicate which is composed of constituent morphemes but functions syntactically as a unit, either a word or a phrase" (Klamer 1998: 275). In the OJCSSs, several complex verbs have been found. They consist of an English verb, followed by a noun stemming from Yiddish or Hebrew. An indefinite article is sometimes put between the English verb and the Yiddish or Hebrew-origin noun. The study of complex verbs deriving from language contact between the above-mentioned languages will focus on the following verbs:

- to say *kaddish*
- to make *aliyah*
- to do a *mitzvah*
- to do *teshuva*
- to have / to make (up) a *minyan*

The complex verb *to say kaddish* derives from the Yiddish expression *zogn kadesh*. The term *kaddish* (or *kadesh* in Yiddish) originally derives from Aramaic, meaning means "holy" or "sacred". *Kaddish* refers to a prayer recited by a mourner, more commonly known as "the mourner's *kaddish*". As a consequence, the English complex verb "to say *kaddish*" refers to the mourner's *kaddish* as well. The mourner's *kaddish* is called *kaddish yosom*, meaning "orphan's *kaddish*", as it is recited by a son at his parents' grave during the funeral. The *kaddish* is, then, recited for the next eleven months at daily prayer services and, thereafter, on every anniversary (*yahrzeit* in Yiddish) of the parent's death (see Steinmetz 2005: 91). *Kaddish* itself "[...] is not an expression of how a grieving Jew *feels* to have lost a parent; it is an affirmation of where he or she is going as a faithful Jew, toward the unfettered praise of the holiness of God, a holiness that even the powers of death

cannot destroy" (Long 2009: 146, italics in the original). It is, therefore, not necessarily a mourner's prayer, but "[...] a majestic hymn of praise to God" (Steinmetz 2005: 91). The term *kaddish* is listed by the ODs and MWD as an integrated loanword into both BrE and AmE:

ODs

Kaddish

Pronunciation: /ˈkadɪʃ/
noun

- an ancient Jewish prayer sequence regularly recited in the synagogue service, including thanksgiving and praise and concluding with a prayer for universal peace.
  - a form of the Kaddish recited for the dead.

Origin:

from Aramaic *qaddīš* 'holy'

MWD

kad·dish

noun, often capitalized \ˈkä-dish\
plural **kad·dish·es** *also* **kad·di·shim** \kä-ˈdi-shim, -(ˈ)shēm\

Definition of *KADDISH*

:a Jewish prayer recited in the daily ritual of the synagogue and by mourners at public services after the death of a close relative

Origin of *KADDISH*

Aramaic *qaddīsh* holy
First Known Use: 1613

To say kaddish occurs in the following stories:

> 122) The neighbours said she was not long for the cemetery. Even the Rabbi began thinking of ***saying Kaddish*** for her. It was one cloudless afternoon that she fell asleep.

> (From "The Jewish Moshiach", www.jewishmag.com)

123) One cool night in early October, Ben and his family, walked the short distance from their home to the cheder to celebrate Simchas Torah. The cheder's lower floor doubled as a classroom and sanctuary. On weekday mornings, the room filled men who came to pray, **to say Kaddish** for a loved one or to ensure that the required ten men were present so that another could recite the prayer. They stood or sat, some in suits and some in shirtsleeves, their heads crowned and their arms entwined with tefillin.

(From "A Cheder Tale", www.jewishmag.com)

124) She wanted **to say kaddish**, for him, but we weren't sure how to find enough Jews aboard a cruise ship to make a minyan.

(From "A Minyan for Miriam", www.jewishmag.com)

In the English complex verb *to make aliyah*, the Hebrew-origin term *aliyah* means "ascendancy". Thus, *to make aliyah* means "to go up" or "to ascent". However, *aliyah* originally referred to any of the three festival pilgrimages made to Jerusalem. The word *aliyah* has three common meanings (cf. Steinmetz 2005: 5):

- the honour of being called upon to recite the blessings on the *Torah* scroll, or any section of the *Torah* over which the blessings are recited. In this case, in English, the phrase expressing this "going up" to the *bimah* (i.e. the platform in the synagogue where the desk from which the *Torah* is read can be found) is *to make **an** aliyah* (the emphasis, here, is on the middle/second syllable: *ali'ye*);
- immigration to Israel (usually getting automatically the Israeli citizenship), expressed in the English phrase *to make aliyah*, with the stress on the last syllable: *aliya'*;
- ascent of the soul to heaven, based on the Chassidic custom of wishing a person observing a *yahrzeit*. However, this meaning, which has a mystical sense, is less common.

The term *aliyah* is listed by the ODs and MWD as an integrated loanword into both BrE and AmE, as the following entries show:

<u>**ODs**</u>

aliyah

Pronunciation: /ˈalɪjə/

*noun (plural **aliyoth** /ˈalɪjəʊt/)*

Judaism
- 1 *[mass noun]* immigration to Israel:*students **making aliyah***

- 2the honour of being called upon to read from the Torah:*I was called up for an aliyah*

Origin:

from Hebrew *ʼăliyyāh* 'ascent'

<u>**MWD**</u>

ali·yah

noun \ä-ˈlē-(ˈ)yä, ˈä-lē-ˈyä

Definition of *ALIYAH*

:the immigration of Jews to Israel

Variants of *ALIYAH*
ali·yah or **ali·ya** \ä-ˈlē-(ˈ)yä, ˈä-lē-ˈyä\

Origin of *ALIYAH*

Modern Hebrew *ʼalīyāh,* from Hebrew, ascent
First Known Use: circa 1934

aliyah

noun   (Concise Encyclopedia)

In Judaism, the honour, accorded to a worshipper, of being called up to read an assigned passage from the Torah at Sabbath morning services; or Jewish immigration to Israel. Because the passage assigned for each Sabbath morning service is subdivided into a minimum of seven sections, at least seven different persons are called up for these readings. Aliyah in the sense of immigration to Israel is ongoing but also occurs in waves. The first

two waves of immigration occurred in 1882-1914, the next three in 1919-39. The sixth aliyah (1945-48) brought many HOLOCAUST survivors. Later waves of immigration included FALASHA from Ethiopia, émigrés from the former Soviet Union, and others.

Within the Corpus, the complex verb *to make aliyah*, in the sense of migrating to Israel, occurs three times, in its past, future and infinitive forms:

125) After the war, he did indeed study music and ***made aliyah*** to Palestine.

   (From "The Laughing Clarinet", www.jewishmag.com)

126) Not all Jews living in the Galut ***will make aliyah*** and return to our homeland.

   ("From Tiny Acorns Grow", www.jewishmag.com)

127) I looked around the table at my three siblings. "So, tell me what's the one thing you'd change about Pesach, if you could?"

   "The cleaning!" my sister Tova answered emphatically.

   "The food?" Shimi suggested. "I miss eating pizza for a week."

   "I know," Shira said. "The dreaded 'second seder'. Remember those?" Everyone shuddered as they recalled enduring the seder twice on consecutive nights back in the 'old country'. That was reason enough ***to make aliyah***.

   (From "The Longest Seder", www.jewishmag.com)

It is worth-mentioning that the term *aliyah* encapsulates a particularly meaningful concept for the majority of Jews, since Israel itself plays a dominant role in contemporary Judaism. It could be even argued that Israel poses a sort of identity crisis for millions of Diaspora Jews because of its symbolic power as the "Jewish" home. In fact, for more than two millennia, Jews have been in *golah* or *galuth* (i.e. "exile") from their 'homeland'. Consequently, today's concept of Jewish identity is almost inextricable from Jews' nostalgic conception of the self in relation to the lost home. Besides, for many Jews, the myth of returning to the Land of their forefathers is quintessential to Jewish identity (see Shostak 2004: 109). In fact, it is generally assumed that the strengthening of Jewish identity, in its more general meaning, can be achieved also by making *aliyah*, meaning by returning to the original homeland. Another complex verb found in the Corpus, worth analysing. due to its significant Jewish cultural meaning, is *to do a mitzvah*. A *mitzvah* is what any Jew should do in response to God and to the tradition of his or her own people. Such response comes from personal commitment rather than from unquestioning obedience to a set of commandments, which past tradition thought to be the direct will of God (see Plaut, in *Central Conference of American Rabbis* (CCAR) 1996: 93). There is no English equivalent that can translate *mitzvah* in an adequate way. The root meaning of this Hebrew-origin word is 'commandment', although it has acquired a much broader meaning. *Mitzvah* basically "[...] suggests the joy of doing something for the sake of others and for the sake of God, and it conveys still more: it also speaks of living Jewishly, of meetings life's challenges and opportunities in particular ways. All this is *mitzvah*" (Maslin 1977, in *CCAR* 1996: 93-94, italics in the original). The term *mitzvah* is listed by the ODs and MWD as an integrated loan noun from Hebrew into both BrE and AmE:

ODs

mitzvah

Pronunciation: /ˈmɪtsvə/

 *noun (plural **mitzvoth** /-vəʊt/)*
Judaism

- a precept or commandment.
- a good deed done from religious duty.

Origin:

mid 17th century: from Hebrew *miṣwāh* 'commandment'

MWD

mitz·vah

noun \'mits-və\
plural **mitz·voth** \-'vōt, -'vōth, -'vōs\ *or* **mitz·vahs**

Definition of *MITZVAH*

1**:**a commandment of the Jewish law
2**:**a meritorious or charitable act

Origin of *MITZVAH*

Hebrew *miṣwāh*
First Known Use: 1650

The following excerpts show occurrences of *to do a Mitzvah*:

128) R' Eliezer Lippa's mind knew no rest. How he longed to be able ***to do a mitzvoh*** like the poor man in the story; with pure intention and a joyful overflowing heart.[…] He went home and told his wife about the story of the Baal ShemTov, and how ***doing a mitzvoh*** with joy is like bringing a sacrifice in the Holy Temple even though it no longer stands.

   (From "From Inspiration To Action", www.nishmas.org)

129) "But how am I supposed ***to do a Mitzvah***," Yankel shouted. The old man sat straight and looked very firm. […] The he said to the old man, "You people of the Prophet sure make it hard ***to do a Mitzvah***."

   (From "Yankel", www.jewishmag.com)

130) "Why is it always about winning prizes, being first, getting awards, being a big shot, and making a lot of money? What happened *to doing mitzvahs*, good deeds?"

(From "The J Letter", www.jewishmag.com)

131) Often Yossie went with his mother to visit Mrs. Schwartz and bring her a few things from the corner grocery. Mrs. Stern always told Yossie what a Chesed it was to visit Mrs. Schwartz and how something that was so easy for them to do meant so much to her. Mrs. Schwartz always thanked Yossie and his mother for coming to her house and told them how much their visit cheered up her day. Then, Yossie knew, they **had** really **done a** big *Mitzvah*.

(From "Yossie's Special Shabbos", shemayisrael.com)

132) "David, I'm scared to go there!" she whispered to her brother. "I-if Chana lives there, it can't be so bad," David insisted as he pushed open the creaking old gate. "Besides," he added, "Hashem protects people who **go to do mitzvos**." […] Abba, it all grew out of one bag of Shabbos treat "…but look how many people **did mitzvos** from it. We **did a mitzvah** by giving treats to Chana. Then all our teachers and friends did mitzvos by organizing the grocery packages for Shabbos. Mrs. Krupnick **did a mitzvah** by helping Chana and her mother with the doctor bills and by making an apartment for them. And Chana and her mother **did a mitzvah** by keeping Mrs. Krupnick company! That's a lot of mitzvos growing from one bag of Shabbos treats, isn't it, Abba?

(From "Shabbos Treats That Grew", shemayisrael.com)

Another complexverb worth mentioning, which involves the Hebrew-origin term *mitzvah*, is *to bar mitzvah (someone)*. Although it only occurs once within the

Corpus, is worth analysing. The term *bar mitzvah* is often translated into English as "Son of the Commandment". However, its actual meaning is "possessor or master of the commandments", as shown under the prefix *bar*, meaning "possessor" or "master" (see Steinmetz 2005: 15). *Bar Mitzvah* refers to a boy of 13 and one day, i.e. a boy that, according to Jewish tradition, has come of age for religious purposes. It is listed in the ODs and MWD as an integrated loan term into both BrE and AmE:

ODs

bar mitzvah

Pronunciation: /bɑ' 'mɪtsvə/
noun

- the initiation ceremony of a Jewish boy who has reached the age of 13 and is

regarded as ready to observe religious precepts and eligible to take part in public worship.

- a boy undergoing the bar mitzvah ceremony.

verb

[with object]

- administer the bar mitzvah ceremony to (a boy).

Origin:

from Hebrew *bar miṣwāh*, literally 'son of the commandment'.

MWD

[1]**bar mitz·vah**
noun, *often capitalized B&M* \bär-'mits-və\

Definition of *BAR MITZVAH*

1**:**a Jewish boy who reaches his 13th birthday and attains the age of religious duty and responsibility
2**:**the initiatory ceremony recognizing a boy as a bar mitzvah

Origin of *BAR MITZVAH*

Hebrew *bar miṣwāh,* literally, son of the (divine) law
First Known Use: 1816

²bar mitzvah

transitive verb
bar mitz·vahed bar mitz·vah·ing

Definition of *BAR MITZVAH*

:to administer the ceremony of bar mitzvah to

First Known Use of *BAR MITZVAH*: 1947

To bar mitzvah (someone) is registered as an instance of colloquial language within AmE, where at least another verbal construction including the term *bar mitzvah* can be found, i.e. *to be* (or *to get*) *bar mitzvahed*. In addition, according to Steinmetz (2005), *to be* (or *to get*) *bar mitzvahed* are informal Americanisms. The next excerpt shows the presence of *to bar mitzvah (someone)* in the Corpus, in its past tense form:

133) "I know it's not your fault, Rabbi. You ***Bar Mitzvahed*** me."

(From "The Minyan (Ten Men)", www.jewishmag.com)

Bar Mitzvah, as a term and a concept closely connected with the concept of "Jewish identity", marks the most remarkable life passage of Jewish childhood and adolescence. A *bar mitzvah* not only denotes the ritual religious maturity and the assumption of additional religious duties, but also and, perhaps, especially about growing up as a Jew. Thus, when considering Jewish identification it is important to underline the role of key-life events, contexts and situations throughout a Jew's lifespan, which impact upon Jewish identity (see Goldberg 2002: 7). Another complex verb developing out of language contact is *to do teshuva*. The Hebrew-origin term *teshuva* literally means "repentance". Its root derives from the Hebrew word *shuv*, meaning "return" or "turning around". The use of this verb is probably due to the Hebrew prophets who "often called on the people of Israel to return, to turn away from evil and to act righteously" (Borowitz / Weinman 1995: 161). Although *shuv* "[...] is often used in the Bible in reference to repentance, the noun form only took on special connotations in later, rabbinic literature" (Borowitz / Weinman 1999: 265). The very word *teshuva* has deep implications. In fact, "[i]t

assumes that people naturally tend to righteousness, that they want to live according to God's laws. A sin, then, is a deviation from the normal pattern of life. To repent, one must *return* to his previous state of righteousness" (Klenicki / Wigoder 1995: 161, italics in the original). Examples concerning the use of *to do teshuva* within the Corpus are given below:

134) At this point R' Hirsh stopped the old man exclaiming that now he understood everything. The tall one in the middle with a face red like fire was none other the Rebbe R' Elimelech of Lizhensk. He explained that there it is well known that anybody whoever saw the even just glimpsed the face of R' Elimelech would not be able to leave the world until he **had done Teshuva**.

(From "Teshuva, Don't Leave The World Without It", www.nishmas.org)

135) It is brought down that the month of Elul, Rosh HaShanah and Yom Kippur are designated for **doing Teshuva**. A Jew is inspired and cajoled into teshuva as he contemplates the awesomeness of the Creator and how we are obligated to Him. It is a teshuva based on fear and awe.

(From "From Awe To Awesome Love", www.nishmas.org)

136) The Ra'shash realized that the baker was correct. What could he do to right the misdeed he had done? How could he demonstrate beyond any doubt, that he indeed wronged the baker and was **doing Teshuva** for it? After a number of heart-aching minutes he knew that he had found the solution.

(From "Absolute Forgiveness", www.nishmas.org)

The word *teshuva* is not listed in any of the two online dictionaries consulted. It follows that it is not yet an integrated loan noun into both BrE and AmE. The last complex verb to be analysed incorporates the Hebrew-origin term *minyan*. Within the Corpus, two English verbs dealing with *minyan* have been found, i.e. *to have a minyan* and *to make (up) a minyan*. The word *minyan* is an integrated loan noun into both BrE and AmE, as the following entries show:

<u>**ODs**</u>

minyan

Pronunciation: /ˈmɪnjən/

noun (plural minyanim /ˈmɪnjənɪm/)
- a quorum of ten men over the age of 13 required for traditional Jewish public worship.

Origin:

mid 18th century: from Hebrew *minyān*, literally 'reckoning'.

<u>**MWD**</u>

min·yan
noun \ˈmin-yən\
plural **min·ya·nim**\ˈmin-yə-ˈnēm\ *or* **min·yans**

Definition of *MINYAN*

: the quorum required for Jewish communal worship that consists of ten male adults in Orthodox Judaism and usually ten adults of either sex in Conservative and Reform Judaism.

Origin of *MINYAN*

Hebrew *minyān,* literally, number, count
First Known Use: 1753

The verbs *to have* and *to make a minyan* are synonyms, although a clear semantic gap between them (i.e. "to have"/ "to make") does occur. The former ("to have") implies that something (in this case, the *minyan*) has already been formed. Conversely, "to make" implies an action, meaning that something (in this case, the *minyan*) still has to be formed. Besides, the English phrasal verb "to make up" is sometimes used to refer to the formation of a *minyan* as well. Other times, the verb

"to get" is also used when it comes to the making up of a *minyan*. The following excerpts show occurrences of *to have a minyan*, *to make a minyan, to make up a minyan* and *to get a minyan* in the Corpus:

137) Like an old person wondering if death would claim him that day, he also wondered if this would be the last day he **had a minyan**. […] "But how would I know if I **had a minyan**?" […] "I just wish you'd consider doing what other Orthodox synagogues are doing- using boys from the Bar Mitzvah class **to make up the minyan**, instead of men."

   (From "The Minyan (Ten Men)", www.jewishmag.com)

138) She wanted to say kaddish*,* for him, but we weren't sure how to find enough Jews aboard a cruise ship **to make a minyan**."

   (From "A Minyan for Miriam", www.jewishmag.com)

139) Mr. Goldstein imagined little imps were dancing on his head. Every imp had a name. They whispered in his ear telling him where to look for naked women. They were all Yiddish with Yarmulkes on. He began to think; maybe they will count them **to make a minyan up**?

   (From "People Like Mr. Goldstein", www.jewishmag.com)

140) Well, why don't you do something like that? Then the members won't have to drive to services, and you'll have no problem **getting a minyan**."

   (From "The Minyan (Ten Men)", www.jewishmag.com)

5.6.2.6 Final Remarks

This section has focused attention on morpho-syntactic features deriving from language contact phenomena, which have been found within the Corpus. In particular, the analysis has been based on phenomena featuring instances of both word-construction and word-coining. Both phenomena belong to that part of grammar known as 'Morphology'. Moreover, it has also focused attention on the occurrence of 'Complex Verbs' found in several of the stories making up the the Corpus. Complex verbs developing out of language contact situations can be labelled as 'verb phrases' (see e.g. Altenberg / Vago 2010), i.e. syntactic units composed of one verb plus a number of linguistic items depending on that verb, like objects or complements 'Complex Verbs' are traditionally object of study of that part of grammar known as 'Syntax'. 'Syntax' itself focuses on the relationship between units (i.e. single words) or phrases (i.e. small chunks of words making sense together) (see Hagège 1993: 34). As a consequence, 'Morphology' and 'Syntax' are constantly and inextricably tied. Besides, the linguistic analysis, based on morpho-syntactic phenomena deriving from language contact, has shown that, within Contact Linguistics, the investigation of the above-mentioned linguistic phenomena cannot be carried out without taking into account the cultural analysis of the words involved in the various processes of language contact. In particular, the investigation has been based on the analysis of five linguistic phenomena, which have been identified throughout the whole Corpus. As for 'Morphology', the research has analysed the following phenomena:

- the anglicisation of Hebrew-origin nouns into adjectives ending with an English suffix (e.g. *cahssid-ic*, *midrash-ic*, *kabbalist-ic*, ecc.);
- the pluralisation of loan nouns from the heritage language(s) with morphology from English (e.g. *shul-s*, *seder-s*, *tallis-es*), Yiddish (e.g. *kishke-s*, *peye-s*, *kneydl-ekh*, *tzaddik-im*, etc.) and Hebrew (*haggad-ot* and *pay-ot*);
- transformation of Yiddish verbs into English verbs, by dropping the Yiddish infinitive endings (e.g. *davenen* → *to daven*, *shmues(e)n* → *to schmooze*, *bentsh(e)n* → *to bentsh*, *kashern* → *to kasher*, etc.);

263

- the use of 'Complex Verbs' made up of an English verb followed by a Hebrew-origin noun (e.g. *to say kaddish*, *to make aliyah*, *to have/make (up)/get a minyan*, *to do a mitzvah*, etc.);
- the formation of English nouns, in which these nouns derive from Yiddish-origin verbs (*bentsh-ing*, *davenin-ing* and *schomooz-ing*).

From the above-mentioned analyses, it has emerged that both 'Morphology' and 'Syntax' are fully involved in processes of language contact that find place within the Corpus. Furthermore, the analysis of morpho-syntactic findings has also shown that the linguistically mixed (morpho-syntactic) resources, actively selected from the authors' own 'distinctly Jewish linguistic repertoire', are markers of the (Anglo-) Jewish identity of both the authors of Jewish stories and their use is of a strategic type, since these linguistic elements have a role in constructing, expressing and transmiting (Anglo-)Jewish cultural identity. As the analysis has shown, not all writers use these language resources uniformly. Rather, the ones who do can be said to negotiate these culturally significant linguistic resources in diverse ways, as the five typologies of linguistic phenomena that have been idenitified throughout the Corpus have shown. Along with those resources (e.g. loanwords) taken directly from their heritage languages (i.e. Yiddish and (Old / Textual) Hebrew), morpho-syntactic features, representing 'hybrid' linguistic resources available to Jewish authors, are also a source of Jewish self-expression and identity in the English-speaking context. The annihilation of Jewish linguistic components (including those reflecting hybridity between English and the Jewish languages) would lead to the annihilation of Jewish culture itself. This explains the reason for using strategically such language resources in this type of goal-oriented type of texts. Figure 32 summarises the morphological phenomena, while Figure 33 summarises the syntactic phenomena found in the Corpus.
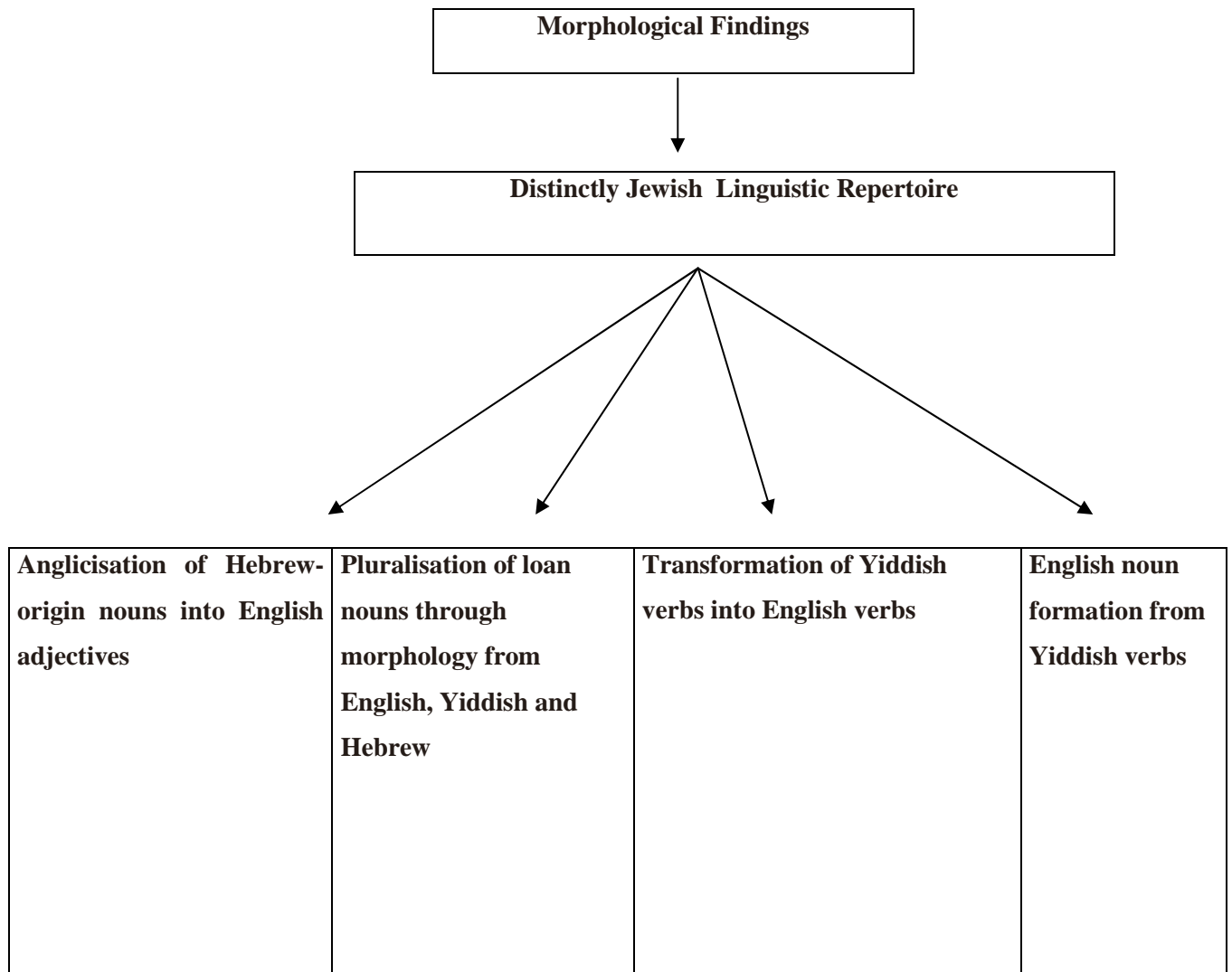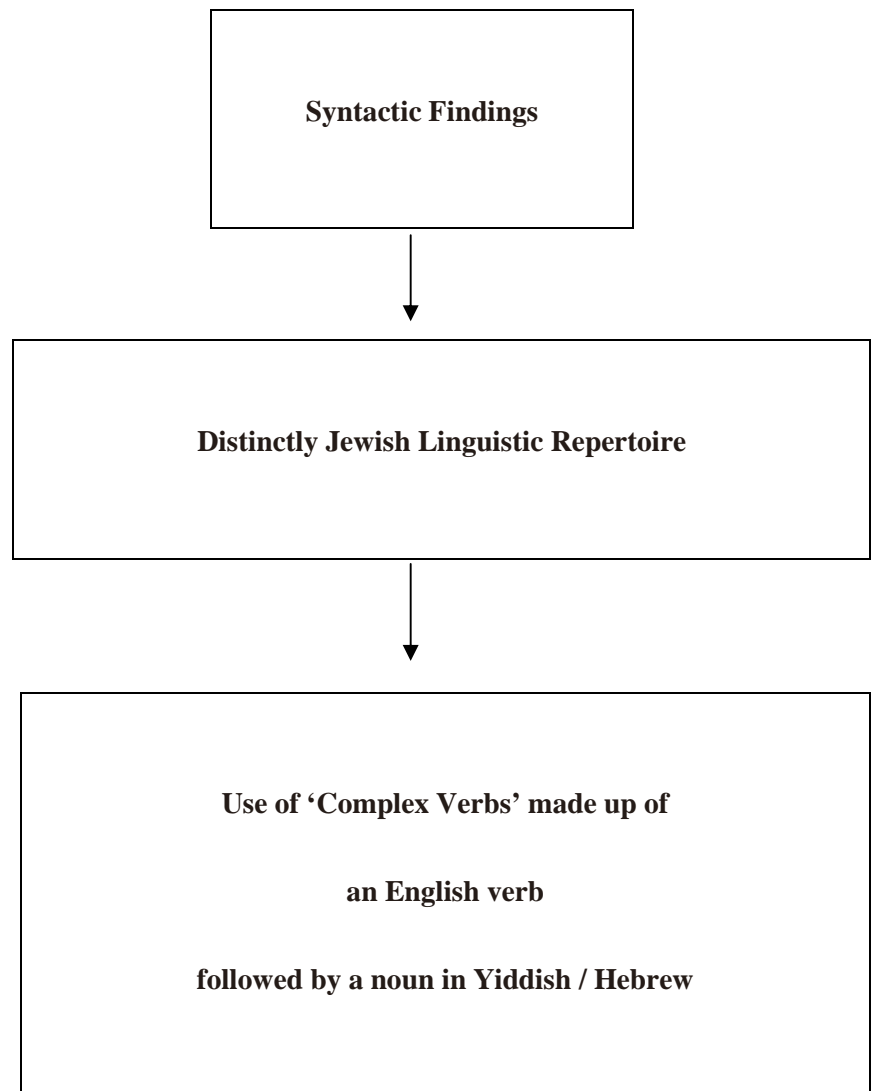
Figure 32. Morphological findings in OJCSSs.

Morphological Findings

↓

Distinctly Jewish Linguistic Repertoire

Anglicisation of Hebrew-origin nouns into English adjectives	Pluralisation of loan nouns through morphology from English, Yiddish and Hebrew	Transformation of Yiddish verbs into English verbs	English noun formation from Yiddish verbs

Figure 33. Syntactic findings in OJCSSs.

Syntactic Findings

↓

Distinctly Jewish Linguistic Repertoire

↓

Use of 'Complex Verbs' made up of an English verb followed by a noun in Yiddish / Hebrew

CONCLUSIONS

This research study has been based on the verbal and non-verbal investigation of Jewish children's short stories available on the World Wide Web targeted at a young Jewish readership of Eastern *Ashkenazi* heritage. With regard to the linguistic analysis, the research study has shown how Jewish children's stories, featuring innumerable instances in which language contact takes place, pursue specific Jewish-related goals. These goals are achieved through a type of English that incorporates linguistic resources deriving from the heritage languages of Eastern *Ashkenazi* Jews, namely Yiddish and (Textual / Old) Hebrew. More specifically, the research study has been focused on the linguistic analysis of fifty-five Jewish children's short stories available on the Web and has been based on the 'Distinctive Linguistic Repertoire' approach (Benor 2008, 2010). The linguistic analsyis has aimed at offering a new way of looking at Jewish languages and, especially, at language contact phenomena within written-based communicative texts. Within ethno- and written-based texts, the concept of 'Distinctive Linguistic Repertoire' (Benor 2008, 2010) has proved a valid alternative to over-representing notions such as 'ethnolect' and 'language variety'. This repertoire approach also constitutes the basis upon which the 'Written- and Ethno-based Distinctive Linguistic Repertoire' (WEDLR) approach, which has been theorised in the present research study, has been built. Thus, thanks to the above-mentioned approaches, this research study has focused on the role that ancestral language resources have in the achievement of purposes strictly connected with the heritage culture of Jews of Yiddish heritage by means of written- or digital-based communication. The linguistic analysis has shown that the above-mentioned resources are taken from two different levels of language, namely 'Lexis' and 'Morpho-Syntax'. With Jewish children's stories in mind, through the strategic selection and use of both lexical and morpho-syntactic resources, the Jewish authors can distinguish their writing from that of non-Jews. The selection of linguistic resources from their heritage languages gives birth to several phenomena developing out of language contact between English and Yiddish or English and Hebrew, and affecting the above-mentioned levels of language. With regard to the lexical findings, the analysis has shed light on the fact that all the authors of OJCSSs

make a variable use of loanwords stemming from either Yiddish or Hebrew, including a limited number of Aramaic-origin words integrated into both Yiddish and Hebrew. The lexical investigation has put emphasis on how loanwords play a strategic role within the stories making up the Corpus. In particular, this type of analysis has shown that the majority of loanwords from the heritage languages are culturally marked, reflecting meaningful Jewish (and in particular, Yiddish-related) cultural concepts and social relationships. It follows that these resources are the expression of Eastern *Ashkenazi* Jewish identity. Borrowed terms fulfil, among other things, an important function in establishing cultural distinction and strengthening the readers' own sense of *Yiddishkeit*, or identification with *Ashkenazi* culture. For the purpose of this study, the loanwords found in the Corpus have been grouped into two main categories: the first category has included terms linked to the Jewish religious sphere, under the heading 'Jewish Religious Words', while the second category has included terms that are not strongly related to the religious sphere, but rather to Eastern *Ashkenazi* culture, under the heading 'Jewish Cultural Loanwords'. Another part of the lexical analysis has focused on the use of the so-called 'Affective Words'. Interestingly, this type of analysis has shown that almost all 'Affective Words' found in the Corpus stem from Yiddish, called by many Jews of Eastern *Ashkenazi* heritage '*mame-loshn* (lit. 'mother-tongue'). Special emphasis has been here put on the distinctive affective weight these loanwords carry with them. Furthermore, the lexical investigation has tried to shed light on how, through the use of these lexical resources, language and cultural identity are strongly intertwined. In fact, affective words are generally imbued with a powerful affective or emotional load strongly associated with ethnicity. In addition, this load is also culturally shaped. However, affective words fulfil another strategic role within Jewish children's narrative, i.e. they aim at endearing children, arising the sense of affection towards their heritage culture. Specifically, the analysis of affective words within the Corpus has provided significant findings in the use of diminutives of nouns and forenames which carry meaningful cultural concepts that convey higher levels of affection, a stronger sense of familiarity and intimacy with what is being read. With regard to the morphological level of language, the analysis of the Corpus has provided findings concerning the following phenomena:

- anglicisation of Hebrew-origin nouns into adjectives ending with English suffixes;

- pluralisation of loan nouns with morphology from English, Yiddish or Hebrew;

- transformation of Yiddish verbs into English verbs;

- English noun-formation from Yiddish-origin verbs.

Some of the above-mentioned phenomena, more specifically those belonging to the morpho-syntactic level of language, have shown higher degrees of contact between English and Yiddish or, alternatively, between English and Hebrew, especially if compared to language contact *via* loanwords, which are simply integrated into the recipient language. This is the case of Hebrew-origin nouns which have been anglicised and transformed into adjectives ending with English suffixes; the case of loan nouns pluralised by using English morphology; Yiddish-origin verbs transformed into English verbs and Yiddish verbs transformed into English nouns. The investigation of the Corpus has also provided findings at the syntactic level of language, i.e. the use of 'Complex Verbs', namely verbs made up of an English verb followed by a Hebrew-origin noun. The analysis of this type of phenomenon has put attention on how linguistic resources linked to both Morphology and Syntax do participate in written-based language contact, contributing to the achievement of the goals that the authors of Jewish children's stories have set to. The research study has aimed, by no means, at labelling the 'hybrid' language found in OJCSSs as a variety of English or a Jewish ethnolect. Rather, it has been based on the concept that the authors of Jewish children's stories on the Web make a variable use of linguistic resources deriving from their distinctly Jewish linguistic repertoire in order to achieve (Jewish-related) purposes. Through the analysis of these linguistic phenomena, the investigation has shed light on how the selected linguistic resources help construct, express and transmit (Eastern *Ashkenazi*) Jewish identity. The analysis of OJCSSs has provided answers to the three main research questions, constituting the pillars upon which the entire research study has been built. Thus, it can be claimed that:

1) within OJCSSs, innumerable instances of language contact occurring between the mainstream language (English) and the

heritage languages (Yiddish / Hebrew) of Jews of Eastern *Ashkenazi* heritage occur. In this case, the authors of OJCSSs actively select and use different types of linguistic resources;

2) these linguistic resources do involve two different levels of language, namely 'Lexis' and 'Morpho-Syntax';

3) the active selection and use of these linguistic resources, ranging from lexical to morpho-syntactic elements, is strategic, since it is through them that both Judaism and *Yiddishkeit* are constructed, expressed and transmitted to future generations. It follows that OJCSSs are a goal-oriented type of written-based communication achieving specific purposes linked to both Judaism and, in particular, *Yiddishkeit*.

With regard to the analsyis of non-verbal features contained in the Corpus, the research study has investigated the role of Jewish visual images displayed in OJCSSs. This type of analysis has shown how the combination of visuals and verbals is essential for a complete representation of Judaism and Jewish identity and how images blend with the narrative to serve as 'one voice telling the story' (see Cummins 2001). Furthermore, the use of images in children's stories also involves several physical and intellectual abilities that the child usually develops through 'reading'. With reference to the Jewish images in the Corpus, the analysis has shed light on how the majority of these non-verbal resources, as their linguistic counterparts, encapsulate a great deal of Jewish culture-related information, playing a key-role in expressing Jewish culture and constructing Jewish identity, promoting and preserving a particular vision of heritage as reality (see Waterton 2010). The investigation of Jewish images has revealed three main features concerning the representation of contemporary Judaism in the stories:

- Jewish-Orthodox clothing;
- Jewish characters' physical features;
- Jewish ritual objects.

More specifically, the analysis of non-verbal features has shown how they help Jewish children identify themselves as Jews and – with special regard to traditional clothing and ritual objects – as Jews belonging to the conservative branches of

Judaism, where the sense of *Yiddishkeit* is generally still today felt much more than in other branches of Judaism. Besides, both traditional clothing and ritual objects, serve the important function of allowing children to become acquainted with Jewish religious practices and enhancing Jewish spirituality by teaching them how to live according to Jewish Laws. Another finding has concerned the way some Jewish characters have been depicted in the stories. In fact, many characters are no longer portrayed stereotypically, i.e. as dark-haired and brown-eyed Jews. Rather, many characters are depicted as typically 'nordic' people, i.e. as blond-haired and blue-eyed Jews. This can be understood as a sort of reaction, by some illustrators, against some of the many stereotypes concerning the physical aspect of Jews or the willingness to show ethnic heterogeneity among Jews. In fact, the characters shown in the stories are of Eastern *Ashkenazi* heritage and, thus, coming from Central and East European countries, where blond-haired and blue-eyed people are not rarities.

FUTURE RESEARCH

As for future research, generally speaking, it must be admitted that the Internet nowadays offers a rather high number of websites from which linguistic analyses of digitally-based texts featuring language contact situations can be carried out. The example of Jewish websites has turned out to be particularly fruitful, since they offer innumerable instances of language contact between English and Jews' heritage languages (Yiddish and Hebrew). The case of Jewish stories tailored for young readers reveals interesting aspects concerning the ways through which Jewish ethno-cultural identity is nowadays transmitted to future Jewish generations. In this specific context, both verbal and non-verbal language play a leading role, since it is through them that young readers become acquainted with knowledge, values, traditions, practices, attitudes and norms related to Judaism and their heritage culture, that they are likely to assimilate.The acquisition of these concepts will help stimulate or strengthen the development of the child's Jewishness or *Yiddishkeit*. It is likely that the number of websites run by members of ethnic groups will keep on increasing within the next few years. The reason lies in the fact that the World Wide Web offers

a great amount of information and a wide range of opportunities for communication. In addition, the case of Jewish websites has shown that, even among the most conservative branches of Judaism, traditionally reluctant to the use of the new technological devices, the Internet is now considered a necessary and powerful 'tool' whereby it is possible to achieve many goals, like the dissemination of a great quantity of information concerning Jewish-related subjects aimed at the enhancement of Jewish education.. For these purposes, although it still needs to be further developed, as a theoretical approach, the WEDLR has proved to be particularly helpful when focusing on how given ethno-based goals can be achieved linguistically through the use of the written medium and digital-based communication, as the case of OJCSSs has shown.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aiken, H.D. (1956). *The Age of Ideology: The 19th Century Philosophers*. USA: Penguin.

Allen, P. (1975). The sacred hoop: A Contemporary Indian Perspective on American Indian Literature. In Chapman, A. (ed.), *Literature of the American Indians: Views and Interpretations*. New York: Meridian, 173-186.

Allen, W. (2011). *Further Perspectives on Jewish Law and Contemporary Issues*. USA: Trafford.

Alsup, J. (ed.) (2010). *Young Adult Literature and Adolescent Identity Across Cultures and Classrooms. Contexts for the Literary Lives of Teens*. New York: Routledge.

Altenberg, E. P. / Vago, R. M. (2010). *English Grammar. Understanding the Basics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Archakis, A. / Tsakona, V. (2012). *A Narrative Construction of Identities in Critical Education*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Arnett, J. J. (1995). Adolescents' Uses of the Media for Self-Socialization. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence. Special Issue: Adolescents' Uses of the Media*, 24(5): 519-33.

Bainbridge, J. / Pantaleo, S. (1999). *Learning with Literature in the Canadian Elementary Classroom*. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press.

Baldunciks, J. (1991). West European Loanwords in Modern Latvian. In Ivir, V. / Kalogjera, D. (eds) (1991). *Languages in Contact and Contrast. Essays in Contact Linguistics. Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs 54*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 15-24.

Baker, C. / Jones, S.P. (1998). *Encyclopaedia of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education*. British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data.

Bank, R. (2002). *The Everything Judaism Book: A Complete Primer To The Jewish Faith – From Holidays And Rituals To Traditions and Culture*. Avon (USA): Adams Media.

Barker, C. / Galasinski, D. (2001). *Cultural Studies and Discourse Analysis. A Dialogue on Language and Identity*. London: SAGE.

Baskin, J. R. (ed.) (2011). *The Cambridge Dictionary of Judaism and Jewish Culture*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Basturkmen, H. (2006). *Ideas and Options in English for Specific Purposes*, Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Bekerman, Z. / Silberman, D. K. (2004). Non-Formal Pedagogy: Epistemology, Rhetoric and Practice. *Education and Society* 22(1): 45-63.

Bekerman, Z. / Burbules, N. C. / Silberman, D. K. (2007). Learning in Places. *The Informal Education Reader*. New York: Peter Lang.

Belcher, D. (2006). English for Specific Purposes: Teaching to Perceived Needs and Imagined Futures in Worlds of Work, Study and Everyday Life. *TESOL Quarterly*, 40(1): 133-56.

Beller, M. / Leerssen, J. (eds) (2007). *Imagology: The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters. A Critical Survey*. Amsterdam: Rodopi B.V.

Benor, B. S. (2012). *Becoming Frum. How Newcomers Learn the Language and Culture of Orthodox Judaism*. USA: Rutgers University Press.

Benor, B. S. (2010a). Ethnolinguistic Repertoire: Shifting the Analytic Focus in Language and Ethnicity. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 14/2: 159-183.

Benor, B. S. (2008). Reconceptualizing 'Ethnolect' as 'Ethnolinguistic Repertoire'. Paper presented at *New Ways of Analyzing Variation* 37, 11 August 2008, Houston: Texas.

Benwell, B. / Stokoe, E. (2006). *Discourse and Identity*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Bergeron, J. (2006). The Magic of Literature: Tradebooks in the Classroom. In Schumm, J. S. (ed.) (2006). *Reading Assessment and Instructions for all Learners*. New York: The Guilford Press, 333-80.

Bernal, M. E. / Knight, G. P. (eds) (1993). *Ethnic Identity. Formation and Transmission Among Hispanics and Other Minorities*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Bilaniuk, L. (2010). The Contested Logics of Jewish Identity. In Glenn, S. A. / Sokoloff, N. B. / Glenn, S. A. (eds), *Boundaries of Jewish Identity*. Washington: University of Washington Press, 203-215.

Blommaert, J. (2003). Commentary: A Sociolinguistics of Globalization. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 7: 4.

Bloor, M. / Bloor, T. (1986). *Language for Specific Purposes: Theory and Practice.* Trinity College Dublin: Centre for Language and Communication Studies.

Blumenthal, D. R. (1989). *Understanding Jewish Mysticism: The Philosophic-Mystical Tradition and the Hasidic Tradition.* USA: Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data.

Borowitz, E. B. / Weinman, F.S. (eds) (1999). *The Jewish Moral Virtues.* Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society.

Boxer, D. (2011). *The Lost Art Of The Good Schmooze. Building Rapport and Defusing Conflict in Everyday and Public Talk.* Santa Barbara: Praeger.

Buckingham, D. / Willett, R. (2006). *Digital Generations. Children, Young People and New Media.* Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Buckingham, D. (2003). *Media Education: Literacy, Learning and Contemporary Culture.* Cambridge: Polity.

Buckingham, D. (1993). *Reading Audiences. Young People and the Media.* Manchester: Manchster University Press.

Bui, T. Q. N. (2013). Subjectivity and Ethnicity in Vietnamese Folktales with Metamorphosed Heroes. In Stephens, J. (ed.), *Subjectivity in Asian Children's Literature and Film. Global Theories and Implications.* New York: Routledge, 151-62.

Bukszpan, D. (2012). *Is That A Word? From AA to ZZZ, the Weird and Wonderful Language of Scrabble.* San Francisco: Chronicle Books LLC.

Burrow, T. (1999). *The Text in the Machine. Electronic Texts in the Humanities.* Binghamton: The Haworth Press.

Buxbaum, Y. (2005). *The Light and Fire of the Baal Shem Tov.* New York: The Continuum International Publishing Group.

Camarca, S. (2005). Code-switching and Textual Strategies in Nino Ricci's Trilogy. *Semiotica.* Vol. 2005, Issue 154, 1/4: 225-241.

Campbell, H. A. (2012). *When Religion Meets New Media.* New York: Routledge.

Carlock, E. / Wölck, W. (1981). A Method for Isolating Diagnostic Linguistic Variables: The Buffalo ethnolects experiment. In Sankoff, D. / Cedergren, H. (eds), *Variation Omnibus.* Edmonton, Alberta: Linguistic Research Inc., 17-24.

Central Conference of American Rabbis (1996). *Gates of Shabbat. A Guide For Observing Shabbat.* New York: CCAR Press.

Chastain, K. (1998). *Developing Second-language Skills: Theory and Practice* (3rd Edition). USA: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers.

Ching M. K. L. / Haley C. / Lunsford R. F. (eds) (1980). *Linguistic Perspectives on Literature*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Civitello, L. (2011). *Cuisine and Culture: A History of Food and People*. Hoboken (USA): John Wiley & Sons.

Clyne, M. (2003). *Dynamics of Language Contact*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Clyne, M. (2000). Lingua Franca and Ethnolects. *Sociolinguistica*, 14: 83-89.

Cohen, A. (1988). The Changing Face of Israeli Children's Literature: Forty Years of Creativity. *Modern Hebrew Literature. New Series* 1: 25-31.

Cohen, J. (2008). *Jewish Holiday Cooking. A Food Lover's Treasury of Classics and Improvisations*. Hoboken (USA): John Wiley & Sons.

Cohen, Y. (2012). *God, Jews and the Media. Religion and Israel's Media.* New York: Routledge.

Cohn, D. S. (2003). *Judaism. History, Belief and Practice.* New York: Routledge.

Collins, E. F. (2009). *Literary Talks on Writing Short Stories*. USA: Thomas Nelson.

Connor, S. / Al'Otaiba, S. (2009). Literacy. In Benson, J. B. / Haith, M. M. (eds), *Language, Memory and Cognition in Infancy and Early Childhood*. San Diego: Elsevier, 301-315.

Cortese, G. (2011). Alcohol as a Way of "Doing" Adolescence: Perspectives, Stance and Strategy in the Discourse of Italian Institutions. In Duszak, A. / Okulska, U. (eds), *Language, Culture And The Dynamics of Age*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 273-300.

Cota, F. F. / Blayer, I. M. F. (eds.), *Oral and Written Narratives and Cultural Identity. Interdisciplinary Approaches*. New York: Peter Lang.

Cotton, P. (2000). *Picture Books Sans Frontiers*. Stoke on Trent: Trentham Books.

Cox, A. (2005). *Writing Short Stories. A Routledge Writer's Guide*. New York: Routledge.

Cummins, J. (2005). Illustration. In Cullinan, B.E. / Goetz, D. P. (eds), *The Continuum Encyclopaedia of Children's Literature*. New York: The Continuum International Publishing Group.

Dahrendorf, M. (1967). Dichtung und Jugendliteratur. Didaktischer Versuch einer Wesensbestimmung. *Zeitschrift für Jugendliteratur* 7/1967: 385-400.

Dasenbrock, R. W. (1987). *Intelligibility and Meaningfulness in Multicultural Literature in English*. USA: Publications of the Modern Language Association of America (PMLA).

Davidson, L. K. / Gitlitz, D. M. (2002). *Pilgrimage. From the Ganges to Graceland: An Encyclopedia*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO.

Deckert, S. K. / Vickers, C. H. (2011). *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics. Society and Identity*. London / New York: Continuum International Publishing Group.

Delahunty, A. (2008). *From Bonbon To Cha-Cha. Oxford Dictionary of Foreign Words and Phrases*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Delgado, M. (2007). *Social Work with Latinos. A Cultural Assets Paradigm.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Dosick, W. / Kaufman, E. D. (2007). *Twenty Minute Kabbalah: The Daily Personal Spiritual Practice That Brings You To God, Your Soul-Knowing and Your Heart's Desire*. Cardiff-by-the-Sea (USA): Waterside.

Dreyfus, K. / Kornhauser, B. (2007). A Case of Discontiguity: Musical and Cultural Irony in the Situation of the Lubavitch Community of Shepparton, Victoria. In Richards, F. (ed.), *The Soundscapes of Australia: Music, Place and Spirituality*. Hampshire: Ashgate, 117-46.

Duszak, A. (2002). *Us and Others: Social Identities Across Languages, Discourses and Cultures*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins B.V.

Ehrlich, M. A. (2009). *Encyclopedia of the Jewish Diaspora: Origins, Experiences and Culture*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO.

Eisenberg, R. L. (2004). *Jewish Traditions*. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society.

Eller, J. D. (1999). *From Culture to Ethnicity to Conflict. An Anthropological Perspective on International Ethnic Conflict*. USA: University of Michigan Press.

Emig, R. (2009). Missing in Act(i)on: Asian-British Pop Music between Resistance and Commercialization. In Meyer, M. (ed.), *Word and Image in Colonial and Postcolonial Literatures and Cultures*. Amsterdam: Rodopi B.V., 261-278.

Emmes, Y. (1998). *Drek! The Real Yiddish Your Bubbeh Never Thought You*. New York: Plume.

Ewers, H. H. (2009). *Fundamental Concepts of Children's Literature Research. Literary and Sociological Aspects*. New York: Routledge.

Facer, K. (2011). *Learning Futures. Education, Technology and Social Change*. New York: Routledge.

Facer, K. / Furlong, J. / Furlong, R. / Sutherland, R. (2003). *Screenplay. Children and Computing in the Home*. London: Routledge Falmer.

Fairclough, N. (2013). *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language* (2nd edition). New York: Routledge.

Fairclough, N. (2006). Semiosis, Ideology and Mediation: A Dialectical View. In Lassen, I. / Strunck, J. / Vestergaard, T. (eds), *Mediating Ideology in Text and Image: Ten Critical Studies*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical Discourse Analysis*. Boston: Addison Wesley.

Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and Power*. London: Longman.

Fedorov, A. (2008). *On Media Education*. Moscow: ICOS UNESCO IFAP.

Firchow, P.E. (2000). *Envisioning Africa: Racism and Imperialism in Conrad's Heart of Darkness*. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky.

Firestone, R. (2001). *Children of Abraham. An Introduction to Judaism for Muslims*. Hoboken: Ktav Publishing House.

Fisher, P. (2009). Linguistic Dimensions of Jewish-American Literature. In Helff, S. / Schulze, F. E. (eds), *Transcultural English Studies. Theories, Fictions, Realities*. New York: Rodopi B.V., 169-86.

Fishman, J. A. / Garcìa, O. (2011). *Handbook of Language and Ethnic Identity. The Success-Failure Continuum in Language and Ethnic Identity Efforts* (Vol. II). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fishman, J. A. (1991). *Yiddish: Turning to Life*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins B.V.

Fishman, J. A. (1985). *The Rise and Fall of the Ethnic Revival*. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Fishman, J. A. (1977). Language and Ethnicity. In Giles, H. (ed.), *Language, Ethnicity and Intergroup Relations*, 15-57. London: Academic Press, 15-57.

Flood, J. / Lapp, D. (1995). Broadening the Lens: Toward an Expanded Conceptualization of Literacy. In Hinchman, K . / Leu, D. J. / Kinzer, C. (eds), *Perspectives on Literacy Research and Practice*. Chicago: National Reading Conference, 1-16.

Fogle, L. W. (2012). *Second Language Socialization and Learner Agency. Adoptive Family Talk*. UK: British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data.

Fowler, R. (1971). *The Languages of Literature. Some Linguistic Contributions to Criticism*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Frye, N. (1964). *The Educated Imagination*. Indiana: Indiana University Press.

Gekoski, R. (2009). *Outside of a Dog: A Bibliomemoir*. London: Constable & Robinson.

Gérin, D. L. (2011). *Youth, Language and Identity. Portraits from Students from English-Language High Schools in the Montreal Area*. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press.

Gersh, H. (1989). *Kabbalah: Jewish Mysticism*. West Orange: Behrman House.

Giles, H. / Bourhis, R. Y. / Taylor, D. M. (1977). Towards a theory of language in ethnic group relations. In Giles, H. (ed.), *Language, Ethnicity and Intergroup Relations*. London: Academic Press, 307-348.

Gilster, P. (1997). *Digital Literacy*. Hoboken (USA): John Wiley & Sons.

Giorgis, C. (2009). Exploring Visual Images in Picture Books. In Cullinan, B. E. / Wooten, D. A. (eds), *Children's Literature In The Reading Program: An Invitation To Read*. Newark: International Reading Association, 3-14.

Gluth, E. (2002). *Code-switching: Grammatical, Pragmatic and Psycholinguistic Aspects. An Overview Paper*. Norderstedt: GRIN Verlag.

Gnutzmann, C. (2009). Language for Specific Purposes vs. general language. In Knapp K. / Seidlhofer, B. (eds), *Handbook of Foreign Language Communication and Learning*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 517-544.

Goebl, H. (ed.) (1996). *Kontaktlinguistik: Ein Internationales Handbuch Zeitgenössischer Forschung*. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Goldberg, H. E. (2001). *The Life of Judaism*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Goldberg, J. (2002). Social Identity in British and South African Jewry. In Gitelman, Z. / Kosmin, B. / Kovacs, A. (eds), *New Jewish Identities: Contemporary Europe and Beyond*. Budapest: Central European University Press, 5-22.

Gonzàlez, N. (2005). *I Am My Language: Discourses of Women and Children in the Borderlands*. USA: The University of Arizona Press.

Goodman, R. L. / Flexner, P. A. / Bloomberg, L. D. (eds) (2008). *What We Now Know About Jewish Education. Perspectives on Research for Practice*. Los Angeles: Torah Aura Productions.

Graddol, D. / Leith, D. / Swann, J. (eds) (1996). *English: History, Diversity and Change*. London: Routledge.

Green, C. R. / Brenneman, S.O. (2011). *Religious Diversity and Children's Literature. Strategies and Resources*. USA: Information Age.

Greenberg, I. (1998). *The Jewish Way: Living the Holidays*. New York: Touchstone.

Gruenwald, I. (1993). Midrash and the "Midrashic Condition": Preliminary Considerations. In Fishbane, M. (ed.), *The Midrashic Imagination: Jewish Exegesis, Thought and History*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 6-22.

Guzzetti, B. J. (ed.) (2007). *Literacy for the New Millennium*. Westport (USA): Praeger.

Hagège, C. (1993). *The Language Builder. An Essay on the Human Signature in Linguistic Morphogenesis*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Halliday, M.A.K. (1985). *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. Sevenoaks: Edward Arnold.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1978). *Language as Social Semiotic: The Social Interpretation of Language and Meaning*. Maryland. University Park Press.

Halmari, H. (1997). *Government and Codeswitching. Explaining American Finnish*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins B.V.

Hamers, J. F. / Blanc, M. H. A. (2000). *Bilinguality and Bilingualism* (2nd Edition). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Handelman, M. S. / Schein, D. L. (2004). *What's Jewish about butterflies?*. Denver (USA): A.R.E.

Harris, P. / Turbill, J. / Fitzsimmons, P. / McKenzie, B. (2006). *Reading in the Primary School Years*. Melbourne: Thomson Social Science Press.

Hathaway, H. (2007). Ethnic Literature. In Sisson, R. / Zacher, C. / Cayton, A. (eds), *The American Midwest. An Interpretative Encyclopedia*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Hayes, M. / Whitebread, D. (2006). *ICT in the Early Years*. England: Open University Press, 441-43.

Hedgcock, J. S. / Ferris, D. (2009). *Teaching Readers of English. Students, Texts and Contexts*. New York: Routledge.

Heilman, S. C. (1998). *Synagogue Life: A Study in Symbolic Interaction*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.

Hendrickson, R. (2000). *The Facts on File Dictionary of American Regionalisms. Local Expressions from Coast to Coast.* New York: Facts on File, Inc.

Herman, S. N. (1989). *Jewish Identity. A Social Psychological Perspective*. New Brunswick (NJ): Transaction Publishers.

Hillel, M. / Plastow, J. (2010). *The Sands of Time. Children's Literature: Culture, Politics & Identity*. UK: University of Hertfordshire Press.

Höchsmann, M. / Poyntz, S. (2012). *Media Literacies: A Critical Introduction*. Chichester: Blackwell.

Hodge, R. / Kress, G. (1988). *Social Semiotics*. Cambridge: Polity Blackwell.

Hoffman, J. V. / Schallert, D. L. (2008). *The Texts in Elementary Classrooms*. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Hoffman, B. (2005). Informal Learning. In Estep, T. (ed.), *Information Line. Tips, Tools and Intelligence for Trainers*. Issue 0503 (March).

Hollindale, P. (1988). *Ideology and the Children's Book*. Woodchester (UK): Thimble Press.

Holmes, J. (1992). *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics* (3rd Edition). Harlow (UK): Pearson Education.

Howatt, A. P. R. / Widdowson, H. G. (2004). *A History of English Language Teaching* (2nd edition). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hsi, S. / Crowley, K. / Duschl, R. / Leta Finke, C. / King, H. / Sabelli, N. (2004). Models of Learning and Theories of Practice for Informal Learning Environments. In Kafai, Y.B./ Sandoval, W. A. / Enyedy, N. / Scott, A. N. / Herrera, F. (eds), *Embracing Diversity in the Learning Sciences. Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference of the Learning Sciences*. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum, 12-15.

Hudson, R. A. (2001). *Sociolinguistics* (2nd edition). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hunt, P. (1999). *Understanding Children's Literature*. London: Routledge.

Hutchinson, T. / Waters, A. (1987). *English for Specific Purposes: A Learning-Centred Approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hymes, D. (1974). *Reinventing Anthropology*. New York: Random House.

Inyakin, Y. / Gorsky, V. (2000). From Information Culture to the Culture of Personality. *Supplementary Education*. No. 10: 6-10.

Isaacs, R. H. (2008). *Bubbe Meises: Jewish Myths, Jewish Realities*. Jersey City: Ktav Publishing House.

Jackson, R. (ed.) (2010). *Encyclopaedia of Identity*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE.

Jackson, D. K. (ed.) (2006). *Oxford Anthology of the Brazilian Short Story*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Jacoby, T. (ed.) (2004). *Reinventing the Melting Pot. The New Immigrants and what it means to be American*. New York: Basic Books.

Jahr, E. H. (ed.) (1992). *Language Contact: Theoretical and Empirical Studies. Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs 60.* Berlin: de Gruyter.

Jeffs, T. / Smith, M. K. (1999). Informal Education and Health Promotion. In Perkins, E.R. / Simnett, I. / Wright, L. (eds), *Evidence-based Health Promotion*: *Principles and Practice*. London: John Wiley, 34-51.

Jenkins, H. (2008). Media Literacy. Who Needs It? In Willoughby T. / Wood E. (eds.), *Children's Learning in a Digital World*. Victoria: Blackwell, 15-39.

Jenkins, R. (1997). *Rethinking Ethnicity. Arguments and Explorations*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE.

Jenks, C. (2005). *Childhood* (2nd edition). New York: Routledge.

Jestice, P. G. (ed.) (2004). *Holy People of The World: A Cross-Cultural Encyclopaedia*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO.

Jones-Smith, E. (2012). *Theories of Counselling and Psychotherapy. An integrative approach*. Thousand Oaks (CA): SAGE.

Joseph, J. E. (2010). Identity. In Llamas, C. / Watt, D. (eds), *Language and Identities*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 9-17.

Katan, D. M. (2001). Mediating the Point of Refraction and Playing with the Perlocutionary Effect: A Translator's Choice?. In Hebrechter, S. (ed.), *Cultural Studies, Interdisciplinarity and Translation*. Amsterdam: Rodopi B.V., 177-196.

Katz, M. / Schwartz, G. (2002). *Searching for Meaning in Midrash*. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society.

Kellner, D. (1995). *Media Culture: Cultural Studies, Identities and Politics between the Modern and Postmodern*. London: Routledge.

Kelman, A. Y. (2011). The Reality of the Virtual. Looking for Jewish Leadership Online (Chapter 6). In Wertheimer, J. (ed.), *The New Jewish Leader. Reshaping the American Jewish Landscape.* USA: Brandeis University Press.

Kendall, K. (2005). Language Policy and Local Planning in South America: New Directions for Enrichment Bilingual Education in the Andes. In de Mejìa, A. (ed.), *Bilingual Education in South America*. GB: Cromwell Press, 1-14.

Kleiman, Y. (2004). *DNA & Tradition: The Genetic Link To The Ancient Hebrews*. Israel: Devora Publishing Company.

Klamer, M. (1998). *A Grammar of Kambera*. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Klenicki, L. / Wigoder, G. (1995). *A Dictionary of the Jewish-Christian Dialogue*. Mahwah: Paulist.

Knowles, M. / Malmkjaer, K. (1996). *Language and Control in Children's Literature*. London: Routledge.

Kress, G. (2010). *Multimodality: A Social Semiotic Approach to Contemporary Communication*. New York: Routledge.

Kress, G. (2009). Multimodal Discourse Analysis. In Gee, J. P. / Handford, M. (eds), *The Routledge Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. New York: Routledge, 35-50.

Kress, G. / van Leeuwen, T. (2001). *Multimodal Discourse: The Modes and Media of Contemporary Communication*. Arnold: London.

Kress, G. (2000). A Curriculum for the Future. In *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 30(1): 133-145.

Kress, G. / van Leeuwen, T. (1996). *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*. London: Routledge.

Kroll, J. F. / De Groot, A. M. B. (eds) (2005). *Handbook of Bilingualism: Psycholinguistic Approaches*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kümmerling, B. M. (2011). Emergent Literacy and Children's Literature. In Kümmerling, B.M. (ed.), *Emergent Literacy: Children's Books from 0 to 3*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins B.V., 1-14.

Labov, W. (1963). The Social Motivation of a Sound Change. *Word* 19: 273-309.

Lehtimaki, H. / Suoranta, J. (2004). *Children in the Information Society. The case of Finland*. New York: Peter Lang.

Laenen, J. H. (2001). *Jewish Mysticism: An Introduction*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press.

Lankshear, C. / Knobel, M. (2011). *New Literacies. Everyday Practices and Social Learning*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Leonard, R. A. (1999). Dialect, Standard and Slang. Sociolinguistics and Ethnic American Literature. In Leonard, G. J. (ed.), *The Asian Pacific American Heritage*. New York: Routledge-Taylor & Francis.

Lentini, A. (2008). *Play as Informal Learning: Curiosity and Meaning Making in the Rice Boat at a Museum*. School of Education and Allied Human Services. Hofstra University.

Lerner, M. / Shen, E. / Oldman, M. / Hamadeh, H. / Hamadeh, S. (2002). *Vault Guide To Schmoozing. Insider Advice On Making Contacts and Building Rapport To Boost Your Career*. New York: Vault.

Levine, G. S. / Phipps, A. (eds) (2010). *AAUSC Issues in Language Program Programme Direction 2010: Critical and Intercultural Theory and Language Pedagogy.* Boston: Heinle, Cengage Learning.

Linde A. L. / Crespo R. J. (eds) (2010). *Professional English in the European Context: The EHEA Challenge*. Bern: Peter Lang.

Lipski, J. (1982). Spanish-English Language Switching in Speech and Literature: Theories and Models. *Bilingual Review 9*: 191-212.

Livingstone, S. (2002). *Young People and New Media*. London: Sage Publications.

Liu, P. (2006). *Code-switching and Code-mixing*. Norderstedt: GRIN.

Long, T. G. (2009). *Accompany Them With Singing: The Christian Funeral*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox.

Lutz, C. / White, G. M. (1986). The Anthropology of Emotions. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 15 (1986): 405-436.

Marks, G. (2010). *Encyclopaedia of Jewish Food*. UK: Wiley.

Martin, H. E. (2011). *Writing between Cultures. A Study of Hybrid Narratives in Ethnic Literature of the United States*. McFarland & Co.

Matras, Y. *Language Contact*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Meshtrie, R. (2012). Race, Ethnicity, Religion and Castes. In Hernandez-Campoy, J. M. / Conde, J. C. S. (eds), *The Handbook of Historical Sociolinguistics*. Chichester (UK): Blackwell, 353-366.

Meyer, B. Z. (1991). Teshuva Requires Identical Circumstances. In Ehrlich, T. K. (ed.), *To Dwell In The Palace: Perspectives on Eretz Yisroel*. Jerusalem: Feldheim, 149-51.

Milroy, J. / Milroy, L. (2000). *Authority in Language. Investigating Standard English* (3rd edition). Great Britain: Routledge.

Montes, C. A. (2000). Written Codeswitching: Powerful Bilingual Images. In Jacobson, R. (ed.). *Codeswitching Worldwide II. Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs (TILSM)*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 193-221.

Morrill, A. (2009). *Religious New Year's Celebrations*. New York: Chelsea House.

Moss, J. L. (2004). *Midrash and Legend: Historical Anecdotes in the Tannaitic Midrashim*. Piscataway: Gorgias Press.

Myers, C. S. (1993). *Duelling Languages: Grammatical Structure in Codeswitching*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Myers, C. S. (1992). Comparing Codeswitching and Borrowing. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 13.1-2: 19-39.

Myers, C. S. (1990). Codeswitching and Borrowing: Interpersonal and Macro-Level Meaning. In Jacobson, R. (ed.), *Codeswitching as a worldwide phenomenon*. New York: Peter Lang, 85-110.

Myers, C. S. (1989). Codeswitching with English: Types of Switching, Types of Communities. *World Englishes*. 8: 333-346.

Myers, C. S. / Ury, W. (1977). Bilingual Strategies: The Social Functions of Code-Switching. *Journal of the Sociology of Language*. 13: 5-20.

Muysken, P. (2010). Ethnolects as a Multidimensional Phenomenon. In Norde, M. / de Jonge, B. / Hasselblatt, C. (eds), *Language Contact. New Perspectives*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins B.V., 7-26.

Nassar, J. (1993). Transformation in Exile: the Multilingual Exploits of Nabokov's Pnin and Kinbote. *Visible Language* 27: 252-272.

Nel, P. / Paul, L. (2011). *Keywords for Children's Literature*. New York: New York University.

Nelson, E. S. (ed.) (2005). *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Multiethnic American Literature* (Volume III: I-M). Westport: Greenwood Press.

Nelson, J. / Braafladt, K. (2012). *Technology and Literacy. 21st Library Programming for Children & Teens*. USA: American Library Association.

Nixon, H. (2003). New Research Literacies for Contemporary Research into Literacy and New Media? *Reading Research Quarterly*, 38(3): 407-413.

Nguyen, T. (2008). *The Sociolinguistic Dimension of Code Switching*. Norderstedt: GRIN.

Nodelman, P. (1996). *The Pleasures of Children's Literature*. New York: Longman.

Nodelman, P. (1988). *Words about Pictures. The Narrative Art of Children's Picture Books*. Athens (Georgia): University of Georgia Press.

Norton, D. E. (1983). *Through the Eyes of a Child: An Introduction to Children's Literature*. Columbus (USA): Charles E. Merrill.

Nunan, D. / Choi, J. (eds) (2010). *Language and Culture. Reflective Narratives and the Emergence of Identity*. New York: Routledge.

Ochs, E. / Schieffelin, B. (eds) (1986). *Language Socialization Across Cultures*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Olitzky, K. M. / Isaacs, R. H. (1996). *The Second How To Handbook For Jewish Living*. Hoboken: KTAV Publishing House.

Ommundsen, W. (2007). Multicultural Writing in Australia. In Birns, N. / McNeer, R. (eds), *A Companion to Australian Literature since 1900*. Rochester (NY): Camden House, 73-86.

Omole, J. O. (1998). Code-switching in Soyinka's "The Interpreters". In Epstein, E. L. / Kole, R. (eds), *The Language of African Literature*. Asmara: Africa World Press Inc., 57-72.

Onysko, A. (2007). *Anglicism in German: Borrowing, Lexical Productivity and Written Codeswitching*. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Op de Beeck, N. (2011). Image. In Nel, P. / Lissa, P. (eds), *Keywords for Children's Literature*. New York: New York University Press, 116-120.

Parsons, T. (1961). *Theories of Societ*y. New York: Free Press.

Partridge, E. (2002). *A Dictionary of Sland and Unconventional English*. Oxon: Routledge.

Pesce, M. N. (2009). *A Balanced Approach To Communicating, Conversing and Creating Connection Through Multicultural Literature in The Secondary English Language Arts Classroom.* Ann Arbor (USA): ProQuest LLC.

Pohl, J. (2011). *Looking Forward, Looking Back: Images of Eastern European Jewish Migration to America in Contemporary American Children's Literature*. Amsterdam: Rodopi B.V.

Pollack, D. (2001). *Contrasts in American and Jewish Law*. Hoboken (USA): Ktav Publishing House.

Poplack, S. / Meechan, M. (1995). Patterns of Language Mixture: Nominal Structure in Wolof-French and Fongb.e-French Bilingual Discourse. In Milroy, L. / Muysken, P. (eds), *One Speaker, Two Languages. Cross Disciplinary Perspectives on Code-Switching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 199-232.

Poplack, S. (1980). Sometimes I'll start a Sentence in Spanish y Termino en Español*:* Toward a Typology of Code-Switching. *Linguistics* 18, 7/8: 581-618.

Povey, J. (1972). Literature in TESL Programs: the Language and the Culture. In Allen, H. / Campbell, R. (eds), *Teaching English as a Second Language*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 185-191.

Prawer, S. S. (2005). *Between Two Worlds. The Jewish Presence in German and Austrian Film, 1910-1933*. USA: Berghahn.

Remen, Y. (2009). *Sea of Lights*. USA: Xlibris Corporation.

Reuben, S. C. / Hanin, J. S. (2011). *Becoming Jewish: The Challenges, Rewards and Paths to Conversion*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

Robertson, R. (1995). Glocalization: Time-Space and Homogeneity-Heterogeneity. In Featherstone, L. / Lash, S. / Robertson, R. (eds), *Global Modernities*. London: SAGE, 25-44.

Rodriques, M. V. (2000). *Perspective of Communication and Communicative Competence*. New Delhi: Ashok Kumar Mittal.

Rogovoy, S. (2000). *The Essential Klezmer: A Music Lover's Guide to Jewish Roots and Soul Music, from the One World to the Jazz Age to the Downtown Avant-Garde*. Chapel Hill: Alonquin Books.

Romaine, S. (1989). *Bilingualism*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Royce, T. D. (2013). Serving a High-Risk Warrant: the Role of Context in Police Crisis Negotiations. In De Rycker, A. / Don, Z. M. (eds), *Discourse and Crisis: Critical Perspectives*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 101-130.

Sager, J. C. / Dungworth, D. / McDonald, P. F. (1980). *English Special Languages. Principles and Practice in Science and Technology*. Wiesbaden: Brandstetter.

Rosten, L. (1968). *The Joys of Yiddish*. London: Penguin.

Sankoff, D. / Poplack, S. (1981). A Formal Grammar for Code-Switching. *Papers in Linguistics* 14, 1: 3-46.

Sarkonak, R. W. / Hodgson, R. (eds) (1993). Writing in Stereo: Bilingualism in the Text. *Visible Language* 27 (1-2): 40-67.

Sarland, C. (1996). Ideology. In Hunt, P. (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Children's Literature*. London: Routledge, 39-55.

Saxby, H. M. (1987). *Give Them Wings: The Experience of Children's Literature*. Melbourne: MacMillan.

Schachter, Z. S. / Segel, J. (2012). *Davening: A Guide To Meaningful Jewish Prayer*. Woodstock (VT): Jewish Lights.

Schatz, H. (1989). Code-Switching or Borrowing? English Elements in the Dutch of Dutch-American Immigrants. *ITL* 83-4: 125-62.

Schendl, H. / Wright, L. (eds) (2011). *Code-Switching in Early English*. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Schendl, H. (2000). Syntactic Constraints on Code-Switching in Medieval Texts. In Taavitsainen, I. / Nevalainen, T. / Pahta, P. / Rissanen, M. (eds), *Placing Middle English in Context*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 67-86.

Schindler, P. (1990). *Hasidic Responses to the Holocaust in the Light of Hasidic Thought*. USA: Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data.

Schröder, H. (1991). *Subject-oriented Texts: Languages for Special Purposes and Text Theory*. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Schwartz, C. K. (2008). The Magic and the Art of Story: Storytelling and the Creative Dramatics in the Classroom. In Rubinow, S. S. / Forrest, L. / Fishman, E. (eds), *V'Khol Banayikh: Jewish Education for All.* Los Angeles: Torah Aura, 271-78.

Scollon, R. / Levine, P. (eds) (2004). *Discourse and Technology: Multimodal Discourse Analysis*. Washington: Georgetown University Press.

Scourfield, J. / Dicks, B. / Drakeford, M. / Davies, A. (2006). *Children, Place and Identity. Nation and locality in Middle Childhood.* New York: Routledge.

Shandler, J. (2007). Mediating Community. American Jewry and the New Media of the Twentieth Century. In Wertheimer, J. (ed.) (2007). *Imagining the American Jewish Community*. Lebanon (USA): Brandeis University Press, 175-90.

Sherwin, R. K. (2014). Introduction: Law, Culture, and Visual Studies. In Sherwin, R. K. / Wagner, A. (eds), *Law, Culture and Visual Studies.* Dordrecht: Springer, xxxiii-xli.

Short, K. G. / Fox, D. L. (2007a). Debates about Cultural Authenticity in Literature for Young Children. In Goodman, Y. / Martens, P. (eds), *Critical Issues in Early Literacy. Research and Pedagogy*. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 3-24.

Sherlick, L. / Hong, J. (2008). *Internet Popular Culture and Jewish Values. The Influence of Technology on Religion in Israeli Schools*. New York: Cambria Press.

Short, K. G. (2007b). Children's Literature: Connecting and Transforming Children's Worlds. In Guzzetti, B. (ed.), *Literacy for the New Millennium*. Westport (USA): Praeger Publishers, 95-110.

Shostak, D. (2004). *Philip Roth: Countertexts, Counterlives*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.

Silver, L. R. (2010). *Best Jewish Books for Children and Teens*. Philadelphia (USA): The Jewish Publication Society.

Singer, D. G. / Singer, J. L. (2001). *Handbook of Children and the Media*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications Ltd.

Singer, S. (1991). *A Parent's Guide to Teach Children Mitzvot: A Halakhic Guide*. USA: Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data.

Skei, H. (1999). *Reading Faulkner's Best Short Stories*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.

Soldat, T. J. (2012). *Twenty-first Century Yiddishism.* Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press.

Sollors, W. (2002). *Ethnic Modernism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sollors, W. (1986). *Beyond Ethnicity: Consent and Descent in American Culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Soomekh, S. (2012). *From the Shahs to Los Angeles. Three Generations of Iranian Jewish Women Between Religion and Culture.* Albany: State University of New York Press.

Spitzer, J. (2003). *Caring for Jewish Patients*. Oxon (UK): Radcliffe Medical Press.

Steinmetz, S. (2005). *Dictionary of Jewish Usage. A Guide To The Use Of Jewish Terms*. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield.

Steinmetz, S. (1986). *Yiddish and English. A Century of Yiddish in America*. Alabama: The University of Alabama Press.

Stevens, P. R. / Levine, C. M. / Steinmetz, S. (2002). *Meshuggenary: Celebrating The World of Yiddish*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Storm, Y. (2002). *The Book of Klezmer: The History, The Music, The Folklore from the 14th Century to the 21st*. Chicago: Chicago Review Press.

Stratton, J. (2008). *Jewish Identity in West Pop Culture. The Holocaust and Drama Through Modernity*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Taylor, J. R. / Van Every, E. J. (1993). *The Vulnerable Fortress: Bureaucratic Organization in the Information Age*. Toronto: University of Toronto.

Thaler, E. (2008). *Teaching English Literature*. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schoeningh.

Thibault, P. J. (1991). *Social Semiotics as Praxis: Text, Social Meaning Making, and Nabokov's Ada*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Thoma, D. (2011). *Strategic Attention in Language Testing. Metacognition in a Yes/No Business English Vocabulary Test*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Thomas, A. (1998). *Educating Children at Home.* Bodmin: MPG Books.

Thomason, S. G. (2001). *Language Contact. An Introduction.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Thompson, J. B. (1990). *Ideology and Modern Culture: Critical and Social Theory in the Era of Mass Communication*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Thompson, K. (1999). *Storytelling in the New Hollywood: Understanding Classical Narrative Technique*. USA: Harvard University Press.

Topping, K. J. / Bircham, A. / Shaw, M. (1997). *Family Electronic Literacy: Home-School Links through Audiotaped Books*. Reading, 31: 7-11.

Tornberg, R. E. / Woocher, J. S. (1998). *The Jewish Educational Leader's Handbook.* Springfield: Behrman House.

Unsworth, L. (2006). *E-Literature for Children. Enhancing Digital Literacy Learning*. Oxon: Routledge.

Unsworth, L. / Thomas, A. / Simpson, A. / Asha, J. (2005). *Children's Literature and Computer Based Teaching.* Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Van, T. T. M. (2009). The relevance of literary analysis to teaching literature in the EFL classroom. *English Teaching Forum*, 3: 2-9.

Van der Tuin, I. (2007). The Arena of Feminism: Simone de Beauvoir and the history of feminism. In Buikema, R. / Van der Tuin, I. (eds), *Doing Gender in Media, Art and Culture*. New York: Routledge, 7-23.

Van Leeuwen, T. (2004). Ten Reasons Why Linguists Should Pay Attention to Visual Communication. In Levine, P. / Scollon, R. (eds), *Discourse and Technology: Multimodal Discourse Analysis*. Washington: Georgetown University Press, 7-19.

Vischer, C. B. (2011). *Why Literature? The Value of Literary Reading and What It Means for Teaching*. New York: Continuum.

Volosinov, V. N. (1929/1986). *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*. Cambridge (USA): Harvard University Press.

Wack, D. (2005). *Sociolinguistics of Literature: Non-standard English in Zadie Smith's White Teeth*. Munich: GRIN.

Waller, T. (ed.) (2009). *An Introduction to Early Childhood* (2nd edition). London: SAGE.

Wardhaugh, R. (2010). *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics* (6th edition). Chichester (UK): Wiley-Blackwell.

Warschauer, M. (2009). *Electronic Literacies. Language, Culture and Power in Online Education*. Lawrence Erlbaum.

Wartella, E. / Robb, M. (2007). Young Children, New Media. *Journal of Children and Media* 1(1): 35-44.

Waterton, E. (2010). Branding The Past: The Visual Imagery of England's Heritage. In Waterton, E. / Watson, S. (eds), *Culture, Heritage and Representation: Perspectives on Visuality and the Past*. Surrey: Ashgate, 155- 172.

Weeks, J. (1990). The Value of Difference. In J. Rutherford (ed.), *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*. London: Lawrence & Wishart, 88-100.

Wei, L. (2000). *The Bilingualism Reader*. London: Routledge.

Weinreich, U. (1968). *Languages in Contact.* The Hague: Mouton.

Werlock, A. H. P. (2010). *American Short Story* (2nd edition). New York: Facts on File, Inc.

Widdowson, H. G. (1979). *Explorations in Applied Linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Widdowson, H. G. (1978). *Teaching Language as Communication*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

William, P. H. (2002). *Writing Short Stories. The Most Practical Guide*. USA: Syracuse University Press.

Williams, R. (1961). *Culture and Society 1780-1950*. London: Chatto & Windus.

Willoughby, T. / Wood, E. (2008). *Children's Learning in a Digital World*. Victoria: Blackwell.

Winford, D. (2003). *An Introduction to Contact Linguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Wirth, H. N. (2003). Traces of the Past: Multilingual Jewish American Writing. In Kramer, M. P. / Wirth, H. N. (eds), *Jewish American Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 110-28.

Wirth, H. N. (2001). Magnified and Sanctified: Liturgy in Contemporary Jewish American Literature. In Miller, E. B. (ed.), *Ideology and Jewish Identity in Israeli and American Culture*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 115-30.

Wölck, W. (2002). Ethnolects – Between Bilingualism and Urban Dialect. In Wei, L. / Dewaele, J. / Housen, A. (eds), *Opportunities and Challenges of Bilingualism*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 157-70.

Yadgar, Y. (2011). *Secularism and Religion in Jewish-Israeli Politics: Tradionists and Modernity*. New York: Routledge.

Yelland, N. (2010). New Technologies, Playful Experiences and Multimodal Learning. In Berson, I. R. / Berson M. J. (eds), *High-Tech Tots. Childhood in a Digital World*. USA: Information Age, 5-22.

Yinger, J. M. (1994). *Ethnicity. Source of Strength? Source of Conflict?* Albany: State University of New York Press.

Zipes, J. D. (2001). *Sticks and Stones: the troublesome success of children's literature from Slovenly Peter to Harry Potter*. London: Routledge.

Zurawsky, N. (2004). Because it is important and out there: From Real-Life Identity to Virtual Ethnicities. In Consalvo, M. *et al.* (eds), *Internet Research Annual: Selected Papers from the Association of Internet Researchers Conference (2000-2002)*. Vol. I. New York: Peter Lang, 205-15.

WEBLIOGRAPHY

Androutsopoulos, J. (2001). From the Streets to the Screens and Back Again. On the mediated Diffusion of Ethnolectal Patterns in Contemporary German. In *LAUD Linguistic Agency. Series A: General and Theoretical Papers*. Essen: University of Essen. Retrieved 10th January 2013 from <http://jannisandroutsopoulos.files.wordpress.com/2009/09/iclave_2001_laud.pdf>.

Benor, S. B. (2011). Mensch, Bentsh and Balagan: Variation in the American Jewish linguistic repertoire. *Language and Communication* 31/2, Special Issue on "Jewish Languages in the Age of the Internet": 141-154. Retrieved 22nd February 2012 from <http://huc.edu/faculty/faculty/benor/LAC_421%5B1%5D%20Proofs%20October%202010.pdf>.

Benor, S. B. (2010). Ethnolinguistic Repertoire: Shifting the Analytic Focus in Language and Ethnicity. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 14/2: 159-183. Hebrew Union College, Jewish Institute of Religion. Retrieved 22nd February 2012 from <http://huc.edu/faculty/faculty/benor/JOS%204-10%20Benor.pdf>.

Benor, S. B. / Cohen, Steven M. (2009). *Survey of American Jewish Language and Identity*. < http://www.bjpa.org/Publications/details.cfm?PublicationID=3874>.

Benor, S. B. (2008). Towards a New Understanding of Jewish Language in the 21st Century. *Religion compass 2/6*: 1062-1080. Retrieved 22nd February 2012 from <http://huc.edu/faculty/faculty/benor/Religion%20Compass%202008.pdf>.

Scarrat, E. (2007). *Citizenship and Media Education. An Introduction*. Retrieved 15th November 2012 from

<http://www.citized.info/pdf/commarticles/Elaine%20Scarratt.pdf>.

ONLINE DICTIONARIES

Oxford Dictionaries: <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com>.

Merriam-Webster: <http://www.merriam-webster.com>.

Yiddish Dictionary Online: <http://www.yiddishdictionaryonline.com>.

Yiddish Dictionary: <http://www.cs.uky.edu/~raphael/yiddish/dictionary.cgi>.