

From Sabbath to Shabbat: Changing language of Reform sisterhood leaders, 1913-2012¹

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INTRODUCTION

Shabbat. Rosh Chodesh. Ruach. Tikkun Olam. These are some of the many Hebrew words that appear in program descriptions submitted to the 2011 Or Ami awards for excellence in sisterhood programming, presented every other year by the Women of Reform Judaism (WRJ, formerly the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods, NFTS). Although Reform sisterhoods around the United States have been planning similar programs for a century, the language used to describe those programs has changed significantly. For example, in decades past, sisterhood speeches and printed materials referred to these notions as Sabbath, New Moon, Spirit, and Service to Humanitarian Causes. When sisterhood leaders did use Hebrew words before the 1960s, they generally pronounced and wrote them using Ashkenazi norms, as in Chanuko, Shovuos, and L'shono Tovo Tikosevu. This paper discusses these linguistic changes among NFTS/WRJ leaders in the context of broader trends among Reform Jews, Jews, and Americans.

Data for this paper come from a number of sources available on the WRJ website and in the Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives, including NFTS/WRJ resolutions, publications about marketing, programming, and gift shops, and the speeches and personal papers of a few NFTS leaders. Three major trends emerge from analysis of these documents: 1) The use of Hebrew words, while present throughout the century, increased significantly, especially in the 1980s. 2) The pronunciation of Hebrew words transitioned from Ashkenazi style to Israeli style, mostly in the 1960s. 3) Feminist language changes were adopted, sometimes slowly.

RESOLUTIONS

One major source of data is the resolutions passed by NFTS/WRJ at their biennial assemblies and sometimes in the interceding years. These resolutions reflect advocacy surrounding moral, political, and religious issues of the day, such as immigration, desegregation, gun control, ordination of women as rabbis, and rights of religious groups in Israel. The WRJ president appoints a Resolutions Subcommittee, consisting of members of the Department of Religious Action and the Critical Issues Task Force. Individuals, sisterhoods, and districts can submit issues and proposed resolutions. The Subcommittee then sends draft resolutions to

sisterhoods two months before the Assembly. Another committee revises them and presents them to the delegates for approval.² Because the WRJ website offers the full text of all resolutions passed from 1915-2011, it is a treasure trove of data, including linguistic data relevant to this paper.

While resolutions throughout the century sporadically included Hebrew words, there was a major increase in the use of Hebrew words starting in the early 1980s (see Figure 1).³ Perhaps this increase is merely a by-product of the increasing word count: if there are more words, there are more opportunities for Hebrew words. Indeed, the word count of resolutions each year has increased over time, due both to a larger number of resolutions and to the increasing length of each resolution. When we control for word count by looking at the ratio of Hebrew words to total word count, we see that ratio is still lower in the period through the 1970s than the 1980s through the present (0.04% vs. 0.06%).⁴

Figure 1: Number of Hebrew words used in NFTS/WRJ resolutions

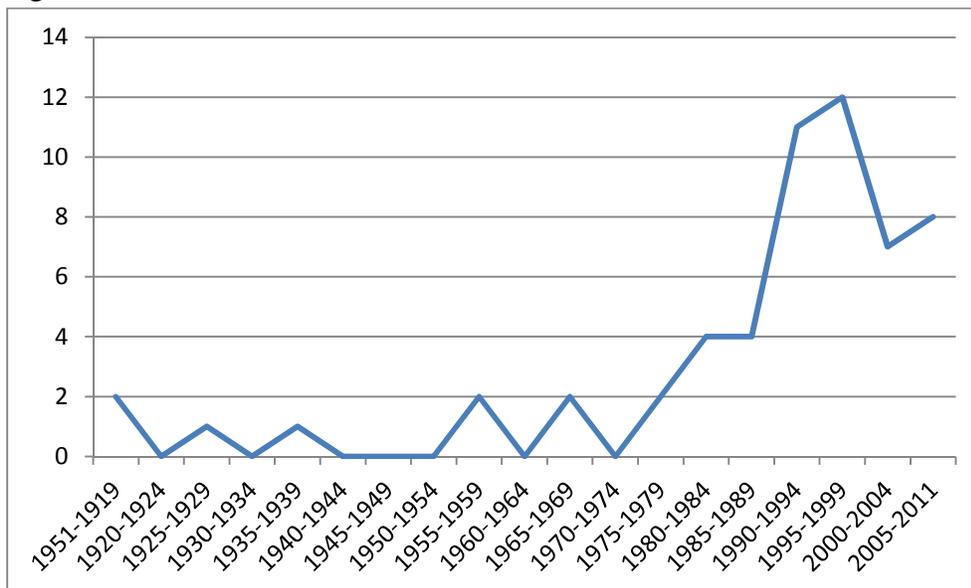


Figure 2: Hebrew words used in NFTS/WRJ resolutions (with translations if they are provided in the resolutions):

- 1915 Haggadot
- 1915 Kiddush
- 1929 sholom (peace)
- 1935 Chanukah
- 1959 tshuvah (repentance)
- 1959 shalom
- 1965 Taharat hamishpachah (the purity of the family)
- 1967 K'lal Yisrael
- 1977 Torah

1979	mitzvot
1981	aliyah
1983	aliyah
1983	Talmud
1983	Torah
1987	halachah
1989	aliyah
1989	Kotel (Western Wall)
1989	Torah
1991	aliyah
1991	betzelem elohim (in the divine image)
1991	Torah
1993	Bar or bat mitzvah
1993	midrashim (interpretations of texts)
1993	olim, Kessim (traditional leaders of the Ethiopian Jewish community)
1993	Tarahat hamishpachah (honor accorded to parents,... love of children)
1994	tikkun olam (to repair the broken world)
1994	tzedakah
1995	tzedakah
1997	Adonai, aliyah, Am Yisrael (People of Israel), Eretz Yisrael (the Land of Israel), Medinat Yisrael (the State of Israel)
1997	kidushah (holiness), betselem elohim (in the divine image)
1997	Shoah
1997	tikkun olam (helping to heal the world)
1997	Torah
1997	Torah
2000	Bar/Bat Mitzvahs
2001	refuat ha-nefesh u'refuat haguf (a healing of both soul and body)
2003	a mitzvah (a religious duty)
2003	b'tselem Elohim (in God's image)
2003	Medinat Yisrael
2004	Torah
2007	betzelem Elohim (in the image of God)
2007	Torah
2007	Torah, tikkun olam
2009	mitzvot
2011	Adonai, Torah

As can be seen in Figure 2, the types of Hebrew words also changed over time. Throughout the century, resolutions include Hebrew words related to Jewish values and religious observance. But two new phrases related to Jewish values appear starting only in the 1990s: “tikkun olam” and “b’tzelem Elohim” (and all its spelling variants). “Tikkun olam” is translated in 1994 and 1997 but left untranslated in 2007. “B’tzelem Elohim” is used in 1991, 1997, 2003, and 2007, always translated. While “tikkun olam” has come to be seen as an integral phrase of

Reform Judaism that members are expected to understand, “b’tzelem Elohim” is apparently still seen as a foreign phrase that requires an English translation.

Another change throughout the century is the increasing use of Hebrew words related to the State of Israel. Throughout the century, the NFTS/WRJ passed resolutions related to Palestine and then Israel. One of the very first resolutions (1915) urged support for Jews in Palestine: “the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods recommends that its affiliated organizations arrange a Woman’s Palestinian Welfare Day (or adopt such other methods as may seem advisable for this purpose), and that the funds thus raised be applied to immediate general relief in Palestine.” A 1927 resolution supported the Bezalel School in Jerusalem. In 1948 the NFTS voted to “hail the advent of the State of Israel.” After the Six-Day War in 1967, they declared their “deep, fraternal solidarity with fellow Jews in the State of Israel,” including the phrase “K’lal yisrael” near the end of the resolution. In the 1980s, statements about Israel began to use more Israeli Hebrew words, such as “aliyah,” “Kotel,” “olim,” and “Medinat Yisrael.”

Clearly the increase of Hebrew words is influenced by increasing connection to the State of Israel, but it is also related to greater attention to traditional texts. In fact, we also see the increasing use of quotes from liturgy, bible, and other Jewish sources. From 1977 to 2011, 85 of the resolutions use such quotes. Before 1977, only six resolutions do. In addition, some resolutions before 1977 make vague references, such as “Jewish ethical tradition strongly affirms the equality of all men before God,” a quote used in a number of resolutions about human rights and racial equality, or “*Whereas*, we adhere, according to the precepts of our religion, to love of justice, truth and peace,” from a 1936 anti-lynching resolution. Many resolutions before 1977 include no justification for why Jews or Reform Jews would come to the conclusions explained therein.⁵

However, starting in the late 1970s, quotes were more frequently used as introductions to the resolutions or as justifications for positions taken. For example, a 1977 resolution called “Learning for Jewish Living” cites Rabbi Gamaliel: “Excellent is the study of Torah when combined with a worldly occupation...” and Rabbi Hillel: “Do not say ‘When I have leisure I will study.’ Thou mayest never have the leisure.” A 1984 resolution about “Drought and Famine in Ethiopia/Ethiopian Jews” describes the drought and calls members to action with a biblical quote: “One of the most penetrating questions of the Bible is expressed in the cry, “Am I my brother’s keeper?” Judaism answers to all men and women with an unequivocal affirmative.”

Starting in the early 1990s, resolutions more often than not began with a quote in epigram form, representing diverse sources within biblical and rabbinic literature. Some examples include:

1991: “Awake, awake, put on strengths, O arm of the Lord; Awake, as in the days of old. (Isaiah 51:9)”

1993: “Therefore was a single human being created: to teach you that to destroy a single human soul is equivalent to destroying an entire world....And a single human being was created for the sake of peace, that none might say: My lineage is greater than yours! (C.

Stern (ed), Gates of Prayer: The New Union Prayerbook. New York: CCAR, 1988, p. 690)”

2001: “Do not separate yourself from the community (Pirke Avot 2:5)”

2006: “All Jews are responsible for one another. -Babylonian Talmud, Sh’vuot 39a”

Clearly, from the 1990s onward, leaders of the NFTS/WRJ made Jewish texts central to the presentation of their stances on political, social, and religious issues of the day.

Another trend in the 1990s is the decreasing use of archaic language, which can also be seen in prayerbooks of the time. Throughout the century, several biblical and rabbinic quotes in the resolutions include words like “thou” and “mayest.” Examples include:

1929: “Grant us peace, O Thou eternal source of peace”

1969: “But everyone shall die for his own iniquity; every man that eateth sour grapes, his teeth shall be set on edge.”

1977: Rabbi Hillel said, “Do not say ‘When I have leisure I will study.’ Thou mayest never have the leisure.”

1995: “Bless the Eternal, O my soul, and forget not all the Eternal’s benefits; ...who healeth all thy diseases. (Psalms 103:2-3)”

Archaic language like this disappears completely in the resolutions after 1997. In fact, we see the same Deuteronomy quote used in resolutions in 1997 and 1999, and the former uses archaic language while the latter does not:

1997: Justice, Justice, shalt thou pursue.

1999: Justice, justice shall you pursue.

The decreasing use of language that we consider archaic is a trend we can expect in the future, as well. Language is constantly changing, and some words commonly used today may be considered archaic in a few decades. Perhaps words like “shall” and “nor,” which are rarely heard in informal speech but are used in resolutions in the past decade, will become less common in resolutions in years to come.

Another instance of American language changes visible in the NFTS resolutions is the *pejoration* of the word “propaganda.” Pejoration is the process through which a word’s connotation becomes more negative. In the early decades of the twentieth century, the word “propaganda” was used in a neutral way, meaning information distributed to promote a particular viewpoint. An example is a 1919 resolution about “Subscription to Jewish Periodicals”:
“*Therefore be it resolved*, that the Sisterhood, through its Committee on Religion, send out propaganda from time to time strongly advising the local organizations to urge members to become subscribers to at least one Jewish periodical.” The word is used with its negative

connotation in 1925: “a protest against militaristic propaganda as given out by the Press,” and all subsequent uses (1969, 1971, 1973, and 2001) are also negative.

Another domain of language change relates to gender pronouns, especially “androcentric generics” – the use of “he” or “his” to refer to females as well as males. I found several instances of androcentric generics in resolutions through the 1980s. Here are some examples:

1959: “The Hebrew word, Shalom, one of the most beautiful in any language for peace, is the traditional greeting of the Jew to his neighbor whether he be Jew or non-Jew. “

1967: “NFTS has long committed itself to open occupancy so that no man or woman may be deprived because of race, religion or national origin, of his fundamental right to live wherever his income permits.”

1973: “We Further Believe ... that a citizen must hold himself, and be held responsible, for both his actions and his failures to act.”

1975: “In the United States it is estimated that the average child spends 21 hours a week viewing TV, and it becomes his window on the world.”

1981: “*Thus hath the Lord of Hosts spoken saying: Execute true judgment, and show mercy and compassion every man to his brother; and oppress not the widow, nor the fatherless, the stranger, nor the poor; and let none of you devise evil against his brother in our heart. (Zechariah 7:10)*”

After 1981, androcentric generics virtually disappeared in the NFTS resolutions. In their place are several instances of “he or she” and “his or her”:

1983: “Essentially this pools the earnings of a married couple and credits one-half the total to each for Social Security protection and status in his or her own right.”

1985: “The Secretary-General proposed that a fitting tribute to the 40th Anniversary of the United Nations would be a serious recommitment of all Governments to the 1990 goal of Universal Child Immunization. He called upon each Head of State to make reaffirmation of Universal Child Immunization by 1990 a major focus of his or her Government’s participation in the 40th General Assembly.”

1987: “The level of a person’s basic skills is tied directly to his or her prospects for future achievements”

2005: “*Judaism clearly teaches that no one has complete ownership of his or her own body. God gives a person his or her body for safekeeping. (Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot Chovel u”Mazik 5:1)*”

2005: “Maimonides notes that “The spiritual perfection of a person consists in his/her becoming an intelligent being – one who knows all that he/she is capable of learning.””

2007: “Congress’s act is dangerous in that any non-citizen could be arrested and held without trial or any court review for life solely on a declaration from the executive branch that he or she is an enemy combatant.”

2011: “The Universal Declaration of Human Rights in Article 23 states, ‘Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his [or her] interests.’”

Clearly Maimonides did not use “he/she” in the two quotes cited in 2005 resolutions, and the 2011 Human Rights declaration originally mentioned only “his interests,” as the use of brackets indicates. Whether the sisterhood leaders who wrote these resolutions found the quotes cited this way or inserted the female pronouns themselves, we can assume they felt it important to use these gender-inclusive versions.

The only instance of androcentric generics used after 1981 was also from medieval rabbinic literature:

1995: “What was Deborah’s character that she should have judged Israel, and prophesied to them...? ...whether it be... man or woman,... according to the deeds which he does, so will the Holy Spirit rest on him. (Tanna debé Eliyahu, p.48)”

Aside from the use of generic “he” and “him” in this cryptic quote, it is clear that the NFTS transitioned away from androcentric generics in the early 1980s. This transition is an instance of a broader change in American English, influenced by feminist scholars in the late 1960s and early 1970s. One study of American language found a decrease in the use of androcentric generics throughout the 1970s. Its author and his colleagues analyzed half a million words of text in several American newspapers, magazines, and other sources. They found that the use of generic “he” and “his” dropped significantly between 1971 and 1979: from 5.4 to 1.6 tokens per 5000 words. This decline was larger in women’s magazines and science magazines.⁶

Although publications around the country were transitioning away from generic “he” and “his” in the 1970s, the change did not happen in the NFTS resolutions until the 1980s. Given that NFTS leaders were women writing for an audience that includes many women, one might expect them to be ahead of the curve on the adoption of feminist language. The fact that they were slightly late to adopt this particular practice may be attributable to the age of the leaders who were writing these resolutions. Feminist language innovations may be adopted first by younger women. We can assume that the leaders who have achieved enough national prominence to participate in drafting and editing the resolutions are in their 60s and older, although further research would be necessary to confirm this.

By examining the resolutions of the NFTS/WRJ, we see a number of trends: an increase in the use of Hebrew words starting in the early 1980s, including words related to Israel, an increase in the use of biblical and rabbinic quotes in the 1990s, and changes in line with developments in American English more broadly, including the decreasing use of archaic language and the adoption of some feminist language practices. These trends are discussed below in the context of the Reform movement and America more generally. One change we do not see in the resolutions is the transition from Ashkenazi to Israeli pronunciation. The one instance of Ashkenazi pronunciation is the word “sholom” in 1929. Surprisingly, a 1915 resolution mentions

“Haggadot” and a 1935 resolution mentions “Chanukah,” whereas elsewhere in sisterhood materials before the 1960s those words are written “Haggadahs” and “Chanuko.” In order to analyze this transition, it is necessary to examine other sources of data produced by Reform sisterhood leaders over the past century.

ART CALENDARS

A fruitful source to analyze changes in spelling is the NFTS/WRJ art calendar, distributed annually since the founding of NFTS. From its earliest days through the mid-1960s, this calendar included the Ashkenazi renderings of Hebrew months and holidays: Rosh Ha-shono, Sukos, Ador, and the like. By 1966, these words were all rendered in Israeli Hebrew: Rosh Hashanah, Sukot, and Adar. One might assume that this change happened after the 1967 Six-Day War, which served as a turning point in American Jewish allegiance to Israel. But in fact it happened a year or two⁷ before the war. Around this time the calendars also included an increasing representation of Israel through holidays and art: the 1963-4 calendar was the first containing Israel Independence Day, and the 1964-5 calendar featured paintings by Israeli artist Nathanel Behiri.

While the major transition in spelling happened in the mid-1960s, minor changes have been incorporated in recent years. Israel Independence Day was renamed “Yom Ha’atzmaut (Israel Independence Day),” and “Yom Yerushalayim (Jerusalem Day)” made a brief appearance. Between the 1990s and the 2010s, the spelling of several holidays was changed: Sukot became Sukkot, and Shemini Atzeret became Sh’mini Atzeret. These changes seem to be in line with emerging norms among American non-Orthodox Jews, evidence of the ongoing process of orthographic standardization in Jewish American English.

Why and how did these changes happen? Did rabbinic advisors to the calendar committee suggest the changes? Were there deliberations and votes? To what extent were these changes coordinated with other UAHC materials, including curricula and prayer books? I leave these questions to historians; answering them would shed light on trends in the Reform movement and American Jewish communities.

OTHER SISTERHOOD PUBLICATIONS

In addition to the annual art calendar, NFTS/WRJ regularly publishes resource guides focusing on marketing, programming, and gift shops. I examined a number of these from the mid-twentieth century: “How It Can Be Told” (1956), “Let’s Talk Shop: Your Sisterhood Judaica Shop” (1960), “Program Prospects: A New Guide to Program Planning” (1964-5), “How It Can Be Shown: A Guide for Display Techniques and Ideas” (1968), “Catalog: Aids for Sisterhood” (1972-4), and Chanukah resource booklets from 1957, 1961, 1972, and 1979.

The materials from 1956 to 1965 all use Ashkenazi spellings, including esrog, Chanuko, and Shovuos. The 1968 guide uses Israeli spellings, including etrog, Chanukah, and Shavuot. As with the art calendars, we see a relationship between attention to Israel, especially Israeli

products, and language. The 1960 guide included some Israeli art and gifts, and the 1968 guide included information about the UAHC's involvement with Israel.

The four Chanukah booklets from 1957 to 1979 show a similar progression. The 1957 and 1961 booklets use all Ashkenazi spellings, such as Chanuko, Shamos, BO-RUCH ATO ADONOI, and Nes Godol Hoyoh Shom. The 1972 booklet renders the name of the holiday "Chanukah" but still uses some Ashkenazi spelling: Shammos and Mogen David. The 1979 guide, compiled by NFTS rabbinic intern Lenore Bohm, includes many Hebrew words with Israeli spelling, including Chanukah, Shabbat, Chanukiyah, Shamash, and soofganiyot. This is also the first instance I found of sisterhood materials inserting Hebrew-letter words in English text: "Chanukah, חַנּוּכָּה, in English translated as 'dedication,' is also called the Festival of Lights." Based on the fact that this guide was written by a rabbinic intern, this introduction of Hebrew letters may reflect an increasing rabbinic presence in the NFTS, (perhaps influenced by the ordination of women as Reform rabbis, which began in 1972).

Despite the transition to Israeli pronunciation in the mid-1960s, there are still remnants of the old pronunciation in later materials. The 1973-4 catalogue includes a combination of Ashkenazi and Israeli norms, such as Chanukah and Chanuko, Pirke Avot and Shovuos. It is likely that the Ashkenazi spellings were holdouts from previous versions of the catalogue. In addition, "Sabbath" is used in all of these materials until the 1979 Chanukah guide, which uses "Shabbat." These publications show us that the transition to Israeli-influenced spelling happened gradually, rather than being directed and enforced by movement leaders.

PAPERS OF SISTERHOOD LEADERS

While official publications give us a sense of movement-wide transitions, they leave us with a question: how do individual women change over time in their use of these linguistic features? As one example, I examined the American Jewish Archive's file of Frieda Rosett⁸ – NFTS President, 1946-1953. First, I analyzed her use of Sabbath and Shabbat and found that she transitioned to Shabbat in the 1980s. Rosett used "Sabbath" in all of her speeches and writings from the 1920s to the 1960s. For example, in a 1936 address she gave in several cities in the Northeast United States and Montreal, she used "Sabbath" even though she also used several Hebrew words and phrases: "Bar Mitzvah," "midrash," "semichah" ("laying on of hands") "Ner Tomid" ("the everlasting light"), and "Ma yom'ru Hagoyim" ("What will the Gentiles think?") (the last three were translated). The first instance of "Shabbat" I found in her papers was in a speech she gave upon receiving the "American Ideals Award" from her own Temple Israel in 1982. She said, "The hour is late, the Oneg Shabat is waiting." In that same speech she also mentioned the "Scout-Brotherhood Sabbath," an indication that she, and perhaps others in her congregation, still used the term Sabbath to refer to specific occasions.⁹ In a 1985 speech, the final one available in her file, she uses only Shabbat and not Sabbath. Frieda Rosett's transition from Sabbath to Shabbat is one of many examples of individuals changing their language over their life course. Language changes do not happen only when young people introduce new forms

but also because individuals change their language throughout their lives, even in their golden years.¹⁰

Another phenomenon we can observe in Frieda Rosett's personal papers is that she uses different language for different audiences. In two speeches to sisterhoods in the New York suburbs in 1936, she used a similar quote with minor differences:

- 1) "You may often have been criticized for wondering 'What will the Goyim think'... What for instance does your Gentile neighbor think of your home and your family as an example of Jewish teaching?"
- 2) "You may often have been criticized for wondering 'Ma yom'ru Hagoyim'- what will the Gentiles [~~"goyim"~~] think?"

In the second quote, the typed word "goyim" was crossed out and replaced in pen with "Gentiles." Similarly, Rosett used the word "midrash" in a few speeches in 1936 but used the word "legend" in a similar context in a speech to a sisterhood in Syracuse in 1939. These examples indicate that Rosett was aware that different audiences understand or expect certain words and that she made thoughtful decisions about her language use.

Finally, Rosett's speeches offer evidence of her transition over time away from language that would now be considered racist. In the 1930s and '40s she incorporated into several speeches jokes using African American English. For example, at a sisterhood luncheon in Syracuse in 1939, she told a story about a "colored boy" who flew in an airplane for the first time and reacted: "This yere's done been my first and my last [time flying]." White people's mocking use of language associated with African Americans went out of fashion within the following decades, and, as we might expect, Frieda Rosett conformed to this trend. After 1946 I did not find any quotes from her or other sisterhood leaders that made use of African American English.

OR AMI AWARD

Another source of data is the brochures for the Or Ami award, which was established in the 1970s to mark the 60th anniversary of the founding of NFTS and continues to be awarded at the biennial assemblies. The awards "honor sisterhoods and districts undertaking distinctive and significant social justice programs, community service, or educational projects."¹¹ The brochures offer paragraph-long descriptions of the winning programs and those deserving honorable mention. This data source shows us changes over time, as well as diversity at any given moment.

The Or Ami brochures give us insight into the spread of the word "mitzvah" to mean good deed. The word appears very little in the 1973 brochure but several times in the 1975 and 1981 brochures. For example, in 1975 Temple Isaiah in Lafayette, CA, mentioned their "mitzvah committee," and Temple Emanu-El in Willingboro, NJ, wrote, "Everyone who is involved in 'Bikur Cholim' is performing a 'mitzvah.'" Similarly, Congregation Beth Israel in Houston, TX, wrote in 1981 about "Bikkur Cholim, a mitzvah incumbent upon every Jew." The word "mitzvah" appears very little in sisterhood materials before the mid-1970s outside of the phrase

Bar/Bat Mitzvah. One early usage is a mention of the NFTY Mitzvah Corps in Norma Levitt's 1969 presidential message. 1979 is the first use of "mitzvah" (actually "mitzvot") in a NFTS resolution.

In addition to the spread of individual words, these brochures allow us to see the standardization of Hebrew words with their Israeli-influenced spellings. Although by 1973 most of the Hebrew words are spelled according to Israeli norms, we still see a few remnants of Ashkenazi spelling, such as "matzo brei" and "matzo covers" from a submission by Temple Beth David in Commack, New York. "Sabbath" is still used a few times in 1973, 1975, and 1981, but it exists alongside the increasingly popular "Shabbat." In fact, these brochures offer evidence that the transition from "Sabbath" to "Shabbat" happened mostly in the 1970s. We also see that, like the transition to Israeli-influenced spelling, this change diffused gradually: some people used both "Sabbath" and "Shabbat," sometimes even in the same document (and perhaps the same conversation).

In 1973, a few program descriptions use both Sabbath and Shabbat. For example, Temple Emanu-El in Lynbrook, NY, mentions an "Oneg Shabbat," as well as "the Sabbath lights kindled in Bayview" (a local nursing home). The program description from Temple Beth David in Commack, NY, mentions a "Sisterhood Sabbath Workshop" and "several Jewish holidays and the Sabbath," but it also describes "a Shabbat experience of joy and friendship." It is possible that this phrase was written by the award organizers and that the program coordinators and participants used only Sabbath. Either way, the use of both terms within the same sisterhood's description did not seem discordant enough for the brochure compilers to edit it.

In the 1975 and 1981 award brochures, Shabbat was the more common term, such as in the "Shabbat Shalom boxes" of Fairmont Temple in Beachwood, Ohio, and "Shabbat with the Elderly" at Beth El Temple Center in Belmont, Massachusetts. The few exceptions were the "Shabbasmobile" of Temple Israel in Memphis, Tennessee, and the "Sabbath candle holders" of Gates of Prayer Sisterhood in Metairie, Louisiana. It is possible that these program descriptions were written by older members who had not made the transition to Shabbat, or perhaps in these locations the transition to Shabbat merely happened later.

Another context in which the word "Sabbath" was maintained is the phrase "Sisterhood Sabbath." For example, in the 1975 Or Ami brochure, Temple Isaiah in Lafayette, California, used Shabbat several times and then wrote about "A Unique Sisterhood Sabbath," including "celebrating Shabbat" in its description. It seems that here, as in several temples around the country, the phrase "Sisterhood Sabbath" was preserved for a few years after people had otherwise transitioned to Shabbat. This is a common phenomenon in language change, as we see in phrases like "chock full of," "hunker down," "kith and kin" and "to and fro." An archaic word or pronunciation is maintained in a phrase long after that form has otherwise (mostly) disappeared from the language.

By the 2000s the language of Reform sisterhood leaders had fully transitioned from Sabbath to Shabbat. In the 2011 Or Ami brochure¹², there are five programs that mention Shabbat and none that mention Sabbath. This brochure also indicates the popularization of a

number of Hebrew words. It includes several words that did not appear in the 1970s, such as “tikkun olam,” “tallit,” and “Tu B’Shevat Seder,” three concepts that have become common in Reform settings in recent decades.

In short, the Or Ami Awards brochures provide additional evidence of the increasing use – and standardization – of Hebrew words and phrases within the Reform movement. They also indicate that changes diffused gradually across the population. Perhaps Hebrew words and Israeli pronunciations were adopted earlier by younger people and by people in certain parts of the country; future research might investigate these ideas further.

INSTALLATION SERVICES

Another source of data on sisterhood language use is the installation services for NFTS board members.¹³ I examined several services written by Norma Levitt, who was NFTS president from 1967 to 1973 but continued to write installation ceremonies through the 1980s. These programs offer further evidence of the changing pronunciation: the 1967 service renders liturgical Hebrew using Ashkenazi norms, e.g., “Bor’chu es Adonoy ha-m’voroch,” but the 1969 service uses Israeli-influenced spelling, as in “Berit Milah” and “Eretz Yisrael.”

Although each service has a similar number of Hebrew words, we see a gradual (and incomplete) transition from Sabbath to Shabbat: the 1983 service uses only Sabbath, and the 1988 service uses both Sabbath and Shabbat. The titles of both programs include “Sabbath”: 1983: “A Sabbath Service in Celebration of the 70th Anniversary of National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods” and 1988: “A Sabbath Worship Service in Celebration, 75th Anniversary, National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods.” The fact that Norma Levitt continues to use Sabbath through the 1980s is surprising given her repeated use of Shabbat in her 1969 President’s Message, e.g., “the Shabbat meal” and “Havdalah service for the conclusion of the Shabbat.” Perhaps she saw Sabbath as a more formal variant of this word, appropriate for ceremonial contexts like an installation service, in contrast to her use of Shabbat in spoken language.

The installation services also offer evidence of the increasing use of Hebrew in another formal context: how deceased leaders are identified. The 1983 program adds an asterisk to their names, defined below on the page as “Zichronah leverachah: May her memory be for blessing.” This is in contrast to past NFTS materials, which used the phrase “of blessed memory” when referring to deceased people, such as speeches by Jane Evans in 1968 and Frieda Rosett in 1952.¹⁴ Finally, we see a transition from writing blessings in English transliteration (1967) to writing them in Hebrew letters (1988).

Another transition evident in the installation services is how sisterhood presidents are named. The 1967, 1969, and 1971 programs list all presidents as “Mrs. [Husband],” e.g., Mrs. Abram Simon and Mrs. Louis A. Rosett. The 1983 program lists the past presidents in this way but gives the full names of the new installees without their husbands’ names, e.g., Constance Kreshtool and Dolores Wilkenfeld. The 1988 program applies the new standard to past presidents as well, but it also lists their husbands in parentheses – Carrie O. (Mrs. Abram) Simon

and Frieda (Mrs. Louis A.) Rosett – perhaps paying homage to this practice that reigned for so many years but that by 1988 was seen as old-fashioned or sexist, one of several “naming practices which render women invisible.”¹⁵

The transition from Mrs. Husband to women’s full names was certainly influenced by second-wave feminism in the United States. But this change happened in the NFTS materials a bit later than one might expect, given the discourse about sexist language in the mid-1970s.¹⁶ This lag in the adoption of a feminist change in language – in line with the language of the resolutions discussed above – might be attributed to the formal nature of installation ceremonies. Perhaps in less formal contexts sisterhood members made this transition a bit earlier.

UNIONGRAMS

Although I was not able to trace instances of Mrs. [Husband] in NFTS documents from the 1960s and ‘70s, earlier documents indicate that this practice was always somewhat variable. A fruitful source of data on this issue is Uniongrams: decorated telegram-like cards that individuals could send to family and friends, especially with holiday greetings, as a fundraiser for the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and HUC-JIR. The American Jewish Archives include several Uniongrams sent by presidents of NFTS to leaders around the country, as well as ones sent by women chairing the Uniongram program.¹⁷

Some early Uniongram writers signed their name as Mrs. [Husband], such as Mrs. Abram Simon from 1915 to 1917. But some women, especially in the 1940s, signed their own name and included their husband’s name in parentheses: (Mrs. Hugo) Reina K.G. Hartmann. Of course if a woman was single, she would sign her full name, such as on a Uniongram signed “Jane Evans” in 1934. Perhaps those who were married were concerned that not including their husband’s name would suggest that they were single. Or perhaps this was not a consideration; Mrs. [Husband] may have simply been the practice everyone was accustomed to. By the 1940s a common practice was for married women to sign their full name above a typed version of their husband’s name. An example is this Uniongram from the war period:

Rosh Ha-shono, 1944

“Grant, O God, that Thy word may be our guide.”

In the arduous days that yet lie before us, let us all pray for the hour when “the sound of the Shofor shall announce the good tidings; peace, peace be unto him who is far off and unto him who is near.”

May the New Year grant us that prayer!

May the New Year bring us an early victory!

May the New Year bring justice to all mankind!

Sincerely,

Vera B. Baum

Mrs. Harold Baum, Chairman

National Committee on Uniongrams

We also see individual variation: in 1923, the president of NFTS signed her name (Mrs. J. Walter) Stella H. Freiberg, but from 1924 to 1928 she signed it Mrs. J. Walter Freiberg. Perhaps someone read her 1923 Uniongram and suggested to her that it would be more fitting for a NFTS president to use only her husband's name. Or perhaps she simply changed her preference on her own. On the other hand, this change was not permanent; in 1931 she signed a Uniongram (Mrs. Joe) Stella Freiberg. Clearly individuals varied in how they signed their names in the early 20th century.

Uniongrams also offer evidence of the increasing use of Hebrew among NFTS leaders. In this case, the increase seems to have happened in the 1940s, earlier than in the resolutions. In Uniongrams in 1915 through 1917, Mrs. Abram Simon greeted her fellow Reform leaders with "Happy New Year" and did not include any Hebrew words. The same is true for Mrs. Joseph Wisenfeld and Mrs. J. Walter Freiberg over the next several years. Hebrew words were not used in the Uniongrams in this collection until 1939: "The Uniongram should be used for Rosh Hashono (September 14th) to express words of good cheer and friendship." Throughout the 1940s several leaders used the word Rosh Ha-shono in their greetings, and a few also used "Shofor," as in Mrs. Baum's 1944 message reproduced above. In the late 1940s, leaders began to use a new Hebrew phrase: "L'shono Tovo Tikosevu," as we see in Uniongrams from Frieda Rosett and others. In short, by examining New Years Uniongrams sent by NFTS leaders, we can see variation in the signature of names and a trend of increasing use of Hebrew words.

LANGUAGE CHANGES IN CONTEXT

The NFTS/WRJ sources examined thus far – resolutions, programs for installation and award ceremonies, Uniongrams, art calendars, and other sisterhood documents – offer evidence of several changes in the past century: an increase in the use of Hebrew words, a transition from Ashkenazi to Israeli-influenced Hebrew pronunciation, and a (slightly delayed) adoption of some feminist linguistic innovations. As the various data sources indicate, these changes did not happen overnight. They happened gradually, with people of different backgrounds, ages, regions, and orientations adopting certain linguistic features before others. Individuals varied in their language use: some used two variants of the same word, like Sabbath and Shabbat, when speaking or writing to different audiences (or even in the same document), and some shifted over time in favor of a particular variant. Even after an individual began to use a particular variant, she sometimes continued to use the alternative in certain contexts, especially ceremonial ones. This type of diversity is common in language change around the world. The transition from one way of saying something to another in a given community involves both inter-speaker and intra-speaker variation.¹⁸

Another hallmark of language changes is that they do not occur in a vacuum. They are heavily influenced by – and also contribute to – socio-historical phenomena. The changes found in the sisterhood documents are part of broader changes in language, identity, and religious life among Reform Jews and American Jews more broadly.

Reform movement

The increase in the use of Hebrew words and the transition to Israeli-influenced pronunciation are part of the Reform movement's trends toward more traditional observance and text study and toward greater embrace of Zionism. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, the Reform movement emphasized the moral and universal aspects of Judaism over ritual observance and ethnic distinctiveness. The 1885 Pittsburgh Platform stated, "We hold that all such Mosaic and rabbinical laws as regulate diet, priestly purity, and dress originated in ages and under the influence of ideas entirely foreign to our present mental and spiritual state... We consider ourselves no longer a nation, but a religious community, and therefore expect neither a return to Palestine, nor a sacrificial worship under the sons of Aaron, nor the restoration of any of the laws concerning the Jewish state."¹⁹

The 1937 Columbus Platform called for a greater role of traditional observance: "Judaism as a way of life requires in addition to its moral and spiritual demands, the preservation of the Sabbath, festivals and Holy Days, the retention and development of such customs, symbols and ceremonies as possess inspirational value." It also took a more Zionist stance: "We affirm the obligation of all Jewry to aid in [Palestine's] up-building as a Jewish homeland by endeavoring to make it not only a haven of refuge for the oppressed but also a center of Jewish culture and spiritual life."²⁰

By 1999, the Reform movement had shifted even more in the direction of religious observance and study. The "Statement of Principles for Reform Judaism" included: "We are called by Torah to lifelong study in the home, in the synagogue and in every place where Jews gather to learn and teach. Through Torah study we are called to מצוות (*mitzvot*), the means by which we make our lives holy... Some of these מצוות (*mitzvot*), sacred obligations, have long been observed by Reform Jews; others, both ancient and modern, demand renewed attention as the result of the unique context of our own times." The 1999 stance on Zionism was even stronger than in 1937: "We are committed to מדינת ישראל (*Medinat Yisrael*), the State of Israel, and rejoice in its accomplishments. We affirm the unique qualities of living in ארץ ישראל (*Eretz Yisrael*), the land of Israel, and encourage עלייה (*aliyah*), immigration to Israel."²¹

A number of factors contributed to these trends over the century, as several scholars have discussed.²² These factors include the influx of Eastern European Jews into Reform congregations and leadership positions (notably including Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver), the birth and increasing prominence of the State of Israel, the post-war migration to the suburbs and competition with Conservative congregations and American middle-class options more broadly, and the spiritual seeking of the late 20th century.

Along with these trends came a progression in the Reform movement's attitude toward Hebrew liturgy and Israeli Hebrew. Although the 1885 platform does not mention language, prayers in that era were generally recited in English or German. The 1937 platform calls for "the cultivation of distinctive forms of religious art and music and the use of Hebrew, together with the vernacular, in our worship and instruction." By 1976, a reference to the Hebrew language

made it into the platform, the “Centenary Perspective”: “Born as Hebrews in the ancient Near East, we are bound together like all ethnic groups by language, land, history, culture, and institutions.”²³ And the 1999 “Statement of Principles” emphasized the importance of both textual and Israeli Hebrew: “We affirm the importance of studying Hebrew, the language of Torah and Jewish liturgy, that we may draw closer to our people’s sacred texts... we urge Jews who reside outside Israel to learn Hebrew as a living language.”

These changes in attitudes toward Hebrew liturgy and Israeli Hebrew are evident in a comparison of the Hebrew words used in the platforms. The 1885 Pittsburgh Platform includes only two Hebrew words: *Gehenna* and *Eden*, which are translated in parentheses (Hell and Paradise). The 1937 Columbus Platform uses only one Hebrew word, *Torah*, and includes much language that today would be associated with Christianity, e.g., “We worship Him as the Lord of the universe and as our merciful Father.” The 1937 document also includes English versions of Hebrew phrases that appear in 1999: “charity” (cf. *tzedakah*), “in the Divine image” (cf. *b’tzelem Elohim*), and “The non-Jew who accepts our faith” (cf. *gerim*). The 1976 Centenary Perspective includes fewer of these English phrases but still only includes two Hebrew words: *Torah* and *aliyah*.

The major shift is evident in the 1999 Statement of Principles. This document includes 22 distinct Hebrew words and phrases, some of which occur more than once. 20 of these are written in Hebrew letters, Romanization, and translation (including *kedushah*, *mitzvot*, *bein adam la Makom*, and *ahavat olam*). Two Hebrew words – *Torah* and *Shabbat* – are written only in English letters, suggesting that the authors considered them integrated enough into English that the readers of this platform would not need translation.

As we can see from these rabbinic platforms, the language changes in NFTS/WRJ documents analyzed above are part of a broader trend within the Reform movement. The increasing use of Hebrew words and Israeli-influenced spelling reflect Reform Jews’ changing orientations toward religiosity and Israel. In addition, the influence also goes in the other direction, as language has an impact on individuals’ orientations. When individuals said, wrote, heard, and read these Hebrew words, they may have felt their connection to religiosity and Israel strengthened. Language not only reflects social trends; it also helps to constitute them.²⁴

American Jews

The use of selected Hebrew words as part of speech and writing is certainly not a new phenomenon; it has been a hallmark of Diaspora Jewish life for millennia. In languages as diverse as Arabic, Italian, and Malayalam, Jews have distinguished themselves from their non-Jewish neighbors through the use of Hebrew words, as well as through other distinctive features. Yiddish and Ladino are exceptions in the history of Jewish languages: a Germanic language and a Hispanic language maintained for centuries away from their lands of origin. For the most part, Jewish communities that moved to a new land took on the local language within a few generations and made it their own, incorporating Hebrew words to refer to holidays, ritual items and foods, lifecycle events, and other religious concepts. For example, Egyptian Judeo-Arabic

includes hundreds of Hebrew words, such as *gōy* (Muslim), *ḥazzān* (cantor), *huppa* (marriage), and *ḥaroṣēt* (charoset). A common Judeo-Italian phrase is *ngayin arang se ne pozza* (may the evil eye be powerless); note the use of *ayin hara* (evil eye) with the “ng” pronunciation of the Hebrew letter ayin. Judeo-Malayalam, spoken by Jews in southern India, includes the phrase *miniyān kuti* ‘joined the quorum, had his Bar Mitzvah’. Note how in all of these examples, Hebrew words are incorporated into the grammar and pronunciation systems of the spoken languages.²⁵

Theoretically one could be a practicing Jew and not use any Hebrew words outside of a liturgical context. But even 20th-century American Jews, whom some have derided as less learned than other Diaspora communities,²⁶ continued this practice of linguistic distinction. Across the denominational spectrum, they incorporated words from textual Hebrew into their English. They also used influences from Yiddish, an ancestral language for the majority of American Jewry. The rise of Zionism and the birth of the State of Israel led to a new source of Jewish linguistic enrichment for American Jews and other communities around the world: Modern Hebrew. Words and other influences from these three sources – textual Hebrew (and Aramaic), Yiddish, and Israeli Hebrew – make the English of Jews distinct from the English of other Americans, connecting American Jews to Diaspora Jews around the world and throughout history.²⁷

The sources analyzed in this paper indicate that female leaders of American Reform Judaism participated in these linguistic practices, especially the use of Hebrew words. Throughout the 20th century they periodically used Hebrew words in their resolutions, Uniongrams, program guides, speeches, and other materials. The use of Hebrew words increased over the century, especially in the 1940s (evident in Uniongrams) and 1970s (evident in Resolutions), and their pronunciation changed from Ashkenazi to Israeli, mostly in the 1960s and ‘70s. These trends reflect changes in the Reform movement’s orientation toward tradition and Zionism, but they also reflect American Jews’ increasing comfort expressing distinctness. A few generations after the mass waves of Eastern European immigration – and even farther removed from the German immigration of many Reform leaders’ ancestors – Jews in America felt enough distance from their immigrant ancestors to be comfortable as Americans. They also lived in a society where – since the late 1960s – it was “cool” to be ethnically distinct and to express that distinctness through language. We see an example of this in United States census data from the middle of the century, as analyzed by Joshua Fishman.

Through 1970 the census asked Americans what language they spoke “at home in earliest childhood.” For languages spoken by turn-of-the-century immigrants and their descendents, including Italian, Norwegian, and Yiddish, we see a curvilinear (decreasing, then increasing) pattern in the numbers. Although a wave of Yiddish-speaking immigrants arrived in the U.S. between 1940 and 1960, the number of people who claimed Yiddish as a mother tongue dropped significantly in that period (from 1,751,100 to 964,410). And although very few Yiddish-speaking immigrants came to the U.S. between 1960 and 1970, the number of people who claimed Yiddish as a mother tongue increased significantly (to 1,593,990 in 1970). This increase

likely reflects changing attitudes toward ethnic distinctiveness in the late 1960s.²⁸ The increasing use of Hebrew in NFTS documents in the 1970s and beyond can be seen as part of this trend.

It is clear that Reform Jews have increased in their use of Hebrew words over the last several decades. How do contemporary American Reform Jews compare to American Jews of other denominations? I tested this, among other questions, in a survey I conducted in 2008 with sociologist Steven M. Cohen.²⁹ We sent a survey invitation to about 600 Jews of various backgrounds and asked them to forward it to others. Over 40,000 people responded. Although the survey sample is not representative of American Jews (for example, it over-represents women and more Jewishly educated Jews), it is fairly comparable to random national samples in terms of respondents' denominations, with a slight over-representation of Reconstructionists. Although we cannot draw conclusions from the survey data about the population as a whole, we can make comparisons between sub-groups within the sample (Table 1).

Table 1: Percentage of Jews according to self-selected denomination who report using certain words:

	Reform (N=8962)	Reconstructionist (N=769)	Conservative (N=8296)	Orthodox (N=1812)
kal vachomer (all the more so)	3%	5%	7%	41%
balagan (mess)	12%	20%	25%	59%
davka (specifically, to make a point of)	9%	16%	21%	60%
nu? (well?)	59%	70%	71%	84%
daven (pray)	49%	72%	76%	95%
shul (synagogue)	35%	59%	68%	94%
temple	50%	15%	16%	2%
Passover	45%	30%	28%	8%

* N is the number of respondents in each group. Other options, including secular, are not shown.

Table 1 indicates that Reform Jews are much less likely to report using several words from Hebrew, Aramaic, and Yiddish than people who affiliate with other denominations. For the first six words in Table 1, we see a trend toward greater use through the denominations: Reform, Reconstructionist, Conservative, and Orthodox. We see the opposite trend for English variants: Reform Jews are much more likely to report using the words “temple” and “Passover.”³⁰ When we look at those who report attending services more than monthly, Reform Jews are a bit closer to the other denominations in their use of these words, but the differences are still significant. In short, even though Reform Jews have increased in their use of Hebrew words, they still differ from those who identify with other movements in the use of English peppered with words from Hebrew, Aramaic, and Yiddish.

CONCLUSION

This analysis of Reform sisterhood documents has pointed to two linguistic trends in the 20th century: an increase in the use of Hebrew words (both traditional and Israeli) and a transition from Ashkenazi to Israeli-influenced spelling/pronunciation of Hebrew words. These changes are part and parcel of changes in the Reform movement's orientation toward religiosity and Israel. In addition, we see changes in the language of sisterhood materials in line with American language more broadly: the incorporation of feminist linguistic innovations, changes in word meanings, and a decrease in language now seen as archaic or offensive to another group. This analysis reminds us that Reform Jews in America are heavily influenced both by their connection to Judaism and by their American identities. It also offers evidence of the importance of language in how individuals indicate who they are and what is important to them.

¹ I would like to thank the editors of this volume for inviting me to write this paper, the staff of the Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives for helping with the archival research, and the staff of WRJ for answering questions about resolutions.

² Women of Reform Judaism, "WRJ Resolutions Procedures." *To Do Justly: Creating a Critical Issues Task Force* (New York: Women of Reform Judaism), 1999.

³ These numbers are based on number of individual Hebrew words used in a given resolution. If the word "Torah" is used three times in a resolution, that word is only counted once. But if it is used in two resolutions in the same year, it is counted twice. Book and program titles are not counted as Hebrew words, e.g., *Mishneh Torah* (2007) and "K'dushat HaGuf: The Holiness of the Body" (2005).

⁴ The calculations here include only years in which the NFTS/WRJ passed at least one resolution, a total of 71 years between 1915 and 2011.

⁵ Even a number of resolutions about genocide from the late 1940s and 1950s do not mention the Jews' specific concern about this issue, although there are other resolutions regarding the plight of Jewish survivors attempting to gain entry to Palestine.

⁶ Robert L. Cooper, "The avoidance of androcentric generics." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 50: 5-20, 1984. See also Deborah Cameron, *Feminism and Linguistic Theory* (London: Macmillan), 1985; Ann Bodine, "Androcentrism in Prescriptive Grammar: Singular 'they', sex-indefinite 'he', and 'he or she'." *Language in Society* 4: 129-46, 1975.

⁷ The American Jewish Archives collection of calendars is missing the 1965-6 edition, so I am not sure if this change happened in 1965 or 1966.

⁸ MS 353.

⁹ See below about "Sisterhood Sabbath."

¹⁰ Penelope Eckert, "Age as a sociolinguistic variable," in *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*, Florian Coulmas (ed.) (Oxford: Blackwell), 151-167, 1997.

¹¹ <http://www.wrj.org/Advocacy/OrAmiAwards.aspx>

¹² http://www.wrj.org/Objects/Documents/Programs/wrj_orami_2011-12.pdf

¹³ MSS 720.

¹⁴ MSS 745, MS 353.

¹⁵ Anne Pauwels, "Linguistic sexism and feminist linguistic activism," In *The Handbook of Language and Gender*, Janet Holmes and Miriam Meyerhoff (eds.). (Malden, MA: Blackwell), 2003, pp. 550-570. p. 565.

¹⁶ E.g., Una Stannard, *Mrs Man* (San Francisco: Germainbooks), 1977.

¹⁷ MS 73.

¹⁸ William Labov, *Sociolinguistic Patterns* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), 1972.

¹⁹ <http://ccarnet.org/rabbis-speak/platforms/declaration-principles/>

²⁰ <http://ccarnet.org/rabbis-speak/platforms/guiding-principles-reform-judaism/>

²¹ <http://ccarnet.org/rabbis-speak/platforms/statement-principles-reform-judaism/>

²² E.g., Hasia R. Diner, *The Jews of the United States, 1654 to 2000* (Berkeley: University of California Press), 2004. Howard Greenstein, *Turning Point: Zionism and Reform Judaism* (Chico, CA: Scholars Press), 1981.

Lawrence Grossman, "Jewish Religious Denominations," in *The Cambridge Companion to American Judaism*, ed.,

Dana Evan Kaplan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 2005, 81-99. Dana Evan Kaplan, *American Reform Judaism: An Introduction* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press), 2003. Dana Evan Kaplan, ed., *Contemporary Debates in American Reform Judaism: Conflicting Visions* (New York: Routledge), 2001. Richard Levy, *A Vision of Holiness: The Future of Reform Judaism* (New York: URJ Press), 2005. Michael A. Meyer, *Response to Modernity: A History of the Reform Movement in Judaism* (New York: Oxford University Press), 1988. Jonathan D. Sarna, *American Judaism: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press), 2004.

²³ <http://ccarnet.org/rabbis-speak/platforms/reform-judaism-centenary-perspective/>

²⁴ e.g., Penelope Eckert, *Linguistic Variation as Social Practice* (New York: Cambridge University Press), 2000.

²⁵ Max Weinreich, *History of the Yiddish Language*, ed. Paul Glasser, transl. Shlomo Noble and Joshua Fishman. (New Haven: Yale University Press), 2008[1973]. David L. Gold, "Jewish Intralinguistics as a Field of Study," *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 30 (1981): 31-46. Jewish Language Research Website: <http://www.jewish-languages.org/>.

²⁶ Gershon Shaked, "Judaism in Translation: Thoughts on the Alexandria Hypothesis," in *Hebrew in America: Perspectives and Prospects*, Alan Mintz, ed. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press), 1993, 277-295. Leon Wieseltier, "Language, Identity, and the Scandal of American Jewry," *Journal of Jewish Communal Service* 86/1-2 (2011): 14-22.

²⁷ Sarah Bunin Benor, "Do American Jews Speak a 'Jewish Language'? A Model of Jewish Linguistic Distinctiveness," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 99/2 (2009): 230-269. Sarah Bunin Benor, "Towards a New Understanding of Jewish Language in the Twenty-First Century," *Religion Compass* 2.6 (2008): 1062-1080.

²⁸ Joshua A. Fishman, "Mother-Tongue Claiming in the United States since 1960: Trends and Correlates," in *The Rise and Fall of the Ethnic Revival: Perspectives on Language and Ethnicity*, ed. Joshua A. Fishman, Michael H. Gertner, Esther G. Lowy, and William G. Milán (New York: Mouton de Gruyter), 1985: 107-94.

²⁹ Sarah Bunin Benor and Steven M. Cohen, "Talking Jewish: The 'Ethnic English' of American Jews," in *Ethnicity and Beyond: Theories and Dilemmas of Jewish Group Demarcation. Studies in Contemporary Jewry*, vol. 25, ed. Eli Lederhendler (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 2011, 62-78. Sarah Bunin Benor, "Mensch, Bentsh, and Balagan: Variation in the American Jewish Linguistic Repertoire," *Language and Communication* 31/2 (2011): 141-154. See more information about the survey here: <http://huc.edu/survey/09/>.

³⁰ These words, as well as "shul," were asked with respect to several audiences. The data reported here are from the question: "How do you refer to [the Jewish house of worship / the springtime holiday of freedom] when speaking to Jews who are engaged in religious life?"