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Language Socialization and Linguistic Ideologies Among  
Israeli Emissaries in the United States

by

Shlomy Kattan

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Education

in the

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of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Patricia Baquedano-López, Chair

Professor Claire J. Kramsch

Professor Daniel Boyarin

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## ABSTRACT

### Language Socialization and Linguistic Ideologies Among Israeli Emissaries in the United States

by

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Doctor of Philosophy in Education

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Research in both the anthropology and sociology of education has increasingly come to consider the institutional effects of migration, globalization, and transnationalism on learning environments. Yet, most studies examining transmigration and education have only looked at migrant children in schools rather than at the *transitions* they undergo as transnationals across settings. We know little of the linguistic and socializing practices that occur during migrants' transitions from place to place and how they come to define the migratory and educational experience for transnational children.

This multi-sited, global ethnography examines language socialization practices and linguistic ideologies among families of Israeli emissaries (*shlichim*) employed by the Jewish Agency for Israel (JAFI). The study documented the transitions undergone by families with school-age children in the months of their preparation for their move from Israel to the United States and during the first year and-a-half in the U.S.. Data collection for this project took place in both Israel and New York at the homes of the families, the children's schools, peer group activities, extracurricular programs, play, and summer camp.

The focus of this dissertation project is on routine home and school practices which orient children to attitudes towards their identities as Israelis, as Zionists, as transnationals, and as temporary residents of the United States. The study approaches this question through the lens of the language socialization paradigm, a subfield of linguistic anthropology which understands socialization to occur both *through* the use of language and *to* the use of language. I argue that through attention to language use and form children are taught to attend to symbolic boundaries between Israeli, Jewish Diasporan, and U.S. American identities. The simultaneous reinforcement and transcendence of these symbolic boundaries is a defining characteristic of living transnationally.

I find that transnational identities: (1) Are constructed through an explicit recognition of the boundaries between the linguistic and cultural practices of the homeland and the host country; (2) are negotiated through attention to the authenticity of members of the homeland, the host country, and the transnational community; that is, through attention to the extent to which individuals stay within the symbolic boundaries that separate the homeland and the host-land; and (3) Display an ambivalence toward affiliation with the host country by

accentuating and emphasizing the linguistic and cultural practices of the homeland. Based on these findings, I call for a language socialization approach to studying transnationalism which recognizes the role of the local and the global, the contemporary and the historical, and the orthodox and heterodox in everyday transnational practices.

By focusing on the *shlichim*'s transition from Israel to the United States, the dissertation obtains a view of migration often unavailable to researchers: the preparation for departure and initial arrival to the country of destination. This period of transition is formative in the emissaries' experiences and as they define themselves vis-à-vis their country of origin and their host country. In this sense, this dissertation contributes to an understanding of the role of language in transnational practices, thus supplementing the growing field of research around questions of transnationalism, diaspora, and identity.

This dissertation is  
dedicated  
to those  
who taught me to know  
that they know better  
than I,

and to the  
memory of my  
grandparents,  
Ilana and Shlomo Levinger  
and Rima and Aharon Kattan

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## PREFACE

My first memory of the United States is that of exiting Los Angeles International Airport and seeing streets that to my seven year-old eyes appeared shiny and new, with thin ridges running through the asphalt as if the road had been raked by a giant. We moved to the States months after I had finished the first grade. My father had been in Los Angeles for nearly a month and came with my uncle to pick us up at the airport. At the airport in Israel, my brother, mother, and I had left my aunt and crying grandmother. I could not understand her tears. I said to her “*al tifki savta, od meat nachzor,*” don’t cry, grandma, we’ll be back soon.

It had been my first time on a plane and I could not sleep. I had a window seat and in the darkness the wing looked to me like a snow-covered mountain or a cloud. It didn’t change for what seemed like hours and I was convinced that the plane was not moving. From experience I knew not to awaken my mom, and there were no other adults to whom I could report this marvelous finding. Every few minutes I anxiously looked out the window again, only to find the same startling landscape.

I do not remember the landing itself, nor immigration, baggage claim, or customs. In all probability my brother and I ran around while my tired mother made sure we made it to the other side of the wall. What I do remember is stepping out with my dad and my uncle into the street, exiting LAX, and seeing that fresh black asphalt. Perfect little ridges ran parallel on a road that I could swear had been swept and mopped. My interest in this novelty had nothing to do with an immigrant’s wonderment at America, but with a child’s awe at all things vehicular.

And I remember my father’s words. “*tizaharu. po ha nahagim lo kmo baaretz. hem lo yaatsru bishvilchem.*” Be careful. The drivers here are not like in Israel. They won’t stop for you.

This dissertation is in part concerned with such events, moments of differentiation that come to define for a child the difference between one culture, one people, one nation and another. It is not a reflection upon my own experience, but it is informed and shaped by them, as all research is. Throughout this dissertation, I examine those interactions through which migrant children learn to make sense of their new surroundings, and to categorize their experiences in a new country. While I cannot capture their memories, I do try to record events that may be memorable to them, even if they do not remember them. I try to rake up the loose gravel of experience into the paved road of memory.

While my family has now been making its home in California for nearly twenty-five years, the families in this study only lived in New York for three, moving back to Israel in August of 2009. The idea to capture the experiences of parents and children during such transitory times was formed by an interest in understanding how people relate to their “homeland” and their “host-land,” their place of provenance and their place of residence. It tries in large part to understand how these relationships are expressed through language; the ways it is spoken and the ways it is spoken about. By combining this interest in language and (trans)nationalism, I intend to contribute to the growing area of research on transnationalism, migration, and globalization, and to fill a gap in our knowledge about how children experience such movement.

## CHAPTER 1

### Introduction

One night at dinner, weeks after she and her family had arrived in New York from Jerusalem, Dikla Siegel,<sup>1</sup> who had recently started attending kindergarten at a Jewish day school, began a meal by reciting a traditional blessing over the bread. The blessing was sung the way she had learned to pray at school, and had a hint of the foreign (i.e. U.S. American) pronunciation of Hebrew her teachers and peers used. When she finished praying, her mother, who was already well into her meal, asked in Hebrew, ‘will we now sing this every evening?’ Dikla, now picking at her food, responded in an explanatory tone that even though her family was not orthodox, they were Jewish, and thus members of ‘a tribe of people that usually pray to god.’ She continued to explain that her new school in the United States, which differed in its approach to Judaism both from her school in Israel and from her family, was ‘a little bit orthodox and a little bit Jewish.’<sup>2</sup>

Dikla’s efforts to make sense of what she was learning at school, the words that were used by teachers and other students to express this information, and the ways this new knowledge both contradicted and fit in with her secular upbringing point to the ways migrant children confront the sudden changes to their daily lives as they move from one country to another. In learning to acclimate to changing languages, schools, and cultural mores, children and adults negotiate protean positionings within varied and shifting spaces and times. Becoming transnational is a process of navigating and hybridizing multiple allegiances, languages, emotions, and ways of knowing. It is the process, not of leaving the nation behind, but of carrying the nation across borders.

Research in both the anthropology and sociology of education has increasingly come to consider the institutional effects of migration, globalization, and transnationalism on learning environments (cf. Coulby, 2000; Coulby & Zambeta, 2005; Pries, 2004; Suárez-Orozco, 2001; Suárez-Orozco & Qin-Hilliard, 2004; Wortham, 2003). Yet, most studies examining transmigration and education have only looked at migrant children in schools rather than at the *transitions* they undergo as transnationals across settings.<sup>3</sup> We know little of the linguistic and socializing practices that occur during migrants’ transitions from place to place and how they come to define the migratory and educational experience for transnational children. On the other hand, most of the anthropological and sociological work on globalization and transnationalism looks at the labor force or at economic or political conditions, and not at the effects that such transitions have on the children of these families (Orellana, Thorne, Chee, & Lam, 2001). Children’s lives and social worlds, as in most anthropological research, are merely glossed over (Bluebond-Langner & Korbin, 2007; M.H. Goodwin, 1997; LeVine, 2007). Without perspectives that combine a detailed analysis of the day-to-day learning practices of immigrant children with a broader account of the global forces that come to bear upon their lives, researchers and educators are relegated to understanding transnational childhoods either as

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<sup>1</sup> All names of persons and places, aside from my own and those of public figures and institutions, are pseudonymous.

<sup>2</sup> This interaction is examined in detail in Chapter 5. For transcription conventions, see Appendix A.

<sup>3</sup> Some recent exceptions include García Sánchez (2006) and Wortham, Mortimer, & Allard (2009).

isolated activities or as faceless processes, missing what is both human and humane in globalization.

This dissertation is a multi-sited (Marcus, 1995) global ethnography (Burawoy, 2000) that examines language socialization and linguistic ideologies among families of Israeli emissaries (*shlichim*) employed by the Jewish Agency for Israel (JAFI). The study documented the transitions undergone by families with school-age children in the months of their preparation for their move from Israel to the United States and during the first year and-a-half in the U.S.. Data collection for this project took place in both Israel and New York at the homes of the families, the children's schools, peer group activities, extracurricular programs, play, and summer camp.

Most centrally, the study examines language socialization practices and ideologies of language among families of *shlichim* as expressed through routine interactions. The focus of this dissertation project is on home and school practices which orient children to attitudes towards their identities as Israelis, as Zionists, as transnationals, and as temporary residents of the United States. The study approaches this question through the lens of the language socialization paradigm, a subfield of linguistic anthropology which understands socialization to occur both *through* the use of language and *to* the use of language (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). I argue that through attention to language use and form children are taught to attend to symbolic boundaries between Israeli, Jewish Diasporan, and U.S. American identities. The simultaneous reinforcement and transcendence of these symbolic boundaries is a defining characteristic of living transnationally.

The goal of this dissertation is to obtain greater understanding of how children growing up in a transitory and transitional setting acquire and learn to use multiple languages in culturally appropriate ways. By focusing on the *shlichim*'s transition from Israel to the United States, the dissertation obtains a view of migration often unavailable to researchers: the preparation for departure and initial arrival to the country of destination. This period of transition is formative in the emissaries' experiences and as they define themselves vis-à-vis their country of origin and their host country. In this sense, this dissertation contributes to an understanding of the role of language in transnational practices, thus supplementing the growing field of research around questions of transnationalism, diaspora, and identity.

In the remainder of this introduction, I lay out the theoretical and methodological frameworks used in this dissertation, combining social science research on transnational identities with the empirical tools of the language socialization paradigm to consider how such a combination can lead to a detailed understanding of the transnational migratory experiences of children and families. I also discuss how an examination of symbolic boundaries—"the lines that include and define some people, groups and things while excluding others" (Lamont, 2001, p. 15341)—can serve as a tool for examining how nationalist ideologies figure in the construction of transnational identities. I then introduce the focal families of this study, the Siegels and the Feingluzes, and discuss the sites of data collection. I conclude the introduction with a summary of the chapters of this dissertation.

### **Transnational Identities**

In the last two decades, anthropologists and other social scientists have recognized the need not only to expand ethnographic research *beyond* local practices in order to account for

global processes and influences, but also to understand the ways globalization figures *in* quotidian events (Appadurai, 1996; Collier & Ong, 2005; Inda & Rosaldo, 2002; Kearney, 1995; Ong, 1999). These and other scholars have begun to think of transnationalism and globalization (in which they include diasporas, migrant communities, and immigrant communities) as hybrid spaces that depart from the more restricting and constricting parameters of national identities (Bhabha, 1994; Boyarin, 2002; Clifford, 1994; Hall, 1990; Tölölyan, 1991). Transnationalism can be defined as “the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement” (Basch, Glick Schiller, & Szanton Blanc, 2003, p. 7). These processes are intricately and intimately interwoven into how transnationals view their daily practices and what those mean for their identity. As Vertovec (2001) argues:

Transnationalism and identity are concepts that inherently call for juxtaposition. This is so because, on the one hand, many peoples’ transnational networks are grounded upon the perception that they share some form of common identity, often based upon a place of origin and the cultural and linguistic traits associated with it. . . . On the other hand, among certain sets of contemporary migrants, the identities of specific individuals and groups of people are negotiated within social worlds that span more than one place. (p. 573)

Significantly, research with transnational populations does important work in unbounding the territorial dimensions of culture (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992). This, in a sense, is a given—one cannot research people who repeatedly cross geopolitical, cultural, and linguistic borders without becoming aware of both the material and symbolic mixing in which these people engage—but it presents as well a counterintuitive theoretical insight. All boundaries, both material and symbolic, whether they be patrolled by the state or individuals, are constructed in order to define and categorize the physical and social world. Transnational groups, in presenting a conundrum to an idea—nationalism—that has for over 200 years been taken for granted by “Westerners,” force us to recognize the power of difference and differentiation (Boyarin, 2002). That is, transnationals, by being out of place in two places, lay bare the means by which insiders and outsiders are marked.

Such claims, however, have sometimes been taken to their logical extremes. In fact, much anthropological research on transnational and diasporic communities contends that the hybrid cultural practices of these communities calls into question traditional models of nationalist identification (Clifford, 1994; Hall, 1990; Tölölyan, 1991). James Clifford (1994), for example, has written:

Positive articulations of diaspora identity reach outside the normative territory and temporality (myth/history) of the nation-state...Whatever their ideologies of purity, diasporic cultural forms can never, in practice, be exclusively nationalist...Thus the term *diaspora* is a signifier, not simply of transnationality and movement, but of political struggles to define the local, as distinctive community, in historical contexts of displacement. (pp. 307-308)

Living diasporically, for Clifford, takes on political dimensions precisely because “diasporas are caught up with and defined against the norms of nation-states” (307). Diasporas,



in this sense, do not stand alone, but are always a pull away from and a necessary ambiguation of nationalism. Tölölyan is especially noteworthy in this group for his efforts to combine the vocabulary of diaspora with the vocabulary of transnationalism (1991, p. 4). Yet, he is not unique in his valorization of diaspora:

[The] vision of a homogeneous nation is now being replaced by a vision of the world as a 'space' continually reshaped by forces—cultural, political, technological, demographic, and above all economic—whose varying intersections in real estate constitute every 'place' as a heterogeneous and disequibrated site of production, appropriation, and consumption, of negotiated identity and affect. (Tölölyan, 1991, p. 6)

Yet, these claims of the demise of the nation-state, as I argue in this dissertation, are overwrought. Rather than fraying their affiliation with the nation, the transnational experiences of *shlichim* in general, and their contact with Diaspora Jews in particular, cause the families in this study to strategically solidify their ties to Israel in order to construct distinct ethnic identities. Rather than upending traditional relations between culture and self, *shlichim* strategically essentialize (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004) their own and others' language and culture in order to demarcate group boundaries along traditional lines, while also using those demarcated boundaries to create a space of novel possibilities.

That is, while adopting cosmopolitan ideals vis-à-vis transnationalism and bilingualism, *shlichim* and their children also emphasize their ideological and linguistic identification with Israel in ways that help construct desirable forms of ethnoreligious and nationalist identities. In interactions at home and in school settings the children explore the boundaries of authentic forms of Hebrew as the desired language spoken by Israelis in comparison to inauthentic uses of Hebrew by non-Israeli Jews. The children of *shlichim* learn to parody U.S. American pronunciations of Hebrew to indicate the less desirable identity of "American" while simultaneously asserting their ability to pass for American as well. They learn to translate between languages while learning to keep those languages separate, an activity that allows them to emphasize both their assimilation and differentiation. They learn the ethnoreligious significance of both the language use and cultural practices of others so as to more clearly define their own identities.

This boundary-work between Israeli, Jewish, American, and transnational identities draws on the historical relationship between the Israeli State, the Jewish Diaspora, and the U.S., and the significance of English and Hebrew within that relationship. In simultaneously recognizing the prestige of English while derogating its speakers, and in acclaiming Hebrew and its speakers, *shlichim* and their children reconfigure the values of national languages and cultures often positioned in hierarchical relation to each other. My analysis of these practices argues for a model of transnationalism that is able to account for participants' ambivalent orientations to homeland and host-land while recognizing the persistence of nationalist belonging.

We must be careful, however, not to fetishize Jews as inherently diasporic figures or to allegorize the diasporic individual (Boyarin & Boyarin, 1993; also Kirshenblatt Gimblett, 1994). The popularization of the diaspora metaphor in cultural studies, anthropology, and sociology in the early- to mid-1990's resulted in a backlash among some Jewish scholars and scholars of

Jewish history who claimed that diasporicity was a patently Jewish characteristic (Band, 1996; Safran, 1991, 2005). While there is no doubt that the diasporic experience has made Jewish culture polyphonous (Harshav, 2007), overstating or particularizing this claim runs the risk of revisiting the image of the wondering Jew who is never at home. As Clifford (1994, p. 306) notes, “we should be wary of constructing our working definition of a term like diaspora by recourse to an ‘ideal type’...We should be able to recognize a strong entailment of Jewish history on the language of diaspora without making that history a definitive model.” Likewise, we should be able to recognize a strong entailment of the language of diaspora on Jewish history without making that language an essentializing factor.

### **Symbolic Boundaries**

At the heart of any analysis of group identity and authenticity lies the notion of symbolic boundaries. Symbolic boundaries, a concept developed extensively by Michéle Lamont and her colleagues (Lamont, 1995, 2001; Lamont & Fournier, 1992; Lamont & Molnár, 2002), draws heavily on Pierre Bourdieu’s (1984) analysis of distinction as a fundamental means for dividing classes and races. Symbolic boundaries are “conceptual distinctions,” such as nationalist icons, skin color, workplace argots, and dress, that are used to “categorize objects, people, [and] practices” (Lamont & Molnár, 2002, p. 168). They are “tools by which individuals and groups struggle over and come to agree upon definitions of reality” (p. 168). Most importantly, symbolic boundaries “separate people into groups and generate feelings of similarity and group membership” (p. 168). That is, they maintain and rationalize social and physical boundaries, such as national borders, differences in income, and access to resources (p. 186). One such symbolic boundary is the accent used in speech and the ways accents are used to judge speakers as in-group members, which in turn maintains group lines. In Chapter 6 of this dissertation I discuss how *shlichim* and their children judge Israeli pronunciations of Hebrew to be authentic and American pronunciations of Hebrew to be inauthentic.

The analysis of symbolic boundaries can be especially fruitful in a study that examines language socialization practices among transnationals. First, transnational and diasporic groups, as discussed above, bring to the forefront those boundaries that divide national groups. In constantly being in contact with the culture of the “other,” transnationals explicitly engage with difference on a daily basis. Second, focusing on an analysis of the practices and processes of socialization in which symbolic boundaries are made explicit, as is quite common among transnational communities, affords insight into the role symbolic boundaries play in cultural life. Levels of religious observance, as displayed through practices such as prayers, for example, are some of the primary ways in which community members establish membership. In Chapter 5 of this dissertation, I discuss how differences in degree of observance of Jewish religious practices at home and at school within secular families function as a means of differentiating between Israeli and American Jewish cultural behavior.

The notion of symbolic boundaries is especially important to the study of language ideologies, for it offers a toolkit by which to understand what divisive purposes attitudes about language have. Research on language ideology, both in linguistic anthropology generally and language socialization more specifically, has suggested that the values given to a language in a given community both reflect and reproduce the “cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships and their loading of moral and political interests” (Irvine, 1998, p. 52).

These ideologies are subject to change, and both produce and are produced by changes in language use (Kroskrity, 2004; Woolard, 1998; Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994). Research on language ideology has consistently recognized the identity building aspects of locally held ideologies of language in multilingual settings (Kroskrity, 1998; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1994), and the role of schools in propagating or contesting these views has also been highlighted (cf. Echeverria, 2003, p. 351-352; Jaffe, 2001; See also Bourdieu 1991, p. 43-65). Significantly, as Irvine and Gal (2000) have argued, an examination of ideologies of language unbounds the notions of language and community that have dominated linguistic anthropology while also problematizing notions of contact between peoples. This dissertation offers an analysis of the ways children growing up in transnational settings learn to recognize those symbolic boundaries which mark them as transnational.

### Language Socialization

The language socialization paradigm has as its primary goal the explication of the ways novice members of communities are socialized to practices and beliefs of their communities *through* language, while also being socialized *to* community-specific ways of using language (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). The language socialization paradigm was developed in response to lacunae in both anthropological and psychological approaches to the study of children's language learning and social development (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984, 2008). Specifically, anthropological research on enculturation, especially work carried out by Margaret Mead (1953), did not account for the routine, bidirectional, ongoing nature of human cultural development, nor for the role of language in examining how members of societies learned their rules and norms. On the other hand, psychological studies on children's language learning at the time did not account for the role of culture in language learning or for cross-cultural variation. The language socialization paradigm therefore posits language as both the means and end of socialization (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986).

Language socialization studies are characterized by three main methodological tenets (Kulick & Schieffelin, 2004).<sup>4</sup> First, they are longitudinal. That is, language socialization studies look at development of individuals across time in order both to see the development that is taking place and to see how developmental change occurs. Without this temporal perspective, studies could only speak to isolated events as they are related to other events occurring at the same time. They would not be able to make claims to broader perspectives of whether or not practices change over time. Secondly, language socialization studies are ethnographic. They are concerned with the description of everyday practices of communities arrived at through sustained observation by the researcher. Studies which are not ethnographic lack the emic insights afforded by ongoing participation and interaction with research subjects. Finally, language socialization studies illustrate both *that* and *how* learning takes place. That is, they

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<sup>4</sup> Garrett & Baquedano-López (2002) and Baquedano-López & Kattan (2007) proffer four tenets. Whereas Kulick & Schieffelin explain that language socialization studies must demonstrate developmental change, these authors focus on the cross-cultural and analytic characteristics of language socialization research. Inasmuch as both claims are programmatic—it is arguable that many language socialization studies show that learning takes place, and, aside from Ochs' and Schieffelin's foundational work (Ochs, 1988; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984; Schieffelin, 1990; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986), no language socialization studies I know of offer cross-cultural analyses—it seems to me suitable to adopt the model that has a clearer end-goal.

show developmental change. Through analyses of routine practices, these studies make connections to broader social, economic, and political processes (Duff, 1995; Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002). In these ways, language socialization studies differ markedly from traditional approaches to the investigation of first and second language acquisition, which elicit particular syntactic or morphemic forms or observe language use in controlled or only quasi-natural settings (Cf. Ellis, 1997; Lightbown & Spada, 1999).

In recent years, language socialization studies have become increasingly concerned with the socialization of children in shifting, territorially unbounded communities (Baquedano-López & Kattan, 2007; Garrett & Baquedano-López 2002). This trend exhibits a similar zeitgeist to that of the diaspora theories discussed above. An understanding of community that accounts for the blurring of boundaries and shifts in space and place necessitates a reevaluation of how we understand socialization. While language socialization studies have proven to provide rich insights into examining the construction of social identity as a bidirectional process that takes place through routine day-to-day interactions across multiple sites (Ochs, 1993), they have too often understood the ends of socialization to be predetermined, homogeneous, and benign (Kattan, 2008a). Language socialization studies more often than not assume the community's goals and norms to be set rather than emergent and contested. An examination of socialization practices among transnational communities requires an understanding of "culture" as always recreated. In this sense, the end-goal of socialization is not predetermined, but rather emerges through the socializing process.

However, while communities by no means maintain unchanging values and beliefs, and individuals do not simply learn a static set of norms, one of the defining characteristics of a community is the way it socializes its young to be in-group members who recognize the group's symbolic boundaries (Baquedano-López & Kattan, 2007; Kattan, 2008a, 2009; Kulick & Schieffelin, 2004). Socialization is not directed only from more expert to less expert others, but is bidirectional (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986), with the novice displaying both competence and agency during socializing events (Jacoby & Gonzales, 1991). The language socialization paradigm is thus especially useful in examining the ways children learn to categorize speech and speakers as native or non-native, as authentic or inauthentic, or as group members or strangers, for it offers a means to situate local interactions within broader communal ideologies about those interactions while accounting for the ways children display their existing competencies during socializing activities (Garret & Baquedano-López, 2002).

### **Language Socialization in Schools and the Linguistic Anthropology of Education**

Language socialization processes, as just noted, do not take place only in the home. Schools and other educational settings are important sites of socialization. This dissertation project was begun with the premise that examining interactions at home, in schools, and in other settings would provide a more comprehensive view into children's acquisition of linguistic and cultural competence than would observations of these sites alone. Similarly, each of these sites was not seen as isolated from the others; rather, all sites were seen as integrated parts that acquired differentiated degrees of salience over time. In these ways, this study draws upon and contributes to studies of language socialization in schools and to the nascent field of the linguistic anthropology of education (LAE).

Wortham (2003) points out that linguistic anthropology and education research can mutually benefit from and contribute to each other. First educational institutions are important

sites for the production and reproduction of cultural and linguistic practices and ideologies. Second, the methodological tools of linguistic anthropological research can be useful for understanding educational processes and the roles schools play in society. Wortham identifies similar tenets for LAE to those described earlier for language socialization research, and enumerates as well the units of analysis used by these researchers in examining data. LAE researchers use ethnographic and linguistic data to examine the links between language and culture, arrive at an emic perspective, and analyze the connections between micro practices and macro processes (Wortham, 2003, p. 3). Additionally, LAE researchers, borrowing from linguistic anthropological research more broadly, examine indexicality, creativity, regimentation, and poetic structure in classroom discourse (p. 3). This dissertation uses the same tools of data collection to arrive at an understanding of the historical and contemporary entailments of the relationship between Hebrew and other languages to Israeli and diasporic Jewish practices as lived by *shlichim* and their children. While I do not use creativity, regimentation, and poetic structure as units of analysis, I am especially concerned with the ways participants index communal affiliation and ideologies through the content and form of their speech. In this way, I align not only with work in LAE, but also that of other LS researchers who have looked at educational settings.

In a review article, Baquedano-López and Kattan (2008) identify school sites as an important setting for language socialization research since its inception. Baquedano-López and Kattan discuss three thematic contributions of language socialization research to the study of education. First, LS studies have examined continuities and discontinuities in language use and cultural mores across home and school sites, often in efforts to explain structural inequalities (Baquedano-López & Kattan, 2008, p. 166). Second, language socialization studies have provided insight into institutional structures and into how interactions in classrooms reflect and reproduce the social processes that enable those structures to persist (p. 167). A third theme of language socialization studies in schools has been “the role of ideologies in structuring school practices (p. 169). Baquedano-López and Kattan contend that a persistent shortcoming of these analytical approaches has been the tendency to arrive at them by isolating home and school practices in order to compare them to one another (p. 170). A second shortcoming has been the tendency to assume ideologies to be monolithic, and thus to accept the official ideologies expressed by school administrators or teachers to be the ends of socialization, rather than a part of the process (p. 170). In this dissertation, in alignment with Baquedano-López and Kattan’s critique, I do not isolate home and school practices a priori. In instances where I do look at the practices of the home and those of the school as contrasting (see Chapter 5), I do so in instances in which the practices of the school are explicitly and expressly commented upon as being different by the participants in this study. Additionally, I intend to show that the ideologies of language and of the nation espoused by these families both do and do not align with official Zionist ideologies as expressed through the writings of Zionist leaders (see Chapters 2, 4, 5, and 6).

### **Data Collection, the Families, and the Children’s Schools**

Families of *shlichim* are a good group with whom to examine the socialization of symbolic boundaries and language ideologies, as they occupy a middle ground between a number of communities both in Israel and in the United States in which the differential value

and use of Hebrew and English are prominent factors in daily life (Glinert, 1993; Kuzar, 2001; Mintz, 1993; Nadel & Fishman, 1977). *Shlichim*—literally, ‘emissaries’—are sent by the Jewish Agency for Israel (JAFI) on three-year missions to recruit Diaspora Jews to move to Israel, to raise funds for the agency’s work, or to establish and maintain Zionist or pro-Israel communities abroad through educational and community programs. In Chapter 2 I examine in more detail who *shlichim* are and how their practices compare and contrast with those of other transnational groups.

The dissertation project consists of four spheres of research: (1) two focal families; (2) the schools their children attended; (3) the extended social network of the children and the families; and (4) research carried out in Israel with other *shlichim* and at the training seminars of the Jewish Agency for Israel. Thus, the research includes as subjects family members, teachers and staff at the children’s school, other students in the children’s classrooms, and other friends and relatives of the focal families and other families of *shlichim*.

### **The Focal Families**

The focus of this dissertation is on the transitions undergone by two families of *shlichim*, the Siegel and Feingluz families, as they prepared for their move from Israel to the United States and during the first year and-a-half of their sojourn in the U.S. All four parents were in their mid- to late-thirties at the start of this study. The focus of the study was on the socializing practices employed with the three youngest children during these transitions and the processes of learning English and retaining Hebrew.

The Siegels, Efrat and Eyal, had a daughter and a son, Dikla (5;8) and Liron (2;11) at the start of the study. In Israel, before going on *shlichut*, Eyal worked with a Zionist youth organization, coordinating summer camps for U.S. American Jewish teens in Israel. Efrat had the Israeli equivalent of an MSW and worked as a social worker in Arab villages in Israel. The Siegels lived in Kopa, a demographically and religiously diverse neighborhood of Jerusalem that borders on a lively commercial street that houses popular cafes, restaurants, and boutiques, and which bustles at all hours of the day. Prior to departing Israel, Efrat and Eyal sold their apartment. Upon their return to Israel they moved to a *kibbutz* near where Efrat’s parents now live.

Seven years prior to their *shlichut* to New York, Efrat and Eyal did two years of *shlichut* in Chicago, where Dikla was born. When she was nine years old, Efrat, who grew up on a *kibbutz* in Israel, had also been on *shlichut* with her parents and siblings in Houston. She therefore spoke English fluently and often passed for what some teachers at Dikla’s school in New York called “Anglo.” For their *shlichut* to New York, Eyal was hired as the main *shaliach* for youth movements in the United States. As part of this position, Eyal worked summers at a camp where Efrat was the camp’s social worker. During the year Efrat worked part-time for the UJF in New York on various projects. In New York, the Siegels settled in a three-bedroom house in a neighborhood in one of New York’s outer boroughs. They said they chose this neighborhood for its affordability and value (for the same rent they would be able to rent a much smaller place in Manhattan or in other neighborhoods), its family friendliness, and its accessibility to and from the children’s schools.

The Feingluz were Nirit and Nitai, their four sons, Yakov (13), Meir (11), Moshe (9), Yirmiahu (7;2), and their daughter, Rivka (5;8). In Israel Nitai held a management position at a

high-tech firm and Nirit, who had studied medicine, was a teacher. The Feingluz were observant Jews who lived in a large Jewish settlement in the West Bank, and, as discussed in Chapter 2, decided to go on *shlichut* in part because of Israel's military withdrawal from Gaza and four West Bank settlements. In New York, Nitai found work at a computer software programming company, and it was this job that secured the Feingluz's move to the U.S.. Nirit then looked for work as a teacher at a Jewish day school, thus becoming affiliated with JAFI. At this school, which all of the Feingluz children attended, Nirit taught science and Hebrew.

The Feingluz family chose the neighborhood in which they lived in New York based on the school where Nirit found work and which their children would attend. As Orthodox Jews, it was important for the Feingluzes to find a school at which religious observance was practiced. The neighborhood in which they settled had a sizable Jewish population, and the Feingluzes found their residence through the synagogue in the neighborhood. During their three-year sojourn in New York, Nirit, Nitai, and their children lived in the home of a member of the community who now spent most of her time in Israel but who still owned a home in New York.

### **The Children's Schools**

The Siegel family's daughter, Dikla, attended kindergarten and first grade at a non-denominational Jewish day school, H. N. Bialik School, while their son, Liron, attended two years of preschool at Children's World, a school managed by a Chabad Lubavitch temple. As discussed in Chapter 5, while the Siegel family was secular, they chose to send their children to Jewish day schools because of the support these would give to Hebrew language retention and development. The Feingluz family, on the other hand, practiced a brand of Judaism known as national orthodox (*dati leumi*). All five of the Feingluz children, Rivka (kindergarten & 1st grade), Yirmiahu (3rd & 4th), Moshe (5th & 6th), Meir (6th & 7th), and Yakov (8th & 9th), attended a modern-orthodox Jewish day school, Herschel Yeshiva, during the course of this study.

All three schools incorporated Hebrew study into their curriculum to varying degrees based on grade level, and viewed students' learning of Hebrew as integral to their Jewish identity. Hebrew study did not just have its own period of the day, but, from kindergarten on at Bialik and from first grade on at Herschel, had its own space (i.e. a different classroom) and different teachers. Despite these similarities, the linguistic composition of the schools varied significantly, as did teachers' proficiency in Hebrew. Aside from a brother and sister from Italy that arrived the same year, the Feingluz children were the only English language learners that teachers at Herschel had encountered in years. Teachers repeatedly commented to me during the early months of observation upon the school's perceived inadequacy in addressing the children's language learning needs. This inexperience was reflected as well in teachers' expectations that the children learn to speak English fluently within three to six months after arrival. Yet, the school had a significant cohort of Israeli visiting teachers—of whom the children's mother, Nirit, was one—who taught Hebrew and Jewish studies courses. Of the five Feingluz children, however, only Yirmiahu and Yakov had native Hebrew speakers as teachers during the first year of school in New York. Rivka's kindergarten teacher and teacher's aide (both of whom taught both English and Hebrew subjects) were American, while her first-grade Hebrew and Judaic studies teacher was an Israeli expatriate who had been living in the US for two decades.

Liron Siegel's preschool was also unaccustomed to hosting many English language learners, and Liron was the only native Hebrew speaker in the school during both years of observation. The teachers at the school were all native English speakers, but spoke some Hebrew and could read and recite prayers and songs.

Dikla Siegel's school, Bialik, was the most accustomed to having native Hebrew-speaking students. Dikla's grade alone had four other children who came from Hebrew-speaking households. Among them, Maya, Dikla's best friend, had herself arrived with her family from Israel only one year before Dikla did with hers. Another boy, Yoni, arrived from Israel during the second year. The reason for the high enrollment of Hebrew speakers at Bialik was the school's commitment to Hebrew language study and its non-denominational approach to the Jewish religion, something that the secular Israeli parents who sent their children there claimed was attractive. To facilitate this language learning, the school sometimes hired native or near-fluent speakers of Hebrew to teach the Hebrew and Judaic studies classes for some grades. While her two teachers and her teachers' aide in kindergarten were all U.S. American, Dikla's Hebrew/Judaic studies teacher in first grade was an Israeli who had recently arrived from Israel.

At all three schools, the vast majority of students were not Hebrew speakers, and the goals of the Hebrew classes, especially in the younger grades, were to teach basic words (e.g. colors, numbers, days of the week, names of animals), instruct children in literacy, and, arguably most importantly, to teach children Jewish prayers and traditional songs. Every morning the children collectively sang an abridged version of the Jewish morning liturgy. Before and after meals they would sing the appropriate prayers as well. Students learned traditional Hebrew songs for holidays and the Sabbath, as well as Israeli children's songs. While praying and singing played a large role in the children's religious socialization, they were also important sites for the students' language acquisition.

### **Data Collection**

Data collection included nineteen months (2006-2008) of participant-observation in neighborhoods and classrooms in two countries (three months in Israel and 16 months in New York) and the collection of nearly 200 hours of video- and audio-recording of interaction between parents, children, peers, and educators at home, at school, in play groups, during after-school activities, summer camps, and other educational settings. These observations and recordings were supplemented by unstructured and semi-structured interviews with children, parents, teachers, and JAFI officials; as well as the collection of artifacts (e.g. children's written work, drawings, and books) across settings. In addition, for three weeks I attended and observed the training seminars for *shlichim* in Jerusalem. These training seminars were designed to prepare *shlichim* for their work and acclimation to social life in their countries of destination. These seminars are discussed further in Chapter 4 of this dissertation.

Observations in Israel took place primarily at home and within the children's peer groups, while observations in the United States additionally took place in the children's schools, after-school activities, and summer camp. In-home observations and recordings in both countries were carried out primarily during routine activities including mealtime, homework-time, play, arrival from school, and other family gatherings. Observations in school included classroom activities, ESL classes, recess, lunch, and arrival and departure from school.



Observations were carried out with peer groups during play activities both during and outside of school. Observations and recordings also took place at the summer camp where Eyal and Efrat Siegel were employed in the summer of 2007. Such activities have been identified as productive sites for looking at language socialization practices in both Israel (Blum-Kulka, 1997) and the United States (Ochs & Taylor, 1995; Paugh, 2005).

At all sites select routines and activities were video- and/or audio-recorded. Fieldnotes, recordings, interviews, and artifacts were logged and coded to identify prominent themes in the children's acquisition of English, retention of Hebrew, and general cultural acclimation. The recordings obtained during fieldwork were transcribed following and expanding upon the conventions of Conversation Analysis (cf. Goodwin & Heritage, 1990; Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974), so as to enable fine-grained analysis of talk in interaction. As the dissertation study sought to understand the acquisition of communicative and cultural competence across settings, the ideologies of language held by participants, and the participants' attitudes and identities vis-à-vis Israel and the United States, the collection of both linguistic and ethnographic data provides the most comprehensive view into how these are accomplished.

The purpose of observing these multiple sites was to discover how immigrant children's language acquisition and maintenance is variously affected by the different spheres of their social lives. By examining socialization practices both at home and at school, the study was able to get a look at the multiple ways in which children of transnational families transition to their new experiences and environment. By conducting observations both in Israel and the United States the study documented, through ethnographic detail, the initial linguistic and cultural contact of the children with the host culture. This period of transition is formative in the migrants' experiences as transnationals and in defining themselves vis-à-vis their country of origin and their host country.

By examining the transitions of the *shlichim* from Israel to the U.S., this study makes an empirical and theoretical contribution to language socialization research and research on the anthropology of transnationalism and globalization. Studies within the language socialization paradigm have not examined such transitions as they occur, with research generally taking place in only one locale. Language socialization research has thus, with a few exceptions (cf. Baquedano-López, 1997, 1998), not examined the construction of transnational identities. Likewise, studies of transnationalism and diaspora have been absent a theory of socialization. By focusing on the language socialization processes used with school-age children, this dissertation argues that attention to the home and school lives of migrant children, and the processes through which they learn to be transnational, offers insights into how transnational identities develop within a matrix of competing nationalist ideologies.

### **Summary of Chapters**

Chapter 2 of this dissertation traces the historical relationship between Judaism, Zionism, Israel, the Jewish Diaspora, the Israeli national diaspora, and the role of language in each of those three communities. It lays the groundwork for understanding the place of *shlichim* within these spaces and times, and considers how a study of the daily lives of families of *shlichim* can illuminate these broader linguistic, cultural, and historical developments.

The ensuing chapter, "Fly on the wall": Observing the observer in ethnographic research," examines the developing relationship between the researcher and the participants of

this study. It engages in what Pierre Bourdieu has termed “participant objectivation,” the process of bringing the tools of analysis we use with our subjects to an analysis of our own behavior. Considering the kinship of experiences I have with the participants in this study, it is important to understand my own role in this project in order to better analyze other data.

Chapters 4-6 relay the primary findings of this dissertation. Chapter 4 examines the role of language in the preparation for departure. Drawing on participant observation at the *shlichim*'s training seminars in Jerusalem prior to their departure, interviews with several families of current and former *shlichim*, and recordings of interactions between parents and children in the two focal families, this chapter focuses on the meaning the English language comes to have as families prepare for departure. It also considers the role of Hebrew in the long-term preparation for their eventual repatriation. By preparing them for linguistic difference and teaching children to translate between English and Hebrew, *shlichim* not only help their children to cope with the anxiety of migration, but also teach them to attend to boundaries between languages and cultures.

Chapter 5 analyzes the ways in which children learn to attend to ethnoreligious identities across home and school settings. This chapter examines data collected in Israel and New York with the Siegel family. These secular Israeli parents enrolled their children in Jewish day schools that engaged in religious practices which contrasted with the practices of the home. The chapter focuses on how children learn to make sense of the differences between home and school practices, how they extend those local differences to understand their ethnoreligious meaning, and how they reconcile those differences as they define themselves as both Jewish and Israeli.

Chapter 6 examines how authentic language use is constructed and taught to children through attention to accent. Based on data collected with both focal families at home and at school, the chapter examines socializing events in which children learn to recognize the symbolic boundaries established by the sound of people's speech. Together, these chapters demonstrate how symbolic boundaries are established, reified, questioned, and transcended in daily life.

In the concluding chapter I offer a framework for the study of language socialization among transnational families. Language socialization of transnationalism draws on the methodological insights of the language socialization paradigm and the theoretical insights of research on transnationalism to consider how studies that examine socialization to and through language can fill a lacuna in our knowledge about transnational life. Language socialization of transnationalism recognizes the local and the global, the contemporary and the historical, and the orthodox and heterodox in transnational living.

*Shlichim* pose a new set of questions to anthropological thinking about transnationalism, language, identity, and ideology. As emissaries, they are a unique type of transnational group that neither has the economic prestige of corporate or diplomatic attachés nor suffers the economic hardships experienced by many other migrant groups. Their ties to their homeland and host country, their political and nationalist ideologies, and the effects these have on their transitions, are unique. As temporary residents of a host country, *shlichim* are neither part of the Jewish Diaspora nor precisely residents of “the homeland.” With the recent political and social developments in Israel generally and within the Jewish Agency specifically bringing into question age-old dichotomies between Israel and the Jewish Diaspora (c.f. Beilin, 2000; Gold,

2002; Habib, 2004; Sheffer, 2005), as well as a concomitant rethinking of what Zionism means for Israelis (Aronson, 2003; Schweid, 1996; Silberstein, 1999), for Diaspora Jews (Ben-Moshe, 2004), and for JAFI (Kopelowitz, 2003), *shlichim* come to occupy a unique position as they negotiate a political and ideological project within all these broadly defined communities (Jewish Diaspora, Israeli diaspora, Israel, and the United States). Inasmuch as transnational practices are thought to question the legitimacy of the nation-state, the transitions of these families, which are, in fact, carried out in the name of the nation-state, pose dilemmas for the homeland-hostland relationship thought to be so central to the identity of transnational groups. This dissertation therefore raises not only locally relevant questions of language acquisition and socialization, but also global concerns of immigrants' engagements and disengagements with the "homeland" and the host country.

## CHAPTER 2

### *Shlichut* Between Israel and Diaspora

[I] will not have [and] cannot keep my identity outside Israel . . . [Being] Israeli is my skin, it's not my jacket. You [diaspora Jews] are changing jackets—from Argentina you take your jacket to Brazil, from Brazil . . . to America, from there, there, and then you're moving. You are changing countries like the Jews have done all the time, changing countries like changing jackets.

—A. B. Yehoshua, May 1, 2006, in an address to the American Jewish Committee on its centennial anniversary

Israel is the only place in the world in which one can live a Jewish life that is total—in which, that is, there is no compartmentalization between the inner and the outer, between what is Jewish and what is not. It is the only place in the world in which Jews are totally responsible for the society they live in, for the environment that surrounds them, for the government that rules them. It is the only place in the world where Jewish culture is not a subculture in a greater culture but is rather that greater culture itself. It is the real thing and by comparison, Jewish life in America, or anywhere else in the Diaspora, as dedicated and committed as it may be, indeed seems like a kind of play-acting. Why would a truly dedicated and committed Jew want to live anywhere but in a Jewish state?

—Hillel Halkin, May 11, 2006, *Jerusalem Post*, in support of Yehoshua

Speaking at the meeting of the American Jewish Committee on the occasion of its one-hundredth anniversary, the famed Israeli novelist A. B. Yehoshua, reacting to the words of other panelists, ignited a firestorm when he claimed that it is only in Israel that one can truly be Jewish. Yehoshua's statements were by no means unheard of, and, in fact, reflected classic Zionist ideologies about the relationship between illegitimate diasporic existence and authentic nationalist fulfillment. Yet the reactions were so strong on both sides that the AJC, seizing on what it took to be the debate's public importance, published a booklet with Yehoshua's speech and reactions to it by a number of writers and scholars.

I first heard of Yehoshua's comments shortly after they were made. Two months later, as I attended training seminars with *shlichim* of the Jewish Agency for Israel (JAFI), they were salient and persistent topics of discussion during lunch conversations and seminar meetings. As a researcher interested in investigating the lives of transnational families, what struck me most in these discussions was the way these *shlichim*, who were preparing for two- to three-year missions to, among other things, recruit diaspora Jews to live in Israel, both agreed with the content of Yehoshua's words and disagreed with the form of their delivery. Yes, Jewish nationalist fulfillment could only truly take place in Israel, most everyone resoundingly agreed, but to say so to diaspora Jews was uncouth. The *shlichim*'s responses suggested that being Jewish and being Israeli were both legitimate, albeit different, ways of belonging to a global Jewish community.

This perspective, which was, to me at least, unexpected, underscored what is becoming more and more an accepted norm: belonging to a group does not necessarily entail living

within its territorial boundaries. Yehoshua's comments, after all, rested on the fundamental belief that communal belonging is territorial. For him, this territoriality is embodied, such embodiment coming in the image of wearing one's national identity like one's skin. Such sentiments were echoed in many of the supportive responses to Yehoshua's speech, and captured most clearly in Hillel Halkin's statement that Judaism in Israel is "the real thing," whereas anywhere else it cannot be. In both cases, Yehoshua's and Halkin's, the Jewish person is both a member of a hereditary group and a resident of a particular territory; in other words, a natural-born citizen. The Jew residing outside of Israel may be related to the Israeli by blood, but s/he cannot live her/his life as a "real" Jew. *Shlichim*, both in their actions and in their words at the training seminars, displayed an ambivalence toward this hardline belief.

When I first asked Nirit Feingluz, a *morah shlichah* (teacher emissary) from Ilan, a large permanent Jewish settlement in the West Bank, why she and her family had decided to temporarily move to New York, she quickly answered, as if she had given this response before, "*axve ha hitnatkut, hixgafnu je gam anaxnu tsvixim lehitnatek*" ('after the disengagement we felt we also had to disengage'). The *hitnatkut*, or "disengagement," was the official name given by Israel's government for its dismantling of Jewish settlements and withdrawal from military outposts in the Gaza Strip and four settlements in the West Bank in the summer of 2005, one year before the start of this study.<sup>5</sup> Its intransitive verb, *lehitnatek*, means "to detach or distance oneself from," and is used in quotidian Israeli parlance to signify something akin to the U.S. American slang usage of "to unplug." Nirit's pun played on this polysemy to convey that the disengagement was a stressful and traumatic event for her and her family, one that caused them to temporarily question their place in Israel, a common response at the time for people living in the settlements. It also pointed to an important affective component of *shlichut*: *Shlichim*, like other transnationals, display ambivalence both towards their home country and towards their temporary emigration.

At the communal lunch tables around us plates and silverware clattered and lively voices rang out in conversations about the ongoing World Cup tournament and the *shlichim*'s upcoming travels. The air conditioned chill of the hotel ballroom-cum-cafeteria used by the Jewish Agency for Israel (JAFI) during its three-week training seminar for its *shlichim* beat through my thin shirt and shorts better suited to the Jerusalem summer. The cool air of fresh excitement contrasted with the hot and violent world outside. It was the first week of July 2006 and I had been attending the training seminars for *shlichim* for over two weeks. Hamas-fired rockets had been falling on southern cities in Israel since I had arrived in June, and the country was reeling from its military's admission that its mortars had orphaned a ten year-old Palestinian girl on a trip to the beach with her family, an admission it later recanted. Days before my conversation with Nirit, an Israeli soldier had been killed and another had been kidnapped by Hamas from a base in the South, leading to increased military operations in Gaza. In another week, on the penultimate day of the *shlichim*'s training, the bodies of two more soldiers would be taken by Hezbollah after an attack on Israeli military patrols in the North, sparking a month-long war in Lebanon that displaced thousands of Israeli and Lebanese families, dampening the Mediterranean country's midsummer excitement. Israel, as always,

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<sup>5</sup> See Tabory & Sasson (2007), Newman (2005), and Lochery (2007) for historical, political, and economic accounts of this process and its repercussions.

was a land of normalized chaos.<sup>6</sup> The *shlichim*'s training seminars, their home lives, and their preparation for departure from Israel were sites in which the everyday dilemmas of living in Israel played out (see Chapter 4).

I had met Nirit the day before this conversation, her first at an orientation for all of JAFI's teacher emissaries. Like the rest of the *shlichim* at the training seminar, Nirit was leaving Israel in August as part of JAFI's *shlichut* program. Every year, the Jewish Agency for Israel sends *shlichim* to various parts of the world, including North and South America, Europe, and Australia, to recruit diaspora Jews<sup>7</sup> (those living outside of Israel) to move to Israel, establish and support Zionist or pro-Israel communities, and raise funds for the Agency's work. As a *morah shlichah* employed by a Jewish day school in the U.S., Nirit received training and support from JAFI as she prepared for her departure, including lectures on U.S. American culture, representing Israel abroad, and acclimating to life in a new country.

These two sets of comments, Nirit's on the one hand and those of Yehoshua and Halkin on the other, frame the complex relationships among Israel, the Diaspora, the people who live in both, and the role of *shlichim* within those relationships. This chapter addresses a number of preliminary questions which lay the contextual groundwork for this study: What is *shlichut*? Who are the *shlichim*? What is the historical role of *shlichut* in the relationship between Israel and the Jewish Diaspora? Also within this relationship, what is the role of Hebrew and other languages? And how does *shlichut* compare and contrast with other forms of transnationalism? I situate *shlichut* within the broader discourses of transnationalism and diaspora studies to consider both what is unique and what is common about this practice.

### Israel and the Diaspora

To understand the purposes and motivations of *shlichut* we must first understand the historical relationship between Israel and the Jewish Diaspora. The term diaspora comes from the Greek word for the dispersal of seeds, and was originally used to describe Greek colonies across the ancient world (Cohen, 2008, p. 21). After the translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek, the term diaspora came to be used to describe the dispersed Jewish communities in different parts of Europe, the Maghreb, and the Middle East. The Hebrew terms for diaspora are *gola* and *galut*, which mean 'exile,' and were used by Jews to describe their situation outside of the land of Israel, which was depicted in religious writings as a punishment by god for idolatry and other collective sins. For nearly two millennia Jews lived in these regions with varying degrees of integration into the host culture. These Diaspora communities were sites of Jewish cultural production and development (Dubnow, 1958). They were also sites of intermittent

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<sup>6</sup> Huda Ghaliya, the orphaned Palestinian girl, quickly became, as *The Guardian* put it, an "icon of the Palestinian struggle" (<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2006/jun/16/israel>). Gilad Shalit, the kidnapped 19 year-old Israeli soldier, is still being held captive by Hamas. In September 2009, Israel released 20 female Palestinian prisoners for video proof that Shalit was still alive. He has also become an icon of Israeli patriotism. Demonstrations for his release are held at Israeli consulates around the globe on the anniversary of his disappearance and his birthday. On July 16, 2008, two years and four days after their capture, the corpses of the soldiers taken in northern Israel—Ehud Goldwasser, 30, and Eldad Regev, 25—were exchanged for five Hezbollah militants.

<sup>7</sup> Throughout this chapter I capitalize "diaspora" only when referring to the historical Jewish Diaspora; otherwise, I use the lowercase.

oppression and exclusion of Jews from the host culture. A defining characteristic of Jewish diasporic existence was the symbolic and sometimes real longing for the ancient Jewish homeland of Israel (Safran, 2005). This historically negative reading of Jewish history is one possible interpretation, and it is one that became especially relevant at the dawn of the age of nationalisms in Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

In the eighteenth century, German and then other European Jews called for the integration of Jews into European culture and for the abandonment of *shtetl* life—the predominantly Jewish towns in the Russian Pale of Settlement in which Jews interacted little with non-Jews and followed a traditional Jewish way of life. The *haskalah*, or Jewish Enlightenment, heavily influenced by European Enlightenment ideals, pushed for secularization and assimilation, rejecting traditional Jewish religion and culture. The *haskalah* offered a reconsideration of Jewish diasporic existence in that it aimed to reduce the boundaries between Jews and non-Jews in Europe, and consequently, to eliminate what it considered the “ghetto mentality” of traditional Jews (Feiner, 2002). The *haskalah* was a significant change in Jewish life, and in this way it was an important precursor to Zionism, or Jewish nationalism.

### **Diaspora and Zionism**

At the end of the nineteenth century, influenced by nationalist movements across Europe and by the failures of assimilationist strategies, European Jewish culture again changed dramatically. Harshav (2007) has claimed that this change was also brought about in large part by the development of social and economic networks across Jewish villages in the Russian Pale of Settlement enabled by the development of railways and in which Jews constituted a majority of the village population. During this period, many Jews abandoned the assimilationist ideals of the *haskalah* and replaced it with a nationalist Zionist program (Sáenz-Badillos, 1993, p. 269).<sup>8</sup>

While Zionism was part of the European nationalist zeitgeist of the nineteenth century, it differed from European *risorgimento* movements in significant ways (Hertzberg, 1979, p. 15). As Hertzberg (1979) writes, “To mention only one important difference, all of the other nineteenth-century nationalisms based their struggle for political sovereignty on an already existing national land or language (generally, there were both). Zionism alone proposed to acquire both of these usual preconditions of national identity by the *élan* of its nationalist will” (p. 15). Consequently, Zionists had to contend not only with colonizing a land for a people, but also with defining who comprised the nation.

Zionism came about from a fundamental reanalysis of the Jewish situation in the Diaspora, sparked by threats to unassimilated Jews on the one hand and by the failures of assimilation on the other. Zionist historiography depicted all of Jewish experience in the Diaspora as a history of suffering that could only be resolved by the establishment of a Jewish state (Herzl, 1946). It thus understood Judaism not as a religion, but as a nationality like the Russian, Italian, or French (Nordau, 1902/1979). Its most central ideology was that of the

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<sup>8</sup> Some scholars have noted that Zionism is itself a form of assimilation, as it adopts European ideals of nationalism for a diasporic people (Boyarin & Boyarin, 1993; Dubnow, 1958; Harshav, 2007, p. 11). On similar grounds, some linguists have argued that Hebrew is not a Jewish language, as it is a language of national power (Ornan, 1985).

“ingathering of exiles” (*kibuts galuyot*), the settlement of all the world’s Jews in one nation-state, preferably in what Zionists considered the historical and rightful land of the Jews, the land of Israel.

The other fundamental tenet of Zionist political philosophy was the negation of diaspora ideology (*shlilat ha galut*) (Raz Krakotzkin, 1993, 1994; Silberstein, 1999, p. 29). That is, “Zionism defined its basic subject positions in opposition to those of Jews living in exile” (Silberstein, 1999, p. 18). Zionism, drawing on a particularized reading of Jewish history and the place of Jews in modern Europe, saw diasporic life not only as a state of exile, but as an incompleteness, an abomination that must be undone or “negated.” The establishment of a Jewish homeland in Israel would, according to this view, normalize Jewish existence (Pinsker, 1882). The New Jew of Zionism was the secular, masculine, and enlightened antipode to the religious, effeminate, and benighted Jew of the Diaspora (Zerubavel, 2002).

During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Zionism was one of many Jewish movements, not all of which posited the same teleology of return. The historian Simon Dubnow, for example, proposed that Jews should attain autonomy in the countries in which they lived. Opposing Zionism’s reading of history, Dubnow argued that the Jewish Diaspora was not an abomination, but rather the historical place of Jewish cultural development for nearly 2,000 years. Rather than moving from isolation to assimilation to nationalism, as Zionist historiography proposed, Dubnow argued that the solution to Jewish existence in the Diaspora was its continuation.

To a large extent, Dubnow’s arguments presaged the current relationship between Israel and the Jewish diaspora (Boyarin, 2002; Silberstein, 1999). Until after WWII, Palestine was a secondary destination for emigrating European Jews, the majority of whom migrated to North America. Nonetheless, Zionism was, to some extent, a successful nationalist movement, as it did result in the establishment, in 1948, of the State of Israel. However, Zionism never did achieve its stated ideals of negating Jewish diasporic existence and settling all the world’s Jews in their purported historical homeland. The majority of the world’s Jews reside outside of Israel and Israel has arguably given up these two main Zionist ideologies, at least practically speaking (Sheffer, 2005). More significantly, many Israelis (my family included) have chosen to leave Israel and make their lives elsewhere, thus giving rise to a second Jewish diaspora.

The Israeli diaspora differs from both the historical Diaspora and current Jewish diaspora in a number of significant ways. Gold (1993, 2001, 2002) has written that members of the Israeli diaspora tend to congregate and create social networks among themselves and not with members of the Jewish diaspora, although the two groups do interact. Also, whereas the historical Jewish Diaspora saw itself as forcibly dispersed from its original homeland, the Israeli diaspora has left usually for economic reasons, and thus more closely resembles other nation-state diasporas (See, Cohen, 2008, p. 17). More significantly, diaspora Israelis, unlike diaspora Jews, emigrated from Israel, and thus display cultural habits acquired there, and, more importantly, the ideologies of nationhood of that country. Their relationship to the homeland is not spiritual or ideological, as it may be for diaspora Jews, but is very much a real fact of their personal histories. In this way, the development of the Israeli diaspora reflects changes in the historical relationship between Israel and the Diaspora. Until the 1990’s Israeli emigres were looked down upon by Israeli society (Gold, 1993). As attitudes in Israel about the relationship between Israel and the Diaspora have changed (Ben-Moshe, 2003; Sheffer, 2005),



attitudes about this group of migrants have also changed. Further below I will explore how *shlichut* is structured within these changing relationships.

An important aspect of the relationship between Israel and the Jewish and Israeli diasporas is that of language use, and in large part this dissertation is devoted to the study of the role of language in this relationship. In the next section I discuss the historical development of this relationship and its present-day features.

## Hebrew and Zionism

### The Revival of Hebrew

Several scholars have noted that too much has been made of the supposedly miraculous revival of the Hebrew language and the role of Eliezer Ben-Yehuda in that process (Fellman, 1973; Kuzar, 2001; Mandel, 1981; Rabin, 1969; Sivan, 1969). Nonetheless, the history of Hebrew is indeed unique, and is integral to modern Jewish identity. Hebrew is a language with a long history, with four distinct periods dating as far back as the tenth century BCE (Classical, Mishnaic, Medieval, and Modern) and within those periods distinct phases as well. While Hebrew thrived as a spoken language in ancient Israel and Judea, it became a liturgical language in the Diaspora (Myhill, 2004, p. 62). Before and during the period of the *haskalah* Hebrew was a dormant language with no native speakers using it for daily communication, replaced by Diasporic Jewish languages such as Yiddish and by the national languages of the countries in which Jews lived, such as Polish, Russian, and French. *Maskilim*, the followers of the *haskalah*, argued that Hebrew should be revived and should replace Yiddish as the language of the Jews (Shavit, 1993).

While the revival of Hebrew was a process started during the period of the *haskalah*, like in many nationalist movements Hebrew found its greatest impetus in Zionism (Kuzar, 2001; Shur, 2001). Although originally not viewed as the *sine qua non* of a Jewish nationalist movement (Shur, 2001, pp. 2-3), by the early twentieth century Zionist settlers of Israel had adopted the policy of reviving Hebrew as the primary language of the Jews. Reflecting the negation of diaspora ideology, Jewish languages, in the words of Theodore Herzl, were “miserable stunted jargons...Ghetto languages...the stealthy tongues of prisoners” (Herzl, 1946, p. 146). Hebrew was taught in schools and *kibbutzim* (Spolsky & Shohamy, 1999, pp. 14-15) and was learned by successive waves of Jewish immigrants (Sáenz-Badillos, 1993, pp. 270-272). Eliezer Ben-Yehuda and other students of the language developed grammars and dictionaries, introduced new vocabulary into the language, modified its syntax, and lobbied for the adoption of Sephardic (Eastern) pronunciation (Kutscher, 1982; Sáenz-Badillos, 1993; see chapter 6 of this dissertation).

The revived Modern Hebrew was not identical to any of previous Hebrew dialects, but rather formed a *koine*, an amalgam of dialects that combined elements not only of the Classical, Mishnaic, and Medieval Hebrew, but also of Arabic and other Jewish and European languages (Blanc, 1968). As Blanc (1968) writes:

[Hebrew’s] most unusual feature was not that it was ‘dead’ (a much abused term) and had to be artificially revived, but that it was no one’s mother tongue, and that there were no speakers of any dialects closely related to it. The language makers thus had to rely entirely on literary and traditional sources,

and to impart the new standard not to speakers with related dialect substrate, but to immigrants with foreign (chiefly European) substrata. (p. 237)

This mixture of linguistic backgrounds resulted in Hebrew being transformed not just by revivers, but also by speakers. It also resulted in a complex web of ideologies that reflected the relationships among different Jewish immigrant groups to Israel.

### **Language Use and Language Ideologies in Israel**

By the time of the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, and especially over the last sixty-plus years, Hebrew has effectively attained hegemony in Israel. Despite the hegemonic status of Hebrew, however, Israel remains a multilingual and polyphonic nation (Spolsky & Shohamy, 1999, pp. 2-5). First of all, as just noted, Hebrew itself is heavily influenced by other languages, such as the Slavic languages, Arabic, German, English, Spanish, French, and Yiddish (Sáenz-Badillos, 1993, p. 277). Second, and more importantly, multiple languages are spoken in Israel. Spolsky & Shohamy (1999, pp. 3-4) list 43 known languages and categorize those into six groups: (1) Hebrew, spoken as the first or second language by the vast majority of the population; (2) Arabic, spoken as a first language by approximately 20% of the population and as a second language by others; (3) English, the prestige international language spoken as a second language by many Israelis; (4) Jewish languages, such as Yiddish, Judeo-Arabic, and Judezmo, which are mostly dying out; (5) languages of older immigrant groups, spoken mainly by older generations; (6) and the languages of recent immigrants, such as Russian and Amharic, which are spoken as a first or second language by those groups. In the decade since the publication of Spolsky & Shohamy's book, Israel has also increasingly become a destination for migrant workers from African, Asian, and Southeast Asian countries. These migrants, who are politically and socially excluded from mainstream Israeli society and perceived as a threat by both Jews and Arabs (Raijman & Semyonov, 2004), tend to speak their home languages among themselves, and communicate with Israelis in a mixture of English and Hebrew. The use and distribution of all these languages is ideologically motivated.

This multilingual landscape parallels the multilingual linguistic habits of Jews in the Diaspora who often spoke a Jewish language and a national language, and read and prayed in Hebrew and Aramaic. Harshav (2007) parallels Jewish speaking habits in Israel even more closely to those of the Diaspora:

The language of Israel is not Hebrew alone, but a trilingual structure: Hebrew as the language of national identity and separateness, the language of the literary tradition and of statehood, law, and the bureaucracy; English as the supra-language of science, international culture, and the international media; and the languages of immigrant groups . . . with their own publications and daily newspapers. (p. 29)

Harshav, of course, addresses only the linguistic repertoire of Jewish Israelis, thus ignoring the widespread use of Arabic in Israel. This is a display of an ideology which privileges Jewish experience in Israel. Yet, this focus on Jewish Israeli language use is methodologically motivated, for it helps to narrow the field of analysis.

In this chapter, and in this dissertation in general, I focus only on the use of Hebrew and English. While I recognize the ideological positioning of such a decision, these were the

only two languages spoken by the families who participated in this study. They are also the two languages with the greatest symbolic capital in Israeli society and in the American Jewish Diaspora, the sites in which the research took place.

Hebrew is the national language of Israel, the language of the street and the state, spoken by over five million Jews and Arabs in Israel. While the country has two official languages (Hebrew and Arabic) and public signs and advertisements in Israel appear in Hebrew, Arabic, English, Russian, and French, Hebrew is the preferred language of daily communication. I recall a children's television program that aired while I still lived in Israel in the 1980's that more than once played a song imploring Israelis to abandon other national languages and to speak Hebrew. That the immigrant languages of my parents' and grandparents' generations, such as Arabic, Hungarian, German, Polish, and Yiddish, are hardly understood by Israelis of my generation or younger is a testament to the "success" of the Hebrew revival project.

Nonetheless, multilingualism is a valued commodity in Israel, especially when that multilingualism is in world languages. As early as the late 1970's, several scholars noted the influence of English in the forms of calques and borrowings on spoken Hebrew in Israel and the value attributed to the ability of Israelis to speak English as a second language (Cooper & Fishman, 1977; Nadel & Fishman, 1977; Seckbach & Cooper, 1977). Spolsky and Shohamy (1999) call English "everyone's second language," and discuss "the growing power of English" in Israel since the 1970's (p. 186). Most Israelis are exposed to English through films, music, imported television programs shown on the state television station and programs on the many international cable channels in Israel. It is taught as a mandatory second language in schools as early as the third grade, and some parents enroll their children in private lessons even earlier. As the language of international communication, English is valued for the economic benefits it is perceived to attain for its speakers. As I will discuss below, the opportunity to have their children learn English is a strong motivating factor for *shlichim* in the decision to go abroad.

### **Language use among Jews in the Diaspora**

As noted above, one of the characteristic features of Jewish culture in the Diaspora was, and is, its polyphony (Harshav, 2007). Jews living in the Diaspora historically spoke the language of the dominant culture, a Jewish language that was a dialect of the language of the dominant culture (Judezmo in Spain, Judeo-Arabic in Arab-speaking countries, Yiddish in Central Europe and Russia). They produced literature and sacred texts in these Jewish languages and in the languages of power (large parts of the Babylonian Talmud are written in Aramaic) (See, Myhill, 2004, pp. 109-146). Finally, Diaspora Jews retained Hebrew as a liturgical and literary language and as a lingua franca, even if not as a language of daily use.

Today, Jews in the diaspora generally speak the language of the host culture as their primary language. With the exception of some orthodox communities, such as those studied by Fader (2007) in New York, the use of traditional Jewish languages like Yiddish is nearly non-existent (Myhill, 2004, p. 150). Orthodox Jews in the diaspora also retain Hebrew as a liturgical language. Israeli diasporans speak Hebrew as a first or second language and assign it prestige, and usually speak the local language as well. Secular diaspora Jews today rarely speak Hebrew, but do learn it as a written and liturgical language. Glinert (1993) has claimed that Hebrew among English-speaking Jews of the diaspora is a *quasilect*, a dialect "with salient

cultural purposes . . . [whose] users are unable to use it for open-ended . . . linguistic communication” (p. 250). Nonetheless, Hebrew does retain prestige among these communities (Avni, 2008).

Having described the relationships among Israel and the Diaspora, and the use and ideologies of language in those communities, I now turn to describing *shlichut*, its historical development, its purposes, and the people who participate in it.

### ***Shlichut*: A Novel Anthropological Case**

#### ***Shlichut* and the Jewish Agency for Israel**

Historically, the Jewish Agency for Israel (JAFI or the Agency) has been a locus for the contestation of both Zionist-Diaspora relations on the one hand and Agency-State relations on the other. The Agency was first conceived in 1919 as the Jewish Agency for Palestine, its existence being codified in 1922 with Article 4 of the League of Nations Mandate for Palestine at the lobbying of the World Zionist Organization (WZO) (Blokh, 1981). The Agency, according to the mandate, was established to serve “as a public body for the purpose of advising and cooperating with the Administration of Palestine in such economic, social and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish national home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine” (cited in Stock 1972: 178; see Elam 1990: 1-10 for an analysis). In 1929, under the guidance of Chaim Weizmann, in order to increase the Agency’s funding sources, JAFI was “enlarged” to include non-Zionist Jewish influence from the Diaspora. Nonetheless, the Jewish Agency remained largely under the control of the WZO (Blokh, 1981; Stock 1972). In 1948, with the establishment of the State of Israel, the Agency’s role again changed, its relationship with the state government being consistently reworked over the years. In June 1971, the Agency underwent its most significant changes when it became the Reconstituted Jewish Agency, its ties to the WZO being completely restructured so as to weaken the role of the WZO in the Agency’s decision-making, thus giving more substantive power to non-Zionist interests. Also, significantly, the Israeli government had by 1971 established ministries whose functions overlapped with those of the Agency, especially in immigration absorption, thus reducing JAFI’s significance to the functioning of the nation-state.

While JAFI’s main projects and functions in Israel involve immigration and absorption (Arbel, 2001), since its founding, one of the more significant programs of the Agency has been *shlichut*, or the dispatch of emissaries around the world to recruit Diaspora Jews to move to Israel, to raise funds for the agency’s work, or to establish and maintain Zionist or pro-Israel communities abroad through educational and community programs. *Shlichut* literally means emissary work, and the practices of *shlichut* are carried out under the auspices of JAFI’s Department of Jewish and Zionist Education, and often involve *shlichim* working in educational settings as teachers, consultants, or school principals.

JAFI sends out two kinds of *shlichim*, volunteers and professionals. The former constitute a larger group in terms of sheer numbers, and are sent on short-term assignments of two to three months mainly to summer camps as counselors. These volunteer *shlichim* are generally in their late teens and early twenties, and are either completing or have recently completed their army service. Professionals, on the other hand, are sent for two- to three-year assignments and are older. Most professional *shlichim* are married and many have young children, as JAFI believes that such *shlichim* are less likely to decide to stay abroad at the end

of their mission. This is an especially important point for JAFI, as having a *shaliach* or *shlichah* emigrate from Israel would be a big ideological blow. JAFI is so concerned with this, in fact, that one single *shlichah* in her early thirties told me that she was asked during her interview what she would do if she were to fall in love with a non-Israeli during her *shlichut*.

Among the professional *shlichim* there are four categories: community *shlichim*, who work with Jewish community organizations such as the United Jewish Federations in the U.S.; movement *shlichim*, who work with Zionist movements such as Hadassah, a women's Zionist organization; *shlichei aliyah*, who are specifically responsible for recruiting Diaspora Jews to move to Israel; and *morim shlichim* like Nirit, who work usually as teachers in Jewish day schools in the Diaspora. The families who participated in this study were professional *shlichim*. In the two focal families, Eyal Siegel was a movement *shaliach* and Nirit Feingluz was a *morah shlichah*. Other *shlichim* whom I interviewed in Israel were all community and movement *shlichim*.

With ideological changes taking place within the Agency in the last few years, the roles of the *shlichim* and *shlichut* as a practice have changed, with the Agency's Department of Jewish and Zionist Education adopting a "New Zionist" stance vis-à-vis Diaspora Jewry and its relationship to the Israeli nation-state (Kopelowitz, 2003). The New Zionism is opposed to classical Zionism in that whereas classical Zionism places Israel at the center of Jewish culture and history and the Diaspora on the periphery, the New Zionism, much like Dubnow (1958), counts Israel as one of a number of Jewish communities (Kopelowitz, 2003). These ideological changes reflect broader social and political changes in Israel and the Diaspora (Cf. Aronson 2003; Ben-Moshe 2004; Silberstein 1999).

These changes are also reflected in what *shlichim* reported to me as their motivations for doing *shlichut*. Every *shaliach* and *shlichah* I interviewed in Israel in the summer of 2006 listed the following three among their reasons for going on *shlichut*: (1) It was an opportunity for them (and their children) to see a different part of the world; (2) it was an opportunity for them to advance their careers; and (3) it was an opportunity for their children to learn English. This talk of cultural, economic, and linguistic opportunities closely echoes the discourse of Israelis who go abroad to work for transnational corporations (Ben-Yehuda, 2005; Gold, 1997).

### ***Shlichut* in Comparison to Other Forms of Transnationalism**

Earlier, I discussed the historical and current relationship between Israel and the Jewish diaspora, paying attention to the ideological components of this relationship. In discussing the history of *shlichut*, I attempted to illustrate how *shlichut* played an important role in the history of Zionism and how it has historically reflected and reproduced Zionist ideology. However, I also attempted to demonstrate that for modern *shlichim* the motivations for going on *shlichut* do not necessarily align with those of the Jewish Agency for Israel. These changes reflect changes in Israeli attitudes about the diaspora. This raises the question, How are *shlichim* similar to and different from other transnational and diasporic groups?

In its most straightforward definition, transnationalism is "the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement" (Basch, Glick Schiller, & Szanton Blanc, 2003, p. 7). Transnationals, then, are migrants "who develop and maintain multiple relationships—familial, economic, social, organizational, religious, and political—that span [national] borders" (Basch, Glick

Schiller, & Szanton Blanc, 2003, p. 7). Transnationals can be, but are not necessarily, temporary migrants. Diaspora communities are transnational in that they maintain longterm relationships to their countries of origin (Clifford, 1994; Tölölyan, 1991).

*Shlichim*, in that they represent their “home” state while residing in a “host” state, are, in every intent of the word, transnationals. Their economic, political, cultural, and linguistic practices are transnational. They are paid by a transnational organization (JAFI) to promote and represent Israeli interests abroad, and they combine the linguistic and cultural ideologies of Israel and, in the case of the families studied here, the United States. They retain ties with their families in Israel; communicate regularly with family and friends “back home;” consume news, media, and culture from Israel; and follow political developments there. At the same time, they establish ties with people and organizations in the U.S., and actively participate in local cultural life. As Israeli Jews, they are transnationals whose lives overlap with those of diaspora Jews and diaspora Israelis, whose ties to Israel vary from those of *shlichim*.

Nonetheless, *shlichim* exhibit differences from other transnational and diasporic communities. As emissaries, they are a unique type of transnational group that neither has the economic prestige of corporate or diplomatic attachés nor suffers the economic hardships experienced by many other migrant groups. Their ties to their homeland and host country, their political and nationalist ideologies, and the effects these have on their transitions, are unique. As temporary residents of a host country, *shlichim* are neither part of the Jewish diaspora nor precisely residents of the hostland. Indeed, the primary distinguishing feature of *shlichut* is the eventuality of return. Unlike many other transnational groups, only a small percentage of *shlichim* remain abroad after the end of their three-year mission.

While comparisons can be made between *shlichim* and other emissaries, such as religious missionaries, there are important differences between these two groups that preclude *shlichim* from being categorized strictly as missionaries. First, the relationships between the sending and receiving countries in missionary situations is economically and politically unequal, with missionaries usually departing from the empire to the colonies. Second, most missionaries presumably go on missions because of their belief in promoting their religion. As pointed out above, while the purported purposes of *shlichut* are to spread Zionism, many *shlichim* do not see this as the primary purpose of their *shlichut*. Here I have discussed the transnational characteristics of *shlichut* in general. In Chapter 4 I further examine the transnational traits of the specific families of *shlichim* observed as part of this dissertation project.

### **Language Use Among *Shlichim***

The temporary nature of their stay leads *shlichim* to a particular orientation toward their children’s linguistic development. English, as the language of day-to-day life in the United States, is viewed as a necessary tool for (albeit temporary) assimilation. As a language of prestige in Israel, it is valued for the cultural and linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991) it affords their children upon their repatriation. In Israel, the more one speaks English “like an American,” the more linguistic capital one gains—as long, of course, as one is able to maintain authentic Israeliess.

The symbolic capital of English in Israel should not be underestimated. Having their children acquire an authentic US American accent was a desirable goal for both the Feingluz

and Siegel families, as well as for other families of *shlichim* I interviewed in Israel. As noted earlier, parents said that one of the primary objectives in coming to the US for three years was not only to have their children acquire English language and literacy skills, but to learn to speak “without an accent.”

Likewise, concerns for the maintenance of Hebrew differ from those of permanent or long-term sojourners, as the home language remains a necessity upon return but is also viewed as an important marker of ethno-national identity (see chapter 4). These linguistic concerns affect school choice, as well, with *shlichim* sending their children to Jewish day schools both because of the presumption that being in a Hebrew-supportive environment will make their children’s initial acclimation to life in the U.S. easier and in the hopes that the children will be able to acclimate easily to life in Israel upon repatriation. These short-term and long-term linguistic and educational concerns figured as a prominent item of socialization among *shlichim* both prior to their departure and upon their arrival to the United States.

In this chapter, I have described the relationship between Israel and the Diaspora and the use and ideologies of language in both. I have addressed a number of preliminary questions about *shlichut* within these relationships, and described how *shlichim* approach their *shlichut*. I have also positioned *shlichut* among the discourses of transnationalism and diaspora to consider what is unique and what is common about this practice. In the following chapters, I will demonstrate how families of *shlichim* socialize their children to transnational Israeli identities through language, and how they socialize their children to use language in ways that mark them as authentically transnational.

Before getting to the analysis of these socializing practices, however, I examine the relationship developed between the researcher as observer and the research participants as observed subjects. In ethnographic research, the interactions between the researcher and the research participants are telling in that they can reveal the purposes of the research enterprise, how participants view their role in the research, and what the limits of observation are. By analyzing these interactions, researchers can make themselves vulnerable and gain further insight into the research process in general.

**CHAPTER 3**  
**“Fly on the Wall”:**  
**Observing the Observer in Ethnographic Research**

During my early visits to families’ homes, children routinely asked me if they could “play with the camera,” posing and acting in front of it, looking through its viewfinder, and reaching for it when it was in my hands. At the start of one observation in New York City, Liron Siegel, then 3 years and 3 months old, after inquiring what the video camera was, asked me if he could film with it. I showed him how to hold the camera and look through its viewfinder. Taking it, Liron filmed and narrated his surroundings, focusing on those people and artifacts he found interesting or salient (at least as expressed through his talk about them): his older sister playing at the computer, a cereal box decorated with a drawing of Dora the Explorer, the family dog, and his mother preparing dinner. Finally, he turned the camera on me and said to me, “*flomi xajex*,”—‘Shlomy, smile.’

While this recording undoubtedly gives insight into Liron’s attention to his house and family, it also provides an opportunity to analyze his role as a research participant. By turning the camera on the researcher, Liron, even if he is not aware of the transgressive consequences of this act, steps out of the role of observed subject and takes on the role of observer. By observing the researcher, he not only calls attention to the researcher’s presence, but also flattens the relationship between observer and observed. Being a research participant, as this example shows, does not consist of pretending that the camera, or the researcher, for that matter, is not there. Rather, research participants consistently point to the researcher’s presence—they actively participate in conducting the research, in defining its parameters and intentions.

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze interactions in which participants explicitly refer to or discuss the presence of the researcher and the act of being observed. Anthropologists have long acknowledged the need to analyze their own positionality in relation to their research subjects (Abu Lughod, 1991; Behar, 1996; Kondo, 1986); yet, few have empirically examined how the presence of the researcher and research equipment are talked about in interaction by research participants (Cf. Jacobs-Huey, 2002, 2007; Yang, 2004). While the former sheds significant light on the political dilemmas faced in ethnographic research, the latter analysis offers important insights into how participants understand their roles as research subjects and, consequently, is one way to further contextualize the data collected during fieldwork. This type of analysis avoids the pitfalls ethnographers face in “identifying themselves in terms of immutable traits such as race, ethnicity, or sex; reflecting on what some scholars call their personal ‘positioning’ in politics or culture; discussing the dilemmas they faced as researchers; or merely making personal disclosures” (Patai, 1994, p. A52). Instead, analyzing participants’ talk about the act of observation engages in a form of what Bourdieu (2003), in a lecture at the Royal Anthropological Institute in 2000, called *participant objectivation*—“the *objectivation of the subject of objectivation*, of the analyzing subject . . . of the researcher herself” (p. 282).

Ethnographic fieldwork involves the negotiation of power differentials, as the social and economic differences between researchers and research populations structure their interactions and experiences (Jones, 1995; Maquet, 1964). This is true even when the fieldwork is carried



out among communities with whom the researcher shares ethnic, social, economic, political, cultural, or linguistic backgrounds (Gerverus & Römhild, 2000; Jackson, 2004). An analysis of interactions between researcher and research participants can partially delineate the negotiation of these dynamics beyond dichotomies such as insider/outsider and native/non-native.

In this chapter, I first discuss a few of the questions that arise from my status as a partial insider of the group of families I studied. While this is not the focus of this chapter, it is nonetheless important to acknowledge my status as a native Israeli and to briefly consider its implications for this research project. I then review some of the ways other scholars have analyzed their own participation in their research. I then analyze instances of naturally occurring interaction in which the presence of the researcher is explicitly discussed. I find that participants engage in a number of interactional moves which simultaneously acknowledge the presence of the observer and minimize the strangeness of that presence. Participants also normalize the presence of the researcher by reframing it in colloquial terms, such as saying that the researcher comes to visit or to play. The researcher, in turn, is included as a member of the community. In these ways, participants blur the distinction between observer and observed. Yet, this blurring of boundaries is not absolute. Both researcher and research subjects for the most part continue to occupy these distinct positions. This distinction, in fact, is drawn upon as children learn to gain symbolic capital from their roles as focal research participants in contrast to their peers who are not. I conclude by considering how an analysis of these interactions reframes the notion of insider research.

### **On Being an Insider**

That anthropological research is fraught with power relations began to be recognized when anthropologists started to acknowledge their complicity in colonialism (Clifford, 1983; Maquet, 1964). Most such discussions centered not only around questions of whether or not anthropologists had the right to conduct research with other populations (Jones, 1995), but also around who was best suited to conduct such research, the insider or the outsider (Aguilar, 1981; Jacobs-Huey, 2002). To acknowledge that the ethnographer is a social actor whose perspective is affected by her social position is to do away with the image of the researcher as a detached observer capable of objective analysis of supposed facts and to move toward the recognition that ethnographic research rests on a fundamental methodological paradox: Participant-observation is the state of being simultaneously inside and outside the group being studied (Behar, 1996, p. 5; Bourdieu, 2003, p. 281; Myerhoff, 1978, p. 18).

The duality of the researcher, her simultaneously being an insider and outsider, is especially salient when the observer sees herself and is seen by the observed as a (partial) member of the group (Gerverus & Römhild, 2000; Narayan, 1993; Todorova-Pirgova, 2000). As an Israeli expatriate who speaks Hebrew and has, in the words of one Israeli professor friend of mine, a “very Israeli *habitus*,” I would be remiss not to at least mention how my cultural and linguistic affiliation with the people I studied influenced both our interactions and my interpretation of those interactions. For example, adults who were of a similar age to mine consistently assumed that I shared popular cultural knowledge with them, such as the names of television shows. Similarly, even after they had shifted to speaking English with their parents, children spoke to me in Hebrew, often making quizzical faces at me when I insisted on English

as the medium of communication. For my part, my own experience of emigrating from Israel at the age of seven, an age close to that of the focal children in this study, made me empathetic to the experiences of the Siegel and Feingluz children while also causing me to feel that I would always remain somewhat of an uncomfortable outsider. For example, while this shared background made me feel at ease in the homes of the families I observed, my sense of not being “fully Israeli” caused me to feel foolish when asking questions that seemed to me to be “obvious” to someone living in Israel. Likewise, my unfavorable attitudes toward the goals of classical Zionism (which stemmed from my status as an expatriate) and my leftist political commitments made me cautious and guarded during observations at the *shlichim*’s training seminars in Jerusalem in the summer of 2006. These feelings of caution are theoretically important, since they tell us about the limits of ethnic and cultural affiliation between researcher and participants. However, these types of affiliations are not the only ones that figure prominently in the relationship between observer and observed.

While I do not want to minimize the role my being Israeli-born and fluent in Hebrew played in carrying out my fieldwork, and especially in negotiating entry with the Jewish Agency for Israel, the story told by the data I present in this chapter centers on the reactions participants in my study had to being observed. Indeed, in the field, my status as an Israeli for the most part remained in the background, an unquestioned premise of interaction among and between participants (including me). My status as a researcher and observer, on the other hand, was a salient feature of interaction, and therefore one which merits close analysis.

### Observing the Observer

Some researchers have, indeed, examined the observer-subject relationship in novel ways. Yang (2004), for example, in an innovative approach to analyzing his own participation within a study in which he was a “complicit researcher” (Yang, 2004, p. 72), not only elicited other participants’ views on his role in the research, but also had confidantes interview him about ongoing events. Abu Lughod (1988) and Kondo (1986) examined how they were referred to by participants in their respective ethnographies, especially regarding their roles as women and as “halfies” (Abu Lughod, 1991). Writing from a linguistic anthropological point of view, Jacobs-Huey (2002), has argued that native researchers’ ability to communicate with participants not merely in the local dialect, but also with attention to linguistic nuances, gives them a duty, in the eyes of research subjects, to be careful in their representations of the participants in their study. Yet, while they attend to the participants’ perceptions of the researcher, these studies do not analyze interactions between the observer and observed in which the act of observation is a topic of conversation.

As mentioned before, to analyze participant talk about the act of observation is to engage in an altered form of what Bourdieu (2003) calls participant objectivation. Opposed to what he calls the *narcissistic reflexivity* engaged in by anthropologists who reflect on the process of observing, participant objectivation is the practice of using the tools of analysis deployed in ethnographic research to analyze the “social conditions of possibility” of the act of observation, thus “turning anthropology against itself” (2003, pp. 282, 285). While for Bourdieu this means analyzing the broader social structures that enable the ethnographic enterprise and the carrying out of research itself, I extend participant objectivation to include the microanalysis of talk employed throughout this dissertation: a situated analysis of talk to get at the meaning of

social relationships. In this chapter I use the same tools of analysis I use in the other findings chapters to consider how the role of the researcher is constantly under negotiation.

### **Noticing the Observer**

As evident from Liron's inquiry into the camera, study participants do not ignore the presence of the researcher or the fact that they are being observed. Rather, study participants regularly attend to the means and tools of observation. This can manifest in children asking to handle the recording equipment, which happened consistently both in the families' homes and in the children's schools. It can manifest as well when participants talk about being filmed and observed. During early visits to the Feingluz household in New York, the five children, ages 6 to 13, would jokingly tell each other not to say certain things in the camera's presence, an edict I vainly and foolishly countered for fear that this somehow "corrupted the data."

Attention to the act of observation is also displayed when adults instruct children how to behave with and in front of the camera. That is, not only do children talk to and about recording devices, but their interaction with them often prompts parents, teachers, and researchers to issue warnings, instructions, and injunctions. During classroom observations, when there were over twenty children present instead of two or three as in the home, I repeatedly denied children's requests to "play with" the audio recorder. In the families' homes, where I routinely gave children the camera, parents often warned their kids not to break it, or told me not to feel obligated to let the children play with it. Such injunctions are not meaningless, but rather display adults' expectations about the purposes of the research project and the children's appropriate forms of participation in it. These expectations reflect and reproduce broader cultural norms about the role of the child in the community, but they also provide insight into how research participants, both children and adults, attend to being observed.

Attending to the presence of the researcher can be said to have two primary functions. First, it recognizes the symbolic boundaries that traditionally exist between the observer—who asks questions, films the activities, and takes notes—and the observed—who answer the questions, are filmed, and participate in the ongoing activities. Second, by involving the observer in the activity being observed, these interactions blur the boundaries between researcher and study participants.

The following exchange took place during my second home-visit to the Siegel house in Jerusalem. While I had gotten to know Eyal, the father, at the training sessions, he had not been home during my first visit a couple days earlier. On this day, Dikla, 5;7 and Liron, 3, were watching television as I stood to the side filming them and taking notes. Their mother, Efrat spoke on the phone as she prepared the evening's meal. Eyal arrived about fifteen minutes after we had gotten to the house. Shortly afterwards, in the middle of a conversation with his wife, the following exchange occurred.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> While throughout this chapter I use the first person singular pronoun in referring to myself, when analyzing transcripts of ongoing interaction in which I am a participant I refer to myself in the third person. This practice maintains my status as a participant in the interactions, rather than shifting to my status as the researcher who filmed them. Also, the use of the third-person in writing the analysis allows me to distinguish between my actions as recorded on camera and any analysis I provide of those actions in my writing.

**Excerpt 1—Fly on the wall**

- 01 Eyal *ma kove?* (.8)  
what happen  
'What's up?'
- 02 *az ma,(.) anaxnu amuxim lehitalem mi noxexuto sel flomi po?*  
So what we supposed ignore.inf from presence gen Shlomy here  
'So, what, are we supposed to ignore the fact that Shlomy's here?'
- 03 Efrat *↑lo. midej pa'am hu foel e:ze:: feela, ata medabev elav, kaze. aval eh:::::: =*  
no. from time he asks some question you talk to him such but eh  
'No. Every once in a while he asks some question and you talk to him,  
and such. But eh,'
- 04 Eyal *ken?*  
yes  
'Yeah?'
- 05 Efrat *= lo mafzia jotev midaj. =*  
no bother more too  
'Doesn't bother too much.'
- 06 SK *ani::*  
I  
'I'
- 07 Efrat *= hu vaa axjav sefev tova, ve ze,*  
he saw now book torah, and that  
'He just saw a torah scroll, and such.'
- 08 SK *ani kmo ha balon. (.8) ani*  
I like the balloon I  
'I'm like the balloon. I'm'
- 09 Eyal *ata kmo [zvuv al ha kiv.*  
you like fly on the wall  
'You're like a fly on the wall.'
- 10 Efrat *[eze balon?*  
which balloon  
'What balloon?'
- 11 SK *ze.*  
this  
'This one'

12 Efrat ah.  
ah  
oh

In turn 2 (*anaxnu amuxim lehitalemi mi noxexuto sel flomi po* [‘are we supposed to ignore the fact that Shlomy’s here?’]), Eyal ironically acknowledges the researcher’s presence while asking if it should be ignored. His wife negates this premise, but minimizes the researcher’s interactional role through the use of mitigating tags such as *midej pa’am* (once in a while [turn 3]), *eze* (some [turn 3]), *kaze* (and such [turn 3]), and *ve ze* (and such [turn 7]). Furthermore, Efrat minimizes the researcher’s intrusion into the family space by stating that he is not too much of a bother (*lo mafbia jotev midaj* [doesn’t bother too much] turn 5). She then refers to a prior event (*hu vaa axfav sefev tova* [He just saw a torah scroll] turn 7) in which Shlomy joined her and the children in observing a religious procession around the corner from their house.<sup>10</sup> By using the third-person singular pronoun, *hu* (he [turn 7]), to refer to Shlomy’s seeing the torah scroll, rather than the first-person plural—Efrat and the children were there, too, after all—Efrat simultaneously distinguishes between the observer and the observed while including him in a collective activity. In responding to this conversation, Shlomy indexes a half-filled helium balloon floating in the corner of the room. In turn 9 Eyal invokes the stereotype of the all-seeing yet unobtrusive researcher.

This exchange acknowledges the boundaries between researcher and participants in order to both reify and dissolve them. First, the conversation itself, while ostensibly about the researcher’s unobtrusiveness, does much work to locate and identify the researcher and his participation in family activities. By including the researcher as both object and subject of the speech event, participants blur the distinction between observer and observed. Second, by ironically minimizing what the researcher does and evoking minimizing images (a balloon, a fly on the wall), the three participants in this interaction ridicule the stereotypical image of the observer who sees all but does not intrude. In this sense, both Efrat and Eyal act as gatekeepers who determine whether or not the researcher is welcome in their house. Through their ironic statements they make a positive case for the researcher as an active participant.

Indeed, a few minutes later, as she set the table for dinner, Efrat commented, “*jaxol lihot se flomi, (.5) lamkot se hu zvuv, (.3) hije vaev,*” (‘Is it possible that Shlomy, even though he’s a fly, is hungry?’). In this way, Efrat further subverts the possibility of the researcher maintaining a detached stance. The invitation to share a meal was a common practice with all participating families. Indeed, during the pilot study for this project, the mother of another Israeli family, the Gordons, insisted that her family’s participation was contingent on my sitting with them at the table, claiming it would otherwise be too strange for her to be filmed. This invitation thus breaks down the distinction between researcher and participants in ways similar to those of Liron asking for the camera. First, it is a way to normalize the researchers’ presence. By joining the family for dinner the researcher becomes a guest rather than merely an observer, thus filling a more common social role. Second, sitting at the table places the researcher in front of the camera and thus subjects him to the same type of surveillance that the family undergoes.

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<sup>10</sup> For a fuller discussion of this procession, see Chapter 5.

While we have just seen how the act of observation is commented upon through a discussion of how participants are expected to behave in front of the camera, acknowledging the presence of the researcher can also occur when study participants ask questions about the researcher's intentions. The following exchange took place during my third visit to the Siegel house in Jerusalem. Dikla and Liron watched TV together, the older sister commenting about some of the characters to her younger brother, as Efrat and Eyal prepared dinner. I filmed the children while conversing with Eyal and Efrat about their preparations to sell their house. At one point, Dikla approached Efrat, tugged at her mother's shirt, and, cupping her hand around her mouth, signaled for her to bring her ear closer to the her face so that she could whisper to her. After Dikla finished speaking, Efrat stood back up and told me that the children wanted to know why I was at their house. With Efrat and Eyal's help, I stumbled through an explanation of the research project, which Efrat reframed not as observations of Dikla's language learning, but rather as visits to the family's home in Israel and the U.S..

**Excerpt 2—Lama ata po**

- 01 Efrat *flomi. votsim po hezbeḵ lama ata po. ata jaxol lehasbiḵ lanu lama*  
 Shlomy want.pl here explanation why you here you can explain us why  
 'Shlomy, they want an explanation for why you're here. Can you explain  
*ata po?*  
 you here  
 to us why you're here?'
- 02 SK *lama ani po. ani:*  
 why I here I  
 'Why I'm here? I'
- 03 Efrat *takjivi.*  
 listen.dir  
 'Listen.'
- 04 Eyal *(Dikla) lexi takjivi le flomi.*  
 go.dir listen.dir to Shlomy  
 'Dikla, go listen to Shlomy.'
- 05 SK *((to Dikla)) lehasbiḵ lax? o lehasbiḵ le ima?*  
 explain.inf you or explain.inf to mom  
 'Should I explain it to you? Or should I explain it to mom?'
- 06 Efrat *lo. tasbiḵ li ba safa fela.*  
 neg explain.dir me in language gen  
 'No. Explain it to me in her language.'
- 07 SK *((to Dikla)) az ani votsē libot ex e ex at ove: ex at eh. ma at osa*  
 so I want see.inf how e how you mov- how you eh what you do  
 'So, I want to see how- how you mov- how- what you do while you're here and

*kan ve ma at taasi be aḥṣot ha bʕit be zman se at jam.*  
here and what you do.ft loc United States loc time that you there  
what you will do in the United States while you're there.'

- 08 Eyal ((to Dikla)) *hu maʕve.*  
he compare  
'He's comparing.'
- 09 SK ((to Dikla)) *ani maʕve ben ha snaim.*  
I compare between def two  
'I'm comparing between the two.'
- 10 Efrat ((to Dikla)) *az be eṯsem ma ze omex im kaxa? se hu keilu ba*  
so in fact what that mean if so that he like come  
'So, in fact, what does that mean? It means he, like,  
*levakex otanu po ve hu boe ma anaxnu-*  
visit.inf us here and he see what we  
visits us here and sees what we-'
- 11 Dikla *ve hu ba levakex otanu be aḥṣot ha bʕit.*  
and he come visit.inf us loc United States  
'And he comes to visit us in the United States.'
- 12 Efrat *bidjuk. ve az hu kvax yiḅe otax-*  
exactly and then he already see.ft you  
'Exactly. And then he'll already see you-'
- 13 Dikla ((to Liron)) *sev im ha ( )*  
sit with def  
'Sit with the ( ).'
- 14 Liron ((hits Dikla))
- 15 Efrat *hu yiḅe otax kvax: hu yiḅe otax kvax gam kʕe at tibi- tidi*  
he see.ft you already he see.ft you already also when you see- know  
'He'll see you already- he'll see you when you already also see- know  
*anglit, ve-*  
English and  
English and-'
- 16 Dikla ((to Liron)) *lo titen li maka kan.*  
neg give.ft me hit here  
'Don't hit me here.'

In this exchange, the presence of the researcher is put on full display (*ḳotsim po hezbeḳ lama ata po* [‘they want an explanation for why you’re here’] turn 1). This move to forefront the presence of the investigator, as in excerpt 1, begins to break down the traditional boundaries between researcher and participants. It is a real-life breaking of the fourth wall, an acknowledgement by the actors of the presence of an audience. In traditional anthropological research, the anthropologist is often depicted as part of the background—an unobtrusive outsider whose participation in the scene does not alter participants’ behavior (Clifford, 1983). Yet, here, as in excerpt 1, the anthropologist and the research are put on display.

By directing Dikla to listen to Shlomy’s response (*takjivi* [listen] turn 2; *lexi takjivi le flomi* [‘go listen to Shlomy’] turn 3), Efrat and Eyal constructed the conversation as one intended specifically for her. Shlomy’s question of whom to address (*lehasbiḳ lax? o lehasbiḳ le ima?* [‘Should I explain it to you? Or should I explain it to mom?'] turn 5) reflects a common assumption among researchers that young children lack the capacity to reflect on the research process. In telling Shlomy to explain the research to her but in Dikla’s “language” (*ba safa jela* [turn 6]), Efrat instructs him to use socially accepted forms of child communication, thus relying not only on the child’s communicative competence, but also that of the researcher.

In turn 10, Efrat reframes the researcher’s presence as a visit (*ba levaker otanu* [‘comes to visit us’]). Framing it in this way in effect normalizes the research activity and, arguably, phrases it in “Dikla’s language,” as evidenced by the young girl’s subsequent uptake (*ve hu ba levakeḳ otanu be aḳtsot ha bḳit* [‘And he comes to visit us in the United States’] turn 11). Rather than an objectifying observer, the researcher becomes a visiting subject who interacts with the family much as any visitor would. This reframing thus further breaks down the symbolic boundaries between the researcher and the participants.

Participants’ attention to being observed, however, can also serve to more clearly define their roles and those of the researcher, not just to blur the distinction between the two. The following exchange took place approximately a quarter of an hour after Dikla had asked why I was at her house. Eyal, Efrat, Dikla, Liron and I were still in the living area of the house. The children played with toys as the parents set the table. I had focused the camera on their play activities when Dikla got up and left the room. When she returned, I still had the camera pointed at her brother, filming him as he played with a couple of figurines. Dikla asked why I wasn’t filming her. This question prompted a further explanation from Eyal of how I carried out my research, an explanation that echoed previous conversations I had had with him and Efrat. This explanation, rather than blurring the boundaries between observer and observed, clarified them for Dikla.

**Excerpt 3—Giveret tsumet lev**

- 01 Dikla *lama ata lo mexaven et ha matslema alaj. flomi?*  
 why you neg aim dom def camera iom shlomy  
 ‘Why aren’t you pointing the camera at me, Shlomy?’
- 02 SK *slixa? ma amaḳt?*  
 sorry what say.2nd.sg.pt  
 ‘Sorry? What did you say?’



- 03 Dikla °*je ata lo mexaven et ha matslema elaj.*°  
that you neg aim dom def camera 1st.sg.iom  
'That you're not pointing the camera at me.'
- 04 SK *xivanti ota aval at avast.*  
aim.1st.sg.pt it but you pass.2nd.sg.pt  
'I was aiming it at you but you moved.'
- 05 Eyal *hu lo mexaven alajx tamid luli. hu metsalem et kol ma je kove ba*  
he neg aim 2.sg.iom always luli he film dom all what that occur loc  
'He doesn't always point the camera at you, Luli. Hi films everything  
*xedeʕ. at jodaat-*  
room you know  
that's happening in the room. You know-'
- 06 Dikla *hu tsavix letsalem oti aval.*  
he need film.inf me but  
'But he needs to film me?'
- 07 Eyal *otax kol ha zman. betax. im hu lo yetsalem otax xas ve xalila ma je jikve.*  
you all def time clearly if he neg film you mercy and forbid what that happen.ft  
'You all the time. Of course. God forbid he doesn't film you all the time.'
- 08 Dikla @@
- 09 Eyal *givebet tsumet lev*  
miss attention  
'Little miss I want attention.'

Dikla's initial query in turn 1 (*lama ata lo mexaven et ha matslema alaj* ['why aren't you pointing the camera at me']), is again a way of bringing the research activity into plain view. By positioning herself as the focus of the observations, Dikla demonstrates her understanding of the purpose of the research while also clarifying her role as research participants. Eyal's jocular response further clarifies the participants' roles by explaining to Dikla that it is the whole family that is observed, not just her.

### **Incorporating the Researcher into the Community**

Thus far, we have seen how participants include the researcher in the ongoing activity in order to blur the boundaries between observer and observed. These boundaries are further blurred when the researcher is incorporated not only into an activity, but into the community. During my participation in the *shlichim*'s training seminars in Jerusalem in the summer of 2006, this transition from outsider to insider was especially salient.

On my first day at the training seminars, I took a seat in the corner of the room, took out my notebook, and began to busily transcribe the words of the seminar leader. Noticing this, some of the *shlichim* asked me to join them at the table. In the day's second session, the session

leader asked me to introduce myself. I explained that I was an anthropologist from UC Berkeley who was researching the cultural and linguistic acclimation of children of *shlichim* before, during, and after their move to the United States. I said that I was attending the seminar to recruit families and to learn how JAFI prepared its *shlichim* for this transition.

By the second day of the training seminar, I had been given two nicknames, “Berkeley” and “the anthropologist,” and some of the *shlichim* would explain who I was when session leaders asked us to give our brief introductions.<sup>11</sup> By the last week of the seminar, however, I had been fully incorporated into the group. I was invited by *shlichim* to watch World Cup games, asked to sit with them at lunch, and invited to social outings with the group. When the *shlichim* took group photographs they asked me to join them. I was told by *shlichim* and by JAFI administrators that now I, too, was a *shaliach*. I could not help feeling, when hearing such assessments, that I had been in part deceitful. Ideologically, I do not agree with JAFI’s Zionist mission of *kibbutz galuyot*, the practice of recruiting Diaspora Jews to live in Israel (See Chapter 2); however, during the course of my research I did not speak about my ideological distancing from the group.

These moves to incorporate the researcher into the group, and thus to redefine his presence, took place in the homes of *shlichim* as well. When I would visit the Feingluz family in New York, the children usually asked me to play games with them. I viewed playing pingpong with the older boys both as a way to establish rapport and as an opportunity to allow the Feingluz children to determine how our relationship would develop. When I asked Nirit how she thought the children interpreted my presence, she commented that while they understood that I was there doing research, she thought they viewed me as a “fun uncle.”

I recount this not to claim that by virtue of my ethnicity, linguistic ability, age, or personality I was able to establish some sort of unique relationship with the *shlichim* and their children. In fact, I know that other researchers, both those who share cultural and linguistic backgrounds with their informants and those who do not, often establish similar relationships with their subjects. Rather, what I aim to do here is to point to a methodological truism. Study participants, whether by inviting the researcher to sit at the dinner or seminar table, or by referring to the researcher as an uncle or as a member of the group, endeavor to minimize the boundaries between observer and observed and to normalize the act of observation, even as the goals of the researcher and the research participants remain different.

Nicknaming the researcher, as occurred at the seminars, is one of the ways in which the boundaries between observer and observed are simultaneously blurred and highlighted. On the one hand, that the researcher warrants a nickname that calls attention to his difference from the group, such as “Berkeley” or “the anthropologist,” indicates that this difference persists. On the other hand, nicknaming, as an act of social intimacy, aims to reduce that difference.

The next two excerpts were filmed six days apart in early November 2006, nearly three months after the Siegel family had moved to the US. In the first example, Dikla, Liron, their mother and the researcher were in the kitchen, the kids playing as their mother washed the dishes and as Shlomy stood behind the camera.

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<sup>11</sup> Most session leaders were university professors, former *shlichim*, or other professionals who were brought in to lead one or two sessions at the seminars. Thus, most sessions began with introductions that included the names and destinations of the *shlichim*.

*Excerpt 4—Shlomke*

- 01 Dikla *ʃlomke:?*  
Shlomke  
'Shlomke'
- 02 SK *ken.*  
yes  
'Yes'
- 03 Dikla *xake vɛga, (.) tɪʔe maʃu.*  
wait.dir instant look.dir something  
'Wait a minute. Look at this.'
- 04 Efrat *yɛʃ lexɑ kvɑʁ ʃem xɑdɑʃ. (.8) [ʃlomke.*  
exist iom.2 already name new Shlomke  
'You already have a new name, Shlomke.'
- 05 SK [*ken. samti* [*lev.*  
yes put.1.pt heart  
'Yeah, I noticed.'
- 06 Liron [*ʃlomi! ʃlomi! ti-*  
Shlomy Shlomy loo-  
'Shlomy! Shlomy! Loo-'
- 07 Efrat *le ʃlomi kvɑʁ kɔʁim ʃlomke.*  
iom Shlomy already call.3.pl Shlomke  
'Shlomy's already called Shlomke.'
- 08 Dikla @@@
- 09 Liron @ [*ʃlomi! (.5) tɪʔe!*  
@ Shlomy look.dir  
@ 'Shlomy, look!'
- 10 Efrat [*<ze siman ʃe hu ala kita.>*  
it sign that he rise.3.pt grade  
'It's a sign that he went up a grade.'
- 11 [*ʃem- ʃem* nickname  
name name *nickname*  
'A- a nickname'
- 12 Liron [*ʃlomi! (.5) tɪʔe!*  
Shlomy look.dir  
'Shlomy, look!'

Excerpt 5, recorded six days later, takes up this theme again, also in the Siegel's kitchen. Dikla had just referred to the researcher as Shlomke, and Liron asked her who Shlomke was.

**Excerpt 5—Shlomke II**

- 01 Liron (*Dikla Dikla Dikla*), (.3) < *ma ze [lomke?]* > (3.8)  
 Dikla Dikla Dikla what is shlomke  
 'Dikla Dikla Dikla, what's a Shlomke?'
- 02 Liron (*Dikla Dikla*), *ma ze-* < *ma ze [lomke?]* > =  
 Dikla Dikla what is what is Shlomke  
 'Dikla Dikla, what's a- what's a Shlomke?'
- 03 Dikla =((pointing at SK)) *flomke ze mi fe-* (1) *ze mi fe im ha matslema.*  
 Shlomke is who that is who that with def camera  
 'Shlomke is who- he's that guy with the camera.'
- 04 Liron ((points at SK smiling))  
 05 ((chuckling)) *flomke.*  
 Shlomke  
 'Shlomke.'
- 06 ((To Dikla)) *flomke.*  
 Shlomke  
 'Shlomke.'
- 07 Dikla *flomke.* (.8) *ze flomke.* (1) *kovim lo flomke.*  
 Shlomke that Shlomke call.pl him Shlomke  
 'Shlomke. That's Shlomke. His name is Shlomke.'
- 08 Efrat *flomke flomke::*  
 Shlomke Shlomke  
 'Shlomke Shlomke'
- 09 Dikla *flom-* (.3) *flomi,* (.5) *im kvax kovim lexa [lomke]* (.5) *az.* (.3) *siman fe*  
 Shlom- Shlomy, if already call.pl you shlomke so sign that  
 'Shlom- Shlomy, if you're already called Shlomke it means that you're  
*ata ba xaviva.*  
 you loc.def group  
 in the group.'

In both of these examples, the researcher is referred to by a nickname that the participants acknowledge to be a new moniker (*yef lexa kvax fem xadaʃ* ['You already have a new name'], Excerpt 4, turn 4; nickname [Excerpt 4, turn 11]). Morgan, O'Neill and Harré (1979, p. 33) associate nicknames and petnames, such as Shlomke, with the expression of

“affection, intimacy, and closeness.” The social significance of nicknaming is made explicit by Efrat’s and Dikla’s comments that having received a nickname has garnered the researcher in-group status (*ze siman fe hu ala kita* [‘It’s a sign that he went up a grade’] Excerpt 4, turn 10; *siman fe ata ba xavuka* [‘it means that you’re in the group’] Excerpt 5, turn 7). In this way, Efrat continues to negotiate entry for the researcher, as she did in Excerpt 1. As it comes almost a week before Dikla’s assessment of Shlomy’s inclusion in the group, it is possible to say that Efrat’s comment that a nickname indicates advancement toward inclusion in the group models such assessments for Dikla. I am careful not to claim that the researcher’s inclusion in the group is absolute. Shlomke is, after all, “that guy with the camera” (Excerpt 5, turn 3).

### **Symbolic Capital in Research Participation**

Defining the researcher’s presence in their own terms, including the observer in the present activity, and naming the researcher a member of the group are three of the ways participants normalize the act of observation. Often, however, children would also gain symbolic capital from their status as research participants. The Feingluz and Siegel children, for example, consistently told their classmates that I was at their school to observe them, adding that I visited their homes as well.

The following interaction took place as I entered Rivka’ Feingluz’s kindergarten classroom in early May 2007, nearly ten months into the research project. By this point the researcher’s presence had become very much routine. One child, Jon, invited me to his house to play. Rivka, the focal child in this classroom, responded to the conversation by telling Jon that the researcher came to play at her house, adding that Jon’s not speaking Hebrew precluded such visits to his house. Sadie, their teacher, was meanwhile telling children who had yet to take their seats to sit down.

#### ***Excerpt 6—Play date***

- 01 Jon Can I have a play date with you::?  
 02 SK A play date with me?  
 03 Sadie [@@@@@  
 04 SK [I’m a- I’m a little too old for play dates.  
 05 Rivka He’s coming to my house to a play date! =  
 06 Sadie =((to class)) Guys!  
 07 SK I think a boy has to sit here.  
 08 Jon Can you come to my ho:use? (.)  
 09 >Hey! Can < you come to my ho:use?  
 10 SK We’ll (.) we’ll talk to your [mom about it.  
 11 Rivka [but becau- (.) >but but you don’t speak Hebrew. <

This brief interaction illustrates several competencies on Rivka’s part. First, here and elsewhere, Rivka, like other children in the study, demonstrated that she understood that the research was about her and her siblings’ acquisition of English, maintenance of Hebrew, and the transition they were undergoing in moving to the U.S. The description of research

observations as play dates no doubt has to do with the exigencies of the immediate conversation, as well as with a redefinition of the researchers' presence in a way that fits into Rivka' worldview and understanding of social relationships. It is very much similar to Efrat reframing the observer's presence as a visit. Rivka' statement in turn 11, then, that Jon does not speak Hebrew, is as much a way to explain why Shlomy comes to her house, as it is a way to reinforce her status as the only fluent Hebrew speaker in the class. That is, this exchange also indicates an awareness of how to gain symbolic capital among her peers.

### **Making the Observer Vulnerable**

In this chapter I have examined the ways research participants negotiate the status of the observer in interaction. The shocks of research are not only those experienced by the novice researcher who finds herself in the midst of a new and sometimes foreign community; the observed must also come to terms with the act of observation. Three of the ways research subjects normalize the observation process are to explicitly acknowledge the presence of the researcher and the act of observation, to include the observer in the ongoing activity, and to incorporate the researcher into the group. Research participants are also able to gain symbolic capital from their participation in the research project by excluding peripheral participants from research activities.

The ability of the researcher to affiliate with the group being studied—that is, to attain insider status—can both promote and hinder the research effort. First, as Jacobs-Huey (2002) and others have pointed out, the ability to speak fluently in the study subjects' first language allows the researcher to communicate more fluidly with participants and to recognize nuances during ongoing interaction that a non-native speaker may not pick up *in situ*. Yet, as I noted above, researchers who study bilingualism may find this to be a hindrance, as study participants continue to speak to them in the first language even as they have shifted to using the second. More significantly, the researcher's potential insider status can blur the boundaries between observer and observed. The blurring of these boundaries can be useful, as it gives the researcher access to interactions not otherwise available. Yet, it can also be detrimental if the researcher is unable to maintain some level of detachment. That is, I do not want to do away completely with the distinction between researcher and participants. As much as researchers, as participants, become part of the action, they are always also observers who participate in order to understand specific phenomena and to make explicit what is more often than not left unexamined in everyday interactions. I am also careful not to claim that the relationship between observer and observed unproblematically leads towards greater and greater insider-ness. Rather, this process is recurrent and ongoing, not progressive or successive.

In the next chapter, I discuss a different type of vulnerability, that experienced by families of *shlichim* as they prepare to leave Israel. As discussed in Chapter 2, *shlichim* face a similar process to those faced by other transnationals. Their duality, their status as not part of the diaspora but temporarily not part of Israel, raises anxieties both about their and their children's acclimation to life in the U.S. and re-acclimation to life in Israel upon repatriation.

CHAPTER 4  
Preparing for Uncertainty:  
Anxiety, Language, and Knowledge in Transmigration

Culture only emerges as a problematic where there is a loss of meaning in the contestation and articulation of everyday life.

—Homi Bhabha, 1994, p. 50

For *shlichim*, vulnerability became a dominant theme during the months prior to their departure from Israel. As they packed up their possessions; sold, stored, or donated their belongings; found renters or buyers for their homes; and said goodbye to family and friends, *shlichim* and their children opened themselves up to the uncertainties of living in a new country with a new language, new social networks, new cultural expectations, and new challenges. Preparation for a three-year sojourn in a different country makes many people anxious,<sup>12</sup> but in Israel in the summer of 2006 this anxiety was compounded by the heightened anxiety produced by the ongoing battles with Hamas in Gaza and the war with Hezbollah in Lebanon.

In a country the size of Israel, war is not an abstract political discussion of the deployment of troops, national interests, and casualty tolls. Most Israeli citizens serve in the armed forces and at any point have at least one relative who is deployed. During the conflict with Lebanon, over 300,000 Israelis left their homes in the North to stay in refugee camps, the homes of friends and families, and even to squat on beaches in other parts of the country. The *shlichim* were not an exception. The kidnappings of the Israeli soldiers in the North and the South, the daily qassam rocket attacks on the city of Sderot, and the looming war with Lebanon were constant topics of conversation at lunch and even in some seminars during the last week of the *shlichim*'s training course in July 2006. Logistical arrangements, such as sending containers to the United States, were diverted. Nitai Feingluz was called up for reserve duty and spent nearly the entire month of the war on the front in Lebanon. A photograph of him in uniform hung on the refrigerator in the kitchen of his mother-in-law's apartment. When she passed it, five year-old Rivka would kiss the picture and proclaim her love for her father. The family of Susana Reichman, a *shlichah* headed to the the Mid-Atlantic states, dropped out of this study after her husband was deployed to Lebanon.

Several *shlichim* expressed guilt about leaving the country and loved ones during a time of crisis. Yehudit Goldman, a *shlichah* to the Midwest from a town near the Green Line—the border that separates Israel from its neighbors—told me once in a phone conversation that she was going to visit a refugee camp not far from her home, adding, “*anaxnu votsim lehav~~g~~if je anaxnu osim mafehu lifnej je ozvim*” (‘we want to feel like we’re doing something before we leave’). The Siegels’ neighbors hosted relatives from the North whose young children, playing one day with Dikla, frightened the girl by telling her that Arabs were hiding in a tool shed in the back yard waiting to kill her. The remainder of the evening was devoted to Eyal and Efrat teaching their daughter not to be afraid of Arabs.

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<sup>12</sup> Using the Social Readjustment Rating Scale (Holmes & Rahe, 1967, p. 216), which measures the causes of anxiety, the changes in work, school, and living environments undergone by *shlichim* add up to a minimum of 305 points, with any score above 300 considered major stress.

The war, like many wars, was a physical battle over borders and an ideological battle over national boundaries and the rights of different nations to sovereignty. When battles over boundaries occur, they make explicit what those boundaries are while also raising questions about the validity of those boundaries. In a way, while clearly not fraught and violent like the struggles over land and lives around them, the *shlichim*'s preparation for migration were ongoing negotiations over uncertain and obfuscated boundaries. They were attempts at defining those boundaries more clearly to better cope with the anxieties of departure and resettlements.

Drawing on observations at the *shlichim*'s training seminars in Jerusalem during the summer of 2006, home observations with the Feingluz and Siegel families in Israel, and interviews with other *shlichim* with destinations across the United States, this chapter examines how both parents and children apprehended their impending move to the U.S. during the weeks before their emigration. The preparation for departure is the quintessential site in which to examine the ways *shlichim* come to define their migration as a transnational enterprise.

This chapter is divided into four parts. I first briefly discuss the ambivalences and anxieties that characterize transmigration, drawing on Homi Bhabha's (1994) notion of *unhomeliness*. Then, drawing on interviews, I examine *shlichim*'s comments on the anxieties they faced as they prepared for their departure from Israel. *Shlichim* identify two primary sources of anxiety as they prepare for the move: uncertainty and lack of linguistic knowledge. Each of these is discussed in turn in relation to the *shlichim*'s comments about how such anxieties apply to their children. Drawing on recordings of naturally occurring interactions, I then analyze how *shlichim* socialize their children to face these uncertainties. First, they involve their children in the decision-making process, especially in discussing what to expect from school and what to take along for the trip. Second, *shlichim* provide their children with what they view as the necessary linguistic tools to get along during the first few weeks in the United States. Finally, *shlichim* construct both themselves and their children as people predisposed to deal well with uncertainty in general. I conclude the chapter with a discussion of the ways *shlichim* and their children, while preparing for migration, reference linguistic and cultural boundaries between Israel and the United States. An examination of these conversations with and among *shlichim* and their children exposes the ambivalence they feel in the face of their migration: the excitement of a new adventure and the hope for the benefits it will bring mix with the fear of the unknown and the anxiety in the face of uncertainty.

### **Transnationalism and Anxiety**

Transmigrations like the ones undertaken by *shlichim* are characterized by what Homi Bhabha (1994) has called *unhomeliness*. Writing of diasporas and other transnational groups, Bhabha defines unhomeliness as "the condition of extra-territorial and cross-cultural initiations" (1994, p. 13). By moving across national borders and cultural boundaries, transnationals not only come into contact with novel cultural practices, but are also forced to evaluate the assumptions and practices they use daily.

Bhabha notes that unhomeliness provokes "traumatic ambivalences" and that the conditions of transnational or diasporic groups relate those personal and psychic ambivalences "to the wider disjunctions of political existence" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 27). These ambivalences are the tug and pull of both the homeland and the host country that transnationals feel both during



emigration and after migration. Transnationals affiliate with their ethnic milieu while adopting practices from their new surroundings out of a “profound desire for social solidarity” (Bhabha, 1994, p. 27). As they prepare for their emigration from Israel, *shlichim* express this ambivalence through an articulation of their anxieties about the cultural, linguistic, and personal challenges they and their children will face in their countries of destination. *Shlichim* and their children attend to the in-between spaces that comprise the differences between Israel and America, here and there, Hebrew and English. These “in-between spaces provide the terrain for elaborating the strategies of selfhood...that initiate new signs of identity” (Bhabha, 1994, p. 2).

Bhabha’s conceptualization of the transnational figure imbues that figure with a creative hybridity to her actions, but also a disruptive rupture to her identity. Numerous anthropologists have investigated these ruptures among transnational communities in the world’s economic centers, contending, like Bhabha, that the breaks from the homeland and contact with the host land produce novel and productive cultural practices (Landolt & Da, 2005; Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004; Naidoo, 2007; Nolin, 2006; Ong, 2004). One trend among social scientists has been to suggest that this rupture is not only personal or communal, but global, leading to changes in our understanding of nationalism (Kearney, 1995, p. 549; also, Glick Schiller, 1999). Some anthropologists have even suggested that transnationalism can explain the xenophobic anxieties of host countries as they struggle to understand how migrants retain their ties to their homeland (Faist, 2006; Taras, 2009).

However, the focus of these studies is on the retention and innovation of supposedly traditional cultural and linguistic practices, with a valorization of hybridity and resistance to the center. Most notably, these studies collect data from transnational subjects *after* they have made their migration, and not before. Therefore, they are unable to examine how migrants prepare for the challenges and obstacles they will face once they arrive in the host country. By examining the anxieties transnationals feel *before* migration, we are able to see how they reify the boundaries between their home culture and the host culture, rather than how they break those boundaries down.

### **Expecting Uncertainty**

I arrived in Israel in June 2006 both excited and apprehensive. I had been given permission by the Director of Research and Strategic Development at the Jewish Agency for Israel to attend the *shlichim*’s training seminars in Jerusalem for three weeks to observe how the *shlichim* prepared for their departure and to recruit families for the study. A week before the training seminars began she sent me the schedule for it. A letter from Zeev Bielsky, JAFI’s President, graced the front page. It read in part:

During the course you will expand your knowledge of the Jewish world in the Diaspora and deepen your identification with the challenges and missions that stand before us, at the head of which are increasing *aliyah* to Israel on the one hand and strengthening Jewish identity and the bond to Israel among the younger generations in the Diaspora on the other.

The course will provide you with many tools, which will help you to fulfill your *shlichut* in the best possible way and which will provide our clients around the world the highest quality service.

All these are the foundations to your *shlichut*. Each of you will personally bring the added value to your *shlichut*: yourselves; the ability to translate the vision of the organization into creative work; the personal sense of duty; the dedication; the decisiveness; the faith and inner strength; the constant striving for excellence and achievement in everything you do.

I am certain that this is the standard that you set before yourselves today and I wish you a productive and enjoyable training period.<sup>13</sup>

Indeed, the primary purpose of the training seminar for *shlichim* was to serve as an orientation and professional development course. Most of the seminars and lectures the *shlichim* attended during those three weeks introduced them to the organizational structure of the Jewish Agency and its many activities around the world. The *shlichim* learned about the type of work they would be doing while in their countries of destination and what the expectations were among the different players—JAFI, the United Jewish Federation in the U.S., the varied Zionist organizations with which they worked around the world. They were given suggestions and advice on what programs to organize, how to better involve the local community in their work, and how to find the resources they would need to succeed in their jobs. But one of the things the schedule promised, and one of the things a number of *shlichim* told me was what they most wanted from the training seminars, was advice on how to contend with the difficulties of the move, ranging from basic information on how to open a bank account and get a drivers license, to what to expect from their children's acclimation.

Most of the *shlichim* I spoke with in Jerusalem were embarking on *shlichut* with young children. For most of them, it would be their first time living abroad. Even those who had lived in other countries before had not done so with their children. During lunchtime conversations and in many seminar meetings *shlichim* repeatedly expressed not only their anxieties about their own acclimation to a new job and new city, but their fears and worries about how their children would adjust to new schools, a new language, and a new culture. The word that came up repeatedly was *uncertainty* (אי-ודאות, *i-vadaut*). Several *shlichim* said to me both during conversations at the training seminars and in one-on-one interviews afterwards that the entire move was fraught with uncertainty on several levels, similar to but greater than a typical life change. For example, in response to a question about how uncertainty characterizes *shlichut*, Yehudit Goldman told me:

*ani xosevet se ze meafjen kol maavaḥ. aval ani xosevet se ze od joteḥ meafjen maavaḥ se hu maavaḥ ben taḇbujot ve medinot, se az ze haḥbe joteḥ xazak. tiḇe, im jef oḇganim se ata jodea se hem maxzikim otxa po kse ata ose sinuj ata gam et ha oḇganim ha ele hem vubam paxot simufim sam.*

'I think that it characterizes every move. But I do think that it characterizes even more a move between cultures and countries. Then it's even stronger. Look, if there are organs that you know that they hold you up here when you make a change, even these organs for the most part are less useful there.'

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<sup>13</sup> The translation is my own. See Appendix B for original Hebrew.

For Yehudit, the transnational and transcultural aspects of *shlichut* make the changes it entails more difficult than those one would experience in changing jobs or moving, even if uncertainty, as she notes, characterizes any life change. Most significant for her are the ways the resources on which she can rely in Israel become less useful elsewhere, where the culture, language, and expectations are unfamiliar. Yehudit's use of *organim* ('organs'), a less common choice of wording than 'organizations' or 'agencies' (*irgunim*), gives the sense that the support one receives from family, friends, and the community is almost vital, like viscera to the body. These social resources 'hold you up' (*maxzikim otcha*)—they are the legs on which one stands. Without them, one is wobbly.

These feelings of anxiety about their ability to acclimate to life in the U.S. permeated the *shlichim*'s thoughts. *Shlichim* reported to me that they felt anxious about their own work and the changes they would undergo, especially since they felt that they would be lacking the cultural and linguistic tools that help them most in Israel. During a discussion with the director of the United Jewish Federation from a major North American city, several *shlichim* expressed their fears that U.S. Americans communicate differently from Israelis, less directly and with their intentions couched in circumlocution. In another conversation I recorded with her, Yehudit Goldman said to me:

*lemafal, ani eten lexa le dugma et ha keta fel ha avoda. ba avets kfe ani ovevet makom avoda, ve ani kvav avarti kama ve xama mekomot avoda, ani makiva et ha nuansim ktsat. gam im ani lo mekiva et ha makom se elav ani nixneset, ani mavgifa se biglal ha safa, biglal ha tikforet ha ben ifit, se ani mesa- keilu jef li et ha xufim lezahot ma kove sam. ve ani jexola lehaarix tox tkufa jaxasit ktsava ma- ex ze ha koxot, mi neged mi, ma kove po, ma ha makom fel kol exad, ma ha gvulot ktsat. ata mevin? jef li eze basis mi toxi se ani jexola alav livnot ve lefaves et ma se ani roa. ze kli se havbe paxot jefamef oti sam. ki ani lo mekiva ta tavbut, ani lo mekiva ta nuansim, ani lo mekiva ta safa, ani- rov ze paxot jefamef oti sam. ani lo oxal livot ta dakujot. im ze lo hije saxox o lavan? betox ha aforim ma se po ani mezaha jaxasit maher, sam ani jikax li havbe jotev zman.*

'For instance, I'll give you work as an example. In Israel when I change workplaces, and I've changed many jobs already, I know the nuances a little bit. Even if I don't know the place that I'm going to, I feel that because of the language, because of the interpersonal interaction, that I ge- like, I have the senses to recognize what's happening there. And I can evaluate within a relatively short period of time what- who has power, who's against whom, what's happening here, what's everyone's place, what the boundaries are sort of. You know? I have a base from within me that I can build upon and to interpret what I see. It's a tool that is much less useful to me there. Because I don't know the culture, I don't know the nuances, I don't know the language, I- most of that is less useful to me there. I won't be able to see the subtleties. If it won't be black or white? In the grays, what I recognize here relatively quickly, there I- it will take me much longer.'

Yehudit's response counterposes Israel and the United States. A set of binaries are created between the two, between here (*po*) and there (*jam*). Israel is a society whose language, culture, and nuances Yehudit knows and with which she is comfortable. She characterizes the basis of this knowledge as internal to her, almost inherent. As she said to me another time, she is "250% Israeli," and her ability to get along in Israel is so ingrained that she does not have to think about it. "There," in the U.S., she lacks the cultural toolkit to make guesses about people's behavior, to interpret the nuances of everyday conversation. In almost perfect parallel, and with strikingly poetic repetition, Yehudit lists those things she does not know in the U.S.: the culture, the nuances, and the language ("*ani lo mekiva ta tabbut, ani lo mekiva ta nuansim, ani lo mekiva ta safa*").

This dichotomy between Israel and "America" was persistent in the *shlichim*'s talk about their impending move to the United States. Much of this talk consisted of reifying the symbolic boundaries between so-called "Israeli culture" and "American culture." In conversations at the training seminars and in interviews with me, *shlichim* consistently referred to U.S. Americans as "cold," "circumlocutious," "indirect," and "understated," qualities they contrasted with those of Israelis.

*Shlichim* also felt that the support networks which helped them in Israel would not be useful to them abroad. One *shlicha* told me,

*kol maavexet ha tmixa. po ani jexola laxzov mi ha avoda, o afilu ba bajit, jaxol likrot mafu se, ata jodea, nova metaskel, nova mevalbel. jef li ta sviva feli, jef li et ha xavevot ha kvovot feli, jef li et ha mispaxa ha kvova feli, jef li et ha axim feli, yef li anafim se ani jexola lekatev lahem, laxim lahem telefon, hem javimu elaj telefon ve ani jexola lekatev. ata joda, kajam eze- kajemet maavexet tmixa bsisit. jam hi lo tije. ani tsvixa livnot ota, mi ha hatxala.*

'There's the whole support system. Here I can come back from work, or even at home, something can happen, you know, that's very frustrating, very confusing. I have my surroundings, I have my close friends, I have my close family, I have my brothers, I have the people that I can complain to, pick up the phone and call them, or they'll call me and I can complain. You know? There's this- there's a basic support system. I won't have that there. I have to build it. From scratch.'

Again, we see a distinction drawn between here (*po*) and there (*jam*). In the U.S., where *shlichim* have to build their support systems from scratch ('*mi ha hatxala*'), everyday events can take on a daunting quality. In fact, many *shlichim* acknowledged that while they believed this experience could 'unite the family' ("*megabej mispaxot*"), especially among siblings, they also knew that the divorce rate among *shlichim* is relatively high. Indeed, one seminar leader, a former *shlicha* herself, told a group of *shlichim* headed to the U.S., "*ze ose hamon la ta ha mispaxti. ha jeladim bonim kefex meod tov. aval axuz ha gvufim be kevev ha slixim meod gavao*" ('It does a ton for the family. The children build very strong ties. But the percentage of divorces among *shlichim* is very high').

One of the primary sentiments expressed by *shlichim* prior to departure to the U.S. was the need to control for this sense of uncertainty. This view was articulately expressed by Efrat Siegel during a conversation we had about six weeks before the family was to leave for the U.S.

Efrat had herself been the daughter of *shlichim* and had spent three years in Houston, TX, from the ages of nine to twelve. She and her husband, Eyal, had also been sent on *shlichut* once before to the Midwestern United States, and their first of two children, Dikla, was born during the last year of that sojourn. Earlier in the conversation, Efrat noted that she felt that the fact that she and Eyal had been *shlichim* before distinguished them from other *shlichim* in that they were less anxious about this move. She recounted that before their first experience as *shlichim* they were nervous and excited before leaving for the U.S.. These feelings of anxiety, she explained, were something with which all *shlichim* must cope. When I asked Efrat how she felt that her previous experiences abroad prepared her for the move, she had this to say:

*az be kitsuḵ, ma se ani omeḵet, ze se ani jodaʔat, se exad ha maḵvivim haxi maḵmautiim ba txuḵa sel ha muxanut selxa la la ḵlixut ze ha txuḵa se ata solet ba matsav. se ata jodea le ma letsapot. se ze naxon le kol davar ba xaim. kexol se jeḵ lexo joteḵ mejda, al ma holex likḵot, se ze naxon meod le jeladim gam, az ata maḵgiḵ se ata joteḵ muxan lehitmoded im ha matsav. lamḵot se ulaj ata lo jodea ma hije bidjuk, aval jeḵ lexo ta kilim. se nidme li se, keilu, ze naxon le ḵlixut, aval ze naxon gam le kol maavar ba xaim keilu. az ani xoḵevet se gam biglal se ani hajiti jalda be ḵlixut. ve ha ve sax hakol ha nisajon feli mi ze hu meod tov ki, keilu, ani zoḵeḵet gam ktsat et ha ḵlavim sel ha hatxala, sel ad se lamadnu anglit, ve kama ze haja metaskel, ve ze. aval ze lo ha zikaḵon ha dominanti. ki mitoxḵalos ḵanim jeḵ ḵalos-ḵloḵa xodaḵim kaḵim. aval ze adaʔin xelex meod katan mi ha ḵalos ḵanim. az jeḵ tkuḵa avuka sel xavaja meod maḵmautit.*

‘So, in short, what I’m saying is that I know that one of the most significant factors in your feeling of your preparedness for *shlichut* is the sense that you control the situation, that you know what to expect, which is true for everything in life. The more that you know about what’s going to happen, which is also very true for children, then you feel that you’re more prepared to cope with the situation even if maybe you don’t know what will be exactly, but you have the tools. And I feel like that’s true for *shlichut* but it’s true for any transition in life. So I think that also because I was a girl on *shlichut*, and over all my experience with it is very good because like I remember also a little bit the phases of the beginning of until we learned English and how frustrating that was but that’s not the dominant memory because from three years there are three difficult months, but that’s still a very small part of three years. There’s a long period of a very significant experience.’

Efrat echoed Yehudit Goldman’s comments about the more general sense of anxiety one feels before embarking on *shlichut*, twice noting, “*ze naxon le kol davar ba xaim*” (‘That’s true for everything in life’). However, also like Yehudit, she cast *shlichut* as unique in the types of worries it evokes. In a sense, then, generalizing the anxieties of *shlichut* to other experiences makes them more common and thus easier to confront.

A dominant motif in Efrat’s response is the notion that the more one knows, the more one is able to contend with the obstacles and challenges one faces during migration. This is especially true in her case. As the daughter of *shlichim* who had also gone on *shlichut* with her

husband, Eyal, once before, Efrat draws on her memories of her previous experiences to cast herself as prepared for any difficulties, even those that would arise for her children. She minimizes the negative memories and emphasizes the positive ones, looking forward to the good that will come to her children from their time in the U.S.<sup>14</sup>

### Worries About Children

Efrat's comments also point to the anxieties *shlichim* felt for their children, a dominant theme at group discussions during the training courses in Jerusalem. During one evening session, the then *shlichah* to Washington, Esther Levinger, came to speak to a group of *shlichim* that I had joined. Esther opened up the floor at the beginning of her presentation for the *shlichim* to ask her questions that they would want answered. The voices rang out quickly and clearly. They wanted to know what to expect for their children. Esther spoke about how her kids had acclimated to life in Washington, the difficulties they first had with the language, how much they missed their friends and cousins when they first made the move, and how close they had become as siblings during the process. She said the experience was mainly a positive one that had made her sons more confident and knowledgeable. Summing up her experience she claimed that the *shlichim* have a saying, "*ad xanuka hakol hije besedek*" ('by Hannukah it will all be fine'), a holiday that usually falls in December. It is not by Hannukah ("*lo ad xanuka*"), she added, "*ze ad pesach*" ('it's by Passover'). At a session on the last day of the *shlichim*'s training seminars in Jerusalem, one at which spouses were also present, parents expressed that they were stressed by the short amount of time they had for preparation and that they did not know what to expect for their children. They reported that they were worried about how their children would make friends, how they would learn English, and whether or not they would succeed in school. Ironically, the security concerns in Israel at that time provoked safety concerns for the U.S., what parents called 'dangers' ("*sakanot*"): kids cannot walk alone at night, they don't know the neighbors, and there are fights at school.

Most parents had two primary concerns for their children. The first was a worry about the children's ability to contend with the emotional obstacles that they would face during the first months abroad. Esther Levinger told them, for example, that six weeks after they arrive the novelty and excitement of the move would wear off and it would become difficult ("*sef savuot axbej se tagiu tihije ha nefila. gam laxem ve gam la jladim ze kafe*" ['six weeks after you arrive will be the fall. It will be hard both for you and the kids']). The second was anxiety about language and language learning. This worry was both a short-term and long-term one.

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<sup>14</sup> In an email she sent to family and friends after Dikla's second day of kindergarten in New York, Efrat wrote (translation mine. See Appendix B for original):

'I took her (Dikla) [to school] this morning and stayed a bit and said goodbye to her when they went to Hebrew class, where she of course felt strong and therefore let me go easily. I went out the door and shed many tears after seeing her so frustrated that she couldn't understand what they were saying in the morning meeting. It's not easy to see your daughter, always so confident and popular, feeling that she can't find herself. It brought up memories from when I was a girl on *shlichut* in Houston and they stuck me at a table with a book about Clifford the red dog, that I'll learn to read from the air...But it also reminded me how quickly she'll learn English and how much she will thank us for this experience later on.'

On the one hand, parents worried that their children would struggle with the linguistic exigencies of the first months in a new country and school. On the other hand was the fear that while children would not forget how to speak Hebrew, they would fall behind their peers in Israel by the time of their return, especially in writing.

To prepare their children for the emotional obstacles during the first weeks abroad, parents planned to bring along books, videos, and games for the kids. One parent commented to me about the things she packed for her children:

*xafuv se ba hatxala hem javgifu ba bajit. ani xosevet se ha maxfava feli hajta al ha xatsi sana ha vifona. mipnej- fuv, biglal ha xosev vadaut ani lo beemet jodaat ma hije be od sana. ani beemet lo jodaat. ani lo jodaat ma anaxnu nixtse jotev. jaxol lihijot se kol ma se niva li hajom xafuv jvae li idjoti ve lehefex. lo jodaat. en li fum ravametev lehaavix davko. ata jodea? vak ha- vak ha komen sens se ani mesugelet lehafzil kavega. az lefaxot se ba falav ha vifon hije lahem ma se axi mavgij lahem noax, ve naim, ve bejti.*

‘It’s important that in the beginning they feel at home. I think that my thinking was about the first six months. Because- again, because of the lack of certainty I don’t really know what will happen in a year. I really don’t know. I don’t know what we’ll want. It’s possible that everything I think is important today will seem stupid to me and vice versa. I don’t know. I don’t have any parameter by which to evaluate it. You know? Only the- only my common sense that I’m able to utilize now. So at least in the first stage they’ll have the things that feel most comfortable, and comforting, and homey.’

The insistent repetition of “*ani lo jodaat*” (‘I don’t know’) signals the *shlicha*’s anxieties about what to expect and how to best prepare her children for their first months in a new city. The books and toys she is bringing could wind up being useless or, as she puts it, ‘stupid’ (“*idjoti*”). Nonetheless, these keepsakes from home, a sort of emotional comfort food, were seen as the primary tool with which to help children cope with their new and unfamiliar surroundings.

This sentiment was echoed by Nirit Feingluz in a conversation with her mother. After dinner, her mother asked if they had packed away all the books, since those things that would be shipped would only arrive a few weeks after the family. Nirit answered that they had yet to decide what books to take, but that it was important that they keep some books out for the children to have something of their own from home when they arrive in New York. This held true even after the families arrived in New York. In a letter to family and friends, Efrat wrote:<sup>15</sup>

The computer is occupied so much by the kids with the DVDs of “Grandfather Tuvia,” and “Pim Pim Po,” and “The Jungle Book,” and anything that sings and speaks Hebrew...It was such a good decision to bring along a large supply of DVDs and to convince [Eyal] that Young Judea will get along fine without their laptop for a couple of weeks.

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<sup>15</sup> Translation mine. See Appendix B for original Hebrew.

The DVDs were not only useful during the first weeks in New York. Liron Siegel continued to watch them and sing and dance along to them well into the first year of *shlichut*. The emphasis on bringing books and DVDs was deliberate. Parents saw children’s literary and cinematic materials as an important component in decreasing the obstacles and anxieties their children would face upon arriving in the U.S.. All the parents I interviewed commented to me that they wanted to bring those things that felt ‘homey’ (“*bejti*”) to their children, books and videos they likes and which made them comfortable. Books and DVDs played an additions role, as will be discussed below, in helping to cope with linguistic anxiety—the fears that stemmed from the prospects of the children not knowing English and first and later forgetting Hebrew.

In addition to bringing books, toys, and videos that their children liked, parents felt that involving their children in the decision-making processes prior to departure would also ease the difficulties of moving. In one interview I asked Yehudit Goldman about how she involved the children in these decisions.

SK: *at amaxt od se mi ha hatxala kvax hitxaltem ledabex itam al ha ma'avav ve lefatef otam be-*

Yehudit: *hem futafim kol ha zman, kol ha devex, le kol ha tahalix. kolel ha mijun fel ma jisa ma lo jisa. hem baxvu eze sfaxim selahem nosim ve eze sfaxim nij'arim po, eze misxakim selahem nosim ve eze misxakim selahem nij'arim po. bgadim ze ha davax ha jexid se hem lo haju tsbixim livxov ki anaxnu paxot o jotex lokxim et hakol. aval hem futafim be kol davax.*

SK: ‘You said that already from the beginning you began speaking with them about the move and to include them in-’

Yehudit: ‘They’re partners the whole time, the whole way, for the whole process. Including sorting what goes and what doesn’t go. They chose which of their books go with us and which of their books stay, which of their toys go and which of their toys stay. Clothes are the only thing they didn’t need to choose because we’re more or less taking everything. But they’re partners in everything.’

Taken at face value, this “partnership” involves participating in making decisions about material aspects of the move. Yehudit and her husband give their sons space to choose those things they want to take with them and those they do not. This inclusion in ‘sorting what goes and what doesn’t go’ (“*mijun fel ma jisa ma lo jisa*”) was, in the eyes of parents, a way to make their children feel that they had control over their lives in the face of this anxiety-producing migration. It was thus a way, also, to socialize these children to take responsibility for their possessions. By having to make decisions about what they would take with them in their luggage (which would arrive with them), what they would send in the shipping containers (which would arrive a few weeks later), what they would leave behind in storage (which would be there upon their return), and what they would give away, children learned about limits and about the span of their migration.

This inclusion in decision-making was evident during dinnertime conversations, when parents and children talked about what they would bring with them on the trip to the U.S..



During dinner at their grandmother's house, for example, the Feingluz children spoke about some of the toys and books they wanted to bring with them. Meir, eleven years old at the time, mentioned that he needed to call a cousin to ask if he could borrow a series. His older brother, Yakov, and his grandmother, Ilana, responded as Nirit listened on.

**Excerpt 1—le *avtsot ha b'it aval***

- 01 Meir *ani tsavix lehitkafex le (zev) (1.2)*  
 I need call.inf iom (Zev)  
 'I need to call Zev.'  
*lif?ol oto im ani jaxol lakaxat et ha sidka sel rovac ha dvakon.*  
 ask.inf him if I able take.inf dom def series gen rovac def dragon  
 'To ask him if I can take the Rovach the dragon series.'
- 02 Yakov *ata jaxol.*  
 you able  
 'You can.'
- 03 Ilana *ze sel (zev)?*  
 dem gen (Zev)  
 'It's Zev's?'
- 04 Meir *ken. (0.8) le avtsot ha b'it aval.*  
 yes iom United States but  
 'Yes. To the United States though.'
- 05 Yakov *ken. hu amax fe ken.*  
 yes he say.pt that yes  
 'Yes. He said yes.'

Meir's statement is met by an affirmative response from his brother and an inquiry from his grandmother. Meir, however, clarifies that he does not intend to borrow the series merely while in Israel, but to bring it with him to New York. That Meir feels the need to clarify this acknowledges that the family's sojourn in New York will be a lengthy one, and his willingness to borrow from his cousin demonstrates his agency in the decision-making process.

**Children's understanding of the move.** To some extent, parents' anxieties were rooted in their expectations that their young children did not fully comprehend the nature of their departure. Parents often commented to me when I asked them to what extent they thought their children understood what the move entailed that the younger children had a unique conception of time and space. Yehudit and Yechezkel Goldman, for example, compared their older two sons' understanding of *shlichut* with that of the younger son, who had just finished kindergarten. They noted that while his older brothers were excited about the experience, yet apprehensive of what they would miss in Israel during their time abroad, the younger boy did not fully comprehend that he would be repeating kindergarten or how old he would be when they returned from *shlichut*. They reported that he would ask questions about his grandparents

visiting in the U.S. as if it were the same distance as the nearby city in which they currently lived. Like other parents, however, they were also surprised by some of the things he did know about their expected lives in the U.S.. They reported, for example, that he had told his kindergarten teacher that where he was moving he could only eat dairy products. His new school was kosher and did not allow meats to be brought to school. His lack of understanding of the separation of meat and dairy was, clearly, a result of his family not keeping kosher at home and his school in Israel having no interdictions against the mixture of dairy and meat. These differences between religious practices in Israeli schools and Jewish day schools in the U.S. reflects broader systems of differentiation between Israel and the Diaspora further discussed in the next chapter.

Nirit Feingluz had expressed similar ideas when I asked her about her and Nitai's decision to enroll Rivka in kindergarten again. Like the Siegels and Goldmans, who were also having their soon-to-be six year-olds repeat kindergarten, Nirit said she believed that having Rivka attend kindergarten would benefit her, not least because the linguistic and literacy requirements would be lesser at that level. In all three cases, the children were also born near the end of the year, and parents believed that this would cause less of a problem when they returned to Israel than if their children were older. Nirit, like other parents of young children, surmised that her daughter did not fully comprehend the implications of spending a few years in another country, and that more than her older brothers she did not fully comprehend the implications of leaving Israel for several years.

These perceptions were borne out in interviews I conducted with the children as well. Dikla Siegel, for example, explained to me that she would spend four years in kindergarten.

*ani po šana višona be gan xova. ani tšvixa lihot po od šana be gan xova, aval ani hije be gan xova be nu jošk ve az ani aase šana šnija be nu jošk ve az šana šlišit...az ani hije hamon šanim be kol mine ganim.*

'I'm here first year in kindergarten. I need to be one more year in kindergarten, but I'll be in kindergarten in New York and then I'll do a second year in New York and then a third year...Then I'll be a ton of years at all these kindergartens.'

Dikla's confusion is both spatial and temporal. In Israel, Dikla would not, as she claims, have repeated kindergarten, but would have continued to the first grade. In New York, however, she would only attend one more year of kindergarten before continuing to first and then second grade. Dikla, however, understands that she will repeat kindergarten every year in the U.S., moving from one school to another.

The linguistic structuring of this confusion is in large part the result of the number of *transpositions* and *projections* (Haviland, 1996) that Dikla is required to make in explaining her schooling program. Transpositions are discursive shifts in temporality and spatiality between a speaker and a referential point or object. Projections are transpositions that display and reframe present perspectives in relation to both ongoing and future actions. Dikla must transpose herself and her participation in schooling activities both from Israel to the U.S. and back, and over three years. She projects her current status as a kindergarten student across those spaces and times, thus creating a situation in which the current activity is extended beyond its actual endpoint.

This interpretation of time had an affective component as well. Later during the same interview, Dikla told me that she would constantly be missing all the places she was leaving.

*ani itgaagea la gan be nu jobk ve ani itgaagea la gan be jisrael. ve ze nova nova kafe. ani itvagal, ve az ani fuv itgaagea, ve fuv ve fuv ve fuv. ad ha flixut ha axvona feli.*

‘I’ll miss the kindergarten in New York and I’ll miss the kindergarten in Israel. And it’s very very hard. I’ll get used to it, and then I’ll miss it again, and again and again and again. Until my last *shlichut*.’

Like other children of *shlichim* her age, Dikla did not fully understand the finitude of her sojourn in New York. *Shlichut*, like kindergarten, rather than one three-year stay in the U.S., becomes an habitual activity that Dikla repeats over and over again. Again, attention should be paid to the transpositions used by Dikla in discussing her *affective stance* (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1989) toward immigration, here expressed through her assessment of her time in kindergarten. Affective stance here means “the intensity of emotion or kind of emotion” displayed “in a socially recognized point of view or attitude” (Ochs, 1993, p. 288). As we saw in interviews with parents, a parallel is made between Israel and New York. However, whereas parallel structuring was used by *shlichim* to highlight differences between the two countries, here Dikla projects what she perceives to be similarities between the two. She emphasizes the potential difficulties of all this migration, reduplicating the intensifier before ‘difficult’ (“*nova nova kafe*”). Dikla projects to an undefined endpoint. Between now and then she will repeat kindergarten, immigration, and the affective act of missing the people she will leave behind.

### Linguistic Anxiety

A big motivation for the *shlichim* in deciding to go on *shlichut* to the United States was the sense that temporary residence in an English-speaking country could provide social and linguistic capital for their children. All families and individuals interviewed expressed to one extent or another the benefits children would receive by seeing another part of the world, experiencing another culture, and learning another language. The capital English, and especially American varieties of English, carries in Israeli society is not to be underestimated here. The value parents placed on English as a language of prestige and of economic and cultural benefit to their children could be seen in the ways they strove to teach the language to their children both prior to and after arrival in the U.S.. This excitement, however, was tempered by the *shlichim*’s anxiety that their children would struggle during their first months abroad.

As noted above, the second set of anxieties parents had for their children revolved around language and language learning. These worries were twofold. On the one hand, parents worried about their children’s acquisition of English during the first months in the United States. On the other hand, while they did not worry that their children would forget Hebrew entirely, parents did report that they were already thinking about how to prepare their children for the return to Israel and the eventual need to catch up to their peers in reading and writing.

**Learning English and socializing preparedness.** Parents prepared their children for the linguistic obstacles they would face by teaching them English words and discussing with them what they would do if they could not understand what others said to them. While parents with older children reported that the kids had been learning some English at school, most of the

instruction in English was informal. The Siegels, for example, taught Liron and Dikla the English versions of songs to which they already knew the lyrics and melodies in Hebrew, such as Old McDonald and Happy Birthday. At dinner one evening, Liron and Dikla produced toy instruments and begin singing “yes, yes, yes, yes, no, no no” to the melody of “Mary Had a Little Lamb.”

English teaching consisted of two levels of instruction: lexical and sociolinguistic. First, parents taught their children words they thought would be useful, such as numbers, colors, animals, and common phrases, as well as how to read and write their names. Most such instruction took place in the home and consisted of teaching children through translation. Second, parents wanted their children, especially older ones, to have the tools to understand what was wanted of them and to communicate in English from a cultural standpoint. In this instance, parents relied on the children’s schools or hired tutors to give language instruction, but also prepared their children for the types of talk they could expect from U.S. Americans. In both cases, instruction was rooted in folk theories of language learning that assume that children learn languages relatively quickly in natural settings. For the most part, parents felt their children would eventually acquire English simply by being surrounded by it, more or less through a sink-or-swim method.

**Learning to translate.** Learning to translate had both practical and anticipatory objectives. First, teaching children equivalent terms in two languages was the primary way through which parents taught their children English. This was as true two months before families moved to the United States as it was a year and-a-half later. This instructional method drew both on the methods used to teach English in Israeli schools, with which all parents were familiar, and on a belief that learning a second language is a distinct and differently ordered process from that of learning the first. The Siegels and the Feingluzes were fluent in English and could have used other methods to teach their children the language. It is therefore significant that the preferred and predominant method of instruction in the homes of *shlichim* was to teach the younger children through translation of isolated words and common phrases within certain categories such as numbers, animals, and colors.

Second, teaching children to translate simultaneously reinforced boundaries and highlighted the porousness between the two languages, and also between two systems of communication and the multiple pragmatic and sociolinguistic practices children encountered both in Israel and the U.S.. Most importantly, learning to translate anticipated how these same children would be expected to use English and Hebrew both in the United States and once they returned to Israel after three years. That is, it prepared them for the types of tasks they would be expected to carry out in the future as fluent English-speakers in Israel.

The following interaction took place between Efrat and Dikla one month before the Siegel family left Israel for the U.S.. Discussing the move to New York, Efrat turned the conversation to a question of which words Dikla knew in English.

**Excerpt 2—*eze milim kvax tidi lehagid***

01 Efrat *ve jef milim je at kvax tidi lehagid kje at*

and exist.pr words that you already know.ft say.inf when you

‘And are there words that you’ll already know how to say when you’

- tagii le amexika?*  
arrive.ft iom America  
'arrive in America?'
- 02 Dikla ((nods)) °ken°  
yes  
'Yes.'
- 03 Efrat *kmo ma?*  
like what  
'Like what?'
- 04 Dikla °@° *kmo ma se jelamdu oti.*  
like what that teach.ft.pl iop  
'Like what they'll teach me.'
- 05 Efrat *lo. aval eze milim kvax tidi lehagid se at kvax jodaat?*  
neg but which words already know.ft say.inf that you already know.pr  
'No. But which words will you already know how to say that you already know?'
- 06 Dikla *hamon milim @@@*  
many words  
'Tons of words.'
- 07 Efrat *lemafal ma at jodaat lehagid be anglit?*  
example what you know.pr say.inf prep English  
'For example, what do you know how to say in English?'
- 08 Dikla <°ani jodaa::t,°>  
I know.pr  
'I know'
- 09 Efrat *at ↑jodaat kol mine dvaxim, lo?*  
you know.pr all sort things neg  
'You know all sorts of things, no?'
- 10 Dikla °ani jodaat *lispox ktsat be anglit°?*  
I know.pr count.inf little prep English  
'I know how to count a little in English'
- 11 °wan, tu, txi, fox. (0.5) fajv, <siks>, <se:ven>°  
'One, two, three, four, five, six, seven,'
- 12 Efrat seven? (1.0) ejt? (0.8) najn? (0.5) ten. *naxon?* (1.2)  
'Seven. eight, nine, ten. Right?'

- 13            *ze ad esek. (1.2)*  
 dem till ten  
 ‘That’s to ten.’
- 14            *↑aval jef od dvaxim betax fe at kvax jodaat.*  
 but exist.pr more things sure that you already know.pr  
 ‘But there must be other things that you already know.’
- 15    Dikla    *ani jodaat gam eh: lehagid xajot kama?*  
 I know.pr also say.inf animals some  
 ‘I also know how to say some animals.’
- 16    Efrat    *xajot, ken.*  
 animals yes  
 ‘Animals. Yes.’
- 17    Dikla    *dog kat maws (0.8) ve: (2.0)*  
 ‘Dog, cat, mouse, and’
- 18    Efrat    *ve jom holedet sameax,*  
 and day birth happy  
 ‘And happy birthday.’
- 19    Dikla    *appi bexfde:j,*  
 ‘Happy birthday.’
- 20    Efrat    *naxon. ve::: ani ohev ↑otax*  
 right and I love iop  
 ‘Right. And I love you.’
- 21    Dikla    *aj la:::v ju:::,*  
 ‘I love you.’
- 22    Efrat    *naxon?*  
 correct  
 ‘Right.’
- 23            *ve ma flomex, at jodaat lehagid ma flomex?*  
 and what peace.gen you know.pr say.inf what peace.gen  
 ‘And how are you, do you know how to say how are you?’
- 24    Dikla    *m:::m ((shakes head))*
- 25    Efrat    *haw ax ju. (1.8)*  
 ‘How are you.’

This exchange was primarily devoted to the straightforward task of having Dikla rehearse words and phrases she knew in English. This rehearsal takes two forms. First, Efrat

elicited from Dikla those words she can recall freely (turns 1, 5, 7, 9, and 14). Dikla responded by naming categories of words such as numbers (turn 10) and animals (turn 15) and giving exemplars of each. Second, after Dikla had produced these specific items she knew in English, Efrat prompted her further by giving her items to translate, like happy birthday (turn 18) and I love you (turn 20).

After this rehearsal of words and phrases she already knew, Efrat taught Dikla a new phrase, how are you (turns 23-25). In all of these instances, the Hebrew token is given first, followed by the English equivalent. In one sense, then, Efrat was not so much teaching Dikla how to translate, as much as she was teaching her English through translation. Teaching through translation, however, lays the groundwork for being able both to translate and to move across languages in that it makes distinctions and equivalencies between the two languages transparent.

Learning to translate was an ongoing activity in the homes of *shlichim* after they moved to the United States and even after their children had become proficient in English. Long after they had become more comfortable speaking in English, a common refrain directed to children was “*ex omnim et ze be ivbit?*” (“How is that said in Hebrew?”), in effect anticipating their return to Israel in the coming years.

These practices are situated within the broader linguistic milieu in which *shlichim* find themselves. The ideological meaning of Hebrew and symbolic capital afforded by English language knowledge come together in novel ways in the homes of *shlichim* in preparation for and during their temporary stay in the U.S..

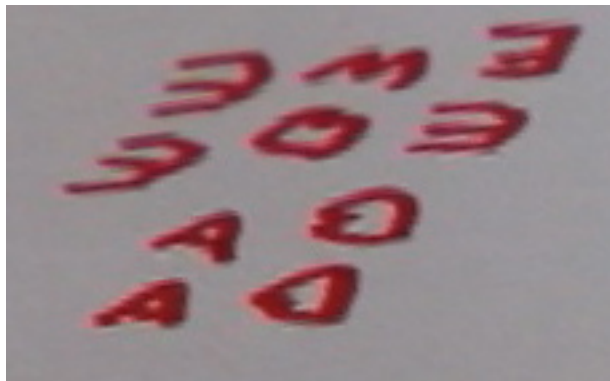
Parents also taught their children to write their names in English. Dikla and Rivka both knew how to do so before leaving Israel, as did Rivka’s four older brothers and all three of the Goldman boys. Other parents also reported to me that their children had learned to write their names in English. Dikla had learned to write her name in English both from her mother and at kindergarten. One day, while visiting the Siegels in Jerusalem, I saw Dikla write her name in Hebrew and asked her about it.

**Excerpt 3—*ani jodaat lixtov kama dvavim be anglit***

- 01 SK *ve: vaiti fe katavt ta sem felax be anglit.*  
 and see.1.pt that write.2.pt dom.def name gen.2 prep English  
 ‘And I saw that you wrote your name in English.’
- 02 Dikla *ani jodaat lixtov kvav ta shem, (1.2) ani jodaat lixtov*  
 I know.pr write.inf already dom.def name I know.pr write.inf  
 ‘I already know how to write my name. I know how to write’  
*kama dvavim be anglit.*(0.8) *ani jodaat lixtov gam aba, ima.*  
 some things prep English I know.pr write.inf too dad mom  
 ‘several things in English. I also know how to write dad, mom,’  
*ani jexola lixtov baba,*  
 I able write.inf baba  
 ‘I can write baba.’

03 SK *baba be anglit?*  
 baba prep English  
 ‘Baba in English?’

Dikla then wrote these words for me in English on a small piece of paper using a red marker. Figure 4.1 is a photograph I took of what she wrote. Dikla has produced approximate transliterations of the Hebrew words for mom (*ima* אִמָּא) and dad (*aba* אָבָא), and the name of her doll baba, all of which she claimed to have written in English. Table 4.1 reproduces the way these words are written by Dikla and the way they are written in Hebrew, as well as the way they would be transliterated using the Roman alphabet and the translation of each word into English. Dikla has here taken words she knows how to write in Hebrew and transliterated them using the English alphabet. It is clear from this example that her understanding of English orthography is incomplete, yet patterned. Dikla has substituted the roman ‘E’ for the Hebrew aleph (א), and ‘A’ for the Hebrew ‘hei’ (ה), which is also the last letter in her name, while using the appropriate corresponding English consonants in each word.



**Figure 4.1.** Dikla’s writing of “mom,” “dad,” and “baba” in English

Dikla	EME	EBE	BABA
Hebrew	אִמָּא	אָבָא	בָּהֳבָה
Transliteration	ima	aba	bahbah
English	mom	dad	Baba

**Table 4.1.** Dikla’s writing of words compared to their Hebrew and transliterated forms

Dikla’s ability to transliterate these words is a remarkable accomplishment. As Geva and Wade-Woolley (1998) point out, transitioning between writing in Hebrew and writing in English is a cognitively taxing task, as the two orthographies not only do not visually resemble each other, but are written in opposite directions. Dikla actually writes all four words from right to left, the way they would be written in Hebrew, and turns the letters around so that they actually face the direction letters would face in a right-to-left orthographic system. Most



importantly, the Hebrew alphabet does not include one element that is crucial for the writing of English, vowels. Dikla's use of 'E' and 'A' is therefore a sharp recognition of the patterns between the two languages.

Like learning to speak in English, learning to write in English is while in Israel was a piecemeal and translational process. Dikla had learned the corresponding Roman consonants for the Hebrew ones she already knew. She had extrapolated from this that vowels like 'E' and 'A' had the same equivalency pairing with the Hebrew letters 'aleph' (א) and 'hei' (ה), as did the static 'M' with 'mem' (מ) and 'B' with 'bet' (ב). Her mirror-written 'EME' and 'EBE' are perfect matches for the Hebrew מַמַּמ and בַּבַּב. In her parents' eyes, the important thing was not for Dikla to know how to write in English before arriving in New York, but to be familiar enough with the Roman alphabet that she was not overwhelmed by this new orthographic system.

**Learning to communicate.** As mentioned before, parents not only worried about their children's knowledge of basic lexical items, but also wanted their children to be able to contend with the communicative challenges they would face during their first months in the United States. Yehudit Goldberg again articulated this concern eloquently when explaining what she and her husband, Yechezkel, had wanted their sons to learn in English since finding out they would be going on *shlichut*.

*Yehudit: hem gam lamdu ktsat anglit po. asinu fiubej anglit se hem jotex orientatsja le safa. paxot limudej safa mamaf...ktsat lehavein ta hevdelim ba safa sel munaxim mesujamim. kol ha dibux be andekstejment ha amerikai leumat ha dibux ha meod jafix ha jisraeli. kol minej dvasim kaxa se suv ba vama sel ma se jeladim tsbixim lehitmoded ito. ze lo- aval paxot, ata jodea, se hem jidzu od esex milim o paxot esex milim. ze nis?a lanu beemet mafu mi sug ha dvasim se hem jilmedu axax kax mi mejle. kvia. se tije lahem kvia ktsat jotex ninuxa ba safa. ki hem jiplu mamaf le kvia se hi vak be anglit. az se hije lahem jotex noax kaxa likvo mi sefex. kaxa mafehu se hu jotex batuax. be ikax latet lahem ta txufa sel bitaxon, se hem mesugalim lehitmoded im ze, se ze lo mafu se hem mefutakim mulo.*

Yehudit: 'They also learned a bit of English here. We had English lessons that were more like an orientation to language. Less so language learning per se...To understand a bit the differences in the language of certain expressions. All the American talk in understatements compared to the very direct Israeli talk. All these sorts of things that are again at the level that kids need to contend with. It's not- but less, you know, so that they'll know ten more words or ten words less. That seems to us really one of those types of things that they'll learn later anyway. Reading. That they'll have a little bit more relaxed reading in the language. Because they'll really fall right into reading only in English. So, that it will be more comfortable for them to, like, read from a book. Like, something that's more secure. Especially to give them the sense of confidence, that they can cope with this, that it won't be something that will paralyze them.'

Typical themes come up in Yehudit's response. Whereas we have seen before how parents sometimes focused on teaching their children specific lexical items, here Yehudit

professes the opposite approach (“*paxot...se hem jid?u od esek milim o paxot esek milim*” [‘less...so that they’ll know ten more words or ten words less’]). Rather than wanting her sons to arrive in the U.S. strictly with linguistic competence, Yehudit wants her children to acquire what communicative competence (Hymes, 1972) they can while still in Israel. As in other instances, Israeli communicative competence and communicative practices are contrasted with American ones (“*kol ha dibux be andekstejment ha amerikai leumat ha dibux ha meod jafix ha jisraeli*” [‘all the American talk in understatements compared to the very direct Israeli talk’]).

Yehudit’s concerns are also primarily about her sons’ confidence and self-assuredness in English (“*se hije lahem jotek noax*” [‘that it will be more comfortable for them’], “*mafehu se hu jotek batuax*” [‘something that’s more secure’], “*latet lahem ta txufa sel bitaxon*” [‘to give them the sense of confidence’]). Yehudit, like other parents, expresses the belief that eventually her sons will learn English out of necessity and through contact with English-speaking peers at school (“*ze nix?a lanu beemet mafu mi sug ha dvaxim se hem jilmedu axax kax mi mejle*” [‘that seems to us really one of those types of things that they’ll learn later anyway’]), an expectation that did indeed prove to be true with the Feingluz and Siegel children in prolonged observations in New York.

Children were indeed socialized to be prepared to contend with these obstacles. During one observation in the Siegel home in Jerusalem, Efrat spoke with Dikla about what to do if she did not understand what was said to her.

**Excerpt 4—*im ba hatxala at lo tavini***

- 01 Efrat *ve tagidi, ma at xofovet se:: (3.0) ma at xofovet se jikve,*  
 and tell.imp what you think.pr that what you think.pr that happen.ft  
 ‘And tell me, what do you think, what do you think will happen,’  
*im ba hatxala at lo tavini kol kax ma ha*  
 if prep.def beginning you neg understand.ft so much what def  
 ‘if in the beginning you won’t really understand what the’  
*jeladim e::: omvim lax?*  
 children say.pl iom.fm  
 ‘kids are saying to you?’
- 02 Dikla *aval jef jam jeladim se <medabvim> ivvit,*  
 but exist there children that speak.pr Hebrew  
 ‘But there are kids there who speak Hebrew.’
- 03 Efrat *ken. hiju kama jeladim se medabvim ivvit. (1.2) az hije lax*  
 yes exist.ft.pl some children that speak.pr Hebrew so exist.ft.sg iom  
*et mi lifol?*  
 dom who ask.inf  
 ‘Yes, there will be some kids who speak Hebrew. So you’ll have who to ask?’

- 04 Dikla °ken°  
yes  
'Yes.'
- 05 Efrat ken.  
yes  
'Yes.'
- 06 Dikla ha ganatot  
def kindergarten teachers  
'The kindergarten teachers.'
- 07 Efrat ken.  
yes  
'Yes.'
- 08 Dikla °@° gan[anot  
kindergarten teachers  
'Kindergarten teachers.'

Efrat's insistence on Dikla's self-sufficiency was framed within a hypothetical future event of Dikla not being able to understand what other children say to her once she is in the U.S.. In this interaction, Efrat proposed to Dikla a hypothetical, yet likely, situation in which she would not be able to understand her peers ("ma at xosevet se jikve, im ba hatxala at lo tavini kol kax ma ha jeladim e::: omvim lax?" ['what do you think will happen if in the beginning you won't really understand what the kids are saying to you?'] turn 1). Dikla responds not in the hypothetical future tense used by Efrat (*jikre* 'will happen' turn 1), but with the present tense (*jef* 'there is' turn 2), to which Efrat again responds using the future tense (*hiju* 'there will be' turn 3). The proleptic phrasing of this hypothetical event—that is, the anticipation that it will indeed happen—suggests that this is a socializing event. That is, the scenario of not understanding is not merely hypothetical; it is a real problem requiring real solutions, such as knowing who to ask for help. The inter-sentential shifts in tense project and transpose Dikla to another time in which English will be her primary means of communication yet which is already anticipated in the present.

In addition to preparing their children for events in which they did not understand others, *shlichim* constructed their children and themselves as people predisposed to succeeding in challenging situations. Many *shlichim* told me that they knew that ultimately they would do well on *shlichut*, since they had strong adaptation skills, a characteristic no doubt sought by JAFI in selecting *shlichim*. Efrat Siegel even cited her and Eyal's ability to adapt as a source of her confidence that her son and daughter would also do well while abroad, saying, "anaxnu anajim she gam mistadvim ve gam jef lanu ta bitaxon se ze jistadev" ('we're people who know how to get by and we also have the confidence that it will work out'). During one observation, I saw Efrat socialize Dikla to having this attitude.

*Excerpt 5—tilmedi mahev meod anglit*

- 01 Efrat *ani xofevet fe at tilmedi mahev meod anglit.* (2.5)  
I think.pr that you learn.ft quick very English  
'I think you'll learn English very quickly.'
- 02 *mi kama sibot.*  
from some reasons  
'For several reasons.'
- 03 Dikla *mi kama fe ani noladi [be fikago?*  
from some that I born.pt prep Chicago  
'From that- because I was born in Chicago.'
- 04 Efrat *[gam ken noladet be fikago, nagid. ken.*  
too yes born.pt prep Chicago say.dir.pl yes  
'Also because you were born in Chicago. Let's say. Yes.'
- 05 *ve g↑a::m ki at jalda meod xaxama,*  
and too because you girl very smart  
'And also because you're a very smart girl.'
- 06 *ve gam ki at votsa lilmod anglit.*  
and too because you want.pr learn.inf English  
'And also because you want to learn English.'
- 07 *ve ↑gam ki at holexet le bet [sefev fe jaazvu lax bo.*  
and too because you go.pr iom school that help.ft.pl iop loc  
'And also because you're going to a school where they'll help you.'
- 08 Dikla *[ani lo holexet le bet [sefev ani holexet*  
I neg go.pr iom school I go.pr  
'I'm not going to school, I'm going'
- 09 Efrat *[la gan. ken,*  
to kindergarten yes  
'To kindergarten. Yes.'
- vak fe be amevika ha [gan hu betox bet ha sefev*  
only that loc Amerian def kindergarten he inside def school  
'Only that in America the kindergarten is in the school.'
- 10 Dikla *[hu betox bet sefev.*  
he inside school  
'Is inside school.'

In this exchange, Efrat enumerated to her daughter the reasons for which she thinks the girl will learn English quickly: her intelligence (turn 5), her desire to do so (turn 6), and the support she will receive at school (turn 7). This list, of course, is not merely a statement of facts. Efrat interpellates (Althusser, 1971) her daughter as smart and desirous of learning English, thus bringing her forth as a subject who can attain these attributes. Such an interpellation also assures Dikla that the transition to life in the U.S., and especially to a new school, will not be difficult, thus edifying her to confront the challenges she will face.

### Retaining Hebrew

While *shlichim* worried about their children's short-term acclimation to the language, culture, and schooling of the United States, their unique status as temporary sojourners made their impending repatriation a topic of discussion as well, albeit not one as fraught with anxiety. Seminar leaders at the training sessions in Jerusalem spoke of the young children's imminent loss of literacy skills in Hebrew as a foregone conclusion. Every former *shaliach* or *shlichah* I spoke to who had left for *shlichut* with a child under the age of nine reported that that child had lost most of what she or he had known of reading and writing Hebrew by the time they returned to Israel. One former *shlichah* with whom I spoke in the summer of 2005 even told me that her son, who was six years old when they had left for three years, began to use some Hebrew letters as vowels, a translation similar to Dikla's transliteration of the words *ima* and *aba* discussed above, but in reverse. Yehudit Goldman told me that this loss of literacy skills was one of her main concerns with her youngest son.

*ani mekava se kfe hu jaxzov le gimel hu lo jaxzov le makom se, ata jodea, hu tamid jigbov ito paav, ex sehu se hu jaslim oto mahev, ani mekava. ze masu se ani ken jodaat se tsarix listov. se hu lo jeabed et ma se kvav jef lo kede se kfe hu jaxzov- lifne se hu jaxzov hije vak tsavix letagbev oto. lo lehatxil mi hatxala. hu lo jeabed ta otijot, hu lo jeabed ta ken ta effavut likvo ta kama milim, laxen mi kulam lakaxti lo et haxi havbe sfavim be ivvit.*

'I hope that when he comes back to third grade he won't come back to a place that, you know, he's always dragging with him a gap, that he somehow will make that up quickly, I hope. It's something that I do know that we need to watch out for. That he won't lose what he already has so that when he comes back- before he comes back it will just be necessary to reinforce it. Not to start from the beginning. He won't lose the letters, he won't lose the yeah the ability to read the few words, therefore out of all of them for him I took the most books in Hebrew.'

Yet, all the former *shlichim* with whom I spoke in Israel also stated that their children rapidly regained their literacy skills and caught up to their classmates within weeks. This assurance echoed a general sensibility among *shlichim* that it is much easier to re-acclimate to Israel than to initially adjust to the U.S.. One consistent refrain I heard was that in returning to Israel the children were, in fact, coming home. Efrat expressed these attitudes in recounting her own experience in returning to Israel, "*ani vak zoxebet eze xavaja kazot kfe xazavnu la avets az pitom hevgafti keilu se ha milim be ivvit lo jotsot li kaze ba xamef saot ha vifonot...aval ha xazava hajta meod kala, keilu, xamef saot ve zehu*" ('I just remember like this experience when we came

back to Israel that suddenly I felt like that the words in Hebrew don't come out like in the first five hours...but the return was really easy, like, five hours and that's it'). The sentiment that repatriation would be easier was so strong, in fact, that when one *shlichah* stated at the seminar session with Esther Levinger, "*Samati al ha'be jeladim se xazvu ve lo histadvu po bxazara. se ha kofi selahem haja lo lehistagel sam ela lehistagel kan xazava*" ('I heard about many kids that came back and didn't get along well back here. That their difficulty wasn't in acclimating there but rather in acclimating back here'), she was met with incredulous looks from her peers and assurances that this wouldn't be so.

When I asked parents how they would maintain their children's Hebrew will in the U.S. the invariable answer was that they would do so by speaking to them in Hebrew, which came naturally. Yehudit Goldman indeed insisted that this would be the case:

SK: *ex atem metaxnenim lifmox al ha ivvit?*

Yehudit: *anaxnu medabvim ivvit. ba bajit, lefi daati, hem jedabvu vak ivvit. ani lo voa et atsmi medabvet im ha jeladim anglit. ze lo nira li gam tiv?i bixlal. ze lo- ze lo nira li tiv?i ledabev itam anglit. ani lo xosevet se jef sikuj se hem jeabdu ta safa. ha emet hi se ani lo kol kax doeget la ivvit selahem.*

SK: 'How do you plan to keep the Hebrew?'

Yehudit: 'We speak Hebrew. At home, in my opinion, they'll speak only Hebrew. I don't see myself speaking with the kids in English. It also doesn't seem natural to me at all. It doesn't- it doesn't seem natural to me to speak to them in English. I don't think that there's a chance that they'll lose the language. The truth is that I'm not really worried about their Hebrew.'

However, despite their stated lack of concern, the Feingluz, Siegel, and Goldman families made efforts to ensure that their children retained Hebrew. All ten children were enrolled in schools in which the available Hebrew language support would enable them both to acclimate more easily (see Excerpt 4) and to maintain, and even improve, their existing level of Hebrew skills. Efrat insisted to the principal of her daughter's school that Dikla be given more advanced Hebrew schoolwork than her peers, and her mother sent the girl Hebrew reading primers over email on a regular basis during the family's time abroad.

### Reifying Boundaries

Preparing for the move to the United States is a significant experience in defining *shlichut*. The uncertainties of life abroad evoke feelings of anxiety, but also lead *shlichim* and their children to construct themselves as persons capable of facing all challenges. In conversations and interviews, *shlichim* identified both linguistic and emotional anxieties, short-term and long-term ones. They compared these anxieties to ones experienced during all life changes, but also recognized them as unique to transmigration. In preparing their children for the challenges they would face in the United States, *shlichim* brought along items from home that they believed would make their children more comfortable and also taught their children some of the linguistic skills they deemed necessary for the first months in the U.S.. When

discussing these expectations with me, as well as while speaking with their children about the move, *shlichim* referenced the linguistic and cultural boundaries between the two countries.

These in-between spaces—between Israel and the U.S., between here and there, between Hebrew and English, between the known and the unknown, between certainty and uncertainty—define the transnational experience. Preparing for these in-between spaces, as *shlichim* and their children do prior to departure, is not merely the so-called natural response to anticipating new surroundings; it is the foundation for creating transnational identities. These transnational identities, as others have noted, draw on multiple resources to enunciate heterogenous selves that fall in the creative spaces *between* nation-states, their histories and ideologies. Yet, as can be seen in the *shlichim*'s talk about the differences between Israel and America, transnational identities also draw on the reification of the symbolic boundaries between home and host land. The anxieties *shlichim* express are the anxieties of any person facing changes in life, but they are also the anxieties of *unhomeliness*.

In this way, the socialization practices in which *shlichim* engage with their children are not ones in which children are socialized either to Israeli norms or to (Jewish) American ones. Rather, as I will show in the next two chapters, *shlichim* socialize their children to identities that draw on both Israeli and Jewish American norms and which simultaneously blend and differentiate between these two sets of norms. In Chapter 5, I examine the socialization to religious practices at home and at school in the Siegel family. The Siegels were secular, but enrolled both of their children in schools in New York where religious practices were an integral part of the curriculum. Liron and Dikla, in learning to both reify and blur the boundaries between secular Israeli and more observant Jewish American practices, developed a transnational Israeli identity that simultaneously recognizes and moves away from the explicit and deep boundaries that separate secular and religious in Zionist Israeli discourse. In Chapter 6, I examine how similar practices are used in socializing children to recognize the differences between authentic and inauthentic Israeli accents.

## CHAPTER 5

### Religious Socialization at Home and at School

As we saw in the previous chapter, in preparing to move to the United States children learn to both reify and blur symbolic boundaries through attention to different codes and translation practices. Children, as agents of socialization—and thus of social change—can combine and hybridize the messages they receive from parents, teachers, and other adults, thus softening the boundaries between groups. In the case of *shlichim*, one of the important sites of boundary work is the variegated religious practices and attitudes children encounter in home and school contexts.

This chapter examines such boundary work at the home and schools of Liron and Dikla. I purposely choose to focus on the Siegel family here and not the Feingluz family for three reasons. First, the discontinuities between home and school religious practices experienced by the Siegel children are an important site for investigating how children learn to negotiate symbolic boundaries, for it is precisely in these instances of differentiation that expectations and norms are made explicit. The Siegels, while secular, enrolled Liron and Dikla at schools where instruction in religious observance was part of the curriculum. The Feingluz family, being observant, sent their children to a school where the religious practices of the institution closely resembled—or at least supported—the religious practices of the home, and thus did not encounter the same types of discontinuities between home and school practices.

Second, because of the discontinuities between home and school practices, the religious socialization encountered by their children at school took on a much more prevalent significance for Efrat and Eyal than it did for Nirit and Nitai. For example, in an initial interview conducted in Jerusalem, I asked Efrat about Liron's pre-school, a Chabad-run learning center that, she had indicated, was not the parents' ideal choice. I asked if part of the reason for sending Liron to this school was to ensure his retention of Hebrew. Efrat claimed that her concern was less with her son's possible retention of his first language, and more with what kind of Hebrew he would indeed learn. She commented: "I don't want him coming home singing songs about the messiah."<sup>16</sup>

Finally, when Liron and Dikla imported religious practices from their schools into the home, these activities were marked, and thus understood to have been learned at school. That is, as we will see later in this chapter, when one of the Siegel children recited a prayer at home, for example, the reaction of the parents marked this activity as Other. These same practices were unmarked in the Feingluz home.

I do not want to imply, however, that the Siegels—or secular Jews in general, for that matter—are wholly oppositional toward religious observance. Nor do I want to suggest that observant families are in complete accord with the religious lessons taught to their children in schools. Nonetheless, examining particularly those instances of disjunction between the

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<sup>16</sup> Messianism is, indeed, a well-known feature of Chabadism, so Efrat's comment is less a prediction than an observation about the type of education her son will receive. Liron did learn to sing songs about the coming of the messiah in preschool, but, while he participated in singing them at school, I never heard him sing one of these songs at home and his parents did not report that he did either.



expectations of the home and those of the school provides a site in which to investigate how children make sense of difference in their lives.

In this chapter, following a brief review of the literature on religious socialization, I will examine the historical relationship between Zionism and Jewish religious practice, as well as some aspects of the current relationship between religious and secular Jews in Israel. I will then examine a socializing event that took place in the Siegel home in Israel. In this event, the children witnessed and participated in a religious procession. I will analyze the co-constructed storytelling sequence that took place after this procession to consider how children are taught to distinguish between their community's practices and those of other communities. I will then look at religious socialization at the children's schools through daily prayer routines in classrooms. Finally, I will analyze the reception at home to the religious practices from school. I conclude the chapter by considering how the boundary work between religious and secular Jewish identities serves as an important site for the development of transnational Israeli identities in the diaspora.

### **Religious Socialization**

Religion is a fundamental concern in anthropology and the other social sciences (Durkheim, 1965; Geertz, 1973, pp. 87-125), and approaches to its study can be roughly divided into two perspectives. On the one hand, religion is viewed as an archaic oddity, the vestige of primitive, as opposed to scientific, thought. On the other, in an approach that has gained currency with the changing views of anthropology over the last three decades, it is viewed as symbolic cultural practice (Geertz, 1973), in which case it is not drastically distinguished from other cultural practices and social institutions.

Anthropologists concerned with learning, development, and education, such as those working in the language socialization tradition, take this second approach, and thus see religious mores as simply another set of competencies inculcated into novices. Those studies that take place in explicitly educational settings (e.g., school, church, etc.) therefore either examine the content of the knowledge presented to novices in these settings or consider how this content marks such groups and their members as distinct from other group.

Anthropological and educational research on religious socialization has most often been conducted exclusively in institutional settings (Avni, 2008; Baquedano-Lopez, 1997, 2008; Moore, 2002; Ochs, 1988; Rapoport, Garb, & Penso, 1995), or, when these studies are multi-sited, in communities where private and institutional religious attitudes are aligned (Ek, 2005; Fader, 2001, 2006, 2007). That is, when religious socialization is examined in home settings it assumes the religious mores of the family to align with those of the rest of the community. Most such work has therefore examined settings in which such socialization is more or less straightforward—that is, where the children being socialized to a particular religious practice are or aspire to be members of that community. Such research gives the impression that religious socialization is almost always top-down and hegemonic, and that contestations of doctrine are generally displays of heterodoxy or apostasy, not spaces of individual transformation. When researchers do look at home-school religious mismatch, they generally examine how religious minorities confront the issues of attending secular public schools in which they are positioned as outside of the mainstream (Burt, 1994; Zine, 2001). More

significantly, studies of religious socialization are invariably carried out in settings where identity formation is very directly and explicitly linked to religion.

An examination of home and institutional contexts in which religious attitudes and beliefs are in conflict can provide insights not only into the problems represented by home-school mismatch (Heath, 1982, 1983), but also into the rich and complex boundary work that takes place in everyday interactions about religion. Examining situations in which internecine conflict arises is a productive space in which to explore how such boundaries are contested and altered. Because of Efrat and Eyal's secular attitudes towards Jewish identity, their children's attendance at schools in which religious practice played an important role in Jewish identity formation became a space in which the Self-Other dichotomy was blurred. Liron and Dikla were not clearly marked as other at their schools. In fact, they were typical of the student population. But when the schools did teach them practices that were foreign in their homes—and, more importantly, when they brought those practices into the home—those differences provided important opportunities for negotiating Jewish identity.

### **Israel and Judaism: An Uneasy Relationship**

For all the differences in Zionist perspectives, probably the most historically significant accomplishment of Zionism as the collective articulation of Jewish territorial identity has been to recast Judaism not as a religion, but as a nationality. Defining political Zionism, Max Nordau (1902/1979) distinguished it from the messianism of spiritually-driven returns to the ancient land of Israel, arguing that it was a product of the *Risorgimento* style of nationalism that had taken hold of Europe in the latter half of the nineteenth century. To clarify this distinction, Nordau wrote, “The one point which excludes, probably forever, the possibility of understanding between Zionist and non-Zionist Jews is the question of Jewish nationality. Whoever maintains and believes that the Jews are not a nation can indeed not be a Zionist” (1902/1979, p. 243).

Such sentiments were expressed by many other Zionist writers, from Lilienblum (1882/1979), to Klatzkin (1914/1979), to Katzenelson (1934/1979). Ahad Ha-Am, the founder of cultural Zionism, wrote once in a letter to J. L. Magnes, another Zionist leader, that “Judaism is fundamentally national” (1910/1979, p. 262). And while there were, of course, those religious leaders who argued that Zionism could not be secular (cf. Pines, 1895/1979), the thrust of the movement was secularist both in its intent and its effect.

Where religious practice did have a place was in the private sphere, in the thoughts and habits of individuals, not in the public life of the “Jewish State.” This often approached an almost pluralist rhetoric. Lilienblum, for example, wrote, “It has been well said that just as people do not have identical faces so are they not of one mind. There is no logic in any desire for all the future Jewish settlers in the ancestral land to belong to the exact same sect. Let each man there follow the dictates of his conscience” (1882/1979, p. 171). Herzl echoed such sentiments when suggesting not only that the Jewish state cannot be a theocracy (1946, pp. 146-147), but that “every group will have its Rabbi” to whom that group would adhere only voluntarily (p. 126).

This rejection of religious practice was rooted in two historical developments. First, most of the leaders of the Zionist movement were Jews who had been influenced heavily by the *haskalah*—the Jewish enlightenment of the late 18th century—which had pressed for Jewish

assimilation into European society. As with other enlightenment figures, they viewed religion as an archaic impediment to rational thought. Second, these thinkers understood the situation of the Jews in Europe—namely, their suffering at the hands of rising anti-Semitism—as a result of the Jews’ “abnormal condition” (Nordau, 1902/1979, p. 243) of being a diasporic people. This negation of diaspora ideology called for the rise of a New Jew who mimicked the 19th-century European nationalist and rejected the antiquated ways of his religious forebears (see also Silberstein, 1999, p. 24). Religious practice thus came to be seen as benighted and weak, the fate of Jews in the Diaspora, whereas secular nationalism was seen as enlightened and strong, the effective normalization of Jewish identity.

Contemporary Israeli society, like all cosmopolitan nation states, is divided along many social lines, but one of the most prominent remains between religious and secular (Shafir & Peled, 2002, chp. 5). The majority of Jewish Israelis identify as secular (Shafir & Peled, 2002, pp. 151-153), and rhetoric rejecting strict religious observance has been a prominent feature of Zionism going back to early writings by Zionist leaders. Outside of Jerusalem, which is more mixed than other Israeli cities, religious and secular Jews are residentially, educationally, and socially segregated. Orthodox Jews in Israel not only live a different lifestyle, they have their own schools (Gaziel, 1996), do not serve in the IDF, and live in neighborhoods where they do not come into much contact with secular Jews. Secular Jews, on the other hand, reject many of the practices of their observant counterparts, such as the keeping of Shabbat and *kashrut*.

### **Secular Families and Secular Homes**

Nationalist attitudes are not only the purview of philosophers and politicians; they reflect and influence the everyday lives of individual citizens. Many of the discourses towards religious observance that were promulgated by Zionist leaders are discernable in the actions of contemporary Israelis. That is not to say that people can be simply categorized into factions or types, but rather that we can hear echoes of these beliefs in the speech of individuals. Efrat and Eyal displayed some of these secularist attitudes. Like most secular Israelis, they did not observe religious practices such as *kashrut*, keeping the Shabbat, or observing any of the religious aspects of holidays, such as fasting on Yom Kippur. As pointed out earlier, they rejected the beliefs of millennial sects, and wanted their children to retain those attitudes. To better illustrate how such attitudes are actually inculcated into children, I describe an episode that took place in Israel during the early stages of this study.

On one visit to the Siegel home in July 2006, I arrived early in order to walk around the neighborhood and meet some of its residents. The summer afternoon air in Jerusalem is warm, and at that midday hour the streets were relatively empty. Construction workers were tearing up the sidewalk on a side street as I sat at a falafel stand four blocks from the Siegel’s house. The ethnic mixture of their neighborhood, Kopa, was displayed in all its glory on this sidewalk: Ashkenazi women walking in short sleeves, Arab men doing road work, Jews of Middle Eastern descent driving by, and Orthodox Jews of all ilk passing along.

Half an hour before I was to meet Efrat and the kids, I walked to the park on the corner of their street. The air was still warm, but a breeze had formed, and the sun’s slow descent had made the air cooler. Children ran around playing as adults, mostly women, sat and talked among themselves, occasionally administering to a child. The sounds of an Israeli afternoon

were picking up: laughter mixed with yelling. The smell of jasmine and hibiscus growing along the sidewalk filled my nostrils.

The Siegel's neighborhood, Kopa, is demographically mixed. Young secular families reside next door to observant Jews of French Moroccan origin recently immigrated to Israel. It is home to a relatively large number of North American expatriates who have imported American style Conservative Judaism to Jerusalem. Kopa borders on a lively commercial street that houses popular cafes, restaurants, and boutiques, and which bustles at all hours of the day. Many professors and students from a nearby university live in the area and Orthodox Jews in black suits pass by regularly.

As I sat across the street from the park writing notes, Efrat, Dikla, and Liron pulled up in the car. As I assisted Liron in exiting the car, we heard loud music coming from down the street. It was the music I used to hear as a teenager hanging out on sweltering summer nights in downtown Tel Aviv, when men from the millennial sect of the Breslover Hasidim would dance around slow-rolling vans that blasted songs about the glory of God and the coming of the messiah. Dikla and Liron exclaimed excitedly and asked their mother if we could go see the procession that followed the van as it sounded its music. The procession was in honor of the donation of a Torah scroll to a synagogue in another town. In some observant communities it is customary to have a procession through the streets when a community member donates a new Torah scroll to a synagogue. To show honor to relatives of the benefactor and to esteemed members of the community, the procession will stop by different people's houses on its way to the temple. The procession had now come to the apartment of the donor's mother.

The two children ran after the van with their mother as I followed, getting out my video camera. I approached one of the men in the van and asked for permission to film. Liron, for the most part, stayed with Efrat while Dikla ran around dancing and asking questions. At one point, as the torah scroll was paraded among the crowd, Dikla and Liron, following the example of others around them, kissed their hands and then touched the torah, an act carried out before torah readings at synagogues, Dikla recoiling in laughter as she did so. As the procession wound down, Efrat spoke to Dikla about what was happening.

**Excerpt 1—sefer tora**

- 01 Efrat o (.) nixnas ha oto- ha sefeḵ la oto  
o enter.3.pt def car def book prep.def car  
'Oh. The car- the scroll is going back in the car.'
- 02 niya lanu feket  
cop.3.pt iop.1.pl quiet  
'It got quiet.'
- 03 Dikla ( )
- 04 Efrat ve axfav ha sefeḵ- (.) at yodaat lean hu nosea?  
and now def book you.fm know where he drive  
'And now the scroll- do you know where he's going?'
- 05 Dikla la bet ha kneset  
prep.def house def congregation

- ‘To the synagogue.’
- 06 Efrat *hu nosea le bet ha kneset be mofav se nimts- se nimtsa*  
 he drive iop house def congregation loc town that locat- that located  
 ‘He’s going to the synagogue in a town<sup>17</sup> that’s’  
*mixuts le jekuśalaim lejad bet semeś (.) kośim lo mofav tselofon.*  
 outside iop Jerusalem near Bet Shemesh call.pl it town Tselofon  
 ‘outside Jerusalem near Bet Shemesh that’s called Tselofon.’
- 07 *ve lama osim et ha xagiga ha zot po?*  
 and why do.3.pr dom def party def dem here  
 ‘And why are they having this party here?’
- 08 Dikla *ha ben adam se mi-*  
 def son man that from-  
 ‘The person that’s from-’
- 09 Efrat *miśu se gaḅ be mofav tselofon se ha miśpaxa jelo gaḅa po. jetek*  
 someone that live loc town tselofon that def family gen.3.ms live here. rest  
 ‘Someone who lives in Tselofon whose family lives here’  
*ha miśpaxa jelo gaḅa po az hem hexlitu laasot et ha mesiba po.*  
 def family gen live here so they decide.pt do.inf dom def party here  
 ‘The rest of his family lives here so they decided to have the party here.’
- 10 Dikla ( ) *ze sefeḅ anak. vait ex se-*  
 dem book huge see.2.pt how that-  
 ‘( ) it’s a huge scroll. Did you see-’
- 11 Efrat *ken. kaxa ze niḅa sefeḅ toḅa.*  
 yes so dem look book torah  
 ‘Yes. That’s what a torah scroll looks like.’
- 12 Dikla *af praam lo vaiti sefeḅ toḅa kaze gadol.*  
 never neg see.1.sg.pt book torah so big  
 ‘I’ve never seen such a big torah scroll.’
- 13 Efrat *ze ha godel jelo.*  
 dem def size gen.3.ms  
 ‘That’s its size.’

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<sup>17</sup> A *moshav* is a cooperative Israeli settlement. I have here decided to translate it as ‘town’ because of its size, although the English ‘town’ does not capture the historical, cultural, and social significance of the concept of a *moshav*.

- 14 Dikla *az lama etslenu ba gan hu <pitspo:n>?*  
 so why loc.1.pl prep.def kindergarten he tiny  
 ‘So why is the one we have at kindergarten so tiny?’  
 ((brings thumb and index finger together))
- 15 Efrat *lama ma?*  
 why what  
 ‘What?’
- 16 Liron *m::: lama xabim?*  
 why turn.off.3.pl  
 ‘Why are they turning it off?’
- 17 Efrat *↑lama mexabim? ki axjav ha sefev tova holex habajta.*  
 why turn.off.3.pl because now def book torah go.3.sg home.drc  
 ‘Why are they turning it off? Because now the torah scroll is going home.’  
*hine. samim oto betox ha o:to:: ve lokxim oto la bet kneset.*  
 here put.3.pl it inside def car and take.3.pl it iop.def synagogue  
 ‘Here. They’re putting it in the car and taking it to the synagogue.’
- 18 Liron *lama?*  
 why  
 ‘Why?’
- 19 Efrat *ki gamvu et ha xagiga*  
 because finish.3.pl.pt dom def party  
 ‘Because they finished the party.’
- |  
 20 Dikla ((walks to van and back))  
 |  
 --
- 20 Efrat *yofi. az yala bou. efjav lalex?*  
 great. so come’on come possible go.inf  
 ‘Great. So let’s go. Can we go?’

Several features of this exchange mark it as a socializing moment. First, the personification of the Torah scroll (*nixnas ha oto- ha sefev la oto* [‘The car- the scroll is going back in the car’] turn 1, *lean hu nosea* [‘where he’s going’] turn 4, *hu nosea le bet ha kneset* [‘he’s going to the synagogue’] turn 6, *ha sefev tova holex habajta* [‘the torah scroll is going home’] turn 17) is a feature of child-talk register, and thus suggests that the information being proffered is for Dikla’s benefit, with Liron as a ratified bystander (Goffman, 1981). That the

talk in most of this exchange is directed mainly at Dikla is further indicated by the register switch in turn 17, marked by Efrat's rising pitch and further simplified lexical choice (*holex habajta* ['going home']), at which point she addresses Liron. Second, the format of the dialogue is mainly question and answer, with Efrat filling in much of the information.

The exchange begins with Efrat narrating ongoing activity (*nixnas ha oto- ha sefeš la oto* ['The car- the scroll is going back in the car'] turn 1) and then evaluating the change in atmosphere (*niya lanu feket* ['It got quiet'] turn 2). "*Niya lanu feket*" is a stock phrase in Hebrew that suggests that the sounds which have now been silenced were considered a nuisance. Efrat is effectively expressing relief that the procession has ended.

While Efrat's ensuing explanation for why the procession has taken place in Jerusalem and not in Tselofon could seem like a straightforward recounting of information, we must remember that all narrative is ideologically loaded. That Efrat comments that the donor of the Torah is not from the neighborhood can be understood to suggest to Dikla that such processions are not activities for her and her family. Note must also be made of Efrat's tempered tone compared to her daughter's excitement at the novelty of the "huge" torah. Through her own behavior Efrat can be said to be modeling for Dikla the type of behavior she is expected to display on such occasions.

While this is a socializing activity, it is not one in which the social information presented is one with which Liron and Dikla are supposed to identify. While most language socialization studies demonstrate how children are taught norms or given information which correlates to the social norms they are expected to follow, this is an instance of "learning about the other." This learning about the other is accomplished through the framing of the procession as an observable event, not as a party in which Dikla and Liron are active participants. In fact, reference to party organizers is always in the third person, never through use of the collective pronoun. In the final turn, Efrat reiterates her exasperation with the event and thrice makes a move to leave the procession (*yofi. az yala bou. ešfaš lalex?* ['Great. So let's go. Can we go?'] turn 20). Such learning about the other is an important means through which symbolic boundaries are defined, for it lays out the contours of those boundaries by observing what it is that others do.

The significance of the encounter with this procession became more clear after we returned home. Eyal arrived five minutes after we had come in and, after a round of greetings and salutations, Efrat, together with Dikla, narrated what they had witnessed while Liron, watching television, vied for his father's attention. In this storytelling sequence (Jefferson, 1978; Sacks, 1974; Schegloff, 1992), Efrat recontextualizes (Ochs, 1992) the children's participation in the torah scroll procession, thus providing for her son and daughter the interpretive framework with which to make sense of such activities. Religiosity is here cast as the pertinence of other people, namely, *datiim*—observant Jews—a judgment reiterated by Dikla in turn 46.

### **Excerpt 2—*taaluxa***

01 Liron *aba tiše*  
dad look.dir  
'Dad, look.'

- 02 Efrat *aba* (.) *ata yodea ma asinu axfav?*  
dad you know what do.1.pl.pt now  
‘Dad, do you know what we did just now?’
- 03 Eyal *ma?*  
what  
‘What?’
- 04 Efrat (*dikla*) (.) *ma asinu axfav? efo hajinu?*  
Dikla what do.1.pl.pt now where cop.1.pl.pt  
‘Dikla, what did we do just now? Where were we?’
- 05 Dikla *anaxnu halaxnu libot se maviim sefev tova xadaf la bet kneset*  
we go.1.pl.pt see.inf that bring.3.pl book torah new iop.def synagogue  
‘We went to see them bring a new torah scroll to the synagogue.’
- 06 Liron [*aba! aba! tibe!*] ((points at television))  
dad dad look.dir  
‘Dad! Dad! Look!’
- 07 Eyal [*eze sefev tova?*  
which book torah  
‘What torah scroll.’
- 08 Liron [*aba tibe!*  
dad look.dir  
‘Dad look!’
- 09 Efrat [*matsanu et atsmenu betox taaluxa-*  
find.1.pl.pt dom ourselves inside procession  
‘We found ourselves in the midst of a procession.’
- 10 Eyal *ken?* ((to liron)) *mi ze?*  
yes who dem  
‘Yes. Who’s that?’
- 11 Liron *tibe! tibe!*  
look.dir look.dir  
‘Look! Look!’

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|  
11  
|  
--



- 17 Liron *tixe!* [*aba. aba. tixe!*  
look.dir dad dad look.dir  
'Look! Dad. Dad. Look!'
- 18 Efrat [*matsanu et atsmenu-*  
find.1.pl.pt dom ourselves  
'We found ourselves-'
- 19 Eyal ((to Liron)) *ken. ani voe.* ((sits down on couch next to Liron))  
yes I see  
'Yes. I see.'
- 20 Efrat *matsanu et atsmenu betox taaluxa po ba jxuna*  
find.1.pl.pt dom ourselves inside procession here prep.def neighborhood  
'We found ourselves in the midst of this procession here in the neighborhood'  
*fel oto maviš kaze im ktavim ve::*  
gen car noisy such with crowns and  
'of this noisy car with crowns and'
- 21 [*vaaf* ( ) *kaze*  
noise such  
'A noise'
- 22 Eyal [*oto fel xabad kaze*  
car gen Chabad such  
'Like a Chabad car?'
- 23 Efrat *fel ivgun taaluxat axnasat sifve tova*  
gen organization procession giving books torah  
'Of a torah-scroll-donation-procession organization.'
- 24 >*hivanti je bixlal ze sefeš je maxnisim oto le bet kneset*<  
understand.1.sg.pt that even dem book that put.3.pl it iop synagogue  
'I understood that they're putting that scroll in a'  
*be mošav tselofon aval je ha mišpaxa fel [ha baxiš*  
loc town tselofon but that def family gen def guy  
'synagogue in Tselofon anyways, but that the guy's family-'
- 25 Liron [*aba ani lo voe gam lo voe*  
dad I neg see also neg see  
'Dad, I can't see. I can't see.'
- 26 Eyal *ata lo voe?*  
you neg see  
'You can't see?'

- 27 Liron *lo*  
neg  
'No.'
- |  
58.0  
|  
--
- 45 Efrat *az anaxnu holxim lanu ba taaluxa fel haxnasat sefev ha tova.*  
so we walk iop.1.pl loc.def procession gen giving book def torah  
'So we're walking along there in the torah-scroll-donation-procession'
- ze ktsat ( ) lo?*  
dem little neg  
'It's a little , no?'
- 46 Dikla *ve haju [fam jama miljonim fel datiim=*  
and cop.3.pl.pt there sea millions of orthodox  
'And there were millions of Orthodox Jews there.'
- 47 Efrat *[ve ha jeladim-*  
and def children  
'And the kids-'
- 48 Dikla *ve matsanu fam ta vxena.*  
and find.1.pl.pt there dom.def neighbor  
'And we saw the neighbor there.'
- 49 Efrat *ve ha jeladim ni[ku et sefev ha tova.*  
and def children kiss.3.pl.pt dom book def torah  
'And the kids kissed the torah.'

While ostensibly told to Eyal, the telling of this narrative is also a socializing event intended for the children, and especially for Dikla, as indicated by Efrat's calling Eyal *aba* (dad, turn 2) and subsequently inviting Dikla to recount to him what they had seen (turn 4). In several ways, Efrat and Eyal frame the procession as something belonging to other people. Efrat, for example, makes repeated use of phrasing that dissociates her and the children (and me) from the procession and the others in it (*matsanu et atsmenu betox taaluxa* ['we found ourselves in the midst of a procession'] turns 9, 18, and 20, *az anaxnu holxim lanu ba taaluxa* [so we're walking along in the procession'] turn 45). Contrasted with Dikla's active phrasing of their participation in the procession (*anaxnu halaxnu livot je maviim sefev tova xadaš la bet kneset* ['We went to see them bring a new torah scroll to the synagogue.'] turn 5), Efrat's use of

“*matsanu et atsmenu betox taaluxa*” (we found ourselves inside a procession), recasts the activity as one in which she has been stripped of agency, as if the procession surrounded her as she walked in the street.

Together, Efrat and Eyal otherize the car at the head of the procession (turns 20-23). Efrat describes the car as a noisy nuisance (*oto masif kaze* [‘this noisy car’] turn 20) and Eyal names it as belonging to another group, namely Chabad (*oto fel xabad kaze* [‘Like a Chabad car?’] turn 22). Efrat’s highly synthetic phrasing in turn 23 (*taaluxat haxnasat sifrei tora* [‘torah-scroll-donation-procession’]) is marked and parodies Orthodox varieties of Hebrew. The dismissive “*bixlal*” (turn 24) in explaining the provenance of the Torah scroll further suggests that the procession is cast as foreign.

As Efrat makes a final effort to tell the punch line of the story (that the children kissed the torah, something that is wholly foreign to them) Dikla joins her, recasting the participants in the procession as other. The insistence on telling the punch line through all the crosstalk (Goffman, 1981, p. 134)—the five turns following turn 11 and the seventeen turns following turn 27, which have been omitted from the transcript, were, respectively, a discussion between Eyal and Liron about the television show the boy was watching and a discussion involving the boy and both parents about a sticker he had received that day for good behavior at preschool—is indicative of its importance. Religious activity is not a regular activity for the Siegels, and that message is sent to their children when necessary. Having established this pattern, I turn to examining religious practices in the children’s schools.

### **An Overview of Religious Practices in the Children’s Schools**

Although they were secular, Eyal and Efrat enrolled Liron at a Chabad preschool, Children’s World, and Dikla in a non-denominational Jewish day school, H. N. Bialik Community School. The decision to enroll Dikla at Bialik was based on three factors: location, Hebrew language support, and, most importantly, the school’s superior academic reputation. Liron’s preschool was chosen because of its proximity to Dikla’s school and the expectation that the teachers’ rudimentary knowledge of Hebrew would facilitate the boy’s acclimation in the early months of the school year. However, as pointed out earlier, both parents viewed the religious orientation of the school as a drawback.

#### **Judaism at Children’s World and H. N. Bialik Community School**

Children’s World was housed at and run by a Chabad synagogue, and had two toddler, a 3-year-old, and a 4-year-old cohort. Liron spent a year in each of the latter two. The director of the school was the wife of the Rabbi and all the teachers Liron had were young Chabad women from England. Aside from the traditional preschool curriculum (i.e., colors, letters, numbers, play, story time, sharing, etc.) intended to promote, as articulated by the Director on the school’s website, children’s intellectual, social, physical, and emotional development, Children’s World incorporated a Jewish component into the curriculum in three ways: Hebrew language, prayers, and holidays.

While Jewish holidays offered themes around which to design lesson plans, Hebrew language instruction and prayers were a routine activity built into every day’s schedule. Therefore, while the integration of Jewish tradition permeated all activities, overtly “Jewish” activities were temporally and spatially marked from other academic activities. For both years that Liron attended Children’s World, prayers were always choral and occurred as morning

prayers during circle time on a rug in one corner of the room and as prayers over food before and after snack time or lunch when children were seated at assigned seats at tables on another side of the room. Hebrew instruction, which consisted primarily of the alphabet and some vocabulary words, happened regularly during circle time and other activities.

While Bialik was a non-denominational Jewish community day school—an increasingly popular form of Jewish private schooling in which schools are, as opposed to traditional Jewish day schools, “independent of any denominational influence, open to all Jewish children and supported by local Jewish communities” (Kramer, 2003, p. 66)—it, like other community day schools, was founded on the idea that children need to learn the traditions and practices of Judaism, even if their parents are not observant. Community schools, according to Kramer (2003, pp. 67-69), are pluralistic, inclusive, egalitarian, independent, and self-determinant. Most importantly, the school functions “in lieu of synagogue affiliation” (Kramer, 2003, p. 68). Like most of her peers, Dikla received the majority of her exposure to Jewish religious practice at school rather than at home.

Like at Children’s World, Jewish and Hebrew studies at Bialik were spatially and temporally marked, and even more so. Both in her kindergarten and first-grade years Dikla had separate Judaic and English studies teachers, with the former being the more proficient in Hebrew and the latter serving as the head teacher for the class. Each teacher had her own room and students were split between the two rooms almost at all times. For example, in kindergarten the students were split into red and blue group. When red group was doing math, for example, blue group was learning the Hebrew alphabet in the adjoining room. In first grade, the two groups of students were permanently split and shuffled between the two classrooms. While in kindergarten there was one teacher’s assistant split between both classrooms, Dikla had two teachers for each classroom in the first grade. Unlike at Children’s World, where all the teachers were Chabad Jews, teachers at Bialik were secular, reform, or conservative and thus had a more ambivalent attitude toward prayers. While I know of this ambivalence from conversations with teachers outside the classroom, I did not see it displayed toward the students.

Every morning at Bialik began with the morning prayers recited chorally during circle time. Unlike at Children’s World, where all prayers were always led by the teacher—a necessity based on the children’s development—kindergartners and first-graders at Bialik were given increasing responsibility for leading prayers. While the kindergarten year began with the teacher leading prayers, by November of first-grade students would lead the prayers with some assistance from the teachers (see excerpt 4). In addition to morning prayers, students prayed before and after meals, but not as consistently as at Children’s World. While I never witnessed a morning on which prayers were not recited collectively, I did witness a few lunchtimes during which the prayer before the meal was skipped.

***Socializing routines at school.*** In this section I examine the ways prayers were taught to children at Children’s World and at Bialik. I focus on prayers because those were daily routines that took place at prescribed times during the day and in which the students showed increasing competence over time. While discussions about holidays were significant, they were usually marked as unique events, and were commemorated with parties, plays, and other festivities, and were thus not as routinized. Likewise, attitudes expressed by teachers about the

meaning of Judaism, while significant, could not be shown to have been acquired by the students.

Prayer routines at both schools consisted of four important pedagogical features:

1. *Generic diglossia* (Garrett, 2005), in which English and Hebrew have different functions during prayer routines based on genre.
2. The preparation of the body for prayer and the embodiment of prayers through choreographed gestures—the former has also been found by Baquedano-Lopez (2008) in Catholic parishes in Los Angeles.
3. Singing of prayers, sometimes to popular melodies—this latter sort of syncretism has been found by Fader (2007) in Hasidic communities.
4. Repetition—a feature also found in Islamic religious socialization by Moore (2006).

These features were critical to the learning of prayers, a fact that was both observable by seeing students' development over time and one which teachers at both schools said they believed. Students were able to perform different parts of prayers—melody, words, gestures—at different times and with different proficiency, and always non-linearly. That is, different students performed variably on word recall, following the melody, and kinesthetic aspects of prayer routines. Students who one week had sung a majority of the words might only sing half of the words the following week. Students often made mistakes on words in both languages, such as mispronouncing words, replacing them with other words, or inventing words altogether. This non-linear, dynamic trajectory of language learning has been noted by SLA scholars (Larsen-Freeman, 2002). By the end of my observations in December of the second school year, both Dikla and Liron participated proficiently and consistently in prayer routines, and this was true of most of their classmates as well.

**Morning prayers.** The primary site for religious socialization at both Children's World and Bialik were morning prayer routines and the recitation of prayers before eating. Excerpts 3 and 4 reproduce segments of typical morning prayer rituals during the beginning of Liron and Dikla's second year in New York. These routines were similar to the ones performed during the previous year, with modifications made to accommodate for students' development from one year to the next.<sup>18</sup>

In both classrooms, the teachers and students recite *mode ani*, the first prayer that observant Jews recite in the morning upon awakening. Translated literally, the prayer means, "I give thanks before you, living and being king, that you returned my soul to me with compassion. Great is your faith." At Children's World, the more strictly observant of the two schools, *mode ani* is followed by the ritual ablutions. At Bialik, *mode ani* is followed by a portion of the prayer *ma tovu* and the *shma*. *Ma tovu* is a prayer traditionally recited upon entering a synagogue or at the beginning of communal prayers. In this version, as is common in reform and conservative congregations, the students and teacher recite only the first sentence of the prayer. The *shma*, recited next in Dikla's classroom, is one of the most well-known Jewish prayers and proclaims that there is only one god. Both prayers are also recited in Liron's classroom, but later in the ritual.

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<sup>18</sup> At both schools, the majority of students were present for both years of study. Such continuity allows generalizations to be made about the learning that took place in the classroom.

**Excerpt 3—mode ani**

- 01 All oh every morning  
when I'm done sleeping  
I open up my  
eyes and say  
thank you *hafem* (lord) for  
my *nefama* (soul)  
and for giving me another day
- 02 *mode ani lefanexa*  
thank I before.2.sg  
'I give thanks before you'  
*melex xaj ve:e kajam*  
king living and being  
'Living and everlasting lord'  
*fe hexezarta bi nifmasi*  
that return.2.pt prep soul.gen.1.sg  
'That you returned my soul to me  
*be xemla raba emunasexa.*  
prep compassion great faith.gen.2.sg  
'With compassion. Great is your faith.'
- 03 Sarah turn on the water everyone
- 04 Kids tʃ:::
- 05 All this is the way we wash our hands  
wash our hands wash our hands  
this is the way we wash our hands  
so early in the morning  
once on the right and once on the left  
once on the right and once on the left  
once on the right and once on the left  
  
((gestures pouring water over each hand choreographed to melody))
- 06 Sarah Mikey, Sammy, turn around
- 07 .5 kids so early in the morning
- 08 All *barux ata adonaj*  
blessed you lord  
'Blessed are you, Lord'
- ((sung to the tune of "you are my sunshine"))
- ((sung to a traditional melody))
- ((sung to the melody of "here we go round the mulberry bush"))

- 09 Liron [*elohenu*  
god.gen.3.pl  
'Our god'
- 10 Sarah [I see some super *daveners* today
- 11 All *afer kidi]anu be misvosav ve sivanu al*  
that bless.pt.rec.1.pl prep commandments.gen.2 and command.pt. prep  
'That blessed us with his commandments and commanded us with'  
*netilat jadaim*  
wash.part hands  
'The washing of the hands.'
- 12 Liron *amen*
- 13 Sarah *amen*

In Liron's classroom, prior to reciting *mode ani* in Hebrew, the teacher and the students sing a paraphrased translation of the prayer in English to the tune of "You are my sunshine" (turn 1). In this translation, the words for god and soul are retained in the original Hebrew. This practice of codeswitching into Hebrew, Yiddish, or Aramaic for liturgical phrases constitutes a sort of generic diglossia similar to the one found by Garrett (2005) in St. Lucia.<sup>19</sup> This generic diglossia is a consistent feature among observant Jewish communities in the U.S., and involves not only codeswitching, but calquing and borrowing as well. In turn 10 (I see some super *daveners* today), for example, the teacher, Sarah, in commending the students who are praying well, uses the Yiddish word for a person who prays, *davener*. Words like *davener*, *shul* (temple, literally school), and other liturgical words from Yiddish have indeed worked their way into Jewish English in the United States (Gold, 1985).

Likewise, prior to reciting the prayer over the washing of the hands, the students and teacher at Children's World sing a song about washing their hands to the tune of "Here we go round the mulberry bush." Fader (2007, p. 3), has argued that the type of musical syncretism found in singing prayers set to the melodies of popular songs can reinforce religious identities. Citing Ellen Koskoff, she notes that Chabad Jews, like the ones who run Children's World, routinely use popular melodies for prayers "based on a religious philosophy which holds that divine sparks can be embedded in a coarse surrounding husk which a Jew may liberate through his holy purpose/intention and by adaptation" (Fader, 2007, p. 3).

Jewish religious observance calls for ritual ablutions to be performed upon waking up and before meals in which bread is consumed. In this ritual, a pitcher is filled with water and, depending on one's tradition, is poured either three times consecutively on each hand or

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<sup>19</sup> Avni (2008) has found that the Jewish middle-school students at her site in New York did not distinguish between Biblical Hebrew, Modern Israeli Hebrew, Yiddish, and Aramaic, identifying all words in prayer as Hebrew. I do not know for certain whether or not the children in my study recognized words as pertaining to these different languages or whether they placed all non-English liturgical words into one category. I do know that the teachers at their schools were indeed aware of the difference.

alternating three times between each hand. Following the Chabad tradition, the students at Children’s World have learned to alternate between hands, and thus are instructed by the song to pour water over their hands “once on the right, and once on the left.”

At Children’s World, following the language use patterns of Chabad Jews, students learn to recite prayers using the Ashkenazi pronunciation instead of the Modern Hebrew or Sephardic pronunciations (See Katz [1993] for Ashkenazic phonology). This consists of saying *nifmasi* instead of *nifmati* (turn 2), /r/ instead of /ʁ/ (turns 2, 8, and 11), *kidifanu* instead of *kidjanu* (turn 11), *misvosav* instead of *mitsvotav* (turn 11), and *sivanu* instead of *tsivanu* (turn 11). As we will see in chapter 6, this difference is strongly marked by Israelis and is learned by Liron to pertain to inauthentic Hebrew speech.

Learning to pray consists not only of reciting the words of the prayer, but also embodying the intention of the prayer. In Liron’s classroom, this takes place through the pantomiming of rinsing hands (turn 5). In Dikla’s classroom at Bialik, the embodiment of prayer is taken a step further. As they began the morning prayers in Excerpt 4, students were instructed in how to sit, how to breathe, and where to look.

The focus of instruction in this routine is on the preparation of the body for prayer. Rinat, an Israeli teacher, instructs Maya, Dikla’s best friend and an Israeli student who had been in the U.S. for two years and two months at this point, in how to lead the class in prayers. During the first few weeks of school, the teacher led the ritual. However, in the week before this activity was recorded, the students had begun to lead prayers themselves with the teacher’s help, a role they had also taken on near the end of the previous school year. Whereas in kindergarten the *xazanim* (cantors) merely stood in front of the room as the whole class recited the prayers, in first grade they had also begun to instruct their peers in how to comport their bodies during prayer rituals.

**Excerpt 4—*kmo bejgale***

- 01 Rinat okay!
- 02 Maya *nefima?*  
breath  
'Breath?'
- 03 Rinat *eh:. lo lifne nefima amuka.*  
eh neg before breath deep  
'Eh, no. Before deep breath.'
- 04 Maya *gav ya-*  
back str-  
'Back str-'
- 05 Rinat *lafevet- [lafevet kmo bejgale,*  
*sit.inf sit.inf like pretzel*  
'Sit- sit with your legs crossed.'



- 06 Maya [laʃevet kmo bejgale,  
sit.inf like pretzel  
'Cross your legs.'  
ga[v yaʃa:ʁ,  
back straight  
'Back straight.'
- 07 Rinat [gav yaʃaʁ.  
back straight  
'Back straight.'
- 08 eyes on the *xazanim* (cantors),  
09 *gav yaʃaʁ*  
back straight  
'Back straight'
- 10 *neʃima-*  
breath  
'Breath-'
- 11 Maya *neʃima amuka.*  
breath deep  
'Deep breath.'
- 12 Kids ((collective deep breath))
- 13 Maya *od paam.*  
more time  
'Again'
- 14 Kids ((collective deep breath))  
15 (3.5)
- 16 Rinat *okej. ma axʃav?*  
okay what now  
'Okay. What now?'
- 17 (1.8)
- 18 Rinat *jadaim al ha siduʁ.*  
hands on def prayer book  
'Hands on your prayer books.'
- 19 Maya *jadaim al ha siduʁ,*  
hands on def prayer book  
'Hands on your prayer books.'

- 20 Rinat *okej. ve axfav?*  
okay and now  
'Okay. And now?'
- 21 *axat, (0.8) eyes on the xazanim. ftaim, (0.8) falof*  
one eyes on the cantors two three  
'One, eyes on the cantors. Two, three.'
- 22 All ((singing)) *mode ani lefanexa melex xaj ve kajam*  
thank I before.2.sg king living and being  
'I give thanks before you, living and everlasting lord,'  
*fe hexezarta bi nifmati be xemla be xemla*  
that return.2.pt prep soul.gen.1.sg prep compassion prep compassion  
'That you returned my soul to me with compassion, with compassion.'  
*raba emunatexa*  
great faith.gen.2.sg  
'Great is your faith.'
- 23 Maya *amud ha ba*  
page def next  
'Next page.'
- 24 Rinat *one. axat ftaim falof*  
one two three  
'One. One, two, three.'
- 25 All ((singing)) *ma tovu ohalexu yaakov miskenotexa jisrael*  
what good tents.gen.2 Jacob dwelling.pl.gen.2 Israel  
'How good are your tents, Jacob, your dwellings, Israel.'  
*ma tovu ohalexu yaakov miskenotexa jisrael*  
what good tents.gen.2 Jacob dwelling.pl.gen.2 Israel  
'How good are your tents, Jacob, your dwellings, Israel.'
- 26 Maya *amud ha ba*  
page def next  
'Next page.'
- 27 Rinat *very good. axat ftaim falof*  
one two three  
'Very good. One, two, three.'
- 28 All ((singing)) *fma jisrael adonaj elohenu adonaj exad*  
hear.dir Israel lord god lord one  
'Hear, oh Israel, the Lord is our God, the Lord is one.'

Baquedano-López (2008, p. 587), in her discussion of learning to read the Act of Contrition in *doctrina* classes, has shown how attention to the body is a form of *ritualization* that constructs the text as sacred. A similar process can be seen to be taking place in Dikla's first-grade classroom. In beginning to pray, students, who are seated on a rug at the front of the classroom, are instructed to sit up straight with their legs crossed and their eyes on the prayer leaders standing before the group. The students collectively take a deep breath, as if entering a meditative state. Similarly to students in Baquedno-López's *doctrina* classes, the students at Bialik are socialized to religious ritual practice through attention to the body (2008, p. 588).

When the prayers were recited, they were recited chorally and with common melodies that the students have been learning since kindergarten in most cases, and sometimes earlier. These traditional melodies make it easier for students to join in reciting the prayers even when they do not know all the words. As noted above, it was common to hear students use words other than those of the actual prayer, especially during the kindergarten year. The melodies allowed them to sing or hum along so that the group prayed together.

It should also be noted that whereas the teachers and students at Children's World used the Ashkenazi pronunciation when praying, in this example, the Bialik students use a Sephardic pronunciation. However, the pronunciation patterns during prayers at Bialik were not consistent, and depended on which teacher led prayers. The non-Israeli students and teachers, for example, pronounced the prayers with an American accented Hebrew (see chapter 6). In Excerpt 4, both the teacher and the prayer leader are Israelis who speak Hebrew with an Israeli accent, but the choral recitation of prayers is in an Americanized Sephardic accent.

**Prayers over meals.** In addition to learning to recite morning prayers, children at both schools learned to recite prayers over the food they ate. In Jewish religious observance, different prayers are said for different types of food. Prayers over the food always follow a script that begins with *barux ata adonaj elohenu melex ha olam* (a popular translation of which is, "blessed are you, lord our god, ruler of the universe") and is followed by a second part that is specific to that food. Each type of food—fruit of the tree, fruit of the earth, sweet breads, bread, and all other foods—has its own prayer.

The extent to which individuals follow recite these different prayers depends on a person's level of observance. At Bialik, for example, children recited the prayer over the bread (*ha motsi*), which is a prayer recited before any meal in which bread is eaten, at every meal. When said, *ha motsi* covers the entire meal and other prayers do not need to be added. However, when a meal does not contain bread, *ha motsi* is not recited, and it is then necessary to recite prayers for specific foods. This level of observance was strictly kept at Children's World.

In the following activity, the students at Children's World were preparing to eat their mid-morning snacks. Sarah, the teacher, walked around the room and told the students which prayer they each needed to recite based on what food they were about to eat. The names that she gives to each prayer in turns 9-15 is the first word of the second part of the prayer following the standard opening mentioned above.

**Excerpt 5—make a braxa**

01 Sarah ((sing-song)) do: on't eat yet we didn't [say a *braxa* (prayer)].

02 Kids [say a *braxa* (prayer)]

03 Sarah okay. does everyone have your snack out and ready?  
 04 All ((singing)) let's make a *bra[xa]*. let's make a *braxa* =  
 05 Leah [mora (teacher) can I clean- eh wash my apple  
 06 Miri yes  
 07 All =let's make a *braxa* on our foo:d  
 08 Sarah let's see what Levi has  
 09 (Levi) has the *braxa se hakol* on cheese,  
 10 (Mikey) has the *braxa se hakol*,  
 11 (Leah) has *mezonos* and *ha eits*,  
 12 (Gali) you have the *braxa adama*, on your strawberries,  
 13 (Liron) that's *se hakol*,  
 14 and (Sammy) that's *se hakol*.  
 15 we're gonna start with the *se hakol braxa* together.  
 16 All *ba::rux. a:ta. adonaj. elohej::nu:: melex ha olam. se hakol. nihija. be dvaro.*  
 17 *amen!*

In turn 1 ('don't eat yet we didn't say a *braxa*'), Sarah provides an edict against the consumption of food without prayer. This edict is sing-sung, and the children join her in singing the last three words, a testament to the routine-ness of this activity. As we saw in Excerpts 3 and 4, liturgical words are said in Hebrew even when the surrounding speech is English. In turn 4 ('let's make a *braxa*. let's make a *braxa*'), in fact, the teacher and students sing a line that incorporates a calque from Yiddish, in which one would say "make a prayer" (*maxe bruxe*). Also as in Excerpt 3, the prayer is pronounced with the Ashkenazi pronunciation.

Again, as in previous examples, the collective recitation of prayers is a site both for instruction in reciting prayers and inculcation of the intention of ritualized behavior. For example, the staccato recitation of the prayer in turn 16, with its accenting of each word, serves to enable students to memorize the words of the prayer. Telling students what prayer they need to say for their own food but then having them recite the prayer collectively promotes collective responsibility over religious observance.

### Uptake at Home

While interactions at Bialik and Children's World modeled for Dikla and Liron how to incorporate religious practices into their Jewish identity, as we saw before, this socialization did not match with the perspective on religion the children received at home. I was particularly struck by this one day when I heard Dikla claim at school that she said *mode ani* every morning when she woke up. When I went to her home the following day, I asked Efrat if this was true. Efrat denied having heard Dikla recite this particular prayer at home and offered that maybe her daughter had made this up in order to fit in with the rest of the class. Efrat's reaction points to an important feature of the differences in religious socialization between secular homes and

religious school: when religious practices were imported from school into the home by the children, they were invariably taken up as foreign and other.

The following exchange took place one month after the start of kindergarten for Dikla. After Efrat had served dinner, Dikla began to recite the blessing over the bread (*ha motsi*). This prayer is recited before meals and is generally done over a whole loaf of bread. In Dikla's school however, as noted above, this prayer was recited before lunch regardless of what the children ate. As Dikla prayed at the dinner table, the other three diners, Efrat, Liron, and me, continued to eat, with Efrat joining Dikla in singing the last two words of the prayer.

After Dikla finished reciting the prayer, Efrat asked ironically if the family would now sing the prayer every evening (turn 15). Dikla responded affirmatively and after Efrat made a bid to close the sequence (turns 19), Dikla expanded it (turns 21). In this expansion, Dikla offered hear reasoning and justification for reciting the prayer despite its not being a routine in her household. These closing and reopening of sequences, which occurred repeatedly in this exchange (turns 26, 34, & 35 for closings, turns 27 and 37 for reopenings) are a significant feature of socialization routines and point to the bidirectionality of socialization. By offering her reasoning for praying, Dikla in effect tests out her thoughts on her mother.

**Excerpt 6—*ktsat dosim, ktsat yehudim***

- 01 Dikla [elohe:jnu] *melex ha olam*,  
           god           kind def world  
           ‘Our god, ruler of the universe’
- 02 Liron [pio!] ((holds up toy pistol))
- 03 Dikla ((moves gaze from Efrat to facing forward))
- 04 Efrat [((turns gaze toward Dikla))
- 05 Dikla [*a motsi*    [↑*lexem min [ha:a aʔets*, =  
           def remove.3 bread from def earth  
           ‘Who brings forth bread from the earth.’
- 06                                   [(((turns gaze to Efrat))
- 07 Liron ((eats))
- 08 Efrat   [*ha:a aʔets*,  
   def earth  
   ‘the earth’
- 09                                   [(((turns gaze forward))
- 10 Dikla = [a:][a:me:n].  
                                   amen  
                                   ‘Amen’
- 11 Efrat [(((takes bite of food))][a:men].  
   amen  
   ‘Amen’

- 12 Dikla *effax leexol!*  
possible eat.inf  
'We can eat.'
- 13 Efrat *toda kaba.*  
thank plenty  
'Thank you very much.'
- 14 Liron ((wordless sounds))
- 15 Efrat ((turns gaze to Dikla))  
*ve [axfav od- ve axfav kol eʔev nafix et ze?]*  
and now still- and now all evening sing.1.pl.ft dom dem  
'And now- now we'll sing this every night?'
- 16 Dikla [*ve ata od od (zolel) of*] ((to Liron))  
and you still still (scarf) chicken  
'And you're still scarfing down chicken.'
- 17 Dikla ((turns gaze to Efrat))  
↑*ken.*  
yes  
'Yes.'
- 18 Liron *pio!*
- 19 Efrat *tov.*  
good  
'Okay.'
- 20 Dikla ((takes a bite of food))  
(4.2)
- 21 Dikla *ma lamʔot jeanaxnu lo bait dosi.*  
what even that we neg house orthodox (pejorative)  
'What, even though we're not an Ortho house.'
- 22 Efrat @@
- 23 Dikla *ha ha*
- 24 Efrat *zot omeʔet, ze lo mafxia lanu lafix et [bixkat ha mazon.*  
dem say dem neg bother.sg.pr iop sing.inf dom prayer.gen def meal  
'That is, it doesn't bother us to sing the prayers over the meal.'
- 25 Dikla [lo.  
neg  
'No.'

- 26 Efrat *to[v.*  
good  
'Okay.'
- 27 Dikla [*gam ba- gam ba gan felanu lomdim al dvaʕim lo mamaʕ nexmadim.*  
also prep also prep garden our learn.pl prep things neg really pleasant  
'At our kindergarten we also learn about some not-so-nice things.'
- 28 Efrat *lo mamaʕ ma?*  
neg really what  
'Not really what?'
- 29 Dikla *nexmadim.*  
nice  
'Nice.'
- 30 *anaxnu lo mamaʕ gan dati.*  
we neg really garden religious  
'We're not really a religious school.'
- 31 Liron *a:::a:*
- 32 Efrat *lo. atem lo gan dati.*  
neg you.pl neg garden religious  
'No, you're not a religious kindergarten.'
- 33 Dikla *anaxnu lo gan dosi xuts mi ze*  
we neg garden orthodox outside prep dem  
'Besides that, we're not an Ortho kindergarten.'
- 34 Efrat *yef po zejtim teimim,*  
exist here olives tasty  
'There are some tasty olives here.'
- 35 *yef po ktsat yevakot.*  
exist here little vegetables  
'There's a little bit of vegetables.'
- 36 Efrat *lo. atem lo gan dosi.*  
neg you.pl neg garden orthodox  
'No, you're not an Ortho kindergarten.'
- 37 Dikla *ma pitom. (0.5) anaxnu gan yehudi.*  
what sudden we garden Jewish  
'Of course not. We're a Jewish kindergarten.'

- 38 Efrat *naxon*.  
correct  
'Right.'
- 39 Dikla *ve lo dosi*  
and neg orthodox  
'And not Ortho.'
- 40 Efrat *naxon*.  
correct  
'Right.'
- 41 Dikla *aval yehudim hem fevet fe (2.8) fe be dehex klal mitpalelim le elohim*.  
but Jews they tribe that that prep way norm pray.pl iop god  
'But Jews are a tribe that usually pray to god.'
- 42 *ve anaxnu ktsat dosim, ve ktsat ↑yehudim*.  
and we little orthodox and little jewish  
'And we're a little bit Ortho and a little bit Jewish.'

The foreignness of reciting *ha motsi* at home comes across in several ways. First, other than Dikla, all other diners are already eating their food, which Dikla notes in her comment to her brother that he is scarfing down chicken (turn 16). Second, Efrat calls the prayer *biskat ha mazon* (turn 24), which is the prayer recited *after*, not before, meals. Finally, in asking if this ritual will become a daily occurrence (*ve axfav kol ehev nafix et ze?* ['and now we'll sing this every night?' turn 15]), Efrat indicates, through the use of the temporally marked *axfav* (now) that this is a new development. Marking prayer recitation as novel and foreign indexes it as an act pertaining to others and thus as a symbolic boundary between the secular practices of the home and the religious practices of other sites.

Dikla's justification for reciting the prayer (*ma lamrot fe anaxnu lo bait dosi* ['What, even though we're not and Ortho house.'] turn 21), recognizes this act as foreign. The use of the conjunction *lamrot* (although, even though) distinguishes between her households and other households, namely, Orthodox ones, in which the act of prayer is habitual. Dikla's use of the terms *dosi* and *dosim*, a somewhat pejorative slang term for Orthodox Jews, reflects her secular upbringing and her family's attitudes towards observant Jews, and further marks these activities as other. Likewise, Efrat's suggestion that praying at the dinner table may bother other family members (*ze lo mafbia lanu* ['it doesn't bother us'] turn 24), indicates to Dikla that prayer is not merely foreign, but purposely so. This is echoed in Dikla's response that at her school she learns about unpleasant things (turn 27).

Yet, this conversation is not simply a rejection of religious practice. In fact, the thrust of this exchange surrounds Dikla's efforts to incorporate the religious practices she has learned at school into her home life and to justify this incorporation. Efrat's inquiry into the potentially habitualness of this practice launched Dikla's disquisition on different forms of Judaism. In Dikla's framework, Jewish is the unmarked secular national identity pitted against religious (*dati*) and ultra-orthodox (*dosi*) identities of the Other. Yet, inasmuch as these identities are



regarded as separate, Dikla makes an effort to meld them together, or at least cross-pollenate their practices. For Dikla, since all Jews “usually pray to god” (turn 41), she can be “a little bit Ortho and a little bit Jewish.” Her introduction of observant practices into the home, that is, the recitation of a prayer before the meal, is a sort of bringing together of two contrasting worlds. The Judaism of her school in a sense infiltrates the secular space of her home.

### **Religious Boundaries**

Dikla’s efforts to make sense of what she was learning at school encapsulate the processes of becoming transnational. Coming into contact with religious practices in the classroom was, for both her and Liron, an experience that introduced them to activities which they did not practice at home. In learning to pray and then learning how to categorize prayers as something done at school, not at home, Liron and Dikla learned to distinguish between religious and secular Jewish identities, a fundamental distinction in the Zionist Israeli world view. Religious practices form some of the fundamental symbolic boundaries of societies (Lamont, 2001, pp. 15342-15343; Lamont & Molnár, 2002, p. 185), and this is especially true in Israel, where the distinctions between secular and observant Jews permeate all levels of society, from education, to legislation, to popular culture. By learning both to reify and blur those boundaries, Dikla and Liron develop a transnational Israeli identity that moves away from the hard-drawn lines between religious and secular that characterize much Israeli discourse about Judaism.

In the next chapter, I examine how the Feingluz and Siegel children learn to recognize the boundaries between Israeli and Jewish American pronunciations of Hebrew. The use of these different accents is used by *shlichim* and their children to mark speakers as authentic or inauthentic. Attention to authenticity is an important but little explored aspect of socialization practices in communities. Among the *shlichim* observed for this dissertation project, attention to accent was one of the primary ways through which children were socialized to recognize authentic Hebrew.

CHAPTER 6  
“Because She Doesn’t Speak Real Hebrew”:  
Socializing Authenticity Through Attention to Accent

It is well-known that there is a difference in the accent of the Hebrew tongue between those from Israel and those residing in the Diaspora of the West. This difference is not new, and it is not the new age that gave it birth, but rather it has been this way in Israel for hundreds and hundreds of years, only that it is not yet clear when and where it was born. And yet, as long as the Hebrew language was among us only a written language, this difference did not have much more than a theoretical significance, but since our tongue has come to be also a spoken one, the difference in accent has also become an important practical question, and in the field of those who speak Hebrew, this question is always asked: Which accent is the real one?

—Eliezer Ben-Yehuda, 1917, p. 205<sup>20</sup>

Observing Dikla’s kindergarten class one December day, I heard the 6-year-old speak to her US American teacher, Mara, (a non-native speaker of Hebrew) in a Hebrew that was delivered in what most Israeli native speakers would readily recognize as a US American accent. Hebrew phonemes were replaced with their US American counterparts in a non-subtle fashion: Uvular fricatives became bunched rhotics (/ʁ/→[ɹ]), voiceless velar fricatives were glottalized (/x/→[h]), and short vowels were elongated or diphthongized according to US American English phonological rules (e.g. /i/→[i:] [+ voice], /o/→[ou]). Turning to me she again spoke in Hebrew, but now her speech was distinctly Israeli. Her choice of sounds, it appeared, was specified for her particular audience. It was the first time I had noticed Dikla codeswitch like this, and in response to my query about this difference, she replied “*ki hi lo medabeket iβit amitit*”—because she doesn’t speak real Hebrew.

In the previous chapter, we saw how Dikla and Liron used judgments of religious authenticity to position themselves between Israeli and Jewish American identities. This chapter examines interactions in which differences in accent are explicitly pointed to as indexes of authenticity, and thus as symbolic boundaries between Israeli and non-Israeli.<sup>21</sup> During such interactions, children are socialized to make judgments about their own and others’ language-use through meta-linguistic attention to speakers’ accents. During such socializing events,

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<sup>20</sup> Translation mine. For original Hebrew see Appendix C.

<sup>21</sup> I am not asking, “How does the child acquire the phonetic inventory of the language?” That the children in this study did learn to speak using different accents in different languages is evident, but the cognitive processes underlying this acquisition are phenomena better left to psycholinguists and neuroscientists. Learning the accent of a second language has in fact been used to investigate a long-standing question in language acquisition studies: the critical age hypothesis, which claims that children can usually only learn a language if exposed to it before puberty. Concerning accent, the argument goes that the inability to acquire a native accent in a second language learned after puberty is evidence for the critical age hypothesis (see Flege, 1987; Oyama, 1976; Piske, MacKay, & Flege, 2001; Snow & Hoefnagel-Höhle, 1978). The question is actually a familiar one to linguistic anthropologists, as it was addressed by Sapir (1949) in his essay, “The psychological reality of phonemes.”

*Shlichim* strive to inculcate their children with the ideologies that position speakers of their languages as authentic or inauthentic.

### **Accent and Authenticity**

That speakers often evaluate their interlocutors' linguistic authenticity based on the perceived nativeness or non-nativeness of their accents—their ability or inability to approximate the unmarked phonological repertoires of the local speech community—is readily evident in the comments one often hears made about non-native speakers. It is common to hear it said that a non-native “has a foreign accent,” “speaks almost like a native,” or is otherwise marked by the sound of her voice. A participant in Bonnie Urciuoli's study of linguistic practices and ideologies among New York Puerto Ricans sums up this view succinctly: “Just like a French person can speak English very well but when he talks to you, you hear all those little things. That accent is just there, even if it's subtle it's still there” (Urciuoli, 1996, p. 113).

Such metalinguistic commentary highlights the ways the accent a speaker uses overtly marks to listeners that speaker's belonging—or not—to a particular speech community (Bourhis & Giles, 1976; Foulkes & Docherty, 2006; Irvine, 1989; Labov, 1964; Lippi-Green, 1997). Through both use and judgments of, as well as metalinguistic comments about, accents, speakers authenticate and de-authenticate themselves and others (Coupland & Bishop, 2007; Jacobs-Huey, 1997).

Authenticity is a long-standing concern in sociolinguistic and linguistic anthropological research (Bucholtz, 2003, p. 398). Recent innovations in the study of linguistic authenticity suggest that the authentic speaker is not so much she who adheres to certain norms, but rather the speaker who constructs herself as authentic (Coupland, 2003; Jacobs-Huey, 1997). By examining the ways in which speakers authenticate themselves researchers can come to understand how authenticity is negotiated dialogically and intertextually in situ (e.g. Chun, 2000; Cutler, 2003; Scott Shenk, 2007). Authentication not only draws on a community's ideologies of correct speech, but is a type of identity construction that defines the self against an imagined or real other (Irvine & Gal, 2000; Gal & Woolard, 2001).

### **Authenticating Moves, Teasing, and Mocking**

To analyze the ways in which children are socialized to recognize and employ the ideological weight of accent in a language, this chapter examines *authenticating moves* (Scott Shenk, 2007) in naturally occurring interactions among children and adults across various settings. Authenticating moves are metalinguistic commentaries that bring to the surface, either explicitly or implicitly, ideologies of authentic speech community membership, and “through which speakers take overt (authentication) stances...to display, impugn, vie for, and enact forms of ethnic identity” (Scott Shenk, 2007, p. 195).

Examining interactions among Latina/o college students, Scott Shenk develops the notions of authenticating moves to explain how speakers interactionally position themselves as authentic members of their ethnic group in relation to their interlocutors and “based on shared sociocultural knowledge and belief systems” (Scott Shenk, 2007, p. 214). For example, in contending that her pronunciation of a word is more accurate than that of her friend, one participant in Scott Shenk's study offers “I'm Mexican” as proof for the accuracy of her pronunciation. Authenticating moves are especially productive speech acts during language

socialization activities, for not only are they claims to communicative competence (Hymes, 1972), but they are also evaluations of the value and legitimacy of that competence.

I have found that in socializing interactions, authenticating moves appear predominantly (although not exclusively) in teasing and mocking routines, a finding that supports Scott Shenk's claim that "metalinguistic discourses of authenticity...[can] be sites for both deauthentication and (re)authentication via humor and playfulness" (2007, p. 195). Teasing, of course, has been pointed to as a productive activity in socializing practices across cultures (Eisenberg, 1986; Miller, 1986; Schieffelin, 1986). As defined by Schieffelin (1986, p. 166), teasing is a "speech [act] with a particular rhetorical force where speakers attempt to inhibit or change a person's actions as well as convey a particular affective message about the relationship between those individuals involved and an audience or potential audience of family, peers, and community." In socializing events around the use of particular accents, teasing appears as an especially prevalent tool in sanctioning children's use of non-native phonology.

Mocking, as used here, refers to the use of a kind of mock language (Hill, 1999, 2001) to inculcate children with the ideological weight of phonetic variation. I specifically refer to a variety I call Mock American Hebrew, a native-speaker (i.e. Israeli) parody of a non-native variety (i.e. Americanized Hebrew) of Hebrew. Jane Hill's (1999, 2001; Hill & Goldstein, 2001) analyses of mock Spanish have illustrated how, through recourse to phonetic hyperbolization, morphological simplification, lexical parody, and other forms of language play, Whites engage in a covert racist discourse that not only pejorizes the Spanish language, but also marginalizes the people who speak it. While recent work on mock languages has highlighted the racist overtones of linguistic parody, neglecting the language play implied in Hill's original formulation (e.g. Ronkin & Karn, 1999), Mock American Hebrew is mainly a linguistic parody, without the racializing implications of Mock Spanish. While, like Mock Spanish, Mock American Hebrew requires that participants know a slew of background assumptions about the relationship between Israelis and Diaspora Jews, these assumptions are chauvinistic, not racist.

Whereas Mock Spanish is a non-native speaker parody, Mock American Hebrew is a native-speaker parody, and thus what we may want to call an *NS-mock*. NS-mocks can be marginalizing (and racist), as when Israelis in Israel parody the accents used by recent immigrants, or they can be subversively playful, when they are used, as is the case in the examples that will be discussed below, by Israelis abroad parodying how members of the host/dominant culture speak their language. To state the definition more generally, NS-mocks run the gamut from racializing and ethnicizing jokes about minority language use, to systematic hyperbolizations of non-native speaker accents, to what I have elsewhere called mock-mocks—native-speaker parodies of non-native speaker parodies (see Kattan, 2008b).

Mocking is distinct from teasing in that while teasing involves the sanctioning of one (and possibly a few) social actor who is a participant to the interaction, mocking displays features of mock language varieties in order to mark a group of people as different from one's own group. Thus, mocking is usually directed at outsiders, whereas teasing is often directed at members of the group. That is not to say that teasing and mocking happen separately from each other. Rather, as will be seen in the exchanges below, the two go hand in hand in the socialization of young children to linguistic difference. Through mocking, children and parents signal their belonging in one group and others' exclusion from that group.

Scott Shenk identifies two types of authenticating moves: ones in which a speaker authenticates herself and ones in which the speaker deauthenticates others. For Scott Shenk these authenticating moves are always directed at another participant in the interaction. I find that authenticating stances can also be taken towards non-copresent others, especially with the use of Mock American Hebrew. This is clearly evident in the example cited at the beginning of this paper, where Dikla deauthenticated her teacher, who was not a participant to the interaction. The taking of stance towards and for actors who are not in the “we-here-now” of the conversation (Hanks, 1996, p. 149) is an important component of socialization and has significant implications for how we understand participation frameworks.

In what follows I first outline the differences between the pronunciation of Modern Israeli Hebrew and Americanized Hebrew, situating these developments within debates about the authentic Hebrew accent during language revival efforts at the turn of the last century. I then illustrate some of the ways in which the children of *shlichim* are socialized to recognize the ideological meaning of differences in accent in their own and in others’ speech. The last four excerpts examine later stages in the children’s acquisition of this communicative competence. Excerpts 4, 5, and 6 show how children participate in socializing activities once they are already capable of displaying some of this competence. Excerpt 7 illustrates how children make their own authenticity claims when confronted by the inauthenticity of others.

### **Authentic Israeli Hebrew**

As discussed in Chapter 2, the authentic Israeli speaker of Hebrew, of course, is not a simple construct. Modern Israeli Hebrew (MIH) is a koine made up primarily of different historical varieties of Hebrew and borrowings from Modern Arabic and Indo-European languages, with Yiddish as its phonological substratum (Ben-Rafael, 1994; Blanc, 1957, 1968; Kutscher, 1982; Patai 1953; Tene, 1969).<sup>22</sup> Israelis speak in a variety of accents that reflect ethnic origin, regional differences, and socioeconomic class, and which positions speakers along an ethnic spectrum in Israel. The “standard” accent is a result of official language policy, efforts by revivers, transference from the languages of elite groups (e.g., German Jewish settlers in the early part of the 20th century), and linguistic change over the last few generations.

Historically, Israelis’ judgments of Hebrew use in the Diaspora have been rooted in the negation of diaspora ideology (Silberstein, 1999). The Hebrew spoken in the Diaspora was judged to be inauthentic, reflecting a broader perception of inauthenticity of Diasporic Judaism. This attitude was reflected in debates among language revivers about which accent constituted, in the words of the father of the revival effort, Eliezer Ben-Yehuda, “the real one.”

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<sup>22</sup> Wexler (1990) has made the provocative claim that Hebrew is, in fact, not a Semitic language, but a Slavic one. As remarkable as this claim is, it is not one that is accepted by many linguists of Hebrew and seems not to be supported by the evidence. It is the equivalent—to make an analogy to the language all readers of this paper will know—of contending that English is not a Germanic language, but a Romance language, due to the heavy influence of French and Latin on the lexicon, syntax, and phonology. The gist of the claim, however—that Modern Israeli Hebrew is influenced as much or more by the European languages spoken by its revivers and early speakers as it was by its Semitic origins—is not so controversial, and gets at the idea that languages reflect more than structure, but also the ideologies of their speakers.

The arguments can basically be divided into two schools: those who contended that the original accent of Hebrew resembled the Hebrew spoken by Sephardic and Middle-Eastern Jews (Ben-Yehuda) and those who contended that it did not (Jabotinsky). Ben-Yehuda (1910, 1917), placing the question of the accent of Hebrew at the top of the concerns for revivers, argued that the phonetic inventory of those who lived in the Middle-East must have remained closer to the original way the Hebrews spoke. Jabotinsky (1930) claimed, for example, that the ancient Hebrews who lived in Palestine were “Mediterranean” people like those of Rome, Athens, and Marseille, not “Middle Eastern” like the Arabs who lived in the land upon Jabotinsky’s arrival. The phonology of their language must therefore have been, according to Jabotinsky, Indo-European and not Semitic.

In both cases, an appeal to historicity is rooted in attempts to position Zionist Jews within a historical trajectory that highlights their belonging to the land (speaking like the locals) and their emulation of European nationalism (speaking like the French). The former draws on European orientaling perspectives that view non-Europeans as stuck in time (Fabian, 1983; Said, 1978). The latter is rooted in discourses that position Zionists as white Europeans. Both perspectives denied legitimacy to the Ashkenazi accent of Hebrew, a view that paralleled the Zionist principle of *negation of diaspora* (Silberstein, 1999) and classical Zionist attitudes towards Yiddish (Kuzar, 2001; Shur, 2001a, 2001b). Theodore Herzl, the father of modern political Zionism, called Yiddish and other Jewish languages “miserable stunted jargons...Ghetto languages...the stealthy tongues of prisoners” (Herzl, 1946, p. 146).

The relationship between Israel and the Diaspora is also significant in terms of current language use, where the status of Hebrew as a liturgical and heritage language is of some importance. Diaspora Jews generally speak the prestige language of the country in which they reside as their native language, but may also speak some Hebrew or know some prayers. The Hebrew used by Diaspora Jews generally employs the phonological system of their first language, as will be discussed below.

Here, the Jewish Diaspora needs to be differentiated from the Israeli diaspora (Gold, 2002). Israelis abroad speak Hebrew as their native language and retain it as a language of daily use at home and in their communities. An Israeli accent is the preferred one and Hebrew with an American accent is not only dispreferred, but outwardly mocked. It is within these three communities (Israel, American Jewish Diaspora, Israeli diaspora), within this confluence of attitudes on languages and their use, that *shlichim* find themselves during their time in the United States.

### **Socializing Authenticity Through Phonological Awareness**

Instruction in recognizing the differences between American and Israeli accents and socialization both to appropriate usage and attendant ideologies of language and identity were common practice in the homes of *shlichim*. In many visits to the Siegel and Feingluz homes during the early months of their sojourn in the US, I observed parents point out to their children the differences in pronunciation between Hebrew and English. Both mothers, who had themselves spent significant time in the US as young girls, were proficient enough in English to pass for American. They were therefore both capable not only of hearing the distinctions, but also of reproducing them, and thus of modeling them for their children.

The primary ways through which children were exposed to an American accented Hebrew were Hebrew songs and prayers sung at school. At all three schools, the vast majority of students were not Hebrew speakers, and the goals of the Hebrew classes, especially in the younger grades, were to teach basic words (e.g. colors, numbers, days of the week, names of animals), instruct children in literacy, and, arguably most importantly, to teach children Jewish prayers and traditional songs. These songs and prayers were invariably sung with an American accent by most teachers and students, and it was through these songs that the focal children in this study first became exposed to Americanized Hebrew.

Every morning the children collectively sang an abridged version of the Jewish morning liturgy. Before and after meals they would sing the appropriate prayers as well. Students learned traditional Hebrew songs for holidays and the sabbath, as well as Israeli children's songs. While praying and singing played a large role in the children's religious socialization (see Chapter 5), they were also important sites for the students' language acquisition. For the three youngest focal children in this study these songs and prayers were often new, and were thus important in presenting new vocabulary, in addition to exposing them to Americanized Hebrew.

Due to the importance of the variety of Hebrew used at the children's schools in presenting a non-native version of Hebrew to them, it is useful to look at a sample of a prayer recited daily at all three schools in order to examine the differences between the phonology of MIH spoken by Israelis and the phonology of the Hebrew used by the predominantly Ashkenazi community living in New York. At all three schools children recited the prayer over the bread (*ha motsi*) before eating meals which included bread. In the younger grades the prayer was recited chorally. Excerpts 1 and 2 are transcriptions of a portion of the prayer.<sup>23</sup> The first is a recording of the students and teachers in Dikla's kindergarten class. The second is a recording of Dikla reciting the prayer at home one month after she first began school in the United States.

**Excerpt 1**

ha mousi lehem min ha:a aɛts

**Excerpt 2**

ha mo:tsi lexem min ha:a aɛts

While Dikla sings the prayer with the same melody as it is sung in her school, there are differences that distinguish the two quite clearly. Dikla's version follows standard MIH phonology and has an /x/ where her classmates' version has an /h/, an /ts/ where they have an /s/ (except in word-final position), and an /ɤ/ where they have an /ɪ/. It is interesting that Dikla's /o/ in "*motsi*" is elongated, as we can understand this as an approximation of the diphthong found in her classmates' recitation (see also Excerpt 7 below). It is more likely, however, that the /o/ is elongated in order to fit with the melody of the prayer, as none of Dikla's other words approximate American pronunciations where those are distinct from Israeli ones even though Dikla was capable of producing those sounds (such as /ɪ/) in English.

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<sup>23</sup> According to Jewish tradition, *ha motsi* is recited prior to all meals in which bread is eaten. It translates to "Blessed are you, Lord God, ruler of the universe, who brings forth bread from the land." The portion reproduced in Excerpts 1 and 2 is the last clause.

The differences in the phonological characteristics of Excerpts 1 and 2 are exemplary of the differences between the phonology of Modern Israeli Hebrew and the variety of Americanized Hebrew spoken in this community. Americanized Hebrew uses the phonetic inventory and phonological rules of American English.

Manner	Shared	Hebrew	English
Stops	p b t d k g	ʔ	p <sup>h</sup> t <sup>h</sup> k <sup>h</sup>
Fricatives	f v s z ʃ h	x ʁ	θ ð ʒ
Affricates		ts	tʃ dʒ
Nasals, Liquids, and Glides	m n l j		ŋ r w ɹ /ɹ̥ ɹ̥
Vowels	i e a o u		ɪ ɛ æ ə ɐ ɑ ʌ ɔ ʊ

**Table 6.1.** Contrasts in Phonetic Inventories of Hebrew and English<sup>24</sup>

The differences between MIH and Americanized Hebrew fall into two categories: phonetic substitution—which consists predominantly of replacing consonants that do not appear in the American English phonetic inventory with ones that do—and phonological transfer—which consists of applying the rules of American English phonology (e.g. vowel elongation before voiced consonants) to Hebrew. For consonants, syllable-initial voiceless plosives are often aspirated, ʔ is usually dropped (although this is common in native Hebrew as well), and sometimes /x/ → [h] and /ts/ → [s], especially in word-initial positions (both of which are also common in younger native speakers of Hebrew). Finally, /ʁ/ is replaced either by the alveolar flap [r], bunched or retroflex rhotics [ɹ], [ɹ̥], or even [l], depending on the environment. Phonological transfer manifests, for example, in the reduction of unstressed vowels, elongation of front vowels before voiced consonants, and diphthongization of back vowels before voiced consonants. Some vowels may also be raised or moved back in accordance with their environment and English phonological rules. It is also common to epenthesize vowels, especially schwa, within certain consonant clusters (e.g., /ktsat/ → [kəsat] [“a little bit”]). Suprasegmentally, stress is sometimes moved based on American English rules. It is these differences between MIA and Americanized Hebrew that are exploited and manipulated in Mock American Hebrew.

It was not uncommon to hear Dikla, Liron, Rivka, and the other Feingluz children perform songs in the car on the way from school or at home in the evening, as was the case in Excerpt 2 above. Within a few months of moving to the US, the three younger children were able to perform these songs the way they had heard them at school—with an American accent. Rivka’s older brothers would do the same, but only mockingly.

<sup>24</sup> tʃ dʒ and ʒ may appear in some borrowed words in Hebrew, but they are relatively rare and are not considered part of the native inventory. Also, ts, can appear in English, but usually only in the word final position.



When asked why they thought their children sang Hebrew songs and prayers with an American accent, parents invariably offered two combined explanations. First, they explained, the children did not understand all the lyrics to the songs they were singing, having not heard many of those songs and prayers before coming to the United States, and were therefore simply repeating what they had heard. In such cases, parents surmised, the new word was not doubted by the child to be pronounced correctly, or not even necessarily understood by the child to be a distinct word with its own definition. This points to a distinction being drawn between linguistic experiences in Israel and in the US. Parents in effect presumed that were their children to encounter an unfamiliar word in Israel they would still know that the word was in Hebrew and thus would recognize it as unknown, being then able to seek out a definition or explanation. It was possible, parents said, that some of the words, because they were unknown, because they were part of a song, and because they were sung in an American accent, registered as non-words or words in English, rather than Hebrew words that were not being understood.

Second, parents claimed that singing with the same accent as everyone else was easier because it did not single out the child. Children, they offered, want to fit in. This second explanation is significant, for it was the efforts in the home to point out and inculcate the distinction between the two phonologies that layed out the framework for authenticating Hebrew speakers.

### **Teasing During Authenticity Socialization Events**

Seven weeks after their initial arrival in the US Rivka Feingluz, at the time two weeks shy of her sixth birthday, and her mother, Nirit, were in the kitchen after dinner. Nirit and I were speaking about the children's adjustment to the first month of school. Hearing her daughter humming, Nirit turned to Rivka and asked her to sing the song aloud. The song was a Hebrew song about the sabbath, and when Rivka pronounced a couple words with /ɪ/ instead of /ʁ/ Nirit laughed playfully and cheerfully asked if I had heard how Rivka sang. Nirit teased Rivka for her pronunciation of the rhotics and, giving her daughter a hug and telling her she sang well, explained that Americans pronounce *ʁeʃ*, the name of the Hebrew letter that signifies the phoneme /ʁ/, differently. The two both repeated the syllable [aɪ], contrasting it with /aʁ/.

Two weeks later, I again witnessed Nirit prompting Rivka to sing a song she had learned in school, this time asking her daughter to show me how the kids in her school sang the song. Again, Nirit teased Rivka for her American-sounding pronunciation, but this time it was understood that the use of an American accent was deliberate. The type of teasing done by Nirit in these two instances and witnessed in both households regularly was a common way both to complement a child on newly acquired knowledge and to sanction inappropriate phonology, authenticating Israeli pronunciations of Hebrew and de-authenticating American ones.

Teasing did not occur only when children pronounced Hebrew with an American accent, but also when they used US American English phonology correctly—or at least in an approximation of native speech. In these instances, the teasing was slightly more subtle and was not followed by an explanation or lesson, such as the one given by Nirit when Rivka used /ɪ/ instead of /ʁ/. In Excerpt 3, for example, Dikla and her mother, Efrat, were reviewing the

work the girl had done in school that day, seven weeks into the school year. By this point Dikla consistently produced American English phonemes in her English speech. Efrat perused some sheets that Dikla had brought home from school and which had squares drawn on them, and asked her daughter what they were.

**Excerpt 3 - Pattern**

- 01 Efrat *tisi.(.) ma ze? avoda yafa im e: sibuim.*  
look-dir what dem work pretty with squares  
Look. What's this nice work with squares?
- 02 Dikla *ze p<sup>h</sup>æ:rɪn.*  
dem pattern  
It's a pattern.
- 03 Efrat *↑a ze ↑pæ:deɪ:n!*  
ah dem pattern  
'Oh, it's a pattern.'

In producing the word “pattern” Dikla used three phonemes that do not exist in the phonetic inventory of MIH (/æ/, /r/, and /ɪ/), and which thus made her pronunciation noticeable to her mother. Rather than Dikla's [p<sup>h</sup>æ:rɪn], an Israel accented token would sound like [pateɪn]. Efrat mimicked Dikla's pronunciation (albeit approximately), with the teasing tone of her response noticeable through her heightened pitch variation, the raising of her voice, and the elongation of the /ɪ/. In contrast with Nirit's reaction in the example cited above, Efrat did not further comment on Dikla's pronunciation of the word.

We can understand the reason for this difference not as a difference in parenting styles, but by turning to Garfinkel's (1967) concept of the *breach*. Breaches are “disruptions and discontinuities to agreed-upon routines and activities” (Baquedano-López, Solís, & Kattan, 2005, p. 3). The reactions to breaches by participants in conversation can provide teachable moments and thus serve as socializing interactions (Jacobs-Huey, 2007; see also Baquedano-López, Solís, & Kattan, 2005; Kattan, 2008a; Solís, Kattan, & Baquedano-López, forthcoming). In this regard, Rivka's pronunciation of a Hebrew word with an American accent constituted a breach which not only was pointed out, but which prompted an impromptu lesson on phonetics from her mother. Dikla's pronunciation of an English word with an American accent, on the other hand, was not a breach (since it was the appropriate pronunciation), but nonetheless prompted a teasing response from her mother. In both instances teasing plays an important role in either reinforcing or sanctioning children's phonology and thus in socializing children to recognize the ideological weight of accent in their speech communities.

**Children as Co-participants in Authenticity Socialization**

Children not only were quick to acquire a US American accented English—as well as the ability to use that accent when speaking Hebrew—but also rapidly learned to participate in authenticating discourses. The children's participation in these discourses was a means of further socializing them to linguistic ideologies of their community. The following exchange took place during dinner at the Siegel household about 14 months after the family had moved

to New York. Dikla and two friends, Maya (Israeli-born, 2 years in US) and Jessica (US-born), all first-graders, Dikla's 4 year and 4 month-old brother, Liron, her mother Efrat, and I were sitting around the dining table at the start of dinner. Asking about a new Hebrew teacher at the girls' school, Efrat inquired about her nationality.

**Excerpt 4 - A very Hebrew accent**

- 01 Efrat *ve hi mi jisʔael? ani lo hevanti im hi mi jisʔael.*  
and she from Israel I neg understand if she from Israel  
'And she's from Israel? I didn't understand if she's from Israel.'
- 02 Dikla *ken.*  
yes  
'Yes.'
- 03 Efrat *hi mi jisʔael?*  
she from Israel  
'She's from Israel?'
- 04 Dikla *ʃi: hæz ə ve.ʔi hibʔu æksənt.*  
'She has a very Hebrew accent.'
- 05 Efrat *ken? ki hi lamda- hi lamda be jisʔael.*  
yes because she study-3<sup>rd</sup>-pt she study-3<sup>rd</sup>-pt loc Israel  
'Yeah? Because she studied- she studied in Israel?'

As with the "Real Hebrew" example cited at the beginning of this paper, the accent one speaker uses is seen by other speakers as an index of her geographic origin. Efrat specifically inquired into where the new teacher, Rinat, was from, thus invoking a place-language link that, while not unique to Israel, is at the heart of Israeli and classical Zionist language ideologies (Kuzar, 2001; Shur, 2001a, 2001b).

This query constitutes an authenticating move in two ways. First, the content of the question, asking about the teacher's country of origin, requires an answer that either authenticates or deauthenticates the teacher as an Israeli. Second, by adding "*ani lo hevanti*" (I didn't understand) to the follow-up, Efrat positions herself as someone who needs to know and both her daughter and herself as having the ability to determine national origin. By asking for this clarification, Efrat also indicates the importance of understanding the teacher's nationality for purposes of evaluating her adequacy as a teacher of Hebrew, a topic that was repeatedly brought up in the Siegel household because of the parents' concern with Dikla's Hebrew language retention.

Both of Dikla's turns in this exchange constitute authenticating moves, authenticating both herself and her teacher. Dikla's affirmative response is followed by her evaluation of her teacher's authenticity not only as an Israeli, but also as a Hebrew-speaker. The use of the intensifying "very" in turn 4 indicates that nativeness is rated on a scale from most to least native. The notion of "a very Hebrew accent" is remarkable as well because it directly conflates Hebrew speaking ability with Israeliness. In addition to the thematic coupling of Israel and

Hebrew, in-group and out-group boundaries are demarcated by reference to sojourn in a particular land. There is an implication in this exchange that the only speakers capable of using “real Hebrew” are authentic Israelis who have resided in Israel.

That Efrat asks her question in Hebrew and that Dikla gives her answer in English is not to be glossed over. These language choices are significant for who they include and exclude both as potential addressees and overhearers of the conversation (Goffman, 1981, pp. 131-134). Of the six participants at the table, only Jessica—who is also the only person of the six born and raised in the United States—is not a native Hebrew speaker, and thus not a ratified participant to the conversation.

At this point in her linguistic development, Dikla already displayed competence in noticing and evaluating others’ linguistic ability. Nonetheless, this exchange still constituted a socializing interaction in two ways. First, it reinforced the language-place link that serves as one of the bases for judgments of authenticity. After two interrogatives inquiring into the teacher’s country of origin receive affirmative responses, the second response recognizing accent as a legitimate measurement of citizenship, Efrat lets her daughter know that those parameters are achieved not only through the place of birth, but through an extended sojourn. It is understood that Efrat does not mean that the teacher studied in Israel for a semester during college, but rather that she spent a significant portion of her life—here understood as most of her academic career—in Israeli schools.

Second, by asking the question in Hebrew, Efrat excluded Jessica not only as a potential addressee, but also as a legitimate judge of Israeliness. Speaking Hebrew was not a necessity, as all participants seated at the table were fluent in English and at this time Dikla and Efrat regularly and readily spoke to each other in English, almost exclusively so in the presence of English monolinguals. In fact, in four of the previous five utterances addressed to the three girls at the table, Efrat used English. The choice to switch to Hebrew, then, indicates to the two Hebrew speaking girls, Efrat and Maya, that it is only Hebrew speakers who can judge the authenticity of other Hebrew speakers. This distinction between capable and incapable judges demarcates and delineates group membership.

### **Authenticity Socialization Among Siblings**

With the ability to contrast the sounds in the two languages being rapidly acquired by the children, siblings became important agents in socializing each other to recognize ideologies of authenticity. The following exchange was filmed during the third month of the Feingluz’s stay in New York. In it, Yakov Feingluz, 13, had been narrating a story about a teacher, Ms. Hason, whose name begins with the unvoiced glottal fricative /h/. However, Yakov pronounced the first phoneme in her name as a velar fricative /x/, thus producing [xáson] instead of the more common US American pronunciation of [hæsən], the latter being the way the teacher in fact pronounced her own name. Hearing this, his 10 year-old brother, Moshe, interrupted the story and inquired into the use of /x/ by noting that the letter *xet*, the Hebrew name for the voiceless velar fricative, does not exist in English. Meir, 11, then joined the conversation, while Rivka, who had just turned 6, listened on.

#### ***Excerpt 5 - Xet be anglit***

01 Moshe *bixlal ein kaze davaꝝ xet be anglit, naxon?*  
at all exist-neg such thing xet prep English correct

- ‘There’s no such thing as *xet* in English, right?’
- 02 Yakov *naxon. omrim hason.*  
correct say-pl hason  
‘Right, they say hason.’
- 03 Meir ((singing)) *anuka anuka hag yafe kol kah*  
anuka anuka festival nice so much  
‘Hanukah, Hanukah, what a holiday.’
- 04 Rivka @@@@

In turns 1 and 2, Moshe and Yakov couple English and Other, as opposed to Hebrew and Self. Yakov’s “*omrim hason*” (they say hason), is ambiguous, since the third person plural in Hebrew also serves as the impersonal conjugation. Contextually, however, and considering Yakov’s previous comments, it makes sense to interpret it as “they say” as opposed to “one says” or “it is said.” Turns 1 and 2 therefore constitute authenticating moves on two levels. First, they display the boys’ knowledge of both Hebrew and English phonology, thus authenticating them as Israeli. Second, it deauthenticates American pronunciations. Moshe’s interrogative, prompted by Yakov’s, let us say Hebrewized, pronunciation of his teacher’s name, describes the phonetic inventory of English as *lacking* a particular sound. This phonetic awareness draws on both oral and literate modalities, for it recognizes not only a correspondence between sounds, but also letters.

Yakov’s reply also accomplishes several ends. It serves as a model for the pronunciation of English words as well as the pronunciation of Hebrew words with an American accent by positing that as a rule /x/ is replaced by /h/. This is an authenticating move that casts Yakov as a capable judge of Hebrew-ness. Yakov’s statement also implies not only that there are authentic and inauthentic speakers of Hebrew and English, but that one language is more authentic than others in Jewish experience. In Yakov’s formulation, it is not that he has Hebrewized his teacher’s American name, but rather that Americans have Anglicized a name that must have originally been Hebrew. This interpretation of the deeper meaning of Yakov’s utterance is supported by situating his comments within a broader set of linguistic ideologies prevalent especially among observant Jews in Israel, a group to which the Feingluz belong, that Hebrew is the original language.

Wheres, as we saw in the exchange between Nirit and Rivka, Israeli children are teased for pronouncing Hebrew words with an American accent, Americanized Hebrew as used by Jewish Americans is mocked by these children, marking it as inauthentic. In excerpt 5, Meir parodies American pronunciations of a popular Hebrew Hanukah song. In Hebrew, the lyrics would be “*xanuka xanuka xag yafe kol kax.*” His hyperbolized deletion of /x/ (most Americans would say [hanəka]), indicates not just a recognition of the absence of this phoneme in English, but also of American speakers’ difficulty in producing such sounds. The parodic imitation of the American pronunciation of this song, which during this time was being sung almost everyday at Herschel Yeshiva, is an authenticating move that marks Meir’s authenticity as a speaker of Hebrew and as an Israeli by mocking non-copresent others.

This exchange constitutes an important socializing activity among siblings. While many studies of language socialization focus on adult-child socializing interactions, there has been

increasing concern in recent years with peer socialization (García-Sánchez, 2006; Goodwin, 1990, 2006). Here, Moshe's question prompts Yakov to explicitly teach him or to confirm for him the differences in the phonological repertoires not only of Hebrew and English, but also of Israelis and Americans. Second, Meir's parodic singing further reinforces these distinctions to his younger siblings. Finally, we must understand Rivka's laughter as a form of uptake or recognition. Interactions such as these reinforce the socializing interactions with her mother by highlighting once again the differences in the ways Israelis like the Feingluz and Americans like their classmates sing the same songs and thus differences in how they speak the same language.

The authentication of Israeli pronunciations and deauthentication of American ones here occurs in the absence of the deauthenticated parties—Jewish American students at the boys' school and, by extension, American Jews in general. The same was true of Dikla's authentication of her teacher in Excerpt 4. As such, these authenticating moves are important sites for the reproduction of linguistic ideologies during socializing interactions, for they offer non-copresent others as exemplars either of authenticity or of inauthenticity. They thus inculcate children with the ability to judge and evaluate others' authentication stances, which is one of the goals of such socializing activities.

### **Mock American Hebrew**

Meir's mocking of American ways of singing Hebrew songs is not unique to him. The use of Mock American Hebrew is a set of judgments of authenticity that not only position subjects within a matrix of speech communities, but also subvert the relationship between Hebrew and English in the Jewish American experience. *Shlichim* and their children, as language learners, mark local (i.e. American) varieties of their home language (Hebrew) as non-standard and thus reposition Israeli Hebrew as a variety with linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991). These NS-mocks, unlike the mock varieties used by dominant groups in marking minority groups as other, resist tendencies to marginalize the language-learner's linguistic knowledge, marking that knowledge as authentic rather than peripheral.

Like Americanized Hebrew, which was described above, Mock American Hebrew is systematic. Mock American Hebrew hyperbolizes non-subtle differences between Americanized Hebrew and Israeli Hebrew, especially in vowels and liquids. Most significantly, vowels which appear as long vowels in Americanized Hebrew become extra long in the mock variety. Back vowels are always diphthongized and overarticulated. Epenthesized schwa will often become [a] or [e]. /x/ either goes to [h] or is completely deleted, although it is sometimes produced in Americanized Hebrew. The absence of /x/ is often additionally marked by pronouncing the syllable more loudly. /ʁ/ is always either the bunched or retroflex rhotic of American English. More subtle differences, such as aspiration, labio-dentalization of bilabial fricatives, the deletion of the glottal stop, and vowel reduction, are not as consistently marked.

The following exchange occurred near the end of dinner at the Siegel house on the same evening discussed Excerpt 4. Efrat excused Liron from the table and the 4 year-old said in Hebrew that he wanted to watch television, pronouncing it in his native accent [televizja] (turns 2 & 3), a pronunciation used by his mother when she repeats the word (turns 10, 11, & 13). "Televizia" is, it should be clear, borrowed into Hebrew from English, possibly by way of another European language. Jessica repeated what Liron had said, as the word was one she could clearly recognize, but her pronunciation was pronounced with an American phonology,

[t<sup>h</sup>ələvi:zija] (turns 6 & 8). The two Israeli girls laughed, mimicking their friend and hyperbolizing the accented version of the word, asking her if she knew what the word meant. Maya then produced mock American varieties of Hebrew while Dikla produced a hyperbolized American pronunciation in English. Maya's last two turns are examples of Mock American Hebrew, which contrasts with her standard pronunciation of *televizja*, which she offered in turn 9.

**Excerpt 6 - *Televizia***

- 01 Efrat (*liʁon*) *sijamta? ata jaxol lakum. okej? ata jaxol lakum.*  
 (Liron) finish-2<sup>nd</sup>-pt you able-sg-pr rise-inf okay you able-sg-pr rise-inf  
 'Liron, are you done? You can get up, okay? You can get up.'
- 02 Liron *ʁot<sup>e</sup> liʁot televizja*  
 want-sg-pr watch-inf television  
 'I want to watch television.'
- 03 *liʁot televizja*  
 watch-inf television  
 'To watch television.'
- 04 Efrat *ata jaxol kt<sup>s</sup>at od liʁt. okej,*  
 you able-sg-pr little more watch-inf okay  
 'You can watch a little bit more, okay?'
- 05 Liron *ʁot<sup>e</sup> liʁot tele-*  
 want-sg-pr watch-inf tele  
 'Want to watch tele-'
- 06 Jessica < t<sup>h</sup>ələvi:zija >  
 television
- 07 Dikla @@@@
- 08 Jessica t<sup>h</sup>ələvi:zija  
 television
- 09 Maya t<sup>h</sup>elevi- du ju ivən no wat teləvizja iz?  
 televi- do you even know what *televizia* is
- 10 Efrat wats televizja?  
 what's *televizia*
- 11 wat iz televizja?  
 what is *televizia*
- 12 Jessica ((nods)) ti:vi!  
 TV

- 13 Efrat ((to Liron)) *bo ani adlik lexa ta televizja im ata rot<sup>s</sup>e*  
 come-imp I light-ft rec dom-def television if you want-sg-pr  
 ‘Here, I’ll turn the television on for you if you want.’
- 14 Dikla <*t<sup>h</sup>eləvɪzən*> ((twists open palm at Jessica’s face))  
 television
- 15 Maya *ani: oʊhevet li:ʌ-*  
 i like-sg-fm to w-  
 ‘I like to wa-’
- 16 (*efɪɔt! efɪɔt!*) *ani: oʊhevet li:ʌout t<sup>h</sup>ələvɪ:zɪja!*  
 (efrat efrat) i like-sg-fm watch-inf television  
 ‘Efrat! Efrat! I like to watch television.’
- 17 [@@@@
- 18 Dikla [@@@@
- 19 Liron [@@@@
- 20 Jessica [@@@@

The first thing to notice is the phonological changes that take place between Liron’s pronunciation of *televizja* (turns 2 and 3) and Jessica’s and Maya’s *t<sup>h</sup>ələvɪ:zɪja* (turns 6, 8, and 16). The voiceless alveolar stop became aspirated, open-mid vowels were reduced, and the high front tense vowel that carried the primary stress in Hebrew was elongated. Jessica also epenthesized a high front tense vowel between the voiced alveolar fricative and the glide in the last syllable of the Hebrew word. It is interesting to note that the placement of the stress in Jessica’s token is the primary differentiation between this and the English word *television*, which except for its final syllable contains nearly identical phonemes to what she produced. It is the movement of the stress which causes the vowel reduction in English and also in Jessica’s pronunciation of the Hebrew word.

The reaction of the girls and of Efrat is telling. Dikla laughed as Maya asked in a slightly haughty tone if her good friend understood what she had just said. Efrat also asked Jessica if she knew the meaning of the word, switching between English interrogatives and the Hebrew noun in her query of the girl (turns 10 and 11). It is remarkable that so much was made of Jessica’s pronunciation while it was hardly commented upon that she repeated what Liron had said. Liron’s utterance is thus completely unmarked, a natural and correct pronunciation of a Hebrew word. Dikla’s utterance in turn 14 further highlights the markedness of Jessica’s usage, as she said the English word but with a hyperbolized American English accent, elongating the word in a seaming mimesis of her friend’s attempt at saying *televizja* while twisting her hand playfully into Jessica’s face.

The phonological characteristics of Maya’s utterances in turns 15 and 16 are clear examples of Mock American Hebrew, and Maya’s recognition of this is evidenced by her self-initiated self-repair (Schegloff, 1979) and her hailing of Efrat, as well as her ensuing laughter. By raising her voice and calling the adult’s name twice, Maya indicates that she recognizes that her utterance displays communicative competence of a particular kind.



In Maya's regular Hebrew speech, the utterance would have been produced as "*efbat efbat ani ohevet livot televizja,*" as can be seen by her token of "teləvizja" in turn 9.<sup>25</sup> We can understand the vowel reduction in that token as a result of the intrasentential codeswitch, as it was not a consistent feature of Maya's spoken Hebrew. Consistent with the systematic parodying of Americanized Hebrew, Maya diphthongizes back vowels (*oohevet, liout*), substitutes /ɪ/ for /ʊ/ (*liout*), and assimilates or reduces vowels (/ɔ/ in *efɔt*, /ə/ in *tʰələvɪzɪzija*).

We have seen before that Israeli children are teased for their use of American phonology in Hebrew words. Here, however, it is an American child who is teased for her American sounding pronunciation of Hebrew. We can again understand this sanctioning as a response to a breach. Jessica's breach, however, is more social than it is phonological.

Jessica's first utterance in turn 6 can be interpreted in two ways. First, she recognizes the word and uses that recognition to position herself as an ingroup member. This interpretation is supported by numerous observations of the three girls together both at school and at home in which Jessica vied for inclusion into Dikla and Maya's linguistic inner circle. On the other hand, Jessica could be teasing Liron, a common activity among the three girls and one which had driven the boy to tears earlier that evening and would do so again after dinner. Both interpretations allow for an understanding of Jessica's utterance in turn 6 as an attempt at an authenticating move. The reactions of Efrat, Dikla, and Maya, then, contradict Jessica's stance either by sanctioning her for teasing Liron (by teasing her in return) or by excluding her from the group (by pointing out quite strongly that she is not a Hebrew speaker).

In both of these cases, Jessica's utterance is a breach of household expectations, and the sanctioning that ensues is a way to socialize her to recognize those rules. Yet it is not only Jessica who is being made aware of those norms, but also the three Israeli children who are not sanctioned, and in fact encouraged by Efrat to tease Jessica. The teasing is good-natured. No one at the table understood it as hurtful, and Jessica's laughter indicated that she had understood her gaffe.

### **Children's Displays of Competence for Authenticating Moves**

The ideological distinction between Israeli and American pronunciations of Hebrew also appears in children's claims to authenticity as native Hebrew speakers when American pronunciations of Hebrew are used. This next example, recorded in Rivka Feingluz's kindergarten class, was a common one, where the pronunciation of a participant's name, in this case the researcher's, raised questions about linguistic authenticity. After lunch, as the teacher, Sadie, called on the students to say the grace after meals, she used the researcher as bait to have the children quiet down. A discussion ensued with the children teasing the teacher for her pronunciation of my name and offering their own versions of how it is said. Rivka then objected to her peers' pronunciation of "Shlomy." In this excerpt I have rendered only my name in IPA in order to facilitate the reading of the transcript. All English words were pronounced with the standard local accent by all speakers.

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<sup>25</sup> Efrat is a pseudonym, but the relevant syllable has been kept in order to illustrate the differences in pronunciations. Efrat's real name did not contain an /ʊ/, and while I render the Mock American Hebrew pronunciation here as /ɪ/, I do so in order to remain consistent with the rules of Mock American Hebrew as used by these speakers.

**Excerpt 7 - It's not Shloimi**

- 01 Sadie and if you want  $\text{ʃlojmi}$  to do things with you, you need to co- =  
02 Sari = it's not  $\text{ʃlo:jmi}$ . =  
03 Sadie = you need [to cooperate].  
04 David [it's  $\text{ʃloumi}$   
05 Jon it's  $\text{ʃəloumi}$ , not  $\text{ʃləjmi}$ !  
06 Kids @@@  
07 Sari it's not  $\text{ʃləjmi}$ !  
08 Kids  $\text{ʃlojmi}$   
09 Kids  $\text{ʃloumi}$   
10 Rivka it's no:t  $\text{ʃlo::mi}$ :  
11 Kids it's not  $\text{ʃləjmi}$ !  
12 Sari it's a Hebrew name  
13 Rivka he has a Hebrew name

Most interesting in this excerpt is the way that, through the simple utterance of a name, speakers position themselves within three distinct communities.  $\text{ʃlojmi}$ , with its distinctive diphthong, is the pronunciation of my name among Orthodox American Jews, especially in communities where Yiddish is spoken or in which Ashkenazi or Yiddish-ized pronunciations of Hebrew are normative. It is the version of my name used by my Ultra-Orthodox relatives in Boro Park, New York, and although I do not use it myself, I respond to it when addressed. Most Modern Orthodox children are relatively adept at distinguishing between this pronunciation and  $\text{ʃloumi}$ , the pronunciation used in most Modern Orthodox communities in the US and by most native-speakers of English I know. When speaking with Americans I introduce myself as  $\text{ʃloumi}$ , and it is the name my American friends and colleagues use when speaking to me.

As we can see in this excerpt, the children in this kindergarten class make no small deal of pointing out this difference to their teacher, teasing her for an utterance that marks her as belonging to a different community and a different generation. This teasing may be exacerbated by the near homophony between  $\text{ʃləjmi}$  and “slimy,” which is introduced by Jon in turn 5. The unified and almost choral response on the part of the students is a move to authenticate their knowledge and relationship with the researcher and to de-authenticate Sadie's. The lone voice of additional dissent is that of Rivka Feingluz, who offers that even this supposed correction is incorrect.

Rivka is here referring to the fact that in Israeli Hebrew my name is pronounced  $\text{ʃlomi}$ . It is the pronunciation I use when speaking to other native Hebrew speakers and the one used by her and her family when speaking with me. By saying, “it's not  $\text{ʃlo:mi}$ ,” Rivka deauthenticates her classmates' claims to knowing my name and the attendant authenticating moves that come with those claims. It is important to note, however, that Rivka's attempt at saying  $\text{ʃloumi}$  is not a perfect replica of her classmates' way of speaking. Rivka does not

diphthongize the /o/, but rather elongates it to create a similar, albeit not precisely the same, effect.

By commenting on her classmates' pronunciation and not offering an alternative, noting instead that the proper pronunciation is in Hebrew, Rivka evokes a local norm that students have both an American and a Hebrew name. By keeping the "Hebrew name" silent, Rivka retains for herself the privilege of being the only one who can pronounce it properly. This reinforces common Hebrew classroom activities in which Rivka is singled out to read aloud in Hebrew, help the teacher, or provide a Hebrew word that others do not know, and which position her as a unique speaker in the classroom.

The point that the researcher has a "Hebrew name," then, is not a simple one. On a linguistic level, it points to a recognition of difference between distinct phonological systems. On an ideological level, it points to the recognition of distinct "correct" usages, and, again, indexes these multiple belongings. Rivka's remark, however, is not merely a correction, as it were. I do, after all, use different pronunciations of my name based on my interlocutor. Rather, it is a claim on her part to the possession of an ability, not to mention a relationship with the researcher (see Chapter 3), that exceeds those held by her classmates.

In this excerpt we encounter a number of authenticating moves by several parties. These authenticating moves draw upon not only affiliation with native Hebrew speakerness, but also participants' individual histories in this classroom. Sari, for example, is the only child in this classroom other than Rivka who is exposed to Hebrew at home. Jon is not only considered the class clown, but is generally the most visibly excited at my arrival in this class. In this sense, Jon's claim to knowledge is not just a generational one, which we could interpret his classmates' claim to be, but also a claim to a special relationship with the researcher. Rivka's authenticating move near the end of this exchange, correcting the other students' correction, also draws upon her relationship with the researcher as the acknowledged focus of his attention. In her reaction to her classmates' utterances, Rivka moves to authenticate herself as Israeli and as a native speaker of "real Hebrew."

### **Authenticity, Socialization, and Transnationalism**

I have shown how the Siegel and Feingluz children are socialized to evaluate differences between Israeli and American pronunciations of Hebrew and thus to participate in authenticating discourses. The primary means through which this socialization is accomplished is authenticating moves employed in ongoing interactions. In socializing activities, these authenticating moves most often appear as part of teasing and mocking routines. I have situated the authenticating discourses employed by the participants in this study within a broader history of the meaning of Hebrew in the relationship between Israel and the American Jewish Diaspora. *Shlichim* draw on Israeli attitudes towards Diaspora Jews and ideologies of language to position themselves as authentic speakers of Hebrew and American Jews as inauthentic.

The use of these authenticating moves is also telling about the role of authenticity in the socialization of transnational identities. Throughout this dissertation I have argued that *shlichim* and their children draw on and contest historically situated Zionist Israeli ideologies of religion, culture, and language to construct identities that are placed between Israel and the diaspora. Attention to the ways people speak is a fundamental means through which this in-

betweenness is accomplished. The judgments of the accents people use in speech are symbolic boundaries of who does and does not speak “like a native speaker.” Learning to recognize and mock non-Israeli pronunciations of Hebrew allows the children of *shlichim* to simultaneously reinforce and blur the boundaries between Israeli and American Jews. As they do when indexing the religious and cultural differences between Israeli and Jewish American experiences, *shlichim* and their children do not simply discredit nationalist ideologies, as some scholars of transnationalism claim is the case among transnationals. Rather, they draw on those nationalist ideologies to carve out their own identitary space. In the following concluding chapter, I discuss how the practices discussed in this dissertation constitute the socialization of transnational identities.

## CHAPTER 7

### Conclusion

This multi-sited ethnographic study started with the premise that an examination of the linguistic and socializing practices of transnational families across settings could elucidate the processes of becoming transnational. Drawing on ethnographic observations of routine activities in homes, classrooms, and other settings in both Israel and New York; video- and audio-recordings of naturally occurring interaction; unstructured interviews with study participants; and artifacts collected across sites, the dissertation utilized the tenets of the language socialization paradigm to examine the processes through which children learn to traverse and translate diverse linguistic, social, and cultural landscapes. These practices are located within the historical relationship between Israel and the American Jewish Diaspora, and draw upon the significance of Hebrew to the Zionist project.

Through a perspective that combined a detailed analysis of the day-to-day learning practices of immigrant children with a broader account of the global forces that come to bear upon their lives, I have shown in this dissertation how, in learning to acclimate to changing languages, schools, and cultural mores, children and adults negotiate multiple positionings. Yet, while becoming transnational is a process of navigating and hybridizing multiple allegiances, languages, and ways of knowing, it is also a process of reproducing nationalist discourses. Families of *shlichim*, during their preparation for departure from Israel and during their first year and-a-half in the United States, construct transnational identities that draw upon and reproduce historically situated nationalist discourses. Rather than merely blurring the symbolic boundaries between members and non-members of the nation-state, *shlichim* and their children reinforce those boundaries through their linguistic practices, their commentaries, and their observations about life in Israel and the United States. *Shlichim* socialize their children to transnational identities that draw on both Israeli and Jewish American norms and which simultaneously blend and differentiate between these two sets of norms.

In Chapter 4, for example, I showed how, during the months leading up to their departure from Israel, *shlichim*, display anxiety about the changes and challenges they and their children will face upon arrival in the United States. These anxieties come about because *shlichim*, like other migrants, in coming into contact with novel cultural and linguistic practices are forced to evaluate their own quotidian practices and taken-for-granted assumptions. These anxieties are not only immediate and short-term, but even carry over to worries about how their children will re-acclimate to life in Israel upon repatriation. However, rather than leading *shlichim* and their children to abandon these assumptions and practices, these fears result in a reification of the symbolic boundaries between Israel and the United States. Indeed, the presumption that their children will have an easier time re-acclimating to Israeli culture is rooted not only in the fact that their children will usually have had more exposure to Israeli norms, but also in the belief that Israel is home. *Shlichim* socialize their children to confront these challenges largely through attention to language, teaching them to translate between English and Hebrew, to communicate even when they do not know all the words, and to believe in their own language learning abilities.

Chapter 5 discussed the religious boundary work at home and in the schools of the Siegel children, examining how conflicts between religious practices of the home and those of

the school were situated within historical discourses on the relationship between Judaism as a religion and Zionism as a Jewish nationalist movement. Secular families like the Siegels reproduce these secularist Israeli ideologies in home practices, while Jewish day schools such as those attended by their children reproduce the religious ideologies of Diaspora communities. In this chapter, I identified four features of religious socialization in schools: generic diglossia, embodiment of prayers, singing of prayers, and repetition. These features have been identified by other scholars of language socialization in other settings. I also showed how when religious practices were imported from school into the home by the children, they were invariably taken up as foreign and other. In learning to pray and then learning how to categorize prayers as something done at school, not at home, Liron and Dikla learned to distinguish between religious and secular Jewish identities, a fundamental distinction in the Zionist Israeli worldview.

Finally, Chapter 6 illustrated how the accents speakers use in Hebrew serve as symbolic boundaries between Israeli and non-Israeli identities. In socializing their children to recognize these symbolic boundaries, parents reproduce long-standing ideologies of language in Israel that are rooted in the negation of diaspora ideology of classical Zionism. That is, *shlichim* draw on Israeli attitudes towards Diaspora Jews and ideologies of language to position themselves as authentic speakers of Hebrew and American Jews as inauthentic. Yet, in demonstrating an ability to speak with both an Israeli and an American accent, *shlichim* and their children carve out a space of identification that valorizes the ability to speak both like an Israeli and like an American.

In simultaneously recognizing the prestige of English while derogating its speakers, and in acclaiming Hebrew and its speakers, *shlichim* and their children reconfigure the values of national languages and cultures often positioned in hierarchical relation to each other. My analysis of these practices argues for a model of transnationalism that is able to account for participants' ambivalent orientations to homeland and host land while recognizing the persistence of nationalist belonging. Such findings counter the claims of those scholars of transnationalism who view transnational life as a break with nationalist discourses.

In summary, transnational identities:

- 1) Are constructed through an explicit recognition of the boundaries between the linguistic and cultural practices of the homeland and the host country;
- 2) Are negotiated through attention to the authenticity of members of the homeland, the host country, and the transnational community; that is, through attention to the extent to which individuals stay within the symbolic boundaries that separate the homeland and the host-land; and
- 3) Display an ambivalence toward affiliation with the host country by accentuating and emphasizing the linguistic and cultural practices of the homeland.

I conclude this dissertation by considering the implications this study can have for the study of language socialization on one hand and for the study of transnationalism on the other. I then present a framework for the analysis of the socialization of transnational identities. Finally, I call for further research into the ways symbolic boundaries figure in the construction of transnational identities.

## Implications for Language Socialization and Research on Transnationalism

As discussed in the introduction to this dissertation, the language socialization paradigm offers certain advantages for analyzing the construction of transnational identities. First, by examining socialization to and through language, the language socialization paradigm recognizes the intricate relationship between what people speak, how they speak, and how they view the world. It relates language use to social order and vice-versa, thus offering a way for researchers to examine how both individuals' and groups' presentation of self is culturally and ideologically situated. Second, by viewing the ends of socialization as emergent, rather than positing them *a priori*, the language socialization paradigm is able to examine how cultural norms come to be, not merely how they are reproduced. It situates local interactions within communal ideologies, but does not see those communal ideologies as predetermined or predetermining. Finally, by seeing different sites as interrelated, the language socialization paradigm allows for multi-sited investigations that are holistic rather than comparative. This is especially significant in transnational settings, where home and school sites in different countries have varying degrees of salience in the lives of transnationals.

Yet, despite these advantages, the language socialization paradigm does not have a coherent framework for analyzing transnationalism. That is, the study of transnational communities has implications for language socialization research. First, transnational communities necessitate that research be carried out in more than one geographic setting and (usually) in more than one language. These experiences across national borders can lead to a heterogeneity of desirable competencies, such as *shlichim's* desire that their children speak both Hebrew and English like native speakers and display cultural competence across multiple settings. This echoes a recent call by Baquedano-López and Hernandez (forthcoming) for language socialization researchers to move away from a view of competency "that maps learning measured against the unfolding of a timeline that matches other timelines of Western-based efficiencies and order in society" (pp. 18-19). Second, research with transnational groups forces language socialization researchers to more explicitly recognize the symbolic boundaries that include some and exclude others from the group or community. While the language socialization paradigm is historically rooted in the social theories of Bernstein, Bourdieu, and Giddens (Baquedano-López & Kattan, 2008), researchers who use this paradigm, possibly because of the local nature of their research, often do not expose the methods of inclusion and exclusion that are so fundamental to the social order.

When coupled with the growing body of work on transnationalism, globalization, and diaspora in anthropology and sociology, language socialization research can give insights into the daily experiences of transnationals by focusing on the ways young people learn to *be* transnational through routine interactions in the home and in other settings. Marrying the methodological tenets of language socialization with the theoretical insights of research on transnationalism can provide a fruitful area of investigation for scholars interested in examining both what is human and humane about globalization. In the next section I offer a framework for the language socialization of transnationalism, pointing out three main areas in which such work can make a significant contribution both to language socialization research and to research on transnationalism.

## Language Socialization of Transnationalism

***The local and the global.*** Like language socialization research in general, language socialization of transnationalism is ethnographic, longitudinal, and shows learning over time. However, whereas most studies of language socialization have been carried out in one country and one setting, language socialization of transnationalism must be multi-sited and global. Rather than showing only developmental change, language socialization studies of transnational persons must also show change across space. How participants change their linguistic and cultural practices as a result of their migration and their exposure to novel forms of interaction and cultural knowledge is crucial to understanding transnational life. The methodological tenets of language socialization enable a fine-grained analysis of these changes while recognizing how these changes are situated within global processes. In this way, language socialization of transnationalism recognizes both what is local and what is global in the everyday lives of transnational families.

***The contemporary and the historical.*** Language socialization of transnationalism recognizes both what is contemporary and what is historically situated in human interaction. That is, language socialization of transnationalism is not satisfied with an analysis merely of face-to-face interaction, but rather situates such interactions within historical discourses. To adequately explicate how children are socialized to transnational identities, a language socialization of transnationalism must excavate the historical discourses and ideologies of the nation-state in order to see where transnational practices reproduce such discourses and where they depart from them.

***The orthodox and the heterodox.*** Language socialization of transnationalism examines how the symbolic boundaries erected by the nation-state are both reinforced and blurred by transnational people. That is, language socialization of transnationalism recognizes both what is orthodox and heterodox (Bourdieu, 1977) in transnational practices. The symbolic boundaries of the nation-state can be racial, ethnic, linguistic, religious, and cultural. By attending to the negotiation of these boundaries in daily life, language socialization of transnationalism can identify the ways in which transnationals adhere to those boundaries and the ways in which their transnational experiences lead them to break away from those boundaries, to question them and transform them. While *shlichim* and their children in large part reinforced the ideologies of language, culture, and religion of Israel, they also introduced new practices into their lives. Further studies of language socialization among transnational families may find that other groups more strongly break with the ideologies of their homeland.

For these reasons, it is important that more language socialization studies be carried out that attend to symbolic boundaries. The language socialization paradigm offers the methodological tools with which to examine the role symbolic boundaries—“the lines that include and define some people, groups and things while excluding others” (Lamont, 2001, p. 15341)—play in the socialization process. More studies that attend to the socialization of children to symbolic boundaries can give researchers further insight into the way cultural and linguistic mores are constructed, drawn upon, reproduced, and changed.

### Postscript

In August of 2009, both the Siegels and the Feingluzes returned to Israel. Nirit, Nitai, Yakov, Meir, Moshe, Yirmiah, and Rivka returned to their home in Ilan with a new baby



brother; while Efrat, Eyal, Dikla, Liron, and their new baby boy moved to a newly built house on a kibbutz in north-central Israel.

A month after they moved to Israel, I wrote Efrat an email to ask how the move back had been. Her reply to me was in English, and summed up their first few weeks in Israel. Significantly, it made mention of the transition back to Hebrew and the retention of English, as if the process was coming back around to three years and three months before. The email struck me as having a different tone from the emails she sent when they first moved to New York. There was a calmness to it, and a sense that a new stage in their lives was about to begin:

We are not in our new home yet as it will be ready only around November. We are at my parents' in [Neve Barak] and drive the kids to school in the kibbutz for about 25 minutes each way daily.

We just went to get the car that we bought, 2006 Renault Scenic, very cute car and somewhat a compromise between the small cars in Israel and the big minivan we are used to from USA. It feels bigger inside because of the way it is planned, with a higher ceiling, more leg room and a big trunk. Let's hope it will stay away from the garage.

Our kids are all in school for full days by today and everything is going very well and we are supposed to start running our lives and looking for jobs, so there is no income right now but some quality time alone, which is not so bad. [Lironi] is slowly switching back to Hebrew and with him we are probably not going to be able to do much with saving the English, but with [Dikla] we are definitely going to try hard.

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## Appendix A Transcription Conventions

Speech that is quoted in the running text is surrounded by double quotation marks (“speech”) if it is the original recorded talk and in single quotation marks (‘speech’) if it is a translation of the original. For examples originally in Hebrew, the original is in italics and written using IPA, with the translation in parentheses and single quotation following the original.

For turn-by-turn transcriptions of ongoing speech, the following conventions have been adapted from Jefferson (2002, pp. 1377-1383) with some modifications. For examples originally in Hebrew, *the original language is in italics* and written using IPA, the word-for-word gloss in Roman (plain) type with correct alignment, ‘and the idiomatic translation in single quotation marks.’ Utterances originally in English are written using IPA in Roman (plain) type with a gloss beneath in standard American English orthography. In the word-for-word gloss, the following abbreviations are used to indicate affixes and particles:

1, 2, 3 = person, def = definite, dem = demonstrative, dir = directive, dom = direct object marker, fm = feminine, ft = future, inf = infinitive, ms = masculine, neg = negation, pl = plural, pr = present, pt = preterit, prep = preposition, rec = recipient, sg = singular.

Intonation and other paralinguistic features of speech are marked by the following symbols:

.	falling tone	,	slight rising inflection
?	rising intonation	!	animated tone
:	sound elongations	↑↓	rising or falling intonation
[	overlapped speech	=	latched speech
<u>line</u>	relative emphasis	-	a cut-off /sudden stop in flow of talk
(( ))	non-verbal behavior	( )	unintelligible speech or best guess
(0.0)	length of pause in sec. and 10ths	(name)	pseudonym
>talk<	relatively fast speech	<talk>	relatively slow speech
<u>2line</u>	relatively louder speech	@	laughter for an estimated duration

## Appendix B

### Original Hebrew of Written Artifacts from Chapter 4

#### 1) Original Hebrew of Zeev Bielsky's letter from the *shlichim's* training schedule (pp. 44-45):

במהלך הקורס תרחיבו את היכרותכם עם העולם היהודי בתפוצות ותעמיקו את הזדהותכם עם האתגרים והמשימות העומדים בפנינו ובעיקרם הגברת העלייה לישראל מחד וחיזוק הזהות היהודית והזיקה לישראל בקרב בני הדור הצעיר בתפוצות מאידך.

הקורס יעניק לכם כלים רבים, אשר יסייעו בידיכם למלא את השליחות בדרך הטובה ביותר ולהעניק ללקוחותינו בכל רחבי העולם את השירות המיטבי והאיכותי ביותר.

כל אלה הם היסודות לשליחותכם. אולם את הערך- המוסף יביא כל אחד מכם באופן אישי לשליחות. את עצמו. את היכולת לתרגם את חזון הארגון לעשייה יצירתית, את המחויבות האישית, המסירות, הנחישות, האמונה והכוח הפנימי, את החתירה המתמדת להצטיינות ולמצוינות בכל תחומי פעילותו.

אני בטוח שזהו הרף שהנכם מציבים היום בפניכם ומאחל לכם תקופת הכשרה פורייה ומהנה.

#### 2) Original Hebrew of Efrat Siegel's email about Dikla's second day of kindergarten (p. 49):

אני הבאתי אותה בבוקר ונשארתי קצת ונפרדתי ממנה כשהם נכנסו לשיעור עברית, שבו היא הרגישה חזקה כמובן ולכן שיחררה אותי בקלות. אני יצאתי מהדלת והזלתי דמעות רבות אחרי שראיתי אותה כ"כ מתוסכלת שלא מבינה מה אומרים במפגש הבוקר. לא קל לראות את הילדה שלך, תמיד כ"כ בעלת בטחון ופופולרית, מרגישה שלא מוצאת את עצמה. זה העלה לי זכרונות מהתקופה שבה הייתי ילדה בשליחות ביוסטון ותקעו אותי ליד שולחן עם ספר על קליפורד הכלב האדום, שאלמד מהאוויר איך לקרוא.... אבל זה גם הזכיר לי כמה מהר היא תלמד אנגלית וכמה היא תודה לנו על החוויה הזו אח"כ.

#### 3) Original Hebrew of Efrat Siegel's email about the family's first weeks in New York (p. 50):

המחשב תפוס כ"כ הרבה ע"י הילדים עם הדיסקים של סבא טוביה ופיים פם פה וספר הגיונגל, וכל מה ששר ומדבר עברית...זו היתה החלטה כזו נכונה להביא לפה מלאי גדול של די וי די ולשכנע את [אייל] שיהודה הצעיר יסתדרו כמה שבועות בלי המחשב הנייד שלהם.

## Appendix C

### Original Hebrew of Written Texts from Chapter 6

1) Original Hebrew from Ben-Yehuda (1917, p. 205) (p. 93):

הכל יודעים כי יש הבדל במיבטא בלשון העברית בין בני ארץ-ישראל ובין בני הגולה שבמערב. הבדל זה אינו חדש, לא הזמן החדש הולידו, אלא היה בישראל זה מאות ומאות בשנים, רק שעוד לא נתברר הדבר אימתי ואיה נולד. והנה כל זמן שהלשון העברית היתה אצלנו רק לשון שבכתב, לא היתה להבדל זה חשיבות אלא להלכה, אבל מהעת ששבה לשוננו להיות גם בדיבור-פה נהיה הבדל המיבטא לשאלה חשובה גם גם למעשה, ובמחנה המדברים עברית נשאלת שאלה זו תמיד: איזה מיבטא הוא האמיתי.