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# Code switching as a communicative strategy
# of the Lubavitcher emissaries working with
# Jewish American students

Ph.D. Thesis

Department of English

This research was carried out under the supervision

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Poznan, 2020

# ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation would not have been possible without the help of several people. I would like to take this opportunity to thank them.

First and foremost, I would like to thank my advisor, Prof. Piotr Gasiorowski, for following my progress so closely and for providing constant support during this long process. His inexhaustible knowledge of the field and his advice made this research what it is. His professionalism and devotion combined were the keys to my success.

I would also like to thank Prof. Joel Walters, for giving me an overall direction and plenty of useful insights, Dr. Orit Heller-Hayon, for her support, and Dr. James Baker. He aided me in the linguistic aspect of the dissertation. His thoroughness is evident in the writing of this research.

I would also like to thanks my dear students, Jasmin Liberman and Yehudit Gurewicz, who helped me with the technical aspect of collecting and analyzing the data.

Finally, I would like to thank my family: My husband, Rabbi Moshe Hefer, who supported me in all areas during this period, and my children, who helped in the home and provided emotional support and motivation.

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# List of abbreviations

4-M – four morpheme (types)

Acc – accusative case

Adj – adjective

Adv – adverb

AdvP – adverbial phrase

AP – adjectival phrase

C – complementizer

CBH - Classical Biblical Hebrew

CCCI - Constraint on Closed-Class Items

CH – Contemporary Hebrew

Conj - conjunction

CS – Code switch/es/ing

CT- Co-territorial

D – determiner

Dat – dative case

DP – determiner phrase

EL - Embedded Language

FHC - Functional Head Constraint

FL- Fused Lects

Gen – genitive case

HL- Hebrew Lexeme

IP – inflectional phrase

JE- Jewish English

JL- Jewish Language

JLV- Jewish Language Variety

L1 – first language

 L1a- first language (from birth)

 L1b- early language from the age 3

L2 – second language

MH - Modern Hebrew

 Mish.H- Mishnaic Hebrew

ML - Matrix Language

MLF – Matrix Language Frame

N – noun

NE - Normative English

Nom – nominative case

NP – noun phrase

P – preposition

PL - Psycholinguistic

RO – Rights and Obligations

SP – Sociopragmatic

SPPL – sociopragmatic - psycholinguistic

ST - Source Text

TT - Target Text

UOJ- Ultra-Orthodox Jewish

V – verb

VP – verb phrase

 Y- Yiddish

YHAr - Yiddish+Hebrew+Aramaic

 YL- Yiddish Lexeme

# Introduction

Code switching (CS) is a widespread phenomenon in the world at large, especially in recent years as a consequence of globalization and the growth of civilization and intercultural communication. More specifically, immigrants and transients, as well as bilingual permanent dwellers, find themselves faced with the prevalent phenomenon of needing to converse in more than one language. Therefore, bilingualism, or multilingualism, has become the norm. One of its very salient linguistic features is code switching, which has become a prevalent linguistic phenomenon.

In the past four decades, linguists worldwide have taken an academic interest in this phenomenon. The field has developed two main focal points which researchers investigate: the structural and social aspects. The structural approach has endeavored to determine whether universal rules or constraints affect the syntactic, grammatical, and lexical components of both languages when switching (see Myers-Scotton 1993a; Myers-Scotton and Jake 2000, 2001, 2002; Poplack 1980). On the other hand, the social aspect seeks to determine the motivations that drive the speaker to switch codes.

Concerning the structural approach, today's prominent researchers have found certain unconscious universal constraints in CS (Poplack 1980; Myers-Scotton 1993). Structural systems derive from the Generative Approach (Chomsky 1961). These hold that CS has some applicable universal and predictable grammatical rules. Examples of such models include Poplack's linear model (1980), Disciullo, Musyken and Singh's generative model (1986), Jake and Myers-Scotton's models of 1993 and 2001, the JMSG model (Gross 2002) and MacSwan's Modified Minimalist Approach (1999, 2000).

Progress has also been made in researching the social approach. Gumperz (1982) and Walters (2005) consider social pragmatism as the prime motivation to switch. Social approaches seek the rationale behind the switches, with the understanding that the bilingual's inspiration for frequently switching derives from

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socio-pragmatic causes rather than psycholinguistic (PL) barriers (Poulisse 1997; Gumperz 1982). Identity also plays a vital role in motivating a switch (Auer 2004). Auer and others (Nilep 2006) stray from the conservative view of CS (Myers-Scotton 1993a) as language, and claim that the term 'code' refers to many different types of lects, including but not limited to language.

Additionally, they claim that the speakers themselves define their code rather than linguists, who do not have the authority to do so (Nilep 2006). Moreover, there can be layers and complexities within this phenomenon. CS can become a language in itself - more concisely, a code in its own right (Meeuwis and Blommaert 1998). Therefore, monolectal CS can occur, as well as layered CS, which is a code within a code.

Subsequently, Auer (2017), expounding on the phenomenon of CS, pointed out the lack of an accepted terminology to describe the subject matter, despite many years of research. He therefore re-clarifies this with his continuum, which is a breakdown of the process and consists of CS, code mixing and fused lects (FL) (1999).

In this dissertation, there will be an attempt to track the linguistic behavior of a specific group of ethnic bi/multilingual Jewish American Lubavitch emissaries and their audience, which consists of monolingual young adult university students speaking Normative English (NE), focusing mainly on the phenomenon of code-switching (CS) and its linguistic implications, following the strategies employed by the speakers to communicate effectively.

This study investigates the speech of the emissaries to their interlocutors, whom they encounter while on their mission. The study precedes this with an exploration of their unique, idiosyncratic style of speech in in-group settings, where they grew up and developed their linguistic norms and the habits to do so accurately.

The study faces several challenges. One challenge is that these speakers deviate from the standard speaking style and the interests of other bilinguals worldwide. Therefore, there is no apparent alternation from one code to another. Instead, several different lects are used simultaneously, which creates complexity in in-group speakers' speech habits. This complexity is exacerbated due to the unique nature of

the speakers' ethnic background, which is segregated and sheltered from the influences of their CT neighbors. They tend to change their speech per the circumstances, mainly driven by religious motives. This tendency makes their code unique and challenging to pinpoint, being that it is divided into three consistent modes of speech; L1a - the Yiddish, Hebrew, and Aramaic (YHAr), L1b - Basic spoken NE and YHAr (which is the Jewish Language Variety (JLV)), and their second language - L2 - and limited NE.

Besides, previous research (Fishman 1985, Gold 1985, Benor 2008, Wieser 1995) conducted on JLV has not been unanimous in its definition of JLV, with some researchers claiming it to be a language, and others defining it as a dialect of NE, with some unique characteristics. Researchers such as Fishman (1985) and Gold (1985) state that JLV is a brand new emerging language and should be recognized as such. They ask, "Is it possible that a Jewish language (JL) is being born before our very eyes but that few are aware of it?" (Fishman 1985, p:19).

On the other hand, Benor (2008) asserts that it is but a dialect, albeit with distinctive Jewish features and characteristics. This lack of consensus poses a difficulty for the study because it is not initially clear how to treat JLV, as each option yields different results. An example of this is as follows: if JLV is considered a language, alternating to or from NE would be a case of classical CS, whereas if it is defined as a dialect of NE, it is debatable whether it could be defined as CS (See Caccamo 1998; Auer 1998; Nilep 2006).

Another challenge was the logistical difficulty in collecting data from the emissaries, which were scattered in different locations all over North America, Australia, and Israel (in an English-speaking environment). Distant emissaries had to be located and reached, and transcripts and recordings had to be made remotely.

Despite these challenges, the study was nevertheless conducted due to its importance and uniqueness. The significance of this study is that it supplies the academic world with data on the segregated ethnic Lubavitch population, with its unique particularities that directly affect its linguistic behavior. This population has never been thoroughly investigated as a specific group. The Lubavitch ultra-orthodox

emissaries have always been included as a sub-group of the wider Jewish society (see Fishman 1985, Gold 1985, Benor 2008, Wieser 1995). However, contrary to all other religious speakers whose dialect/ language variety is stable and has never changed, the Lubavitch emissaries find themselves needing to transform their linguistic norms and habits when they are uprooted from their natural environment at an older age and have to communicate with secular students on their mission.

It is also unique in showing that different people from different backgrounds have a distinct linguistic behavior, and therefore this must be accounted for. As well as that, this study indicates that the term 'code' is nuanced and complex and that there are a lot of hybrid codes that interact with each other in different ways, serving different purposes and interests.

Furthermore, the study is unique due to the uniqueness of the specific people themselves and their specific in-group and out-group codes, which contain many subtleties and modulations. Moreover, the various codes have undergone many changes in their processes while remaining consistent.

The typical Lubavitch speaker is exposed to Yiddish, Hebrew, and Aramaic (YHAr) as a hybrid code from his birth as his first language (L1). Later, at the age of three, when entering the preschool system, and until around the age of 23-25, he is exposed to both codes; the YHAr for religious purposes and JLV, which refers to basic spoken NE in addition to YHAr, in in-group casual situations. YHAr is used within educational contexts and is the sole formal scholastic language taught and used in their institutions for reading, writing, listening and speaking.

Thus, at this point, he may be defined as a diglossic [1] sequential[2], receptive[3], circumstantial[4] bilingual of YHAr, and basic NE, although his NE is limited to

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[1]Not in terms of two related language varieties , one for formal prestigious goals sand the other for informal purposes(Ferguson, 1959), but as two functionally-differentiated stylistic registers, dialects, or languages" (Fishman , 1972: 92, as cited in Sebba, 2010: 450).

[2]"Sequential bilinguals are bilinguals that have acquired their L1b when they started preschool at the age 3 or 4. According to research, L1b generally will gradually replace their L1a and L1b will be their dominant and the strongest language. (Baker, 2011, Valdes &Figueroa, 1994) (These bilinguals are

speaking skills only and not to reading and writing. The proportions between his use of basic spoken NE utterances and the YHAr are almost equal (see Auer's definition of CM[5], 1999, 2017). This means that alternations between the two are seen as code mixing, rather than CS. However, he speaks only NE (their limited version) when interacting with CT non-JLV speakers.

Once he reaches the age of 23-25 and gets married, he leaves New York and goes to universities throughout America as an emissary after completing his education. His speech then undergoes a change to accommodate his new interlocutors and his new purpose in communication, which is to attract his interlocutors and affiliate them with Judaism. He has to lecture and teach NE speakers, Jewish American students, using NE, in order to be understood. This represents a struggle for him because his NE is not up to the required standard to lecture. However, he is motivated to improve his NE to achieve his goals as a missionary. In his lectures, he attempts to expose his students to Jewish concepts using authentic theological sources written in Hebrew, Aramaic and Yiddish. To do this, he uses NE as his Matrix Language (ML) and consciously, purposely, carefully, and minimally employs the strategy of Code Switching, inserting YHAr lexemes. As this process progresses, and the more advanced students struggle to acquire the basic YHAr, the emissary intensifies his use of the strategy of insertional CS until the students adopt the CM

unlike the "Additive" "Simultaneous" "Early" bilinguals who have learnt two languages from birth or the almost Additive or even "Additive" "Successive Early" bilinguals who partially acquired L1 when L1b has been exposed to them. Although they will need time to acquire L1b, they will probably be an additive bilingual (Lembert 1953)

[3] These bilinguals from an early age hear the L1b but do not speak it.

[4] Bilinguals who learn another language in order to function effectively to survive because of their circumstances (Baker 2011; Valdes and Figueroa 1994, cited in Baker 2011). The emissaries' only motivation in this research to acquire L1b(JLV) and later their L2(NE) derives from the same reason. They are interested in surviving linguistically, in being sufficiently competent to communicate and thus to achieve their goals. While "Subtractive" bilinguals – refers to the situation where a person learns L2 to the detriment of the L1. This especially occurs among minorities and in this case the mastery of L1 decreases and L2 mastery increases (Lembert 1953, cited in Baker 2011)).

[5] Also called language mixing (LM), especially in Auer (1999, 2017)

style, i.e. the JLV. Due to this process, the emissary's competence in NE will improve from the beginning of his mission.

The following diagram will illustrate the linguistic process that the typical emissary undergoes throughout life:

Linguistic production of the emissaries' mission before and during mission
(throughout their life)
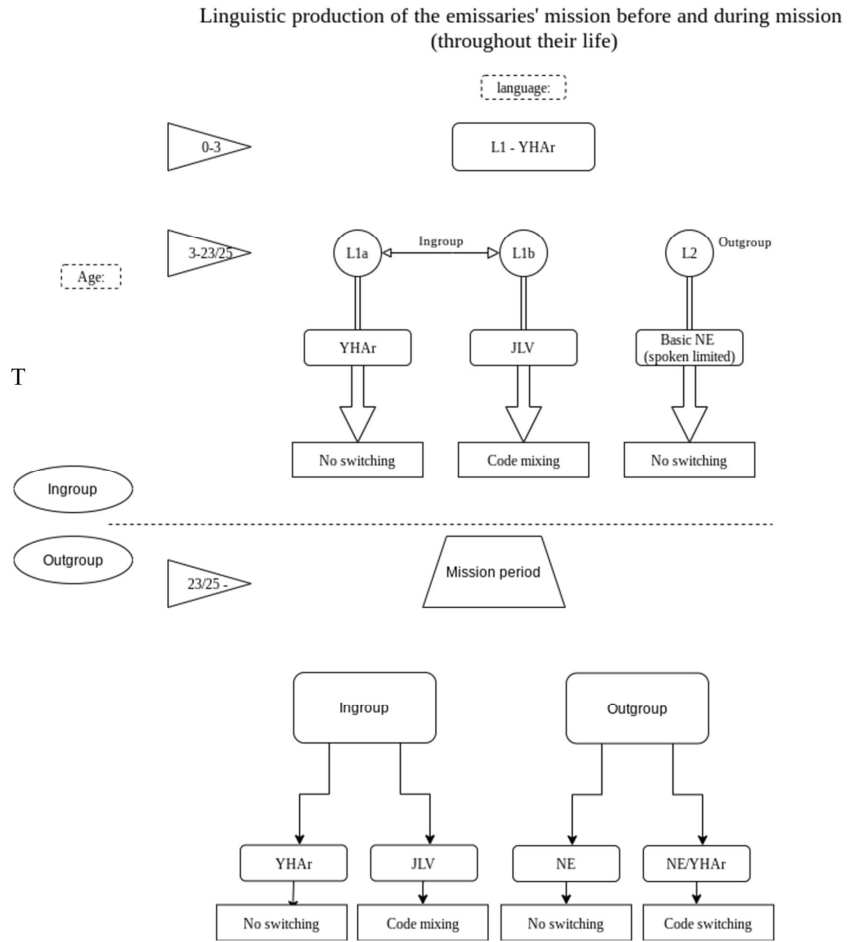


*Figure 1: The linguistic production of the emissaries*

Therefore, the hypotheses of this research are as follows:

At an early age, the emissaries' competence in their L1, in YHAr, is sufficient, and develops with age. This hybrid language is permanently used, learned, and heard in formal and informal interactions throughout their childhood (needless to say, their competence varies between individuals, according to their innate linguistic talents and their different environmental circumstances). This also applies to JLV, although their NE level will not improve, and will remain at a basic level. This is because their community is segregated, and NE is never taught or practised (literacy is not taught, and classic books and the 'New York Times' newspaper are not available to them).

As mentioned above, when undergoing linguistic change while uprooting from New York and leaving their segregated location, they will experience linguistic difficulties speaking NE to a satisfactory level (it is important to note that the topics they deal with when talking to University students are mostly philosophical and intellectual matters, and a high level of vocabulary is necessary).

When teaching new students that lack any familiarity with JLs and Jewish concepts, the emissaries will use NE as the ML and will switch their code when they are not familiar with the English equivalent. They will also do so when English lexeme retrieval is difficult for them, or when they encounter difficulty in pronouncing the lexemes.

Emissaries whose NE improves over time will use NE as an ML and will switch their code to achieve social, pragmatic or religious goals.

As the familiarity of the students with YHAr concepts and tags increases gradually and slightly, the emissary will use CS (and the translation strategy to some extent) more frequently.

Therefore, the research question of this dissertation is:

Which structural, psycholinguistic, and sociopragmatic factors characterize the bilingual emissaries' CS between YHAr and NE?

In addition, which unique strategies are used by the emissaries when communicating with American Jewish secular students? More precisely, Which CS

domains, directionality, motivations, constraints, typological differences, background variables, and other linguistic strategies will be employed by the emissaries?

Considering the above, this thesis aims to explore the linguistic behavior of this ethnic population, including the unique in-group and out-group characteristics. It also aims to investigate the various strategies used by the emissaries until leaving to fulfill their mission and throughout their mission. It attempts to explore how typological differences, directionality and domain will be employed when codeswitching. Finally, it seeks to examine the compatibility of the specific linguistic production of this idiosyncratic population to other bilinguals in the world at large, as well as find out whether there is a congruence between the models and theories over the existing constraints when switching.

The settings of this research are various university campuses in North America, where the emissaries have developed a 'Chabad on Campus' center, lecturing and teaching university students.

The study consisted of 21 participants overall, who recorded their linguistic production of the language, with ten specific lectures being examined. They were of varying ages, ranging from 25 to 80 years old.

The research tools were both qualitative and quantitative. Ten emissaries, at different geographical locations, were video-recorded for ten minutes while teaching students. These video-recordings were transcribed to produce ten transcripts. The videos facilitated the assessment of the emissaries' linguistic competence in NE and the analysis of the CS phenomenon in their speech.

In addition, a questionnaire was distributed to 21 emissaries at university campuses in Australia (N=1), the US (N=13), and Israel (N=7) as part of the procedure. This questionnaire consisted of both closed and open questions. Many of the questions formed a self-assessment of the emissaries' linguistic competence. The emissaries were requested to conceptualize and consequently assess their language competence and strategies, which naturally occurred when meeting them.

Interviews were also conducted with the principal of the boys' schools in Brooklyn, NY, from elementary school to their tertiary school, and the head of the

Crown Heights council, who provided all the data regarding the languages spoken in Crown Heights.

This research sheds light on the nature of CS as a linguistic behavior that is nuanced and distinct. It is simultaneously a universal phenomenon and a differing one, in that each code and each minority has its particular characteristics. It is a complex phenomenon that will be studied and expounded upon much further in the future.

The present thesis consists of theoretical, empirical and analytical chapters. A general discussion is also included.

In chapter 1, the literature review, two approaches to the code switching phenomenon will be presented: the structural approach, and the social approach. A broader summary of the various social implications will also be discussed more thoroughly. Another topic that will be addressed is JLs. The origin and background of these languages will be covered, as well as the new JL variety used throughout the last and current century by Jews who immigrated to the USA and settled in New York.

In chapter 2, a preliminary presentation of the origins of the participants will be offered. An analysis of the in-group linguistic behavior will be illustrated and explained to enable the primary goal of this research, which is to investigate the out-group linguistic behavior of the emissaries.

In chapter 3, the method will include the research question, hypotheses, and the participants, procedure, and results of the study.

In chapter 4, the results of the questionnaire and the study will be presented.

In chapter 5, a comparison will be made between this study, the structural and social approaches, and CS models already existing in academia.

In chapter 6, typological differences will be examined and discussed.

Chapter 7 discusses translation, the other strategy used by the emissaries.

A general discussion and conclusions will follow chapter 7.

# Chapter 1: Literature review

In this chapter, two main issues will be discussed: CS (as well as CM) and JLs. The first issue will be defined and explained broadly due to its central and paramount role in this dissertation. The social and structural aspects will also be considered. This linguistic phenomenon of CS is one of the most salient characteristics of bilinguals, and as such, it will be presented and analyzed. Other components that are associated with bilinguals in this field of research will also be explored.

Secondly, JLs - Yiddish, Hebrew, and Aramaic (YHAr), and the JLV will also be discussed. The JLV, which consists of primary spoken English integrated with YHAr, is a unique and new variety or dialect developed throughout the previous century, mainly in North America. A description of the JLs spoken by the Jews in America in general, and the idiosyncratic language registers spoken by the Ultra-Orthodox Chabad segregated community in Brooklyn, New York, in particular, will be investigated.

CS must be broadly defined and explained both diachronically and synchronically. Additionally, CS constitutes one of the most salient characteristics of bilinguals and will be analyzed together with certain other components associated with bilingualism.

Research on CS can look back at about four decades of intensive empirical and theoretical data. CS is produced within bi/multilingualism and occurs when the speaker alternates between languages or language varieties within a single utterance. When two or more languages are in contact, they are bound to influence one another. In the past, CS might have been assessed as a language deficit. As Mabule (2015) claims that " Code Switching is a naturalphenomenon in bilingual and multilingual communities.It is not a sign of language decay or corruption but it is quite the opposite". Today, CS has become a frequent and even quotidian phenomenon, a result of global demographic patterns where simplicity and ease of communication, as well as quick and accessible negotiations between people, have become the norm. As Auer (2011, 2017:460) states, bilingual talk is a visible interactional and social fact where

"the concatenation of linguistic elements" taken from language A and B occurs in juxtaposition.

There has been a diversity of CS theories, which offer a range of approaches to CS. This paper presents several approached to understanding this phenomenon amongst the "sequential-receptive" bilingual ultra-Orthodox religious Lubavitch emissaries using NE. They also use YHAr with their interlocutors in specific settings, with specific interlocutors, for specific purposes. Jewish American students in universities in the US generally speak in NE in the beginning and the middle period of their exposure to the JLV, while at the end of that process, they will tend to use the JLV.

In this chapter, this phenomenon will be dealt with broadly, introducing various distinct approaches and focusing on several representative ones.

## 1.1 Code Switching

### 1.1.1 The background of CS

The notion of Code Switching (CS) originated from physical science (Fano 1950), on the one hand, and political anthropology (Gal 1987, 1995) on the other. The term CS "has experienced the characteristic multiplication, fragmentation, and metamorphosis that a conceptually rich term is prone to experience" (Alvarez- Caccamo 1998: 29). CS, as a linguistic phenomenon emerged from the mid-1950s. It is important to note that Paul (1898) had already pointed out that there is language contact and speakers switch between languages (cf. Paul's chapter on 'Language mixture,' 1898: 365-77). However, at that time, switching codes was considered as laziness and due to a lack of education. (Auer 2017:417). The researcher who first used the term CS is Vogt (1954 [according to Alvarez Caccamo 1998]), although intensive research on this phenomenon started only in the last three decades. Delegitimating, reducing, and ignoring the natural and high competence of bilinguals and multilinguals could be explained by the nation-state ideology advocating the principle of 'one nation –one

language.' However, language contact could not be denied, since people used borrowings and formes pidgins and creoles. As a result, bilingualism and multilingualism had no place (Auer 2007a; Heller 2007; Pujolar 2007; Auer 2017). However, the corruption of this concept and increasing globalization, transnationalism and migration have abolished any opposition. It has also motivated researchers to analyze the linguistic behavior of diverse minorities, different ethnic groups discursively switching between a few languages spontaneously, dwelling everywhere on the globe.

There are two types of linguistic approaches to the CS phenomenon: structural and social. Throughout the last three or four decades, greater emphasis has been given to structural approaches (e.g. Poplack 1980; Belazi et al. 1994; MacSwan 2000, 2005; Myers-Scotton 2000; Jake et al. 2002). More recently, other linguists have recognized the importance of the social element of the universal research into social CS (e.g., Gumperz 1982; Myers- Scotton 1993; Riley 2001; Nilep 2006; Alvarez-Caccamo 1998; Auer 1998, 1999, 2004, 2013)

Structural approaches derive from the Generative Approach (Chomsky 1961). These hold that CS has some applicable universal and predictable grammatical rules. Examples of such models include Poplack's linear model (1980), Disciullo, Musyken and Singh's generative model (1986), Jake and Myers-Scotton's models of 1993 and 2001, the JMSG model (Gross 2000), MacSwan's Modified Minimalist Approach (1999, 2000), and the psycholinguistic model (1993).

Social approaches seek the switches' motivation, with the understanding that the bilingual's inspiration for switching derives from socio-pragmatic causes rather than psycholinguistic barriers (Gumperz 1982). This research endeavors to combine both approaches, postulating that no complete understanding can be achieved if both aspects are not investigated. Therefore, Walters' SPPL model (2005), which combines the socio-pragmatic and structural approaches, will be deeply analyzed. In addition, Auer's division of the term CS into Language Mixing and FLs will be investigated to shed light on the  linguistic behavior of the participants' unique ethnic minority in this research.

### 1.1.2 Structural approaches

#### 1.1.2.1 Linear model

Poplack (1980) refers to CS as an "utterance- internal juxtaposition" of linguistic elements from two or more languages by one bilingual speaker. Other processes are involved and occur due to the coexistence of two or more languages in the same geographical area. "These processes may include borrowing on the lexical and syntactic level, language transfer, linguistic convergence, interference, language attrition, language death, pidginization, and creolization, among others" (Poplack 2004: 1).

Walters (2005) notes that Poplack addresses linguistic theory questions that focus on language and its structure. She does not focus on use and processing, and she assumes that structural analysis should precede and guide the sociolinguistic investigation. Therefore, Walters' work, which gives weight to sociolinguistic aspects, is consulted to augment Poplack's.

#### 1.1.2.2 Poplack's constraints on CS -the bound morpheme constraint

This type of CS illustrates the bound morpheme constraint that Poplack (1980) brings as a mark of true CS (compared to other forms discussed below). She explains that the coherence of an utterance needs to be maintained, which happens when the surface structures of the language are shared during CS so that there is no mismatch in grammatical categories. There is a tendency for these code switches to occur when a juxtaposition of the two languages occurs and where there is no violation of the syntactic rules of either of the languages sharing the discourse. Poplack refers to this point in the utterance where the two languages' surface structures coincide as mapping onto each other. Poplack (1980) adds that these switched sentences are made up of fragments of alternating languages, with each being grammatical for its own language, thus forming a linear coherence. The lexical content is not duplicated, as this would then be termed translation and not CS, or omitted. What Poplack (1980) maintains here is that this equivalence constraint will inhibit the switching of codes,

which will defy the rules of one of the shared languages. This is to say that there exist parts of a complex word that cannot stand alone, and part of such a lexeme cannot be switched if the remaining prefix or suffix does not make sense on its own.

### 1.1.2.3 The free morpheme constraint

The free morpheme constraint forbids code switching "between a bound morpheme and a lexical form unless the latter has been phonologically integrated into the language of the bound morpheme" (Sankoff and Poplack 1981: 5). The tendency to consider these linguistic constraints universal and valid for any pair of languages has been confirmed in various studies (Mclure 1981; Pfaff 1979; Poplack 1980). These studies focus on the structural principles that govern the patterns of CS and on investigating the linguistic factors and constraints that block switching. CS may not take place between a free and bound morpheme. Berk-Seligson (1986: 314) concludes that: "Thus the free morpheme constraint would best be defined as the impossibility of CS at a point of morpheme binding." MacSwan (1999: 41) is credited with the following example of an unacceptable coupling of English and Spanish words: Estoy eat-iendo. Here, the stem *eat* is in English, whereas the affix *-iendo* is in Spanish. According to Poplack (1980: 586), this type of item has not been declared genuine in any code-switching study unless one of the morphemes has been assimilated phonologically into the other language. For Poplack, this constraint can account for the switching of idiomatic expressions between Spanish and English as well as the code-switching of set phrases like "I know, I mean." It seems these morphemes all have a strong tendency to be uttered monolingually and behave like bound morphemes.

An example of this constraint is provided by Timm (1975) in his study on Spanish-English CS. He claims that switching is not possible between the syntactic categories (a verb and its infinitive complement). Kachu (1977) argues that it is impossible for two sentences from one language to be linked by a conjunction from another language. Pfaff (1979) states that a switch cannot take place for a preposition if it is in a different language to the items both preceding and following it (Redouane 2005)

On the contrary, however, some research has shown that a violation of this constraint can occur within the boundaries of expressly accepted CS across some languages. Berk-Seligson's study (1986) investigated Spanish-Hebrew CS and found that free morpheme constraint was violated (Berk-Seligson 1986: 333).

#### 1.1.2.4 The size of constituent constraint

The size of constituent constraint operates on the principle that high-level constituents such as sentences and clauses tend to be switched much more often than smaller components, such as nouns, determiners, verbs, adverbs, and adjectives (Berk-Seligson 1986). Most of the CS was at the level of sentences, and if the low-level constituents were switched, it was most frequently nouns (Poplack 1980). Poplack proposed categories of terms for code switching, which have become often used by linguists: tag switching, inter-sentential switching, and intrasentential switching. Tag switching occurs when tags or short phrases in one language are inserted into an utterance that is otherwise entirely in another language.

Tags generally contain minimal syntactic restrictions and do not violate the syntactic rules when inserted into monolingual sentences. In other words, the rules of the linear model are simply preserved and not broken. Common English tags such as "I mean" and "you know" are some examples that fit into that category (Eldin 2014). Intra- sentential CS is the most complex type. It occurs at a causal, sentence or even word level. In short – it is a mixture of two languages within a single utterance.

#### 1.1.3 Generative models

#### 1.1.3.1 Disciullo, Musyken and Singh's model (1986):

Chomsky's generative approach has been applied to CS. Disciullo, Musyken and Singh's (1986) model adopted Chomsky's Government and Binding generative grammar. They maintained that CS should be prohibited within the maximal projection of meaning, between a head and its complement (under c-command), e.g. between V and its complement or P and its complement.

### 1.1.3.2 Belazi, Rubin and Toribio (1994) - The functional head constraint

Another type of constraint is the Functional Head Constraint (FHC), proposed by Belazi, Rubin and Toribio (1994). They state that the relevant constraints on code-switching should be formulated in hierarchical terms and should exploit distinctions and relations already present in the grammar. The head directionality is the proposed parameter for classifying languages according to whether they are head-initial--where the head of the phrase or the element that determines the category of the phrase precedes its complements, as in English--or head-final, where the head follows the complements, like Japanese. Belazi follows Chomsky and works with the assumption that f-selection, a special relationship between a functional head and its complement, is one stage of feature-checking processes. They suggest that checking a language feature, such as [+Spanish] or [+English], is highly relevant, "as a functional head requires that the language feature of its complement must match its corresponding feature. If the features do not agree, then the code switch is blocked within the speech production process, and the utterance does not occur". This constraint is considered to be operative in all speech, although the effects of checking the language are only seen in code-switching, especially in code-switching between functional heads and their complements. Belazi (1994) goes on to say that Poplack's (1980) Free Morpheme Constraint can be categorized under the FHC if inflectional morphemes are treated as functional heads. Van Gass (2012) offers the English word *dance* as an example; "it cannot occur with the Spanish 1st person plural *amos* as switching between the Spanish inflectional morpheme, a bound morpheme, and its head is also unacceptable". Belazi's approach has been disputed by researchers such as MacSwan (2000) who believes the FHC merely appears to be a re-labeling of the descriptive facts of code-switching (Van Gas 2012).

Musyken differs in his approach, suggesting that the functional elements used to occur in one language as well as the lexical elements will be taken from the other language. Functional elements are not generally code switched along with their corresponding lexical elements in switched utterances (Raichlin 2009). MacSwan, by contrast, applies Chomsky's Minimalist Program to CS. He suggests the PD

Disjunction Theorem: The PF component relies on rules and constraints which must be ranked in relation to each other, and this order varies cross-linguistically; CS within a PF component is not possible.

### 1.1.4 The psycholinguistic model

### 1.1.4.1 Myers- Scotton's MLF model (1993a) and the 4-M model (2002, 2007; Jake & Myers- Scotton 2000)

Myers-Scotton's analysis is crucial to the direction of this dissertation, partly because it "advocates that as a unit of analysis, CP (projection of Complementizer) is more appropriate than a sentence because even within a sentence, the grammars may not be intact" (Myers-Scotton 2002, as cited in Namba 2004). Myers-Scotton (2007) describes CS as occurring among fluent bilinguals who produce utterances with morphemes in two or more languages "…in the same conversational turn" (Myers-Scotton 2007). More precisely: CS occurs when a speaker of two distinct languages switches between them while speaking with another person who also understands both languages. In a conversation containing active CS: 1. the speaker has to have mastery or at least knowledge of the two languages or codes; 2. the interlocutor also knows both codes.

Myers-Scotton (1993) structurally divides codeswitching into two types: Intersentential Codeswitching and Intrasentential Codeswitching. Myers-Scotton's model is mainly focused on the latter type, that is, Intrasentential Codeswitching. She distinguishes between the ML, the more dominant of the two, and the embedded language (EL) and claims that the distribution of the two languages is asymmetrical. Most of the language and the grammatical frame consist of the ML, and the inserted words are from the EL. She further distinguishes between content morphemes and system morphemes, where content morphemes are the label given to nouns, verbs, adjectives and some prepositions, and system morphemes are the function words and inflections. Content morphemes express semantic and pragmatic meanings and hold thematic significance, while system morphemes are used to denote relationships between content morphemes.

Myers-Scotton identifies two principles to this model: The Morpheme-Order Principle, and the System Morpheme Principles. Her 1993 article defines these principles as "The Morpheme-Order Principle: In ML + EL constituents consisting of singly-occurring EL lexemes and any number of ML morphemes, surface morpheme order will be that of ML." while "The System Morpheme Principle holds that in ML + EL constituents, all system morphemes which have grammatical relations external in their head constituent will come from the ML."

Myers-Scotton's MLF model is refined and extended by her 4-M (four morpheme) model. The 4-M model further distinguishes the system morphemes into three subcategories: early system morphemes, late bridge system morphemes, and late outsider system morphemes. Early system morphemes are activated at the lemma level and contribute to the conceptual structure of the content morpheme. Late system morphemes do not have any thematic roles and are activated at the formulator level. They are further categorized into late bridge and late outsider system morphemes. Figure 2 below outlines Myers-Scotton's (2002) morpheme classification, and includes examples explaining her theory.
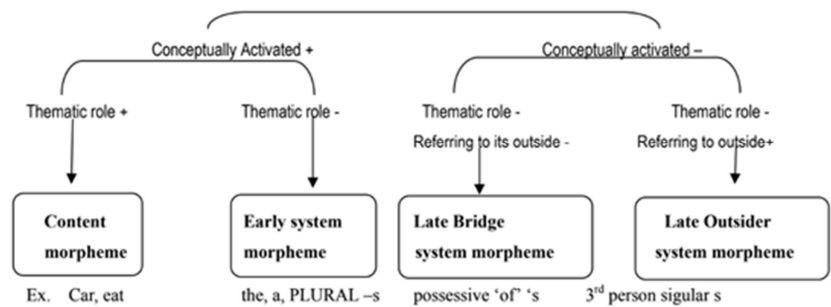


*Figure 2: Morpheme Classification (Myers- Scotton, 2002:73)*

### 1.1.5 Social approach to CS
#### 1.1.5.1 Gumperz' socio-linguistic model

One of the most influential approaches to explaining why CS occurs is Gumperz' study (1982). For him (1982: 98), CS "signals contextual information equivalent to what in monolingual settings is conveyed through prosody or other syntactic or lexical processes. It generates the presuppositions in terms of which the content of what is said is decoded". Like other contextualization cues, language alternation may provide a way for speakers to signal how utterances should be interpreted, i.e. to provide information beyond referential content (Nilep 2006). Gumperz distinguishes three types of CS - situational CS: a change in participants and/or strategies; metaphorical CS: a change in topical emphasis (by speaker-external factors); and conversational CS, which may be produced in order to use (a) quotation; (b) addressee specification; (c) interjection; (d) reiteration; (e) message qualification; and (f) personification vs. objectification.

Following Gumperz, several researchers elaborated on his classification of the CS function. For example, Zentella (1997) studied Spanish-English bilingual children, and reported the following CS functions: (a) 'on the spot' factors, with the most important factors that guided children being the linguistic proficiency of the person to whom they were speaking and the language requirements of the setting. Children were most responsive to the dominant language of their addressee, in accordance with a general norm that they speak the language that was spoken to them (ibid: 83-84). (b) 'In the head' – communicational factors: the principle of footing which includes CS due to a topic shift, a switch to quoting something, a declarative/question shift, aggravating or mitigating requests, attention attraction, etc. CS for clarification and emphasis is another communicational factor, as well as a 'crutch-like' mixing – looking for a word or expression in the other language, a momentary loss for words, a previous speaker's switch and so on (1997: 92ff).

However, some researchers are critical of Gumperz' work, maintaining that different researchers have revealed distinct taxonomies, which hints at epistemological problems. Also, CS may serve any of a number of functions in a

particular interaction, and it is suggested that observation of actual interaction is preferable to starting from assumptions about the general effects of code-switching (Nilep 2006). This dissertation's direct observation of participants will be relevant here.

### 1.1.5.2 Myers-Scotton's markedness model

To understand this Markedness Model, one needs to note Myers-Scotton's (2006) approach to language switches which shows that as a part of a person's communicative competence, based on social experience, he or she possesses a sense of a continuum of choice for each type of interaction. This competence involves innate structures as well as stored and assembled information (Myers-Scotton 2006).

Bernstein (1998) provides a clear example with a case study of such social expectations and their accompanying language in her survey of factory floor language. The decision about what is a marked or unmarked choice is decided by community norms (in Bernstein's case, the auto-shop milieu) or is based on cultural values. A speaker using an unmarked choice causes no social 'ripples' and a marked choice would be indicative of a different RO set. In line with Walters' (2004) intentionality principle, Myers-Scotton (2006) states that an important premise of the Markedness Model is that choices are made about both marked and unmarked selections. Mental assessments are made on the presumption of rational choice brought about through cognitive and mental calculations as regards the best outcome (Myers-Scotton 2006).

The definition of CS adopted here is that of Myers-Scotton (1993:1), for whom the term refers to alternations of linguistic varieties within the same conversation. In almost every speech community there is more than one way of speaking, and there will be more than one speech style (Myers-Scotton 1998: 18). Myers-Scotton's framework for CS is known as the Markedness Model. According to this (1993) model (1998: 4), markedness relates to the choice of one linguistic variety over other possible varieties. The speaker or hearer has the option of choosing what may be considered marked choices to convey certain messages that were specifically

intended. In such a conversation it is possible to use relationships that have been forged in the speech community between a linguistic variety and those that use the variety in an advantageous way. Thus, individuals can design conversational contributions with their addresses in mind and they can base their particular conversational patterns on the speech associated with a specific social group (Myers-Scotton 1998: 18)

Adendorf (1993), in turn, uses the term "linguistic display" to describe choices that will cause appreciation in the listener, showing off local knowledge and dialects. This facet of CS is documented in a study of open market sellers who switch to claim solidarity, modernity or worldliness. Having introduced this point, Myers-Scotton notes that there are societies where CS would be an unmarked choice in some group conversations. An example of these are highly educated immigrants to the US and Britain who speak English exclusively during the course of their workday, and then CS within home situations. This CS indexes their dual identity and helps to retain their ethnic distinctiveness while also falling in line with the predominant culture of their new country (Myers-Scotton 2006). Adendorf's thinking has some relevance to the praxis of the Lubavitcher emissaries living away from their home base in Brooklyn.

This points to Walters' discussion below (2007: 34), which describes the work of Carol Myers-Scotton (1993) as having the "widest scope" for the study of CS, because it examines the motivations and constraints of CS as well as the cognitive organization and processes that underlie it. Walters' (2005) SPPL model of bilingualism, which follows Green (2000), highlights linguistic representation and the processing of linguistic structures.

### 1.1.5.3 Walters' (2005) integrated approach (SPPL)

Psycholinguistics is defined as the study of the mental faculties involved in the perception, production and acquisition of language. It is mainly concerned with the ways that language is represented and processed in the brain and is a cognitive science. Psycholinguistic CS would, therefore, be a structural phenomenon, motivated by lexicalization and grammaticalization anomalies that arise in the differences

between the two languages that are coming into contact with each other as well as disturbances that arise in the formulation. This psycholinguistic CS is governed by internal and individual processes (Walters 2005).

Walters (2005) described CS as both a sociopragmatic and psycholinguistic phenomenon. If this switching is done with language register and style, he defines it as exclusively sociopragmatic. If it comes about as a result of interference (on the two-language interface), then it would have to be dealt with in psycholinguistic terms. Sociopragmatic competence is the ability to recognize the effect of context on strings of linguistic events and to use language appropriately in specific social situations. The challenges involved with this ability vary over different languages and contexts, and an example of such would be in romance languages where a typically difficult socio-pragmatic competence for language learners is to master the pronouns of address (i.e., *tu/vous* in French, *tu/usted* in Spanish). Sociopragmatic CS is motivated by sociolinguistic factors and is more top-down and goal driven, as well as being influenced by external factors and the context of the situation.

Walters builds the framework of a Sociopragmatic and Psycholinguistic model (SPPL) which contains seven structural and informational sources. This framework then integrates processing elements that work on the language data and describes how there is an active dynamic where information flows through these components to produce the result of bilingual speech. Walters positions two factors as foundational pillars of information, available for input at every stage of language production. These are L1 and L2 language choice and effective information

The upper parts of the model characterize sociopragmatic information; perhaps they can be seen as more volitional choices being made. This would make use of a person's sociopragmatic competence, that is, the ability to recognize the effect of context on strings of linguistic events and to use language appropriately in specific social situations. It recognizes what is socially accepted communication within its culture and context.

The lower components compose psycholinguistic information, which are those mental aspects and components which are more to do with how language is

represented and processed in the brain. This division between psycholinguistic and sociopragmatic aspects can be seen when there is a specific language impairment which would be manifested on a psycholinguistic level or a communication difficulty, as in the case of schizophrenia, for example, which would manifest on a sociolinguistic level.

It is in this language choice module that L1 and L2 information is made available to a bilingual speaker. Five main issues of choice are taken into account. These are: 1) choices that would give expression to one's social identity. 2) Where and when the person would choose to speak at all, and who would be the preferred interlocutors, and what genre would the framework of the conversation be. 3) The conceiving of intentions. This means that a person has to have some sort of mental process that will cause him to define intentions, and this volition and intentionality is a defining factor in Walters' view of CS. The next two are psycholinguistic factors in the language choice. 4) Words and concepts need to be retrieved from the mental lexicon, the language reservoir and then formulated, and finally 5) where the utterance is articulated. These five issues figure prominently in the analysis of the Lubavitcher emissaries' codeswitching.

Walters differentiates between the two types of CS (those based on the first three language components that are sociolinguistically generated), and the last two psycholinguistic components where the choices are cognitive and based on language structure and function in the brain. He cites Altman, Schrauf and Walters who allocate CS to these two different types. Raichlin and Walters (2005) also showed this differentiation between sociopragmatic and psycholinguistic differences when it comes to language choice as also being present in sequentially bilingual children who learned one language first and then another and have to make do linguistically in multiple language and social situations.

Walters places the component of speaker's intentions right at the center of the model. These intentions have bilingual features. This component is founded on speech act theory and research on discourse markers like "you know", "well" etc., as well as research on greetings and lexical choice. This component serves as a bridge between

the upper sociopragmatic components of the model with the lower, more internal psycholinguistic sources of language choice. When there are clear intentions then there is a lot of bilingual information to be learned from these utterances. In this framework of intentions it is possible to see indicators of identity, which can be learned from discourse markers, the prosodic shape of the utterance, and finally the lexical preferences that are influenced by the psycholinguistic levels i.e. interference, (of the other language), lexical gaps and word frequency. The heart of Walters' psycholinguistic thinking has great significance for his model of bilingualism and CS because it accounts for variability and incompleteness in a bilingual's knowledge and their manifestations in the output of the speaker. All bilinguals are prone to experiencing lexical near-misses and these are sometimes perceived as malapropisms or unsuitable use of the language. It was with the aim of trying to characterize this variability that Walters specifically incorporates pragmatic and discourse information into this component. This, in fact, makes bilingual information available for the language choice module. This formulator is at the heart of most psycholinguistic research on bilingual processing as it explains how words are stored in the mind; or a lexical representation of this will be of utmost importance in the analysis of the emissaries' speech acts.

Here, Walters is at odds with the more conventional monolingual models which posit that there is a universal, dictionary-like lemma that contains syntactic and semantic information. This model maps these constructs onto a morphophonological lexeme. It is here that Walters includes the pragmatic information in his model, as well as all the structural features from both languages. According to Walters, the formulator has the complex function of handling discourse patterns that need to deal with relevance, cohesion of the utterance and also the correct sequencing of information (be it on the semantic level or on the logical level). Discussion now turns to the articulator, which is unique to bilinguals. Bilinguals have been shown to always show traces of an accent in their L2. Some of these are so subtle as to only be identifiable by instruments. There is a merged sound system, according to Walters.

Walters' SPPL model represents an attempt to characterize this uniqueness and variability across speakers.

### 1.1.5.4 SPPL processing

Walters' SPPL model contains four cognitive processing mechanisms: imitation, whereby a selection of features are copied and adapted; variation; integration; and control. These four functions encompass both sociopragmatic and psycholinguistic information. There are basic thought processes that are needed in order to help the processing: attention; discrimination; recognition; identification and recall; classification and the ability to sort through information; and categorization. They are produced in a way that shows social, psychological and linguistic preferences.

As the table below demonstrates, Walters highlights the idea of intentionality. When one examines an utterance that was specially made to encode an intention, one would assume that social identity, contextual cues and genre information were taken into account.

*Table 1: Table of motivations for switching, by Altman (2008), as cited in Raichlin (2009)*

| Psycholinguistic motivations | Sociopragmatic motivations |
|---|---|
| **Psychological**<br>(a) Word retrieval and fluency difficulties<br>(b) Higher frequency in one language<br><br>**Linguistic**<br>(a) Cross-linguistic lexicalization differences<br>(b) Non-equivalent lexical items<br>(c) lexical gaps: no equivalent word in the second language<br>(d) phonologically based | **Social**<br>(a) to indicate a change in setting, role, listener or topic; accommodation to listener<br>(b) to express affect<br><br>**Pragmatic**<br>(a) to focus or show emphasis<br>(b) to show contrast<br>(c) to narrow/summarize a point<br><br>**Discourse**<br>(a) when repeating a word or phrase<br>(b) to quote from someone<br>(c) to translate |

### 1.1.6 Linguistics components investigated in connection with bilinguals' code switching

#### 1.1.6.1 CS motivations

There is extensive literature on the motivations underpinning CS. Genishi (1981) discovered that bilinguals choose the language they will use according to the language competence and ability of their interlocutors. They are able to converse in either language and switch between them according to the linguistic requirements of their conversation partners. Most of the CS in this study was indeed done for SP reasons, but nevertheless, there were instances of PL CS.

Mclaughlin (1995) claims that bilinguals, usually CS for sociopragmatic reasons, to convey social meanings, rather than through PL motivations. The current study aims to determine the prevalent CS motivation for the emissaries, whether it is predominantly psycholinguistic or sociopragmatic, and to specify the specific reason for the switch, whether it is because of lexical access; the nature of the speaker's relationship to the interlocutor; or some other factor entirely.

In Zentella's research (1997) concerning children, she posited that CS occurred either 'on the spot' or 'in the head'. The latter, which accounts for most of the PL motivations, consisted of only 25% of the CS: "code switching was more than a convenient way to handle linguistic gaps, since the children knew how to say three fourths of their switches in both languages" (Zentella 1997: 99). The current study, although it is concerned with adults, also proved that most of the switching performed by the Lubavitch emissaries is SP motivated.

Grosjean's study (1997) tested SP motivations. He tested the ways participants manipulated a topic (in this case re-telling stories from American and French history). He discovered that the frequencies for the participants were different, depending both on the situation and on the listener. In particular, participants produced more CS for American topics and bilingual listeners. This demonstrates that "the methodology is

able to tap into speaker intentions, and be reasonably assured that the CS elicited is intentional" (Walters 2005: 201).

### 1.1.6.2 CS domain

As touched on above, the domain of CS is important to this research. Since it can occur intrasententially, intersententially and cross-speaker, different types of CS must be considered as well as the different code switches resulting from different motivations. A switch might occur cross speaker to return to the interlocutor's L1, so as to make them comfortable, while a switch that occurs within a sentence may be a result of retrieval problems. These are, respectively, SP and PL motivations, and they show that it is important to research CS domains, because the emissary participants may switch for different reasons.

This research explores CS within the realm of an 'utterance', since previous research has used it as a primary unit of analysis (Raichlin 2009; Lanza 1992). Three types of codeswitching occur in emissaries' speech, corresponding to the three domains: intra-utterance CS that occurs within a sentence; intra-turn or intra-sentential CS, which occurs within different sentences; and cross-speaker CS, when the interlocutors each speak a different language. While researchers (Dussias 2001; Muysken 2000; Schmidt 2000) tend only to investigate intrasentential CS, they are all important. Speakers often codeswitch not only within the same sentence but also through different sentences, and in different speaking turns. This paper investigates whether all of the above types of CS occur in Lubavitch emissaries' speech and which occur the most frequently.

### 1.1.6.3 CS directionality

Peynircioglu and Durgunoglu's study (2002) found that the directionality of switches is important to research into CS. Regarding the directionality of the CS, "the classic sociolinguistic position is that switching into the native language strengthens indigenous language maintenance identity, while switching into the non-native language is meant to assert power and authority (Valdes 1981; Zentella 1997).

However, other hypotheses are possible: it would also be plausible to assume that switching from a weaker to a stronger language, from a second to a primary language, is more likely for reasons of lexical access and other processing phenomena, while switching from L1 to L2 may be more prompted by interaction, by micro-sociolinguistic factors" (Walters 2005: 202). "Moreover, switching costs are not symmetrical: individuals take longer to switch into their more dominant language (e.g. Meuter & Allport 1999) as would be expected if the production schema for the dominant language is more strongly inhibited and requires more time to be reactivated", according to Price, Green and Von Studnitz (1999: 2221).

This research explores the directionality of Lubavitch emissaries' CS, seeking a correlation between CS directionality and CS motivation. It was hypothesized that the emissaries would mainly switch from their L2 to their L1, that is, from NE to Jewish English (JE). It should be noted that L1 is their strongest language.

It was further hypothesized that the majority of NE to JE switching would occur due to PL motivations, since NE is the emissaries' weaker language. However, when emissaries switched from L2 to L1 (JE-NE), they would be expected to have more SP motivations, such as sensitivity to the interlocutor's language, sensitivity to the specific circumstances (Grosjea, 1997) or expressing one's social identity (Myers-Scotton 2000).

In this context, Altman (2008) discovered that more switching was conducted for L2 conversations, in which bilinguals switched to their L1. This was mostly due to PL motivations, such as retrieval problems, frequency effects and fluency difficulties, which accounted for the majority of CS. On the other hand, when conversing in L1, more SP CS occurred. Therefore, when bilinguals switched to their weaker language – L2 – it was mainly due to various sociopragmatic reasons. Emissaries are expected to be no different, with more psycholinguistic JE-NE CS, but more sociopragmatic NE-JE CS.

### 1.1.6.4 Syntactic constraints

Several studies have investigated the syntactic constraints of code switching. Unlike children, who use single-word switches more often, adults rarely use single word switches except for nouns, which are common switches for both groups. A further difference is that adults tend to switch more content morphemes (Deuchar 2005; Sridhar and Sridhar 1980) while children switch more grammatical morphemes (Jisa 2000: 25; see also Lanza 1992; Vihman 1985).

### 1.1.6.5 Typological differences

Another subject investigated in this research concerns typological differences influencing CS. NE and YHAr have both similarities and differences. YHAr combines Modern and Classical Hebrew, which belong to the Semitic language group, with Yiddish, an Indo-European language. These languages possess different syntax, lexeme inflections and definiteness systems, ultimately within the NE frame. Therefore, this study explores the linguistic production switches to reveal the tendencies of the switchers when there are linguistic gaps while switching. The difference will be seen especially when codeswitching to lexemes in Hebrew, which is a major component of their speech, and in Yiddish, since it derives from the Anglo-Saxon language of German, which is grammatically and syntactically similar to English. Therefore, the typological differences between Hebrew and English are investigated in the chapters which follow.

Specifically, since CS research states that most switchers are nouns; this research will further attempt to investigate three phenomena - the definiteness system, the construct state structure and gender differences - which are referred to as NP, to find out how the emissaries insert their nouns switches in their utterances.

English has a definite article and an indefinite article, while in Hebrew the indefinite article is absent. The construct state structure in Hebrew is different than in NE, since the nominal NP, as well as the accusative and dative NP, are altered within the determinatum itself (the head of the noun), in all of its inflections. The various

nouns and NPs of NE, on the contrary, do not change. Regarding the gender, in Hebrew, the nouns and NPs are inflected according to the gender, mostly within the suffix, and they are inflected either in the singular or in the plural. However, in NE, the noun and NP remain intact.

Therefore, the linguistic act of the emissaries will be examined, to find out whether the emissaries, while using the NE frame, precede indefinite articles to a switched noun or an NP, as is done in NE, or whether they omit it. Another question asked is whether they will use the definite article in Hebrew or in NE. As for the construct state structure, as well as gender inflectional suffixes, the question of whether they will do it according to the rules of NE or Hebrew is posed.

### 1.1.6.6 Translation

There is a debate over the importance of using the strategy of translation for language acquisition. According to Lewis (2002), it has been said that trying to eliminate L1 entirely in teaching L2 is not reasonable, as he notes that translation is the natural way that learners approach an L2. In his opinion, it is better to work with this tendency rather than go against it. Thompson (2011: 19) states that for this reason, Biblical Hebrew does not have to be learned as communication but rather should be seen as written language. Because of this, the speaker translates word by word when imparting textual translations that retain the integrity of the written text and remain faithful to it in translational terms.

Translation is a special strategy employed by the participants in this research: "Bilingual speakers are able to translate from one language to another and to switch between their two languages in order to communicate" (Price, Green and Von Studnitz 1999: 2221). Translation occurred either word for word or as a general summary in the other language.

Hickey (1998) applies the concepts of locution, illocution and perlocution to translation. According to Walters (2005: 209), "Translation is concerned more with the illocutionary act, especially the propositional content, and with formulation. As such, interpretation is more ostensibly social and interactive, while translation is more

individual and psycholinguistic". He then refers to Davis (1980), who divides the perlocutionary act into perlocutionary cause and perlocutionary effect. This would be what the speaker said and how the hearer reacted. In the framework of translation, the source text (ST) would be the perlocutionary act that constitutes a perlocutionary cause and brings about a perlocutionary effect.

Toury's (1995) descriptive method represents another approach towards translation, specifically concerning the relationship between the ST and the target text (TT). His method uses description and explanation of the relationships between target and source texts. Toury's work is target-text oriented, with analysis starting from the TT. Nevertheless, the TT is mapped onto its ST with the goal of establishing the norm of translation equivalence and the overall concept of translation underlying the text (Toury 1995: 37). The adherence to the pure meaning of the text or the quality of the translation is less of an issue in Toury's method of analysis, and he describes the shifts or manipulations that have occurred in the context of the dominant norms. Instead of speaking of translations that are more loyal or less loyal to the ST, there are "adequate translations" as opposed to "acceptable translations" (Toury 1995). An adequate translation is one that tries to preserve the functional elements of the source culture by following the norms of that source, whereas an acceptable translation molds itself into the receptive or target culture (Toury 1995). For the emissaries participating in this research, the concept of 'adequate' translation is problematic. It is important to note that there is a distinction between professional translators and bilinguals. As such, "We may be able to rehabilitate the notion of the special nature of translation in more current terminology by looking at interpreters/translators and ordinary bilinguals as experts and novices, respectively" (Walters 2005: 210). Nida (1969) divides translation strategy into two categories: dynamic equivalence and formal equivalence; both very different approaches to translation. Nida specialized in Biblical translation, and each approach achieves a different level of literalness between the ST and the TT. He states that it is of utmost importance that the reader or hearer in both languages understands the meaning of the text in a similar fashion. This is what is known as sense-for-sense translation, which

usually works on the basis of sentence-sized units and not word for word. Dynamic equivalence is "the quality of translation in which the message of the original text has been so transported into the receptor language that the response of the receptor is essentially like that of the original receptors" (Nida 1969: 200).

Still another approach to translation is Holmstedt's (2011), which explores the motivations for the translating. He states that languages borrow words from other languages for two reasons: need and prestige (Campbell 2004: 64f). Prestige-based borrowing reflects a socio-linguistic situation in which a foreign language, whether closely related or not, is associated with higher social or political status or is simply a dominant linguistic cultural influence (e.g. a lingua franca) (Holmstedt 2011).

Price, Green and Von Studnitz (1999) emphasize the sophistication of processing translation in the brain of the speakers. They maintain that, "In order to speak in one language rather than another or to translate between languages, individuals establish `language task schemas'." These are effectively action schemas in the domain of language and link input to, and output from, the bilingual lexico-semantic system to responses. Language schemas at a given level are in competition and responses are produced in accordance with the currently dominating schema. Selection of a word in the correct language occurs at the lemma level by virtue of a language tag. At this locus, competitors for selection in the non-target language are inhibited. Therefore, success in translation shows high competence.

### 1.1.7 Diglossia

Discussion naturally turns to the previously mentioned phenomenon known as diglossia within bilingual (and monolingual) communities. For Ferguson (1959), who according to Walters (2005) introduced the term, it refers to "a specific relationship between two or more varieties of the same language in use in a speech community in different functions" (Montenegro and Ricardo 2012: 232). Bright (1966) provides a straightforward definition, stating that diglossia refers to the sharp differences in form and function between formal and informal style. Montenegro and Ricardo (2012) call diglossia a functional disparity in which some cultural and socio-political factors

(dominant vs. dominated language group) and linguistic factors are involved. Factors could be language distance; how different a language or dialect is from another; intelligibility; language diffusion, which is the process in which a language moves through migration; and the number of speakers who are available to speak the language. Fishman (1967) provides a definition of diglossia which Montenegro and Ricardo later accepted within sociolinguistics. These scholars agree that diglossia depends on the existence of two linguistic varieties. These varieties may be dialects, registers of the same language or two different languages —to which different functions have been assigned. In addition, Ferguson (1959), whose original description of diglossia referred to a very specific type of bilingualism or bidialectalism, claims that this linguistic phenomenon is a particular speech used by two related language varieties for different purposes. One variety would be used for formal and prestigious goals and the other variety would be used for informal purposes. He calls them High (H) and Low (L) varieties: "Thus while the speakers would regard both varieties as in some sense 'the same language', the two would in practice be sharply differentiated in terms of their prestige and their functions" (Sebba 2010: 450). Contrary to Ferguson, Jushua Fishman (1967) states that "H and L need not be related varieties of one language but could be two dissimilar languages, as long as they were used for non- overlapping sets of functions" (cited in Sebba, 2017: 450). Fishman (1965), who relates to the diverse possibilities and functions of speaking 'biligually', i.e. to codeswitching the codes, emphasizes the necessity to ask the question "Who speaks what language to whom and when? Responding to this question may explain why the specific language was used and what function it served in that specific setting.

The study of diglossia is therefore essential within the framework of an overview of bilingualism, especially when the question pertinent to our work with JE in the context of Chabad Emissaries arises regarding the status granted a language or dialect. This is particularly the ingroup-outgroup status granted by the use of the various languages and language variations.

### 1.1.7.1 Societal bilingualism

Societal Bilingualism is a term broadly used to relate to any sort of bilingualism and multilingualism at the level of social organization existing not only among individuals and nuclear families. Therefore, nowadays, every country, state or region might have societal bilingualism to some degree (Sebba 2017). Romaine (2005) argues that these bilingual individuals may belong to communities of all kinds and sizes, and that "they interact in various forms within communities, but not necessarily function bilingually" (Romaine 2005: 385). Sebba (2017) claims that societal bilingualism can be divided into two categories: 'state' and 'community'. Concerning this research the second category is more relevant where bilingualism is practiced among individuals; unlike the state level, where bilingualism is regulated and reproduced in a legal framework. According to Sebba (2017), bilingual communities' linguistic production is a mixture of bilingual and monolingual individuals while their competence in these languages is different in mastering the active and passive knowledge of the language (Sebba 2017: 445).

Another major issue in societal bilingualism is language shift and language maintenance. Language shift affects the entire community of speakers of a language or only some speakers, such as migrants. As a result of that shift, there is the threat that the former language might lead to language endangerment or language death (Sebba 2017: 454) and language attrition (Dorian 1981). The extent, mode, and the speakers who use the other language, shifting the centrality of the initial language to the new one, depend on a few factors: young or old, 'peasant' or 'urbanized' (Gal 1979). Nonetheless, Sebba (2017) claims that "It is not necessary to give up a language in order to acquire a new one" (Sebba 2017: 455). Sebba notes that in fact there are many societies who remain stably bilingual over a long period.

The study of diglossia as well as the notion societal bilingualism are therefore essential within the framework of an overview of bilingualism, especially when the question pertinent to our work with JE in the context of Chabad Emissaries arises regarding the mode and status of the language or dialect used by these participants.

### 1.1.7.2 A broader analysis of codes and CS

The preceding survey and analysis of the relevant literature naturally deals with another aspect of this doctoral dissertation: whether the linguistic phenomenon of code switching and code mixing can occur between only two different languages, or whether it exists between a language and its dialects and/or its language varieties. An appropriate presentation of the hypothesis requires that some basic concepts now be defined. Various researchers in this field will be referred to in the discussion.

### 1.1.7.3 The definition of code and code switching

There have been many attempts to define 'code' and 'code switching'. Scholars (Myers-Scotton 1993a; Auer 1998, 2013) have essentially deferred a foundational question by defining 'code' simply as a language (or a variety of language). However, Alvarez- Caccamo (1990, 1998, 2000) made heroic attempts to define 'code' and 'code switching' more exactly, relying in turn on Jakobson (1971b; Jakobson, Fant and Halle 1952, interalia) and Gumperz (1982, 1992, interalia). Jakobson was an early adopter of the term code switching, influenced by information theory. He claimed that languages have codes; they are not comprised of codes. A language user thus makes use of a code or codes when speaking, listening etc. The precise nature of any language user's codes cannot be perfectly ascertained by an analyst or by fellow speakers (Alvarez-Caccamo 1998).

Nilep (2006: 1) argues that speakers use communicative codes in their attempts (linguistic or paralinguistic) to communicate with other language users. Listeners use their own codes to make sense of the communicative contributions of those they interact with. Listeners may need to shift their expectations to come to a useful understanding of a speaker's intentions. Similarly, speakers may switch the form of their contribution to signal some change in situation, shifting the relevance of social roles or alternate ways of understanding a conversational contribution. In other words, switching codes is a means by which language users contextualize communication.

A useful definition of CS for sociocultural linguistic analysis must recognize such alternation in communication which signals a context by which to understand the linguistic contribution. The 'context' signaled may be local (such as the signal of the end of a turn), general (such as positioning vis-à-vis some macro-sociological category), or somewhere in between. Furthermore, it is important to recognize that this signaling is accomplished by the action of the participants in a particular interaction. That is to say, it is neither necessary nor desirable to spell out the meaning of a particular code switching behavior prior to using it. Rather, code switching is accomplished by parties in interaction, and the meaning of their behaviour emerges through it. This is not to argue that the use of a particular linguistic form has no meaning, or that 'speakers make it up as they go along', but rather that it is a subconscious, unspoken act of communication.

To recapitulate, code switching is a practice of parties in discourse, signaling changes in context through alternate grammatical systems, subsystems or codes. The mental representation of these codes cannot be directly observed. Rather, an analyst must observe discourse itself and recover the salience of a linguistic form as code from its effect on discourse interaction. The approach described here understands code switching as the practice of individuals in particular discourse settings. Therefore, one must hesitate to define the exact nature of any code prior to interaction.

Auer defines code switching as the use of more than one language or language variety concurrently in conversation (Auer 1998: 13). It appears to be a scholarly consensus that CS only happens when alternating between two recognized languages. This, however, is a subject of much debate, and the rigid assumption that only a clearly defined and official pair of languages would count as viable for CS, is deeply scrutinized by Auer (1998). He takes a much broader view and is considerably more flexible as to what circumstances CS could occur in.

For him, the question of what counts as 'code' is not so easily resolved, as his idea is that CS is the juxtaposition of two codes that are perceived as different by the participants in the conversation. As far as Auer is concerned, the participants must

recognize the difference in code whilst switching. The dilemma that Auer (1998) expresses is the same as that of Alvarez-Caccamo (1998), that "It seems that we have no other final authority to turn to [than the speakers of a code] if we want to decide whether a given sign is part of the same system as the contiguous signs or whether it is part of a different system, and takes part in a juxtaposition of two codes" (Auer 1998: 13). He goes on to explain that an analyst's seemingly objective statement of a given "arrangement of signs" is actually less accurate than a speaker's, as to whether it is CS or not.

Auer (1998), further states that in fact the analysis needed to show that the given set of co-occurring linguistic features is indeed perceived by the participants as a distinct code can only be validated by the fact that switching between this set and another is employed in a meaningful way in bilingual conversation. He states that: "the issue is of particular interest in cases which, linguistically speaking, may be looked upon as instances of code-switching between closely related varieties, or as one code showing internal variability." He cites Alvarez-Caccamo's studies of CS between Galizan Spanish and Galizan, where these two variants are very close and separated by few features. To sum up, according to the above-mentioned scholars, the ethnic speakers themselves have the authority to define a system as a code, and not the analysts.

### 1.1.7.5 Auer 2004: code switching and social identity

In this research there is a necessity to postulate that a direct link exists between code switching and social identity. The first assumption is that "social identity is clearly a useful mediating concept between language and social structure" (Auer 2004). "Speaking a particular language is seen as an index of membership in a particular social group", which is based on ancestry, culture, place of origin and race. Therefore, when one speaks a particular language, one is "involved in linguistic acts of identity" (Auer 2004). Yet, when dealing with bilinguals who code switch between two different languages, it is argued that this linguistic act of CS also symbolizes identities beyond linguistic fact. Auer (2004) claims that in cases where different ethnic

minorities use their L1 in addition to the language spoken by the majority (L2), then CS comes into play. He construes that language alternation could be a mere consequence of an attempt to add some "ethnic flavor" to the language spoken by all and thus this switching is called 'acts of identities'.

Auer (2004) points out the essentialist approach, a monolingual language ideology whereby "each collectivity, particularly a nation, expresses its character in and through its language." Therefore, migration may jeopardize their identity. Consequently, two options are possible: migrants may switch national identity and become members of the receiving society thus giving up their language, or they may maintain their identity by forming a 'language island' in order to be separated ideologically rather than geographically. For the latter ethnic minority, creating such islands might lead to constant struggle to withstand the local speakers who threaten to shatter the walls of this collectivity.

Nonetheless, with the demise of the obsolete conception held by the essentialists, Auer notes that three ways of speaking have been found among European migrants: Code Switching and Code Mixing styles, ethnolects, and new varieties of the language origin. Hence, Auer (2004) concludes that immigrants living in a diaspora between two worlds construct their social identity and this is definitely expressed through their bilingual speech style. However, Auer also argues that two extreme linguistic situations could occur: the first is that language alternation can be "void of identity-relevant meaning" (Auer 2004) in some contexts, and the second is that in other linguistic contexts, the linguistic production is "rich in the identity-work it accomplishes" (Auer 2004).

### 1.1.8 The monolectal view of CS

Code switching can be more complex than the scenarios discussed thus far. According to Meeuwis and Blommaert (1998), it can also occur within the derivatives of one code, rather than just between two different languages, as has been discussed until now. Furthermore, they postulate that CS creates its own code, as will be expounded upon below.

The prevailing approach, regarding code switching as a phenomenon which "operates against the background of full bilingualism and, hence, as a phenomenon emerging out of the alternation of linguistic material stemming from two or more closed, fixed languages or grammatical systems that are fully known to the speakers who perform CS" is questionable. It is replaced by a different suggested framework called "the monolectal view of code switching" (Meeuwis and Blommaert 1998). The term 'code' in code switching, conventionally appears as an equivalent of 'language' (Myers-Scotton 1993a). Myers-Scotton's book about CS being titled 'Duelling Languages' proves this, as does the definition of CS as being "juxtaposed multiple-language production" (1993b: vii).

Contrary to the abovementioned common approach, there is the monolectal view of code switching which asserts that it is not a product blending between two or more languages. This assumes that the bilinguals' knowledge of the two different languages is sufficient (Myers- Scotton 1993b). However, according to Polissey ( ??), the bilinguals' competence in both languages is never complete, and Meeuwis and Blommaert (1998: 76) claim that there can be "one code in its own right", as mentioned above. They postulate that a monolectal view allows us to see code switched speech as a system that operates very much on its own, and with a dynamics of its own, and that it is unconnected and unconditioned by the full knowledge of two separate languages. They illustrate their insights by introducing the language variety Lingala-French, monolectally code switched speech in Zaire, and similarly, the Wolof-French monolectal code switching spoken by the city-dwellers in Dakar, Senegal (Swigart 1992: 92ff). In these cases, the speakers become monolingual in a mixed code.

Meeuwis and Blommaert (1998) also negate the socio-political factor, stating that within every nation, foreign language speakers "frequently engage in code switching (between two languages) with friends and business associates who share their linguistic repertoires" (Myers-Scotton 1993b: 1). The practicability of deviating from the fact by taking for granted that each nation has one language, as Myers-Scotton does, is not necessarily unequivocal. For Meeuwis and Blommaert, it is seen

as indicative of "strong ideological biases and idealisations" (Meeuwis and Blommaert 1998: 78). They claim that there are speakers who possess a singular code, despite it being mixed. They discuss the particular and specific varieties of languages, rather than the differences between formal languages, as Myers-Scotton does. They state that there are intralanguage dialectal or stylistic variations, with differences in accents, intonation, conversational structuring, and other proven sense-making pragmatic variables. In addition, they claim that there are more specific identities, different artistic or intellectual speech, 'stronger' and 'weaker' languages and so on. Moreover, they partially refute the widespread assumption claiming that "identity negotiation is the only, or at least the most important, function of code switching."

Due to the above-mentioned criticism, Meeuwis and Blommaert state that the potential linguistic usage of code switching is much broader than the one described by Myers-Scotton, which is only one particular way of using code switching, amongst others. Another insight derived from this reasoning is that monolectal code switching is not necessarily a 'marked' or 'special' way of speaking with particular functions and effects, rather it is natural and unremarkable. They remark that in some communities, code switching is the norm of speaking, the default way of speaking. In communities such as these, the use of the monolingual language will be the 'marked' speech and definitely unaccepted, artificial and even unintelligible (Meeuwis and Blommaert 1998: 81).

Meeuwis and Blommaert argue that a more sophisticated use of code switching naturally and regularly occurs amongst various ethno-geographical bilinguals in many spots on the globe. They point out an interesting linguistic behavior which can be conceptualized as 'layered code switching', i.e. code switching within code switching in which there can be a linguistic situation where the various languages come into contact with each other. This, for example, occurs in Zaire where the official language used in the parliament and all written legislation is French whilst the other national languages such as Kikongo, Lingala, Swahili and Tshiluba are constantly used by the entire population, from rich to poor, and from uneducated to highly educated, in particular differences of frequencies and various levels of registers. To conclude,

these Zairians' form of speaking is characterized by code switching in different situational contexts, where the French elements are readily replaced by African equivalents, and vice versa. In addition, the pervasiveness of code switching with French depends on knowledge i.e. linguistic competence and/or pragmatic social needs and compatibility to setting and context.

Generally speaking, Meeuwis and Blommert's (1998) endeavor is to undermine the common misconception of relating to code as a language and the fact that it is conditioned by the full bilingualism of individuals. Furthermore, code switching, which is seen as an almost coincidental byproduct of two languages and perceived as unworthy of inventorisation and likely to cause language problems, does not necessarily reflect the entire linguistic production of all kinds of people. As a matter of fact, there can be a set of linguistic practices, instead of a massive coexistence of languages, which may safeguard the diverse forms of communication throughout different layers of society. It is done successfully and naturally, without unwarranted projections of chaos and unmanageability (1998: 93f).

### 1.1.9 Code switching and code mixing

Since there is an attempt to investigate the phenomena of CS within a broader view, particularly when focusing on its social-pragmatic aspect, it is important to refer to Auer's (1999, 2017) interpretation, which adopts the conversational approach, of its divergence. Auer defines it within the paradigm of a continuum in which CS is one pole, while the other extreme is FL. The term 'language mixing' (LM) (could be called Code Mixing [CM]) is used to refer to another juxtaposition between two codes, and is between the two on the continuum (1999, 2017). Auer suggests that CS could be interpreted as a "locally meaningful event by participants" (1999: 310; 2017: 467), while LM would be when there is a "juxtaposition of two languages in which the use of two languages is meaningful to participants, not in a local but only in a more global sense. That is, it is when seen as a recurrent pattern." FLs are "[s]tabilized mixed varieties" (Auer 1999: 309). That is to say, they are the point at

which two codes are fused together to such a degree that they transition into one new code.

### 1.1.9.1 Code switching

As for Auer, frequent CS may be the first step towards a mixed speaking style. In order to grasp Auer's line of thought, a brief outline of the characteristics of CS are presented (Auer 1999, 2017):

The first and most salient characteristic of CS is the possibility to identify the language of interaction until the point when CS occurs ("Matrix Language and the EL", Myers-Scotton 1993a). There is a clear contrast between the 'codes' (two different languages according to Myers-Scotton, 1993a), a language and its dialect, according to Alfonzetti (1992, 1998), or two varieties of one language according to A. Caccamo (1980, 1998).

Auer (2017) notes that CS occurs in a socio-linguistic context in which speakers prefer one language at a time. Therefore, one may identify the language of interaction (the ML) and the CS when it occurs. CS signals otherness when it departs from the ML.

The mechanisms by which CS generates meaning can be described in a general way although the ways the meanings are perceived remain constant for each community.

- CS may have a personal or a group style.
- Most of the code switches occur at major syntactic prosodic boundaries.
- CS is possible when the bilinguals' proficiency in the 'other' languages is limited.

Moreover, Auer (1999) distinguishes between alternational CS and insertional CS. Alternational CS is when the return to the ML after the switch is not predictable, and insertional CS is when a content word is inserted into the ML. However, both CS prosodic cues and verbal markers may emphasize the juxtaposition, making it a locally noticeable phenomenon. In doing so, its grammatical format bears no influence on its communicative function.

### 1.1.9.2 Language mixing

According to Auer (1999), LM is when the use of two codes is mixed together, in similar proportion to each other. These two codes together constitute the language of interaction: "it seems to be their alternating use which in itself constitutes the 'language'-of-interaction'" (Auer 1999: 315). Therefore, he argues that the juxtaposition of these two languages is not derived from a "change of footing", or speaker preference.

Auer (2017: 370) argues that contrary to switching, mixing requires an advanced bilingual competence, and is not frequent in bilinguals with very imbalanced competences. Similar to CS, a distinction between insertional and alternational LM must be made: "Alternational mixing, in its most prototypical sense, means that a sentence begins with one sentence and ends with another, without a clear sense of whether the entire sentence is in language A or B. Both parts of the sentence are of some complexity" (Muysken 2000: 96ff).

Auer (2017) argues that in alternational LM, the utterances occur according to the grammar of their respective languages. He elaborates upon his opinion by stating that alternational mixing occurs preferentially at points when the two grammars produce a homogenous structure. Thus, he agrees with Poplack (1980), Sankoff (1998) and Sankoff and Poplack (1981). In addition, he claims that two chunks of talk are relatively self-contained; that is, there is a major syntactic boundary between the two parts.

Another characteristic of alternational mixing is that it also frequently occurs between self-contained units which make up one larger speaking turn. These utterances are both independent sentences, despite possibly being semantically coherent, and may contain cohesion markers such as adverbials, or ellipses. Note that an LM that consists of a single word is usually considered insertional.

Auer supports Myers-Scotton's theory with regards to the insertional type of mixing, when he adapts Myers-Scotton's constraints (2002), claiming that an ML is always dominated by solely one language, and some elements of the EL are inserted

into it. Thus, the rules of the ML must be obeyed: the morpheme order must be that of the ML, and late system morphemes must come from the ML (Myers-Scotton 2002: 73f).

Bokamba (1989) adapts a different perspective in his definition of both CS and LM. He defines CS as the "the mixing of words, phrases and sentences from two distinct grammatical (sub) systems across sentence boundaries within the same speech event." LM, on the other hand, is defined by him as "the embedding of various linguistic units such as affixes (bound morphemes), words (unbound morphemes), phrases and clauses from a co-operative activity where the participants, in order to infer what is intended, must reconcile what they hear with what they understand." According to Wardhaugh (1992: 107f), conversational CS involves the deliberate mixing of two languages, without an associated topic change. He claims that code mixing is usually used as a solidarity marker in multilingual communities.

### 1.1.10 Fused lects

Auer (1999) argues that a continuum of language alternation phenomena spans out between the prototypes which are called CS, CM and FL. After explaining CS and CM and their differences, an explanation of FLs in comparison to CM is needed. The main difference is the grammatical one: "On the surface, a FL may look similar to CM, but very often the difference becomes visible at a deeper grammatical level only" (Auer 1999: 321). He claims that unlike in CM where variation of use is enabled, in FLs the use of one 'language' or the other for certain constituents is obligatory in FLs. Therefore, Auer states that when Language A and language B become an FL, there is no room for variation of linguistic grammar and stabilization of function-form relationship is established. He concludes that if there is no variation anymore of the use of grammar, simplification of use is achieved, since the alternatives are lost. As a result, the elements from lect A and Lect B are fused and combined, and there is a development of a new structure identical neither to those of A nor B.

## 1.2 An overview of Jewish languages

### 1.2.1 The protolanguage - Hebrew: the linguistic characteristics of the Hebrew Language

Since Hebrew is the protolanguage used by Jews for more than 3500 years, this language has been integrated into any other language spoken by Jews throughout their existence.

Concerning this study, discussing the languages used by the Jews in the Diaspora, Hebrew has always been the permanent L1 used by every Jew everywhere and in all times. So, in the current research, there is an attempt to discuss Hebrew's unique characteristics in comparison mainly to English, which is the L2 of the participants of this research.

In terms of classical morphological typology, Hebrew is an inflecting language, and a much more inflected language than English. For example, Hebrew has more verb endings, nouns and pronouns that vary in form according to the prepositions that precede them. Besides this, Hebrew has masculine and feminine genders, so the adjectives must be compatible with the number and gender of the nouns that modify them. On the contrary, English has a relative simplicity with no distinctions to genders. Regarding the tense, Hebrew and English have similar present and past tenses.

The Classical Biblical Hebrew (CBH) morphology is likely to have the most enduring structure, bearing an unequivocal Semitic stamp. This is in line with Pablo Kirtchuk's (2010) claims that the CBH language is associated with the Semitic languages, as well as the claims of Goldenberg (1996) and Kapeliuk (1996). Despite this, there are some linguists, such as Whorf (1956), who hold that contemporary Hebrew (CH) belongs to the Indo-European language group.

In a similar manner to the Romance languages, there was a major shift in the history of the Hebrew structure. Additionally, foreign influence has also determined the syntax and grammar of the Hebrew language. For example, concerning the CBH and Mishnaic Hebrew (Mish.H), when there are compounds of lexemes, the noun will

receive an article prefix, while in English, this prefix is redundant. For example, 'human rights' is an English compound which has been adapted to the Hebrew direct translation "*zexuyot adam*" instead of "*zexuyot ha'adam*" (the rights of the man). The omission of the article derives from the English language's influence on CH. Kirtchuk argues that "a similar behaviour is observed for many abstracts, mass, collective or otherwise non-referential or non-specific nouns".

Hebrew word order enables more flexibility than the rigid and non-flexible Subject-Verb-Object syntax of English. Hebrew sentences mostly start with the verb, followed by the subject, and adjectives usually follow the nouns they modify. Hebrew is also much more inflected than English. It also has no indefinite article, and use of the definite article does not coincide exactly with English usage.

### 1.2.2 Language background

"Since the 6th century B.C Jews have created unique variants of many CT non-Jewish languages with which they came into contact: Aramaic, Greek, Arabic, Spanish, Persian and German are just a few examples." (Wexler, 2002) However, Spolksy (2014:17) correctly explains that "… because of its continuity among Hasidim, Yiddish is the best example of a surviving Jewish variety with natural intergenerational transmission."

Yiddish, as the language spoken by western and eastern Jews in Europe for centuries, has been the "language of everyday life and of literature for religious education, practical purposes and entertainment" (Aptroot & Hansen, 2014:1). Although Yiddish has been recognized as a language, it has always been the language of a minority that was in contact with the CT languages spoken by gentiles. In addition, most (if not all) of its speakers have been mixing their lexicon with Hebrew as well as Aramaic, mainly for religious and scholarly purposes (Aptroot and Hansen, 2014: 2). However, for more folkish purposes, according to Fleischer (2014: 252), Yiddish was also widely used for mundane purposes as well. He cited Weinberg (1973) [1969] who points out some examples such as: "*Schicker*" for drunk and *Kinnem* for lice…

Wexler (1993c, 1996a) articulates four types of JL genesis. The most common type followed a "diachronic chain". The first link in the chain connected Hebrew to Judeo-Aramaic or Targumic. Subsequently, a Judeo- Aramaic speaking population began to speak Judeo-Greek, and Judeo-Latin arose, and so the connecting links were formed. Wexler perhaps oversimplifies complicated sociolinguistic realities, including the fact that language shifts did not encompass all of the various speaking populations. Some Hebrew speakers remained in the Judeo-Aramaic region and only a portion of Judeo-Romance speakers, who settled in the Rhineland in the ninth and tenth centuries, shifted to a German-based JL.

The spoken language of the Jews in the Babylonian exile was Judeo-Aramaic (circa. 500-200 BCE), where Hebrew was little used as a vernacular. Yet Hebrew remained central in a sacral and liturgical capacity, enriching Judeo-Aramaic usage on the written and spoken levels. This bilingual symbiosis is illustrative of all civilizations, a tradition that arose whereby a sacred text was read first in Hebrew and then in the *targum* or translation.

The holy texts were referred to as *Loshn-koydesh* (Holy Tongue) and were utilized for reading, citation or oral recitation. These texts remained a constant enriching reservoir for all later JLs, something that could not be duplicated by other, subsequent JLs. Indeed, Wexler (1985) maintains that acrolectal *Loshn – Koydesh* may have served to reinforce the survival and transmission of Hebrew-Aramaic origin words in the Jewish vernaculars that came afterwards.

The next link in the chain culminating in Yiddish came in a shift from two varieties of Judeo-Romance-Western (Judeo-Old French) and Southern (Judeo-Old Italian) in Loter, in approximately the ninth or tenth century where it became a Germanic-based language and thus created Yiddish.

Yet, the origin of the Yiddish has proved a controversial issue and is divided into different theories. The "standard theory" as it is defined by Jurg Fleischer (2014:107) and supported mainly by Max Weinreich, is in contrast with the lexification model of Wexler (2002). Weinreich (1973, 1980, 2008) claims that the genesis of the appearance of Yiddish is traced back to the 8th and 9th

centuries when Jewish immigrants, who originally spoke unattested Romance language, settled in the Rhinelands and started to interact with the Germans neighbors. Later, in the 13ᵗʰ and 14ᵗʰ centuries, the Jewish migration to Poland led the Yiddish speakers to adopt Slavic languages. Therefore, Yiddish has become a mixture of Semitic, Slavic, Romance and Germanic elements. It is important to make a distinction between the Jews who remain in the west and whose Yiddish is not characterized by Slavic elements, with Eastern Jews whose Yiddish does. As a result, Weinreich and Pulgram ([1953] 1958:161) see Western Yiddish as "the older brother". They have formulated a classic family tree:

Early Yiddish/Old Yiddish

Western Yiddish                                                                     Eastern Yiddish
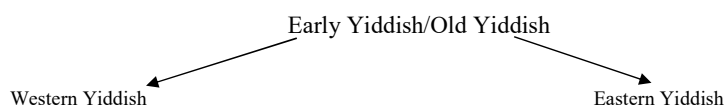
*Figure 3 : relationship between Western and Eastern Yiddish according to Weinreich (1973, 2008) [illustrated by Fleischer, 2018]*

On the contrary, Wexler's (1991, 2002) radical approach insists that Yiddish originates from Slavic language developed throughout the Middle Ages. Wexler argues that the Slavic language is identified with Upper Soborian (1991) and the "Kiev –Polessian dialect"(2002). Thus, according to Wexler's relexification model, "Eastern Yiddish is a Slavic language and is genetically unrelated to the Judazied German that developed in the monolingual German lands." (Wexler 2002: 69) So Wexler's model is illustrated as follows:

| Judeo-Romance | Judeo-Slavic |
|---|---|
| Ashkenazic German | Yiddish |
| ↓ | ↓ |
| ↓ | ↓ |
| (="Western Yiddish") | (="Eastern Yiddish") |
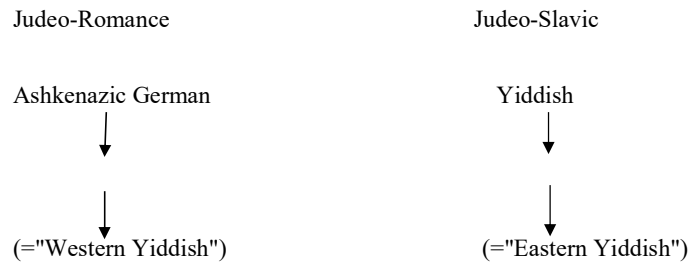
*Figure 4 : Western and Eastern Linguistic entities according to Wexler (1991,2002)*

However, whether Weinriech or Wexler's assumptions are correct, de facto, Comrie (1991) concludes that "the process of germanization would have been so effective that the result is no longer a slavic language" (Comrie 1991:155, cited in Fleischer, 2014).

Therefore, a change in the view of Yiddish origins in relation to German (Ashkenazi Jews were the point of departure) has resulted in Yiddish linguistics developing from an exocentric approach to an endocentric one. Weinreich and Birenbaum (1931) considered Yiddish as no longer a fallen type of German, but rather as never having been German. Studies of Yiddish as related to German dialects are an important factor in the overall linguistic task (Frakes 1993, as cited in Fleisher 2014) maintains that Yiddish is not a macaronic language but rather it possesses its own patterns and regularities to be discovered by linguists. Weinreich (1973) stressed that Yiddish would not be Yiddish without the Hebrew-Aramaic component and that this idea of fusion is primary.

**1.2.3 Yiddish and code switching**

Yiddish, as a diasporic language spoken by the Jewish minority, constantly favors the use of Code Switching within its heteroglossic context. Similar to other bilinguals, the natural use of CS amongst minorities dwelling near a majority is a universal phenomenon existing everywhere all around the globe. As Gumpertz (1971: 316) states: "In spite of the fact that such extreme code-switching is held in disrepute, it is very persistent wherever minority language groups come in close contact with majority language groups under conditions of rapid social change." However, according to Szulmajster-Celnikier (2005), the use of CS amongst Yiddish speakers, "appears as a second step in an already mixed language". She claims that Yiddish is genealogically classified as a mixed language which is a profusion of loanwords and loan translations of Hebrew-Aramean (HA), Slavic (S), and Roman (Ro) stock at the different levels of language (i.e. phonological, morphological, synthematical, lexical and axiological) within its own structure, assuming it has a German nucleus. Thus, Szulmajster-Celnikier (2005) bases this method on Weinreich (1931), the founder of Yiddish linguistics.

Hence, when speaking about the Jewish minority switching from Yiddish to English, it will be extremely important to take into consideration the fact that Yiddish itself is a hybrid language consisting of four languages. Thus, it could be seen as a multilayered CS (Wexler, 2002; Szulmajster-Celnikier 2005).

After describing JE as a language that existed in the diaspora, the emergence of JLV, which is a mixture of Basic English plus Yiddish, Hebrew and Aramaic, will be expanded upon. This is because many Jews have moved to the USA from the diaspora, and this has resulted in the JLV.

**1.2.4 Scholars' perspective of JLV**

### 1.2.4.1 Fishman's perspective of JLV

According to J. Fishman (1985: 4), JL is "any language that is phonologically, morpho-syntactically, lexico-semantically or orthographically different from that of non-Jewish sociocultural networks (….) It has a unique function in the role-repertoire of the JL experience." He argues that it is quite hard to define what is Jewish and what is not. Fishman remarks that there are three possible parameters for defining JLs, which are psychological, sociological and linguistic, and focuses mainly on the linguistic parameter. He brings the two polar interpretations, the first one being that JL develops wherever a Jewish community begins to use a "local Co-Territorial (CT) language" that is new to them, and "of necessity" modifies that CT language, their original speaking, reading and writing habits, as well as the unique Jewish values, traditions and norms of behavior. The other interpretation, on the other extreme, is that there are those who define JLs as a much smaller set which are considered to be "sufficiently" structurally "different" from their Co-Territorial origin languages and that they are used "insufficiently" for prestige-related functions of a "non-vernacular nature" (Fishman 1985: 4).

Therefore, Fishman concludes that even the extreme position, designating every Jewish variety as a language in its own right, maintains the overt and covert assumption that each variety is merely a dialect of its non-Jewish "Co- Territorial correlate". Yet Fishman doubts the objective linguistic grounds for stating that JLs are dialects and not standard languages. He deals with the criteria needed for determining when a language becomes an independent language. He attributes this to the number of speakers needed to validate the language by virtue of a volume of users. "It is by counting the centuries for historicity, speaking about linguistic distance for autonomy and asking how many dictionaries/grammars that a language has, and this is essential in order to achieve standardization and recognition."

Thus, Fishman concludes and states that most JLs co-exist with other languages as co-members of the total repertoire of their speech communities. In addition, "these languages are often in complementary distribution with the designations assigned to

*Lashon – kodesh* (the sanctity language), on the one hand, and to Co- territorial correlate languages as well as CT contrast languages on the other hand by the members of these communities" (Fishman 1985: 4). Fishman criticizes the fact that the process of recognizing the autonomy of the JLs is stricter when compared with the process of recognizing other varieties employed with non-Jewish varieties. He mentions the duo languages Dutch and Frisian as well as French and Occitan as examples of the fact that they are widely and readily recognized as two different languages. This is in contrast to Yiddish and German, Judezmo and Spanish. With the second two the necessary distinction is less certain, and consequently, lacks the extent of autonomy and standardization. He implies that the reasons for that lack of recognition and evaluation are probably more driven by the political rather than the factual. Thus, he shows that the above-mentioned languages are recognized as autonomous languages, whereas the latter are not (Fishman 1985: 8).

He points to the Europeanization process which has fostered the concept of nationality and an interest in language development as well as the internal Zionist Jewish interests in demoting the Jewish vernaculars from language to dialect in order to ultimately achieve their political-sociological goals. Therefore, he argues that recognizing the language as a different language or as merely a dialect is subjective and changeable based on socio-political interests and not necessarily purely objective linguistic goals (Fishman 1985: 8).

Having discussed the definition of JLV, its formulation will now be outlined. Fishman brings to the discussion another crucial issue regarding the absence of inter-network and intra-network consensual names for the JLs. However, he sees the textual traditions and the textual elites as being extremely characteristic of these networks. The most widely accepted theory of how new fusion languages arise is via pidginization or creolization. Therefore, it could be inferred that the JLs are acquired according to the foregoing theory. However, Fishman (1985) claims that "the typical pidgin-genesis scenario and JL genesis scenario are instructively different." Fishman points out two marked differences, which are: (a) the linguistic and ethno-cultural homogeneity of Jewish immigrants or refugees meeting each other for the first time in

a new foreign linguistic ethno-cultural environment, desperately searching for a lingua franca in order to enable conversation (b) and the subsequent impossibility, according to Fishman, of the Jewish speakers undergoing and corresponding to the pidgin theory. The above-mentioned factors could be explained due to their uninterrupted oral medium and the uninterrupted highly valued literacy tradition. Nonetheless, Fishman is aware of the natural fusion linguistic process of language acquisition in a new CT entity and emphasizes the fact that Jews are affected by the specific exocentric influences of their new environment and are more receptive to the new norms of the new location in comparison to other newcomers. However, on the other hand, there is a great need to retain the LK and other prior JL features, with the non- Jewish norms being "set aside and replaced by endocentric ones" (1985: 11). Fishman consequently states that "all in all, both fusion vis a vis prior Jewish linguistic desiderata and the two pronged fission vis a vis CT languages would seem to be recurrently involved, with JLs differing from each other in the degree to which either process has evolved" (1985: 12).

Fishman (1985: 15) relates to the consolidation of the new JLs as well as the social allocations and their functions. He argues that these new languages come about by being exposed to a language and are thus considered to be a "mere dialect" of their CT non-Jewish correlates. As for traditional literacy-related purposes, this JL is seen as "incomparably inferior to LK". For modern literacy-related purposes, their users will tend to use the written CT correlate more than the contemporary JL speech.

Dealing with the functions of the JLs, Fishman's view is that JLs typically have co-sanctity functions, usually in study and translation, which are broader and higher than the intimacy/vernacular functions usually attributed to them. That is to say, JLs are commonly used in oral and written translation of sanctity functions which is indicative of their serving but non-autonomous status (1985: 15).

Fishman arranged a taxonomy for classifying the linguistics functions according to their importance regarding the sanctity functions:

1) $\frac{LK}{JL}$

2)LK+$\frac{JL}{JL}$

3) R÷LK, JL+W÷LK, JL+S÷$\frac{JL}{S}$÷JL (R-intra group reading, W- Writing, S-Speaking)

Dealing with more modern times, CT languages have added to each function, and thus have increasingly replaced the JLs. This was as a result of WW2, when intergroup communication disappeared, as well as the enormous revival of Hebrew. The only two JLs that have remained, and that are broadly spoken, are Yiddish and Judezmo. So the taxonomy is as follows:

4) $\frac{JLy}{JLy}$ (y refers to Yiddish), instead of LK+$\frac{JL}{JL}$ and R÷LK, JL+W÷LK, JL+S÷$\frac{JL}{S}$ ÷JL

Hebraists also sought a unilingual solution, but a completely oppositional one:

5) $\frac{JLh}{JLh}$ (h refers to Hebrew)

To conclude the analysis of Fishman's perspective on the languages spoken by Jews, i.e. their status and formulation, he points out some global authoritarian modifications such as Nazism, Communism, assimilation and modernism plus Zionism which have demoted Yiddishism for Jewry and have testified dramatically against LK (Fishman 1985: 17f.). ''English as a JL is", according to Fishman, "the most alarming of all" and as a result is a threat to Yiddish and Hebrew. A further statement of his is that "English or some Jewish variant thereof is probably the most widespread JL of our time" (1985: 19).

The most interesting and challenging question expressed by Fishman (1985: 19) is: "Is it possible that a JL is being born before our very eyes but that few are aware of it?" However, the notion of Judeo-English still seems strange for the current investigators, although various linguistics features such as lexical, grammatical prosodic and functional characteristics have been formulated. Therefore, they are hesitant to define it as its own language, unlike many other languages, as mentioned above. The fact remains that he argues that the specificity of particular networks has not yet been recognized.

### 1.2.4.2 Gold's perspective of JLV

The issue of the participants' relations with the wider population is raised by Gold's analysis (1985). Gold relates to the JLV as a language and prefers to call it "Jewish English" (JE). He holds that languages, and specifically JE, take special linguistic forms whenever there is a close association between people. These are both planned innovations that are consciously developed by the people who are in contact, or unplanned innovations, which come about by spontaneous development in this context. These forms are a manifestation of the system they are part of and serve a functional and symbolic purpose. Gold (1985: 282) defines a JL as "used by Jews and adequately organizing and expressing their Jewish experience (in certain cases one may consciously try to retain features from other languages … in order to impart a more Jewish character to the newly acquired language)." The need to express Jewishness and the Jewish experience can be understood in the context of the fact that there are experiences that are uniquely and exclusively Jewish. Almost all Jews will come across a vast number of these terms and will use them, identify with them and feel affiliated. Examples of these are: *Shabes* (Saturday) clocks, *matse*, (Jewish ritual *matza*-unleavened bread made from flour and water on Passover) going on *Aliya* ( Immigration to the holy land), and *bedeking* (covering) the bride.

Gold's theories are of special importance to this literature review because of his focus on unintentional or conscious influences from other languages. The former happens where there is difficulty in attaining a native grasp on the language, with features of the previous language then making their way into the newly acquired one. There are, by contrast, those who consciously try to retain features from other languages in order to impart a more Jewish character to the new conglomerate. These are archistratal languages. For many Jewish groups these are represented by Hebrew, Aramaic and Yiddish. This is not a universal phenomenon. These archistratal languages are differentiated from pre languages by virtue of the fact that the latter cease to be sources or influences once passive knowledge has died away.

An example of this waning influence is the word "*oyver-botl*" as a term to denote senility. EY speaking Jews would use it (archistratal influence), and on occasion their children may use it by virtue of prior contact with Yiddish speakers. But their grandchildren, for whom Yiddish was not even a pre language, would probably no longer use the term (by contrast, the word kosher has become mainstream both pertaining to Jewish Law and as a metaphorical term). As Gold states: "Each item of JE has a certain currency from the individual, generational, chronological, geographical, Jewish Communal and non-Jewish viewpoints"(Gold 1985: 285). Thus, certain non-Jewish terms are completely unacceptable, as they have un-Jewish connotations. For example, instead of BC (Before Christ), the secular term BCE (Before the Common Era) is used.

This, in turn, anticipates the next section of this literature review. Style-shifting (or code switching) may sometimes be utilized to convey more cryptic meanings and exclude other (out-group) members, as in "The *goy* is *mayven kol dovor* so don't *daber* too loud." (The man understands everything, so don't speak too loud.) Such style shifting requires background knowledge and the understanding of what word or phrase should be replaced. JE is calibrated to NE. This NE is the most important determinant of JE, and the Jewish determinants change according to the various sublects of NE. There are components that are drawn from these determinants and they fuse in different ways.

- partial translations like '*mandel*-bread' (almond bread) and '*matze*-meal' (the meal of unleavened bread for Passover).
- full translations like 'I need it like a hole in my head. (*a lox in kop*)'
- loans that are integrated grammatically like '*shtetl*' (Jewish village) and '*nudnik (nudniks)*' (A bothersome person)

Further, some English words have acquired special Jewish meanings like 'to *bedeck*' (ceremoniously cover) the bride when she is being covered by a marital veil.

Gold (1985) notes the fact that most English dictionaries ignore JE as a reference, despite their apparent use of glottonyms like Mexican Spanish, Brazilian Portuguese, and despite many of the changed and modified Hebrew and Yiddish

words that have found their way into English language via JE. For Gold (1985: 289), it is the instinctive or intuitive grasp of language or "*sprachgefuhl*" (language) which determines the degree to which both Jews and non-Jews recognize features of JE. Indeed, there are inclusions in NE that have come from JE which are now ethnically unmarked, also due in part to the fact that they consist entirely of NE words arranged according to English syntax, an example of this being: "like a hole in my head/*a lox in kop*". Because this expression filled a lexical gap, it entered NE seamlessly.

Sometimes the use of JE may go unrecognized and be mislabeled as bad English. An example of this is: "and for $42, he should be entitled as they say in New York." Here, this is referring to the absolute use of entitled, where usually there should be the addition of to + NP or VP. This usage is in fact of Yiddish origin and a translation of *hobn a rekht*. This usage is mainly found in JE but is sometimes found in a typical New Yorker's NE speech. The notion that a non-Jewish New Yorker may be directly influenced by JE brings up a critical point of this dissertation, namely why New York has today's most distinctive JE.

Gold (1985: 291) explains that as New York has a large Jewish population, Jews in New York City maintain dense communication networks and are able to advance social, economic and cultural ladders without necessarily having extensive contact with other cultures. In this context, it is noteworthy that while JE has long been a medium of instruction it has not been acknowledged as such. Because it has a largely unrecognized status as a legitimate variety of English, in itself it has never been a subject of instruction. However, JE is an identity marker and a necessary component of any Anglophone Jewish community. Gold's approach is that JE is progressing along the path taken by Black English and subsequent Black English studies. Gold draws a fascinating parallel between JE and BE, citing Smith (1974). Both scholars note a language's initial lack of progress towards recognition, including hesitancy toward recognition as a linguistic variation along ethnic lines, and argue that both represent "debased dialects".

In contradistinction to JE, a more positive and quite politicized mindset evolved toward BE and the teaching of BE led to elevated status and a growing pride in its

users. However, as discussed above, the Orthodox Jewish community evinced no such motivation. Perhaps this has held JE back from consideration of its rightful place in the family of languages.

Gold's (1985) great importance to this review of the literature lies in his distinction between conscious and unconscious calibration in the fusion of JE. Therefore, Gold quotes Fishman's rhetorical question, "Is it possible that a JL is being born before our very eyes but that few are aware of it?" (Fishman 1985:19 as quoted in Gold 1985)

### 1.2.4.3 Benor's perspective of JLV

Benor (2008) provides four frames of reference through which one can clearly position JLV or JL as a JL:

### 1.2.4.3.1 What constitutes a JL

Here, Benor (2009) challenges certain past stipulations which determined such criteria. One of these is that written JL must use Hebrew characters, citing Fishman who argues that these definitions "are intellectually impoverishing at the very least since they obscure more variance than they explain. Above all they force premature conclusions on the sociology of JLs" (1985b: 7). This focus on the types of characters used in writing ignores the most basic aspect of language, namely face-to-face communication, causing research to lean towards historical JL.

Some academics like Gold (1985) argue for a broader definition of what constitutes a JL. He maintains that a JL is one that furnishes Jewish users with a means to express all he or she needs to express in a language. Rabin (1981) defines a JL as where one uses diglossia with Hebrew and Aramaic, where use of Hebrew letters is optional. Fishman's (1985) detailed description defines a JL as any language that is phonologically, morpho-syntactically, lexico-semantically or orthographically different from that of non-Jewish sociocultural networks; and has a unique function that can be clearly shown as playing a role in the repertoire of a Jewish sociocultural

network. What divides it from the non-JL is that the function is not normatively present in the role-repertoire of non-Jews and not normally used by them.

### 1.2.4.3.2 The difficulty of distinguishing between a language and a dialect

The question often arises as to whether a Jewish community is speaking a separate JL or merely speaking a dialect of the local language. Benor (2009) is of the opinion that this question is central to the field and could significantly change the scope of research. Researchers have tended to make judgments about whether a given way of speaking constitutes a separate JL. She cites Mieses (1931, cited in Benor 2008) who argues for the uniqueness of Yiddish back through to the days when Yiddish was considered only a composite dialect by some. He posits that Judezmo and Judeo-Arabic are not distinct enough from Spanish and Arabic to be considered separate languages, though this standpoint has been countered since with regards to all three of these JL's. Indeed, Weinreich (1980: 62) states that because Yavanic (Judeo-Greek) has systemized variations from Greek: "It is necessary to speak of a separate language of Jews, however similar to Greek." In addition, Baumgarten (2003: 26) discusses the transition of any Jewish communities' speech from dialect to language.

Benor (2009) points out the fact that it is well known in the field of linguistics that "the designation of a given language variety as a language or a dialect is bound up with socio-political forces." Gumperz (1982) provides examples of such cases from India where Hindi and Urdu are considered as distinct languages. Kechwa and Aimara in Peru and Bolivia are also considered separate and discrete languages even though they are almost identical on the level of grammar. On the opposite end of the spectrum are literary and colloquial forms of Arabic used in Iraq, Morocco and Egypt, which are grammatically quite separate yet are all considered only one language.

Benor further explains that linguistic criteria cannot be used to distinguish between language and dialect, and that judgments of mutual intelligibility are relative and connected to social factors. Even socio-political criteria like political autonomy or the presence of an army or navy in an area do not accurately predict whether two varieties are considered dialects or separate languages.

Previous work on JLs has recognized this problem and offered two solutions: First, noting that the term "Jewish language" refers to both languages and dialects (Fishman 1985b; Bar-Asher 2002), and second, replacing the terms "Jewish language" and "Jewish dialect" with umbrella terms like "Jewish language variety", "Jewish religiolect" or "Jewish lect" (Gold 1981a; Gold and Prager 1981-1987; Benor 2008: 1067). Finally, Benor cites Prager (1986) to the effect that the objects of enquiry are ranged on a continuum and so they speak of lects which are not arranged in any rank of preference.

### 1.2.4.3.3 Attempts to define a JL which ignore inter- and intra-speaker variation

Benor (2009) states that the view of modern sociolinguistics insists that there be variation in language. This is central to the use itself and it is clear that in any given speech community, different people are going to speak differently in different situations. This condition increases exponentially in a multilingual community, as was the norm for much of Jewish history. This implies that any given Jewish community has 'a language' or a 'lect' that differs from 'the language' spoken by their non-Jewish neighbours and that all the Jews in that community speak that language as well.
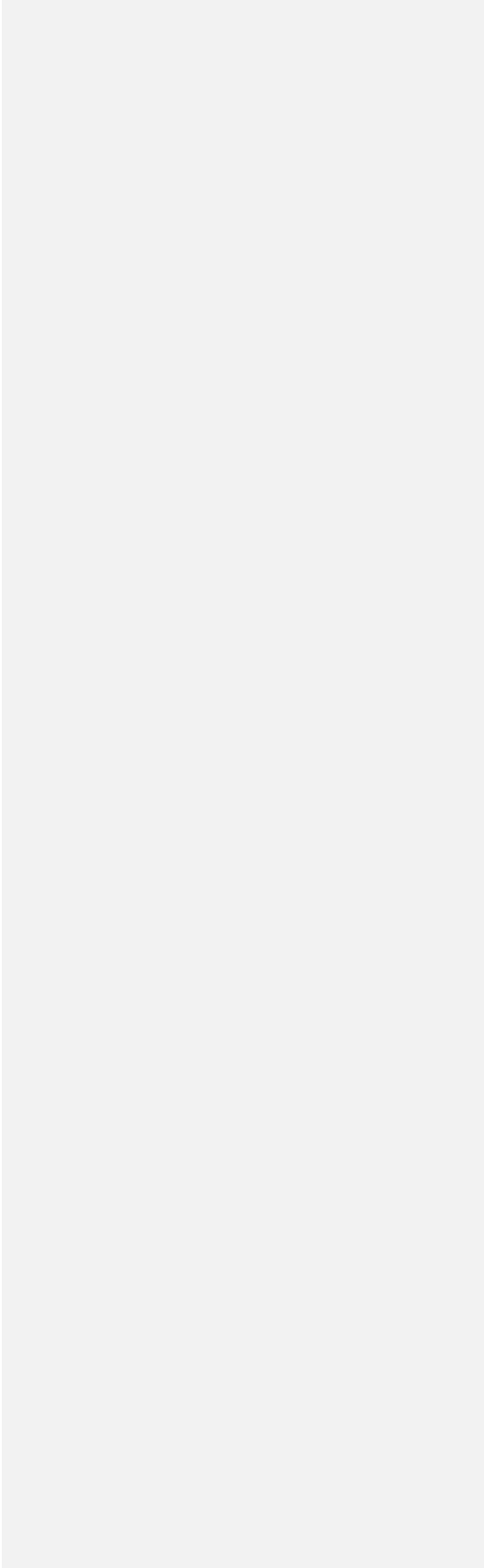
### 1.2.4.3.4 The usage of the Jewish Language by non-Jews and the possible consequence of its lack of uniqueness

Benor (2009) disagrees with the idea that the apparent lack of uniqueness caused by non-Jews' use of JL poses a threat to its definition as a separate language. She explains that certain groups of Christians, Muslims or Hindus who have close social or economic ties with Jews may learn their languages. She cites the case of early modern Thessaloniki where Greek was the main language. However, the high concentration of Jews in commerce caused Judezmo to become a major trade language. This also happened with Yiddish in Eastern Europe. There are, on occasion, Christians working in close proximity with Jews who pick up Yiddish as an L2. It hardly seems logical that these examples mean Yiddish and Judezmo should no longer be seen as JLs.

Additionally, a number of Hebrew-based words that have become widely used outside of Jewish communities come directly from JLs. Dutch speakers of all denominations refer to Amsterdam as '*Mokem*' from the Hebrew or Yiddish word for 'place', and American non-Jews use a wealth of Yiddish words like '*klutz/schmooze/shpiel/shlep*'. (log [an idiot], dirt, sheep, to carry) Hary and Wein (2005, cited in Benor 2009) suggest replacing 'Jewish language' with 'Jewish defined language' which allows for non-Jews' use of language that was once considered distinctly Jewish.

Benor (2009) proposes a new theoretical construct in order to find a solution to all the four problems and calls this new construct: The Distinctively Jewish Language Repertoire. She defines this as the linguistic features Jews may access that distinguishes their speech or writing from that of local non-Jews. This repertoire could be limited to the addition of a few words from Hebrew or another language to an extensive and different grammar and lexicon. Benor (2009: 1068) states that "Jews in any given time and place make selective use of their distinctive repertoire in combination with the repertoires used by non-Jews as they construct their identities." This notion allows us to see beyond the speech and writing used in any given Jewish community as a bounded system. Rather, it renders the controversy over language vs. dialect as irrelevant and allows the use of more or less distinct language by any Jew or non-Jew.

Based on a large-scale survey, this paper contends that the speech of American Jews should be analyzed as a language and not as a separate ethnolect or language variety; as English with a repertoire of distinctive linguistic features stemming from Yiddish, Hebrew, Aramaic and other sources. This repertoire of linguistic features is used by Jews according to their identities as Jews, and as types of Jews. Each different sect and type of Jew, as distinguished by a myriad of factors, uses a different form of JE. According to Benor (2010: 2), "the term represents a vast linguistic entity that is based in English, with additions of Hebrew, Yiddish and Aramaic". She further states that Jews' use of linguistic features correlates with several factors: age, generation from immigration, languages spoken by ancestors, religious observance,

traditional learnedness, social networks, and denominational affiliation (especially whether they are Orthodox)".

# Chapter 2: Preliminary summary of in-group behavior

## 2.1 Chabad origin

The origin of the Chabad-Lubavitch *Hasidim* (adherents to Hasidism) is Lubavitch, Belorussia. Chabad-lubavitch Hasidism is an influential mystical Jewish movement established during the eighteenth century. The movement was organized as a community which is centered around and led by their highly respected rabbi, who is generally known by the name of the town which he came from (Jochnowitz 1968: 182).In the 1940s and early 1950s, most of the Lubavitchers immigrated to Brooklyn, New York to the neighborhood of Crown Heights as they escaped or left Eastern Europe. The majority came from the Soviet Union during and after WW2. The language of the community is the Northeastern (Lithuanian-Belarusian) dialect of Yiddish. According to Jochnowitz (1968), the Yiddish of the non-Hasidic and nonreligious Jews in Brooklyn rapidly receded after the first generation in America. However, the Lubavitchers have purposefully segregated their community, having independent schooling systems, preferring to speak Yiddish rather than the co-territorial language, the NE. This linguistic norm of communication was and is possible due to the importance they attribute to Yiddish as a fundamental factor in assuring the preservation of their values. "The Lubavitchers devote a great deal of energy to pursuing their religious training". Unlike the women, "the men in the community continue to study religious subjects in depth all their lives" (Jochnowitz, 1968: 185).

Jochnowitz argues that the education of the boys is more religiously oriented than that of the girls. Despite the fact that as the boys grow older their NE becomes better, they still have trouble in English (1968: 200). Therefore, he claims that the girls prefer to speak English while the boys prefer Yiddish. He concludes that "since religion is the central fact in Lubavitch life, and that the education and discussion is exclusively in Yiddish, the Lubavitchers will remain a bilingual community" in the future (1968: 200).

## 2.2 Chabad: philosophy, ideology and background of the emissaries

In this section, a brief explanation about the emissaries' origins, beliefs, spiritual and practical purposes, ideologies and philosophies will be provided in order to analyze their need to reach out to different communities in general, and to the university students in campuses, in the United States in particular. Consequently, their linguistic production will be examined in depth. Therefore, the paper will begin with a description of their beliefs and ideology, and subsequently there will be a description of the emissaries with regard to their linguistic production as a of communicating the outreach emissaries' outlooks and world views based on the foundations of the beliefs of Chabad Chassidism, and thus catering to the very specific stream of Orthodox Judaism – that of Chabad Chassidism. In accordance with historians, philosophers and authors (Tzeitlin 1957, 1920[in Green, 2012]; Shteinman 1983; Kahana 1978; Alfasi 1974) who have found the positive attributes and the benefits of the Chassidic ideology and its message, Buber (1957, 1958) draws a similarity between Chassidic belief and mysticism. There are five basic beliefs that define the essence of Chabad thought. They are defined in this research, in this section, and are based on quotes from Chassidic literature.

1. In the time of the Baal Shem Tov, the world was in a state of fainting, and through the self-revelation of the Baal Shem Tov and the teachings of Chassidism, the world was awakened from its state of faintness (Ancient Chassidic Writings); At the time of the inception of the Chassidic movement, which was founded by the Baal Shem Tov, the general Jewish community was in a state of despair, as a result of constant persecution and a lack of sufficient, proper Jewish education. Chassidism spread the message that G-d, holiness and goodness fills the whole world, and every Jew, no matter how simple or unlearned, has the potential to tap into his natural faith in G-d and strengthen himself through love and encouragement of his fellow Jew.

These teachings saved the crumbling Jewish community of the past, strengthening them through the difficult times in Soviet Russia and in communist USSR, and in modern day history, Chassidism saves the Jewish community from the present-day crisis – that of assimilation. Through its attempts to encourage every Jew to reveal the powers of his Jewish soul, Chassidism helps the Jewish nation confront and survive difficult challenges through deep, strengthened belief in G-d.

2. A Chassid is one who acts beyond the measure of the law (Rebbe Rashab 1912). Who is a Chassid? One who does goodness with his Creator (Zohar).

   The inner meaning of Chassidism is the readiness to act beyond the measure of the law, instead of sufficing with the bare minimum of Jewish law. All of his actions are for the sake of Heaven – he studies the Torah in order to connect his soul to G-d, keep the commandments, and cleave to his Creator. He also acts as he knows G-d would want him to – in a way that demonstrates love for His nation, the Jewish people. The Chassid acts with love towards his fellow Jews, taking every opportunity to reach out to them to assist them in their physical needs, and in their spiritual needs, encouraging them to fulfill G-d's will. He is even willing to endure any harm brought to him in the process, and to act with self-sacrifice, to accomplish these goals.

3. The greatness of Chassidism is that through it, natural strengths become G-dly (Rebbe Rashab 1912). The entire goal of Chassidism is to change the natural tendencies within a person (Likkutei Dibburim) not only to change his natural characteristics, but to change the nature of the characteristics. Chassidism also teaches the importance of self-improvement and confrontation with the inner, negative characteristics with which a person is naturally born. Domination of the negative inclination and its transformation are the two methods by which a Chassid becomes a more refined and G-dly person.

4. The teachings of Chassidism developed the idea that every person, regardless of the level of the source of his soul and the extent to which he has purified himself, is capable of perceiving G-dliness (Toras Shalom).

The true strength of Chassidism is mainly seen in its recognition of the power of the human intellect to perceive and understand G-dliness. Previously, the intellect was seen merely as a tool in the process of the soul's purification due to the fact that understanding the infinity of G-d's nature leads a person to nullification of his physical nature; Chassidism introduced the belief that understanding G-dliness is a step leading to the final redemption when the whole world will see and understand G-dliness. Chassidism taught that the knowledge of G-dliness, in and of itself, is a commandment of the Torah, and every Jew is commanded in this special obligation and therefore capable of performing it. Chassidism encourages understanding the inner meaning and reason for the commandments, injecting life and enthusiasm into the life of the Torah-Jew.

5. Chassidism is the revelation of the infinity of G-dliness that is hidden within the Torah (Toras Chassidism). Chassidism teaches that beyond the fact that the Torah enables a person to achieve positive and G-dly characteristics, the Torah is the very word of G-d, and this is the essence of the Torah; only as a result of this intrinsic, vital fact do all of these characteristics exist. This doctrine is the main point of the Chassidic teachings – to reveal the G-dliness that is the Torah. Through this basic foundation, all its other teachings exist in all their strength, for revealing the G-dliness in the Torah reveals the G-dliness within the Jew.

Chabad Chassidism is a specific stream of the Chassidic movement, and was started by Rabbi Shneur Zalman of Liadi (author of the famous book of the foundations of Chabad-Chassidism, entitled Tanya) in the early 1800s, and broadened his focus on the belief in G-d to include a special focus on understanding G-d.

Hence, the unique emphasis Chabad-Chassidism places on the value of Jewish education – education of oneself and of one's fellow Jews in the teachings of the Torah and a value system that is respected and noted world-wide for its dedication to education. Atex (1991) criticizes the critical researchers of Chassidism and says that historians who criticize Chassidism, such as the Jewish historians Heinrich Graetz

(1817-1891, Poland- Germany) and Simon Dubnov (11860-1941, latvia), who judge these beliefs through the lenses of prejudice and personal subjectivity, are completely mistaken in their claims. A true historian who searches for the details of a phenomenon, who attempts to illuminate and interpret a spiritual, religious belief system such as that of Chassidim, should make the effort to accept the truth from the views of the followers of Chassidism, instead of impressing their own opinions on existing facts.

The world, therefore, holds a general admiration for Chabad Chassidism as it holds an open-door policy to all Jewry, reaching out to any Jew who is searching for the true Jewish way of life. Dinur (1955) discusses in his remarks about the foundational social aspects of Chabad Chassidism ts readiness to reach out to Jewish communities all over the world. The Lubavitcher Rebbe, the leader of the Chabad movement, instructed the emissaries of Chabad to dedicate themselves to reaching out to every Jew, even to those in remote recesses of the globe, and to illuminating their soul spiritually and providing them with what they need, even materialistically.

## 2.3 Mission and emissaries

The mission that the Lubavitcher Rebbe entrusted his emissaries with is to "reach every Jew in the world" (Fishkoff 2003: 12). These emissaries go out, "leave their comfortable home and families", and set up a new life in a remote corner of the world, just so that they will be able to be there to help their fellow Jew, spiritually or physically. The mission for outreach began in the 1940s, and was founded by the sixth Lubavitcher Rebbe (1880-1950). He had sent out emissaries to Morocco as one of his first actions as Rebbe. However, his focus was on *Yeshivot* (higher educational institutions where only theological sources, accompanied by commentaries, are taught, in Hebrew and Aramaic only) (Miller 2014), rather than on outreach. It was the Lubavitcher Rebbe who shifted the focus of Chabad to outreach. The Seventh Rebbe is the reason that the huge presence the emissaries now have exists in the world, despite not having started the "revolution" (Miller 2014).

The Rebbe would continuously urge his followers to go out as emissaries. They would be expected to leave their homes, not for a year or two, but for life, and set up a new community in the place they were sent to, with no financial support other than what they can conjure up for themselves (Fishkoff 2003). He would correspond with them intimately, giving them advice and support, and be involved in their programs and functions. The emissaries felt the Rebbe's presence with them, giving them strength and guidance to do his will, wherever they were.

The Rebbe also sent lots of emissaries to reach out to Jewish university students, and thus began Chabad's presence on campus (Rosen 2016). In the 60s through to the 80s, university students were seeking spirituality, and very open to experimentation, as opposed to previous generations, who were flooded with propaganda, and restricted in their philosophies (Ellie Weisel 1983; Fishkoff 2003). They rebelled against social conventions and the fake morality they perceived in their society. The Chabad emissaries filled a need they had, to find truth, meaning, and purpose, and as the Rebbe wanted, brought them closer to an observant Jewish lifestyle (Fishkoff). Now, there are countless Chabad on Campus emissaries, all over America and other countries around the world.

Fishkoff (2003) describes an interesting social paradox, in which the emissary leaves his ultra-observant community for a foreign setting, full of ignorant and unorthodox people, whom they are expected to build a community out of. Under normal circumstances, the outcome would be that the emissaries, usually young couples with no social support on the campus to help them start up, would adapt to the way of life predominant on campus, the unobservant one. Yet a social phenomenon occurs in which instead of the emissaries adapting to the campus social norms, they create a community of university students who begin to act more observantly, and the emissaries only grow more observant themselves.

The Chabad on Campus emissaries have a very important role. The Hertog Study of Chabad on Campus (2016) studied 22 Chabad on Campus centers, and collected survey data from over 2400 alumni. They found that association with these centres greatly affected a university student's post-college life in many significant

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ways. The study stated that "Post-college impact of involvement with Chabad during college is pervasive, affecting a broad range of Jewish attitudes and behaviors. These include religious beliefs and practices, Jewish friendships, Jewish community involvement, Jewish learning, dating and marriage, emotional attachment to Israel, and the importance of being Jewish" ( Rosen 2016: 79f.). Ultimately, they found that the degree to which a student is involved with Chabad during their college/university education has a direct impact on the degree of their Judaism.

In her book, Fishkoff (2013) goes into great detail to describe the actions of the emissaries. They would typically focus their efforts on providing the college students with a Jewish '*Shabbat*' experience, complete with traditional foods and rituals. They do their best to make the students feel welcome in their own homes, and, as all Chabad emissaries do, reach out to the Jews in their area to provide them with their needs, especially their spiritual needs.

This results in a close-knit community and a different, more spiritually-fulfilled and religiously observant university experience for the students. It has a strong impact on the rest of their lives, and some students even become fully observant (Fishkoff 2003). A 2013 article by Levy-Holt talks about how it has become common for Chabad on Campus student associates to change their lifestyles so radically that they come back on campus as emissaries themselves.

Fishkoff (2003) describes some characteristics that most Chabad on Campus emissaries have in common. They tend to be idealistic, firm in their religious beliefs, and full of energy. They are outgoing and friendly, and they create a warm and welcoming home away from home. They are patient and persistent, and they have an "undying optimism" (203: 105). Yet they all tend to attribute their success not to their own characteristics, skills or achievements, but to the strength they receive from the Chabad Rebbe to do as he demanded.

Since 1950 up to nowadays, there are more than 4900 emissaries who are scattered across the globe. In fact, the actual number of emissaries is much higher, since emissaries are all married, and therefore their spouse must also be counted; even

their children serve as role models. There are over 3500 Chabad centers in 100 countries.

## 2.4 In-group linguistic behavior

Until now, the emissaries' background, ideology and philosophy has been discussed. Following this is an attempt to perceive the linguistic background of the emissaries, the linguistic complexity of usage, and its circumstances. The findings of this investigation will shed light on the emissaries' linguistic behavior when they are uprooted to their mission. They have been extracted from interviews with the head of the *Yeshiva* (the principal who is responsible for the schools in Crown Heights), and with the head of the emissaries and of the community. In addition, excerpts of conversations between in-group members were also used to showcase the emissaries' linguistic in-group behavior.

### 2.4.1 The linguistic characteristics of the participants of this research.

It is necessary to comprehend the linguistic behavior of the Ultra-orthodox Chabad-Lubavitch emissaries when communicating with the secular Jewish American students (their interlocutors) in American university campuses. In order to do so, it is essential to proceed with a discussion of their speech. Specifically, it is crucial to fully perceive the linguistic background and the in-group production of these unique speakers, before going out on their mission, while out, when conversing with in-group people, and when conversing with their interlocutors.

Therefore, the first objective of this research, which is a prerequisite for perceiving this linguistic behavior, is an attempt to describe and analyze the common linguistic process the speakers might go through. The second is a discussion of the various perspectives used to evaluate the 'code', the code/language mixing (CM/LM) and the code switching (CS). Suggesting an explanation of the linguistic behavior of the main speakers of this study will lead this research to its main research question, which will be dealt with in Chapter 3.

**2.4.2 The proto languages spoken by the Chabad Lubavitch speakers in N.Y.**

<u>Description</u>

The participants of this research are extreme ultra-orthodox Jewish males whose ages range from 25 to 85. The participants' parents are first or second generation immigrants, Chabad-Lubavitch Hassidim living in Brooklyn N.Y. whose origin is Eastern Europe.

Yiddish is the L1 for most of the speakers, although mixed with Hebrew and Aramaic concepts. Despite speaking JL on a daily basis, they will ultimately speak Yiddish to their own children. This language has a very high and prestigious standing among this ethnic group, which derives from ideological interests (Weiser 1995: xii). It ultimately reflects their social identity (Auer 2004). At first, the child may be solely exposed to Yiddish, however, when attending preschool, the child of the speakers is likely to receive an exposure to the spoken (only) JL. These Jews are bilingual, or multilingual.

In order to understand the linguistic behaviour of the participants in this research, a particular description of the method in which the participants utilized the language must be outlined. There are three distinct modes of communication that the speakers employ, according to their utility in a given circumstance:

1. Within the Ultra-Orthodox schooling system and for religious contexts and services

In a scholastic setting, they are strictly required to use only the above-mentioned three languages, since the classes they attend, from youth until maturity, are held in them. The texts that they study are only in Hebrew and Aramaic, and therefore they automatically gain fluency in these languages. They are taught to write using Hebrew characters only, to the exclusion of English, in which they were never formally instructed, and the only discourse occurs in Hebrew and Yiddish.

2. In casual speech, amongst themselves

They speak JLV between themselves. That is to say, they speak a dialect of English which includes within it a mixture of a limited spoken NE, Ashkenazi Hebrew, Aramaic and Yiddish.

3.  When interacting with the general population.

Whenever they converse with non-Jewish people, they automatically make the effort to revert to NE, in order to linguistically adapt to the local population, thus fulfilling their mundane needs.

They use Yiddish, Aramaic and Hebrew for cultural, scholastic and religious purposes, and have a need for proficiency in all the domains of these languages. This linguistic constellation is a constant, and has never changed.

<u>The language usage</u>

The speakers' mother tongue is Yiddish (Steimmetz 2001). They are also proficient in Rabbinical Hebrew, which includes specific Aramaic formulations. In addition, they speak NE at a later stage, in order to communicate and negotiate with the wider population.

Regarding code switching/mixing, there is very little, if any, fusion between these languages, because they are used for different and specific purposes that do not often overlap. It is clear to the speakers when to use which code, as they are each used in different and specific circumstances. As mentioned above, in a school setting, or during a religious service, there is consistently strict sole usage of YHAr. Additionally, the third mode of communication outlined above has consistent rules regarding the speakers' production. They speak NE only to non-Jewish interlocutors. However, regarding the second mode (in casual speech, amongst themselves), there is less clarity in terms of determining when each language is used. This study delves into this point and investigates the linguistic production of the speakers, thus extrapolating the universal behaviour of similar code switchers and mixers all over the globe, leading to a better understanding of the universal phenomena of CS and CM.

### 2.4.3 In-group linguistic production

The participants of this research, the emissaries, represent the general speech of the Ultra-Orthodox Lubavitch community in Brooklyn, NY. Typically, after their preschool years when they speak only Yiddish and use Hebrew names for concepts, they gradually and naturally acquire the local dialect spoken in the community. This is a mixing of basic NE, Hebrew, Yiddish and Aramaic. They tend to tag switch mostly in Hebrew and Yiddish, and smoothly switch from one language to the other.

### 2.4.4 Societal bilingualism

This community has the property of 'societal bilingualism'. Bilingualism or multilingualism can be divided into two broad categories: state and community. The participants arguably have "community bilingualism" and not "state bilingualism" (Sebba 2010). Dealing with a community as a whole, there may exist within the Chabad Lubavitch population in Brooklyn NY. individuals who are completely monolingual and only Yiddish-speaking, or fully fluent in and using two languages or more with the possibility of having different levels of active (productive) and passive (receptive) knowledge of the language. Needless to say, in language competence, pattern of language use and preferences, differences will be found among individuals.

### 2.4.5 Diglossia

Assessing the linguistic behavior of the Chabad Hassidim as diglossic is partially possible. Ferguson (1959), whose original description of diglossia referred to a very specific type of bilingualism or bidialectalism, claims that this linguistic phenomenon is a particular speech community used by two related language varieties for different purposes. One variety would be used for formal and prestigious goals and the other variety would be used for informal purposes. He calls them High (H) and Low (L) varieties: "Thus while the speakers would regard both varieties as in some sense 'the same language', the two would in practice be sharply differentiated in terms of their prestige and their functions" (Sebba 2010: 450). Regarding Ferguson's notions

regarding High and Low language varieties used for formal and informal episodes, the population investigated neither consider the NE as the prestigious language, nor do they assess the Yiddish, Hebrew and Aramaic (YHAr), JLV i.e. the mixture of basic NE+ YHAr as a low variety. Therefore, they do not necessarily use NE for formal purposes, or YHAr/ JLV for informal functions. These notions of H and L varieties are less relevant to the participants' community. This population, which is a distinctive minority in New York, use NE for formal and informal functions in their state dealings, such as for financial affairs signing a contract with non Jewish speakers or a simple pleasant chatter with a local grocer, and also use YHAr/ JLV for formal and informal purposes, such as for their unique theological-religious education and service or an homely intimate conversations. Therefore, it is clear that the participants' speech is incompatible with Ferguson's categorization.

However, Fishman's (1967) extended notion of diglossia is more relevant to this research. Fishman argues that H and L should not be related varieties of one language but could be two dissimilar languages, as long as they are used for non-overlapping sets of functions. Therefore, it can occur with "any community diglossic in case there are at least two functionally-differentiated stylistic registers, dialects, or languages" (Fishman 1972: 92, as cited in Sebba 2010: 450). Concerning this research, functionally-differentiated languages and dialects definitely occur. The linguistic production used for different purposes would never functionally overlap. No ultra-orthodox Lubavitch Hassid would ever consciously utter any lexeme in JL (Hebrew, Aramaic or Yiddish lexemes) when conversing with a clerk in the bank. Additionally, no speaker from this community would utter a 'holy' concept for sanctity purposes using its equivalent in NE (even if it has an exact equivalent in NE). Therefore, while there exist no H and L within one variety in the participants' speech, such categorization does occur within the two or more separate varieties that they use.

### 2.4.6 Grammar

The grammar used by Jews when mixing their codes with NE and JLs is seemingly or even essentially similar to the colloquial American English speakers. However, it has

been found that the UO Chabad people, as well as other UO sects in Brooklyn, frequently, systematically and automatically deviate from the grammatical rules of Standard English in all parts of speech (Weiser 1995: 23).

As for nouns, the UO speakers may utter either the abstracts or concrete Ns with or without articles (a profound discussion appeared in the chapter dealing with typological differences (see chapter 5). In addition, in most frequencies, the UO speakers create their plural forms by affixing a terminal 's'. However, among these speakers, two types of writing plural code switched lexemes have been found, especially the lexemes that belong to the semantic field of studying Talmud, such as: the "Madreiga" will be "madreigas" (stage), which is a deviation from the bound morpheme constraints (Poplack 1985). However, "Siman" (sign) uttered as "Simanim" (signs) is frequently used as well, whereby its affix is used according to Hebrew grammar (Wieser 1995:24)

As for verbs, UO inner speakers have borrowed a separate classification of verbs from Hebrew through Yiddish. Hebrew verbs have a unique inflection system, so it would be hard to translate them into another language, in this case, into English. The practical form for overcoming this challenge is the use of the verb "to be" as an auxiliary verb and to treat the verb as a participle. Typical use of this is illustrated by the following examples:

"He was *machshiv*" (He was listen) instead of "He was listening".

They will be *moide*", (They will be admit/thank [this lexeme has double meanings in Hebrew] instead of "They will be admitting/ thanking".

"He is *mishtasef*" ("He is participate") instead of "He is participating".

It seems that those speakers consider these verbs as verbs but use them as adjectives and as a result they have created a new part of speech called a Predicate Adjective with a parenthetical mark to indicate transitivity, for transitive and for intransitive.

Some more verbs are classified as PA such as the word "*makpid*" (to pay heed to something). This verb is translated as "careful". A frequent use of this verb integrated in a sentence is: "You should be more *makpid* to keep your room clean"

(Wiser 1995: 25). This linguistically creative usage probably derived from the Yiddish impact of the UO speakers who immigrated to America. In Yiddish, we have the use of Do *doaf zayin* (you should be).

For the use of adjectives, again, there are some consistent deviations from the Standard English grammar. In NE, the adjective may precede the noun. It modifies or complements the noun through a Copula. However, Wiser (1995) identified the different but regular use of these speakers, derived from Yiddish. There are many adjectives which require the suffix "e" to precede a noun, but require no affix as a Predicate Adjective, or Noun complement. Therefore, one can say "*a geshmake* apple" (a delicious apple) but proclaims, "The apple is *geshmak*" (The apple is delicious). Hence, the lexeme "*geshmak*" (without e) has two meanings as an N. and as an Adv., while its meaning as an adjective is listed under "*gesmake*".

As for Adverbs, NE allows its Adverbs the greatest freedom of movement. Similarly, the UO Chabad people as well as the other UO Jews of Brooklyn do not employ any distinctive linguistic usage regarding Adverbs.

Concerning Prepositions, It seems that the Ultra Orthodox Jewish (UOJ) used the a word from another language, i.e. the switcher, along with its original Prep. For example: "being meid on" is uttered in NE as "attesting to" or "*lachen* from" (yiddish) or "*tzoyxek* on" (Hebrew) is expressed in NE as laugh at.

### 2.4.7 Examples of informal conversations of in-group JLV

The examples below are three conversations between young pupils, young students and adults who are Ultra-Orthodox Lubavitch community members from Brooklyn, NY. In the examples, there are many cases of CS/CM, using NE, and lexemes and phrases from Hebrew, Yiddish and Aramaic, which are arguably under the umbrella of JLV.

The Yiddish words used are italicised, the Hebrew words are italicized and underlined, and the Aramaic words are in bold.

Example 1:

(An adult and young men conversing about a newborn celebration.)

1. M.: *Mazel tov, mazel tov*[6], I heard you have a *simche* in your *shtub, Zeyer Shein, zeyer shein*.

(Good luck, good luck, I heard you have a joy[7] in your house, very nice, very nice)

2. D.: *Yo, zicher*. My wife gave birth yesterday to a *tayere ingele*,

(Yes, sure. My wife gave birth yesterday to a precious child, in a good and auspicious time.)

3. M.: *Zog mir eppes*, when will you have the *sholem zucher*? Who will be the *mohel* and the *sandek*\*?

\*A Hebrew borrowing from ancient Latin and ancient Greek

(Tell me something, when will you have the 'Hello male'[8]? Who will be the circumciser and the carrier[9]?)

4. D: I don't know yet, I have to have **Siyata DiShmaya** but, *ich zog dir* the *emmes*, I don't know and I don't care…

(I don't know yet, I have to have faith in G-d but, I'll tell you the truth, I don't know and I don't care…)

5. M.: When is the *bris*[10], will *zain* on *tzait*??

(When is the ritual circumcision, will it be on time?)

6. Will you have a *Pidyon haben, eichet*? Will I *yoitze zain mit alle broches*?

(Will you have a redemption of the son[11], also? Will I be going out[12] with all the blessings?)

---

[6] Congratulations, congratulations

[7] joyous occasion

[8] ceremonial greeting of the male newborn; a religious ritual celebrating the birth of a son, on his first Sabbath

[9] ceremonial carrier of the newborn during the ritual

[10] short for "bris mila", the pledging of a covenant

7. A *groise yisshar koach* for telling me about the *simcha*, I hope you invite me to the *opshernish* to cut the *peyes*.

(A big straight strength[13] for telling me about the joy[14], I hope you invite me to the haircut[15] to cut the sidelocks.)

Example 2:

(Two young pupils talk about what they have learnt at their high school.)

8. Pupil 1: what is the *pshat* of the *shmus* the *Rebbe* mentioned?

(what is the simple explanation of the discourse the spiritual leader mentioned?)

9. Pupil 2: I can't remember. But it was *meyredic* and *geshmak*. I am telling you, a *gesmake* thing. Such a *geshmake zach*. Mamesh *pilei* ploaim

(I can't remember. But it was awesome and sensational. I am telling you, a sensational thing. Such a sensational thing. Really wonder of wonders)

10. Pupil 1: Do you know what is the *daf hayoymi* of today?

(Do you know what is the daily page[16] of today?)

11. Pupil 2: It was written there that: if you have *betachon* and a *griose betachon*, you will have a *sach* of *nachas* and tuv levav. *Iber*, if you are a *mara shchoredic mench*, you will lose everything.

(it was written there that: if you have trust, and a big trust, you will have a lot of satisfaction and good-heartedness. But, if you are a black gall[17] man, you will lose everything.)

---

[11] ritual redemption of the firstborn son enacted by a priest symbolically buying him

[12] term to describe being eligible

[13] a big well done

[14] joyous occasion

[15] ceremonial first haircut, at age 3,

[16] the daily page of Talmud that Global Jewry all simultaneously

12. Pupil 1: *Wilts komen tzun davenen* in the *shul*?

(Do you want to come to pray in the synagogue?)

13. Pupil 2: *Havade, Noch shabbes* I'll go to the bank, then to the <u>*shoychet*</u> and *shpeiter* to the *shul*. Don't worry, I will not miss **rayva de-rayvin**. The <u>*shekia*</u> is much later. Please wait for me after <u>*havdala*</u>.

(Sure, After Sabbath, I'll go to the bank, then to the butcher and later to the synagogue. Don't worry, I will not miss the will of wills[18]. The sunset is much later. Please wait for me after the separation[19].)

Pupil 1: *Gut shabbes un gut yomtef*

(Good Sabbath and good holiday)

14. Pupil 2: *Git shabbes un git yomtef.*

(Good Sabbath and good holiday)

<u>Example 3</u>

(Two males talk about a social- spiritual gathering they have undergone)

15. A: Have you seen the <u>*hanoche bilti mughe*</u> of the *Rebbe* for the *farbrengen*? Will I <u>*zoyche zaine*</u> to listen to the <u>*toychen*</u> of the <u>*maymar*</u>, please?

(Have you seen the unedited draft of the spiritual leader for the gathering[20]? Will I be winning to listen to the content of the discourse, please?)

16. B: No. The *Rebbe* has *fabrenged git*? What was the <u>*bechien*</u> of the <u>*sicha*</u>? Were you a <u>*kli*</u>?

(No. The spiritual leader has gathered[21] well? What was the 'and so'[22] of the discourse? Were you a vessel[23]?)

---

[17] pessimistic

[18] sabbath afternoon is considered the most holy and auspicious time, when G-dly inner will is revealed on earth

[19] ceremonial ritual done at the end of Sabbath

[20] gathering of Chabad Chassids for spiritual improvement

[21] lead the gathering

You *darf* do **hiskafia**, *veis vos*, **hishapcha** *eichet*.

(You must do stop[24], you know what, transformation[25] also.)

17. B: Come on, leave me alone. *Ich muz* have a <u>*yechidus mit*</u> the *Rebbe*. I will wait in <u>gan eden tachton</u> and then in <u>*gan eden elyon*</u>.

(Come on, leave me alone. I must have a singularity[26] with the spiritual leader. I'll wait in lower paradise[27] and then in upper paradise[28].)

18. A: The *Rebbe* <u>*shlita's*</u> <u>*bakasha nafshis*</u> was to have a <u>*mashpia un chaver yadid*</u> if you have a *kashe* or more <u>*heysberim*</u>.

(The spiritual leader ((acronym of: may he blessed with a long and good life))'s soul request was to have an influencer[29] and friend and fellow if you have a question and explanations.)

The above examples illustrate the unique and very normative colloquial unmarked linguistic production of the ultra- orthodox Jewish speakers who belong to the edge of the scale of Jewish society.

The study will now delineate the typical features of this linguistic behavior as follows, and will endeavour to establish their place within the scheme set forth by researchers to date.

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[22] moral

[23] open to the moral

[24] have self-discipline

[25] spiritual transformation

[26] private audience

[27] metaphor for the room of the spiritual leader's secretaries

[28] metaphor for the spiritual leader's office

[29] mentor

### 2.4.8 The near-consistent use of code mixing by in-group speakers

As Auer (1999) and Muskyen (2000) have explained, CM is the alternating use of two languages in similar proportions, when it is impossible to distinguish what the ML is. In this case, the in-group speech is characterized by their LM, as it is hard to determine which language, Hebrew, Yiddish, Aramaic or English is the dominant one. Their alternational as well as insertional CM are uttered at intersentential and intrasentential levels.

This is shown in the above three dialogues, for example, in line number 1, "*Mazel tov, mazel tov*[30], I heard you have a *simche* in your *shtub*, *Zeyer Shein, zeyer shein*." There are four tag switches in this sentence: "*Mazel tov*", "*mazel tov*", "*Zeyer Shein*" and "*zeyer shein*", and these tag switches are themselves a mixture of Ashkenazic Hebrew and Yiddish. In the clause "I heard you have a simche in your *shtub*", the two non-English lexemes are also Hebrew and Yiddish equally. Only the subject, the verb and the determiners of this sentence are in NE.

In line number 2, also, there is an equal amount of both languages being uttered: "*Yo, zicher*. My wife gave birth yesterday to a *tayere ingele, besha toyva umutzlachas*." In this intrasentential example, there is an equal amount of Hebrew, Yiddish and English. Most other utterances in the above examples are characterized by the same features of speech, and therefore it is clear that when speaking amongst themselves, the participants of this study code mix.

The main finding of this research is the clear distinction between the in-group and out-group linguistic production of the participants. The distinction is that within the in-group, the participants mostly mix codes, whereas when communicating with out-group interlocutors, their tendency is to switch codes.

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[30] Congratulations, congratulations

### 2.4.9 Morphosyntactic differences

While analyzing the linguistic behavior of the speakers, it became clear that the CS/CM occurred between Semitic and (Indo-European) Germanic languages, and therefore the convergence of these languages naturally develops linguistic issues. Hebrew and Aramaic are Semitic languages whose grammar and syntax is different from English. Additionally, Yiddish is also an independent language whose lexemes are a mixture of several languages, though it adopts German syntax, and therefore the morpho-syntactic differences are salient. One example is seen in the first dialogue, line number 6: "Will I *yoitze zain mit alle broches*?" Yet another example is found in the third dialogue, line 16, when the young man asks: "Will I *zoyche zaine* to listen to the *toiychen* of the *maymar*, please?"

There is a difference of syntax between the converging Hebrew and Yiddish and the English. In both examples there is a switching within a switching, i.e. 'doubled layers of switching'. According to the correct NE grammar and syntax, the utterance should have been: will I win to listen to the *toychen* of the "*maymar*", please?", rather than "will I be winning...?" The use of the future inflective form is the correct way of uttering this interrogative utterance. However, in this question, there is a violation of the English grammatical inflection and the utterance is "will I *zoyche zaine*"- (is winning, [in present progressive]) to…. This is a complexity within a complexity, since the violation of the English rule derives from the violation of the Yiddish rule. The lexeme '*Zoyche*' is a Hebrew switch integrated in Yiddish. And in Yiddish, per se, it is the norm although it violates the original German syntax. The same applies to the example in line number 6, which is also a mistake in the Yiddish affecting the NE syntax.

Another typical example for illustrating the syntactic gap is "The *Rebbe shlita's bakasha nafstit*". The order of a correct utterance in NE is : Art. (the)+SP (Rebbe Shlita)+clictic('s) object phrase (*nafshit bakasha*). However, the utterance appears in a different order. The construct state *'bakasha nafshit'* is located according to the Hebrew syntax and not according to the English syntax. In English, the adjective

precedes the Noun, unlike in Hebrew, where the Noun is located first and the adjective comes afterwards.

### 2.4.10 Default use and no equivalents

The lexical repertoire unanimously used by Jews is an exclusive preference of particular lexemes uttered in Yiddish or Hebrew only, and certain words outside of this repertoire will never be considered or used. These lexemes do not have equivalents in any other language, or the translations are insufficient and do not correlate with the Hebrew or Yiddish words, which are full of sub-spoken nuances and connotations. Therefore, no YHAr/ JLV ultra-orthodox speaker, young or old, uneducated or highly educated, will ever use any other lexeme, except for the authentic Yiddish or Hebrew term, concept, collocation, expression or proverb.

The dialogues presented above reflect the fact that throughout the code mixing, as well as the code switching, that occurred in these utterances, the speakers' linguistic production was natural, fluent and smooth. For example: The lexemes "*pshat*", "*yomtef*", "*mashpia*, "*bechein*", "*fabrengen*" and the construct states – the concepts such as "Bris", "*Pidion –haben*", and "**raiva deraivin**" etc., are the unmarked linguistic discourse of the in-group speakers and these lexemes have never and will never switch into NE or any other language. The non-existent probability of uttering the equivalent of any given Yiddish or Hebrew lexeme (HL) instead of these words will be marked and sound weird and unacceptable, and even incomprehensible, to most of the speakers.

### 2.4.11 Unmarked CM style

In Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model, she characterizes insertional CM as marked switches, which are uttered in order to mark that a linguistic irregularity has occurred due to social circumstances. Normally, switches are marked in order to draw attention, as a social tool of interaction, while unmarked lexemes are the regular and expected lexemes to be produced. Regarding the natural linguistic production of the specific ethnic group which the participants of this study originate from, the unique

CM of NE and Hebrew, Yiddish, Aramaic and the three combined (as some research defines this as JE or Yeshivish English), this specific way of speaking is unmarked. This collection of words constitutes the unmarked way of speaking. This mixing unmarked repertoire is the norm for the speakers. Conversely, when a member of this group uses an NE lexeme only, especially in reference to Jewish notions, the utterance will be marked, and will sound weird and dissonant.

### 2.4.12 The lack of intelligibility

The unintelligibility of the utterances is salient to the English normative speaker. No outsider has a chance of comprehending these discussions. The massive use of Yiddish, Aramaic and HLs, tag switches and intrasentential and intersentential phrases and expressions, prevent the NE speaker, the non-Jewish individual and the secular Jew (whose Jewish familiarity is limited or does not exist) from understanding. They consider it as a different code, and as inaccessible and incomprehensible to them. Thus, the use of CM to such a great extent causes the speakers to be unintelligible to the NE speaker.

### 2.4.13 Phonological differences

The phonological difference which exists among the extreme ultra-Orthodox Jewish speakers is one of the most salient findings of this research. The first and foremost phonological disparity is the unmarked massive, naturally and smoothly inserted/integrated Hebrew, Aramaic and Yiddish lexemes into the English frame, but uttered with an Eastern European intonation and accent. Explaining this phenomenon is likely to be simple. Since the particular Hebrew, Yiddish, and Aramaic terms and concepts do not exist in the English lexicon or will sound weird to these speakers, these lexemes are uttered in their original and authentic intonation. It is important to re-emphasize that since this ethnogroup is segregated, they have no need for NE, and consequently no NE linguistic development or phonological adaptation has occurred in the group.

Similar findings have been found by Benor (2004:147), who states that the Ultra-orthodox Lubavitch males from N.Y. constantly utter a soft T, which sounds more like the letter D, rather than the typical American stressed T.

Another phonological phenomenon has been found in the natural linguistic production of the in-group speakers, namely, adapting the Hebrew pronunciation of the Ashkenazic "*loshon hakodesh*" (the holy tongue) to the authentic Yiddish accent, including intonational derivatives. This can be seen in lines 14 and 15, which are both the same utterings, with differences in intonation only: "*Gut shabbes un gut yomtef*", and "*Git shabbes un git yomtef.*"

It is seen when investigating the linguistic production of in-group speech, that mixing occurs with greater frequency than switching, and that with the swift move from one language to another, the intonation and/or the pronunciation are also switched. A similar finding was found by Caccamo (1998), who also speaks about phonological and intonational switching. He claims that the switches made by bilingual speakers of Galizan Portuguese and Spanish were only slight changes in intonation and pronunciation. Therefore, due to these slight changes, he considered the two as one code with slight derivations rather than two separate codes. Hence, when encountering differences in pronunciations in the Yiddish such as the above-mentioned difference between "*Gut shabbes un gut yomtef*", and "*Git shabbes un git yomtef*", they are considered the same code with slight inner variances, rather than two different codes altogether (a code could be defined as a dialect or any other variety of vernacular, not necessarily a language) (Auer 1998, 2004, 2013). In addition, the differences stemmed from the two versions of Yiddish, the "German"source and the eastern European one (Weinrich [1953], 1958; Fliescher 2014; Wexsler 1991, 2002).

### 2.4.14 The unique Chabad speech

Another characteristic of the speakers is their specific speech. Typical Chabad speech is unique, with a specific, broader lexicon, which contains a whole set of culture-based words and phrases that are not familiar to Ultra-Orthodox Jewish non-Chabad

people. For example, as is seen in dialogue number 3, lines 16-19, "*hanoche bilti mughe*", "*farbrengen*", "*toychen*", "*maymar*", "*kli*", "*bechien*", "*sicha*", "**hiskafia**", "**hishapcha**", "*yechidus*", "*gan eden tachton*" and "*gan eden elyon*".

## 2.5 The speakers' motivation for CS and CM - as evidence of self-identity

"Social identity is clearly a useful mediating concept between language and social structure … Speaking a particular language is seen as an index of membership in a particular social group" (Auer 2004). Dealing with the UOJ-Chabad people in general as well as the emissaries/participants before going out to accomplish their mission, their unique linguistic production derives from their fundamental religious interest to preserve their "ancestry, culture, place of origin and race" (Auer 2004). Contrary to Auer (2004), who argues that language alternation could be a mere consequence of an attempt to add some "ethnic flavor" to the bilinguals migrants, the UOJ Chabad people as a "collectivity" (Auer 2004) relate to their identity as a significant elevated value. Therefore, their ideology is of maintaining segregation in all living domains and, specifically to this research, dealing with the linguistic domain, the language spoken by all using the switching and mixing style is called 'acts of identities' (Auer 2004).

According to Auer (2004), migration may jeopardize the identity of an ethnic group and thus two options are possible: migrants may switch national identity and become members of the receiving society by giving up their language, or they may maintain their identity by forming a 'language island' in order to be separated ideologically rather than geographically. Undoubtedly, following the Chabad people, it has been found that only the latter option is relevant. They have purposely developed a 'language island' in order to achieve their religious needs and values. Continuing Auer's line of thought, is that he assumes that as a matter of fact, two extreme linguistic situations could occur. The first is that language alternation can be "void of identity-relevant meaning" (Auer 2004) in some contexts, and the second is

that in other linguistic contexts, the linguistic production is "rich in the identity-work it accomplishes" (Auer 2004). In comparison to Auer's assumption, for the UOJ Chabad people, the second option is more relevant than the first one, although the first option could occur too.

## 2.6 The role of religion in language

It is important to note that the UOJ Chabad people regard the language they speak as a distinct manifestation of religious imperative based on the Old Testament and ancient commentary. As was written in the Midrash (MEXILTA, BO, PARASHA A) "... The Jews in Egypt engaged in no fewer than four practices that could have ensured their worthiness to be saved from bondage: they practiced no promiscuity, they spoke no spiteful gossip, they used uniquely Jewish names, they spoke a language of their own".

In addition, Weiser (1995) argues that "the Jews have always educated their children in the holy language of Hashem's (G-d) communication with the Jews, although history indicates that they have spoken almost all of the world's languages with excellent proficiency" (Weiser 1995: 11). Nonetheless, the Hebrew language is seen as the language of sanctity so that each and every lexeme has an elevated meaning beyond its mundane denotation. Therefore, considering and defining the '_Lashon Kodesh_' (the Holy language/ Hebrew) as the 'The Terminology of Holiness' , which is distinct from any other language, as Yiddish differs from German and Ladino differs from Spanish, the Jews insist upon using the JLs for the purposes of learning and Torah discourse (Weiser 1995: 13).

To conclude, since these speakers see the language they speak as a vehicle which serves their lifestyle, ideology and culture, and even completely affects their mundane and routine daily functioning, they do their best to preserve their unique speaking habits which are an amalgam of NE and the hybridity of Hebrew Aramaic and Yiddish.

## 2.7 The monolectal view of CS amongst the UOJ Chabad people

The current research has some similar characteristics to that of Meeuwis and Blommaert (1998), which might shed light on and achieve universal linguistic understanding of the existing linguistic behaviour of all of the bilinguals all over the globe. Their view endeavors to analyze a broader, more realistic and more pragmatic mode of linguistic use, by various minorities and/or populations which spontaneously speak a few languages naturally and fluently and on a regular basis.

They suggest that code switched speech can be "one code in its own right" (1998), which operates very much on its own and with a dynamic of its own. In addition, they claim that this code switched speech is unconnected and unconditioned by the full knowledge of two separate languages. Hence, speakers become monolingual in a mixed code.

Data from the questionnaires and interviews revealed that the competence of the UOJ Chabad speakers in NE is quite limited in an in-group linguistic context (that is, before going out on their mission). This applies to the UOJ Chabad speakers from when they are young and still learning in their segregated institutions, when their NE is nonexistent, until they leave their enclave to go on their missions. Thus, their mastery in NE is insufficient. In addition, their mastery in the JLs is also insufficient, since ultimately they are not acquired in the languages' countries of origin. According to the examples shown above, there are lexemes which they will use exclusively in Yiddish, or Hebrew or Aramaic, and they won't be able to use other JL equivalents.

However, the speakers still use this limited linguistic repertoire fluently and without any hesitation, since most of those who originate from Brooklyn, NY, don't know or have never thought of translating these lexemes into NE. Therefore, they have never and will never utter its equivalents in NE. This is de facto their monolectal mode of switching/mixing the codes they regularly speak. The following are examples for lexemes that will never be switched into NE: "_sholem zucher_", "mohel" and "_sandek_" (line 3), "_Bris_"(line 5), "_Pidion –haben_" (line 6), "**raiva deraivin**" and

"*havdala*" (line 13), and "**hiskafia**", "**hishapcha**", "*yechidus*", "*gan eden tachton*" and "*gan eden elyon*" (line 18).

Meeuwis and Blommaert (1998) argue that a more sophisticated use of code switching occurs naturally and regularly amongst various ethno-geographical bilinguals in many spots on the globe. They point out an interesting linguistic behavior which can be conceptualized as a 'layered code switching', i.e." "code switching within code switching in which there can be a linguistic situation where the various languages come in contact with each other".

This phenomenon occurs amongst UOJ Chabad people, similar to the linguistic complexity which occurs in Zahir, where Meeuwis and Blommaert conducted their research. The 'layered CS' phenomena occurs when the speakers switch from NE to a JL, which in itself may be a hybrid of several languages (Yiddish itself is a mixture of German lexemes, German grammar and syntax, and lexemes of Slavic, Hebrew and Aramaic origins. It is a hybrid of a hybrid). Therefore, the fluency and mutual understanding between the in-group speakers prove that this is the ultimate monolectal speech which is used by these bilinguals. Auer (2013) notes that it is sometimes CM that occurs within CS, rather that CS occurring within CS.

## 2.8 The status of the "language" spoken by Ultra-Orthodox Jews

The status of JLs spoken by Jews in Brooklyn is controversial. There are many different sects of Jews who live in America. They all have a different repertoire and lexicon. A spectrum of the frequency of the occurrence of JL in their speech exists, with the extremes being the non-affiliated Jews on one end, and the Ultra-Orthodox on the other. The secularized Jews are completely assimilated into the American lifestyle, schools and institutions, and therefore speak mostly NE, and therefore they tend to speak words from JLs more rarely. On the other hand, the Ultra-Orthodox grew up speaking these JLs exclusively, even on an institutionalized level, and speak only JLs amongst themselves, to the exclusion of English, and therefore use them

much more frequently in their speech when they do speak English. However, these JLs are not compatible with NE speakers, and therefore another language has emerged - JE, an evolving language, a dialect of vernacular. This distinction is where the controversy lies, and what makes the status of JE questionable and unclear.

Fishman (1985), Gold (1985) and Benor (2008) are the linguistic researchers involved in investigating the JL spoken by the Jewish immigrants to America within the last century. They attempt to validate that their dialect is in fact a language, although they shy away from establishing its recognition. Due to internal and external political factors, the JL has failed to be officially recognized, despite other languages that are less qualified being recognized as such.

### 2.8.1 Fishman's opinion

Fishman (1985:15) criticizes the fact that the process of recognizing the autonomy of the JLs is stricter when compared with the process of recognition employed with non-Jewish varieties. He brings the duo languages Dutch and Frisian as well as French and Occitan as examples of the fact that they are widely and readily recognized as two different languages. This is contrary to Yiddish and German, Judaism and Spanish. With these second two, the needed distinction is less certain, and consequently, lacks the extent of autonomy and standardization. He implies that the reasons for that lack of recognition and evaluation are probably more driven by the political rather than the factual.

He goes on to conclude that even the extreme position designating every Jewish variety as a language in its own right, contains the overt and covert assumption that each variety is merely a dialect of its non-Jewish "Co- Territorial correlate". Yet Fishman doubts the objective linguistic grounds for stating that JLs are dialects and not standard languages. Therefore, he argues that recognizing the language as a different language or as merely a dialect is subjective and changeable based on social –political interests and not necessarily purely objective linguistic goals (1985: 15).

Fishman's contention is that JLs typically have co-sanctity functions, usually in study and translation, which are broader and higher than the intimacy/vernacular

functions usually attributed to them. That is to say, JLs are commonly used in oral and written translation of sanctity functions which is indicative of their serving but non-autonomous status (Fishman 1985: 15). ''English as a JL is the most alarming of all'', he claims, and as a result is a threat to Yiddish and Hebrew. A further statement of his is that "English or some Jewish variant thereof is probably the most widespread JL of our time" (1985: 19).

His final resolution is the implication that a JL is evolving in current times: He asks, "Is It possible that a JL is being born before our very eyes but that few are aware of it?" With this sentence, Fishman aims to bring this notion to attention, thus implying that JLs are valid, existent and legitimate.

### 2.8.2 Gold's opinion

Gold, assured by Fishman's authority, backs him up when he defines a JL as "used by Jews and adequately organizes and expresses their Jewish experience. In certain cases one may consciously try to retain features from other languages … in order to impart a more Jewish character to the newly acquired language." (Gold 1985: 282)

He notes the fact that most English dictionaries ignore JL as a reference, despite their apparent use of glottonyms like Mexican Spanish, Brazilian Portuguese, and despite many of the changed and modified Hebrew and Yiddish words that have found their way into English language via JL. He claims that JL is an identity marker and a necessary component of any Anglophone Jewish community.

Gold's approach is that JE is progressing along the path taken by Black English and subsequent Black English studies. Gold draws a fascinating parallel between JE and BE, citing Smith, (1974). Both scholars note a language's initial lack of progress towards recognition, including hesitancy toward recognition as a linguistic variation along ethnic lines, and argue that both represent "debased dialects".

### 2.8.3 Benor's opinion

Benor argues that JL should be analyzed not as a separate ethnolect or language variety but as a language, like English, with a repertoire of distinctive linguistic

features stemming from Yiddish, Hebrew, Aramaic, and other sources. This is what differentiates her opinion from that of Fishman and Gold, who do see it as a separate language variety. She (2009) disagrees that the apparent lack of uniqueness caused by non-Jews' use of JL poses a threat to its definition as a separate language.

In her opinion, this JL repertoire could be limited to the addition of a few words from Hebrew or another language to an extensive and different grammar and lexicon. This is what happens to the lexicon of the participants in this study, when they converse with inigroup members. This is what could make their code a language, and not just an additional repertoire of Jewish words.

### 2.9 JL towards fused lects

According to Auer (1999), who claims that the main difference between Code Mixing and FL is grammatical, when Language A and language B become an FL, there is no room for variation in linguistic grammar and thatr a stabilization of function-form relationship is established. It could be suggested that somehow the JL - extremely intelligible, unique and consistently different in its grammatical use, mixing Hebrew, Yiddish, Aramaic and English, could be considered as nearly an FL, since the criteria needed to be included are found in this distinctive code. Auer (1999) argues that a continuum of language alternation phenomena spans out between the prototypes which are called CS. CM and FL.

After explaining CS and CM and their differences, an explanation of FLs in comparison to CM is needed. The main difference is a grammatical one: "On the surface, a FL may look similar to CM, but very often the difference becomes visible at a deeper grammatical level only" (Auer 1999: 321). He claims that unlike CM, which enables variation of use, in FLs the use of one"language" or the other for certain constituents is obligatory in FLs.Therefore, Auer states that when Language A and language B become an FL, there is no room for variation of linguistic grammar and stabilization of function-form relationship is established. He concludes that if there is no variation anymore in the use of grammar, simplification of use is achieved, since the alternatives are lost. As a result, the elements from lect A and Lect B are

fused and combined, and there is a development of a new structure identical neither to those of A nor B.

### 2.10 Gender differences

Relating to the gender issue, it is salient that the UOJ people's knowledge, accessibility and use of the Hebrew and Aramaic sources are different. While the males read and study these languages only, the females have a very limited exposure to them. According to Fleischer (2014: 251f.) and Timm (2005:11f.), it is because of the fact that in the past the boys in Western and Eastern Europe regularly attended traditional schools, the *Cheider* ,where the languages used for studying by the students and their teachers were only Yiddish Hebrew and Aramaic. In addition, the reading materials were from Hebrew and Aramaic books only. According to Fleischer (2014: 251f.) and Timm (2005:11f.) the boys and the girls didn't have equal access to Hebrew and Aramaic. The girls didn't learn while for the boys "learning Hebrew was at the very center" (2005: 12). Since the UO Chabad community is an ultra orthodox community, preserving the learning setting, habits and forms of the past, there is still the same linguistic gap between the boys' and girls' familiarity with the JLs. The boys are taught and learn in Hebrew Aramaic and Yiddish, while the girls use English as a language for scholastic and mundane purposes in their formal schooling system.

To sum up, this preliminary chapter has attempted to show the idiosyncratic characteristics of the in-group speakers. In addition, an endeavor to define the status of the JLV as a unique variety spoken among the ultra orthodox community in Brooklyn N. Y. in general, and by the UO Chabad people specifically, has also been summarised. The use of CM as a frequent linguistic strategy, rather than CS, has also been analyzed and illustrated.

In the next chapters, there will be an attempt to investigate the strategies used most frequently by the emissaries after uprooting themselves from their homes and taking upon themselves a new linguistic challenge.

# Chapter 3: Method

After tracing and analyzing the in-group linguistic behavior of the entire UOL population in Brooklyn, New York, where the emissaries (the participants of this research) come from, the aims of this study, the research question and hypotheses, and the independent and dependent variables will be presented. In addition, the participants, tools and procedure of this dissertation will also be dealt with.

## 3.1 The aims

The goal of this thesis is to explore the linguistic behavior of this ethnic population, its in-group behaviour, as a prerequisite for understanding its unique out-group characteristics. In addition, it aims to investigate the various strategies used by the emissaries before leaving to fulfill their mission, and throughout their mission. It attempts to explore how typological differences, directionality and domain will be employed when code switching. It also endeavors to find out the psycholinguistic-sociopragmatic motivations of the participants when code switching. Determining the competence of their out-group CS is also a goal of this study. Finally, it seeks to examine the compatibility of the specific linguistic production of this idiosyncratic population with other bilinguals in the world at large. It also strives to find out whether there is a congruence between the models and theories over the existing constraints when switching.

## 3.2 Research questions, hypotheses and variables

The following are the primary questions:

Which structural, psycholinguistic and sociopragmatic factors characterize the YHAr (Hebrew+Yiddish+Aramaic) / NE bilingual emissaries' CS?

In addition, which unique strategies are used by the emissaries when communicating with American Jewish secular students?

The following, more precise, questions are asked as well, and the following hypotheses are formulated:

1.  CS Domain: How do emissaries code-switch, and in what way? That is, inter-utterance, intra-utterance or cross-speaking?

    Hypothesis: CS will occur in all domains.

2.  CS directionality: In which direction will the emissaries code-switch, from YHAr to NE, or NE to YHAr?

Hypothesis: The emissaries will predominantly switch from NE to YHAr, due to the dominance of their YHAr.

3.  CS motivations: What were the motivating factors that determine when and how the emissaries code-switched? SP or PL? Was there a correlation between the directionality of the switch and the motivations for it?

Hypothesis: The emissaries who are more competent in their NE are expected to code-switch more for SP reasons, whereas emissaries whose language skills are lacking in NE would code-switch for PL reasons.

4.  Linguistic structures and constraints on CS:

Which structures prevail on emissaries' CS, and what syntactic constraints exist on emissaries' CS?

Hypothesis: The NP will be the most frequent CS structure, as well as sentences. PPs, AdvP, and Conjunctions are structures that would be switched less frequently. Furthermore, NE-YHAr emissaries' data will be examined according to the various theories that exist in this field.

5.  Typological differences between the languages:

How do typological differences between YHAr-NE affect CS? How do differences in the definiteness case, construct states and gender affect CS? Do emissaries switch nouns with the YHAr definite article or without it, and how do emissaries join a Hebrew construct state and gender suffix/prefix to an NE noun?

Hypothesis: Emissaries would tend to blend their CS into both typological structures, so that no dissonance would occur.

6. Which background variables predict CS and what variables have the ability to predict CS? How do the background variables affect the emissaries' CS? Was there a difference between what the emissaries reported and their actual use of CS?

Hypothesis: The variables do have a large impact on the emissaries' linguistic production and their tendency, or lack thereof, to code-switch.

7. What are the specific strategies of the emissaries' linguistic productions?

Hypothesis: The emissaries will use the strategy of simultaneous translation, will relate differently to different genders, and will select different sub-languages for different purposes (Yiddish, Hebrew or Aramaic lexemes).

Variables:

The independent variables are;

All the emissaries' origins are Brooklyn, New York, an ultra orthodox segregated enclave. (Their parents immigrated from Eastern Europe before or after WW2.)

All the participants have acquired their education in ultra orthodox institutions from preschool until formal graduation, age 23-25.

All the participants have never learnt the English alphabet in a formal manner, neither reading and writing, nor grammar, syntax, and literature.

All the participants share the same values and interests and are entirely focused on their mission to spiritually influence their interlocutors, the non-religious students.

The dependent variables are:

The emissaries' linguistic competence, the participants' age and duration of the mission, and whether they lectured a female only class, or a male only class.

## 3.3 Research setting

The participants of this study were emissaries of the Seventh Lubavitcher Rebbe, Rabbi Menachem Mendel Schneerson (1902-1994), the world-renowned Jewish leader of 20th and the 21st century world Jewry, who was the head of the Lubavitch movement, which had its headquarters in Brooklyn, New York. The emissaries were predominantly brought up in Brooklyn, New York, where the Rebbe's (the

aforementioned Lubavitcher Rebbe; referred to as Rebbe from now on) influence was felt most keenly, and lived in New York until they were sent on their mission by the Rebbe.

The settings of this research are various university campuses in North America, where the emissaries have developed a 'Chabad on Campus' center. At these centers, they give lessons and lectures with and without theological sources, tell stories and fables and teach Halachic laws. In addition, they organize social gatherings, both formal and informal, such as Shabbat dinners, where the Ultra-Orthodox Jewish emissaries and non-religious university students sit around the table, eat, listen to the theological discourses and converse together, mostly about Jewish issues.

The discourse production can be very sophisticated and complicated, since there are linguistic gaps between the host and the guests, and/or between the guests themselves.

This phenomenon can be described as a repeatedly-occurring dynamic which occurs with contemporary Lubavitch emissaries and students everywhere in the USA. It seems that this cyclic process may be more sophisticated, especially in the act of turn taking. At a Chabat gathering, or at the Shabbat dinner table, where there may be a large number of people, whose spiritual level and familiarity with Judaism varies from person to person, the emissary's speech act will be switched again and again, taking into consideration the variables of the guests' familiarity with the emissary's L1. Needless to say, the topics conveyed and discussed by the emissary are about Jewish notions, and consequently the emissary has to make a CS to "translate" these notions into NE. Only at a much later stage may translation become unnecessary. Therefore, in order to please and influence the Chabad House guests, as well as his personal family members, the emissary has to jump from L1a(YHAr) to a partial L1b (JLV) or to a complete L2(NE), or to use the lexical access only in L1.

L1

L2

PL1 + 2
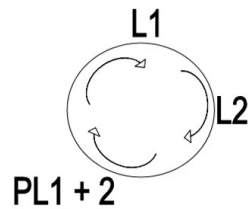
PL1= Partial language 1

Figure 07: Turn Taking act of the emissary

S.
PL1

L1•S

PL1

L1

E= Emissary
S= Student

E

L2

PL1

L2

s•L2

L2.s
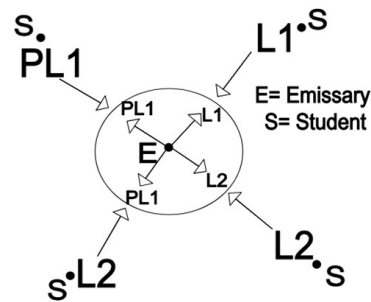
*Figure 5 : Cyclic process of the emissary's CS.*

## 3.4 Participants

The study consisted of 21 participants overall, who reported their linguistic production of the language, with 10 lectures specifically being examined. They were of varying ages, ranging from 25 to 80 years old. They were exposed predominantly to YHAr from their birth, in their schools and in their communities, until they went out on their outreach mission.

It is important to note that their parents spoke only in Yiddish to them for two reasons: as they were new immigrants from America, whose linguistic competence in

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NE was quite limited, and because their parents' foremost interest was to enable their children to communicate authentically with the "old" language from their "old" world, and thus to preserve their segregation from the local environment. They had never received any formal secular education exposing them to the NE language. In addition, in the very early stages of their schooling, they were taught to read and write in Hebrew, which consistently took precedence in their education over NE. In fact, they were never taught the NE alphabet in a formal manner, neither grammar and syntax nor literature. With regards to their Yiddish, when they found themselves having the need to read Yiddish sources, it was written using Hebrew letters. Therefore, their exposure to NE was limited to the few interactions they had with non-Jewish people. These interactions consisted of routine, ordinary and mundane conversations (needless to say, the vocabulary chosen for these conversations was colloquial and concrete, rather than philosophical or complex in any way). Thus, their linguistic growth, until the age of 24 on average, was quite limited and insufficient compared to the average linguistic development of regular US citizens.

Consequently, by going out on their mission, they were sharply exposed to NE on a regular basis. This posed a difficult challenge for them.

### 3.5 Procedure

The research tools were both qualitative and quantitative. Ten emissaries, at different geographical locations, were video-recorded for 10 minutes while teaching students (including informal encounters). These video-recordings were transcribed to produce 10 transcripts. The videos facilitated the assessment of the emissaries' linguistic competence in NE, as well as analysis of the CS phenomenon in their speech.

In addition, a questionnaire was distributed to 21 emissaries at university campuses in Australia (N=1), the USA (N=13), and Israel (N=7). This questionnaire consisted of both closed and open questions. Many of the questions formed a self-assessment of the emissaries' linguistic competence. The emissaries were requested to

conceptualize and consequently assess their language competence and strategies, which naturally occurred when meeting the students.

The questionnaire was adapted from Grosjean's (2001) methodological structure, which contains five parts: background information, language history and language relationships, functions of languages, language modes (with a question about parents' acceptance of CS), and language proficiency and dominance.

The analysis of data owes much to Walters' (2005) SPPL model (also see Altman 2008; Raichlin 2009; Regev 2003). The SPPL model, detailed below, takes into account both the psycholinguistic and socio-pragmatic approaches. Special emphasis was placed on the speaker's motivation to switch codes.

# Chapter 4: Questionnaire results and findings of lectures

In this chapter the questionnaire results are presented. These results aim to reflect the following goals;

- To match the emissaries' own perception and appreciation of their linguistic process, competence, motivation and the strategies they utilize; to their factual linguistic production when communicating with the interlocutors who are NE speakers.
- To follow the emissaries' linguistic background in order to explore when, why and how they switch their code;
  - From L2, i.e. NE to their L1a Yiddish, Hebrew and Aramaic, and vice versa.
  - From NE to JLV to their L1b, the mixture of Basic English Yiddish, Aramaic and Hebrew, and vice versa.

As a starting point for investigating the data, a very crucial but fundamental distinction should be made, which is that there are probably two similar strategies employed by the emissaries in different circumstances; the In-group code Mixing and the Out-group Code switching. According to the analysis and findings of chapter 2, it is postulated that code mixing is employed as one of the in-group modes of speaking and CS is employed as an out-group method of communication. The emissaries literally use their L2, the NE, as an ML, and insert their L1a, YHAr lexemes into it. The emissaries do not mix their codes in out-group settings; rather, they switch codes, for a very simple reason. The interlocutors do not know YHAr, because of their linguistic gap, and additionally, they are not familiar with and do not feel comfortable with the JLV style of speaking. Furthermore, it is sometimes unintelligible to them, because of the massive amounts of mixing. The differences are sometimes subtle, but are usually distinctive in comparison to NE, especially in the philosophical contexts of the lectures.

## 4.1 The participants

The first issue is the attempt to explore who the participants are; the emissaries of this research.

Participants (N = 21)

Emissaries' ages ranged from 25 to 80 (Mean age = 47.43, *SD* = 14.21).

Number of years on mission ranged from 4 to 60 (*M* = 23.86, *SD* = 14.86).

### 4.1.1 Place of mission

*Table 2: Place of mission*

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Australia, Ohel Chana | 1 | 4.8 | 4.8 | 4.8 |
| Berkeley College | 1 | 4.8 | 4.8 | 9.5 |
| California University | 1 | 4.8 | 4.8 | 14.3 |
| Columbia University | 1 | 4.8 | 4.8 | 19.0 |
| Howard University | 1 | 4.8 | 4.8 | 23.8 |
| Jerusalem, Mayanot, American setting (men) | 2 | 9.5 | 9.5 | 33.3 |
| Jerusalem, Mayanot, American setting (women and men) | 1 | 4.8 | 4.8 | 38.1 |
| Jerusalem, Mayanot, American setting, | 1 | 4.8 | 4.8 | 42.9 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (women) | | | |
| Machon Bina, American setting, (girls) | 1 | 4.8 | 4.8 | 47.6 |
| Miami University | 1 | 4.8 | 4.8 | 52.4 |
| New Haven University | 1 | 4.8 | 4.8 | 57.1 |
| New York College | 1 | 4.8 | 4.8 | 61.9 |
| Ohio University | 1 | 4.8 | 4.8 | 66.7 |
| Oklahoma University | 1 | 4.8 | 4.8 | 71.4 |
| San Francisco University | 1 | 4.8 | 4.8 | 76.2 |
| Tzfat, American setting, (girls) | 2 | 9.5 | 9.5 | 85.7 |
| University of Massachusetts | 1 | 4.8 | 4.8 | 90.5 |
| University of Vermont | 1 | 4.8 | 4.8 | 95.2 |
| Washington University | 1 | 4.8 | 4.8 | |
| Total | 21 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

The results were categorized into eight components: (1) initial language and language of preference, (2) language history, (3) default language, (4) early linguistic NE difficulties, (5) language proficiency before and during mission, (6) strategies for overcoming difficulties in speaking NE, (7) Code Switching tendencies (CS), and (8)

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connection between emissary's age/years of mission experience, to NE competence or linguistic development.

### 4.1.2 Early childhood language and language of preference

The early childhood[31] language of the majority of the emissaries (71%) was JLV, and for the remaining emissaries, it was only Yiddish (9.5%), only NE (14%), or only Hebrew (5%). The vast majority of the emissaries (86%) prefer to speak JLV. Only one emissary (5%) declared that he preferred to speak NE (Table 3). Most of the emissaries (76%) preferred to use only one of the languages, while 19% used two of the languages and only one of the emissaries used three of them.

*Table 3: Emissaries' early childhood language and language preference (N = 21)*

| Language | | | Yiddish | JLV | NE | Hebrew |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Early Childhood language | Count | | 2 | 15 | 3 | 1 |
| | Percent | | 9.5 | 71.4 | 14.3 | 4.8 |
| Preference | Count | | 6 | 18 | 1 | 2 |
| | Percent* | | 28.6 | 85.7 | 4.8 | 9.5 |

*Row percent does not sum to 100%, since the participants were able to choose more than one answer for their language preference.

The emissaries were asked what languages they usually used with people on a regular basis, and by default, with different people and in different situations. The following Table 3 represents the emissaries' tendencies. It was found that more than half of the emissaries usually spoke with their parents and siblings in JLV, and 14%

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[31] The L1 (initial language age 0-3) of the emissaries , as well as the Chabad – Lubavitch Brooklyn , New York community is Yiddish only mixed with Hebrew and Aramaic lexemes)

of them usually spoke NE. About half of them spoke Yiddish with their grandparents while a third of the sample spoke JLV with their grandparents. In addition, they used more JLV than other languages by default, particularly when teaching advanced students (95%). However, in contrast, they used NE when teaching beginners (67%) by default.

*Table 4: Emissaries language use on a regular basis and default language (N = 21)*

|  | Yiddish | JLV | NE | Hebrew | Russian | More Than One |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Regular Use of Language With: | | | | | | |
| Parents | 23.8% | 52.4% | 14.3% | 4.8% | -- | 4.8% |
| Siblings | 19.0% | 57.1% | 14.3% | 4.8% | -- | 4.8% |
| Grandparents | 47.6% | 33.3% | 4.8% | 4.8% | 4.8% | 4.8% |
| Bilingual Friends | -- | 61.9% | 4.8% | 9.5% | -- | 23.8% |
| *M* | 0.90 | 2.05 | 0.38 | 0.24 | -- | 0.24 |
| *SD* | 1.18 | 1.53 | 0.80 | 0.89 | -- | 0.44 |
| Default Use of Language With: | | | | | | |
| Family | 9.5% | 61.9% | 19.0% | 4.8% | | 4.8% |
| Peers | -- | 71.4% | 9.5% | 4.8% | | 14.3% |
| Beginners Students | -- | 33.3% | 66.7% | -- | -- | -- |
| Advanced Students | | 95.2% | 4.8% | -- | -- | -- |
| *M* | 0.10 | 2.62 | 1.00 | 0.10 | 0.05 | 0.19 |
| *SD* | 0.30 | 0.97 | 0.89 | 0.19 | 0.22 | 0.51 |

*M* = Mean; *SD* = Standard Deviation

### 4.1.3 Language history

In order to understand the linguistic environment and background of the emissaries, they were asked about the language that they used with their parents, brothers and sisters, grandparents and friends, before they become emissaries. It can be seen from Table 3 that the common language spoken early* in the emissaries' lives was JLV, and Yiddish with grandparents. Only about 10% of them were exposed to NE. (* It is important to note that when speaking about early in the emissaries' lives, it means from their early childhood – from attending preschool at the age of three. The L1 spoken by the parents to the newborn babies till the age three was Yiddish.)

In addition, 81% of the emissaries stated that they were exposed to three of the languages at an early age: Yiddish, JLV and Hebrew. Only one of them said that he was exposed to English in his early childhood and three of them (14%) were exposed to Yiddish and Hebrew, but not JLV.

*Table 5: Linguistic environment and background (N = 21)*

|         | Parents | Brothers | Sisters | Grandparents | Friends |
|---------|---------|----------|---------|--------------|---------|
| Yiddish | 29%     | 24%      | 24%     | 52%          | 24%     |
| JLV     | 57%     | 76%      | 62%     | 33%          | 86%     |
| NE      | 10%     | 10%      | 10%     | 5%           | 24%     |
| Hebrew  | 10%     | 0%       | 10%     | 5%           | 33%     |
| All     | 0%      | 0%       | 0%      | 0%           | 24%     |

*column percent sometimes summarize to more than 100% due to multiple answer option.

### 4.1.4 Default language

Emissaries were asked what language they used by default when they spoke with their families, peers, beginner students and advanced students, after years of serving as emissaries for English-speaking students. Their answers are represented in table 4 below. Most of the emissaries use JLV by default when speaking with their families or peers, and when they teach they usually use NE with beginners students and JLV with advanced students.

Table 6: Emissaries' use of default language (N = 21)

| | Family | Peers | Beginner students | Advanced students |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Yiddish | 14% | 14% | | |
| JLV | 67% | 86% | 33% | 95% |
| NE | 19% | 10% | 67% | 5% |
| Hebrew | 10% | 19% | | |
| All | 5% | 14% | | |

*total percentage sometimes amount to more than 100%, due to multiple answers.

### 4.1.5 Usage of NE inside and outside the classroom

Emissaries were asked about their usage of NE in the classroom, and outside of the classroom. It was found that 57% of the emissaries tended to use NE in the classroom but only one (5%) used NE outside of the classroom. The emissaries who reported that they didn't use NE inside and outside the classroom said that they tended to use JLV, and only one of them said that he used Hebrew outside of the classroom. Furthermore, all of them declared that they do not make pedagogical plans for their lessons, although 38% do teach according to teaching methods.

### 4.1.6 Early linguistic NE difficulties

All of the emissaries claim to have linguistic difficulties with academic reading. More than half of the emissaries declared linguistic difficulties in vocabulary, grammar, word retrieval, and syntactic mistakes. However, only one-third of them said that they have pronunciation difficulties (see table 7). Furthermore, the emissaries were asked whether they had any problems acquiring NE (acquisition of NE means, to acquire a higher register of normative academic language rather than a limited colloquial form). Only 19% of them answered that they had problems with NE acquisition. However, 33% reported feeling intimidated by acquiring NE, and 48%, on failed attempts at NE. In addition, 38.1% of the emissaries said that they subconsciously and automatically insert words, expressions and fillers, i.e. tag switchers in Yiddish when they speak NE (see table 8).

*Table 7: Emissaries' linguistic difficulties (N = 21)*

| Linguistic Difficulties | Word Retrieval | Vocabulary | Pronunciation | Academic Reading | Grammar | Syntactic |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Count | 11 | 12 | 7 | 21 | 11 | 11 |
| Percent | 52.4 | 57.1% | 33.3% | 100% | 52.4% | 52.4% |

*Table 8: : Emissaries' linguistic acquisition process (N = 21)*

| Linguistic Process | Acquisition Problems | Intimidation | Failed attempts | Fillers (Tags) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Count | 4 | 7 | 10 | 8 |
| Percent | 19% | 33.3% | 47.6% | 38.1% |

### 4.1.7 Language proficiency before and during mission

In order to measure changes in NE/ JLV speaking competence, the emissaries were asked to rate their language proficiency, before and during their time as emissaries, in JLV and NE on a five point Likert scale, which ranges from 1 (very poor) to 5 (very good).

The findings show that the vast majority of the emissaries (95%) evaluated their JLV fluency as very good from the beginning of their mission. With regards to NE fluency, only one emissary (5%) evaluated his NE as very good, and 24% as rather good. Another 38% evaluated it as medium good to rather poor. However, after several years on their mission, the emissaries declared that they had achieved a significant improvement in their NE competence. Some 43% evaluated their competence as very good, and 24% as rather good, yet 25% evaluated their language as medium to rather poor (Table 9). Furthermore, 81% of the emissaries claimed that they do not have any problems with acquiring the NE language.

When the emissaries were asked to evaluate their own linguistic development in NE, it was found that 62% saw their improvements as slight, compared to 32% who assessed their linguistic improvement as significant. Futhermore, only one emissary (5%) declared a gradual decrease in JLV competence.

*Table 9: Changes in NE/JLV speaking competence at the beginning of the mission and currently (N = 21)*

|    | Time of Mission | Excellent | Very Good | Good | Moderate | Poor | *M* | *SD* | *T-TEST Pairs* |
|----|-----------------|-----------|-----------|------|----------|------|------|------|----------------|
| NE | Beginning | 4.8% | 23.8% | 33.3% | 19.0% | 19.0% | 2.76 | 1.18 | 2.79* |
|    | Currently | 42.9% | 23.8% | 9.5% | 9.5% | 14.3% | 3.71 | 1.49 |  |
| JE | Beginning | 95.2% | - | - | - | 4.8% | 4.81 | 0.87 | 1.00 |
|    | Currently | 100% | - | - | - | - | 5.00 | 0.00 |  |

*M* = mean; *SD* = standard deviation

*$p < .05$

### 4.1.8 Strategies for overcoming difficulties in speaking NE

Some 38% of the emissaries reported the use of fillers/tags like "i*ch wais,* (I know) *shoin,* (stop) *waiter,* (Let's go ) *ahhha(Yeah), em(um), nu* (Come on)" as strategies for overcoming difficulties in speaking NE. Some 62% stated that they tended to lengthen sentences, 67% ask for translation or ask for the correct pronunciation and grammar. However, all 100% of the emissaries noted switching to JLV when they faced difficulties speaking NE.

### 4.1.9 Code Switching tendencies

The emissaries were asked whether they switch codes between NE and YHAr. As can be seen from Table 10 below, although there was significant improvement in NE competence, the emissaries described their tendency to code switch while talking. Some 95% of them inserted words from NE or YHAr in the L2, 62% of them started a sentence in NE and switched to YHAr in the middle, 67% inserted YHAr words when they failed to retrieve words in NE, and 38% began a sentence in YHAr and switched to NE in the middle. Only 5 (24%) of the emissaries tended to do both: to start with NE and switch to YHAr or start with YHAr and switch to NE.

*Table 10: Code switches between NE and JLV (N = 21)*

|  | Insert NE words when speaking YHAr | Insert YHAr words when speaking NE | Start in YHAr and switch to NE | Start in NE and switch to YHAr | Insert YHAr words when failed to retrieve words in NE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Count | 20 | 20 | 8 | 13 | 14 |
| Percent | 95.2% | 95.2% | 38.1% | 61.9% | 66.7% |

### 4.1.10 Instinctive CS

Furthermore, the emissaries were asked about their tendencies to code switch in a number of circumstances. It can be seen from Table 11 that the most common language the emissaries tended to switch to was JLV (L1b), especially when they were tired, angry, expressing joy or dreaming. However, on the contrary, when they were counting, or conversing on WhatsApp, about half of the emissaries reported that they use NE. Furthermore, there was no common language for writing and reading, though it was not Yiddish. Finally, for watching films or videos, the vast majority used all of the languages. All of the emissaries divulged that they used lexical JLV(Y+Ar+H) items instinctively and they were unaware of doing so at the time.

*Table 11 : Instinctive usage of languages in a variety of situations (N = 21)*

|  | Yiddish | JLV | NE | Hebrew | All |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tired | 19.0% | 7.1% | 14.3% | 4.8% | 4.8% |
| Angry | 9.5% | 57.1% | 19.0% | 14.3% | -- |
| Words that express joy | 4.8% | 61.9% | 4.8% | 19.0% | 9.5% |
| Counting | -- | 28.6% | 66.7% | 4.8% | -- |
| Note writing | 4.8% | 33.3% | 38.1% | 9.5% | 14.3% |
| On WhatsApp | -_ | 19.0% | 47.6% | 19.0% | 14.3% |
| Reading | -_ | 14.3% | 19.0% | 38.1% | 28.6% |
| Writing |  | 23.8% | 19.0% | 28.6% | 28.6% |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dreaming | 4.8% | 42.9% | 19.0% | 4.8% | 28.6% |
| Watching film/video | | | 4.8% | | 95.2% |
| *M* | 0.43 | 3.38 | 2.52 | 1.43 | 2.24 |
| *SD* | 0.98 | 2.60 | 2.44 | 1.80 | 1.41 |

*M* = Mean; *SD* = Standard Deviation

Frequency of CS

Emissaries were also requested to report the frequency of their CS. It can be seen from Table 10 that the absolute majority (95%) tended to switch from NE to JLV very often. Some 62% of them declared switching very often from JLV back to NE and 95% tended to CS both ways. Directionality of CS for all of the emissaries was JLV to NE, except for one of them, who began with Hebrew. Most of the emissaries, except one (95%), insert NE words while speaking Hebrew, Aramaic or Yiddish.

*Table 12: Frequency of CS from NE to JLV and vice versa (N = 21)*

| From / To | JLV | NE |
|---|---|---|
| NE | 95.2% | -- |
| JLV | -- | 61.9% |

### 4.1.11 Use of NE by sex reference

Emissaries were asked to assess whether they tended to use NE differently when addressing males or females. Some 71% of them responded that there was no difference according to sex reference. On the other hand, 24% said that they tended to use more NE when addressing males and only one (5%) said that he used more NE when addressing females.

### 4.1.12 Translation

Another question was what the emissaries did when they needed to translate linguistic materials from NE. Just 24% of them translated NE linguistic materials word for word, while another 24% reported summarizing the materials loosely, or doing both (38%).

### 4.1.13 Motivation for switching from NE to YHAr

According to all of the emissaries, they used YHAr while teaching for affiliation purposes, and purposely code-switched to teach the language of Orthodox Jews in the classroom, and also during informal or folkish conversations. The majority of the emissaries (81%) evaluated that the surrounding society viewed CS in a negative way, compared to 5% and 14% of them who thought that society accepts it as positive or natural, respectively.

### 4.1.14 Appreciation of language

The Emissaries unanimously agreed that they fully appreciated YHAr. On the other hand, only one emissary (5%) claimed that he appreciated NE. To clarify this, the emissaries see no need to acquire NE. The only reason they do acquire it and expend time and effort in doing so is for pragmatic reasons.

### 4.1.15 Connection between emissaries' age/years of experience on

### mission and NE competence or improvement

Correlations between age, as well as years of experience on mission and NE competence or improvement, ranged from $r = -.05$ to $.05$, showing no significant linear connection between the variables. These data could be derived from innate individual linguistic ability, which shows that experience or exposure to the new language is not necessarily the main factor in competence.

All these results show that, contrary to the above-mentioned assessment of the results of the emissaries' responses reflecting their own linguistic behavior,

motivations and evaluations, it seems that the results of the study were better than they anticipated.

## 4.2 Results of lectures

In this chapter there is an endeavor to follow the linguistic production of the emissaries during lectures. The questionnaires revealed results that are not completely reliable, due to its subjective nature. Some emissaries underestimated their NE capabilities, which were better than expected.

### 4.2.1 CS domain

1. CS Domain: How do emissaries code switch, and in what way? That is, inter-utterance, intra-utterance or cross-speaking?

   Hypothesis: CS will occur in all domains.

   There are three components of the domain: Intersentential CS, intrasentential CS and cross-speaking. According to the findings, the emissaries use the first two components significantly more frequently than the cross-speaking component, which they do not use at all.

   There were a total of 608 CS utterances in the ten transcripts combined. Out of these, 594 (97.9%), were intrasentential utterances, while the remaining 14 (2.1%) were intersentential. The tendency of the emissaries to switch into the sentence boundaries is salient and the intersentential utterances are not frequent. This finding is common to all code switchers, irrelative of their competence in L2 NE acquisition
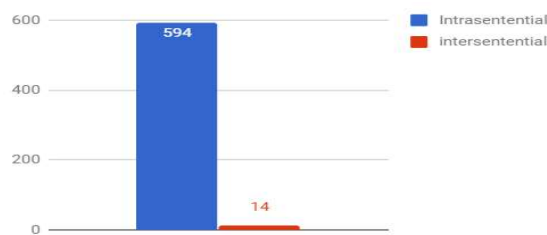


*Figure 6: Domain*

*Table 13 : Domain percentage*

|  | N | Minimum | Maximum | Mean | Std. Deviation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Intra | 10 | 1.79% | 18.24% | 8.22% | 4.63% |
| Inter | 10 | 0.00% | 0.55% | 0.20% | 0.21% |
| Cross Speaking | 10 | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% |

|  | t | df | Sig. (2-tailed) | Mean Difference | 95% Confidence Interval of the Difference | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  |  |  |  |  | Lower | Upper |
| Intra | 5.61 | 9 | .000 | 8.22% | 4.91% | 11.53% |
| Inter | 2.92 | 9 | .017 | 0.20% | 0.04% | 0.35% |
| Cross Speaking | 0.00 | 9 | 1.00 | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% |

|  | Paired Differences | | t | df | Sig. (2-tailed) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | Mean | Std. Deviation |  |  |  |
| Intra - Inter | 8.02% | 4.65% | 5.45 | 9 | .000 |

1. CS directionality: In which direction will the emissaries code-switch, from YHAr to NE or NE to YHAr?

Hypothesis: The emissaries will predominantly switch from NE to YHAr due to the dominance of their YHAr.

The emissaries use both NE and YHAr in both directionalities; however, they use significantly more NE → YHAr directionalities than YHAr→ NE.

Below is a table illustrating the total directionality distribution. Some581 of 608 of the utterances were YHAr → NE (95.56%). The other 27 (4.44%) were NE → YHAr. The findings are consistent with logic, and can be backed up by other studies. However, in this specific research, the results do not correlate with the initial assumption.

The hypothesis is based on the findings of previous research (Walters 2005; Gumperz 1982; Raichlin 2009 *inter alia*). The findings justify the prevalent phenomenon in which a bilingual whose L1 is more dominant than his L2 tends to switch from the weaker to the stronger language. Despite the findings of the current research (including those that will be detailed below concerning their NE competence), it was expected of them to switch more frequently from NE to YHAr than the other way around. However, the results show their tendency to switch from YHAr to NE, and the frequency of this directionality is much higher. It proves that they have a high competence in both languages, and the directionality is not affected by PL motivations, but rather by pragmatic reasons only. Therefore, they switched between the two languages according to the topic, setting and circumstances. These findings also verify Auer's explanation (1999, 2017). He claims that the insertional CS made by the emissaries in both directions is done consciously, not because they do not know the language, but rather according to their preference and the circumstances.
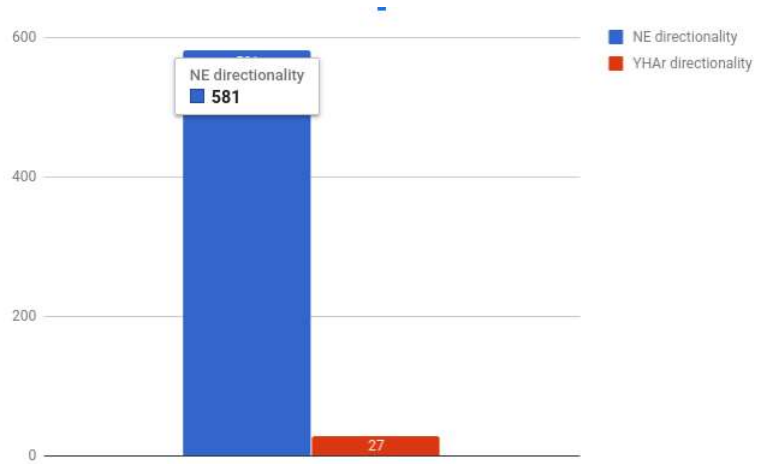
*Figure 7: Directionality*

*Table 14: Directionality percentage*

|  | N | Minimum | Maximum | Mean | Std. Deviation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| NE directionality | 10 | 1.65% | 18.04% | 8.05% | 4.64% |
| YHAr directionality | 10 | 0.00% | 1.01% | 0.37% | 0.32% |

*Table 15 : Directionality statistics*

|  | t | df | Sig. (2-tailed) | Mean Difference | 95% Confidence Interval of the Difference | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  |  |  |  |  | Lower | Upper |
| NE directionality | 5.49 | 9 | .000 | 8.05% | 4.73% | 11.36% |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| YHAr directionality | 3.57 | 9 | .006 | 0.36% | 0.13% | 0.59% |

| | Paired Differences | | t | df | Sig. (2-tailed) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Mean | Std. Deviation | | | |
| NE directionality - YHAr directionality | 7.68% | 4.68% | 5.19 | 9 | .001 |

1.      CS motivations: What were the motivating factors that determined when and how the emissaries code-switched? SP or PL? Was there a correlation between the directionality of the switch and the motivations for it?

Hypothesis: The emissaries who are more competent in their NE are expected to code-switch more for SP reasons, whereas emissaries whose language skills are lacking in NE would CS for PL reasons.

In the first stage there was an attempt to examine the connection between PL and SP motivations. Two models were built, and they ranked the variables according to the lecturer's linguistic competence.

In the second stage, a chi -square analysis was conducted (independent chi-square). The results of this analysis proved that there is a significant connection between the variables: $x2(2,10)=5.83$, $p=0.054$

In table 16, the combined distribution of SP and PL will be presented.

*Table 16: Combined distribution between PS SP*

| | | Low SP | Medium SP | High SP | Total | $^2{}_{(2,\,10)}$ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Good competence NE | Count | 2 | 2 | 3 | 7 | .06 |
| | % within Percentile Group of PL motivation | 28.6% | 28.6% | 42.9% | 100.0% | |
| Medium competence NE | Count | 1 | 2 | 0 | 3 | |
| | % within Percentile Group of PL motivation | 33.3% | 66.7% | 0.0% | 100.0% | |
| Total | Count | 3 | 4 | 3 | 10 | |
| | % within Percentile Group of PL motivation | 30.0% | 40.0% | 30.0% | 100.0% | |
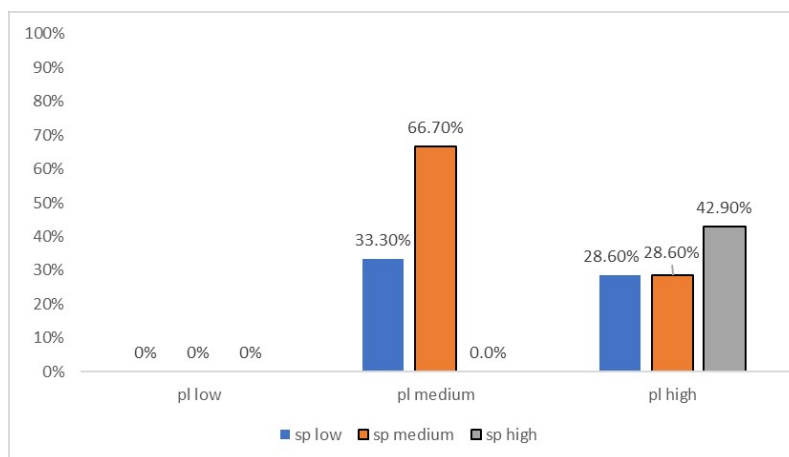
*Figure 8: Motivation*

According to the graph concerning the motivation, the assumption was not verified. No connection between the frequency of SP use and of linguistic competence has been found, although the ten emissaries participating in this study were divided into three groups. The groups were ranked and divided according to their linguistic competence, as judged based on the fact that those emissaries who were more motivated by SP motivations are better speakers linguistically, than those who are motivated by PL motivations.

It was discovered that there were no emissaries who belonged to the lowest-ranked group, while there were three ranked as medium and seven proclaimed themselves as the best, and were grouped in the highest-ranked group.

However, according to the findings, a significant connection between their competence and SP motivation was not found. In other words, those who were driven by sociopragmatic reasons who purposefully switched to YHAr , did not necessarily switch due to their linguistic competence but due to other factors as well (such as interlocutor competence and gender, topic, etc).

*Table 17: Motivation percentages*

|  | N | Minimum | Maximum | Mean | Std. Deviation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| L1_total | 10 | 2.34% | 18.44% | 8.42% | 4.62% |
| %Borrowings | 10 | 0.00% | 4.84% | 2.23% | 1.47% |
| %L1 Fillers- tags | 10 | 0.00% | 0.41% | 0.16% | 0.15% |
| %L1 phrases | 10 | 0.00% | 0.45% | 0.19% | 0.15% |
| %PL motivation | 10 | 0.00% | 0.37% | 0.08% | 0.14% |
| %SP motivation | 10 | 2.34% | 18.44% | 8.34% | 4.66% |
| %Intra | 10 | 1.79% | 18.24% | 8.22% | 4.63% |
| %Inter | 10 | 0.00% | 0.55% | 0.20% | 0.21% |
| %cross speaking | 10 | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% |
| %NE directionality | 10 | 1.65% | 18.04% | 8.05% | 4.64% |
| %YHAr directionality | 10 | 0.00% | 1.01% | 0.37% | 0.32% |
| %Noun | 10 | 1.10% | 17.23% | 7.05% | 4.47% |
| %Adj | 10 | 0.00% | 0.98% | 0.25% | 0.32% |
| %Verb | 10 | 0.00% | 3.29% | 0.50% | 1.03% |
| %Gerund | 10 | 0.00% | 1.13% | 0.15% | 0.36% |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| %OTHER | 10 | 0.00% | 0.22% | 0.022% | 0.07% |
| Valid N (list wise) | 10 | | | | |

*Table 18: Motivation statistics*

| | t | df | Sig. (2-tailed) | Mean Difference | 95% Confidence Interval of the Difference | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | Lower | Upper |
| %code-switching | 4.602 | 9 | .001 | 5.83306% | 2.9655% | 8.7006% |
| %L1_total | 5.762 | 9 | .000 | 8.41704% | 5.1127% | 11.7214% |
| %Borrowings | 4.786 | 9 | .001 | 2.22902% | 1.1754% | 3.2827% |
| %L1 Fillers-Tags | 3.531 | 9 | .006 | 0.16308% | 0.0586% | 0.2675% |
| %L1 phrases | 3.966 | 9 | .003 | 0.19187% | 0.0824% | 0.3013% |
| %PL motivation | 1.808 | 9 | .104 | 0.08051% | -0.0202% | 0.1813% |
| %SP motivation | 5.652 | 9 | .000 | 8.33652% | 4.9998% | 11.6732% |
| %Intra | 5.613 | 9 | .000 | 8.22025% | 4.9071% | 11.5334% |
| %Inter | 2.918 | 9 | .017 | 0.19679% | 0.0442% | 0.3493% |
| %NE directionality | 5.488 | 9 | .000 | 8.05058% | 4.7323% | 11.3689% |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| %YHAr directionality | 3.570 | 9 | .006 | 0.36645% | 0.1342% | 0.5987% |
| %Noun | 4.984 | 9 | .001 | 7.05018% | 3.8501% | 10.2502% |
| %Adj | 2.474 | 9 | .035 | 0.25146% | 0.0216% | 0.4814% |
| %Verb | 1.551 | 9 | .155 | 0.50329% | -0.2307% | 1.2372% |
| %Gerund | 1.347 | 9 | .211 | 0.15153% | -0.1030% | 0.4061% |
| %OTHER | 1.000 | 9 | .343 | 0.02151% | -0.0271% | 0.0702% |

1.      Linguistic structures and constraints on CS:

What structures prevail on emissaries' CS, and what syntactic constraints exist on emissaries' CS?

Hypothesis: The NP will be the most frequently code-switched structure, as well as sentences. PPs, AdvP, and Conjunctions are structures that would be switched less frequently. Furthermore, NE-YHAr+JLV bilingual emissaries' data will be examined according to the various theories that exist in this field.

According to the findings of the emissaries' linguistic production of code-switchng, emissaries switched to nouns as well as adjectives at a significant rate. They mostly used nouns. It is clearly seen that the use of NP is more frequent than the use of the other constituents.

The totals for each type of switch are presented below: Out of 608 lexemes, 504 were nouns, and made up 82.89% of the switches. Some 22, or 3.61%, were adjectives, 38 (6.25%) were verbs, 13 (2.14%) were gerunds and 2 (0.3%) were other types of lexemes.
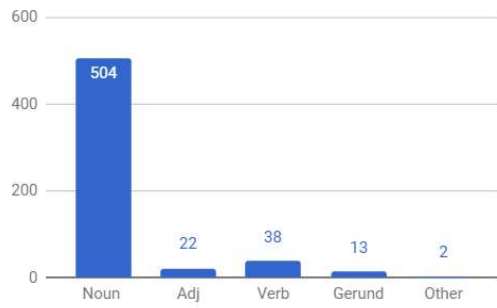
*Figure 9: Use of constituents*

*Table 19: Percentage of use of constituents*

|  |  | Minimum | Maximum | Mean | Std. Deviation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Noun | 0 | 1.10% | 17.23% | 7.05% | 4.47% |
| Verb | 0 | 0.00% | 3.29% | 0.50% | 1.03% |
| Adj | 0 | 0.00% | 0.98% | 0.25% | 0.32% |
| Gerund | 0 | 0.00% | 1.13% | 0.15% | 0.36% |
| Other | 0 | 0.00% | 0.22% | 0.02% | 0.07% |

*Table 20: Statistics of use of constituents*

| | f | Sig. (2-tailed) | Mean Difference | 95% Confidence Interval of the Difference | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Lower | Upper |
| Noun | .98 | .001 | 7.05% | 3.85% | 10.25% |
| Verb | .55 | .155 | 0.50% | -0.23% | 1.24% |
| Adj | .47 | .035 | 0.25% | 0.02% | 0.48% |
| Gerund | .35 | .211 | 0.15% | -0.10% | 0.41% |
| %OTHER | .00 | .343 | 0.02% | -0.03% | 0.07% |

| | Mean | N | Std. Deviation | Std. Error Mean | t-test pairs |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Noun | 7.05% | 10 | 4.47% | 1.41% | 4.05** |
| other components | 0.93% | 10 | 0.98% | 0.31% | |

**p < .01

1. How do typological differences between YHAr and NE affect CS? How did differences in the definiteness case, construct states and gender affect CS? Do emissaries switch nouns with the YHAr definite article or without it, and how do emissaries join a YHAr construct state and gender suffix/prefix to an NE noun?

Hypothesis: Emissaries would tend to blend their CS into both typological structures, so that no dissonance would occur.

It was found that 100% of the switches were accurate typologically, when dealing with the definiteness case system, taking into consideration that the Yiddish and English linguistic structure is similar. The emissaries behaved according to the diverse universal theories, claiming that the definite and indefinite determiner/ART should come from the ML. Since the lectures were held in NE, the emissaries followed the rules 100% of the time. Therefore, although indefinite articles do not exist in Hebrew, this typological difference did not cause any violation, since the determiners are system morphemes originally taken from NE. Thus, NE prevailed over Hebrew and Aramaic except in the use of Yiddish NPs, when the article was uttered in Yiddish, although this can be explained by the similarity of Yiddish and English in sentence structure as well as system morphemes.

Dealing with construct states and gender differences, there were a variety of different construct states which were all inflected according to Hebrew rules, and hence Hebrew prevailed over NE in this research.

1.     What background variables predict CS and what variables have the ability to predict CS? How do the background variables affect the emissaries' CS?

Was there a difference between what the emissaries reported and their actual use of CS?

Hypothesis: The variables do have a large impact on the emissaries' linguistic production and their tendency, or lack thereof, to code-switch.

There is no significant difference between the good and mediocre speakers with regards to background, within all parameters. However, the average speakers, who have an average competence in NE use significantly more adjectives, in comparison to those who are of higher competence.

*Table 21: Competence*

| | Percentile Group of PLmotivation_A | N | Mean | Std. Deviation | t-test |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| code-switching | good competence NE | 7 | 6.40% | 4.66681% | 0.66 |
| | medium competence NE | 3 | 4.5103% | 1.79459% | |
| L1 Fillers-Tags | good competence NE | 7 | 0.1111% | 0.14641% | 1.98 |
| | medium competence NE | 3 | 0.2844% | 0.01166% | |
| L1_total | good competence NE | 7 | 9.2858% | 5.27970% | 0.90 |
| | medium competence NE | 3 | 6.3899% | 1.89306% | |
| L1 phrases | good competence NE | 7 | 0.1373% | 0.10259% | 1.99 |
| | medium competence NE | 3 | 0.3193% | 0.19739% | |
| SP motivation | good competence NE | 7 | 9.2858% | 5.27970% | 0.98 |
| | medium competence NE | 3 | 6.1215% | 1.94030% | |
| NE directionality | good competence NE | 7 | 8.9335% | 5.31937% | 0.91 |
| | medium competence NE | 3 | 5.9904% | 1.68663% | |
| YHAr directionality | good competence NE | 7 | 0.3523% | 0.37829% | 0.20 |
| | medium competence NE | 3 | 0.3995% | 0.20644% | |
| %Intra | good competence NE | 7 | 9.0816% | 5.31830% | 0.89 |
| | medium competence NE | 3 | 6.2105% | 1.73779% | |
| %Inter | good competence NE | 7 | 0.2042% | 0.22244% | 0.16 |

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | medium competence NE | 3 | 0.1794% | 0.23574% |  |
| %Noun | good competence NE | 7 | 7.7638% | 5.21243% | 0.75 |
|  | medium competence NE | 3 | 5.3850% | 1.61256% |  |
| Adj | good competence NE | 7 | 0.12% | 0.21% | 2.34 |
|  | medium competence NE | 3 | 0.55% | 0.37% | * |
| Verb | good competence NE | 7 | 0.72% | 1.18% | 1.02 |
|  | medium competence NE | 3 | 0.0000% | 0.00000% |  |
| %Gerund | good competence NE | 7 | 0.1771% | 0.42301% | 0.33 |
|  | medium competence NE | 3 | 0.0919% | 0.15920% |  |
| %OTHER | good competence NE | 7 | 0.0307% | 0.08128% | 0.63 |
|  | medium competence NE | 3 | 0.0000% | 0.00000% |  |
| Translation | good competence NE | 7 | 5.59% | 10.62% | 0.98 |
|  | medium competence NE | 3 | 5.74% | 4.98% |  |

*$p < .05$

1. Translation
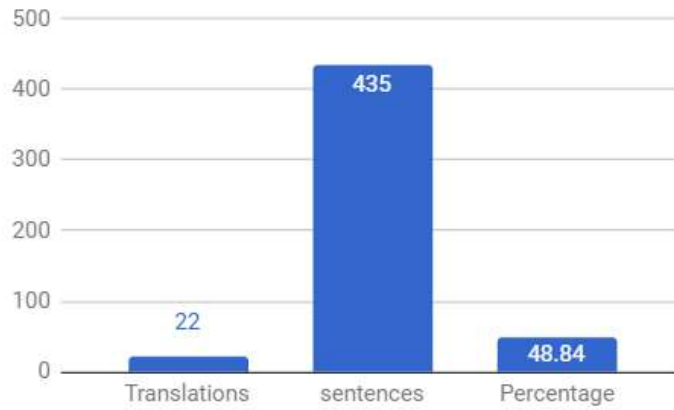


*Figure 10: Translation a*

This chart shows the amount of translations that occurred throughout the ten transcripts (22), the total sentences overall (435), and the percentage of translations out of the total sentences (48.84%).

There is no difference between the good speakers and the mediocre ones concerning their use of translation.

5.6% of the sentences spoken by all the emissaries were translated simultaneously.

*Table 22 : Translation statistics*

| | N | Minimum | Maximum | Mean | Std. Deviation | One-sample t-test |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| translation | 10 | 0.00% | 29.27% | 5.63% | 8.98% | 1.98 |

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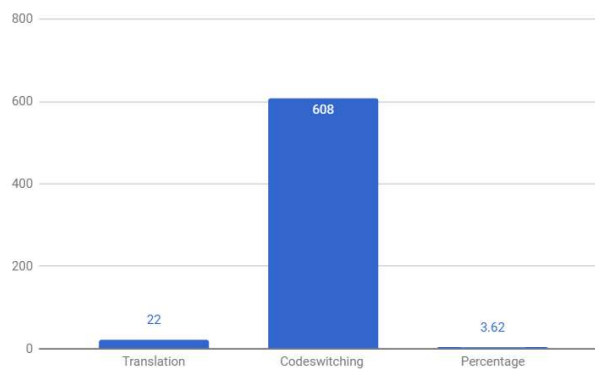
*Figure 11 : Translation b*

The above graph describes the amount of L1 constituents, which are 608 lexemes in total, and the 22 occurrences of translation, which consisted of 3.62% of the lexemes, as shown above. The enormous gap between the code switches with and without translations, can be explained by clarifying that the interlocutors had previously acquired the non-translated words, as well as the repetitive method that the speakers all use in talking about one concept many times. Therefore, it was needless to translate it.

### 4.2.2 Emissaries' linguistic production

### 4.2.3 Findings of the emissaries' lectures

In the following paragraphs, after coding Emissary 01's data, his linguistic behavior, specifically the frequencies of his CS, borrowing, and use of fillers or tag switchers, his motivations for these (PL or SP) will be presented and analyzed. In addition, the domain will be analyzed (whether they are intersentential, intrasentential or cross-speaker), as well as their directionality and syntax. The correlation between these elements will be examined as well, and the various hypotheses mentioned previously will be verified or refuted.

**Emissary 01**

(This lecture was given to females only)

It was found that Emissary 01 code-switched a total of 48 times out of 1088 words (4.11%), with each being either a single lexeme, a phrase, a CS filler/tags or an intersentential island, where a few words are considered as one CS. Of these 48 instances of L1, one was a phrase (2.08%), three were fillers/tags (6.25% of all uses of L1), 15 were borrowings (31.25% of all uses of L1) and 29 were code switches (60.42% of all uses of L1).

The frequency of switches motivated by SP motivations was 44 times out of 48, equaling 91.67% of the switches. The remaining 4 switches were psycholinguistic, consisting of 8.33% of all switches.

Concerning the domain, 47 out of 48 of the switches were intrasentential, making up 97.92% of the code switches. The one intersentential L1 utterance made up the remaining 2.08%, as there were no cross-speaking switches.

46 of the switches were of the NE directionality (95.83%), while two other switchers were in the YHAr directionality (4.17%). Contrary to all other cases, two of the NE direction switches were to Spanish, rather than to YHAr like all the rest (4.35% of the NE switches).

With regards to syntax, 39 (81.25%) of the L1 constituents were nouns. Two were adjectives (4.17%), and four were others, consisting of three gerunds (6.25%) and one exclamation (2.08%).

Emissary 01

*Figure 12: Linguistic production of Emissary 01*

**Emissary 02**

(This lecture was given to males only who are beginner students with minimally acquired YHAr.)

In the following paragraphs, after coding Emissary 02's data, his linguistic behavior, specifically the frequencies of his CS, borrowing, and use of fillers/tags, his motivations for these (PL or SP) will be presented and analyzed. In addition, the domain will be analyzed (whether they are intersentential, intrasentential or cross-speaker), as well as their directionality and syntax. The correlation between these elements will be examined as well, and the various hypotheses mentioned previously will be verified or refuted.

It was found that Emissary 02 code-switched a total of 55 times out of 672 words (8.18%), with each being either a single lexeme, a phrase, a CS filler/tags or an intersentential island, where a few words are considered as one code switch. Of these 55 instances of L1, three were phrases (5.45%), two were fillers (6.64% of all uses of

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L1), 8 were borrowings (14.55% of all uses of L1) and 42 were code switches (76.36% of all uses of L1).

The frequency of switches motivated by SP motivations was 53 times out of 55, equaling 96.36% of the switches. The remaining 2 switches were psycholinguistic, consisting of 6.64% of all switches.

Concerning the domain, 52 out of 55 of the switches were intrasentential, making up 94.55% of the code switches. The three intersentential L1 utterances made up the remaining 5.45%, as there were no cross-speaking switches.

Some 51 of the switches were of the NE directionality (92.73%), while four other switchers were in the YHAr directionality (7.27%).

With regards to syntax, 45 (81.82%) of the L1 constituents were nouns. Four were adjectives (7.27%), and there were no others besides these.



*Figure 13: Linguistic production of Emissary 02*

**Emissary 03**

(This lecture was given to males only who are advanced students who had acquired YHAr a little)

In the following paragraphs, after coding Emissary 03's data, his linguistic behavior, specifically the frequencies of his CS, borrowing, and use of fillers/tags, his motivations for these (PL or SP) will be presented and analyzed. In addition, the domain will be analyzed (whether they are intersentential, intrasentential or cross-speaker), as well as their directionality and syntax. The correlation between these elements will be examined as well, and the various hypotheses mentioned previously will be verified or refuted.

It was found that Emissary 03 code-switched a total of 86 times out of 759 words (11.33%), with each being either a single lexeme, a phrase, a CS filler/tags or an intersentential island, where a few words are considered as one CS. Of these 86 instances of L1, none were phrases (0%), only one was a filler (1.16% of all uses of L1), 24 were borrowings (27.91% of all uses of L1) and 61 were code switches (70.93% of all uses of L1).

The frequency of switches motivated by SP motivations was 86 times out of 86, equaling 100% of the switches.

Concerning the domain, all of the switches were intrasentential, making up 100% of the code switches.

Some 84 of the switches were of the NE directionality (97.67%), while two other switchers were in the YHAr directionality (2.33%).

With regards to syntax, 59 (68.60%) of the L1 constituents were nouns. Two were adjectives (2.33%) and 25 were verbs (29.07%).
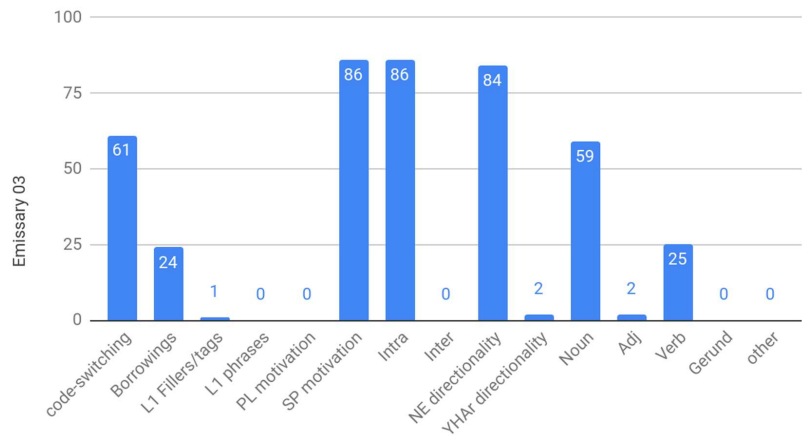
*Figure 14: Linguistic production of Emissary 03*

**Emissary 04**

(This lecture was given to males only, advanced students who had acquired YHAr a little)

In the following paragraphs, after coding Emissary 04's data, his linguistic behavior, specifically the frequencies of his CS, borrowing, and use of fillers, his motivations for these (PL or SP) will be presented and analyzed. In addition, the domains will be analyzed (whether they are intersentential, intrasentential or cross-speaker), as well as their directionality and syntax. The correlation between these elements will be examined as well, and the various hypotheses mentioned previously will be verified or refuted.

It was found that Emissary 04 code-switched a total of 76 times out of 795 words (9.56%), with each being either a single lexeme, a phrase, a CS filler/tags or an intersentential island, where a few words are considered as one code switch. Of these 76 instances of L1, two were phrases (2.63%), one was a filler (1.32% of all uses of L1), 33 were borrowings (43.42% of all uses of L1) and 40 were code switches (52.63% of all uses of L1).

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The frequency of switches motivated by SP motivations was 76 times out of 76, equaling 100% of the switches.

Concerning the domain, 74 out of 76 of the switches were intrasentential, making up 97.37% of the code switches. The two intersentential L1 utterances made up the remaining 2.63%, as there were no cross-speaking switches.

Some 68 of the switches were of the NE directionality (89.47%), while two other switchers were in the YHAr directionality (2.63%).

With regards to syntax, 57 (75%) of the L1 constituents were nouns, five were verbs (6.58%), and there were nine gerunds (11.84%). There were no other forms of syntax within the cases of CS, including adjectives.



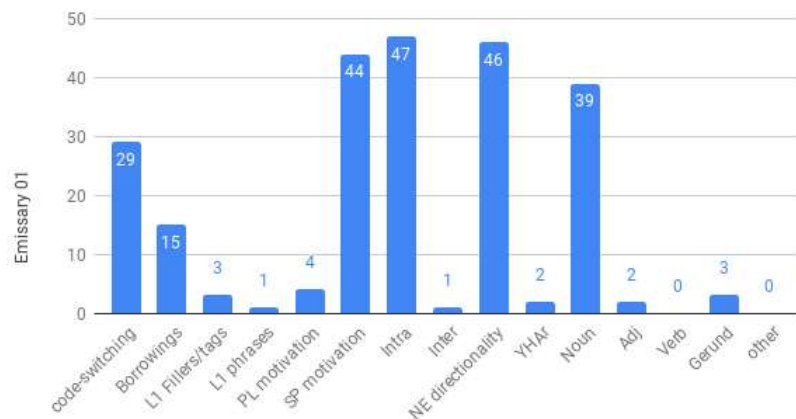*Figure 15: Linguistic production of Emissary 04*

**Emissary 05**

(This lecture was given to males only, advanced students who had acquired YHAr a little)

In the following paragraphs, after coding Emissary 05's data, his linguistic behavior, specifically the frequencies of his CS, borrowing, and use of fillers/tags, his motivations for these (PL or SP) will be presented and analyzed. In addition, the domains will be analyzed (whether they are intersentential, intrasentential or cross-speaker), as well as their directionality and syntax. The correlation between these elements will be examined as well, and the various hypotheses mentioned previously will be verified or refuted.

It was found that Emissary 05 code-switched a total of 79 times out of 702 words (11.25%), with each being either a single lexeme, a phrase or an intersentential island, where a few words are considered as one code switch. Of these 79 instances of L1, one was a phrase (1.27%), none were fillers (0% of all uses of L1), 34 were borrowings (43.04% of all uses of L1) and 44 were code switches (55.70% of all uses of L1).

The frequency of switches motivated by SP motivations was 79 times out of 79, equaling 100% of the switches.

Concerning the domain, 76 out of 79 of the switches were intrasentential, making up 96.20% of the code switches. The three intersentential L1 utterances made up the remaining 3.40%, as there were no cross-speaking switches.

Some 79 of the switches were of the NE directionality 100%), with no occurrence of YHAr directionality.

With regards to syntax, 73 (92.41%) of the L1 constituents were nouns. Two were verbs (2.53%), and there were no others besides these.
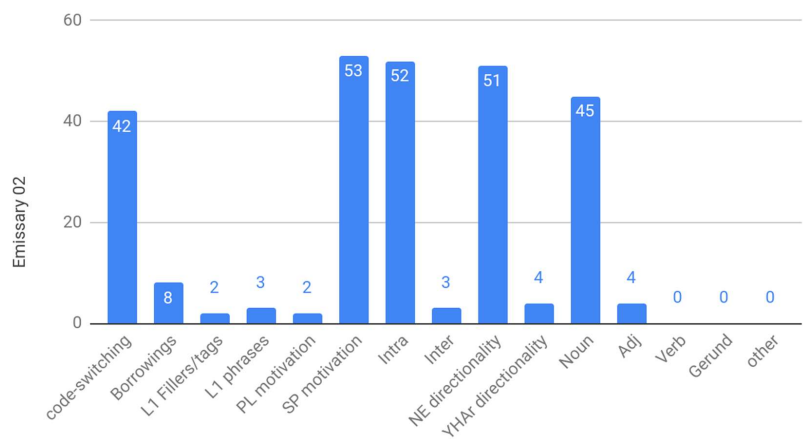
*x*

## Emissary 05
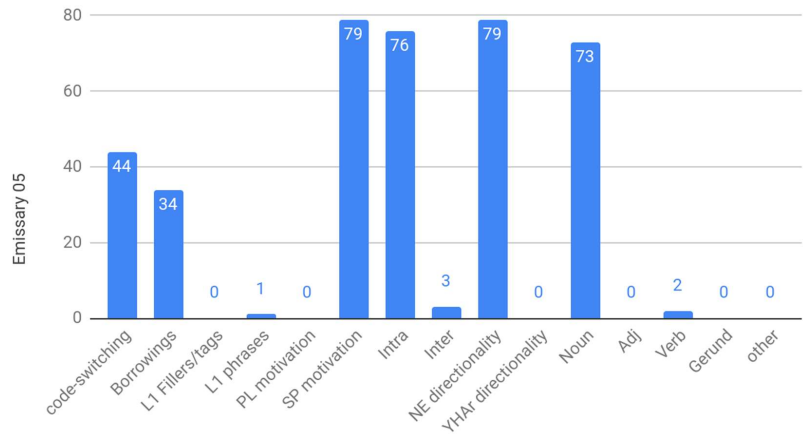


*Figure 16: Linguistic production of Emissary 01*

**Emissary 06**

(This lecture was given to males only who are not beginners but not advanced students who had insufficiently acquired YHAr)

In the following paragraphs, after coding Emissary 06's data, his linguistic behavior, specifically the frequencies of his CS, borrowing, and use of fillers/tags, and his motivations for these (PL or SP) will be presented and analyzed. In addition, the domains will be analyzed (whether they are intersentential, intrasentential or cross-speaker), as well as their directionality and syntax. The correlation between these elements will be examined as well, and the various hypotheses mentioned previously will be verified or refuted.

It was found that Emissary 06 code-switched a total of 68 times out of 874 words (7.78%), with each being either a single lexeme, a phrase or an intersentential island, where a few words are considered as one code switch. Of these 68 instances of L1, two were phrases (2.94%), none were fillers (0% of all uses of L1), 20 were

borrowings (29.41% of all uses of L1) and 46 were code switches (67.65% of all uses of L1).

The frequency of switches motivated by SP motivations was 68 times out of 68, equaling 100% of the switches.

Concerning the domain, 68 out of 68 of the switches were intrasentential, making up 100% of the code switches. Some 79 of the switches were of the NE directionality (100%), with no occurrence of YHAr directionality.

With regards to syntax, 66 (97.06%) of the L1 constituents were nouns. The remaining two are phrases, and therefore are not of one specific syntactic form.
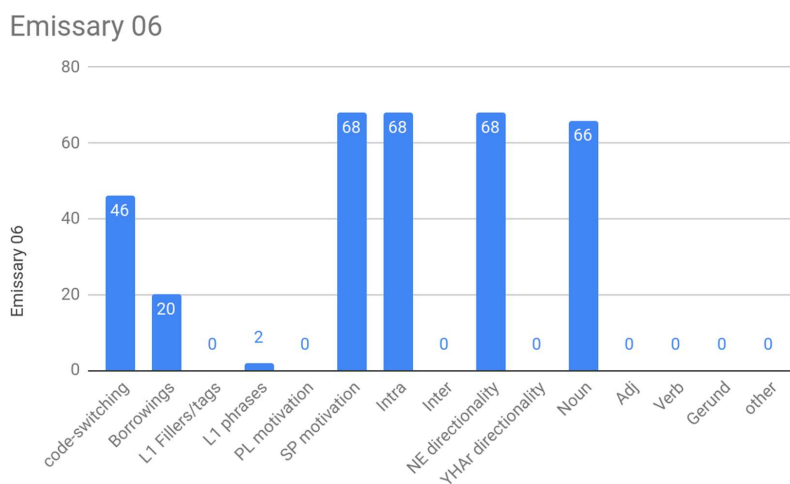
## Emissary 06



*Figure 17: Linguistic production of Emissary 06*

**Emissary 07**

This lecture was given to males only who are probably advanced students who had acquired YHAr a little)

In the following paragraphs, after coding Emissary 07's data, his linguistic behavior, specifically the frequencies of his CS, borrowing, and use of fillers, and his

motivations for these (PL or SP) will be presented and analyzed. In addition, the domains will be analyzed (whether they are intersentential, intrasentential or cross-speaker), as well as their directionality and syntax. The correlation between these elements will be examined as well, and the various hypotheses mentioned previously will be verified or refuted.

It was found that Emissary 07 code-switched a total of 92 times out of 499 words (18.47%), with each being either a single lexeme, a phrase or an intersentential island, where a few words are considered as one code switch. Of these 92 instances of L1, one was a phrase (1.09%), none were fillers (0% of all uses of L1), 12 were borrowings (13.04% of all uses of L1) and 79 were code switches (85.87% of all uses of L1).

The frequency of switches motivated by SP motivations was 92 times out of 92, equaling 100% of the switches.

Concerning the domain, 91 out of 92 of the switches were intrasentential, making up 98.91% of the code switches. One of the switches was of the NE directionality (1.09%), with no occurrence of YHAr directionality.

With regards to syntax, 86 (93.48%) of the L1 constituents were nouns. There were four adjectives (4.35%). The remaining two were phrases, and therefore were not of one specific syntactic form.

*Figure 18: Linguistic production of Emissary 07*

**Emissary 08**

 (This lecture was given to females only)

In the following paragraphs, after coding Emissary 08's data, his linguistic behavior, specifically the frequencies of his CS, borrowing, and use of fillers/tags, and his motivations for these (PL or SP) will be presented and analyzed. In addition, the domains will be analyzed (whether they are intersentential, intrasentential or cross-speaker), as well as their directionality and syntax. The correlation between these elements will be examined as well, and the various hypotheses mentioned previously will be verified or refuted.

It was found that Emissary 08 code-switched a total of 17 times out of 727 words (2.34%), with each being either a single lexeme, a phrase or an intersentential island, where a few words are considered as one code switch. Of these 17 instances of L1, one was a phrase (5.88%), three were fillers (17.64% of all uses of L1), none were borrowings (0% of all uses of L1) and 13 were code switches (76.47% of all uses of L1).

The frequency of switches motivated by SP motivations was 17 times out of 17, equaling 100% of the switches.

Concerning the domain, 13 out of 17 of the switches were intrasentential, making up 76.47% of the code switches and four were intersentential (23.53%). Four of the switches were of the NE directionality (23.53%), with no occurrence of YHAr directionality.

With regards to syntax, 8 (47.06%) of the L1 constituents were nouns, and there were four verbs (23.53%). The remaining one was a phrase, and therefore was not of one specific syntactic form.
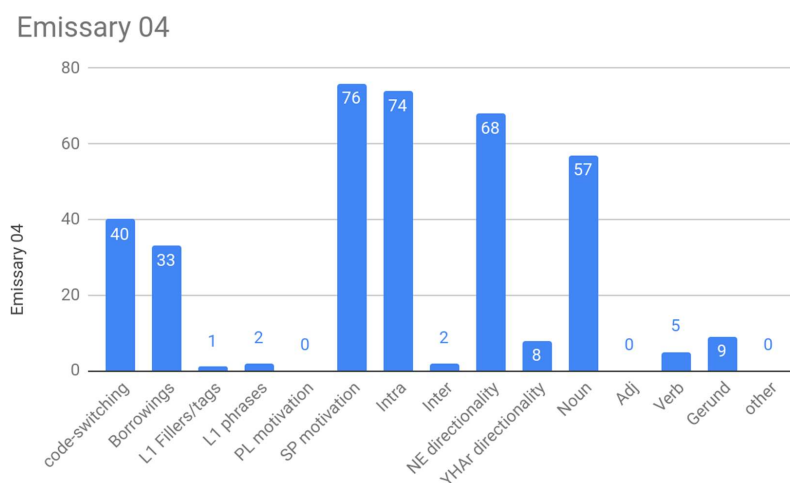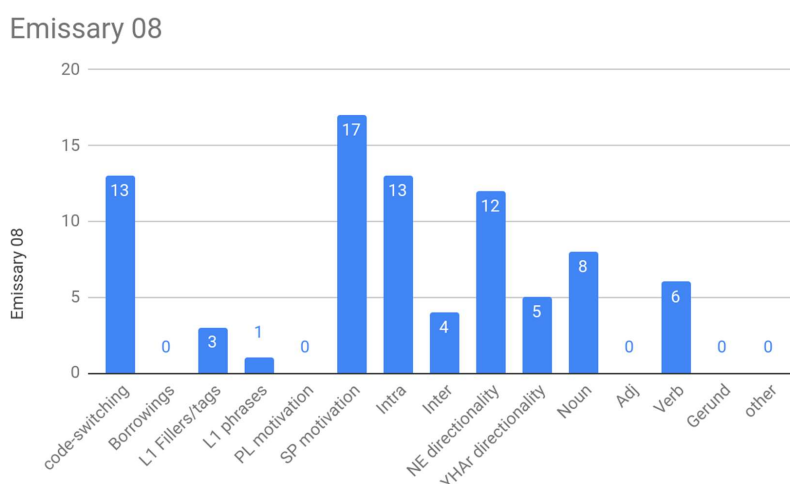


*Figure 19: Linguistic production of Emissary 08*

**Emissary 09**

(This lecture was given to males only, advanced students who had acquired YHAr a little)

In the following paragraphs, after coding Emissary 09's data, his linguistic behavior, specifically the frequencies of his CS, borrowing, and use of fillers/tags, and his motivations for these (PL or SP) will be presented and analyzed. In addition,

the domains will be analyzed (whether they are intersentential, intrasentential or cross-speaker), as well as their directionality and syntax. The correlation between these elements will be examined as well, and the various hypotheses mentioned previously will be verified or refuted.

It was found that Emissary 09 code-switched a total of 47 times out of 715 words (6.57%), with each being either a single lexeme, a phrase or an intersentential island, where a few words are considered as one code switch. Of these 47 instances of L1, three were phrases (6.38%), two were fillers (4.26% of all uses of L1), nine were borrowings (19.15% of all uses of L1) and 33 were code switches (70.21% of all uses of L1).

The frequency of switches motivated by SP motivations was 46 times out of 47, equalling 97.87% of the switches. The one PL switch comprised 2.13% of the total.

Concerning the domain, 47 out of 47 of the switches were intrasentential, making up 100% of the code switches. Some 44 of the switches were of the NE directionality (93.66%), with three occurrences of YHAr directionality (6.38%).

With regards to syntax, 42 (89.36%) of the L1 constituents were nouns, and there were three adjectives (6.38%). The remaining two were phrases, and therefore were not of one specific syntactic form.
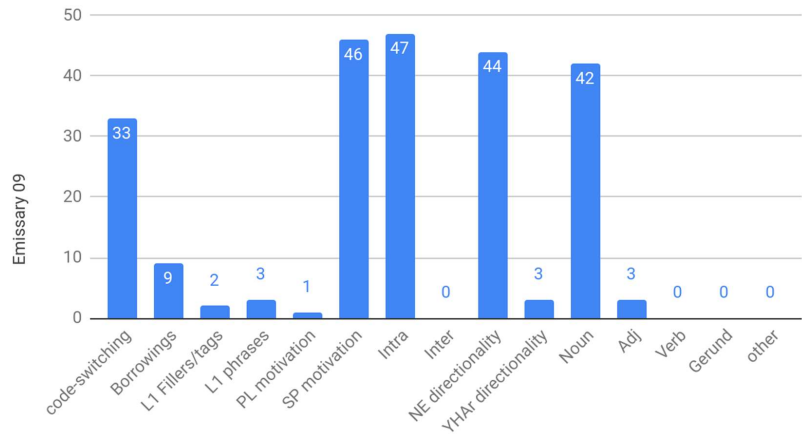
*Figure 20: Linguistic production of Emissary 09*

**Emissary 10**

 (This lecture was given to males only, advanced students who had acquired YHAr a little)

In the following paragraphs, after coding Emissary 10's data, his linguistic behavior, specifically the frequencies of his CS, borrowing, and use of fillers/tags, his motivations for these (PL or SP) will be presented and analyzed. In addition, the domains will be analyzed (whether they are intersentential, intrasentential or cross-speaker), as well as their directionality and syntax. The correlation between these elements will be examined as well, and the various hypotheses mentioned previously will be verified or refuted.

It was found that Emissary 10 code-switched a total of 40 times out of 930 words (4.30%), with each being either a single lexeme, a phrase or an intersentential island, where a few words are considered as one code switch. Of these 40 instances of L1, none were phrases (0%), one was a filler (2.5% of all uses of L1), fifteen were

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borrowings (37.5% of all uses of L1) and 24 were code switches (60% of all uses of L1).

The frequency of switches motivated by SP motivations was 46 times out of 47, equalling 97.87% of the switches. The one PL switch comprised 2.13% of the total.

Concerning the domain, 40 out of 40 of the switches were intrasentential, making up 100% of the code switches. Some 40 of the switches were of the NE directionality (100%).

With regards to syntax, 29 (72.5%) of the L1 constituents were nouns, and there were seven adjectives (17.5%). One was a gerund (2.5%), and two were classed as other (5%). The remaining one was a phrase, and therefore was not of one specific syntactic form.
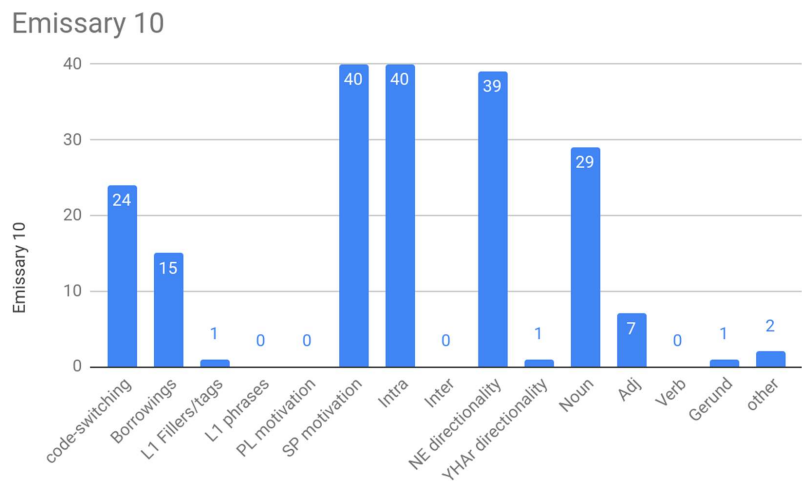


*Figure 21: Linguistic production of Emissary 10*

# Chapter 5: Analysis

In the former chapters, the results of the questionnaires, and especially of the ten lectures, were analyzed. In this chapter, there will be an attempt to present a variety of presentations, such as speeches, stories, lectures or text-based classes given by the emissaries, mostly in a formal manner.

The linguistic production analyses will be focused on the emissaries' speech, as well as on the students' responses, but to a lesser extent. The structure of the analysis will follow the subsequent parameters, which are: 1) the CS motivation, 2) the CS directionality, 3) the CS domain, 4) the linguistic structures and its constraints, comparing them to various theories, 5) the typological differences, 6) the competence, as affected by background variables and 7) characteristics and strategies: translation.

## 5.1 Motivation, directionality and domain

One of the major goals of this research is to uncover the motivation that affected the CS of the lecturers, and the interlocutors as well, but in a more limited fashion. There is a fundamental assumption that sociopragmatic motivations are influenced by the speakers' desires to show solidarity with the interlocutors, to affiliate them into their group, to portray sensitivity towards the listeners, and to achieve social interests (Gumperz (1982); Walters (2005); Raichlin (2009); Altman (2008); Poulisse (1997)). This proves that the speaker, who switches from the ML to his L1, has no difficulties in eliciting the L2 utterances, neither in fluency, nor in accuracy. However, he does it for sociopragmatic motivations.

In this current study, the lecturers mostly (96% of the time) switched from NE to YHAr and vice versa, as a result of their sociopragmatic motivations, and not due to psycholinguistic motivations.

According to Valdes and later Zentella (as cited in Raichlin 2009: 18), "The classic sociolinguistic position is that switching into the native language strengthens indigenous language maintenance identity, while switching into the non-native

language is meant to assert power and authority." Contrary to that position, the data of the current research suggests that the emissaries were not seeking to assert authority and power; rather they sought to empower the interlocutors by enabling them to access Jewish culture.

In addition, there may be other reasons. Walters (2005: 202) states that "It would also be plausible to assume that switching from a weaker to a stronger language, from a second to a primary language, is more likely for reasons of lexical access and other processing phenomena, while switching from L1 to L2 may be more prompted by interaction, by micro-sociolinguistic factors". In the current study, it is clear that both languages had become superordinate languages, whose prestige depended on the situation. The data indicated that the majority of the lecturers, 70%, had control over both languages. Hence, the directionality reflected the intellectual and social goals of the lecturers (i.e. rabbis), suggesting that the linguistic issue did not play a role here and did not constitute a linguistic obstacle.

Regarding the domains (inter-sentential, intra-sentential, and cross-speaking utterances), the lecturers switched codes in the intra-sentential domain in 94.5% of the instances, and only 5.5% inter-sententially. The single instance of cross-speaking utterances represents 0.05%. In short, intra-sentential CS was the overwhelming domain in this study.

Regarding the lexical items used by the emissaries, it was found that they used nouns in 80.3% of the instances of CS, slightly more than four times than the total of all other types. The second most dominant lexical item to be switched was adjectives (5.8%), followed by verbs (3.9%) and then gerunds (3.2%). In general, this data fit the findings of the current research, which posits that nouns are used most frequently for switching (Raichlin 2009).

## 5.2 CS constraints

In this research, a very substantial issue to be investigated is whether the CS employed by the bilinguals has some linguistic constraints, or whether it is governed by grammatical and syntactic rules, or it is done randomly. Based on Chomsky's Standard Theory (1965), which details the construct of generative grammar, it is postulated that every person is born with a universal linguistic mechanism, and every language is unconsciously instructed by a set of grammatical rules. Therefore, the structural models and theories developed throughout the last four decades strive to investigate and explore whether there are some constraints that are employed by bilinguals all over the world, and this research endeavors to find out if there is compatibility between the existing theories and the linguistic production of the participants in this study. This research has combined both theories - structural as well as social. Therefore, the leading structural theories to be examined are Shana Poplack's Linear Model (1980), and Myers-Scotton MLF and 4M models (1993, 2002), while Gumperz' 1982 Socio-linguistic approach investigated the social aspect of CS. In addition, the inclusive SPPL model by Walters (2005), which deals with both structural and social motivations, tracks the motivation for CS of the speakers.

## 5.3 Compatibility of theories to the emissaries' linguistic behaviours when lecturing

In this research, the linguistic CS behavior of the participants has been tracked. The goal was to find out whether there are some constraints and rules that govern the production, or whether they code-switch randomly. Since there has been a great deal of research on bilinguals' production, that has spanned the last four decades, the leading figures in the field have come to the conclusion that there are certain constraints and rules that bilinguals subconsciously follow when they code switch.

Therefore, four central models have been examined, in order to find whether there is compatibility between the most familiar and dominant theories of this field,

and the linguistic productions of the participants in the current research. Two structural models have been selected, as well as one social model, and another model which is a combination of both. The structural models are Poplack's Linear Model (1980) and Myers-Scotton's MLF model (1993), as well as her 4M model (2002). The social model is Gumperz' (1982) social model, and the combination model is Walters' SPPL model (2005).

### 5.3.1 Linear model (Shana Poplack 1980)

Poplack (1980) analyzed a classic use of CS, according to her linear model. She discussed two syntactic constraints: the free morpheme constraint, where "codes may be switched after any constituent in discourse, provided that constituent is not a bound morpheme" (1980: 585); and the equivalence constraint, "where the juxtaposition of L1 and L2 elements does not violate a syntactic rule of either language" (Namba 2002). Concerning the current study's participants, their linguistic production was found to be completely compatible with the Linear Model.

It is important to note that all of the participants were adults, contrary to other studies, where the participants were children. In those studies, this principle was found to be violated (see Raichlin 2009).

Below we will analyze seven of the ten emissaries' CS use, emissaries 01, 02, 03, 05, 06, 08 and 09, randomly chosen, according to Poplack.

### Emissary 01

we're going to continue talking about *pey↑sach* (HL -Passover).

Here, the use of the switch "Peysach" is a free morpheme, in the form of a preposition + indirect object, and "Peysach" is used as an equivalent lexical item to the word "Passover". (P+N) The rules are kept. This example is one of the consistent forms of speech throughout the lecture.

discussing the whole concept of *e-mu-na* (H-faih), of faith

'discussing the whole concept' has the form of determiner + indirect object, and 'of e-mu-na' is an adjective, of faith. The word 'emuna' is a free morpheme and linearity has been kept.

we connected it also with **amalek** ( H-an enemy of the Jewish people)

The word "connected" is a verb, and its preposition is "with". The indirect object is "Amalek". Therefore, the structure is (P+N). Or, preposition + free morpheme.

the **zo-har** ( HL-a Jewish book) calls the ↑**mat-zah** ( HL-an unleavened flatbread) food of faith.

In the above sentence there are two cases of CS: 'Zohar' and 'matzah'. 'Zohar' is and 'matzah' are both nouns, and 'matzah' is a direct object. The structure therefore follows the following equation: (D+N+argument). The argument consists of (V+D+N+N+PP+N). Despite the presence of two CS constituents, which are free morphemes, in a short sentence, there is no violation of the surface structure.

We already dis↑cussed this in **chassidus** ( HL-Hasidic philosophy)

The grammatical structure of the former sentence is simply (P+N), where N is the CS, and is also an indirect object.

(↑An↑yone that has ever stepped over) the threshold of **Kabbalah** (HL-an ancient Jewish wisdom) and **chassidut** (HL-Hasidic philosophy) know that we never do things as a means for an end.

(D-[the] + N-[threshold] + P-[of] + N-[Kabbalah] + CONJ-[and] + N-[chassidut]) is the structure here, as there are two cases of CS. 'Kabbalah' is a free morpheme borrowing, whereas 'chassidut' is a code switch which consists of a free + bound morpheme, and therefore there are no issues with either of them regarding their compatibility with Poplack's model.

if you're lighting **Chanukah** ( HL-a Jewish festival) candles

Here the structure is (V+Adj+N), with the direct object being 'Chanukah candles'.

in the ↑**chi**↓**nuch** ( HL-education), yea, anyone heard about the book ↑**chinuch** (education).

'The Chinuch' is the name of a book which is being used as a source. It is inserted as the noun in the following: (P+D+N). Despite the numerous grammatical errors, the surface structure has not been violated.

he ↑says "*ach↑ar hapeul↑ot nimshachot halevavot*" ( H Proverb-after the actions goes the heart) after the ↑actions goes the heart.

This is not a case of CS, but rather a full quotation followed by its translation. The quote and the translation each make up a clause. The CS occurs intersententially. It is an agent and predicate, followed by a CS island, a citation. The citation is an intersentential clause. Again, there is no violation of the ML structure.

says the words there is *pnimi↑yut* ( HL-internality) and *chitzo↓ni↓yut* (HL-externality)

There are two CS cases here, 'pnimiyut' and 'chitzoniyut'. They are inserted as structures into the following equation: (AUX+N+CONJ+N)

the word is going to be *ma↑kif* ( HL-extensive) *makif* (extensive) ;what is the translation of the word *makif* (extensive) guys?

(VP+DO), that is, 'is going to be' makes up a verb phrase, and makif is a direct object. "is going to be" is a progressive participle.

In conclusion, it can be seen here that emissary 01 never violates the surface structure despite his constant use of CS. Nouns, which were all free morphemes, were code-switched at the highest frequency. The emissary unconsciously followed Poplack's two constraints throughout the entire lecture. Poplack's linear model holds fast for emissary 01. In short, there is compatibility found between Poplack's theory and this lecture.

**Emissary 02**
we don't eat Radish and Garlic on *Peysach* ( HL-Passover)

Here, it can be seen that the use of the switch "Peysach" is found to be a free morpheme, in the form of a preposition + object. (P+N)

We're afraid of any drop of '*Chametz*' ( HL-leaven)

The word 'Chametz' here is used similarly to the way the former word 'peysach' was used, with a preposition + object form. (P+N)

Who is it that adds this *min-hag* (HL-custom)?

This sentence was said by a student of the emissary, using a similar structure. (D+N)

*Tzno↑-yin↓* (HL-radish) it <u>sa↑ys</u> in *Cha↑yei-Adam* (a book "Adam's life")

'Tznoyin' is a quote here from the text that the lecture is based on, while 'Chayei Adam' is the name of a famous personage. It is therefore a CS case of Pronoun + object form. (PRO+N)

for those who fo↑llow< in in> *nu-sach* ( HL-version) *A↑sh-ke-naz* (HL, [a loan word adopted from German] type of Jews) in Lithuania

(P+N) Shows up here as well.

because the *Prima G↑ado↓m* ( H Phrase- a Jewish commentator) who was one of the contreries (commentaries) of the *Shul-chan A-ruch* ( H Phrase-a Jewish book)

Both cases of CS are pronouns in this sentence.

He's an *A↑-cha-ron* ( HL-one of the last commentators)

This is a very simple sentence, its elements being (D+N)

but >he has< <emendations> on the side of the *ge-ma-ra* (HL-Talmud)

Although this is not a case of CS, the borrowing in the above sentence follows the structure (P+D+N)

one of the greatest *Torah* (HL-[ has become a borrowing in English] the entire Hebrew Bible) minds

Again, this sentence is a case of borrowing rather than of CS. This sentence is made up of - (A+N).

Who is it that I should kee:p the *minhag* ( HL-custom)?

There are these *sfa-rim* (HL-books) that collect a:ll the k *minha↑gim* (HL-customs)

The (P+N) structure occurs twice here

*Sfaradim* (HL-Spaniards)< officially eat <u>ri↑</u>ce

'Sfaradim' are a type of Jews, and therefore are a Pronoun, followed by an adjective, a verb and a noun. (PRO+Adj)

we rely on *kashrus* ( HL-a set of Jewish religious dietary laws) *agencies* they check the salt.

'Kashrus agencies' is an (Adj + N), which is located in the sentence as an object phrase, and the word 'that' is missing, which is an empty complementizer, lacking a word that enables the sentence to be clearly understood.

there was a a a a *mashgiach* (HL-supervisor), who was a *kash-rus* (HL- a set of Jewish religious dietary laws) supervisor.

'a Mashgiach' is a (P+N).

it affects our *emU↑na* (HL-faith)

This sentence is a simply structured one; the switch 'emuna' is instead of 'faith' which is the object of the sentence. It is a simple free morpheme. (P+N)

*Matzah* (HL-an unleavened flatbread) the food of fai↑th the food of <u>hea↑ling</u>

Here, 'Matzah' is a borrowing, and is used as the subject of the sentence. (S+ART+O)

Conclusion of the analysis of emissary 02, according to the two constraints restricting the use of CS: it was found that there was perfect compatibility between Poplack's model and emissary 02's linguistic behavior. There was no violation of the surface structure, and only free morphemes were unconsciously selected by the lecturer, to the exclusion of bound morphemes.

**Emissary 03**

This is the way w-the *Rebbe* (Yiddish Lexeme (YL) -a Jewish leader) is

Emissary 03 is not at a high level of proficiency, so his structures tend to be simple. Here he has used (ART+PRO).

a situation which contemplate of *Va-yik-chu e-lei-cha* ( H Expression- they will give to you) where a *yid-den* ( YL-a Jew) will have to be struggling

The emissary has structured his sentence as (P+NP) and (PRO+ART+PRO)

*vayikchu e-lei-cha* (H Expression-they will give to you) means the *a-voy-da* (HL- task) of the *yid* (YL-Jew)

"Avoyda" is a noun; therefore the sentence follows (ART+N+P+PRO)

tha <↑after *gim-mel* ( HL-the 3ʳᵈ of) ↑*tam-muz* (HL-a name of a Hebrew month)

Gimmel Tammuz is a date. It makes up a Noun Phrase, making (P+NP)

it comes from *ve-a-ta te-tza-ve* ( H Quotation-and you will command) (P+NP) once more.

after the *tku-fa* ( HL-period) of *chaf-za-yin* ( HL-the 27ᵗʰ of) *adar* (HL- a name of a Hebrew month)

There are two cases of CS here, (ART+O+P+NP)

end of *oys yud-alef* ( HL- the 11ᵗʰ letter)

Again, (P+NP) occurs in the lecture.

you can have the direct and *gashmiusdikke* (YL-materialistic) connection

The usual form of (P+N) is adopted here.

*Chaf-za-yin* (the 27ᵗʰ of) *A-daR*

This sentence was a stand-alone CS island, a noun phrase

on *chaf ches* (HL-the 28ᵗʰ of) *Nis-san* (HL- a name of a Hebrew month) eleven months earlier

Once again a date is said in JE, (P+NP)

What does that mean in the *mai-mar* ( HL- saying) here

Here is a typical (P+ART+O) structure. It is a standard form

you're not on your own in a revealed way tlooks like is the *a-voy-da* (HL- task) of *vayikchu el↑eicha* (they will give to you)

This is another grammatical mistake. It is unclear what the lecturer is trying to convey here, but he uses both a preposition and an article to introduce his object. The sentence is structured (V+P+ART+O+P+NP).

your *his-kash-rus* (HL- connection) to the *Rebbe* (YL- Jewish leader)

The above sentence uses the structure (PRO+O+P+ART+N)

the ↑*koyach* (HL- power) to do your *avoyda* (HL- task) *be-koy-chos* (HL-with power)

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The whole clause is made up of the following grammatical equation (ART+O+P+V+N+O)

In a re↑vealed way it happens the *Alter Rebbe's* (the old leader's) time

Once again, a grammatical error occurs in this sentence, as it is missing a preposition before the article in the following: (ART+PRO)

There are certain things which became which were strengthened, which was er maybe weakened in the generation ↓be↓fore, ↑and they were given a new inspi↑ration from the *Alter Rebbe's* (Y Phrase- the old leader's) times from the *Ba-al Shem Tov's* (H Phrase- a Jewish leader's) times

A grammatical error occurs in this sentence. It is missing a conjunction 'and' in between "the Alter Rebbe's times" and "the Ba-al Shem Tov's times". This error can be explained as a slip of the tongue, and a minimal, colloquial mistake. By intonation, one could understand that the speaker is referring to two distinct separate times. It is not necessarily a psycho-linguistic error. In addition, there is no CS instance in this sentence, rather two cases of borrowing, that is "Alter Rebbe" and "Ba-al Shem Tov". "From the Alter Rebbe's times" and "from the Ba-al Shem Tov's times" are both AP (Adjectival Phrases). The clause follows the structure of a borrowing, which is an indirect object - (O+Adj), the adjective describing the time.

the idea of a-*ha-vas is-ro-yel* (H Expressin- love for a fellow Jew) is not a new idea.

It is a nominative clause, lacking any verbs. The NP is a mixture of CS and English, and is "the idea of A-ha-vas is-*ro*-yel". The noun is "the idea", and it is described by the adjective, "ahavas isroyel", thus creating an NP, with 'of' being a preposition. Therefore it is (N+P+Adj). The syntactic order of that NP does not break the linearity of the sentence, and hence the use of the CS lexeme meets Poplack's principles of equivalent and free morphemes.

To sum up the analysis conducted on emissary 03, it was found that there was perfect compatibility between Poplack's model and emissary 03's linguistic behaviour. There was no violation of the surface structure, and only free morphemes were unconsciously selected by the lecturer, to the exclusion of bound morphemes.

**Emissary 05**

The *Rebbe* (YL- the Chabad Jewish leader) was in <↑all> ↑safe↓ty in ↑Paris, but nevertheless the *Friddeke* ↑*Rebbe* (Y Phrase- the previous Chabad Jewish leader) started efforts…

The subject of this sentence is 'the Rebbe', which is a borrowing. It comes as a free morpheme, which does not violate the surface structure. The next clause is the same, with the subject being 'the Friddeke Rebbe', which is structured as (ART+Adj+N). This case is an interesting lexical expression, as the adjective of the term is a code switch, and the noun is a borrowing, despite being used together often. In any case, it still fulfils the requirements of Poplack's principles, as it is a free morpheme and does not violate the surface structure.

Turned to a ↑*chassid* ( HL-a member of a Jewish sect) of his

The word 'Chassid' has become a borrowing which is more known by people who are exposed to a Hasidic surrounding specifically. Although it might be considered as a code switch amongst people who have no exposure to religion or theological sources, it is still known by many non-Hebrew speakers in certain communities (the noun Hasidism even appears in the dictionary and the thesaurus as an official lexeme [dictionary.com, thesaurus.com]). This lexeme is deemed an indirect object in that clause. It is a free morpheme, and therefore does not violate the surface structure.

So *Rav* (HL- Rabbi) Shneerson, the ↑*beis ha↑rav* (H Construct state - The Rabbi's house), went and spoke with the *Rebbe ( YL-the Chabad Jewish leader)*

Here the word 'rav' is a borrowing, and comes as a subject in the sentence. It is a free morpheme. The utterance 'beis harav' is a code switch, which appears as a fragmentary phrase, lacking the predicate, which is a verb or a helping verb. The phrase consists of (D+N+Adj). It seems as though the lecturer has left out an element of the sentence, which is characteristic of an unplanned colloquial spoken sentence. In any case, this sentence is completely compatible with Poplack's model.

*Mishpachas ha↑Rav* ( H Costruct State - The Rabbi's family)

The above phrase was spoken out of turn, by itself. It seems as though the lecturer uttered the beginning of a sentence using these words, and then regretted it and began a new paragraph, abandoning these words. They became an agent without a predicate. The words together form a (N+P+ART+N). As it is an independent sentence, it does not contradict the linearity of the model.

to become part of the *ne↑siyus* (HL- presidency)

The CS 'nesiyus' appears here as a direct object, a noun following a determiner (D+N). IT is a free morpheme and does not violate the surface structure.

*Tzaddikiim ↑tovim le↑oylam* (H Quotation- the pious are good for the world).

This sentence is a quotation, completely in Hebrew. The lecture introduces it as a source for his point. The entire quotation follows the structure (N+Adj+P+N), the direct object being 'Tzaddikim'. The sentence is completely in Hebrew, and therefore it must be that it does not violate the principles of Poplack's model.

didn't become very involved in in the leadership of *Lubavitch* (a Jewish movement called after the geographical origion they came from [Russia]), … main institution which is <*machane yisroel* ( H Costruct State - camp "Israel") *merkaz chinuch ( H Costruct State- education center) and kehas* ( HL- a name of a Jewish printing),>

There are several cases of CS in this sentence. The first, 'Lubavitch', is a borrowing, and comes as the second noun in the structure (N+D+N). The other three, 'machane yisroel', 'merkaz chinuch' and 'kehas', are all nouns, and are listed in succession as (N+N+ART+N). All three are indirect objects. They are free morphemes and therefore do not break the linearity of the sentence. But *Chassidim* ( HL- members of a Jewish sect) were not at that *ma↑drei:ga* ( HL- level),

There are two instances of CS in this clause, although 'Chassidim' is a borrowing and 'madreiga' is an indirect object; it follows the structure (D+N). Neither violates the surface structure, since both are free morphemes. He was called upon the *Toy-rah* (HL- the entire Hebrew Bible). *Yaamoyd* (will stand) *Kvod Kdushat Adoneinu Moreinu veRabeinu ben haRav* (H Quotation - our respectful and holy lord and Master, the son of) Levi Yitzhak,

There is a borrowing in these sentences, 'Toyrah', which is a direct object here. Following that is an entire EL spoken solely in Hebrew. It is a source from the Jewish prayer book.

Came the farbrengen of *yud* ( HL- the 10ᵗʰ of) *shvat*, Wednesday evening, they had the *yud* (the 10ᵗʰ of) *shvat*, (HL- a name of a Hebrew month) the Rebbe was *farbrengening* (YL- A gathering of Chassidim in which they would sing Chabad tunes and discuss or hear sermons about self-improvement) durrring the times of the *Rebbe Rayatz* ( Y Phrase- the previous Jewish leader) as <u>well</u>

The code switch 'farbrengen', which appears in the sentence as an independent clause, is a time description, along with the next code switch uttered, 'yud shvat'. THe first code switch, 'farbrengen' was repeated later with the suffix -ing, using the auxiliary 'was', + verb 'farbrengen' + suffix -ing, making it a nonce borrowing. It is a free morpheme + bound morpheme, so it seems as if it is a violation of Poplack's model, claiming that no CS will appear between a free and bound morpheme. However, as it is a nonce borrowing, using the code switch and adapting the syntactic rules of English, (V+ing, present progressive), there is actually no violation of its linearity. It precedes the next code switch, 'Rebbe Rayatz', which is a direct object. Again, the linearity has not been violated.

the *Rebbe* ( YL- the Chabad Jewish leader) had said already one, two, a ↑coup↑le of *sichas* ( HL- talks), explaining this and ↑that per↑taining to the ↑first *yartzheit* (YL- the anniversary of the death of a parent) and other things

'A couple of sichas' is a direct object phrase, which is a mix of English and Hebrew CS of a noun phrase in plural. The code switch 'sichas' is a free morpheme (sicha) + a bound morpheme (-s). There is no violation of the linearity of the surface structure, since the free + bound morphemes are uttered in only one language. If it had been uttered in two languages, the free morpheme in one language and the bound morpheme in the other language, then Poplach's principle could have been violated.

*Chassidim* (HL- members of a Jewish sect) want to hear a *maamar* (HL-saying)

The lecturer uses one borrowing, 'chassidim', which is a free morpheme + bound morpheme, turning it into a plural lexeme, but it is expressed in one language,

and therefore the surface structure remains intact. The CS 'maamer' also appears in this clause, and is a direct object.

with the _nigun_ ( HL- melody) of the ↑*maamar* (HL- saying).

There are two code switches in this clause, and both are free morphemes. They are both (D+N), and they do not break the linearity of the surface structure.

**Emissary 06**

Was a *ch*↑*assid* (HL- a member of a Jewish sect) of the *Alter Rebbe* (Y Phrase - the old Jewish leader), the *Alter Rebbe* (Y Phrase- the old Jewish leader)↑*told* him once Isaac Isaac [ Yiddish ] he said Isaac Isaac ↑*every*thing but not the *Rebbe* ( YL- the Chabad Jewish leader).

The sixth emissary starts off his lecture with the borrowing 'chassid'. This borrowing is the agent, and is a free morpheme. 'The Alter Rebbe' is a noun phrase which consists of both a CS 'Alter' and borrowing 'Rebbe', where 'Rebbe' is the noun and 'Alter' is an adjective. The syntactic structure is preserved, and therefore does not deviate from Poplack's model. This NP is the direct object of the clause. 'Chassid of the Alter Rebbe' together makes up a direct object phrase.

the next one in line was gonna be the *Mittler Rebbe* (Y Phrase- the middle Jewish leader)

Just like in the former case, the following direct object phrase is made up of (ART+Adj+N). The adjective in this structure is the code switch, 'Mitteler', and the noun, 'Rebbe', is the borrowing. The adjective contains a free and bound morpheme, and both are in JE. Therefore, there are no problems with regards to Poplack's model.

First we had the *Ba'al Shem Tov* ( H Phrase- a Jewish leader)

'The Baal Shem Tov' is another pseudonym, like 'the Alter Rebbe' and 'the Mitteler Rebbe', but this one is made up solely ofcode switches, as opposed to the others, which were a mix. The pseudonym consists of three lexemes, which are preceded by an article (D+NNN). 'The Baal Shem Tov' is the direct object of this clause. Again, it does not affect the syntactic structure or its compatibility to Poplack's model.

then one year lata the son told the *Maggid* (HL- preacher)

'Maggid' is yet another code-switched pseudonym, identical to 'the Baal Shem Tov'. Both lack the word 'REbbe', making it a noun instead of a noun phrase.

what *ne<u>sh</u>ama* ( HL- soul) he ↑has he has a *ne<u>sh</u>ama cha<u>d</u>asha* (H Costruct State- - new soul) he has to re<u>veal</u> *pnimiyus ha<u>Torah</u>* (H Constuct State- the inner Torah), *Chas<u>s</u>idus* ( HL- Hasidic philosophy) *Cha↑<u>bad</u>* (HL- a Jewish movement)

This syntactically mistaken clause involves the code switch 'Neshama', which is a direct object. It is a free morpheme, and therefore the error is not a result of this CS, and therefore there is no deviation from the model. 'Neshama Chadasha' is a direct object phrase in JE. 'Neshama' is the noun of this noun phrase, and 'chadasha' is the adjective. 'Chadash' is a lexeme, and the suffix '-a' is derivational for feminine. Therefore, it is a free + bound morpheme, and does not ruin the surface structure of the utterance. The next CS is the direct object phrase 'pnimiyus haTorah', which is a noun, 'pnimiyus', ?  … chassidus chabad

when he picked up his f:oot to go into the wa↓gon, ↑*<u>nifte</u>↓chu lo sh↑aarei chochma* (H Clause - the gates of wisdom were opened for him).

In this sentence, the lecturer has code-switched an entire clause, '↑nifte↓chu lo sh↑aarei <u>cho</u>chma'. The first clause is a dependent one, as a time adjunct, and the agent and the predicate were uttered fully as code switches. Therefore, there is no deviation from the linearity of the sentence.

they give you *<u>koychois</u> mle↑<u>mayla</u>* (H Phrase - powers from above).

Here, the code switch 'koychois mlemayla' is a direct object + place adjunct. The direct object phrase consists of (N+N). Since it is an object phrase, uttered fully in one language, there is no deviation from the linearity.

So the *<u>Rashag</u>* ( HL- a relative of the Jewish leader) (↑thought, that's what he said, if <he'll take it upon himself, uh> *lema↑yla* ( HL- above) will give him the *<u>koychois</u>* (HL- powers), because the *chas<u>s</u>idim* (HL- members of a Jewish sect) need the *<u>Rebbe</u>* (YL- the Chabad Jewish leader).

The code switch 'Rashag' is a noun which is a free morpheme, and therefore is compatible with the model. The lexeme 'lemayla', is in a nominative case, which

marks the agent of the sentence, which is a code switch. The direct object of the clause is 'the koychois' (D+N), which consists of two morphemes, the first free and the latter a derivative bound morpheme of the plural. The syntactic structure of the sentence has not been damaged. The next argument contains a subject/agent, which consists of (D+N) , and direct object, 'the Rebbe', both being borrowings, and free morphemes. The entire sentence is in line with Poplack's principles.

he went to con↑sult with the *Ramash* (HL- a pseudonym of the Jewish leader)

'the Ramash' is the indirect object of this clause. 'The Ramash' is a pseudonym, and is a free morpheme. It follows the principles of Poplack's model.

and to what extent like <u>pou:r</u>ing cold water *ke↑mayim karim*> al *nefesh ayefa* ( H Quotation- like pouring cold water on a tired soul) like pouring cold water on a ti↓red (hesitates) soul.

This code switch is a proverb which has been inserted in the middle of its translation, and it is an indirect object phrase. The transitive verb 'pouring' was inserted into this translation in order to help the interlocutors to understand the proverb uttered in the other language. Despite being interjected into the middle of the translation, the linearity of the sentence is not lost, and it is compatible with the model.

every morning he woke up, he took a *sid↓dur* (HL- prayer book), he said <u>*birkos*</u> <u>*hashachar*</u> (H Construct State- the morning prayer) from the siddur

The borrowing 'siddur' is the direct object of its clause, and so is the CS 'birkos hashachar'. Their location in the sentence does not *offend* the principles of Poplacks model.

### Emissary 08

they hired a *metargem* ( HL- translator)

Emissary 08 code-switches here with the direct object 'metargem', which is a free morpheme and therefore does not violate the surface structure of the sentence.

seven hundred people came to the auditorium to listen to the brilliant professor share his *bina* (HL- wisdom) wisdom on physics

The word 'bina' is the code switch of the above sentence, while 'share his bina wisdom' is a dependent clause, which is a direct object complement. The word 'bina' is a direct object in that dependent clause, and comes as a free morpheme and therefore does not ruin the linearity of the sentence.

A minute, *nu* (Y tag- come on)

The code switch 'nu' is used here as a filler, which is very typical of Jewish Ashkenazi speakers. Fillers cannot ruin the linearity of a sentence, and therefore this instance of CS is compatible with Poplack's model.

He looks at the crowd and he tells them three words in Chinese, they applaud the speaker, good night, bye bye, *lehitraot* (HL- goodbye).

The code switch 'lehitraot' serves as a direct object in the latter sentence, and takes its place as the third repetition of its meaning. This greeting is said twice in English and once in Modern Hebrew (MH). No violation of the surface structure occurs in this sentence.

who is blessed with a skill of taking my brilliant wisdom and *letzamtzem* ( HL- compressing) compressing an hour into a few words.

The code switch 'letzamtzem' is an infinitive, whereas the accompanying translation 'compressing' is a gerund. The dependent clause constituents are as follows: the agent of this utterance, 'who', is arguably a complementizer; 'is blessed' is the passive verb of that predicate, and all the rest are together an adverbial phrase. It must be noted that the switch 'letzamtzem', as an infinitive, is a grammatical mistake which should not have been inserted into the sentence. It should have been inflected to become 'metzamtzem'. Although the grammar is mistaken here, the code switch is still inserted correctly and therefore does not violate the surface structure.

Itzhak *metzahek es* (H l- is laughing with) Rivka *ishto* ( HL- his wife) – Isaac was laughing with Rebecca his wife.

The code switch here is a full quote from The Old Testament, 'Itzhak metzahek es Rivka ishto'. It is an intersentential code switch, and therefore is compatible with Poplack's theory.

*Legalot erva* (to expose nakedness) – to expose nakedness.

'legalot erva' is an infinitive of the transitive verb 'legalot', and 'erva' stands as the direct object.

*Shachva* ( HL- lie with me) – and she lied with me.

'shachva' is a verb in past tense, and comes independently in the sentence. Therefore, it does not break the linearity of the sentence.

You think I'm a *yente* (YL- gossip girl) and I'm interested in your gossip?

The code switch 'yente' is the direct object of this interrogative sentence. It is a free morpheme and therefore does not violate the surface structure.

I won't tell your *shviger* (YL- mother-in-law), I won't tell your mother-in-law.

'shvigger' serves as an indirect object in this sentence. It is a free morpheme and does not violate the linearity of the sentence.

All in all, lecturer 08 structured his sentences simply and concisely, and therefore did not complicate himself too much to allow for a break in the linearity.

### Emisary 09

↑↓ A guest from the land of Israel from *Eretz Isr↑o↓el* ( H Construct State- the land of Israel)

Emissary 09 begins with his first code switch being 'Eretz Yisroel', which is the translation of 'the land of Israel'. Both the original and the translation are place adjuncts, and are located in the right place in the sentence. They do not violate the surface structure of the sentence.

His name was *Reb* (YL- Rabbi) Shloime

The code switch 'Reb' is the direct object of the clause. It is an adjectival phrase, (Adj + N), and does not violate the surface structure.

So he comes ↑*Sha↓bbos* ( YL- Saturday) to Rabbi Wolf

Although the sentence above is missing a preposition before the borrowing 'Shabbos', which is a time adjunct, it is a frequent habit amongst JE speakers to omit it. However, it does not violate the surface structure of the sentence.

He grew up in a home of ↑*Toyrah* (YL-the entire Jewish Bible) in a ↑home of ↓*Yiras Sha*↑*ma*↓*yim* (H Construct State- G-d fearing) in a home of ↑*Yid*↓*desh*↑*keit* (YL- Judaism)

There is one borrowing, 'Toyrah', and two code switches, 'Yiras Shamayim' and 'Yiddeshkeit' in this sentence, and they are all adjectival phrases. None of them are bound morphemes and they are all compatible with Poplack's theory.

How do you say ↑*kna*↓*kin* ↑*shemen*↓*kis* (Y Construct State- cracking seeds)?

Here, 'knakin shemenkis' is a descriptive expression, and is the direct object of the sentence. It is a free morpheme, and therefore the linearity of the sentence is preserved.

*Gari*↓*nim* ( HL- seeds)… hh ↑*Klak* ( YL- cracking)… means cracking sunflower seeds all day in the *sh*↑*pitz* (YL- squirt)

The lecturer begins his sentence with the code switch 'garinim', then he hesitates with a pause, uses an indistinctive filler, 'hh', and continues on to insert the code switch 'klak' as a stand-alone word. He then proceeds to explain himself with a fully structured sentence, again inserting a code switch, 'shpitz' in it. This code switch is a place adjunct, located correctly in the sentence. Despite the awkward nature of the sentence, the linearity is preserved.

everything in the world has a ↑*nig*↓*gun* (HL- melody) even an *api*↑*kor*↓*ses* (HL- heretic) has a ↑*nig*↓*gu:n* (HL- melody)

In this sentence, the code switch 'niggun' appears as a direct object twice, and 'apikorses', is the subject of the sentence. No violation of the surface structure is inflicted on the sentence.

you should have a little ↑*mitz*↓*vah* (HL-[has beome a borrowing , adopted from H]commandment) of *api*↑*kor*↓*ses* (HL- heretics)

The complement of the direct object phrase in this sentence has two constituents, an adjective and a noun. The first is uttered in NE, 'little', and the noun is a borrowing. The third constituent is the code switch 'apikorses', which is an adjective. The linearity of this sentence is maintained.

how to read the ↑*chu:*↓*mash* ( HL- the Torah printed form)

The borrowing 'chumash' appears as a direct object in this utterance, and does not violate the surface structure.

how horrible ↑ki↑va↓ya↑chol ↓yid↓dish↑keit ( H+Y L-so-called Judaism) is.

The code switch 'kivyachol' serves as an adverb in this sentence and the code switch 'yiddishkeit' is its direct object. They are both free morphemes and do not violate the surface structure.

Emissary 09's linguistic behaviour is fully compatible with Poplack's theory.

### 5.3.2 Myers-Scotton MLF and 4-M models

Myers-Scotton (1993) structurally divided CS into two types: Intersentential CS and intrasentential CS. Myers-Scotton's model is mainly focused on the intrasentential type of CS. She distinguishes between the ML and the EL, and claims that the distribution of the two languages is asymmetrical. She defined the ML as the more dominant of the two. Most of the language and the grammatical frame consist of the ML, and the inserted words are from the EL. She makes a distinction between content morphemes and system morphemes, where content morphemes is the label given to nouns, verbs, adjectives and some prepositions, and the system morphemes are the function words and the inflections. Content morphemes express semantic and pragmatic meanings and hold thematic significance, while system morphemes are used to denote relationships between content morphemes.

Myers-Scotton identifies two principles to this model: The Morpheme-Order Principle, and the System Morpheme Principles. According to her 1993 article, Myers-Scotton defines the principles as "The Morpheme-Order Principle: In ML + EL constituents consisting of singly-occurring EL lexemes and any number of ML morphemes, surface morpheme order will be that of ML." and "The System Morpheme Principle: In ML + EL constituents, all system morphemes which have grammatical relations external in their head constituent will come from the ML."

A very important comment to take notice of is that "Myers-Scotton advocates that as a unit of analysis, CP (projection of Complementizer) is more appropriate than

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a sentence because "even within a sentence, the grammars may not be intact" (Myers-Scotton 2002)." (Namba, 2004)

Myers-Scotton's MLF model is supported by her 4-M model, which refines and extends it. The 4-M model further distinguishes the system morphemes into three subcategories: early system morphemes, late bridge system morphemes and late outsider system morphemes.

Early system morphemes are activated at the lemma level, and contribute to the conceptual structure of the content morpheme.

Late system morphemes do not have any thematic roles, and are activated at the formulator level. They are further categorized into late bridge and late outsider system morphemes.

In the following, examples and discussions will be presented, taken from emissaries 01, 02, 04, 05, 07, 08 and 10, in order to find out whether compatibility exists between the emissaries' linguistic production and Myers-Scotton MLF and 4-M models.

**Emissary 01**

we're going to continue talking about **pey↑sach** (HL- Passover).

In this intrasentential CS, the ML is NE, and the inserted lexeme 'Peysach' comes from the EL. This switching appears as a content morpheme, so the constituents of this sentence, consisting of agent + predicate are in ML, while the last lexeme, 'Peysach', is in the EL. Emissary 01 followed the morpheme-order principle, and therefore fits Myers-Scotton's MLF model.

discussing the whole concept of **e-mu-na** ( HL- faith), of faith

This utterance is mainly produced in the ML. The only constituent that occurs in the EL is 'emuna', which is a content morpheme. It is located as a direct object in that utterance, and therefore the morpheme-order principle, which is ML + EL constituents, is evident in the sentence, thus upholding Myers-Scotton's MLF model.

the **zo-har** (a Jewish book) calls the ↑**mat-zah** (HL- an unleavened flatbread) food of faith.

There are two CS constituents in the EL in this sentence, and the frame is the ML. The agent of the sentence is D + N, where the determiner is a system morpheme, and the noun is uttered in the EL. In this case, it can be seen that the system morpheme principle is preserved, since, according to Myers-Scotton, all system morphemes which have grammatical relations external to their head constituent will come from the ML.

The predicate is made up of a combination of constituents taken from the ML and the EL. The verb 'calls' consists of content morpheme + system morpheme, 'call' + '-s'. This verb is uttered in the ML, which proves the system morpheme principle to be intact, since the system morpheme has to be taken from the ML, according to Myers-Scotton's MLF principles.

The direct object of this sentence consists of ART + N, 'the' + 'matzah'. The article is a functional word which originated from the ML, while the noun was a content morpheme from the EL, and therefore, both principles of Myers-Scotton's MLF model are implemented in the emissaries' linguistic productions.

if you're lighting **Chanukah** (a Jewish festival) candles

This CP contains one content morpheme in the EL 'Chanukah', and the rest is in the ML. It therefore follows the morpheme-order principle.

in the ↑**chi**↓**nuch** (HL- education), yea, anyone heard about the book ↑**chinuch** (education).

The EL content morpheme in this utterance is 'chinuch', mentioned twice. As it is a singly-occurring EL lexeme, it abides by the morpheme-order principle.

he ↑says "**ach**↑**ar hapeul**↑**ot nimshachot halevavot**" (H Quotation- after the actions goes the heart) after the ↑actions goes the heart.

The above utterance contains a quote in the EL, which occurs as an EL island. This quotation is an independent intersentential utterance and therefore, as EL islands are also well-formed by EL grammar but are inserted into an ML frame according to Myers-Scotton, the grammar used in this quotation is from the EL. As such, it does not negate the rules of the morpheme-order principle.

the morning including | *señora* ( Spanish Lexeme- Mrs.), e:h *kol hakavod* ( H Tag- well done)

and over ↑here comes *chassi↓dut* ( HL- Hasidic philosophy) and says the words there is *pnimi↑yut* (HL- internality) and *chitzo↓ni↓yut* (HL- externality)

All three of the code switches in the above sentence are content morphemes, and all the system morphemes are in the ML. Therefore, the MLF principles are observed in the sentence.

the word is going to be *ma↑kif* (HL- extensive), *makif* (HL- extensive), what is the translation of the word makif (extensive) guys?

The code switch in this sentence, all three times in which it occurs, is a content morpheme in the EL, while the entire sentence around it is in the ML, both content and system morphemes. The MLF principles are observed.

To conclude, emissary 01 followed Myers-Scotton MLF model for the entirety of the lecture. No exceptions were found.

Concerning the 4-M model, no violation was found since all of the switches were uttered according to her principle that "only the outsider late system morpheme should come from the ML" (Myers-Scotton 2002).

### Emissary 02

we don't eat Radish and Garlic on *Peysach* (HL- Passover).

There is one content morpheme in the EL in this utterance, 'Peysach'. All the system morphemes are in the ML, and therefore, the principles of the MLF model are not negated.

We're afraid of any drop of '*Chametz'* (HL- leaven)

Here, too, the code switch is in the EL, and as it is a content morpheme, Myers-Scotton's MLF model is preserved.

Who is it that adds this *min-hag* (custom)?

The word 'minhag' is the code switch in the above sentence. It is a content morpheme, and like the rest of the lexemes, including all of the system morphemes, is in the ML; the MLF model is not invalidated.

_**Tzno↑-yin↓**_ (HL- radish) it <u>sa↑ys</u> in _**Cha↑yei-Adam**_ (H construct State- a book "Adam's life)

There are two content morphemes from the EL in this utterance. Since all the system morphemes are in the ML, once again, the model's accuracy is preserved.

for those who fo↑llow< in in> _**nu-sach**_ (HL- -version) _**A↑sh-ke-naz**_ (HL- adopted from Germanic origin-version type of Jews) in Lithuania

The code switch phrase 'nusach Ashkenaz' in the above sentence is from the EL. As all the system morphemes are in the ML, the system morpheme principle appears correct.

He's an _<u>Acha-ron</u>_ (HL- one of the last commentators)

The frame of this short sentence is ML. There is only one EL lexeme, 'acharon', and it is a content morpheme. Therefore, although there are only three constituents in the entire sentence, the content morpheme of the agent is ML, the auxiliary is ML and is a system morpheme, and the determiner, 'an', is an ML system morpheme. The object of the sentence, a content morpheme lexeme, is in the EL. The sentence is structured according to the morpheme order principle of the ML.

but >he has< <emendations> on the side of the _**ge-ma-ra**_ (Ar. L- Talmud)

In this sentence, once more, the MLF is used. The code switch 'gemara' is in the EL (although this lexeme has gradually become a borrowing). As it is a content morpheme, the morpheme order principle is intact.

one of the greatest _**Torah**_ (A borrowing originated from HL-the entire Hebrew Bible) minds

As in the sentence before, 'Torah' is also an EL lexeme (or borrowing) and is a content morpheme. As such, the morpheme order principle is intact.

There are these _**sfa-rim**_ (HL- books) that collect a:ll the k _**minha↑gim**_ (HL- customs)

There are two code switch EL words in this utterance, 'sfarim', which consists of content morpheme 'sefer' and pluralizing suffix system morpheme '-im', and the word, 'minhagim', which similarly consists of a content morpheme, 'minhag', and system morpheme '-im', which expresses the plural form in the EL, and they both

comply with Myers-Scotton's principles. Each of them had preceding words, 'these' and 'all' respectively, which were ML system morphemes, thus keeping the MLF in the sentence.

According to the 4-M model, the use of the utterance, "sfarim", in plural form, is a combination of a content morpheme + early system morpheme. According to Myers-Scotton's principle, this morpheme is permitted to come from the EL. The same is true for for "minhagim".

*sfaradim*< (HL- Spaniards) officially eat ri↑ce

In much the same way, the EL lexeme 'sfaradim' is expressed in plural form, as it consists of the content morpheme 'sfaradi', and the EL system morpheme '-im', as above. It is correct according to the principles of Myers-Scotton's MLF model, as proven by the fact that later on in the sentence, the lecturer uses the ML verb 'eat' without adding '-'s', which has to appear when dealing with a singular agent. The grammatical structure is taken from the ML. It is also correct with regards to the 4-M model. The use of the early system morpheme was in the EL, as was mentioned earlier.

*ye↑sh liza↑her livdok lifnei peysach* (H Quotation- it is needed to be careful and to check before Passover) you should che↑ck before *peysach* (Passover) *es ko↑l hame:lach hada↑ru↓sh leyemei hapeysach* (H Quotation- all of the salt that is needed for Passover), all the salt that ugonna use on *peysach* (Passover)

The above sentence contains an EL island 'ye↑sh liza↑her livdok lifnei peysach ... es ko↑l hame:lach hada↑ru↓sh leyemei hapeysach' broken up only with a translation, an addressee specification. These clauses are intersentential codeswitchings and as such are not relevant to the principles of Myers-Scotton's MLF model, which only deals with intra-sentential codeswitchings. An additional switch, 'peysach', is mentioned twice outside the intersentential island, but as a lone content morpheme, thereby not threatening the compatibility of the lecturer's linguistic production to Myers-Scotton' theory.

we rely on *kashrus* (HL- a set of Jewish religious dietary laws) *agencies* they check the salt.

There is only one content morpheme in this sentence, 'kashrus'. Since it is a single content morpheme, it does not violate Myers-Scotton's theory.

there was a a a a ***mashgiach*** (HL- supervisor), who was a ***kash-rus*** (HL- a set of Jewish religious dietary laws) supervisor.

There are two switchers in this utterance, which are both single content morphemes, and do not violate the morpheme order principle.

it affects our ***emU↑na*** (HL- faith)

In this utterance, the switch 'emunah' comes as a content morpheme. Therefore, it abides by the rules of the morpheme order principle.

***Matzah*** (HL- an unleavened flatbread) the food of fai↑th the food of <u>hea↑ling</u>

In this sentence, there is one EL borrowing, 'matzah', which is used as an agent in the utterance. It is an EL content morpheme, and therefore follows the criteria of the morpheme order principle.

Concerning the 4-M model and emissary 02, no violation was found since all of the switches were uttered according to her principle, that "only the outsider late system morpheme should come from the ML" (Myers-Scotton 2002).

Emissary 04

where did this ***mishna*** (HL- a statement of law from the collection of all Jewish oral traditions)↑<u>fa:ll</u> ↓from

The code switch in the above clause, 'mishna', is a content morpheme, and is compliant with the principles of Myers-Scotton, since it is not a system morpheme and does not disturb the structure of the ML.

***Tfilas ha↑shachar*** (H Construct State- the morning prayer) we're talking about ↑***shacharis*** (HLO- the morning prayer) and <then> ***min↓cho*** (HL- the afternoon prayer) and then we're talking about ↑***davening*** (YL- praying) meaning we have been talking about ***kria***s ***Shma*** (H Construct State- reading a specific prayer) aright m-***mishna*** (HL- a collection of the Jewish oral traditions) ***perek*** ↑***daled*** (HL- chapter 4)

The switches in this sentence are all content morphemes. 'Tfilas hashachar' and 'kria shma' are compounds, whereas 'shacharis' and 'mincha' are single lexemes. There is a Yiddish verb, 'davening', which has become a nonce borrowing (a Yiddish

word on which English grammar is adapted; the root of the word is the Yiddish'daven', and the system morpheme '-ing', expressive of present progressive, is in NE), although it would seem to be a violation of the system morpheme principle, since it has become widely used by the Jewish people and become a nonce borrowing, so it therefore does not violate Myers-Scotton's system morpheme principle. An additional code switch was also uttered, the JE code switch island, 'mishna perek daled'. None of the switches in the sentence deviate from the rules of Myers-Scotton's principles.

As for "Tfilas hashachar" (the prayer of dawn / the dawn's prayer), the "-s" morpheme of "Tfilas" is used as a possessive system morpheme, as an equivalent to "-'s" (or the lexeme "of"). According to the classifications of the 4-M model, it is a late bridge morpheme, as well as a compound. Therefore, it is compatible with the constraints of the 4-M model.

bring them down in:to: you through an act of **kedusha** (HL- holiness)

The HL code switch 'kedusha' is a content morpheme. All of the constituents follow the NE structure and the EL lexeme, which is an object in that sentence, is spoken correctly according to Myers-Scotton's first principle, the morpheme order principle.

otherwise those very powerful **_koychos_** (HL- powers)

The head constituent of the noun complement, 'very powerful koychos', is 'koychos', which is a plural content morpheme used as an EL switch. It does not violate Myers-Scotton's rules, and follows the morpheme order principle.

Seems rather strange and **bechol ↑yom** (HL- every day)?

The two switchers in this interrogative utterance, 'bechol' and 'yom', are both content morphemes and do not interrupt the ML syntax. As such, the principles of Myers-Scotton remain intact in this case.

Well because there's a **_machloykeis_** (HL- controversy), about what? bout the ↑case? No

The HL switcher 'machloykeis' that is uttered in this sentence is a content morpheme, preceded by an ML determiner 'a', thus proving that the system morphemes are from the ML, and therefore the principles are abided by.

so now we might understand why the **mishna** (HL- a statement of law from the collection of all Jewish oral traditions) is here **bech<u>lal</u>** (H Tag- at all).

Similarly, the code switch 'mishna' is a content morpheme noun which follows the ML determiner 'the'. This means that, once again, it is correctly located with regards to the syntax, and it meets Myers-Scotton's principles.

The Hebrew word 'bechlal' here serves as a filler-Tag, and is therefore inherently unrelated to any system morphemes. This means that here, too, it meets Myers-Scotton's principles.

Concerning the 4-M model and emissary 04, no violation has been found since all of the switches were uttered according to her principle, that "only the outsider late system morpheme should come from the ML" (Myers-Scotton 2002).

Emissary 05

The **Rebbe** (YL- the Chabad Jewish leader) was in <↑all> ↑safe↓ty in ↑Paris, but nevertheless the **Friddeke ↑Rebbe** (Y Phrase- the previous Chabad Jewish leader) started efforts…

In this utterance, there are two switchers, used to refer to specific people, as epithets. The first epithet 'Rebbe' is a single content morpheme, and the second, 'fridikker Rebbe', consists of two content morphemes. Although these names appear in the sentence as nouns in both clauses, they do not break the rules of Myers-Scotton's principles.

Turned to a ↑**chassid** (HL- a member of a Jewish sect) of his

The Hebrew term 'chassid' is considered a borrowing, and is located syntactically correctly in this utterance.

So **Rav** (Rabbi) Shneerson, the ↑**beis ha↑rav** (H Construct State- The Rabbi's house), went and spoke with the **Rebbe** (YL- the Chabad Jewish leader)

This utterance contains three switchers, 'rav shneerson', 'beis harav', and 'rebbe', which is a borrowing. Although switchers and borrowings are used massively

in this utterance, it still meets Myers-Scotton's principles since the determiners, connectors, and the inflectional verbs, are used according to the ML.

'Beis harav' is a compound of "the house of the Rabbi". The possessive "-s" is a late bridge system morpheme, uttered in EL, and therefore does not violate the rules of the 4-M model.

*Mishpachas ha↑Rav* (H Construct State- The Rabbi's family)

This Hebrew compound is uttered as a stand-alone clause, and as it is an intersentential utterance; the principles of Myers-Scotton are not applicable.

Just like 'beis harav', the use of the late bridge system morpheme in 'Mishpachas ha↑Rav' is permitted, according to the 4-M model.

*Tzaddikiim ↑tovim le↑oylam* (H Quotation- the pious are good for the world).

The above quotation is an intersetential utterance, and therefore Myers-Scotton's principles are not applicable.

after the eleventh month of the **_Kaddish_** (HL- a prayer that is recited in memory of the dead) had passed, on the tenth **teves** on signs began to appear

Despite the sentence being grammatically awkward, the two switchers, 'kaddish' and 'teves', which are both single EL content morpheme lexemes, are not in opposition to Myers-Scotton's principles.

the **Rebbe** (YL- the Chabad Jewish leader) accepted people into *ye↑**chidus*** (HL- private meetings).

Once again, there are two code switches in this utterance, both being content morphemes following ML system morphemes. They are therefore correct according to Myers-Scotton's principles.

He was called upon the **_Toy-rah_** *(*YL- the entire Hebrew Bible*). **Yaamoyd** (will stand) **Kvod Kdushat Adoneinu Moreinu veRabeinu ben haRav** (H Quotation- our respectful and holy lord and Master, the son of) Levi Yitzhak

The first code switch in this utterance is 'Toryah', which is an EL content morpheme that was preceded with the system morpheme determiner, 'the'. It meets Myers-Scotton's principles. The second is an intersentential quote, and as such, is excluded from Myers-Scotton's analysis.

Came the farbrengen of *yud* (H L- the 10<sup>th</sup> of) *shvat*, Wednesday evening, they had the *yud* (the 10<sup>th</sup> of) *shvat*, the **Rebbe** (YL- the Chabad Jewish leader) was *farbrengening* (YL- A gathering of Chassidim in which they would sing Chabad tunes and discuss or hear sermons about self-improvement) durrring the times of the **Rebbe Rayatz** (Y Phrase- the previous leader) as <u>well</u>

This utterance contains a large amount of CS, in proportion to the ML words of the sentence: 'farbrengen', 'yud shvat', 'rebbe', 'farbrengening', and 'Rebbe Rayatz'. All of the EL switchers are content morphemes, with only one verb, while the rest are nouns. Since all of the system morphemes are from the ML, and the morpheme order principle was kept, there is no violation of Myers-Scotton's theory.

the **Rebbe** (YL- the Chabad Jewish leader) had said already one, two, a ↑coup↑le of *<u>sichas</u>* (HL- talks), explaining this and ↑that per↑taining to the ↑first *yartzheit* (YL- the anniversary of the death of a parent) and other things

The emissary has code-switched three times in this utterance, with 'Rebbe', 'sichas' and 'yartzheit'. All of the EL lexemes were content morphemes, and therefore the morpheme order principle and the system morpheme principle were kept.

**Chassidim** (HL- members of a Jewish sect) want to hear a *<u>maamar</u>* (HL-saying[ speech])

There are two switches in this utterance that appear as content morphemes: 'chassidim' and 'maamar'. Therefore, they do not violate Myers-Scotton's theory.

with the *<u>nigun</u>* (HL- melody) of the ↑*<u>maamar</u>* (HL-saying[speech]).

The two switches of this clause, 'nigun' and 'maamar', are content morpheme nouns. They are both preceded by the ML article 'the', and therefore are in compliance with the principles of Myers-Scotton's theory.

Concerning the 4-M model and emissary 05, no violation was found since all of the switches were uttered according to her principle, that "only the outsider late system morpheme should come from the ML" (Myers-Scotton 2002).

Emissary 07

If you come from like ↑me from a ↑*gushmike* (YL- materialistic)↑oulook a ↑*gushmike* (materialistic)↑outlook is ***bitul*** (HL- cancelling) ↑means ***bitul*** (cancelling)

There is a lot of repetition that occurs in this sentence, with two switches being used twice each. Unlike the previous transcripts, the lecturer produces an adjective code switch, 'gushmike', with an ML noun. Until this point, no other lecturer had used a noun phrase in which the head was in the ML and the other descriptive constituent was in the EL. Despite this, the EL switch is a content morpheme, and therefore it does not violate Myers-Scotton's rules. The other case of CS, 'bitul', is a single lexeme EL content morpheme, which is located correctly within the syntax of the sentence. It is not a smooth sentence grammatically, but nevertheless it does not violate Myers-Scotton's principles.

***Mayla*** (HL- advantage)↓of ***tora*** (the entire Hebrew Bible) in the ***oylam haze*** (H Construct State - this world).

In this sentence, all of the content morphemes are EL nouns, whereas all of the system morphemes are from the ML. Therefore, there is no violation of Myers-Scotton's principles.

and ***Torah*** (the entire Hebrew Bible) decides ***kashur*** (HL- allowed) ***passul*** (HL- unfit), if its something that can be used, something that can't be used

The two code switches in this sentence, 'kashur' and 'passul', are both EL content morphemes, and therefore follow the principles of Myers-Scotton's theory.

that is part of the ↑***dibur*** (HL- speech) of ***oylam haze*** (H Construct State- this world).

Here too there are two cases of CS, 'dibur' and 'oylam haze': 'dibur' is an EL single lexeme, while 'oylam haze' is a compound. Both are content morphemes with syntactically correct placements within the sentence, thus verifying Myers-Scotton's principles.

That is ***hamshacha*** (HL- continuation) of ***G-dliness*** in this world.

The single lexeme EL switch 'hamshacha' is a content morpheme, and as it is unencumbered by any EL system morphemes, it follows Myers-Scotton's principles, despite the omission of the determiner 'a' before the switch.

why, in ↑**_Torah_** (Borroeing, originated from HL- the entire Hebrew Bible), even if it comes down in this world and it deals with **_gashmike_** (YL- materialistic) things its still **_Elokus_** (HL- G-dliness) ↑G-dliness and nevertheless other **_chayus_** (HL- liveliness) in this world remains **_nivra_** (HL- creature).

In this sentence, the lecturer is consistent in producing a noun phrase with the head constituent, 'things', in the ML and the adjective, 'gashmike', in EL. However, since the adjective is an EL content morpheme, it is compatible with the theory. Another use of an EL term is the single lexeme code switch 'elokus', which is a content morpheme like 'gashmike'. The other two code switches, 'chayus' and 'nivra', are also single lexeme content morphemes as well. All of the switches are syntactically accurate, and they all comply with Myers-Scotton's principles.

The **_Alter Rebbe_** (Y Phrase- the elderly Chabad Jewish leader) speaks how **_elo↑kus_** (G-dliness)| G-dliness | **_seychel_** ( HL- intellect) | G-dly **_seychel_** (HL- intellect) comes down to this world in every part in eh eh every **_halacha_** (borrowing originated from HL- religious law) in every stage.

In this statement, the lecturer utters four content morpheme switchers as nouns. 'The Alter Rebbe' is a diminutive which acts as an agent in this sentence. In the next clause, which is an object complement, the first switch is 'elokus', and the other, 'seychel', is repeated twice. The first switch of the clause comes as a noun, and is translated immediately afterwards. In addition, four repetitions occur in this complement phrase. The first three are solely nouns, while the odd words are code switches and the others are in the ML. The fourth NP is made up of an ML adjective 'G-dly', and an EL noun 'seychel'.The final code switch, 'halacha', is a common content morpheme EL noun switcher. Although there is a large amount of EL content morpheme usage, there is no violation of Myers-Scotton's principles.

it is mentioned several ↑times in **_Kaballah_** (HL- n ancient Jewish wisdom) the word **_neshama_** (HL- soul) means **_elokus_** (HL- G-dliness), **_ruach_** (HL- spirit) and **_nefesh_** (HL- psyche) is **_briah_** (HL- a creature).

In this sentence, there is one borrowing, 'kaballah', amongst six switches, 'neshama', 'elokus', 'ruach', 'nefesh', and 'briah'. All of the EL lexemes are content

morphemes, and all of the system morphemes (along with a few ML content morphemes), are taken from the ML. Therefore, there is no obstruction of Myers-Scotton's principles.

When we spoke about *niv↑ra↓im* (HL- creatures), that's the ***nefesh*** (HL-psyche) ***ruach*** (HL- spirit), the ***neshama*** (HL- soul) ***cre↑ates*** the ***nefesh*** (HL- soul) ***ruach*** (HL-spirit).

The first switch is in the EL, 'nivraim', which is made up of the content morpheme 'nivra' + the pluralizing EL system morpheme '-im'. The other switches, 'nefesh', 'ruach', and 'neshama', are all single lexeme content morphemes. Since, in the case of the first code switch, the system morpheme belongs to the head constituent and is not external to it, and the other code switches do not have related EL system morphemes, Myers-Scotton's principles are upheld.

there is a ***elokus*** (HL-G-dliness) that's the ***elokus*** (HL- G-dliness) that's the ***chochma*** (HL- wisdom) the ***Aibishter*** (YL- G-d).

As in the above sentence, the switches, the first being 'elokus', followed by the CP clause containing another three switches, 'elokus' again, 'chochma' and 'Aibishter', are all single lexeme content morphemes. As they are also in their correct syntactic placements, Myers-Scotton's principles are not violated.

the sons of the ***Alter Rebbe*** (the elderly Chabad Jewish leader) in the ***hakdama*** (introduction) write

There are two switches in this sentence: the diminutive 'Alter Rebbe', and the adjunct, 'hakdama'. Again, they are content morphemes, and although the sentence is awkward, the core of the ML syntax is preserved, thus allowing Myers-Scotton's principles to be observed.

in the ***Eytz Chaim*** (H Phrase- book "the life's tree") which the ***Alter Rebbe*** ( Y Phrase- the elderly Chabad Jewish leader) wrote while wri↓ting the Talmud

There are two switches here, 'eytz chaim' and 'Alter rebbe', both of which are diminutives, and one borrowing, 'Talmud'. They are all content morphemes which have been located correctly in the sentence. They follow Myers-Scotton's principles.

. >"*ma she kasuv beEytz Chaim beshaar hayechudim* ……"< (H Quotation-what is written in the book "the life's tree" in the gate of uniqueness)

The latter utterance is intersentential, and therefore Myers-Scotton's principles do not apply here.

so you we we find that its *ruach* (HL- spirit) it's *nivra* (HL- a creature).

There are two single lexeme EL content morphemes in this sentence, 'ruach' and nivra'. They are also located correctly, and are therefore compatible with Myers-Scotton's principles.

this piece of bread is ↑*kasher* (HL- allowed).

The code switch in this sentence, 'kasher', is a single lexeme object EL content morpheme, and follows Myers-Scotton's principles.

That's ratzon Hashem (G-d's will) that's chochmas Hashem (G-d's wisdom) that's elokus (G-dliness) that's G-dly dus (this) is der ↑Aibishter (the G-d).

The first two code switches of this utterance, 'ratzon Hashem' and 'chochmas Hashem', are content morpheme compounds, while the third, 'elokus', is an EL single lexeme content morpheme. The rest of the code switches occur within an EL intersentential expression, to which Myers-Scotton's principles do not apply. As all of the applicable switches occur in the correct syntactic order, the sentence, complete with all of its code switches, complies with Myers-Scotton's principles.

When↑ I learn that ↑*Toyrah* (YL- the entire Jewish Bible) and I'm *mayla* it *lemayla* (raising it) here the *Alter Rebbe* (Y Phrase- the elderly Chabad Jewish leader) says its very ↑possible

The switch that occurs initially in this utterance, 'Toyrah', is an EL single lexeme content morpheme, as are the other two which follow - 'mayla' and 'lemayla'. The final switch, 'Alter Rebbe' is also a content morpheme. In this sentence, there are two actions that are told of consecutively, the first in ML, 'I learn' (agent + verb), and the latter in the ML + EL, 'I'm mayla' (agent + verb).

Here, for the first time, a violation of the rule occurs. It is a combination of the ML system morpheme, with the reflective verb 'mayla', which is in the present progressive tense. As Raichlin (2009) states, "In composite CS which usually exists

among bilinguals who have incomplete knowledge of one of their languages the three groups are not always separated one from the other".

Concerning the 4-M model and 07, no violation has been found since all of the switches were uttered according to her principle, that "only the outsider late system morpheme should come from the ML" (Myers-Scotton 2002).

Emissary 08

they hired a ***metargem*** (HL- translator) a translator

The switch 'metargem' is a content morpheme, which is used as a direct object, and follows Myers-Scotton's principles, since it is also placed correctly in the sentence.

seven hundred people came to the auditorium to listen to the brilliant professor share his ***bina*** (wisdom) wisdom on physics

The EL content morpheme "bina" is used as a direct object in that clause. Its syntactic role as well as its location do not violate Myers-Scotton's principles.

A minute, ***nu***

The EL filler "nu" is a typical filler or tag switch in Yiddish for expressing the urge to accelerate someone or something. Since it is a filler/tag in that utterance, it does not have any specific syntactic role in the sentence and hence, it does not contradict Myers-Scotton's principles.

He looks at the crowd and he tells them 3 words in Chinese, they applaud the speaker, good night, bye bye, ***lehitraot*** (H Tag- goodbye).

The lecturer utters three similar greetings, while the first two are in ML and the third one is a switch in EL "lehitraot". The three lexemes were content morphemes which were used as repetitive farewell greetings, so the first two l1 lexemes as well as the third L2 switch had the same correct function in the utterance and thus it is compliant with Myers-Scotton's first morpheme order principle.

It's a ***mechaye*** (H Tag- reviving).

In the above phrase, 'a' is a system morpheme. It precedes the switch, "mechaye", which is an accusative case (direct object lexeme (N)). Therefore, it is compatible with both the MLF and the 4-M models.

"***Vayavo eleha***" (H Quotation- he came to her) – he came to her.

The above code switch is an island, and therefore is compatible with Myers-Scotton's theories.

"***vedavak beishto***" (H Quotation- he cleaved to his wife)– he cleaves to his wife.

Itzhak ***metzahek es*** (HL- is laughing with) Rivka ***ishto*** (his wife) – Isaac was laughing with Rebecca his wife.

***Legalot erva*** (H Phrase- to expose nakedness)– to expose nakedness.

***Shachva*** (HL- lie with me) – and she lied with me.

All of the above code switches are islands, and therefore are compatible with Myers-Scotton's theories.

You think I'm a ***yente*** (YL- gossip girl) and I'm interested in your gossip?

The content morpheme "yente" is used as a direct object, and follows Myers-Scotton's principles, since it is also placed correctly in the sentence.

I won't tell your ***shviger*** (YL- mother-in-law), I won't tell your mother-in-law.

The code switch "shviger" is like the previous example.

Concerning the 4-M model and emissary 08, no violation was found since all of the switches were uttered according to her principle, that "only the outsider late system morpheme should come from the ML" (Myers-Scotton, 2002).

Emissary 10

he was diagnosed with ***yeine↓ma↓cha↑la*** (Y Phrase- cancer) with cancer.

we were just ↑***schmoo↓zing*** and talking

against ***Toy↓rah*** (YL- the entire Jewish Bible) against ↑***yid↓dish↑keit*** (YL-Judaism)

He said the ***Rebbe*** (YL- the Chabad Jewish leader) wrote to him in the plural form in the ↑***lashon*** ↑***rab↓bim*** (H Construct State- language of rabbies)) in the ↑***lashon*** ↑***ka↓vod*** (H Consrtuct State- language of honor).

in Yiddish theres ***du*** (YL- you) and theres ***ir*** (YL- you)

doesn't indicate that you come from this and this ↑***lit↑vi↓she*** (YL- Lithuanian) Jewish family.

perhaps this name was also shared by one more family a ↓*vish*↓*nitze* (Vizhnitz) ↑*chas*↓*si*↓*dim* (HL- members of a Jewish sect).

And then the***Rebbe*** (YL- the Chabad Jewish leader) finished off with a blessing and thanks very warm ↑***BRA***↓***cha*** (HL- blessing) and he signed his name.

Do you appreciate how he gave me ↓***mus***↑***sar*** (HL- moral)?

from the ***litvi***↑***she*** (Lithuanian) or the ↑***chas***↓***si***↓***di***↑***she*** (a type of Jewish sect)? of the ↑***vizshnitz*** (Vizhnitz) or the ↑***litvak*** (Lithuanian) ***kmo she*** ↑***kas***↓***uv*** (HLs- as it is written).

In all of the above examples, the switches are content morphemes, which were broadly explained in the previous examples of other emissaries, and comply with Myers-Scotton's principles.

Concerning the 4-M model and emissary 10, no violation was found since all of the switches were uttered according to her principle, that "only the outsider late system morpheme should come from the ML" (Myers-Scotton 2002).

The MLF (Matrix Language Frame) model was developed by Myers-Scotton (1993a), who distinguishes between content and system morphemes. Here there are two principles: 'the morpheme-order principle' and 'the system morpheme principle'. Namba (2002) explains that only classic CS is relevant, as opposed to composite CS.

The linguistic production of the emissaries was compatible with the MLF model. The inter-sentential CS of the following examples support the principles developed by Myers-Scotton. Although there is massive use of EL constituents in the CP (projection of complementizer), the morpheme order principle and the system morpheme principles are used in ML and EL correctly.

Regarding the 4-M model, "This model follows the distinction of content-system morphemes, and system morphemes are further classified into three subcategories according to the activation stage at the mental lexicon and the formulator" (Namba: 2002: 3).

Myers-Scotton's 4M model consists of the following elements: content morphemes, early system morphemes, late bridge system morphemes, and late outsider system morphemes.

The emissaries' linguistic production was consistent with the 4-M model, which also sharpened its compatibility with the MLF model.

### 5.3.3 Gumperz' socio-linguistic approach

There are three types of CS, according to Gumperz. The first is situational CS, and it refers to CS as a result of a change in participants or strategies. The second is metaphorical CS - a change in the topic, by factors external to the speaker, and finally, conversational CS. This third category is subdivided into categories of the reasons for which CS is produced. They are as follows: (a) quotations; (b) addressee specifications; (c) interjections; (d) reiterations; (e) message qualifications; and (f) personification vs. objectification.

However, when trying to find compatibility between the theory and the production of the participants in this research, it has been found that the socio-pragmatic motivations, such as creating a sense of affiliation and showing solidarity, are missing from Gumperz' classification system. Shin (2010: 91) claims that "CS often reflects the social and cultural identities of the speaker", to the agreement of Foley (1997), Myers-Scotton, (1993) and Siegel, (1995). Shin, in his research, explored this need to address the cultural aspect of speech. Especially when considering a specific ethnic identity, "Switching to a particular language in bilingual discourse can also be used to signal ethnic identity" (Kroskrity 1993; Nishimura 1995; Woolard 1989; Shin 2010: 91), and the emissaries used the switches to linguistically acculturate the interlocutors with the ethnic culture and identity.

Therefore, it seems that there are some uses of CS by this ethnic group of Jewish speakers which could be subsequent to Gumperz' motivations. This will be added as a new category, as an application of Gumperz' parameters, called linguistic acculturation. These linguistic acculturations are used many times by the emissaries, to purposefully integrate their interlocutors into the YHAr/JLV speaking community, by inducing them to use authentic lexemes taken from YHAr.

In the following, several examples of the emissaries' utterances that fall into each of Gumperz' CS categories, as well as the new category, linguistic acculturation, will be presented.

**Emissary 01**

- discussing the whole concept of *e-mu-na* (HL- faith), of faith

The motivation for this case of CS is conversational. The sub-category it belongs under is reiteration, although there is no doubt that the emissary is aware of the linguistic gap that exists between him and the interlocutors. He contends that the linguistic effort is worthwhile in order to achieve the ultimate linguistic goal, that of the students becoming affiliated into Jewish culture so much so that they themselves use YHAr terms.

- *Féliz* (happy) is happy right so um so e:hhh

Here the CS is once again in Spanish, and is again an interjection, to show solidarity with the Spanish student. This is also a case of addressee specification, directed at the same student.

- the morning including *señora* (Mrs.), e:h *kol hakavod* (well done)

This is a case of addressee specification, as he is directing it solely to one Spanish student. There is another case of CS here, and here it is an interjection, as a conversational motivation.

- we connected it also with *amAlek* (HL- an enemy of the Jewish people),

The emissary wishes to personify a concept, and therefore code-switch with the word "amalek".Tthe reason he does so is therefore conversational - personification vs objectification.

**Emissary 02**

- in the ↑*chi*↓*nuch* (HL- education), yea, anyone heard about the book ↑**chinuch** (HL- education).

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The code switch 'chinuch' here refers to a book, and is therefore a personification of it. The lecturer code-switched here because of his conversational motivation, that of personification vs objectification.

- **_Tzno↑-yin_**(HL- radish)↓ it sa↑ys in **_Cha↑yei-Adam_** (H Consruct State- the book "Adam's life")

'Tznoyin' is a quotation, which is a type of conversational CS. With the code switch 'chayei adam', similar to emissary 01, emissary 02 is intent on exposing the listeners to a Jewish habit of using the name of the book to refer to the author, as opposed to the other way around. The emissary is exposing the students to this way of speaking by referencing the author by the name of his book, 'Chayei Adam'. He is also qualifying his message, which is a form of conversational CS.

- for those who fo↑llow< in in> **_nu-sach_** (HL- version) **_A↑sh-ke-naz_** (type of Jews) in Lithuania

Here the emissary uses reiteration, as 'nusach Ashkenazi' originated in Lithuania. It is not pure reiteration, perhaps reiteration combined with 'message qualification', both of them being forms of conversational CS.

- because the **_Prima G↑ado↓m_** (H Phrase- a Jewish commentator) who was one of the contreries (commentaries) of the **_Shul-chan A-ruch_** (H Phrase- a Jewish book)

These code switches fall under the category of conversational - quotation CS, because although they are not actually a quote, they are references that the lecturer is quoting from.

- He's an **_A↑-cha-ron_** (HL- one of the last commentaries)

This code switch is an example of the 'personification vs objectification", a type of conversational CS. By describing a personage as an 'acharon', the lecturer is putting him in context, thus personifying him.

- Who is it that adds this **_min-hag_** (HL- custom)?

This is arguable a case of conversational CS, specifically addressee specifications. The emissary knew he was talking to a group of learners who were just learning concepts like 'minhag', and therefore intentionally inserted it into his lecture.

- oh I thought you were talk↑in↓ bout *bechlal* (H Tag- in general)

'Bechlal' is a filler, which is an interjection.

- *ye↑sh liza↑her <u>liv</u>dok lifnei peysach* (H Quotation- it is needed to be careful and to check before Passover) you should che↑ck before *peysach* (Passover) es *ko↑l ha<u>me:</u>lach hada↑ru↓sh leyemei hapeysach* (H Quotation- all of the salt that is needed for Passover), all the salt that ugonna use on *peysach* (HL-Passover)

This is a quotation, which is a sort of conversational CS.

**Emissary 03**

- this is the way w-the***Rebbe*** (YL- the Chabad Jewish leader) is

The use of the word 'Rebbe" here is motivated by conversational reasons - that is, it personifies the subject, rather than objectifying him by his role, as would be the case if the lecturer had called him a 'spiritual leader' or some such label.

- a situation which contemplate of *Va-<u>yik</u>-chu e-<u>lei</u>-cha* (H Quotation- they will give to you) where a ***<u>yid</u>-den*** (YL- a Jew) will have to be struggling

The latter case of CS, "Va-<u>yik</u>-chu e-<u>lei</u>-cha" is a quotation, which is a type of conversational CS.

- it comes from *ve-<u>a</u>-ta te-<u>tza</u>-ve* (H Quotation- and you will command)

The code switch here, "veata tetzave", is a quote, which is a form of conversational CS.

- end of ***oys yud-alef*** (HLs- the 11th letter)

'oys yud alef' is a source, the address of a reference. It is therefore a form of the conversational type of CS, more specifically, message qualifications.

- but ***MsheRbbeinu*** (H Phrase- Moses) gave you those

'Moshe Rabbeinu' is actually a name, and it helps to personify the owner of the name by using a more authentic one rather than an anglicized one. It is a case of personification as a motivation, a form of conversational CS.

- you can have the direct and ***gashmiusdikke*** (YL- materialistic) connection

'Gashmiusdikke' is a descriptive form of a Jewish (Chassidic) concept, and the lecturer used it rather than a translation so as to personify it more, to make it more personable. It is therefore just like the previous case of CS - a personification.

- which is geeving you the ***koyach*** (HL- power) ***vaikchu elecha*** (H Quotation- they will give to you)

There are two consecutive code switches here, 'koyach' and 'vayikchu elecha'. 'Koyach' is a reiteration, which is a conversational motivation. The lecturer had been explaining the corresponding concept and was now reiterating in Hebrew. The second one is a quotation as well as a reiteration, because the same quote had been said just recently and he was repeating it in a new context. Both are conversational.

- your ***his-kash-rus*** (HL- connection) to the***Rebbe*** (YL- the Chabad Jewish leader)

Both occurrences of CS in this clause are aimed at linguistically acculturating the listeners, with the additional motivation of personification for the word 'Rebbe', as mentioned previously.

### Emissary 04

- ***Tfilas ha↑shachar*** (H Construct State- the morning prayer) were talking about ↑***shacharis*** (HL- the morning prayer) and <then> ***min↓cho*** (HL- the afternoon prayer) and then were talking about ↑***davening*** (pYL- raying) meaning we have been talking about ***krias Shma*** ( H Construct State- saying a specific prayer)aright m-***mishna*** (HL- a collection of the Jewish oral traditions) ***perek*** ↑***daled*** (HLs- chapter 4)

The terms 'tfillas hashachar', 'shacharis', 'mincho' and 'Kria shma' are all terms related to Jewish prayer. As there was no eternal or external change observed in the conversation, it can be assumed that these code switches are all conversational code switches, more specifically, reiteration. In addition to those switchers, there is also a message qualification code switch, which is also conversational - the source, 'mishaps perek daled'

- when one le:aves the ***beit Knesset*** (H Construct State- synagogue) when one leaves the ***beis knesses*** (synagogue) where do they go? They go to the ***beis medrash*** ( H Construct State- seminary).

The term 'beis knesses' is a reiteration, which belongs under Gumperz' conversational CS category.

- Let's see ***mishna*** ↑***gim***↑***mel*** (the 3rd statement of law from the collection of all Jewish oral traditions) – Rabii Gamliel ***oymer bechol yom mispall adam shmona eisrei*** (H Quotation- says "every day a man davens the prayer of 18").

The first instance of CS in this sentence is a conversational type - it is a message qualification, in the form of a source. The second, 'Rabbb Gamliel oymer bechol yom mispall adam shmona eisrei', is conversational CS as well, although is is a quotation rather than a message qualification.

- what does ***Rabbi*** Yehoshua say?

The motivation of personification can be seen here clearly, as the lecturer is turning the content into a personality with the code switch, 'Rabbi Yehoshua', which refers to a person.

- so now we might understand why the ***mishna*** (HL- a statement of law from the collection of all Jewish oral traditions) is here ***bechlal*** (HL- at all).

Once again, the utterance 'bechlal' is a filler, which is an interjection.

**Emissary 05**

- The ***Rebbe*** (YL- the Chabad Jewish leader) was in <↑all> ↑safe↓ty in ↑Paris, but nevertheless the ***Friddeke*** ↑***Rebbe*** (Y Phrase- the previous Jewish leader) started efforts…

The code switches in this sentence are both types that are aimed towards the personification of the content. 'Rebbe' and 'the friddiker rebbe' are personages that characterise the content.

- So ***Rav*** (HL- Rabbi) Shneerson, the ↑***beis ha***↑***rav*** (H Construct State- the rabbi's house), went and spoke with the ***Rebbe*** (YL- the Chabad Jewish leader)

All three code switches in the above sentence all refer to two people, and so there is a case of reiteration occurring here with 'beis harav'. They are also all cases of personification VS objectivization, where 'Rav Shneerson' and 'the Rebbe' are personifications, and 'beis harav' is an objectivization. The lecturer used these in accordance with his goals and motivations.

- **Tzaddikiim ↑tovim le↑oylam** (H Quotation- the pious are good for the world). The above clause is a quotation, which is a type of conversational CS.
- didn't become very involved in in the leadership of **Lubavitch** (a Jewish movement), … main
- He was called upon the **Toy-rah** *(YL- the entire Hebrew Bible).* **Yaamoyd** (will stand**) Kvod Kdushat Adoneinu Moreinu veRabeinu ben haRav** (H Quotation our respectful and holy lord and Master, the son of) Levi Yitzhak,

The code switch here is a quotation, which is a formal of conversational CS.

### Emissary 06

- and to what extent like <pou:ring cold water **ke↑mayim karim>  al nefesh ayefa** (H Quotation- like pouring cold water on a tired soul) like pouring cold water on a ti↓red (hesitates) soul.

The sentence above contains a quotation, which is a form of conversational CS.

### Emissary 07

- . >"**ma she kasuv beEytz Chaim beshaar hayechudim** (H Quotation - what is written in the book "the life's tree" in the gate of uniqueness)……"<

This code switch is also a quotation, making it a conversational switch.

### Emissary 08

- A minute, **nu**

Emissary 08 uses a filler here as an interjection, thereby using conversational CS.

- "**Vayavo eleha**" (H Quotation- he came to her) – he came to her.

- "*vedavak beishto*" (H Quotation - he cleaved to his wife) – he cleaves to his wife.
- "*Itzhak metzahek es* (H Quotation- is laughing with) Rivka *ishto* (his wife)" – Isaac was laughing with Rebecca his wife.
- "*Legalot erva*" (H Quotation- to expose nakedness) – to expose nakedness.
- "*Shichva*" (HL- lie with me) – and she lied with me.

All of the above utterances are quotations, making them a conversational switch.

### Emissary 09

- How do you say ↑*kna↓kin* ↑*shemen↓kis* (H Ls - cracking seeds)?
The above interrogative phrase is an interjection, a conversational switch.
- how horrible ↑*ki↑va↓ya↑chol* ↓*yid↓dish↑keit* ( K+YLs- so-called Judaism) is.
The term "kivyachol" in the above sentence is an interjection, a conversational CS.

### Emissary 10

- we were just ↑*schmoo↓zing* and talking
The emissary interjects in this sentence with the code switch "schmoozing"
- with a blessing and thanks very warm ↑*BRA↓cha* (HL- blessing) and he signed his name
- of the ↑*vizshnitz* or the ↑*litvak* (Lithuanian) *kmo she* ↑*kas↓uv* (HQuotation- as it is written)

The interjection "kmo shekasuv" (H Phrase- as was written) here is a typical interjection, a conversational switch.

### 5.3.4 Linguistic acculturation

**Emissary 01**

we're going to continue talking about *pey↑sach* (HL- Passover).

According to Gumperz, the type of CS used by emissary 01 seems to be derived from a motivation that Gumperz has failed to include in his model. The emissary has specifically selected typical terms for creating a sense of belonging. 'Pesach' is one of these prefered terms to achieve solidarity and a sense of belonging to the Jewish culture.

the *zo-har* (HL- a Jewish book) calls the ↑*mat-zah* (HL- an unleavened flatbread) food of faith.

The emissary is not motivated by one of Gumperz' motivations to code-switch here, but rather, he does so for linguistic acculturational reasons.

Emissary 02

there was a a a a *mashgiach* (HL- superviser), who was a *kash-rus* (HL- a set of Jewish religious dietary laws) supervisor.

A 'mashgiach' can be referred to as a supervisor, but the lecturer does not want to miss an opportunity to linguistically acculturate the students.

it affects our **emU↑na** (HL- faith)

This is a basic term that embodies a concept that underlies the entire lecture. The speaker does not resort to using the English term. He uses the Hebrew, in order to linguistically acculturate the subjects.

**Emissary 03**

vayikchu ele (HQuotation- they will give to you) means the a-voy-da (HL- task) of the yid

The use of the word 'Avoyda' here is also motivated by linguistic acculturation motivations.

tha <↑after *gim-mel* (HLs- the 3rd of) ↑*tam-muz*(HL- A Hebrew month

Being that the code switch here is a Jewish date, the lecturer is trying to acculturate his students to the Jewish calendar system by exposing it to them. It is therefore an example of linguistic acculturation.

What does that mean in the <u>mai-</u>mar (saying) here

Here, 'maimer' is said because the lecturer was motivated by linguistic acculturation reasons. It refers to a serious spiritual lesson given over by a Rebbe (spiritual leader) and is a part of the culture that the lecturer is aiming to expose the interlocutors to.

you're not on your own in a revealed way tlooks like is the *a-voy-da* (HL- task) of *vayikchu el↑eicha* (H Quotation- they will give to you)

There are two instances of CS here - 'avoyda' and, once again, 'vayikchu eleicha'. 'Avoyda' is an integral part of the culture that the lecturer is trying to expose his students to, and therefore it is safe to assume that his motivations were to acculturate the students more linguistically.

**Emissary 04**

where did this ***mishna*** (HL- a statement of law from the collection of all Jewish oral traditions)↑<u>fa:ll</u> ↓from

A 'mishna' is a term related to a text that is inherent to Jewish culture. It is clearly a case of the emissary employing linguistic acculturation.

***Shmona Esrei*** (H Construct State- the prayer of 18), what's this ↑<u>doing</u> here

As in the former sentence, the code switch here, 'Shmona Esrei', is another case of linguistic acculturation, as it is an added point to the lecture, unrelated to the flow of the speech.

through an act of ***kedusha*** (HL- holiness)

The switch 'kedusha' is a case of linguistic acculturation, as the speaker produces it for cultural reasons rather than due to situational, metaphorical or conversational motivations.

otherwise those very powerful ***<u>koychos</u>*** (HL- powers)

The switch 'koychos' is an example of linguistic acculturation, as it is uttered with motivations of linguistic acculturation.

**Emissary 05**

Came the *farbrengen* (YL- A gathering of Chassidim in which they would sing Chabad tunes and discuss or hear sermons about self-improvement) of *yud* (HLs- the 10ᵗʰ of) *shvat*, Wednesday evening, they had the *yud* (the 10ᵗʰ of) *shvat*, the *Rebbe* (the Chabad Jewish leader) was *farbrengening* (YL- A gathering of Chassidim in which they would sing Chabad tunes and discuss or hear sermons about self-improvement) durrring the times of the *Rebbe Rayatz* (Y Phrase- the previous Jewish leader) as well

There are many code switches in the above utterance - 'farbrengen', 'yud shvat', and 'Rebbe Rayatz'. They are all cultural terms, used for the purpose of exposing the students to the linguistic culture of the lecturer.

the*Rebbe* (YL- the Chabad Jewish leader) had said already one two a ↑coup↑le of <u>sichas</u> *(HL- talks)*, explaining this and ↑that per↑taining to the ↑first **yartzheit** (YL- the anniversary of the death of a parent) and other things

Again, the lecturer is intent on linguistically acculturating his interlocutors. He therefore uses the switches 'Rebbe', 'sichas' and 'yartzheit', very cultural terms, to do this.

*Chassidim* (HL- members of a Jewish sect) want to hear a **_maamar_** (HL_ saying- speech)

Here too the emissary attempts to linguistically acculturate the students with code switches such as 'chassidim' and 'maamar'. He aims to make cultural concepts accessible to them in doing so.

the Rebbe opened a ↑*kuntres* (HL- pamphlet) of *yud* (HLs- the 10th of) *shvat*, and he had come with it into the *farbrengen* (A gathering of Chassidim in which they would sing Chabad tunes and discuss or hear sermons about self-improvement) with the *kuntres* (HL- pamphlet) of *yud* (the 10th of) *shvat* of *basi lega↑ni* (H Phrase- I came to my garden) of previo↑us ↑years

The code switches 'kuntres', 'yud shvat', 'farbrengen' and 'basi legani' are all, yet again, used as a way to expose the students to JE and thereby acculturate them linguistically.

with the **_nigun_** (HL- melody) of the ↑**_maamar_** (HL- saying).

'nigun' and 'mamaar' are both used due to the motivation that the lecturer had to linguistically acculturate the students.

### Emissary 06

Was a **ch↑_assid_** (HL- a member of a Jewish sect) of the **Alter Rebbe** (the old Jewish leader), the **Alter Rebbe** (Y Phrase- the old Jewish leader)↑told him once Isaac Isaac [ Yiddish ]  he said Isaac Isaac ↑everything but not the **Rebbe** (YL- the Chabad Jewish leader).

Emissary 6, in this sentence, code-switches three times, with the following three words: 'chassid', 'Alter Rebbe', and 'Rebbe'. All of these are cases of linguistic acculturation, as they are references to core concepts or personas in the Jewish Lubavitch lore. The teacher was attempting to expose them more to the interlocutors' L2.

the next one in line was gonna be the **Mittler Rebbe** (Y Phrase- the middle Jewish leader)

First we had the **Ba'al Shem Tov** (H Phrase- a Jewish leader)

then one year lata the son told the **Maggid** (HL- preacher)

All of the utterances above are similar examples of usage of a name to linguistically acculturate the interlocutors.

### Emissary 07

That is **_hamshacha_** (HL- continuation) of G-dliness in this world.

The term "hamshacha" is used to describe a process which is common in Chassidic lore, and therefore the lecturer uses it, to further linguistically acculturate the students.

why in ↑**_Torah_** (Borrowing originated from H- the entire Hebrew Bible) even if it comes down in this world and it deals with **_gashmike_** (YL- materialistic) things its still **_Elokus_** (HL- G-dliness)↑G-dliness and nevertheless other **_chayus_** (HL- liveliness) in this world remains **_nivra_** (HL- creature).

Almost all of the nouns in this sentence are switched, since they are all describing a cultural concept that the emissary wishes the interlocutors to be familiar with. They are all cases of linguistic acculturation.

The **_Alter Rebbe_** (Y Phrase- the elderly Chabad Jewish leader) speaks how **_elo↑kus_** (HL- G-dliness) G-dliness **_seychel_** (HL- intellect) G-dly **_seychel_** (HL- intellect) comes down to this world in every part in eh eh every **_halacha_** (Borrowing originated from Hebrew- religious law) in every stage.

Like before, the emissary uses plenty of switches to describe the concept, in order to linguistically acculturate the listeners.

Emissary 08

they hired a **_metargem_** (HL- translator) a translator

his **_bina_** (HL- wisdom) wisdom

bye bye **_lehitraot_** (H Tag- goodbye)

All of the above instances of CS have a translation immediately attached to them, so that the interlocutors would immediately be linguistically acculturated with these terms.

**Emissary 09**

↑↓ A guest from the land of Israel from **_Eretz Isr↑o↓el_** (H Construct State-the land of Israel)

The emissary uses the switch "Eretz Isroel" here in order to linguistically acculturate the interlocutors to the cultural name of the national country, which is very culturally significant.

His name was **_Reb_** (YL- Rabbi) Shloime

The use of the term "reb" as a title is an attempt to linguistically acculturate the interlocutors. Specifically, the emissary wants them to be able to refer to others in the culturally appropriate way.

*Gari↓nim* (HL- seeds)… hh ↑*Knak* (YL- cracking)… means cracking sunflower seeds all day in the *sh↑pitz* (YL- squirt)

This CS is intended to expose the interlocutors to a cultural habit, cracking sunflower seeds. This is to linguistically acculturate the students as well as to acculturate them to cultural habits.

**Emissary 10**

↑*ein ↓ha↓ma↓cha↑la* (Y Construct State- cancer) with cancer

The switch in the above clause is immediately attached to a translation, so that it would be linguistically acculturated faster.

against *Toy↓rah* (YL- the entire Jewish Bible) against ↑*yid↓dish↑keit* (YL- Judaism)

The code switch "yiddishkeit" is a vital word in Jewish conversation, its meaning being "Judaism". Therefore the speaker used it in order to linguistically acculturate the listeners.

in the plural form in the ↑*lashon ↑rab↓bim* (H Construct State- plural) in the ↑*lashon ↑ka↓vod* (H Construct State- language of honor).

Here the speaker discusses the Hebrew language and explains it, thereby linguistically acculturating the listeners.

When dealing with the social aspect of CS, Gumperz' (1982) model facilitates analysis of the lecturers' output, ascertaining the need of the speakers to code-switch for social reasons, as opposed to the lack of linguistic competence. As stated by Shay (2015: 466), "Code switching also carries affective functions that serve for expressing emotions. For example, code switching is used by the teacher to build solidarity and intimate relations with the students, or to create a supportive language environment in the classroom".

In this research, a correlation between Gumperz' social model and the lecturer's production was found. However, there were some switches that were not accounted for in his model, and therefore, a new category, as an application of Gumperz' parameters, was added in this study, called linguistic acculturation. These linguistic acculturations refer to the use of CS to acculturate and affiliate the interlocutors linguistically with the lecturers' culture, and were used many times by the emissaries, to purposefully integrate their interlocutors into the YHAr/JLV speaking community, by inducing them to use authentic lexemes taken from YHAr.

### 5.3.5 Walters' SPPL theory 2005

Walters' model mainly concerns CS motivation. While there are theories and models for understanding and analysing the CS behaviour of individuals, either with regards to structural linguistic production, or sociopragmatic use of CS language production, Walters integrates both aspects into one complete model. Hence, he concentrates on investigating the motivation of bilinguals to code-switch. Walters, who adopts structural and socio-pragmatic principles, such as those of Poplack, Disciullo, Myers-Scotton, Gumperz and Poulisse, has concentrated of the motivation of the bilinguals to code-switch from NE to YHAr.

In short, Walters tracks the bilinguals' choices of CS in various places in his discourse. Walters unifies all the theories, and then makes two main distinctions: the structural and the socio-pragmatic domains. He claims that while there is a discourse production, the speaker decides to code-switch from the L2 to the L1. He states that whenever the bilingual has difficulties in eliciting some lexemes in L2, he would be prone to code-switch to the L1. CS instances may come about when a bilingual speaker has difficulties with word retrieval, fluency, and uses one language with higher frequency, has cross-linguistic lexicalization differences, encounters non-equivalent lexical items, experiences lexical gaps, or does not manage to pronounce correctly. All of the latter are psycholinguistic motivators for switching.

However, the second domain concerns the socio-pragmatic motivation for switchers. They intentionally switch from L2 to L1 for the following reasons: "to

indicate a change in setting, role, listener or topic; accommodation to listener to express affect, to focus or show emphasis, to show contrast, to narrow/summarize a point, when repeating a word or phrase, to quote from someone and to translate" (Altman 2008).

In short, Walters states that difficulty in word retrieval is derived from psycholinguistic constraints, and this motivates a switch. On the other hand, when the speaker has no linguistic difficulty in producing his L2, and he has other sociopragmatic interests, he will be motivated by these to switch his code.

In this research, the motivational factor is investigated.

### Emissary 01

Emissary 01 codeswitched 48 times out of 1088, making a total of 4.41% of the words produced being switches. Some 44 out of the 48 were cases of socio-pragmatically motivated CS, which means that emissary 01 switched for sociopragmatic (SP) reasons 91.67% of the time. Therefore, only four switches were derived from psycholinguistic (PL) motivations, constituting only 8.33% of the switches. The motivation for switching as a PL production seems to be that the lecturer was faced with a PL barrier, and in order to overcome this difficulty, he chose to switch to his familiar L1. An example of an utterance containing the PL switch is as follows:

"*señora* ( Spanish L- Mrs.), e:h ***kol hakavod*** (H Tag-well done)"

The utterance of the exclamation/tag 'kol hakavod' is preceded by a marked hesitation, as depicted be the filler 'eh'. The lecturer experienced an urge to compliment his interlocutor spontaneously, thereby finding himself at a loss for words in the L2. Due to this difficulty in word retrieval, and the requirement of speed, he switched, in order to produce a quick response to express his sentiment, thus resulting in this PL CS. His difficulty here seems to stem from a lack of fluency, when speed is needed.

However, the other switches were motivated by SP reasons. Examples of an SP-motivated switch are:

"discussing the whole concept of ***e-mu-na*** ( HL- faith), of faith"

In this example, the lecturer uses the switch 'emuna', which he knew in L2 as well as L1, as proven by his translation of it from L1 to L2 immediately after. Therefore, it must be surmised that, since he had two options, and could have uttered either the L1 'emuna' or the L2 'faith', he chose according to SP motivators. This was likely to be a desire to expose the interlocutors to basic Judaic terms, and therefore he chose to switch initially. He could have used the interlocutors' L1 'faith' and achieved understanding, but for his SP motivations leading him to do otherwise.

"we're going to continue talking about ***pey↑sach*** (HL- Passover)… theme of the holiday of Passov↑er"

The lecturer begins his lecture by reminding the students of the subject of the lecture, the concept of 'Peysach', which they had begun to discuss in a previous lecture, in his first sentence. Then, in order to ensure that his interlocutors understood him, and had acquired it in their L2, he translated it into NE in the very next sentence. This proves that his motivation was SP, and not PL, since he shows soon after that he knows the word in NE as well as in Hebrew, Yiddish and Aramaic, having a familiarity of it in both languages and being able to use it fluently and accurately. The motivation that lead him was to affirm a sense of solidarity with the Jewish ethnicity, and thus to affiliate them into Jewish culture.

To conclude, lecturer 01 often code-switches to achieve more than the surface goal of the lecture, that is to transmit information, but rather, to impact the students beyond the communicative elements achieved by the linguistic competence as well.

**Emissary 02**

Emissary 02 used 672 words in his lecture, 55 of which were code switches. The YHAr switches amount to 8.18% of his speech. Some 53 of the switches, 96.36% of them, were sociopragmatic, leaving one code switch as being psycholinguistically motivated, which means that only 3.64% of the switched words were switched because of the lecturer's linguistic fallacies. Only twice did the speaker fall back into his linguistic comfort zone for easier production during his lecture. One of the

difficulties he experienced was with word retrieval competence, resulting in the following switch:

"Credible sto↑ry, there was a a a a ***mashgiach*** (HL- supervisor), who was a ***kash-rus*** (HL- a set of Jewish religious dietary laws) supervisor."

The stammered and repeated 'a a a a' could be an indication of the challenge he faced which lead him to CS.

Contrary to the previous example of a psycholinguistic barrier, here are some examples of sociolinguistic switching, which represent the rest of the CS cases.

"***Yeshno-ha-gim*** (H Quotation- there are those that have the custom)↓ there are those that have the cu:stom"

As in the socio-pragmatically motivated utterance mentioned in the previous discussion of emissary 01's switches, emissary 02 used many utterances with CS which were derived from sociopragmatic motivations. These motivations consisted of the aim to induce a feeling of solidarity, and a sense of affiliation with their ethnic group.

To verify this fact, it is apparent that the lecturer has no difficulty in word retrieval, or with lexical gaps, or with pronunciation and speed. This can be seen through his use of translation immediately after uttering the word.

"do we know ***Rabbi Kibbe Aider*** (a Jewish leader) w↑as?

Students: *a↑-**cha-ron*** (HL- one of the last commentaries)?

He's an *A↑-**cha-ron***(HL- one of the last commentaries)↓ yeah but >he has< <emendations> on the side of the ***ge-ma-ra*** (Ar L- Talmud) ***Rabbi Kibbe Aider*** (a Jewish leader) was one of the greatest ***Torah*** ( borrowing originated from H- the entire Jewish Bible) minds to be in <his> generation"

The above-mentioned sociopragmatic examples demonstrate the competence of the lecturers in L2, and the initial endeavour of the interlocutor to acquire his L2. It all derives from a need to affiliate and to be affiliated with Jewish culture.

Emissary 03

Emissary 03 code-switched 86 times out of 759, making a total of 11.33% of the words produced switches. All of his switches were sociopragmatic, which means that

emissary 03 switched for sociopragmatic (SP) reasons 100% of the time. Therefore, no switches were derived from psycholinguistic (PL) motivations.

A few examples of the switches emissary 03 made are as follows:

"think ↑this is the way w-the ***Rebbe*** (YL- the Chabad Jewish leader) is actually ↑hinting to here to us-a situation which contemplate of ***Va-yik-chu e-lei-cha*** (H Quotation- they will give to you) where a ***yid-den*** (a Jew) will have to be struggling by him↓self, ***vayikchu ele*** (they will give to you) means the ***a-voy-da*** (HL- task) of the ***yid*** (YL- Jew)"

"Now somebody asked something here about ***Ha-yom Yom*** (H Phrase- a Jewish book), what was that? You, yeah, what did you ask?"

"The ***Chassidim*** (HL- members of a Jewish sect) are not a↓lone like that's that's obvious, but the ***Rebbe's*** (YL- the Jewish leader's) the ***Rebbe's*** (the Jewish leader's) obviously not alone, ↓b:ut (guess)"

In all of these examples, there is successful fluency, no hesitation, stuttering, or pronunciation difficulties, and no proof of the need of the speaker to seek an equivalent. It is therefore obvious that he has no PL motivations, despite the massive use of switchings. However, he does switch for sociopragmatic reasons, to achieve solidarity and involve the interlocutors with the culture.

**Emissary 04**

Emissary 04 used 795 words in his lecture, 76 of which were code switches. The YHAr switches amount to 9.96% of his speech. All of the switches were sociopragmatic, which means that 100% of the switched words were not switched because of the lecturer's linguistic fallacies. Below is a typical example of switching derived from sociopragmatic reasons.

"Wanna turn it around turn ***shmona eisre*** (H Construct State- the prayer of 18) into the case; what should the hala it is in this ***mishna*** (HL- a statement of law from the collection of all Jewish oral traditions) but ih ih ih turn it around ***shmona eisre*** (the prayer of 18) is the case what should the ***halacha*** (Borrowing originated from H- religious law) be?"

The sociopragmatic motivations here are the same as the other emissaries', and there are no psycholinguistic difficulties. Although in this specific utterance, 'ih' is uttered three times, which implies sociolinguistic struggles, it is inferred that it doesn't derive from a linguistic gap, because this lecturer is the only native speaker out of the nine. Even these fillers are more typical of NE than of Yiddish, Hebrew and Aramaic. Therefore, these mistakes can be seen as colloquial hesitation in a regular conversation, of monolinguals as well.

**Emissary 05**

Emissary 05 code-switched 68 times out of 874, making a total of 7.78% of the words produced switches. All of the 68 switches were cases of socio-pragmatically motivated CS, which means that emissary 05 switched for sociopragmatic (SP) reasons 100% of the time as well. Therefore, none of the switches were derived from psycholinguistic (PL) motivations.

"Once there was an elderly ↑*chassid* (HL- a member of a Jewish sect) who came to the *Rebbe* (YL- the Chabad Jewish leader) and started ↑speaking in terms of, that the *Rebbe* (YL- the Chabad Jewish leader) should accept the *ne*↑*siyus* (HL- presidency)"

"But *Chassidim* (HL- members of a Jewish sect) were not at that *ma*↑*drei:ga* (HL- level), they they they they they wanted the *Rebbe* (the Chabad Jewish leader) to be the *Rebbe* (the Chabad Jewish leader), he refused very ↑sharply for a very long time."

The above are examples of emissary 05's code switches, which were motivated by sociopragmatic reasons. The use of switches in L1, without making translations, derive from the fact that these lexemes had been taught and repeated previously throughout that lecture and probably in the previous lectures. They do not derive from a lack of knowledge of L2 equivalents (his fluency and ease of speech is evident in the recordings).

Emissary 06

Emissary 06 used 874 words in his lecture, 68 of which were code switches. The YHAr switches amount to 7.78% of his speech. All of the switches were sociopragmatic, leaving no code switches as being psycholinguistically motivated, which means that none of the switched words were switched because of the lecturer's linguistic fallacies.

Examples of sociopragmatic switches are as follows:

"The boy took upon himself a *hachlata* (HL- decision)."

"And every morning he woke up he took a *sid↓dur* (HL- prayer book) he said *birkos hashachar* (H Construct State- the morning prayer) from the *siddur* (HL- prayer book)."

"The *Rebbe* (YL- the Chabad Jewish leader) says when it comes your birthday you make a *farbrengen* (YL- A gathering of Chassidim in which they would sing Chabad tunes and discuss or hear sermons about self-improvement)"

The above switches are all used to express known concepts. Some are uttered in Hebrew in order to deal with religious issues, and the other switches are used in Yiddish, to address folkish purposes. It was not necessary for the emissary to translate them, due to the interlocutors' previous knowledge of them. It is quite obvious that the lecturer has no difficulty in uttering these equivalents in NE. He proves that he speaks fluently and accurately in NE, and therefore only sociopragmatic motivations caused him to switch to YHAr.

**Emissary 07**

Emissary 07 code switched 92 times out of 499, making a total of 18.44% of the words produced switches. All were cases of socio-pragmatically motivated CS, which means that emissary 07 switched for sociopragmatic reasons 100% of the time.

An example of an utterance containing the SP switch is as follows:

"The *Alter Rebbe* (Y Phrase- the elderly Chabad Jewish leader) speaks how *elo↑kus* (HL- G-dliness) | G-dliness | *seychel* (HL- intellect) | G-dly *seychel* (HL- intellect) comes down to this world in every part in eh eh every *halacha* (Borrowing originated in H- religious law) in every stage."

Emissary 07 seems to speak fluently and smoothly, in YHAr/ JLV and NE, seamlessly switching from one language to another. This could prove that the switches are made as a result of SP motivation. However, he made many errors in his use of NE, a total of 29. Some 17 of his mistakes were the omission of words, which is not a product of switching, but rather, a lack of overall linguistic competence. He also made eight mistakes in his syntax, which also shows a lack of mastery of NE. Therefore, although there are no difficulties in his fluency, it seems that he manipulatively switches quickly to YHAr, in order to cover up his difficulty, and enable fluent speech, even if it is full of switches. His awkward speech in both languages, despite his fluency, is a result of a lack of competence. Therefore, although the motivation seems to be a sociopragmatic one, it is plausible to infer that it derives from psycholinguistic motivation.

This linguistic production is quite typical of bilinguals who, according to Walters (2005) and Poulisse (1997), are not competent in both languages.

**Emissary 08**

Emissary 08 used 727 words in his lecture, 17 of which were code switches. The YHAr switches amount to 2.34% of his speech. Some 17 of the switches, 100% of them, were sociopragmatic, leaving none of the CS to be psycholinguistically motivated.

Examples of emissary 08's SP switching are as follows:

"Mandarin so they hired a ***metargem*** (HL- translator) a translator"

"to listen to the brilliant professor share his ***bina*** (HL- wisdom) wisdom"

"they applaud the speaker good night bye bye ***lehitraot*** (H Tag- goodbye)"

These switches are clear evidence of the lecturer's competence in NE, and prove that he switches sociopragmatically, because they are either immediately followed or immediately preceded by a direct translation.

**Emissary 09**

Emissary 09 code-switched 47 times out of 715, making a total of 6.57% of the words produced switches. Some 46 out of the 47 were cases of socio-pragmatically motivated CS, which means that emissary 09 switched for sociopragmatic (SP) reasons 97.87% of the time. Therefore, only one of the switches was derived from psycholinguistic (PL) motivations, constituting only 2.12% of the switches. The motivation for switching as a PL production seems to be that the lecturer faced a PL barrier, and in order to overcome this difficulty, he chose to switch to his familiar L1. The utterance containing the PL switch is as follows:

"They say he wasn't an ignorant old expression (Yiddish) How do you say ↑kna↓kin ↑shemen↓kis (cracking seeds)? that's not how you say it in English."

In this sentence, the emissary forgets the NE equivalent of a word, and asks his interlocutors what it means, proving that this is psycholinginguistically motivated.

An SP switch made by the emissary is:

"Okay anyways so this man was a *sh↓ti↑ckel* (YL- a piece of)↑*tal↓mid* ↑*cha↓cham* (H Construct State- smart student), he learned very well and he knew the texts and he knew the sources"

In this sentence, the emissary immediately explains the term he used in JE, proving that he used it for SP reasons.

Emissary 10

Emissary 10 used 930 words in his lecture, 40 of which were code switches. The YHAr switches amount to 4.30% of his speech. All of the switches were sociopragmatic.

Examples of his SP switches are:

"he was diagnosed with ↑*ein* ↓*ha↓ma↓cha↑la* (Y Construct State - cancer) with cancer."

"And then the ***Rebbe*** (YL- the Chabad Jewish leader) finished off with a blessing and thanks very warm ↑***BRA↓cha*** (HL- blessing) and he signed his name."

In both of these examples, emissary 10 demonstrates a high mastery of NE, as well as in YHAr/ JLV. He is fluent and readily provides translations, proving that the switches are SP.

Walters' (2005) model combined structural analysis and social analysis to describe the phenomenon of CS. He primarily investigated the motivations behind the CS utterances of bilinguals' linguistic production. The precise distinction between the structural and social approaches stems from the claim that CS (and even the use of borrowings) derives from two main motivations: psycholinguistic and socio-pragmatic. Whenever the bilingual has internal linguistic limitations, the motivations for switching are psycholinguistic; whenever the motivations for switching stem from social or pragmatic reasons, they are socio-pragmatic.

In this current research, it was found that 99% of the utterances made by the lecturers were motivated by sociopragmatic reasons, as opposed to psycholinguistic ones. As psycholinguistic motivations accounted for only 1% of the switches, it proves that they had no psycholinguistic difficulties, they governed over the L2 language successfully, and the main motivation they were driven by was to affiliate the interlocutors with the new Jewish culture, and their desire to expose them and to induce them to feel solidarity with the culture.

## 5.4 Typological differences

Another area which was investigated in this research was whether typological differences influence CS. NE and YHAr have similarities and differences, since YHAr is a combination of modern and Classical Hebrew, which belong to the Semitic language group, and Yiddish, which is an Indo-European language. These languages have different syntax, lexeme inflections and definiteness systems, ultimately within the NE frame. Therefore, in this study, there was an attempt to explore the linguistic production switches, in order to find out what the tendency of the switchers would be when there are linguistic gaps while switching. The difference will be seen especially when CS to lexemes in Hebrew, and in Yiddish, since it derives from the Anglo-

Saxon language of German, which is grammatically and syntactically similar to English. Therefore, the typological differences between Hebrew and English are investigated in this study.

In terms of classical morphological typology, Hebrew is an inflecting language, and a much more inflected language than English. For example, Hebrew has more verb endings, nouns and pronouns that vary in form according to the prepositions that precede them. Besides this, Hebrew has masculine and feminine genders, so the adjectives must be compatible with the number and gender of the nouns that modify them. On the contrary, English has a relative simplicity, with no distinctions to genders. Regarding the tense, Hebrew and English have similar present and past tenses.

The CBH morphology is likely to have the most enduring structure, bearing an unequivocal Semitic stamp. This is in line with Pablo Kirtchuk's (2010) claims that the CBH language is associated with the Semitic languages, as well as the claims of Goldenberg (1996) and Kapeliuk (1996). Despite this, there are some linguists, such as Whorf (1956), who hold that CH belongs to the Indo-European language group.

In a similar manner to the Romance languages, there was a major shift in the history of the Hebrew structure. Additionally, foreign influence has also determined the syntax and grammar of the Hebrew language. For example, concerning the CBH and the Mish.H, when there are compounds of lexemes, the noun will receive an article prefix, while in English, this prefix is redundant. For example, 'human rights' is an English compound which has been adapted to the Hebrew direct translation "zexuyot adam" instead of "zexuyot ha'adam" (the rights of the man). The omission of the article derives from the English language's influence on CH. Kirtchuk argues that "a similar behaviour is observed for many abstracts, mass, collective or otherwise non-referential or non-specific nouns".

The Hebrew word order enables more flexibility than the rigid and non-flexible Subject-Verb-Object syntax of English. Hebrew sentences mostly start with the verb, followed by the subject, and adjectives usually follow the nouns they modify. Hebrew

is also much more inflected than English. It also has no indefinite article, and use of the definite article does not coincide exactly with English usage.

Since CS research states that most switchers are nouns, in this research, there will be an attempt to investigate three phenomena referred to as NP, in order to find out how the emissaries insert their nouns switches in their utterances. The three phenomena are: the definiteness system, the construct state structure and gender differences.

English has a definite article and an indefinite article, while in Hebrew the indefinite article is absent. The construct state structure in Hebrew is different than in NE, since the nominal NP, as well as the accusative and dative NP, are altered within the noun itself, in all of its inflections. The various nouns and NPs of NE, on the contrary, do not change. Regarding the gender, in Hebrew, the nouns and NPs are inflected according to the gender, mostly within the suffix, and they are inflected either in the singular or in the plural. However, in NE, the noun and NP remain intact.

Therefore, the linguistic act of the emissaries will be examined, to find out whether the emissaries, while using the NE frame, precede indefinite articles before a switched noun or an NP, as is done in NE, or whether they will omit it since it does not exist in Hebrew. Another question asked is what factors influence the omission of this definite article: the CS directionality, or the locus of the switch in that utterance. As for the construct state structure, as well as gender inflectional suffixes, the question of whether they will do it according to the rules of NE or Hebrew is posed.

There are several theories concerning the switches and typological differences. Joshi (1985) stated that closed-class items, such as determiners and quantifiers, cannot be switched, in his Constraint on Closed-Class Items (CCCI) model. These closed-class lexemes come from the ML. According to him, for NE-JE CS, the nouns should always be JE, and the D would not be switched, and vice versa.

Belazi, Rubin and Toribio developed another theory in 1994, stating that the language feature of the complement f-selected by a functional head, like all other relevant features, must match the corresponding feature of that functional head, in

their (1994) FHC model. As a result, the determiner must remain in the ML, as it did in Joshi's model. In the case of YHAr-NE switching, no YHAr article should be produced. Rather, the articles would only be in NE. The same goes for NE to YHAr switching, inversely.

An additional CS model that is referred to in this study is Myers-Scotton's (1993, 2002, 2005) MLF model. According to the 4-M model, only the outsider late system morphemes must be in the ML, while all the other words can be produced in the EL. Therefore, a definite article, which is an early system morpheme according to the model, can be in either of the languages.

When comparing the theories with the present study, it was found that 100% of the Determiners, preceding the nominal nouns and NP, as well as the Determiners of the accusative and dative N and NP switches in the transcripts, were all taken from the ML, which is English, when dealing with NE → Hebrew. However, when switching from NE to Yiddish, the Determiners will be uttered in Yiddish. To explain this distinction, as was mentioned before, the Yiddish language has a similar syntactic structure as NE, as a language originating from Latin like NE.

Dealing with contemporary MH, which is derived from BH, the construct state is a structure that occurs prevalently in semitic morpho-syntactics, and allows a noun to determine the one preceding it, "without a positive autonomous expression other than syntactic juxtaposition and phonological coalescence" (Kirtchuk 2010: 8). In construct state structures, morphophonemic changes may occur on determinatus, which are polysyllabic masculine singulars, feminine singulars, or masculine plurals. Phonologically, there are three ways of pronouncing the suffixes (in this research, the phonological aspect is not investigated; further research is recommended).

Ritter (1991) distinguishes between the following types of construct states:

a. The genitive construct, which is a simple construct state, for example;

*parat ikar*

[cow farmer]

'a farmer's cow'

In the above construct, Ritter shows the compounding of two nouns, which uses the clitic '-'s' in order to create a construct state.

b. The free genitive

ha- bayit ʃel ha- mora

the-house of the-teacher

'the teacher's house'

In the case of the free genitive, the use of the possessive 'of' connects the two nouns.

c. The clitic double construct state

beyt -o ʃel dan

house-his of Dan

'Dan's house'

Here Ritter brings an example of the clitic double construct state, which consists of two "compounders" - the first one being '[beyt]+-o', 'his [house]', where the determinatum is 'house', and '-o' which signifies possessive pronouns, and the second, 'ʃel', which translates to Prep. 'of'. The two together make up a double clitic construct state in Hebrew.

In English, "Modern English indicates a genitive construct with either the possessive clitic suffic '-'s', or prepositional genitive construct form such as 'x of y'" (Kreyer 2003).

Dealing with the emissaries' production, when switching from NE to Hebrew, the findings prove that the use of definite and indefinite determiners, preceding the nouns, as well as the construct states and the consideration towards gender, is accomplished correctly in all cases. It is quite clear that in all of the switched NP and noun utterances, whether they were nominal, accusative or dative, the indefinite and definite articles were used in the ML, NE, and the definite and indefinite ART were distinguished accurately, although the indefinite article does not exist in Hebrew. Therefore, it can be inferred that the lecturers consistently used the ML with satisfactory competence.

However, it was found that when switching to Yiddish, the system morphemes, in this case the indefinite and definite articles, were uttered in Yiddish rather than English, which apparently seems to be a violation of the existing theories which state that the system morphemes must be taken from the ML of the competent bilingual. Nevertheless, the current study suggests that the motivation for this is the fact that Yiddish originates from German, which has similar syntactic rules built into the language.

Shormani (2017), states that there are two types of switches: either definite or indefinite. He contends that the head N of code switches can take the definite article in Hebrew, when switching to Hebrew while speaking in JE. He claims that a Construct State like is a DP (determiner phrase) construction in Semitic languages, based on Chomsky (1992). One of the features of construct states is the (in)definiteness spread. Shormani, as well as Danon (2008), argue that the (in)definiteness is "is claimed to spread from the genitive DP complement (GDC) to the head N, and then to the whole construct" (Shormani 2017: 01).

However, according to Shormani, (in)definiteness spread is a controversial issue in the generative syntax of Semitic language. Construct states seem to be more problematic than (in)definiteness spread, and some linguists, (see Borer 1999; Shlonsky 2004; Alshara'i 2014; Alanbari 1997; Dobrovie-Sorin 2001, 2003; Sichel 2002, 2003; among many others) argue that there is no (in)definiteness spread in construct states.

On the other hand, others (see Danon 2006; Siloni 2001; Fassi Fehri 1993, 1999; Kremers 2003; Longobardi 1994, 1996, 2001; among many others) claim that it occurs in some construct states but not in other cases. Therefore, many have written proposals to account for the (in)definiteness spread. Shormani himself has proposed that "there is no (in)definiteness spread in Sematic CSs".

Regarding gender differences, Kirtchuk (2010: 6) states that, "The noun inflects for gender and number, and there is a semi-productive inflection for the directive case". As for verbs, they inflect for person and aspect, person referring to

number and gender. "The marked gender for both verb and noun is the feminine, as in all languages which exhibit a sex-based gender distinction", he continues.

Below, some typical examples for typological characteristics which influence the emissaries' CS utterances are presented, according to the three salient components mentioned above.

## 5.5 Definiteness

Regarding definiteness, it was found that all of the cases where the article "the" preceded CS NPs, as nominal, accusative and dative NPs, were uttered in NE. These examples support the above-mentioned theories that definite articles are system morpheme constituents which must come from the ML. Since the Hebrew is lacking the indefinite article, and has a definite article, in these examples, the typological difference does not cause any violation of language differences, as it was uttered in NE, and thus it prevailed over the absence of the indefinite. They are as follows:

"the Rebbe Rashab"

"the Shul-chan A-ruch"

"the minhag"

"the yid"

"the tku-fa of chaf-za-yin adar"

"the era of chaf zayin ↓A↓dar"

"the mai-mar"

"the beis medrash - article moved"

"the beit Knesset"

"the halacha"

However, when the emissaries used CS nouns with indefinite determiners preceding them, once more, NE, which is the ML of all of the lectures, prevailed over Hebrew and Yiddish. The system morpheme used then was "a/an".

Some examples of this are:

"a yid-den"

"a ↑chassid"

"an elderly ↑chassid"

"a ch↑assid of the Alter Rebbe"

"a neshama chadasha"

"a metargem"

"a mechaye"

"a yente"

"a ↑home of ↓Yiras Sha↑ma↓yim"

"a sh↑tickel ↑tal↓mid ↑cha↓cham"

The article "a" (pronounced "uh") occurs also in Yiddish. An interesting finding is that when the Yiddish switches were phrases, the article was used in Yiddish. This occurred with "a mechaye" and "a sh↑tickel ↑tal↓mid ↑cha↓cham". This is due to the fact that the syntax of Yiddish and English are similar.

## 5.6 Construct states

- "the beis medrash"

  "the beit Knesset"

The above are examples of construct states in the emissaries' speech. They are examples of foreign NE influence on MH, in that they omit an article before the second noun. According to Kirtchuk (2010), this syntactic behavior is observed for many abstract, mass, collective, or otherwise non-referential or non-specific nouns. Therefore, as seen with the Lubavitcher emissaries, when faced with two apparent options of uttering the above construct states with an article or without, chose to omit the article. This is probably a result of the dominance of English over the Hebrew switch in the above switches, thus causing the emissaries to favor it over the use of an article, as in "beis HAmedrash", or "beis HAknesset".

- "Tfilas ha↑shachar"

"Yiras Sha↑ma↓yim"

The following are construct states that contain two nouns which are attached with a morphophonemic constituent. When this is done, overt changes occur to the

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first noun, the determinatum. In the first example given above, "Tfilas ha↑shachar", the determinatum "tefillAH" is changed to "tfillaS" which creates the construct state, and in the second example "YirAH" is turned to "yiraS" in much the same way. Here, the typological differences between the two languages are salient. The Hebrew construct states are changed according to the inflections needed within the determinatum, while in English, the head noun does not change when combining the two nouns with the preposition 'of', or even when adding the clictic '-'s' to the noun itself. The location of the prepositions do not affect the nouns at all.

- "Eretz Isr↑o↓el"

  "Shmone Esrei"

These are construct states that do not change their head nouns in order to attach them together. This also occurs in English, with words such as "swimming pool", or "football".

- "their Kashrus's Agencies"

"apikor↓se's ke↓dusha"

The above are examples of clitic-doubled construct state NP, according to Ritter (1991). They are also examples of the English influence on the emissaries' CS. The use of the clitic '-'s' for joining two noun heads derives from the English ML.

- "the tku-fa of chaf-za-yin adar"

"the era of chaf zayin ↓A↓dar"

"the whole concept of e-mu-na"

These examples are all cases of free genitive construct states, according to Ritter (1991). The use the genitive 'of' to attach both nouns together, without the clitic '-'s'.

- "a ↑home of ↓Yiras Sha↑ma↓yim"

  the source of apikor↓se's ke↓dusha

These two examples are construct state chains, where there is a construct state within a construct state. In both of the above examples, the original construct state includes two code-switched nouns, and these then become the second half of a second construct state, the first half being originally in Hebrew.

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## 5.7 Gender differences

- "minha↑gIM"
- "sfaradIM"
- "chas↑sidIM"

The above examples all show that when the emissaries switched a pluralized word, they kept the suffix in the EL, as well as keeping the suffix rules from the EL to account for gender differences that come from the Hebrew. There was no occurrence of an ML suffix for a code-switched utterance. To clarify an example, "minhag" is a singular masculine, and in order to pluralize it, the emissary added the suffix '-IM', which proves that this is a masculine noun, like all of the examples given here. If "minhag" had been feminine, the suffix would be different, '-ot' instead of '-im'.

With regards to gender, the Hebrew -EL prevailed over the ML syntactic rules.

## 5.8 Translation

One of the unique strategies employed by the emissaries in this research is that of translation. The pragmatic use of translation is divided into two types: either word for word or as a general summary in the other language. In the following, each emissary's use of translation will be presented, after which it will be explained and compared to existing theories in the field.

The emissaries, the participants in this study, had never acquired any formal education in didactics and pedagogy. They had never been previously trained or prepared for the task. Consequently, their act of teaching is derived from an innate, natural capability, and somehow, they managed to emulate their own teachers' unconscious, yet rational, structure of conducting the process of teaching.

It is important to notice that there is a distinction between professional translators and bilinguals. As such, "We may be able to rehabilitate the notion of the special nature of translation in more current terminology by looking at interpreters/translators and ordinary bilinguals as experts and novices, respectively" (Walters 2005: 210).

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Dealing with the challenge of translation is difficult, especially for novices, as Walters (2005: 209) states. "Both involve complex, multidimensional skills, where the interpreter/translator is called upon to process information on several levels (some simultaneously and some sequentially) under conditions of heavy cognitive demand, i.e dense information input, restricted time to preform and the requirement for accurate output."

**Emissary 01**

Emissary 01, in this lecture, only translated words in three sentences out of a total of 36 sentences. The translations were of two theological concepts, as well as one quote, the first theological concept being "the whole concept of e-mu-na, of faith", and the second, "ma↑kif makif >what is the translation of the word makif guys?< ↑hovering over en↑compass↓ing it's ↑there but it's not internalized or in ↑Shayna's words it's ↑not di↑gested." The strategy used by Levinger was to present the concept first in Hebrew, and immediately translate right after, leaving the interlocutors without questions. When translating the second theological concept, the Rabbi had repeated the concept twice, and then hesitated (as seen by intonation and tone). It seems that he wondered whether the students were familiar with the concept, and once he saw that they knew it, he proceeded to elucidate more upon it. Concerning the third use of translation, it was an inter-sentential clause, using a proverb, ""ach↑ar hapeul↑ot nimshachot halevavot" after the ↑actions goes the heart". However, the emissary misquoted the proverb, which is his L1, from the original quote, "Axarei hapeulot nimshaxim halevavot" (The Book of Xinux, 16, 2).

Two mistakes have been found, which were the lack of the suffix 'ei' in the word "axar". The classical well-known commentator Rashi interpreted the significant distinction between axar and axarei, explaining that axar without the suffix semantically refers to events that occurred immediately after the preceding events had occurred, whereas axarei refers to events that occur after a long period. There are two possible causes for such a mistake: the first could simply be lack of knowledge of the content he is teaching, or forgetfulness, assuming that he is aware of the importance

of using or omitting the suffix 'ei' according to the given context. This has nothing to do with his lack of linguistic competence in his L1.

On the other hand, the second possibility could be that he does not distinguish between the two due to linguistic incompetence, as Poulisse (1997) claims, that bilinguals tend to have a deficiency in both languages they have acquired, and the acquisition of L1 is limited from the beginning. This is a psycholinguistic defect. In addition, although the emissary's mistake could be interpreted as an example of attrition, a prevalent phenomenon in bilinguals, in this study, this phenomenon is irrelevant, because all of the participants in our study still continually use their native language.

The second mistake is a severe grammatical error. In the word nimshaxot, the emissary confused the masculine and feminine inflection of the verb. It should have been the masculine nimshaxim instead of the feminine nimshaxot. This reflects upon the emissary's limited L1 proficiency. It is interesting to note that in the translation, the mistake becomes obsolete, as there is no feminine or masculine in English verbs. The emissary's goal is just to transfer the information, and this was achieved regardless of his linguistic mistakes.

### Emissary 02

Emissary 02 uses the strategy of translating very often. He tends to bring the source from the theological resource he is using, and subsequently, he translates it. Throughout the period of time (10 minutes) that was recorded, it was found that he unconsciously used a systematic pattern of attempting to convey new knowledge to his students, i.e. interlocutors. He brings segments of a full sentence written in Hebrew or Aramaic, and immediately translates it into NE. The translation is generally a conscious choice of the lecturer to select the specific, relevant words that he is interested in translating. It can be that he translates word by word, the nouns and predicates of each sentence, or that he gives a brief summary of the idea in general, ignoring the individual translation of each word.

Here are the translations of this lecturer:

1.1: Yeshno-ha-gim↓ there are those that have the cu:stom, she loy lechol tz↑no-yin veshu↑m bepey↑sach we don't eat <Radish↓> and <Garlic↓>on Pey-sach.

In this example, he starts with a segment that includes a noun and a predicate in Hebrew, translates it into English, and continues with the clause of the object phrase, and then again brings the Hebrew source, only to translate it again too. This translation was word for word, although, he ignored the determiner, "she". This does not show lack of competence. Rather, this was the convenient way for emissary 02 to achieve a fluid sentence, affecting interlocutor understanding.

1.2: it's forbidden to drink <ittl> whats called in in Hebrew <YA↑yin sa↑ref> >can anyone< translate <yayin saref>? … To A↑Lcohol but like not like li↑quor, n vo↑dka, not yknow not wi↑ne but um↓ Hard liquor we would ca↑ll it, right

In this case, he uses the direct strategy of asking for a translation of the phrase "yayin saref". He translates it using examples and explanations, such as "it is not alcohol, it is like liquor…".

1.3: ye↑sh liza↑her livdok lifnei peysach you should che↑ck before peysach es ko↑l hame:lach hada↑ru↓sh leyemei hapeysach, all the salt that ugonna use on peysach (guess) maybe a <ittle:e seed of uh↓ uh↓ uh↓ you know a lil> grain of whea↑t that mixed into the salt.

Here, the emissary's intention is to introduce the whole source, and to provide the message of the whole source. However, he instinctively becomes aware of the difficulty of grasping a complicated idea, written in a foreign language in one chunk, and therefore he breaks it up into segments in order to enable the interlocutors to understand. His initial tendency is to translate the source word for word, so he starts with the imperative instructions, written in Hebrew, which are, "ye↑sh liza↑her livdok lifnei peysach", and he translates this word for word, "you should che↑ck before peysach". He then continues with a direct object, written in Hebrew, "es ko↑l hame:lach hada↑ru↓sh leyemei hapeysach" and loosely translates it into informal English, not achieving an exact word for word translation successfully. It seems as though the emissary prioritizes the conveying of the message over the accuracy of the language, and so he gives up on it when it is not convenient for him to translate

accurately. This is not a reflection of 02's lack of competence, because throughout the lesson, he was fluent and accurate to a higher degree with more complex and more difficult words than these. It is quite clear and simply seen that 02 used the determiners and adjectives very often, and did so correctly in different sentences.

1.4: there was a a a a mashgiach, who was a kash-rus supervisor.

The emissary uses simple, direct translation, not as a source, but within a narrative. Again, he uses the same strategy, introducing the original concept in Hebrew and afterwards translating it word for word into English. The motivation is to affiliate the interlocutors by using fundamental, familiar and acceptable concepts, used in Hebrew, and to induce them into acquiring the words, assuming that they will use it themselves in the future.

To sum up, out of approximately 45 sentences, four were translations, which constitute 8.89% of the excerpt.

**Emissary 03**

Emissary 03 did not use the translation strategy at all. A broad use of other languages were found in his lecture, as quotes from Hebrew, many theological concepts were referenced in Aramaic or Hebrew, and single words from Yiddish were frequently used during the lecture. There were even uses of partial quotes in Yiddish, but in fact, the emissary, contrary to many other emissaries, neglected to use the involuntary, unconscious strategy of translating his words automatically. The only way to explain his linguistic behavior is to explain that the teacher was aware of the higher linguistic standards of his students, who were already advanced students and were extremely familiar with YHAr. We can verify the statement by asserting that no translations were requested by the students at all.

**Emissary 04**

Emissary 04 did not use the translation strategy at all. As mentioned before, his interlocutors were advanced in their linguistic capabilities, and did not require translation, as they already knew the meanings of most of the words.

It is important to note that Emissary o4 is the only emissary, out of all of the rest, who has acquired his NE before his YHAr (or the JLV style of speaking). It is likely that the classic translation method of automatically translating the YHAr to NE, which the other emissaries were trained with throughout their childhoods and still used in their adulthoods, is not as deeply entrenched a habit for Emissary 4 as it is for the others, and therefore he did not translate automatically. For him, transmitting the content/information is adequate.

### Emissary 05

Emissary 05, also, did not use the translation strategy in his lecture. It can be supposed that his students were also advanced, and did not require translations.

### Emissary 06

Emissary 06 used translation only once, to quote an expression that he used for metaphorical purposes, " ke↑mayim karim>  al nefesh ayefa like pouring cold water on a ti↓red (hesitates) soul". Although he used plenty of other words and phrases from YHAr without translation, here he translates, because he foresees that it is more difficult for the students. Many might require a translation for that specific phrase, as opposed to the numerous easier ones he had also used, which they were familiar with already due to their more advanced competence in YHAr . Again, this shows the awareness and sensitivity of the emissary, who could determine the level of competence of his interlocutors in YHAr. Therefore, when using metaphors, which are of greater linguistic difficulty, and involve higher and more aesthetic language, the emissary knows that this would increase the difficulty level that his interlocutors would encounter.

The emissary also noticeably hesitates before choosing to use the word 'soul' as an appropriate translation for the Hebrew word "nefesh". This actually shows his competence as a translator, because the word 'soul' is usually used to translate the Hebrew word "neshama". However, the English language lacks the nuances of the

Hebrew language regarding the word and concept of 'soul', and therefore, it was appropriate to use the word 'soul' to translate 'nefesh' as well. Emissary 06 was aware of this, showing his high competence in both YHAr and NE, and resolved this typological issue in an appropriate manner.

**Emissary 07**

Emissary 07 translated only one simple theological concept that his interlocutors surely knew already, despite having used many other more difficult phrases in YHAr . He used the Hebrew word "Elokus", immediately translating it to "G-dliness". It seems that his motivation for doing so was socio-pragmatic, rather than psycholinguistic, and he did so to emphasize the concept and to draw the attention of the listeners in an attempt to have them internalize the message in a deeper way.

This lack of use of the translation strategy is an indication of his extremely low competence in L2, as he was not able to translate, due to his lack of knowledge in NE.

**Emissary 08**

Emissary 08 shows a prodigious knowledge of both languages and extraordinary skill in the strategy of translation. He inserted YHAr words in his lecture just so that he could translate them for socio-pragmatic reasons. A good example of this would be his use of the word 'bina' which he translated to 'wisdom'. In the context of his lecture, 'wisdom' was contextually sound, but in Hebrew, the word 'bina' would have been less appropriate, although linguistically correct, to use. He did this so that his interlocutors could be exposed to the word 'bina'. As Walters (2005) claims, translation consists of "the processing of large amounts of information under time constraints", and this was done with great fluency by emissary 08, even when it was not initially required, so as to teach the audience a word in YHAr. He is "involved in the active, construction of meaning" (Walters 2005), and this is why he added YHAr words for the sole purpose of exposing the interlocutors to its translation.

Contrary to the other lecturers who spoke to a linguistically homogeneous group, emissary 08 spoke to a heterogeneous group, in which some of the audience

was proficient in YHAr , whereas others were not. This could explain why he used the strategy of translation so often. The following is a list of examples of his uses of the strategy of translation, which were used in 12 out of 41 sentences, and were in 29.3% of the sentences.

"a metargem a translator"

"bina wisdom"

"to the metargem to the translator"

"bye bye lehitraot."

"letzamtzem compressing"

"letzamtzem it compress it"

"Vayavo eleha" – he came to her.

"vedavak beishto" – he cleaves to his wife.

"Itzhak metzahek es Rivka ishto" – Isaac was laughing with Rebecca his wife.

"Legalot erva" – to expose nakedness.

"Shichva" – and she lied with me.

I won't tell your shviger, I won't tell your mother-in-law.

### Emissary 09

Emissary 09 did not use the strategy of translation even once, because he was aware of his interlocutors' high competence in YHAr.

### Emissary 10

Emissary 10 only used the strategy of translation once in his translation of "With Yeneh ↓ma↓cha↑la with cancer". His interlocutors were advanced in their YHAr competence, and did not require a lot of translation, but this specific phrase was more difficult for the interlocutors, as it was only used by the Orthodox community. Therefore, he felt a need to translate it. His use of the strategy of translation occurred in 1 out of 40 sentences, which is 2.5% of the sentences in his speech.

The translation was not a linguistic translation, but a thematic translation. It derives from typological differences, and will be expounded upon in the chapter on typological differences.

*Table 23: Number of translations, sentences and percentages of translations for each emissary*

| EMISSARY | | | | | | | | | | 0 | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **NUMBER OF TRANSLATIONS** | | | | | | | | 2 | | | 22 |
| **NUMBER OF SENTENCES** | 0 | 9 | 5 | 5 | 9 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 435 |
| **PERCENTAGE** | .5 | .2 | | | | .2 | .8 | 7.9 | | .24 | 48.84 |

In order to explain the limited use of this strategy, the data prove that there is a connection between the level of the class, whether dealing with beginners or more advanced students, and the emissaries' competence in NE. For example, when there is a class of beginners, the emissary fills the needs of translation by using alternative strategies, so that translation is no longer necessary. In addition, it must be noted that some emissaries simply lacked the competence to do so.

Hickey (1998) applies the concepts of locution, illocution and perlocution to translation. He takes the concept of equivalence and fashions it in line with the parameters he finds most significant. Succinctly, he explains the concepts of locution, illocution and perlocution as what a person says, does, and brings about (or is likely to bring about in a person who he is talking to). He then goes further and cites Davis, (1980), who divides the perlocutionary act into perlocutionary cause and perlocutionary effect. This would be what the speaker said and how the hearer reacted. In the framework of translation, the ST would be the perlocutionary act that constitutes a perlocutionary cause and brings about a perlocutionary effect.

When Lubavitch emissaries are lecturing, they will abide by certain principles. There will be faithful to the source text, literal translation and preservation of ST structure. There will always be some kind of equivalence (whether in style, meaning, structure), that would be considered all important. This particularly holds true for biblical texts, where the original is often regarded as sacred. Meaning is also given to specific constructs, word order and style. Bible translations and other Talmudic and Judaic words and phrases will always try to have some kind of equivalence to earlier source texts, in order to preserve and to teach that "biblical, authentic Jewish flavor" that is so important to the emissaries, and which is what they want to teach.

Another approach towards translation is Toury's (1995) descriptive method, concerning the relationship between the ST and the TT. The method uses description and explanation of relationships that are between target and source texts. The way that Toury works is target-text oriented, because the analysis starts from the TT. Even though it begins from this point, the TT is mapped onto its ST. The goal is to establish the norm of translation equivalence and the overall concept of translation underlying the text (Toury 1995:37). The adherence to the pure meaning of the text or the quality of the translation is less of an issue in Toury's method of analysis, and he describes the shifts or manipulations that have occurred in the context of the dominant norms. Instead of speaking of translations that are more loyal or less loyal to the ST, there are adequate translations vs. acceptable translations (Toury's terms (1995)). An adequate translation is one that tries to preserve the functional elements of the source culture by following the norms of that source, whereas an acceptable translation molds itself into the receptive or target culture (Toury 1995).

In aligning themselves with the target audience, the Emissaries use adequate translation. In achieving this acceptability of their translation, the target audience will be more open to learning the source culture that the Emissaries are trying to instill in their listeners.

Yet another approach to translation is Holmstedt's (2011), which explains the motivations for translating. He says that languages borrow words from other

languages for two reasons: need and prestige (Campbell 2004: 64f.). The word "coffee" is a good modern example of need-based (Campbell 2004) borrowing: European languages borrowed the word from Arabic through Turkish. The emissaries wish to inculcate Jewish words and values, and to basically shift the status of the Biblical and Talmudic words that they use from translations that are still perceived as outside influences by the receivers, and for these words to be borrowed into the functional language of these students. It is prestige-based borrowing that figures prominently in ancient Hebrew studies. Prestige-based borrowing reflects a socio-linguistic situation in which a foreign language, whether closely related or not, is associated with higher social or political status or is simply a dominant linguistic cultural influence (e.g. a lingua franca) (Holmstedt 2011). In the same way, the students being influenced by the emissaries would identify their new Jewish lexicon as being prestigious and the words would be integrated as borrowings.

In Hebrew, prestige borrowing is often invoked to explain the increasing number of Aramaisms as well as the few Persianisms found in some biblical texts. The prestige status of Aramaic came from its role as the administrative language of both the Neo-Babylonian and Persian empires. According to Campbell (2004), it is important to recognize that the borrowed item is normally adapted and accommodated to the borrowing language's phonology and morphology (see Campbell 2004: 65ff.). The emissaries' use of this type of language shows how they wish to initiate the students into the use of the Chassidic and JL as part of their transformation into JE language users.

Once the emissaries, and then the students, use translations used word by word: e.g. the metargem, the translator, it is a short step to using the Hebrew word (i.e. metargem) as a borrowed word in their NE, or as part of a wider use of YHAr.

This can be explained by the fact that they have difficulty explaining word by word, or that they have a problem with cognition, not knowing immediately the equivalent. It can also be that they have a difficulty with word retrieval, or that they do not know the meaning that the word was used. It is therefore possible that they elude the problem by using other words. Another possibility is that they translate for

socio-pragmatic reasons because they want to shorten the whole process of translating and there is no importance in translating word by word.

Furthermore, Nida (1969) divides the strategy of translation into two categories: dynamic equivalence and formal equivalence, both very different approaches to translation. He specialized in Biblical translation, and each approach achieves a different level of literalness between the ST and the TT. He states that it is of utmost importance that the reader or hearer in both languages understands the meaning of the text in a similar fashion. This is what is known as sense-for-sense translation which usually works on the basis of sentence-sized units and not word for word. Dynamic equivalence is "the quality of translation in which the message of the original text has been so transported into the receptor language that the response of the receptor is essentially like that of the original receptors" (Nida 1969, 2000). The end result is a much more natural, live rendering.

There is a debate over the importance of using the strategy of translation for language acquisition. According to Lewis (2002), it has been said that trying to eliminate L1 entirely in teaching L2 is not reasonable, as he notes that translation is the natural way that learners approach an L2. In his opinion, it is better to work with this tendency rather than going against it. Thompson (2011: 19) states that for this reason, Biblical Hebrew does not have to be learned as communication but rather should be seen as a written language. Because of this, the speaker, in this case the emissary, translates word for word when imparting textual translations that retain the integrity of the written text and remain faithful to it in translation.

### Competence

According to the data collected by the questionnaire distributed to the lecturers, and analysis of the transcripts, 70% of the speakers' linguistic competence was considered satisfactory. They made few grammatical or syntactic mistakes. Only 30% of the lecturers experienced occasional difficulties in their linguistic production, which probably derived from errors in performance (i.e. from slips of the tongue). Chomsky (1965) distinguished between competence and performance, pointing out that

competence is the knowledge of language, and performance is the actual use of language in concrete situations. Shohami (2004) claims that the matter of competence and performance has been broadly discussed within the language testing field. Comparing the transcripts of the emissaries' language production with the results of their questionnaire, there seemed to be a direct correlation between their competence and performance, disregarding some minor slips of the tongue.

Following the linguistic production focusing on their syntactic, grammatical and lexical production, it was found that the lecturers made few mistakes. These can be analysed and divided into three categories. The first derives from typological differences between the Semitic and the Indo-European languages, which challenges the linguistic competence of the speaker, while the second is drawn from typical, regular characteristics of speaking, such as slips of the tongue, and a lack of linguistic and grammatical familiarity with L2.

# Chapter 6: General discussion

In the previous chapters, the results for the qualitative and quantitative tasks (the questionnaires and the lectures respectively) were presented and analyzed. In this chapter, the general patterns of the results are summarized. Following that, limitations of the present study are presented and ideas for future research are proposed, after which general conclusions for Chabad Lubavitch emissaries' CS will be delineated.

The results of the research aided in tracing and documenting the unique linguistic behavior of a specific ethnic group of bilinguals in order to examine the systematic patterns of the linguistic behavior. In addition, there was an endeavour to find similarities or significant differences between the global CS population and the Orthodox Lubavitch emissaries who were investigated. Moreover, possible constraints and limits, as well as linguistic consistency, were explored. Furthermore, the study considered specific strategies used by the code switchers to elicit production, and will suggest possible motivations that lead to their CS.

In this research paper, the linguistic strategies, and characteristics utilized by the emissaries to achieve successful communication were investigated, as well as their competence. In addition, the analysis of the structural, psycholinguistic, and sociopragmatic motivations characterized by the phenomenon of code switching (CS) among these ethnic bilinguals, was explored as well. Moreover, the correlation between the linguistic production of the emissaries and the universal linguistic rules are explored and analyzed.

## 6.1 Strategies and typical characteristics of emissaries' linguistic production

The unique characteristics of the linguistic production of the emissaries, as well as their strategies, will be outlined below.

### 6.1.1 Normative English as a general frame

Generally speaking, a significant characteristic found throughout all of the transcripts was the emissaries' tendency to structure their speech according to the framing of NE, as opposed to their native YHAr.

Throughout most of the encounters, in both initial and advanced contexts, when conversing about universal themes, the interlocutors chose the language frame of NE, including lexis, grammar, syntax, and phonology. However, when they conversed about Jewish-religious themes, the emissaries tended to code switch to L1. This was to transmit their spiritual messages, which they conveyed verbally in the most authentic way by using the authentic, relevant concepts and terms in the original language, YHAr (i.e. their L1).

This fact suggests that the bilingual emissaries, whose L1a+b was JLV+YHAr, were very familiar with spoken NE, and that their verbal competence in this L2 had become satisfactory. The emissaries had gradually gained this linguistic competence through accumulated exposure to the L2 after they had left the Jewish enclaves. This phenomenon supports the general assertion that bilinguals have the ability to reach a level of L2 acquisition that enables them to quickly and effortlessly shift from one code to another, yet be able to have an automatic language separation (Baker 2011; Montenegro and Ricardo 2012).

It also corresponds to Cummins' (1979) and Montenegro and Ricardo's (2012) claims, conceptualizing this phenomenon as an "additive bilingualism" (i.e. acquisition of a prestigious and socially recognized L2 which is perceived as a personal gain). This is different from "subtractive bilingualism", where attrition of the L1 occurs gradually, being replaced by a more prestigious L2.

The ability of the students of the emissaries, who lacked basic knowledge in Judaism, to comprehend and communicate as L2 speakers with the emissaries shows that when there was a minor and limited use of intra-sentential CS in a conversational act, it did not totally impede the understanding of the whole sentence. However, when there was a massive use of inter-sentential CS or even a complicated intra-sentential

CS, consisting of a mixture of borrowings from Yiddish, Aramaic, or theological Hebrew (modern or ancient), it prevented the understanding of the discourse.

Jews with little or no religious practice are not familiar with the type of code switching to YHAr, which is common among Orthodox Jews in Brooklyn (Weiser 1995; Fishman 1985; Gold 1985; Benor 2004, 2009). The emissaries in this study are Ultra-Orthodox Jews from Brooklyn, and consequently, the emissaries must find linguistic solutions in order to bridge the linguistic gaps.

The linguistic behavior of the emissaries was found to be compatible with the existing theories regarding bilinguals' linguistic production in general. Myers-Scotton's FML model (1993a, 2002) and the 4M model, investigating the syntactic, structural, and grammatical usage of bilinguals switching their codes, claim that the ML (the predominant language spoken) is the frame, and the EL is added to the matrix. Hence, it can be confirmed that the emissaries' linguistic behavior was compatible with the theoretical models.

### 6.1.2 Using code switching as an out-group strategy

Auer (1999, 2017) claims that there is only a subtle distinction between the bilingual's use of CS and of CM. He argues that CS could be interpreted as a "locally meaningful event by participants" (1999: 3310; 2017: 467) , while CM would be when there is a "juxtaposition of two languages in which the use of two languages is meaningful to participants, not in a local but only in a more global sense." Regarding the emissaries who lecture secular students, however, in this study, it is suggested that CS is the main and most frequent strategy used by them, as opposed to CM. They utilized the strategy of CS as if it was a "locally meaningful event by participants" (Auer 1999: 3310, 2017: 467)

Auer (2017) notes that CS occurs in a socio-linguistic context in which speakers prefer one language at a time. Therefore, one may identify the language of interaction (the ML) and the CS, when it occurs. The preference of the emissaries depended on the various goals they had, and they selected the language that suited their needs most. In the questionnaire, the emissaries unanimously declared that they tried to

communicate with the interlocutors in order to affiliate them to Judaism. Therefore, they apparently had two contradictory desires; on the one hand they were interested that the content (the philosophy and theological knowledge) would be understood, so they used the NE. On the other hand, they wanted to gain broader and more meaningful social, cultural and spiritual achievements. This could be achieved by using the authentic lexemes and phrases, which were in YHAr. Therefore, when they switched their code, they preferred the languages that suited their interests.

In addition, Auer (1999) states that CS signals "otherness" when it departs from the ML. The emissaries seek to achieve a balance between two conflicting interests; drawing their interlocutors closer and being easily understood, on the one hand, and on the other, exposing them to the culture and ideology represented by YHAr. Therefore, they alternate between the two languages, thus signalling otherness with their CS. This way, they highlight the importance of using a different language, and do not search for equivalents of authentic lexemes in the ML.

Furthermore, Auers notes that "CS may have a personal or a group style". This resonates true in this study. It is a salient fact in this study that each emissary had his own personal style of lecturing and switching. This is true regarding the linguistic production of each individual. One might be verbose while the other could be concise; one might use metaphoric or plain language, and so on. However, when observing the group style of CS emissaries, it was found that they employed similar strategies, such as switching and immediately translating themselves, personifying the name of books instead of speaking about human beings, etc. Moreover, the emissaries selected the Yiddish language to refer to their Rabbi, and no one referred to his Rabbi in English. Thus, their style of talking had a lot in common with each other.

Furthermore, the emissaries used content word switches on a permanent basis (see the results in figures 32-42). This is insertional CS. According to Auer (1999), insertional CS is when a content word is inserted into the ML. He claims that the insertion of content words was the most salient phenomenon universally. The current study concurs with this.

### 6.1.3 Language mixing as an in-group strategy

According to Auer (1999), CM is when the use of two codes is mixed together, in similar proportion to each other. In addition, alternational mixing, in its most prototypical sense, is when a sentence begins with one language and ends with another, without a clear sense of what the ML of the sentence is. However, as for the emissaries, when they lectured their students, they used NE as an ML and YHAr as the EL. In addition, the proportions were clear. The majority of lexemes were uttered in NE and the embedded islands were in YHAr. Every audience could distinguish immediately what the ML was, and the EL was used much less.

Besides, unlike the CM style, which lacks clear boundaries between language A and B within the sentence itself, the CS style of most emissaries proved that the languages were easily distinguishable. However, those emissaries who massively inserted code switches, although they may have seemed to be mixing and not switching, used mainly single content morphemes that they tended to translate right after uttering, in order to compensate for the linguistic difficulty. Therefore, it is clear that they are attempting to keep NE as the ML despite their difficulty.

Therefore, it could carefully be postulated that CS is a more relevant strategy employed in out-group settings, while the CM is seen as an in-group strategy.

## 6.2 Gender differences

Another characteristic found in this research is the distinction made according to the gender of the interlocutors. It is important to note that in the Ultra-Orthodox community, gender is a major theme and is treated seriously. The community's values concerning gender were reflected in the emissaries' linguistic behavior.

Therefore, throughout various discourses and classes that were recorded, transcribed and reviewed, it was quite clear that the emissaries significantly decreased their CS when they conversed with women only, and the amount of CS rose when they taught Jewish concepts to men only. The motivation is easily explained. Women are less obligated to study Jewish texts in comparison to men. Therefore, they do not

need to have much exposure to theological sources written in Aramaic and ancient Hebrew. Consequently, the emissaries did not find it necessary to provide accessibility to the authentic sources for the women and, as a result, they did not switch their code so frequently and were prone to speak more NE.

## 6.3 The use of Hebrew and Aramaic switches/borrowings with a Hebrew accent for formal religious concepts, prayers and codes

According to the findings, the emissaries were prone to switch consistently and systematically during their theological lectures when they taught religious concepts and when they talked about the prayers. Whenever the lecturer wanted to teach any new concepts, his strategy was to switch codes and then to provide an explanation and/or translation in NE. In 100% of these cases, the language chosen was Hebrew or Aramaic, the languages of the theological sources. Regarding the phonological aspect, the Ashkenazic intonation was adapted the entire time. This is because all of the lecturers had Ashkenazic origins.

## 6.4 Characteristics of presenting new concepts

An additional and authentic characteristic of the lecturers' linguistic behavior was found to be presenting new concepts through the use of personification, as in the following example:

"The Zohar calls the matzah food of Emunah, food of faith"

Here, "Zohar" was another example of the particular use of a term typical to the emissaries, who were Jewish scholars. The emissary referred to the Zohar as a book, an object "in the Zohar," and then personified the book when he said "the Zohar calls the matzah…"

This dual use of a book as an object as well as a person was prevalent among the emissaries. The repeated format was: they first presented the name of the book and later explained that it was a book; they did not translate the meaning of the book's

title, but provided details about the author; and then they related to the book's title as if it were a person.

The term "Zohar'' is a name of a book which literally translates to 'light'. In this example, the emissary referred to it as an object, without providing any explanations about the Zohar, and then personified it. In this case, this term had probably already been taught by the emissary and acquired by the non-JE-speaking students.

## 6.5 The use of Yiddish for folkish purposes

Contrary to the use of Hebrew/Aramaic CS for the acquisition of religious terms, the transcripts revealed a high frequency of inter-sentential CS to Yiddish when dealing with folkish purposes. Generally, code switching was an attempt to show solidarity between the interlocutors, depending on the conversational, situational, and metaphorical interests (Gumperz 1982). More specifically, the emissaries used this linguistic device of speaking in an ethnically shared language, Yiddish, to express closeness, and in order to actively attract the interlocutors to their group.

## 6.6 Competence in the NE frame

The emissaries often deviated from the NE frame. One hypothesis is that they did so because, as bilinguals, they were not sufficiently competent in their L2, NE, because they had not previously received any mainstream American education or training in Standard English. In addition, their geographical isolation in Brooklyn prevented them from mass exposure to it. Therefore, it could have been assumed they would severely lack proficiency when using it, especially in situations of cultural negotiation with the American students. Undoubtedly, the linguistic issue played an important role for the emissaries, given the need for fluent communication between the lecturers and the monolingual NE interlocutors. Furthermore, the themes dealt with by the American students were not on a simple level of content, but rather were deeper and more complex notions regarding theology and philosophy, which demanded a wealth of abstract vocabulary and high-level diction. Therefore, the linguistic ability that was

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expected from the emissaries would seem to pose a challenging task, which would induce anxiety.

However, the lecturers' diverse linguistic abilities were satisfactory, even exceeding expectations. It is important to note that their linguistic production correlated with the universal bilingual population. The existing linguistic theories and models correspond to the emissaries' linguistic behavior.

## 6.6 Translation

Translation was another prominent strategy frequently used by the emissaries. All the lecturers who participated in this research frequently used this strategy, either from YHAr to NE, or the other way around. It was used both inter-sententially and intra-sententially, but typically inter-sententially when citing quotes. The translation was either word-for-word or a general summary of the idea conveyed.

Shay (2015) explained that "From the teachers' point of view, code switching is not always performed consciously, so teachers are not always aware of the functions and outcomes of the code switching process. Whether the teacher switches codes consciously or not, it necessarily serves some basic functions, which may be beneficial in language learning environments" (Shay 2015: 466).

It is important to note that there is a distinction between professional translators and bilinguals. As such, "We may be able to rehabilitate the notion of the special nature of translation in more current terminology by looking at interpreters/translators and ordinary bilinguals as experts and novices, respectively" (Walters 2005: 210).

Dealing with the challenge of translation is difficult, especially for novices, as Walters (2005: 209) states. "Both involve complex, multidimensional skills, where the interpreter/translator is called upon to process information on several levels (some simultaneously and some sequentially) under conditions of heavy cognitive demand, i.e dense information input, restricted time to preform and the requirement for accurate output.".

To sum up, the emissaries are considered competent in translating, despite its inherent adversity, as Price, Green and Von Studnitz (1999) emphasize the sophistication of processing translation in the brain of the speakers. They claim, "In order to speak in one language rather than another or to translate between languages, individuals establish `language task schemas'. These are effectively action schemas in the domain of language and link input to, and output from, the bilingual lexico-semantic system to responses. Language schemas at a given level are in competition and responses are produced in accordance with the currently dominating schema. Selection of a word in the correct language occurs at the lemma level by virtue of a language tag. At this locus, competitors for selection in the non-target language are inhibited." Therefore, success in translation shows high competence, and vice versa.

### 6.7 Attrition

The bilingual emissaries exhibited no occurrences of language attrition, contrary to many other bilingual communities, in which attrition is prevalent. Language attrition is the gradual loss of proficiency in one or more languages by bilinguals or multilinguals. This is particularly true for immigrants, who gradually use less of their L1 and begin to forget it, either voluntarily or not. According to Myers-Scotton (2007), language attrition occurs frequently in the L1 of immigrants who abandon their everyday use of it in favor of another language, leaving the first to slowly deteriorate.

As noted, the widespread phenomenon of gradually losing the L1 did not occur with the emissaries. This lack of attrition could be explained by the emissaries' regular and massive use of both languages. They found themselves in situations which required both languages daily, and sometimes simultaneously. They studied and referred to YHAr theological sources and then taught their monolingual NE interlocutors primarily in NE.

This process involved switching from L1 to L2, or the other way around, using long or short inter- or intra-sentential utterances, with L1 or L2 as the ML or EL

islands. According to Myers-Scotton (1993a), the ML is the grammatical frame for structuring sentences. The EL island is the language that the speaker inserts into the ML, without interfering with the grammatical structure of the ML. In the case of the emissaries, neither language was abandoned during this process. Consequently, attrition did not occur and is not a relevant issue in the current study.

## 6.8 Domain

The domain of CS is another matter for research. Since it can occur intra-sententially, inter-sententially and cross-speaker, all different types of CS were taken into consideration. The current research explored CS within the realm of an 'utterance', since previous research used it as a primary unit of analysis (Raichlin 2009 and Lanza 1992). Despite the fact that many researchers (Dussias 2001; Muysken 2000; Schmidt 2000) only investigate intrasentential CS, it is important to research all of them, as speakers often code-switch not only within the same sentence but also through different sentences, and in different speaking turns. This study has found that all of the above types of CS occur in Lubavitch emissaries' speech and that intra-sentential CS occurs most frequently.

There was a total of 608 CS utterances in the ten transcripts combined. Out of these, 594 (97.9%), were intrasentential utterances, while the remaining 14 (2.1%) were intersentential. The tendency of the emissaries to switch into the sentence boundaries is salient and the intersentential utterances are not frequent. This finding is common to all code switchers, irrespective of their competence in L2 NE acquisition.

## 6.9 Directionality

It was found in Peynircioglu and Durgunoglu's study (2002) that the directionality of switches is important to the research of CS, and must be considered. Regarding directionality of the CS in general, it is claimed that "the classic sociolinguistic position is that switching into the native language strengthens indigenous language maintenance identity, while switching into the non-native language is meant to assert

power and authority" (Valdes 1981; Zentella 1997). However, in this study, the data show that the switches were not motivated by these factors, and therefore the directionality was determined by the interests and topics of the lecturers. There was no connection between the directionality of the emissaries' switches and their competence.

In addition, it explored the directionality of Lubavitch emissaries' CS, and whether there was a correlation between CS directionality and CS motivation. It was hypothesized that the emissaries would mainly switch from their L2 to their L1, that is, from NE to YHAr . It should be noted that L1 is their strongest language.

It was hypothesized that the majority of NE to YHAr switching would occur due to PL motivations, since NE is the emissaries' weaker language. However, when emissaries switched from L2 to L1 (YHAr -NE), they would be expected to have more SP motivations, such as sensitivity to the interlocutor's language, sensitivity to the specific circumstances (Grosjean 1997) or expressing one's social identity (Myers-Scotton 2000).

Similarly, Altman (2008) discovered that more switching was conducted for L2 conversations, in which bilinguals switched to their L1. This was mostly due to PL motivations, such as retrieval problems, frequency effects and fluency difficulties, which accounted for the majority of CS. On the other hand, when conversing in L1, more SP CS occurred. Therefore, when bilinguals switched to their weaker language – L2 – it was mainly due to various sociopragmatic reasons. Emissaries are expected to be no different, with more psycholinguistic JE-NE CS, but more sociopragmatic NE-YHAr CS.

However, it was found that the directionality was not affected by PL motivation, but by SP motivation, according to the content of the lecture and its context. To conclude, they proved to have a high level of competence in NE (see results in chapter 2). This enables them to switch from both directions, without showing any delay, smoothly and fluently.

581 of 608 of the utterances made by the emissaries in their lectures were YHAr → NE (95.56%). The other 27 (4.44%) were NE → YHAr.

## 6.10 Motivation

The motivations discussed in this study are divided into two categories, structural CS and social CS. Walters (2005) combines both in his SPPL model, calling them socio-pragmatic and psycholinguistic respectively, and based on more advanced research such as Myers-Scotton (2007), claims that these two phenomena cannot be examined independently. The structural category concentrates on the syntax and grammatical mental processing, which he calls psycholinguistic. This includes the competence, or lack thereof, of the emissaries, while social CS focuses on the pragmatic and social needs and interests of the speakers and interlocutors, in order to aid communication. These elucidate the motivations that lead these ethnic bilinguals to switch. The sociopragmatic motivations were comprised of factors such as: to achieve solidarity, to create a sense of affiliation with the culture and to expose them to it.

According to the findings, the dominant motivation for the lecturers' CS is sociopragmatic rather than psycholinguistic. The findings reveal that psycholinguistic difficulties such as word retrieval, pronunciation, lexical gaps, and fluency problems are insignificant reasons to code-switch for the emissaries.

## 6.11 Syntactic constraints

In this study, there was an attempt to find out whether there are syntactic constraints when switching, or whether the switching is done randomly. According to this study, as well as the international endeavor to investigate and comprehend the CS phenomenon, based on Chomsky's Generative Approach (1969). It was found that there are some universal constraints that unconsciously compel and forbid certain linguistic production.

This study adopted both structural and social models in order to examine the emissaries' CS. The compatibility of these theories to the linguistic production of the emissaries is thoroughly investigated. The structural models are Poplack's 1980 Linear model, and Myers-Scotton's MLF and 4M models (1993 and 2005 respectively). The social model is Gumperz' Socio-linguistic Approach of 1982.

Walters' conclusive SPPL theory (2005) was a combination of both, and put the structural and social aspects into perspective.

Compatibility of the theories and the emissaries' linguistic production is summarized below. It is important to note that in this research the main theories for CS have been selected to find compatibility between the emissaries and the universal theories existing in this field.

The distribution of syntactic elements within the sentence has verified the assumption that most of the switchers would be nouns. According to the findings of the emissaries' linguistic production of CS, emissaries switched to nouns as well as adjectives at a significant rate. It is seen significantly that the use of NP is more frequent than the use of other constituents.

The totals for each type of switch are presented below: Out of 608 lexemes, 504 were nouns, and made up 82.89% of the switches; 22, or 3.61%, were adjectives; 38 (6.25%) were verbs; 13 (2.14%) were gerund and 2 (0.3%) were other types of lexemes.

## 6.12 Typological differences

It was found that 100% of the switches were accurate typologically, when dealing with the definiteness case system, taking into consideration that the Yiddish and English linguistic structure is similar. The emissaries behaved according to the diverse universal theories, claiming that the definite and indefinite determiner/ART should come from the ML. Since the lectures were held in NE, the emissaries followed the rules 100% of the time. Therefore, although indefinite articles do not exist in Hebrew, this typological difference did not caused any violation, since the determiners were system morphemes originally taken from NE. Thus, NE prevailed over Hebrew except in the use of Yiddish NPs, when the article was uttered in Yiddish, although this can be explained by the similarity of Yiddish and English in sentence structure as well as system morphemes.

Dealing with construct states and gender differences: there were a variety of different construct states which were all inflected according to the Hebrew rules, and hence the Hebrew prevailed over the NE in this research.

## 6.13 The importance of CS motivations analysis

According to the data collected by the questionnaire distributed to the lecturers, and analysis of the transcripts, 70% of the speakers' linguistic competence was considered high. They made few grammatical or syntactic mistakes (under 2.5%). Only 30% of the lecturers experienced occasional difficulties in their linguistic production, over 3% of their switches, which probably derived from errors in performance (i.e. from slips of the tongue). Chomsky (1965) distinguished between competence and performance, pointing out that competence is the knowledge of language, and performance is the actual use of language in concrete situations. Shohamy (2004) claims that the matter of competence and performance had been broadly discussed within the language testing field. Comparing the transcripts of the emissaries' language production with the results of their questionnaire, there seemed to be a direct correlation between their competence and performance, disregarding some minor slips of the tongue.

## 6.14 Limitations of the present study

There were several limitations to this study. One limitation that affected the research was the fact that the transcripts of the lectures offered only a sample of formal conversation, in the form of lectures. This is a narrow sampling, as there should have been transcripts of all sorts of formal and informal conversations. Although the questionnaire addressed this with double the number of participants, this also came with a limitation, as they had to assess themselves, which produced subjective, unassessable and unprofessional results.

Another drawback was that all of the participating emissaries were not recorded and transcribed over a long period of time, but intermittently and sporadically, such

that the results were inconsistent, as the speaker could have produced different results had he been recorded at a different point in his lecture.

Yet another limitation is the lack of interlocutor participation, which could have given a broader understanding of the research. Their production was barely examined, since they were minimally verbally involved.

In addition, for the sake of transparency, it must be noted that the researcher of this study belongs to this specific ethnic group, and as she is culturally affiliated with it, it could have both limited, and broadened and deepened, the understanding of the linguistic phenomena investigated in this research.

## 6.15 Suggested future research

This study, as mentioned above, investigated only formal speech in a particular setting. Future research in other circumstances is encouraged.

Furthermore, it is recommended that scholars do further research on the phonological aspect of suffixes in construct state structures, as this study only focused on the morphological aspect.

Another suggestion is to explore the findings of linguistic production in which the interlocutors have more of a dominant and interactive role in the conversation, and thus their acquisition of YHAr will be evident and could be investigated. Consequently, the SP-PL motivation, as well as the domain and directionality, could be explored, as the lecturer's switching could be examined for impact on the interlocutors. A broader picture would be illustrated for typological differences and syntactic constraints as well.

# Chapter 7: Conclusion

This study examined the linguistic phenomenon of CS produced by Lubavitch bilingual emissaries, negotiating with and teaching American Jewish students on university campuses in the United States. Two objectives were investigated. The first were the linguistic strategies utilized by the emissaries to achieve successful communication. The second was an analysis of the structural, psycholinguistic, and sociopragmatic factors characterized by the phenomenon of code switching (CS) among these ethnic bilinguals.

It was found that NE was used as a general frame, and the overwhelming majority of the cases of CS were drawn from Hebrew, Yiddish and Aramaic into the emissaries' linguistic production. In addition, the special characteristics of this process were portrayed. There was notable gender difference - the lecturers tended to code-switch for women less than they did for men. Moreover, the emissaries were prone to use switchers from modern and ancient Hebrew as well as Aramaic for concepts, prayers and theological contexts, while they used Yiddish for less formal and more folkish purposes. Another prominent point in the findings was the phenomenon of personification, referencing written sources as people. An additional strategy was translation. It was also found that while CM was an in-group style of speech, CS was an out-group style.

This research examined the utterances of the emissaries through the lens of several universal linguistic theories that deal with the phenomenon of CS by bilinguals. These theories consider both motivational and structural elements of CS. The lecturers' use of CS was compatible with all of the theoretical models examined.

To conclude, given their prior linguistic isolation, the emissaries showed high competence in producing NE as well as YHAr/ JLV conversation.

This study adds a significant example to the literature about linguistic Code Switching and Code Mixing. The discussion about the alternation between YHAr and NE in the form of CS by Jewish Lubavitch emissaries on university campuses in the United States sheds light on the CS phenomenon in general. It also proves the fact

that linguistic complexities, as well as unique, original, and authentic "codes" formation are prolific and never ending. Examining the nature of CS, what motivates it, and the strategies used by the Lubavitch emissaries to incorporate it in their speech, enhances our understanding of this behavior in general.

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# Appendix

## Appendix I: Questionnaires

### Emissaries' questionnaire

Please answer the following questions and fill in the relevant boxes:

Key:

YHAr - Yiddish + Hebrew + Aramaic

JLV - basic English + Yiddish + Hebrew +Aramaic within an English frame

NE - Normative English spoken in U.S.A

E - Excellent

VG - Very good

S - Satisfactory

P - Poor

VP - Very Poor

Emissary name: _____

Date of birth: month/day/year _____

Years of Mission (Shlichut):_____

Place of Mission (Shlichut):_____

### Language Preference

| | YHAr / JLV | JLV usually more than NE | JLV as much as NE | NE usually more than JLV | NE | Difficult to specify |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| What is your first language (years 0-3)? | | | | | | |
| What is the language you prefer to speak? | | | | | | |
| What language do you use when: | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| You are very tired? | | | | | | |
| You are angry? | | | | | | |
| You are very happy? | | | | | | |
| What language do you use to count things? | | | | | | |
| What is the language you write short notes, and memos? | | | | | | |
| What is the language you use on WhatsApp? | | | | | | |
| What is the language you read with? | | | | | | |
| What is the language you write with? | | | | | | |
| What is the language you dream with? | | | | | | |
| What is the language of video programs/films that you watch? | | | | | | |

**Language Proficiency**

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| How would you rate your speaking ability in the beginning of your Mission? | JLV | E | VG | S | P | VP |
| | NE | E | VG | S | P | VP |
| How would you rate your ability after 1 year of your mission? | JLV | E | VG | S | P | VP |
| | NE | E | VG | S | P | VP |
| How would you rate your ability after 15 years of your mission? | JLV | E | VG | S | P | VP |
| | NE | E | VG | S | P | VP |

Do you feel that the languages' competence has changed throughout the years of mission? Why or why not?

_____

**Language profile of the emissary (background information):**

Language history:

1. What age were you first exposed to YHAr/ JLV? _____
2. What age were you first exposed to NE? _____
3. When did you begin speaking the language? _____
4. Where did you learn each language?

Home/ Day care centre/ Nanny/ Siblings/school/ Other _____

5. Did you have any problems acquiring NE? Yes /No

   If yes, please specify _____

6. Did you have opportunities before going out to your mission to stay among non YHAr/ JLV speakers? Yes/No

7. Were you competent enough to be able to conduct a serious conversation, such as on scientific or philosophical matters in NE? _____

**Language profile of the family (languages spoken to the emissary as a child and to other family members):**

1. Emissary siblings (if relevant):

| Sibling | Age |
|---------|-----|
| 1       |     |
| 2       |     |
| 3       |     |
| 4       |     |

2. Circle your placement amongst your siblings:   1   2   3   4   5   6

3. What language/s did the following people speak to you as a child (age 3-13)?

| | YHAr/ JLV | JLV | JLV as | NE | NE | Difficult to |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | |

|  |  | usually more than NE | much as NE | usually more than JLV |  | specify |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| older sibling/s |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| younger sibling/s |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| mother |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| father |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| grandparents |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| bilingual friends |  |  |  |  |  |  |

4. Did your parents insert YHAr words while they were speaking to you as a child?

|  | all the time | very often | sometimes | rarely | never |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mother |  |  |  |  |  |
| Father |  |  |  |  |  |

5. What language(s) did your parents speak to each other when you were a child? _____

6. Did your parents insert NE words while speaking to each other?

|  | all the time | very often | sometimes | rarely | never |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mother | | | | | |
| Father | | | | | |

7.

| | YHAr/ JLV | JLV usually more than NE | JLV as much as NE | NE usually more than JLV | NE | Difficult to specify |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| In what language did your parents read books to you as a child? | | | | | | |

8. Did your parents teach you as a child to read YHAr? Yes/No

9. Did your parents teach you to read NE as a child? Yes/No

10. Did you like to be read in YHAr as a child? Yes/No

11. Did you like to be read in NE as a child? Yes/No

12. Did you want to know how to read in YHAr as a child? Yes/No

13. Did you want to know how to read in NE as a child? Yes/No

14. Did you want to learn how to write in NE as a child? Yes/No

15. How important was it for your parents, that their children would speak YHAr native-like?

| very important | quite important | not very important | not important |
|---|---|---|---|

**CS (intra-utterance, intra-turn, cross-turn)**

1. Do you:

|  | all the time | very often | sometimes | rarely | never |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| insert NE words when You speak YHAr |  |  |  |  |  |
| insert YHAr words when You speak NE |  |  |  |  |  |
| start a sentence in and switch to NE in the middle |  |  |  |  |  |
| start a sentence in NE and switch to YHAr in the middle |  |  |  |  |  |
| say one sentence in YHAr and switch to NE for another sentence |  |  |  |  |  |
| say one sentence in NE and switch to YHAr for another sentence |  |  |  |  |  |
| answer in NE when you (or other speaker) refer to him in YHAr |  |  |  |  |  |
| answer in YHAr when you (or other speaker) refer to him in NE |  |  |  |  |  |

2. Number the following in order of frequency of CS:

| | |
|---|---|
| | while speaking about religious matters |
| | while speaking about secular matters |
| | regarding food |
| | regarding hobbies |
| | while giving lectures to religious interlocutors |
| | while giving lectures to non-religious interlocutors |
| | during outdoor activities |
| | when you get stuck |
| | while speaking with friends |
| | when you don't really know the word in the other language |
| | when it is difficult to pronounce the word correctly |
| | when you feel more social closeness |
| | when addressing a specific gender |

3. What do you think of a Chassid from Brooklyn who switches to NE when he speaks JLV with you or with other JLV speakers?

| I think it's a very good way to express himself | I think it's ok | I think it's ok, if not too frequently | I think that he should do it less | I think it's awful, he mustn't do it |
|---|---|---|---|---|

4. How do you feel when he switches to JLV, when he speaks JLV with you or with other JLV speakers?

| I am happy that he can express himself | I feel ok with it | I don't mind | I am not so pleased | It makes me very irritated |
|---|---|---|---|---|

5.

    a. What do you do if someone from Brooklyn speaks to you in NE?

| continue to speak NE as well | accept the utterance, but answer in JLV | repeat the utterance in JLV and give a translation | don't accept the utterance, or pretend that don't understand and insist on speaking JLV, and make a comment |
|---|---|---|---|

    b. What do you do if someone not from Brooklyn (non religious or recent comer) speaks to you in NE?

| continue to speak NE as well | accept the utterance, but answer in JLV | repeat the utterance in JLV and give a translation | don't accept the utterance, or pretend that don't understand and insist on speaking JLV, and make a comment |
|---|---|---|---|

**Listener information**

1. What languages do you usually use with the following people on a regular basis?

|  | YHAr/ JLV | JLV usually more than | JLV as much as NE | NE usually more than | NE | Difficult to specify |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

|  |  | NE |  | JLV |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| older sibling/s |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| younger sibling/s |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| mother |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| father |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| grandparents |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| bilingual friends |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Non religious students |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Newly religious students |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Wife and children |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Other, specify: _____ |  |  |  |  |  |  |

2. When giving talks and lectures on Judaism, what language you speak:

|  | YHAr/ JLV | JLV usually more than NE | JLV as much as NE | NE usually more than JLV | NE | Difficult to specify |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Beginners |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Intermediary |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Advanced |  |  |  |  |  |  |

3. How often are you in NE monolingual mode (communicate with only monolingual NE speakers present)?

| all the time | very often | sometimes | rarely | never |
|---|---|---|---|---|

4. How often are you in the JE monolingual mode (communicate with only monolingual JE speakers present)?

| all the time | very often | sometimes | rarely | never |
|---|---|---|---|---|

5. How often are you in bilingual mode? (communicate with people who can speak both JLV and NE).

| all the time | very often | sometimes | rarely | never |
|---|---|---|---|---|

**Topic information**

What language do you speak while talking about:

|  | YHAr/ | JLV | JLV as | NE | NE | Difficult |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

| | JLV | usually more than NE | much as NE | usually more than JLV | | to specify |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| social matters | | | | | | |
| banking, economy, business | | | | | | |
| food | | | | | | |
| religious matters | | | | | | |
| family matters | | | | | | |

**Setting information**

1. What language do you usually speak:

| | YHAr/ JLV | JLV usually more than NE | JLV as much as NE | NE usually more than JLV | NE | Difficult to specify |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| at home | | | | | | |
| at the synagogue | | | | | | |
| at the Chabad House | | | | | | |
| at the supermarket /bureaucratic | | | | | | |

| offices | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| at Jewish Institutions | | | | | |

**Speakers, Interlocutors, Topic and Setting Interaction:**

<u>Speakers</u>

1. Have you ever thought or planned your lessons/lectures according to official pedagogical requirements? Yes/No

2. Do you have any constant structure or method of lecturing when explaining sophisticated ideas? Yes/no

Specify_____

3. In the beginning of my Shlichut:

    a. I encountered linguistic difficulties when speaking. Yes/No

       If           Yes,          in          what         domains?

       _____

    b. I had limited advanced vocabulary. Yes/no

    c. I encountered difficulties in pronouncing the fancy words. Yes/No

    d. I couldn't read advanced academic articles in order to enrich my lectures and activities. Yes/No

    e. I have never been interested in reading such articles. Yes/No

    f. I found myself making few/many grammatical mistakes. Yes/No

    g. Speaking was an intimidating experience for me although I felt that I could speak properly. Yes/No

    h. I kept trying to speak NE only although I didn't have good equivalents. Yes/No

    i. I found myself speaking only NE without encountering any problems. Yes/No

j.  I lengthened my sentences, inserted many fillers such as "you know", "so", and "like" in order to gain time and thus cover from my lack of missing words and expressions. Yes/No

k.  I switched into JLV whenever I couldn't find an appropriate word. Yes/No

Interlocutors

1.  In the beginning of my Shlichut:

a.  I distinguished between male and females. Yes/No

b.  I spoke YHAr more to males than females. Yes/No

c.  I spoke NE more to males than females. Yes/No

d.  I spoke the same to both. Yes/No

2.  I use translation as a strategy to teach and expose my students to Chabad. Yes/No

a.  I read the source in Hebrew or Aramaic and then translate it word by word. Yes/No

b.  I read the source first in Hebrew or Aramaic and then briefly summarize the content in NE. Yes/No

c.  I purposely insert single words or expressions in Yiddish. Yes/No
Specify
reason:_____

d.  I unconsciously and automatically insert words, expressions or fillers in Yiddish. Yes/No
Specify
reason:_____

e.  I insert more Yiddish than Hebrew and Aramaic. Yes/No

f.   I insert more Hebrew and Aramaic than Yiddish. Yes/No

g.  As time passes, the amount of words I use in YHAr has decreased. Yes/No

h.  I feel that I gradually forget words in YHAr and I automatically retrieve words in NE. Yes/No

    i.  As soon as the students get closer to Judaism, I purposely increase the amount of words in YHAr.  Yes/No

<u>Setting</u>

1.    I only switch to JE when I teach. Yes/No

2.    During lessons in the classroom I use YHAr quite frequently but out of the classrooms I use NE only.  Yes/No

3.    In class and out of class I switch from YHAr to NE to the same extent. Yes/No

**Demographic Information**

1.  How long have you been living away from Brooklyn?

    \_\_\_\_ years \_\_\_\_ months

2.  How long have your parents been living in Brooklyn?

    \_\_\_\_ years \_\_\_\_ months

3.  Were you born in Brooklyn? Yes/No

4.  Your family is:

| secular | religious | traditional |
|---------|-----------|-------------|

5.  What is your mother's occupation? _____

6.  Mother's years of education: _____

7.  What is your father's occupation? _____

8.  years of education: _____

**Interview 1 With the head of *Yeshiv*a: (The principal of school)**

1. What are the principles, values and philosophies of your school?
2. Which subjects are learnt in your institutions and why?
3. Do you teach the learners English literacy, grammar, syntax, and literature ?
4. Which language is used in school?
5. If the teacher doesn't know YHAr properly, will you let him speak NE?
6. In which language do your learners read and write?
7. Which language is used when watching video programs for learning?
8. Which language is used when watching video programs for fun?
9. Which language is used at religious gatherings?

**Interview 2: With the head of the emissaries in N. Y.**

1. How many emissaries live in the U.S.A. universities campuses?
2. Do you prepare your candidates linguistically?
3. What are the general desires of the emissaries?
4. What constitutes a successful emissary?
5. Do they have pedagogic or didactic training?
6. Do you consider them to have a high level of NE fluency?
7. Do they know how to appreciate good NE?
8. Do they consider speaking NE as a valuable skill?
9. Is NE a useful tool for them in fulfilling their mission?
10. Have you ever encountered an emissary who struggled to achieve his goals due to a lack in his NE proficiency?


THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION!!!


**Appendix II: Transcripts**

**Transcript 01**

Okay ↑hi  every↑one umm to↑day we're going to discuss ↓eh we're going to continue talking about **pey↑sach** (Passover). Yep, <and> w:e ↑started last ↑week discussing the whole concept of **e-mu-na** (faith), of faith, yea, we ↑said that faith  i:s the essential ↑theme of the holiday of Passov↑er and we dis↑cussed we had a whole long class discussing the idea of faith in ↑Jud↑a↑ism that the idea of faith  >in Judaism< is not the way most people translate faith, ↑and the reason why most people translate faith is because of influen↓ces from other cultures and other religions where faith ↑means, where faith ↑means.

Students: blind faith.

Blind faith, which we ↑said that what's the definition of blind faith according to **Kabbalistic** (Jewish mysticism) pers↑pective that wh:at blind faith is.

Students: (guess)

↑Un↓der ↑ben↑eath ↑lo↓wer than intellect and emotions. We were talking about faith that is beyond intel↓lect and emotions. So everybody remembers that ↑theme that we discussed last week. So last week we went in and we dis↑cussed that faith could be ↑under intellect and emotions and it could be be↑yond intellect and emotions ↑and what we are what we are trying to ↑aim ↓for what we are trying to reach to ↑is that <essential faith.> Essential ↑faith meaning to say faith that comes from the essence of our soul ↑and we discussed that that is ↑after a person knows something and ↑after a person has learned about something then the person always has to take a ↑leap of faith and we connected it also with *amAlek* (an antagonistic nation of the Jewish people), that that's where *am↑Alek* (an antagonistic nation of the Jewish people) comes and instills major ↓doubt. ↑Right? It's like the person the example anyone remembers what was the example Chanel that we used?

Student: (guess)

Yea the example ↑was a girl goes ↑out and she dates someone and she already >de↑cides that she wants to marry him< and that's where the doubts come that's where the doubts stand ↑pa↑rallel <to ↓the> leap of faith that one uh that one has to take. *am↑Alek* (an antagonistic nation of the Jewish people) versus *e-mu-na* (faith) versus faith. Correct.

↑So ↑we discussed the idea of faith ↑now were moving in slowly we're shifting it into the idea of *peysach* (Passover). Yup. ↑In the ↓*zo-har* (a Jewish mystical and sacred book) the *zo-har* (a Jewish book) calls the ↑*mat-zah* (an unleavened flatbread traditionally eaten on Passover) food of faith. We already dis↑cussed this in *chassidus* (Hasidic philosophy) this week yea but we're going to talk about on it again. When ↑we're saying that something is food of faith or in general all the the hi the whole idea of celebrating ↑holidays usually the whole idea of celebrating ↑holi↓days is in order to commemorate something that happened in the past. <Some ↑mira↓cle or some other major events in our> ↑history that happened in the ↑past and therefore we have holidays that commemorate ↓them.

↑An↑yone that has ever stepped over the threshold of ***Kabbalah*** (Jewish mysticism) and ***chassidut*** (Hasidic philosophy) know that we never do things as a <means for an end.>

03:50 ↑So the ↑same ↑is when it comes to kabbalah and ***chassidut*** (Hasidic philosophy). >***Kabbalah*** (Jewish mysticism) and ***chassidut*** (Hasidic philosophy) < says if ↑you're doing some↓thing in order to commemorate something else if you're eating ↑***m:at-zah*** (an unleavened flatbread) in order to remind you ↑of the ***matzah*** (an unleavened flatbread) that the Jews ate three thousand three hundred years ago when they left Egypt, ↑yup, or if you're lighting ***Chanukah*** (a Jewish festival) candles now in order to commemorate the miracle that happened two thousand years ago yea that is the external rea↓son a means for an end what is ***kabbalah*** (an ancient Jewish wisdom) all about.

05:25 and ↑therefore ↑we're going to talk about the idea of ↑***matzah*** (an unleavened flatbread). When ↑we're talking about the idea of k of the food of faith what is the meaning of food of faith de↑pends how you look at it. From an external perspective what is the idea of food of faith from an external perspective? From an externals perspec↓tive the id↑ea of food of faith is that by eating ***matzah*** (an unleavened flatbread) were doing an ↑action to co to (hesitates) so to say com↑memor↑ate the ↑miracle of the exodus from Egypt and therefore when we commemorate the miracle of the exodus of ↑Egypt it tells us about the philosophy of creationism the i↑dea that G-d created the world, the idea that the world is not a primordial existence, the idea that the world was created ↑by a G-d in ↓six ↓days.

6:30 For ex↑am↓ple, in the ↑***chi↓nuch*** (a holy book; lit. education), yea, anyone heard about the book ↑***chinuch*** (a holy book; lit. education). By the ↓laws of ↑***pey-sach*** (Passover) he says a very interesting id↑ea he ↑says "***ach↑ar hapeul↑ot nimshachot halevavot*** " (after the actions goes the heart) after the ↑actions goes the heart. And that's why eating ***mat↓zah*** (an unleavened flatbread) is more to com↑memorate something that happened back ↑then yea in order for us to re↓mem↓ber and getting it into our ↑psy↓che the idea of belief and faith and the fact that G-d took us out of ↑Egypt and the fact that G-d does miracles and the ↑fact that

G-d is beyond nature because ultimately G-d created ↓nature. But, now that we understand the idea of *emuna* (faith), from a deeper pers↑pective it's not only >in order to commemorate something that happened back< ↑then the ↑actual ↑***mat***↑***zah*** (an unleavened flatbread) contains in it vitamin E vitamin *emuna* (faith). When a Jew eats ↑***mat***↑***zah*** (an unleavened flatbread) they ↑actually get into their di↑gestive ↑system the i↑dea of *emuna* (faith). ↑And, I don't wanna repeat what we did in the morning in ***chassidut*** (Hasidic philosophy) because some girls over here came to ***chassidut*** (Hasidic philosophy) in the morning ↑yea in the morning including ***señora*** (Mrs.), e:h ***kol hakavod*** (well done) [tries at this point to pronounce words in Spanish with the help of his students].

    ***Féliz*** (happy) is happy right so um so e:hhh.

    Fine so ↓um thanks for the remark ↑but ↓emm uh uh what was I up to .

    09:15 What is the idea of ↑eating ↓faith.

    10:50 The ↑Tal↑mud says a very interesting s co em ↓em a very interesting statement.

    11:50 And ↑as you're a↑bout to ↑break in through a house you ↑pick up your ↑eyes and hands towards ↑heaven and se and you say G-d ↑please help me they shouldn't cash me ↑please make sure I ↑come out of this mission com↑plete and ↓safe.

    13:00 ↑G-d please ↑help me I should be suc↑cessful in this bulglery <berr:glery> .

    22:15 and over ↑here comes ***chassi***↓***dut*** (Hasidic philosophy) and says the words there <is ***pnimi***↑***yut*** (internality) and ***chitzo***↓***ni***↓***yut*** (externality)> There is internal and the word now is not going to be exter↓nal the ↑world the word is going to be ***ma***↑***kif*** (circumventive) ***makif*** (circumventive) >what is the translation of the word ***makif*** (circumventive) guys?< ↑hovering over en↑compass↓ing it's ↑there but it's not internalized or in ↑Shayna's words it's ↑not di↑gested.

    ↓Cut.

    **Transcript 02**

    Page one ninety five, paragraph four, SEE it↑?

*Yeshno-ha-gim* (there are those that have the custom) ↓ there are those that have the cu:stom, *she loy lechol tz↑no-yin veshu↑m bepey↑sach↓* (not to eat radish and garlic on Passover). we don't eat <Radish↓> and <Garlic↓>on *Pey-sach* (Passover).

Now(.) we've mentioned this in the past when it comes to *Pey-sach* (Passover), there are many many customs(.) customs that are passed down i*-our tradition(.) and we don't exactly know <why> and <what> and<when>, what exactly the source is, but because *Pey-sach* (Passover) (guess) > what are we what are we<afraid of↑ on *Pey-sach↓* (Passover).

Student*: Cha-metz* (leaven).

We're afraid of any a DRO:P of *chametz* (leaven) so therefore even though we >dunno how these customs came into BE↑ing<<we><steer clear>↓ we don't we don't we we (stutters)fo↑llo↑w them without question↓.

Student: Who is it that adds this *min-hag* (custom)?

0:00:54.9.  *Tzno↑-yin* (radish)↓ it sa↑ys in *Cha↑yei-Adam* (the book "Adam's life"), *chaye-adam* (the book "Adam's life") is the most fa↑mous Lithua:↑nian em, halachic authority, for those who fo↑llow< in in> *nu-sach* (version) *A↑sh-ke-naz* (Jews of European origins) in Lithuania. A↑nd the *Rebbe Rashab* (a Jewish leader) said that and the *Tzemach Tzeddek* (a Chabad Jewish leader) said that (hesitates) *tzno-yin* (radish) is also he said, he didn't give a rea:son, >proly< because the *Prima G↑ado↓m* (a Jewish commentator) who was one of the contreries (commentaries) of the *Shul-chan A-ruch* (The Jewish Code of Law)↓ and again there was no reason↓. The *Alter* (elder) th-the >this is not quoted< he↑re, but *Tzemach Tzedek* (a Chabad Jewish leader) said that *Rabbi Kibbe aiger* (a Jewish leader), do we know *Rabbi Kibbe aiger* (a Jewish leader) w↑as?

(Unidentifiable sounds)

0:00:1:27.5   Students: *a↑-cha-ron* (one of the last commentaries)?

0:01:28 He's an *A↑-cha-ron↓*(one of the last commentaries) yeah but >he has< <emendations> on the side of the *ge-ma-ra* (Talmud) *Rabbi Kibbe Aiger* (a Jewish leader) was one of the greatest *Torah* (the Jewish Bible) minds to be in <his>

generation, which is about two hundred  years ago, said its forbidden to drink <em em> whats called in in Hebrew <*YA↑yin sa↑ref*> (brandy) >can anyone< translate <***yayin saref***> (alcoholic drink)?

0:0:1:46.8   Students: Burning .


[***Yayin saref*** (alcoholic drink), BU↑rning wine, >what would be< burning wine, what would that >wh-what would that be what would that be what would that be< alluding to?

0:00:1:52  Student: To↓ al↑co↓hol↓.

To A↑Lcohol but like not like li↑quor, n vo↑dka, not yknow not wi↑ne but um↓ HArd liquor we would ca↑ll it, right?  So, ***Aiger*** (a Jewish leader) said he he made it A↑-sur↓, he for-forbid it without giving any reason,  .

 0:02:08.4  Student: For ***pey↑sach↓*** (Passover).

For ***PEY↑sach↓*** (Passover) .

0:02:09.3 Student: oh I thought you were talk↑in↓ bout ***bechlal*** (in general).

***Bechlal*** (in general)↑ your mother said it's asur. Em em em for ***PEY↑sach*** (Passover).

0:02:42.4 Student: Who is it that I should kee:p the minhag?

Of no↑t drinkin e:h.

0:02:46.6 Student [Ra-rather than like saying which rabbi <made the> said it?

HOW DO now↑a↑da↓ys who kee↑ps it? ... We:ll >get a ***seyfer*** (a holy book)<… There are these ***sfa-rim*** (holy books) that collect a:ll the k ***minha↑gim*** (customs)↓ of all the congrega↑tions↓ for instance you know that >***sfaradim*** (Jews of Spanish origins)< officially eat ri↑ce on ***peysach*** (Passover) ri:↑ght? But there's <o:ne Moro↑ccan:> one community in moRO↑cco that doe↑sn't eat rice on ***peysach*** (Passover). It's hard <to follow↓> which: community exactly keeps what.

But um, ***ye↑sh liza↑her livdok lifnei peysach***  (it is necessary to be careful to check before Passover) you should che↑ck before ***peysach*** (Passover) ***es ko↑l hame:lach hada↑ru↓sh leyemei hapeysach***, (all of the salt that is needed for Passover) all the salt that ugonna use on ***peysach*** (Passover) (guess) maybe a <littl:e

seed of uh↓ uh↓ uh↓ you know a lil> grain of whea↑t got mixed into the salt. >No↑wadays< we rely on ***kashrus*** (a set of Jewish religious dietary laws) ***agencies*** they check the salt. Credible sto↑ry, there was a a a a ***mashgiach*** (superviser), who was a ***kash-rus*** (a set of Jewish religious dietary laws) supervisor. They bou↑ght a ne:w mill, is that the right word? To <gri:nd the the> salt.

.A a a a drop of ***chametz*** (leaven), affects ou↑r:, what does it affect a drop of ***chametz*** (leaven)? Makes us ha↑vy:. what does it affect? What does it affe↑ct <spiritually>?

0:04:36.5 Student: Our soul.

Our sou↑l, it affects it affects our ***emU↑na*** (faith), who's with me in this class? It affects our faith in ***Hashem↑*** (G-d) (Sighs) ***Matzah*** (an unleavened flatbread) the food of fai↑th the food of hea↑ling↑.

**Transcript 03**

I think ↑this is the way w-the ***Rebbe*** (the Chabad Jewish leader) is actually ↑hinting to here to us-a situation which contemplate of ***Va-yik-chu e-lei-cha*** (they will give to you) where a ***yid-den*** (a Jew[s]) will have to be struggling by him↓self, ***vayikchu ele*** (they will give to [you])  means the ***a-voy-da*** (task) of the ***yid*** (Jew), and what the ***Rebbe*** (the Chabad Jewish leader) saying here i:s, this is my suggestion, tha <↑after ***gim-mel*** (the 3rd of) ↑***tam-muz*** (a Jewish month) you might think of ***vayikchu eleicha*** (they will give to you) now you're on your ↑own>, says the ***Rebbe*** (the Chabad Jewish leader) no you're not on your ↑own, even when you're having ***vayikchu eleicha*** (they will give to you), it comes from ***ve-a-ta te-tza-ve*** (and you will command), thiz what the ***Rebbe*** (the Chabad Jewish leader) says.

<Girls you see what I'm saying?>

Yeah.

What the ***Rebbe*** (the Chabad Jewish leader) saying here i:s, comes ↑after the ***tku-fa*** (period) of ***chaf-za-yin*** (the 27th of) ***adar*** (a Jewish month) and then ***gimmel*** (the 3rd of) ***tamuz*** (a Jewish month), and you ↑might be ↑thinking that now, anoth until end of ***oys yud-alef*** (the 11th letter/paragraph) you might be thinking that now it's ***veyikchu eleicha*** (they will give to you), now you have to struggle, but

*MsheRbbeinu* (Moses) gave you those us appearing before *Moy-she Rab-bei-nu* (Moses) *veata tetzave* (and you will command) and ↑now, go ahead and struggle …. Sometimes it's ↑frighten↓ing, sumtems we say how can we doo it. How can we do *vayikchu eleicha* (they will give to you) al↑one, <*vayikchu eleicha*> (they will give to you) means ↑we should ↑do it, we should <uplift the *Moy-she* (Moses) within us> how can we do that? So the answer is ↑says the *Rebbe* (a Chabad Jewish leader) in *oys yud-*↑*be*↓*is* (the 12th letter/paragraph), *veata tetzave* (and you will command) brings about *vayikchu eleicha* (they will give to you). Even in the era of ↑after *gimmel* (the 3rd of) *tammuz* (a Jewish month) (pause) when you're working a-struggling an you can have the direct and *gashmiusdikke* (materialistic) connection with the *Rebbe* (the Chabad Jewish leader), that the *Rebbe* (the Chabad Jewish leader) should doo it, still it's *veata tetzave* (they will give to you) which is geeving you *the koyach* (power) *vaikchu elecha* (they will give to you), so you're not on your ↑own even ↓now. And we see it in a very revealed way this idea, when we see tday twenty years after *gimmel* (the 3rd of) *tammuz* (a Jewish month) we <see so many people doing the *Rebbe's* (the Chabad Jewish leader's) holy work>, not having ↑seen the *Rebbe (the Chabad Jewish leader)*, and doing eet as a direct result of *ve*↑*ata tetzave* (and you will command). So <this i:s a very clear a very clear thing that> the *Rebbe's* (the Chabad Jewish leader's) saying here that *ve-veyikchu eleicha* (they will give to you) is a result of *veata tetzave* (and you will command). Eez not a result only *bu veata tetzave* (in "and you will command") z actually ↑standing be↑hind the process of *vayikchu eleicha* (they will give to you). N I think this also meets the general expression of what the *Rebbe* (the Chabad Jewish leader) said, *ich hub...* (I have) (guess) I I did whatever I could, and ↓now I am giving it over to you, what is the *Rebbe* (the Chabad Jewish leader) saying here? This is the expression of the *Rebbe* (the Chabad Jewish leader) ↓says eleven months be↑fore ↑what? When'd the *Rebbe* (the Chabad Jewish leader) say that? Rmember? Eleven months be↑fore.

*Chaf-za-yin* (the 27th of) *A-dar* (A Jewish month).

*Chaf zayin* (the 27th of) *Adar* (A Jewish month). Eleven months exactly before *chaf zayin* (the 27th 0f) *Adar* (A Jewish month), on *chaf-z* (the 27th of) on *chaf ches*

(the 28th 0f) *Nis-san* (A Jewish month) eleven months earlier, the **Rebbe** (the Chabad Jewish leader)↑ says I: did my ↓part and now giving it over to you. What does that mean in the **mai-mar** (Hassidic discourse) here? ↑I did **veata tetzave** (and you will command) now you have to do **vayikchu eleicha** (they will give to you). S-the **Rebbe's** (the Chabad Jewish leader's) actually ↑hinting here at the new era which is coming in which is the era of **chaf zayin** (the 27th of) ↓A↓dar (A Jewish month) and the **Rebbe's** (the Chabad Jewish leader's) saying now >comes the time of **vayikchu eleicha**< (they will give to you), and in-n the **mai-mar** (Hassidic discourse) which the **Rebbe** (the Chabad Jewish leader) gives out <be↑fore> (pauses) **chaf zayin** (the 27th of) **Adar** (A Jewish month) the **Rebbe** (the Chabad Jewish leader) says here that >eve whe yur gonna be working< with **vayikchu el↑eicha** (they will give to you) which we seem to be working on your ↑own, you're not on your own in a revealed way tlooks like is the **a-voy-da** (task) of **vayikchu el↑eicha** (they will give to you) you're doing it, bu you should know that the way to doo it really is becuz the **Rebbe** (the Chabad Jewish leader) standing be↓hind you. >Which ↑means<, dat the more you strengthen your **his-kash-rus** (connection) to the **Rebbe** (the Chabad Jewish leader) now ↑also that's what gives you the ↑**koyach** (power) to do your **avoyda** (task) **be-koy-chos** (with power).

Now >somebody asked something here< about **Ha-yom Yom** (a Jewish book written by the **Rebbe**), what was that? You, yeah, what did you ask?

The **Chassidim** (Followers of the **Rebbe's** teachings) are not a↓lone like that's that's obvious, but the **Rebbe's** (the Chabad Jewish leader's) the **Rebbe's** (the Chabad Jewish leader's) obviously not alone, ↓b:ut (guess).

Okay. So wha we're saying here actually said before is **vayikchu eleicha** (they will give to you) means also we bring an uplifting to **Moyshe Ra-↑bei-↓nu** (Moses) which is the **Rebbe's** (the Chabad Jewish leader's) also not alone.

I thought of that but then why does why does that only happen from the **Alter Rebbe's** (the Elderly leader's) time?

In a re↑vealed way it happens the **Alter Rebbe's** (the Elderly leader's) time. >In other words< it doesn't u u shhhh… .

Everything that happens from the ***Alter Rebbe's*** (the Elderly leader's) times is always ↓there. There are certain things which became which were strengthened which was cer maybe weakened in the generation <↓be↓fore> ↑and they were given a new inspi↑ration from the ***Alter Rebbe's*** (the Elderly leader's) times from the ***Ba-al Shem Tov's*** (a Chabad Jewish leader's, lit. Owner of a good name) times, like the idea of ***a-ha-vas is-ro-yel*** (love for a fellow Jew) is not a new idea.

**Transcript 04**

What is it ↑here to ↑do where did this ***mishna*** (a statement of law from the collection of all Jewish oral traditions) ↑fa:ll ↓from what were we ↑talking about?

Students: ***Tfilas Hashachar*** (the morning prayer).

***Tfilas ha↑shachar*** (the morning prayer) were talking about ↑***shacharis*** (the morning prayer) and <then> ***min↓cho*** (the afternoon prayer) and then were talking about ↑***davening*** (praying) meaning we have been talking about ***kria*** (reading of) ***Shma*** (a section of Jewish prayer) aright m-***mishna*** (a collection of the Jewish oral traditions) ***perek ↑daled*** (chapter 4) were we're talking about ***daven↓ing*** (praying)< a:ll> of a sudden (guess) whats the next ***halacha*** (religious law) next Mishna (a statement of law from the collection of all Jewish oral traditions) you've ↑seen it whats it talking about a↓gain?

Students: ***shmonei esre*** (the prayer of 18).

***Shmona Esrei*** (the prayer of 18), what's this ↑doing here? Just seems to be be stuck in the middle of nowhere >one of the explanations is actually very beautiful explanation we'll leave it at that< because um we ↓wan↓na we ↓wan↓na continue, ↑na uh, we since we just began talking about ***davening*** (praying) so when one le:aves the ***beit Knesset*** (synagogue) when one leaves the ***beis knesses*** (synagogue) where do they go? They go to the ***beis medrash*** (institute of learning). So immediately upon discussing ***davening*** (praying) so the ***mishnah*** (a statement of law from the collection of all Jewish oral traditions)says ok so where should you ↑go when you finish ***davening*** (praying) go straight to the ***beis hamedrash*** (institute of learning) jsss sit n learn a little bit before you go to (guess) what to say as you walk ↑in to the ***beis*** (house) and out of the ***beis hamedrash*** (institute of learning) and then you ↑walk to

work. ↑NOW we're gonna go back to. But the message that the second *mishna* (a statement of law from the collection of all Jewish oral traditions) wants to teach us is where we ↓go when we finish *davening* (praying). It's a beautiful ↑message, because as we said, from the *beis knesses* (synagogue) you should go to the *beis ↓me↓drash* (institute of learning). It's actually very very im↑PORtant to learn after *davening* (praying) in order to internalize and dra:w down all of the >very very< POWerful things that are happening during ↑*daven↓ing* (praying) bring them down in:to: you through an act of *kedusha* (holiness) and that way they will they will express themselves positive↓ positively. otherwise those very powerful *koychos* (powers) that you receive during *davening* (praying) might express themselves in a negative, anger and so on.

There is a possibility of bringing it all down positively through learning after *davening* (praying).

Student: (unclear) of mechunya, its in his ….and when his entry (guess).

Let's see *mishna ↑gim↑mel* (the 3<sup>rd</sup> statement of law from the collection of all Jewish oral traditions) – Rabii Gamliel *oymer bechol yom mispall adam shmona eisrei* (says "every day a man davens the prayer of 18").

OK, what's the case?

Student: *Shmona Eisre* (the prayer of 18).

You're not talking remember you didn't prepare.

Student: OK.

I'm gonna keep you busy all day long and then I'm gonna keep you quiet in class.

What's the case?

Eeh, ↑O↑kay might be.

What else might be the case?

Every day. What's the *halacha* (religious law)?

*Daven* (pray). *Daven Shmona Eisrei* (pray the prayer of 18) every day. (pause)

OK now ( pause) why am I at this point at this *mishna* (a statement of law from the collection of all Jewish oral traditions) why am I thinking this is an interesting or

partially difficult *halacha* (religious law) to understand. Yeah I mean I understand I was just to:ld all these different times that I'm supposed to *daven* (pray) and when we do that so isn't it rather obvious that I'm *davening shmona eisre* (praying the prayer of 18)? So ↑why in *mishna* ↑*gimmel* (the 3rd statement of law from the collection of all Jewish oral traditions) are we being told *daven shmona eisre* (pray the prayer of 18) well tell me that in *mishna* ↑*alef* (the 1st statement of law from the collection of all Jewish oral traditions) and ↑then tell me when. Seems rather strange and *bechol* ↑*yom* (every day)? Is that is that a reasonable case to teach me something about *shmona eisrei* (the prayer of 18)? What should though, what should the case really be? >Wanna turn it around turn *shmona eisre* (the prayer of 18) into the case< what should the hala it is in this *mishna* (a statement of law from the collection of all Jewish oral traditions) but    ih ih ih   turn it around *shmona eisre* (the prayer of 18) is the case what should the *halacha* (religious law) be?

Students:

…..wouldn't that be wouldn't that be the *halacha* (religious law)? ↑Ri:ght? OK.

*Becholyom mitpall shmona eisre* (every day a man davens the prayer of 18). Rabbi Yehosh↑Ua *oymer meein shmona eisre* (says: "to some extent a prayer of 18"). OK so clea:rly we know *shmona eisre* (the prayer of 18) is the *halacha* (religious law) and not the case. How do you ↓know that? Well because theres a *machloykeis* (controversy) about what bout the ↑case? No: about the *halacha* (religious law) so ↑clea:rly in the previous in the previous clause *shmona eisre* (the prayer of 18) has to be the *halacha* (religious law) because we only argue about *halachas* (religious laws) we don't argue about cases right? In the *mishna* (a collection of all Jewish oral traditions) they'll  be they'll be diamonds saying case and they'll have a different *halacha* (religious law) relevant to that case, so what's the what's the case *bchol yom* (every day) and what does Rabbi Yehoshua say? The: sh:ortened *shmona eisre* (the prayer of 18) that we talked about in (guess) so now we might understand why the *Mishna* (a statement of law from the collection of all Jewish oral traditions) is here *bechlal* (at all). When he says *shmona eisre* (the prayer

of 18) what does he mean teaching me the essential *halacha* (religious law) the obligation to ↑*da*↑*ven* (pray)?

Student: No he's saying what you should *daven* (pray) .

Oh ↑what you should *daven* (pray). And what's the…. I'm sorry what's Rebbe Gamliel's position?

Student: ***Shmona eisre*** (the prayer of 18).

Ar A whole *shmona eisre* (the prayer of 18) you should daven a whole *shmona eisrei* (the prayer of 18) every day. Even thou:gh, what possibility ↑does exist? A shortened *shmona eisre* (the prayer of 18) there is such a thing.

**Transcript 05**

The Rebbe (the Chabad Jewish leader) was in <↑all> ↑safe↓ty in ↑Paris, but nevertheless the ***Friddeke*** ↑***Rebbe*** (the previous Chabad Jewish leader) started efforts.

Turned to a ↑***chassid*** (a follower of the ***Rebbe's*** teachings) of his, of ↑Shneerson who lived in Paris at the time, and ↑asked him to >↑GO and ↑SPEAK to his son in law, the ↑Rebbe (the Chabad Jewish leader) to tell him to come to A↑meri↓ca.> So ***Rav*** (Rabbi) Shneerson, the ↑***beis ha***↑***rav*** (refering to the people closely related to the ***Rebbe,*** lit. the rabbi's house), went and spoke with the ***Rebbe (the Chabad Jewish leader)***, that you know, you should go to A↑merica, you should accept and move to America, the ***Rebbe*** (the Chabad Jewish leader) said NOI don't wanna go. he tried to convince him, >No no< I don't wanna go. ***Mishpachas ha***↑***Rav*** (the Rabbi's family).

↑That's what the ***Rebbe*** (the Chabad Jewish leader) ↑wants..this is what he ↑wants. that's ab↑surd. So the ***Rebbe*** (the Chabad Jewish leader) answered him, <I know that he wants, and I also know why he wants, and that is ↓why I re↓fuse. I ↑know what he wants and I also know why he wants. Meaning the ***Rebbe (***the Chabad Jewish leader) ↑knew,> this is a simple expla↓nation, the ***Rebbe*** (the Chabad Jewish leader) knew from the beginning that the **Friddike** *Rebbe* (the previous Chabad Jewish leader) ↑asked him to leave Paris, asked him to ↑leave his. life and to become part of the ***ne***↑***siyus*** (leadership) . all along the line.

3:40 min

***Tzaddikiim ↑tovim le↑oylam*** (the pious are good for the world).

[ ]

4:40

But the ***Rebbe*** (the Chabad Jewish leader) didn't come to Ameri↓ca as you know, ↑and didn't become very involved in in the leadership of ***Lubavitch*** (syn. Chabad), … main institution which is <***machane Yisroel*** (camp "Israel"), ***merkaz chinuch*** (education center) and ***kehas*** (a Chabad publication),>

5:30 Once there was an elderly ↑***chassid*** (a follower of the ***Rebbe's*** teachings) who came to the ***Rebbe*** (the Chabad Jewish leader) and started ↑speaking in terms of, that the ***Rebbe*** (the Chabad Jewish leader) should accept the ***ne↑siyus*** (leadership), and the ***Rebbe*** (the Chabad Jewish leader) started ↑crying, he said instead of TALKing to me, you should do everything necessary to ↑BRING the ↑***Rebbe*** (the Chabad Jewish leader) ↑BACK. WHY close the chapter, it's not closed! Don't be such don't be so square-minded.

6:40 But ***Chassidim*** (followers of the Rebbe's teachings) were not at that ***ma↑drei:ga*** (level), >they they they they they< wanted the ***Rebbe*** (the Chabad Jewish leader) to be the ***Rebbe*** (the Chabad Jewish leader), he refused very ↑sharply for a very long time. <There were lot of ↑tea↓rs, lot of ↑cry↓ing> related to that. But e↑ventual↓ly after the eleventh month of the ***Kaddish*** (a prayer that is recited in memory of the dead) had passed, on the tenth ***teves*** (a Jewish month) on signs began to appear. the ***Rebbe*** (the Chabad Jewish leader) accepted people into ***ye↑chidus*** (private meetings). The ***Rebbe*** (the Chabad Jewish leader) accepted . He was called upon the ***Toy-rah*** (the entire Hebrew Bible). ***Yaamoyd*** (will stand) ***Kvod Kdushat Adoneinu Moreinu veRabeinu ben haRav*** (our respected and holy lord and Master, the son of) Levi Yitzhak, they had already tried that a couple of weeks earlier, the ***Rebbe*** (the Chabad Jewish leader) just had ↓not ↓come to the ***Torah*** (the Hebrew Bible).

9:17

And when ↑they ↑CAME into the ↑**Rebbe** (the Chabad Jewish leader), they ↑handed the letter, the **Rebbe** (the Chabad Jewish leader) turned around and started crying, he didn't want to take the letter. He didn't want to take the letter. Then they said to the ↑**Rebbe** (the Chabad Jewish leader) that they had already ↑been to the **ohel** (The resting place of the Previous Rebbe), and that they had already read the letter over there at the **ohel** (The resting place of the Previous Rebbe) in the presence of a **minyan** (ten Jewish men). The **Rebbe (**the Chabad Jewish leader) heard ↑th↓at, he took the letter. Later on he went to the **ohel** (The resting place of the Previous Rebbe) with the letter. But still there was no of↑ficial acknowledgement yet. Came the **farbrengen** (A gathering of Chassidim in which they would sing Chabad tunes and discuss or hear sermons about self-improvement) of **yud** (the 10th of) **shvat** (Jewish month), Wednesday evening, they had the **yud shvat** (the 10th of a Jewiah month), the **Rebbe** (the Chabad Jewish leader) was **farbrengening** (A gathering of Chassidim in which they would sing Chabad tunes and discuss or hear sermons about self-improvement) durrring  the times of the **Rebbe** Rayatz (the previous Jewish leader) as well. So the **Rebbe** (the Chabad Jewish leader) **farbrengened** (A gathering of Chassidim in which they would sing Chabad tunes and discuss or hear sermons about self-improvement) a lot. Not not not officially in any official ca↑pacity. So people still didn't know, there hadn't been an of↑ficial of↑ficial acknowledgement. Then came half past ↑ten, evening of the **farbrengen** (A gathering of Chassidim in which they would sing Chabad tunes and discuss or hear sermons about self-improvement), the **Rebbe** (the Chabad Jewish leader) had said already one two a ↑coup↑le of **sichas** (discourses), explaining this and ↑that per↑taining to the ↑first **yartzheit** (the anniversary of the death of a parent) and other things, Nissan Mendel one of the **Rebbe's** (the Chabad Jewish leader's) secretaries, stood up and ↑said ↑public↑ly to the **Rebbe** (the Chabad Jewish leader), <"it's very nice, but **Chassidim** (followers of the **Rebbe's** teachings) want to hear a **maamar** (Hassidic discourse)", and he sat ↑down.> Only a **Rebbe** (the Chabad Jewish leader) said a **maamar** (Hassidic discourse). There was silence for a moment, and the **Rebbe (**the Chabad Jewish leader) opened a ↑**kuntres** (pamphlet) of **yud** (the 10th of) **shvat** (a Jewish month), and he had come

with it into the *farbrengen* (A gathering of Chassidim in which they would sing Chabad tunes and discuss or hear sermons about self-improvement) with the *kuntres* (pamphlet) of *yud* (the 10th of) *shvat* (A Jewish month) of *basi lega↑ni* (a famous discourse, lit. I came to my garden) of previo↑us ↑years and opened it and fumbled and then STARTed in a …tone, in the *maamar* (Hassidic discourse) of of the *Rebbe* *(*the Chabad Jewish leader), i-i-i-in the beginning it sounded like it was going to be another *sicha* (discourse), but ↑then the *Rebbe* (the Chabad Jewish leader) started the words of the *maamar* (Hassidic discourse) with the *nigun* (Hassidic melody) of the ↑*maamar* (Hassidic discourse).

**Transcript 06**

Was a *ch↑assid* (Follower of the *Rebbe's* teachings) of the *Alter Rebbe* (the elderly Chabad Jewish leader), the *Alter Rebbe* (the Elderly Chabad Jewish leader) ↑told him once Isaac Isaac [ Yiddish ] he said Isaac Isaac ↑everything but not the *Rebbe* *(*the Chabad Jewish leader). Years later when the *Alter Rebbe* (the elderly Chabad Jewish leader) passed ↑aw↓ay, <↑then it wasn't as ↑clear> that the next one in line was gonna be the *Mittler Rebbe* (the middle ChabadJewish leader). First we had the *Ba'al Shem Tov* (a Jewish leader), after the *Baal Shem Tov* (a Hassidic Jewish leader) who was >im↑mediately< after the *Ba'al Shem Tov* (a Hassidic Jewish leader)?

Students: [unclear]

No, who was im↑mediately after the *Ba'al Shem Tov* (a Hassidic Jewish leader).

Students: Oh, his son.

For one year, then one year lata the son told the *Maggid* (A Hassidic leader, lit. preacher) that my father came to me in a dream and told me ↑YOU have to take it so the *Maggid* (A Hassidic leader, lit. preacher) took it. After the *Maggid* (A Hassidic leader, lit. preacher) came.

Students: His son.

↑After the *Maggid* (A Hassidic leader, lit. preacher).

Students: ↑Many.

↑Ma↓ny. After the *Maggid* (A Hassidic leader, lit. preacher) there were ↑ma↓ny. The *Alter* ↑*REBbe* (the Eldery Chabad Jewish leader) was ↑told by the ↑*Maggid* (*Maggid* (A Hassidic leader, lit. preacher) preacher) who he ↑is what *neshama* (soul) he ↑has he has a *neshama chadasha* (new soul) he has to reveal *pnimiyus haTorah* (the inner Torah) *Chassidus* (Hasidic philosophy) *Cha↑bad* (a Jewish movement) he was a. but it wasn't ↑clear that after the *Alter Rebbe* (the elderly Chabad Jewish leader) auto↑matically it's gonna stay uh (pauses) the *Mittler Rebbe* (the middle Chabad Jewish leader). So there were *chas↑sidim* (Followers of the *Rebbe's* teachings) that sent a ↑wa↓gon to pick up (unclear) ↑he should become *Rebbe* (the Chabad Jewish leader).

Students: But did they know what the *Rebbe (*the Chabad Jewish leader) said?

N:o, they didn't. ↑HE knew it.

So he says that he we-went outside and he picked up his foot to go into the ↑wa↓gon. ↑AS he ↓did ↑that, suddenly he flashbacked the *Alter Rebbe* (the Elderly Chabad Jewish leader) says "Isaac Isaac (Yiddish)." He ↑backed off. But he said that when he picked up his f:oot to go into the wa↓gon ↑*nifte↓chu lo sh↑aarei chochma* (the gates of wisdom were opened for him), the <gates of wisdom opened up before him.> In other words when ↓when you take up↑on yourself the position of of a *Rebbe (*the Chabad Jewish leader), they give you *koychois mle↑mayla* (powers from above). So the *Rashag* (a relative of the Rebbe) ↑thought that's what he said if <he'll take it upon himself uh> *lema↑yla* (above) will give him the *koychois* (powers) because the *chassidim* (members of a Jewish sect) need the *Rebbe (the Chabad Jewish leader)*. But he wanted to hear what his ↑brother-in-law has to say about it. So he went to con↑sult with the *Ramash* (a pseudonym of the Jewish leader) as they were called ↓then. The Rebbe w-was referred to as the *Ramash* (a pseudonym of the Jewish leader) and the *Rashag* (a relative of the Jewish leader) was referred to the *Rashag* (a relative of the Jewish leader) all his life of course after that. So the *Rebbe* (the Chabad Jewish leader) ↑told ↓them [Yiddish] which means when I'll ↑be by my fa↓ther↓in↓law our father in law I'll ↑ask ↓him. The *Rashag* says (a relative of the Rebbe)< I ↓knew> that when the *Rebbe* (the Chabad Jewish leader) says something it

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is <ab:solu:tely> ↓true. Like he knew the **Rebbe** (the Chabad Jewish leader) long enough already ↑that a word from the **Rebbe (**the Chabad Jewish leader) is <ex:actly as ↓is.> He says <I couldn't say that state↓ment.> I couldn't say cuz I'm [unclear] but if the **Rebbe (**the Chabad Jewish leader) said I'll be by (unclear).

So the **Rebbe's** (the Chabad Jewish leader's) wr↑i:ting to a ↑ni:ne-year-old kid. The **Rebbe's** (the Chabad Jewish leader's) ***whatduz*** (what's in it?) the **Rebbe** (Chabad Jewish leader) do the **Rebbe's** (the Chabad Jewish leader's) sharing with them a feel↓ing. Hey little boy I want you to know that you <have re↓vived me,> and to what extent like <pou:ring cold water ***ke↑mayim karim>  al nefesh ayefa*** (like pouring cold water on a tired soul) like pouring cold water on a ti↓red (hesitates) soul. Did anybody try to figure out what's so special about a nine-year-old boy in Crown Heights writing a ***hachlata*** (decision) to the **Rebbe** (the Chabad Jewish leader) that trig↓gers off a such a unbelie:vable powerful response?

Student: sin↑ce↓ri↓ty?

↑What?

Student: Sin↑ce↓ri↓ty?

<O:kay. Yes, I'm sure> sin↑ceri↓ty is there. But ↑why would sin↑cerity trigger such a response? Idnu if anybody can ↑really ↑answer that ques↓tion. But we can try, we can ↑guess. I wanna share with you something more than a guess but if you like it accept it if you don't like it so (pause) thank you for listening.      <↑ Let's try to> ↑fol↑low this boy that year. The boy took upon himself a ***hachlata*** (decision). ↑A:nd when he took upon himself the ***hach↑la↓ta***  (decision)<his parents knew abou:t it his teachers knew ab↑ou:t it his friends knew ab↑ou:t it> like you know eh the **Rebbe** (the Chabad Jewish leader) says when it comes your birthday you make a ***farbrengen*** (A gathering of Chassidim in which they would sing Chabad tunes and discuss or hear sermons about self-improvement) and you take a ***hach↑la↓ta*** (decision) and you notify the participants what your ***hachlata*** (decision) is and this way they will be able to enc↑ourage you to keep the ***hachlata*** (decision). So this kid is a nine-year-old kid (unclear) an ↑every↑body knew about it. Now that full year he actually lived up to that ***hachlata*** (decision). Every morning he woke up he had the ***hachlata*** (decision).

And every morning he woke up he took a *sid↓dur* (prayer book) he said ***birkos hashachar*** (the morning prayer) from the *siddur* (prayer book). And if it happened that there was a certain hardship and maybe on his own he wouldn't have kept it somebody was there to encourage him. Parents teacher somebody. One ↑year later at his tenth birthday what does the kid feel about himself.

↑Proud of himself. He has self-worth. He feels I am worth something. So a year later this kid ↓now has a lot more self-worth be↓cause he ↑feels he is worth something. ↑Why is he worth something because ↑probably for the first time in his life a full year went ↑by and he actually lived with something for a full year. So what duz he do by his tenth birth↑day? He takes an↑oth↓er *hachlata* (decision) very good. He takes another *hachlata* (decision) and this time maybe a drop more.

**Transcript 07**

You see where you're coming from? If you come from like ↑me from a ↑*gushmike* (materialistic) ↑oulook a ↑*gushmike* (materialistic) ↑outlook is *bitul* (humility) ↑means *bitul* (humility)↑means that I at the moment I'm doing something else. Yea .

*Mayla* (advantage)↓of *tora* (the Hebrew Bible) in the *oylam haze* (this world). In the ↑last part of this ***dibur ha↑mas↓chil*** (a quote that will be expounded upon or explained) the ***Alter Rebbe*** (the Elderly Chabad Jewish leader) points out the *mayla* (advantage) of the ***Torah*** (the Hebrew Bible) that any *ha↑la↓chah* (religious law) of the ***Torah*** (the Hebrew Bible) is the *ham↑shacha* (continuation) of this world. When the ***Torah*** (the Hebrew Bible) deals with a certain ↑aspect of this world, and ***Torah*** (the Hebrew Bible) decides *kosher* (allowed) *passul* (unfit) if its something that can be used something that can't be used, that is part of the ↑*dibur* (speech) of *oylam haze* (this world). That is *hamshacha* (continuation) of G-dliness in this world. In the last two ↑days he spoke about the dif↓fe↓rence why in ↑***Torah*** (the Hebrew Bible) even if it comes down in this world and it deals with *gashmike* (materialistic) things its still *Elokus* (G-dliness), ↑G-dliness and nevertheless other *chayus* (liveliness) in this world remains *nivra* (creature).

The ***Alter Rebbe*** (the Elderly Chabad Jewish leader) speaks how ***elo↑kus*** (G-dliness)| G-dliness | ***seychel*** (intellect)| G-dly ***seychel*** (intellect) comes down to this world in every part in eh eh every ***halacha*** (religious law) in every stage. That is the ***inyan*** (subject) in the last few ↓days explaining the ***inyan*** (subject) in ***kaballah*** (an ancient Jewish wisdom) terminology of ↑how that can although the world is a ***nivra*** (creature) nevertheless ***elokus*** (G-dliness) when we learn ***Torah*** (the Hebrew Bible) that is the ***ratzon  Hashem*** (G-d's will) that is ↑***chochmas Hashem*** (G-d's wisdom).

Um there is a↑no↓ther terminology that we have to re↑member when we deal with it again it is mentioned several ↑times in ***Kaballah*** (an ancient Jewish wisdom)  the word ***neshama*** (soul) means ***elokus*** (G-dliness) ***ruach*** (G-ds spirit) and ***nefesh*** (psyche) is ***briah*** (creature). He was rarely speaking about ***Torah*** (the entire Hebrew Bible), he was talking about ***neshama*** (soul) into the world. When we spoke about ***niv↑ra↓im*** (creatures) that's the ***nefesh*** (psyche) ***ruach*** (spirit). the ***neshama*** (soul) cre↑ates the ***nefesh*** (psyche) ***ruach*** (spirit) ***nefesh*** (psyche) ***ruach*** (spirit) is something which is ***nivra*** (creature) ***neshama*** (soul) is the ***elokus*** (G-dliness) of (unclear). ↑So at this point we're up to that there is a ***elokus*** (G-dliness) that's the ***elokus*** (G-dliness) that's the ***chochma*** (wisdom) the ***Aibishter*** (G-d). The ***Alter Rebbe*** (the elderly Chabad Jewish leader) now asks a ***le↑chura*** (apparently) a ***se↑tira*** (contradiction) the ***ruach*** (spirit) of ***oylam yetzira*** (the world of creation) and ***lechura*** (seemingly) we're talking about ***elo↑kus*** (G-dliness) ***toras haneshama*** (the theory of the soul) ***lichura*** (seemingly) it's a ***setira*** (contradiction). > Just wanna re↑mind you< that the sons of the ***Alter Rebbe*** (the elderly Chabad Jewish leader) in the ***hakdama*** (introduction) write that these . were written to explain uh contradictory terms in the ***Eytz Chaim*** (holy book, lit. tree of life) which the ***Alter Rebbe*** (the elderly Chabad Jewish leader) wrote while wri↓ting the Talmud so that's the as you see he's constantly quoting ***Etz Chaim's*** (holy book, lit. tree of life) um quotes from here and there and trying to.

 . >"***ma she kasuv be Eytz Chaim beshaar hayechudim*** (what is written in the book "the tree of life" in the gate of communion)."< so you we we find that its ***ruach*** (spirit) it's ***nivra*** (creature). So the ***Alter Rebbe*** (the elderly Chabad Jewish leader)

will give two answers ↓now. ↑Answer number one …says the ***Alter Rebbe*** (the elderly Chabad Jewish leader) we're ↑dealing with the way ***Torah*** (the Hebrew Bible) comes down to this ↓world. ***Torah*** (the Hebrew Bible) tells us that this piece of bread is ↑*kasher* (allowed). That's ***ratzon Hashem*** (G-d's will) that's ***chochmas Hashem*** (G-d's wisdom) that's ***elokus*** (G-dliness) that's G-dly ***dus*** (this) is ***der*** ↑***Aibishter*** (the G-d). When↑ I learn that ↑***Toyrah*** (the Hebrew Bible) and I'm ***mayla*** (raising) it ***lemayla*** (upward). here the ***Alter Rebbe*** (the elderly Chabad Jewish leader) says it's very ↑possible.

**Transcript 08**

There was once a uh Jewish professor from Columbia who was a nuclear physicist and he came up with an idea which in his mind was the most brilliant idea in physics which was ever presented. And he finally decided to present it in China but he did not know Mandarin so they hired a ***metargem*** (translator) a translator seven hundred people came to the auditorium to listen to the brilliant professor share his ***bina*** (wisdom) wisdom on physics and the translator was there waiting and the speaker told him every 15 seconds I will stop and you will translate and I will continue.

Were you ever at such a speech? It's very very annoying. When I travel a lot we have it and every 15 seconds I have to stop and somebody else translates it's it's it's sometimes an annoying experience. So this is what happens: the speaker begins lecturing on physics and after 15 seconds he stops. So he motions to the ***metargem*** (translator) to the translator go ahead and the translator motions back to him you go ahead. So another 15 seconds pass and he's like your turn nah go ahead. A minute, nu, no go ahead and every few minutes when he stops the man motions you go ahead I'm not ready to translate. After 15 minutes the translator is like wep wep stop and he turns to the crowd and he tells them seven words in Chinese. And he motions to the speaker to continue the speech. Continues the speech waits after a minute nah continue, after the second 15 minutes wait stop!. Turns to the crowd communicates another 7 words in Chinese. The same thing occurs after the next 15 minutes now 45 minutes and he looks at the crowd and he gives them a 7-word summation. After the

last 15 minutes a full hour ep you finished good! He looks at the crowd and he tells them 3 words in Chinese, they applaud the speaker good night bye bye *lehitraot* (goodbye). The crowd empties the room they evacuate the room as you shall do within the next few minutes hopefully, and the speaker approaches the translator and says all my life I was waiting for that one genuine student who appreciates me so deeply and who's blessed with a skill of taking my brilliant wisdom and *letzamtzem* (compressing) compressing an hour into a few words. I think you're the man. I think henceforth I have discovered Socrates had his Plato I was always looking for my Plato and here you are you're the man let me give you a hug welcome I designate .you as my prime student

But just tell me nu how did you do it? How did you manage to take such a brilliant, innovative, creative, ingenious presentation and *letzamtzem* (to compress) it compress it in so few words.

Translator, unabashed, looks at him and says it was quite simple. After the first 15 minutes I motioned you to stop and I said to the crown in Chinese he hasn't said anything new yet. After the next 15 minutes I stopped you again and I told them he still hasn't said anything new. After the next 15 minutes I told them it doesn't look like he's going to say anything new. And at the end of the speech I looked at them and I said I was right.

So you see my dear friends when we dealing with an issue as marriage and relationships what news can I your humble servant contribute this evening? What am I supposed to tell you? I'm supposed to tell you never to trust your husband? What am I supposed to tell you, that men and women are different? And you find that funny he's crying you're laughing it's a *mechaye* (reviving).

Any other terms? *Nu* what did he say?

Student: The instance when he approached her.

"*Vayavo eleha*" (he came to her) – he came to her.

Any other terms? Where?

Student: He followed his wife.

Very good, by Adam and Eve, "***vedavak beishto***" (he cleaved to his wife)– he cleaves to his wife.

Itzhak ***metzahek es*** (is laughing with) Rivka ***ishto*** (his wife) – Isaac was laughing with Rebecca his wife.

***Legalot erva*** (to expose nakedness)– to expose nakedness.

***Shichva*** (lie with me) – and she lied with me.

You think I'm a ***yente*** (gossiper) and I'm interested in your gossip?

I won't tell your ***shviger*** (mother-in-law), I won't tell your mother-in-law.

**Transcript 09**

↑↓ A guest from the land of Israel from ***Eretz Isr↑o↓el*** (the land of Israel), president of the Academic college of <Tel Aviv>. His name was ***Reb*** (Rabbi) Shloime, ***Reb*** (Rabbi) shloime is the president of the Academic college of Tel Aviv Yaffo it's called. So he comes ↑***Sha↓bbos*** (Saturday) to Rabbi Wolf and they're eating the ↑***Sha↓bbos*** (Saturday) meal. <The middle of the meal ***Reb*** (Rabbi) Shloime says I wanna tell you a story. And this is the story listen to this. There was a young Hugarian Jewish boy who grew up in the city known as szeged> am I pronouncing it correctly? Some of you know what a szeged you know how it's spelt s-z- right e-g-e-d- ↓***em↑es*** (real)? So those who don't know szeged ↑***ne↓bach*** (unfortunate) pronounce it in other ways. Anyways this boy grew up in szeged which as you know was a home to a very large powerful and vibrant Jewish community. He grew ↑up in a in a home of ↑***Toyrah*** (the Jewish Bible) in a ↑home of ↓***Yiras Sha↑ma↓yim*** (G-d fearing) in a home of ↑***Yid↓desh↑keit*** (Judaism). He learned and then came 1944 and the invasion of Hungary by Nazi Germany and Hungarian Jewry came to a brutal brutal end. He and his family were uprooted and were sent to the death camps. And most of his family perished in the fires of the Holocaust. He managed to survive. This young man managed to survive physically but he bid farewell to his past. It's not that he left Judaism and became a secular Jew. This was something that happened to many survivors. But he was filled with bitterness and anger towards G-d towards ↑***TOY↓rah*** (the Jewish Bible) towards ↑***Yid↓dish↑keit*** (Judaism). And he uh went on to study he became a very successful and prominent professor first in Australia and then in Israel.

And much of his life he dedicated to demonstrate the futility, the absurdity >of Judaism of the Jewish religion of the Jewish G-d of the Jewish faith.< He was filled filled with animosity to ↑*Yid↓dish↑keit* (Judaism). He became a philosophy professor and he even authored a book about Judaism where he explained that by definition Judaism is a horrible theocracy which basically believes in .that Judaism. His book was published in Hebrew his book was translated into English.

Now ↑he: was >a *sh↑tickel* (a piece of) ↑*tal↓mid* ↑*cha↓cham* (Torah scholar, lit. a smart student) < which of course makes things always more complicated and more juicy. They say he wasn't an ignorant old expression >(Yiddish)< How do you say ↑*kna↓kin* ↑*shemen↓kis* (cracking seeds)? that's not how you say it in English. *Gari↓nim* (seeds).hh ↑*Klak* (cracking) means cracking sunflower seeds all day in the *sh↑pitz* (point) you don't become a heretic. *Reb* (Rabbi) Nachman says *Reb* (Rabbi) Nachman says that everything in the world has a ↑*nig↓gun* (Hassidic melody) even an *api↑kor↓ses* (heretic) has a ↑*nig↓gu:n* (Hassidic melody) you're just singing the wrong ↑*nig↓gu:n* ( Hassidicmelody). It's just Reb nachman says you're singing the wrong *niggun* (Hassidic melody). *Ze* ↑*toch* (it's the core of) a ↑*niggun* (Hassidic melody).

He says everything has a source in *ke↓dusha* (holiness) everything has a source in holiness everything comes from *Ha↓shem* (G-d) what's the source of *apikor↓se's ke↓dusha* (the heretic's holiness) of hwhat's the source of heresy in holiness? So he says that there's something very holy in it why cuz when you see somebody in trouble you see somebody suffering and they need help you might tell yourself you know >_yiddish,< there's a big G-d in the world he's gonna help you so you have a wonderful day *Ha↑shem* (G-d) will help you. He says this is where *Ha↓shem* (G-d) ↑wa:nts you should have a little ↑*mitz↓vah* (commandment) of *api↑kor↓ses* (hereticism) you should have a little spark and say you know what the buck stops here I gotta I gotta do whatever I can. >*Ha↑shem* (G-d) runs the world *Ha↑shem* (G-d) knows what he's doing< but now it's your turn to shine, to stand up for this person.

Okay anyways so this man was a >*sh↓ti↑ckel* (a piece of) ↑*tal↓mid* ↑*cha↓cham* (Torah scholar, lit. a smart student) < he learned very well and he knew the texts and

he knew the sources so his book wasn't just a book written by somebody you know never doesn't know how to read the ↑*chu:↓mash* (the Torah printed form) right to left left to right doesn't matter look in the **Rashi the Tosfos the Rashba marsha rebbe kiveiger abir agara** (a list of Jewish commentaries) he knew stuff which made the book far more venomous because he knew what sources to call in order to demonstrate his perspective on how horrible ↑*ki↑va↓ya↑chol ↓yid↓dish↑keit* ( so-called Judaism) is.

**Transcript 10**

↓↑ Shloime continues telling Rabbi Wolfe ↑my ↓friend he says professor got older and one day he fell ill he was diagnosed with ↑*ein ↓ha↓ma↓cha↑la* (cancer) with cancer. I and a few of my colleagues who were all in the academic world in Israel went to visit this professor. He was already quite ill he was in his house in b b b bedroom we went into him we were just ↑*schmoo↓zing* (chatting) and talking at some point this professor pulled me aside pulled **Reb** (Rabbi) shloime aside he says come into my library with me he had in his house a library a private study with hundreds of thousands of books he as an academic he as an intellectual. I go into the library and he tells me a few years ago when I was a little younger I wrote a letter to New York. I wrote a letter to the **Lubavitcher Rebbe** (the Chabad Jewish leader). The letter was very very sharp-tongued. It was mean, it was vicious, it was very confrontational and it was extremely critical. I basically knew the **Lubavitcher Rebbe** (the Chabad Jewish leader) is also an intellectual and I basically penned on paper all of my harsh arguments against G-d against **Toy↓rah** (the Jewish Bible) against ↑*yid↓dish↑keit* (Judaism) and I was extremely extremely critical of the **Rebbe's** (the Chabad Jewish leader's) positions and his belief and what he's trying to accomplish in the world to spread ↑*yid↓dish↑keit* (Judaism) and so forth. He said I didn't think he's going to answer me. The truth is that the letter didn't deserve an answer.  It was so harsh it was so disrespectful it was argumentative it was so confrontational I didn't think the rabbi would answer me he's telling **Reb** (Rabbi) shloime. But a few weeks later I received a letter and the letter was written in the ***lubavitcher rebbe's*** (the Jewish leader's) own handwriting. Everybody kows that was unique. Lubavitcher used to dictate his letters

to secretaries and they would type it up and he would edit it correct it and they would retype it and he would sign it and he would send it out and they would mail it. Very very weird that he should write a letter in his own handwriting. But he said I received a letter back from the lubavitcher **Rebbe** (the Chabad Jewish leader) from Rabbi Schneerson in his own handwriting. And then the old professor goes over to a certain shelf in his library he takes out the book he opens the book and I see in one of the pages theres a piece of paper handwritten on it and I take a look I see it's a letter and its signed menachem mendel schneerson. This was the original letter in the **Rebbe's** (the Chabad Jewish leader's) handwriting that he sent back to the professor. The old man the professor says read the letter read the letter **Reb** (Rabbi) shloime is telling this to rabbi wolfe who told it to me just a few weeks ago. He said I read the letter I can't tell you the exact words it was a few years ago but the structure and the content of the letter I clearly remember. The **Rebbe** (the Chabad Jewish leader) opened up the letter first thanking the professor for writing to him. The first thing he expressed gratitude that he took the time to share his thoughts his feelings his life experiences and his pers↑pectives with the ↑**Reb**↓**be** (the Chabad Jewish leader). He said the **Rebbe** (the Chabad Jewish leader) wrote to him in the plural form in the ↑**lashon** ↑**rab**↓**bim** (plural) in the ↑**lashon** ↑**ka**↓**vod** (language of honor). Not eh in English everything is you you but in Hebrew we know there's a distinction just like in Yiddish theres **du** (you) and theres **ir** (you) in Hebrew theres also the way of speaking in a respectful way that's how he addressed him. And then the **Rebbe** (the Chabad Jewish leader) writes to him allow me permission to inquire something I'm wondering about. I read your letter and I read your name I saw your first name I saw your last name and im wondering and I wish you can help me clarify your origin. Basically the surname the last name your family name doesn't indicate that you <come from this and this ↑**lit**↑**vi**↓**she** (Lithuanian) Jewish family.> There was a famous ↑**lit**↑**vi**↓**she** (Lithuanian) family and the **Rebbe's** (the Chabad Jewish leader's) very specific about the city does this name and this first name and last name represent indicate that you are a uh descendant of that family or perhaps this name was also shared by one more family a ↓**vish**↓**nitze** (Vizhnitz)↑**chas**↓**si**↓**dim** (followers of the **Rebbe's** teachings). Is it based

on the fact that you come from szigid that you belong to this special great family of vishnitz. That's what I would like to know. And then the **Rebbe** (the Chabad Jewish leader) finished off with a blessing and thanks very warm ↑**BRA**↓*cha* (blessing) and he signed his name. I finish reading the letter and the professor looks at me and his hands are trembling and he says these were his words this was his question do you get what he did to me? Do you understand how he reproached me? Do you appreciate how he gave me ↓***mus***↑*sar* (moral lecturing)? He didn't mention no words about my arguments my insults my heresy my attacking him my criticizing him my denigrating him not a word but do you hear what type of profound ↓***mus***↑*sar* (moral lecturing) he gave me and how he approached me he says with these subtle questions about the meaning of what my name represents he was basically reminding me that you come from a glorious past you come from an incredible Jewish family the only question is of from the ***litvi***↑*she* (Lithuanian) or the ↑***chas***↓*si*↓***di***↑*she* (of followers of the **Rebbe's** teachings)? of the ↑*vizshnitz* or the ↑***litvak*** (Lithuanian) ***kmo she*** ↑***kas***↓***uv*** (as it is written). A real Lithu↑an↓i↑an or a real ↑***vizshnit***↑*ze* (Vizhnitz).

**Appendix III**

*Figure 46:* Table of Linguistic distribution of CS

| | code-switching | Borrowings | L1 Fillers/tags | L1 phrases | PL motivation | SP motivation | Intra | Inter | NE directionality | YHAr directionality | Noun | Adj | Verb | Gerund | other |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Emissary 01** | 29 | 15 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 44 | 47 | 1 | 46 | 2 | 39 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| **Emissary 02** | 42 | 8 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 53 | 52 | 3 | 51 | 4 | 45 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **Emissary 03** | 61 | 24 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 86 | 86 | 0 | 84 | 2 | 59 | 2 | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| **Emissary 04** | 40 | 33 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 76 | 74 | 2 | 68 | 8 | 57 | 0 | 5 | 9 | 0 |
| **Emissary 05** | 44 | 34 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 79 | 76 | 3 | 79 | 0 | 73 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| **Emissary 06** | 46 | 20 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 68 | 68 | 0 | 68 | 0 | 66 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **Emissary 07** | 79 | 12 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 92 | 91 | 1 | 90 | 2 | 86 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **Emissary 08** | 13 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 17 | 13 | 4 | 12 | 5 | 8 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| **Emissary 09** | 33 | 9 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 46 | 47 | 0 | 44 | 3 | 42 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **Emissary 10** | 24 | 15 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 40 | 40 | 0 | 39 | 1 | 29 | 7 | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| **Total** | 411 | 170 | 13 | 14 | 7 | 601 | 594 | 14 | 581 | 27 | 504 | 22 | 38 | 13 | 2 |

*Figure 47:* Chart of Linguistic Functioning of all of the emissaries
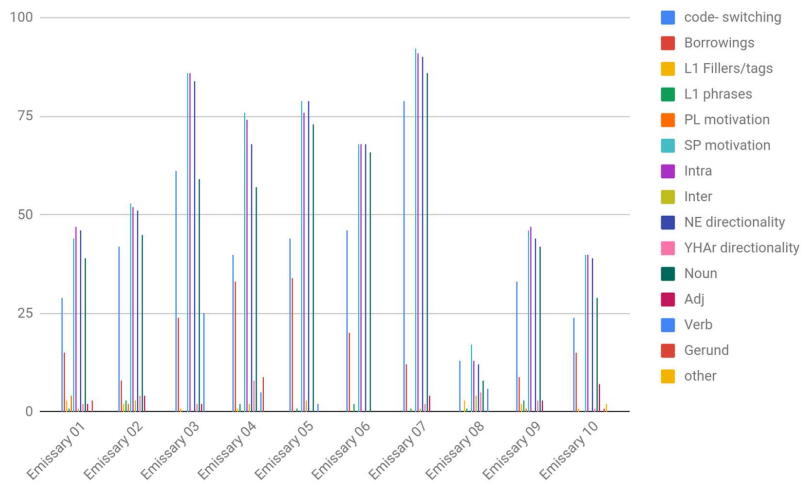
*Figure 48:* Table of Yiddish, Hebrew and Aramaic, Folkish purposes and concepts for Judaic acquisition

| | Yiddish | Hebrew + Aram | Folkish purpos | concepts for Ju | Other |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Emissary 01** | 5 | 42 | 24 | 21 | 2 |
| **Emissary 02** | 7 | 48 | 30 | 25 | |
| **Emissary 03** | 45 | 39 | 60 | 24 | |
| **Emissary 04** | 28 | 48 | 43 | 33 | |
| **Emissary 05** | 49 | 30 | 79 | 0 | |
| **Emissary 06** | 41 | 27 | 68 | 0 | |
| **Emissary 07** | 27 | 65 | 46 | 46 | |
| **Emissary 08** | 6 | 11 | 12 | 5 | |
| **Emissary 09** | 24 | 23 | 47 | 0 | |
| **Emissary 10** | 35 | 5 | 40 | 0 | |

*Figure 49:* Chart of Yiddish, Hebrew and Aramaic, Folkish purposes and concepts for Judaic acquisition

## Yiddish, Hebrew + Aramaic, Folkish purposes and concepts for Judaic acquisition
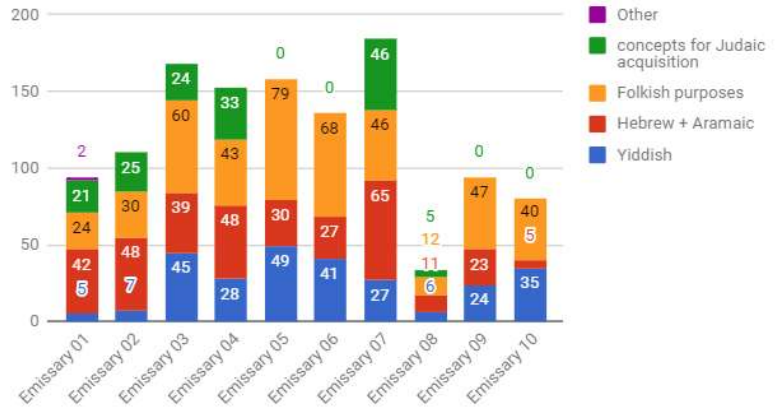
Table of L1 Lexemes, Emissaries 1-5

| Emissary 01 | Emissary 02 | Emissary 03 | Emissary 04 | Emissary 05 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| eh | Yeshno-ha-gim↓ | Va-yik-chu e-lei-cha | Mishna | Rebbe |
| pey↑sach | she loy lechol tz↑no-yin veshu↑m bepey↑sach | yid-den | Tfilas Hashachar | Friddeke Rebbe |
| e-mu-na | Pey-sach | vayikchu ele | Tfilas Hashachar | chassid |
| Kabbalistic | Pey-sach | a-voy-da | ↑shacharis | Rebbe |
| amAlek | Pey-sach | yid | min↓cho | Rav shneerson |
| am↑Alek | Pey-sach | Rebbe | davening | beis harav |
| am↑Alek | Cha-metz | gim-mel ↑tam-muz | kria Shma | rebbe |
| e-mu-na | chametz | vayikchu eleicha | mishna perek ↑daled | rebbe |
| peysach | Tzno↑-yin↓ | Rebbe | davening | mishpachas harav |
| ↓zo-har | Cha↑yei-Adam | vayikchu eleicha | halacha | rebbe |
| zo-har | Cha↑yei-Adam | ve-a-ta te-tza-ve | mishna | rebbe |
| ↑mat-zah | A↑sh-ke-naz | Rebbe | shmonei esre | rebbe |
| Chassidus | Rebbe Rashab | Rebbe | shmona esre | rebbe |
| Kabbalah | Tzemach Tzeddek | tku-fa | beit Knesset | Friddeke Rebbe |
| chassidut | tzno-yin | chaf-za-yin adar | beis knesses | nesiyus |
| Kabbalah | Prima G↑ado↓m | gimmel tamuz | beis medrash | Tzaddikiim |

| | | | | ↑tovim le↑oylam |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| chassidut | Shul-chan A-ruch↓ | oys yud-alef | davening | Rebbe |
| Kabbalah | The Alter | vayikchu eleicha | mishna | Lubavitch |
| chassidut | Tzemach Tzedek | MsheRbbeinu | davening | machane yisroel |
| m:at-zah | Rabbi Kibbe Aider | Moy-she Rab-bei-nu | beis medrash | merkaz chinuch |
| m:at-zah | Rabbi Kibbe Aider | veata tetzave | beis medrash | kehas |
| Chanukah | a↑-cha-ron | vayikchu eleicha | mishna | chassid |
| Kabbalah | a↑-cha-ron | vayikchu eleicha | davening | Rebbe |
| ↑matzah | ge-ma-ra | Moy-she | beis knesses | Rebbe |
| matzah | Rabbi Kibbe Aider | Rebbe | beis medrash | nesiyus |
| ↑chi↓nuch | yayin saref | oys yud-↑be↓is | davening | rebbe |
| ↑chi↓nuch | yayin saref | veata tetzave | davening | rebbe |
| ↑pey-sach | yayin saref | vayikchu eleicha | kedusha | chassidim |
| ach↑ar hapeul↑ot nimshachot halevavot | Aider | gimmel tammuz | koychos | madreiga |
| mat↓zah | A↑-sur↓ | gashmiusdikke | davening | rebbe |
| emuna | pey↑sach↓ | Rebbe | mechunya | rebbe |
| mat↑zah | pey↑sach↓ | Rebbe | mishna | kaddish |

| | | | ↑gim↑mel | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| emuna | bechlal | veata tetzave | Rabii Gamliel oymer bechol yom mispall adam shmona eisrei. | teves |
| mat↑zah | bechlal | koyach | Shmona Eisre | rebbe |
| emuna | asur | vayikchu eleicha | halacha | yechidus |
| chassidut | PEY↑sach | gimmel tammuz | Daven | rebbe |
| chassidut | minhag | Rebbe | Daven | toyrah |
| señora | rabbi | Rebbe | Shmona Eisrei | yaamoyd Kvod Kdushat Adoneinu Moreinu veRabeinu ben haRav Levi Yitzhak |
| e:h | seyfer | veata tetzave | mishna | rebbe |
| kol hakavod | sfa-rim | Rebbe | halacha | torah |
| Féliz | minha↑gim↓ | vayikchu eleicha | daven | rebbe |
| e:hhh | sfaradim | veata tetzave | davening | rebbe |
| Tal↑mud | peysach | veata tetzave | shmona eisre | rebbe |
| pnimi↑yut | peysach | vayikchu eleicha | mishna ↑gimmel | rebbe |
| chitzo↓ni↓yut | ye↑sh liza↑her livdok lifnei peysach | Rebbe | daven | ohel |

| ma↑kif | peysach | ich hub | shmona eisre | ohel |
|--------|---------|---------|--------------|------|
| ma↑kif | es ko↑l hame:lach hada↑ru↓sh leyemei hapeysach | Rebbe | mishna ↑alef | minyan |
| ma↑kif | peysach | Rebbe | bechol ↑yom | rebbe |
| | kashrus agencies | Rebbe | shmona eisrei | ohel |
| | kash-rus supervisor | Chaf-za-yin A-dar | shmona eisrei | farbrengen |
| | chametz | Chaf-za-yin A-dar | mishna | yud shvat |
| | chametz | Chaf-za-yin A-dar | shmona eisrei | yud shvat |
| | emU↑na | Rebbe | halacha | farbrengening |
| | Hashem↑ | mai-mar | halacha | rebe rayatz |
| | Matzah | veata tetzave | Becholyom mitpall shmona eisre. Rabbi Yehosh↑Ua oymer meein shmona eisre. | rebbe |
| | | vayikchu eleicha | shmona eisrei | farbrengened |
| | | Rebbe | halacha | farbrengen |
| | | Chaf-za-yin A-dar | machloykeis | rebbe |
| | | Rebbe | shmona eisre | sichas |
| | | vayikchu | halacha | yartzheit |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | eleicha | | |
| | | mai-mar | halacha | rebbe |
| | | Rebbe | halacha | rebbe |
| | | Chaf-za-yin A-dar | bchol yom | chassidim |
| | | Rebbe | Rabbi Yehoshua | maamar |
| | | vayikchu eleicha | shmona eisre | maamar |
| | | a-voy-da | mishna | rebbe |
| | | vayikchu eleicha | bechlal | kuntres |
| | | Rebbe | shmona eisre | yud shvat |
| | | his-kash-rus | halacha | farbrengen |
| | | Rebbe | daven | kuntres |
| | | koyach | daven | yud shvat |
| | | avoyda | daven | basi legani |
| | | be-koy-chos | Rebbe Gamliel | maamar |
| | | Ha-yom Yom | shmona eisre | rebbe |
| | | Chassidim | shmona eisre | sicha |
| | | Rebbe | shmona eisre | rebbe |
| | | Rebbe | | maamar |
| | | vayikchu eleicha | | nigun |
| | | Moyshe Ra-↑bei-↓nu | | maamar |
| | | Rebbe | | |
| | | Alter Rebbe | | |
| | | Alter Rebbe | | |
| | | Alter Rebbe | | |

| | | Alter Rebbe | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Ba-al Shem Tov | | |
| | | a-ha-vas is-ro-yel | | |

*Figure 51:* Table of L1 Lexemes, Emissaries 6-10

| Emissary 06 | Emissary 07 | Emissary 08 | Emissary 09 | Emissary 10 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| chassid | gushmike | metargem | Eretz isroel | ein hamachala |
| alter rebbe | gushmike | bina | reb shloime | schmoozing |
| alter rebbe | bitul | metargem | reb shloime | reb shloime |
| yiddish | bitul | nu | shabbos | lubavitcher rebbe |
| rebbe | mayla | lehitraot | shabbos | lubavitcher rebbe |
| alter rebbe | torah | letzamtzem | reb shloime | toyrah |
| mitteler rebbe | oylam haze | nu | nebach | yiddishkeit |
| baal shem tov | dibur hamaschil | letzamtzem | toyrah | rebbe |
| baal shem tov | alter rebbe | a mechaye | yiras shamayim | yiddishkeit |
| baal shem tov | mayla | nu | yiddishkeit | reb shloime |
| baal shem tov | halacha | vayavo eleha | toyrah | lubavitcher rebbe |
| maggid | hamshacha | vedavak beishto | yiddishkeit | lubavitcher rebbe |
| maggid | torah | Itzhak metzahek es Rivka ishto | yiddishkeit | lubavitcher rebbe |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| maggid | kashur | legalot erva | a shtickel talmid chacham | rebbe |
| maggid | passul | shichva | yiddish | reb shloime |
| maggid | dibur hamaschil | yente | knakin shemenkis | rebbe |
| alter rebbe | oylam haze | shviger | garinim | rebbe |
| maggid | hamshacha | | shpitz | rebbe |
| neshama | torah | | reb nachman | lashon rabbim |
| pnimiyus hatorah | gushmike | | reb nachman | lashon kavod |
| chassidus hatorah | elokus | | niggun | eh |
| alter rebbe | chayus | | apikorses | yiddish |
| mitteler rebbe | nivra | | niggun | du |
| chassidim | alter rebbe | | niggun | ir |
| rebbe | elokus | | reb nachman | rebbe |
| rebbe | seychel | | niggun | litvishe |
| alter rebbe | seychel | | ze toch a niggun | litvishe |
| yiddish | halacha | | kedusha | rebbe |
| nifte↓chu lo sh↑aarei chochma, | inyan | | Hashem | vishnitze chassidim |
| rebbe | inyan | | apikorse's | vishnitz |
| koychois mle↑mayla | kaballah | | kedusha | rebbe |
| rashag | nivra | | yiddish | bracha |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| lemayla | elokus | | Hashem | mussar |
| koychois | torah | | Hashem | mussar |
| chassidim | ratzon Hashem | | mitzvah | litvishe |
| rebbe | chochmas Hashem | | apikorses | chassidishe |
| ramash | kaballah | | Hashem | vishnitz |
| rebbe | neshama | | Hashem | litvak |
| ramash | elokus | | a shtickel talmid chacham | kmo shekasuv |
| rashag | ruach | | chumash | vishnitze |
| rebbe | nefesh | | rashi | |
| yiddish | briah | | tosfos | |
| rashag | torah | | rashba | |
| rebbe | neshama | | marsha | |
| rebbe | nivraim | | rebbe kiveiger abir agara | |
| rebbe | nefesh | | kivyachol | |
| rebbe | ruach | | yiddishkeit | |
| rebbe | neshama | | | |
| rebbe | nefesh | | | |
| rebbe | ruach | | | |
| rebbe | nefesh | | | |
| ke↑mayim karim> al nefesh ayefa | ruach | | | |
| hachlata | nivra | | | |
| rebbe | neshama | | | |
| hachlata | elokus | | | |
| hachlata | elokus | | | |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| rebbe | elokus | | | |
| farbrengen | chochma | | | |
| hachlata | Aibishter | | | |
| hachlata | alter rebbe | | | |
| hachlata | lechura | | | |
| hachlata | setira | | | |
| hachlata | ruach | | | |
| siddur | oylam yetzira | | | |
| birkos hashachar | lechura | | | |
| siddur | elokus | | | |
| hachlata | toras haneshama | | | |
| hachlata | lechura | | | |
| | setira | | | |
| | alter rebbe | | | |
| | hakdama | | | |
| | eytz chaim | | | |
| | alter rebbe | | | |
| | talmud | | | |
| | eytz chaim | | | |
| | ma she kasuv be'eytz Chaim beshaar hayechudim | | | |
| | ruach | | | |
| | nivra | | | |
| | alter rebbe | | | |
| | alter rebbe | | | |
| | torah | | | |
| | torah | | | |

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|---|---|---|---|---|
| | torah | | | |
| | kasher | | | |
| | ratzon Hashem | | | |
| | chochmas Hashem | | | |
| | elokus | | | |
| | dus is der aibishter | | | |
| | torah | | | |
| | mayla | | | |
| | lemayla | | | |
| | alter rebbe | | | |