

Remembrance and Research

The Journal of the Israel Oral History Association

Number 2 | January 2018

**Narratives of German-Jewish Immigrants to Palestine-Israel:
A Source for Oral History and Discourse Analysis**

Anne Betten

**Telling Stories as Means of Argumentation: Narratives about Youth Experiences
in Interviews with Second Generation "Yekkes"**

Anne Betten

**Pioneers, Losers, White Collars: Narratives of Masculinity Among German-Speaking
Jews in Palestine/Israel**

Patrick Farges

**Metaphors in the Life Story of a German-Jewish Immigrant to Palestine/ Israel.
How Metaphorical Constructions and Remembering Process Interweave**

Simona Leonardi

"You Have No Right to Remain Silent": The Israel Police Oral History Project

Shlomi Chetrit

Book Review

Voices from Chernobyl: The Oral History of a Nuclear Disaster
by Svetlana Alexievich

Judy Lev

Introductory Note	[3]
Narratives of German-Jewish Immigrants to Palestine-Israel: A Source for Oral History and Discourse Analysis Anne Betten	[11]
Telling Stories as Means of Argumentation: Narratives about Youth Experiences in Interviews with Second Generation "Yekkes" Anne Betten	[15]
Pioneers, Losers, White Collars: Narratives of Masculinity Among German-Speaking Jews in Palestine/Israel. Patrick Farges	[33]
Metaphors in the Life Story of a German-Jewish Immigrant to Palestine/ Israel. How Metaphorical Constructions and Remembering Process Interweave Simona Leonardi	[51]
"You Have No Right to Remain Silent": The Israel Police Oral History Project Shlomi Chetrit	[69]
Book Review Voices from Chernobyl - The Oral History of a Nuclear Disaster by Svetlana Alexievich Judy Lev	[83]

The Journal of the Israel Oral History Association,
is dedicated to the promotion of knowledge, research and
discussion on issues of oral history.

Editors

Margalit Bejarano
Judith Reifen-Ronen

ILOHA Board of Directors

Dr. Margalit Bejarano, Chair, Moshe Frankfurter, Adv.,
Sara Benvenisti, Dr. Miriam Gez-Abigal, Dr. Sharon Kaniggisser-Cohen,
Judy Lev, Dr. Moshe Mossek, Dr. Judith Reifen-Ronen, Ilan Shtayer

English Editor: Judy Lev

Graphic Design: Neta Lipshitz

Layout Design: Ephraim Ronen

Printed by: Ayalon Print, Jerusalem

© All rights reserved by **The Israel Oral History Association**

ISSN 2414-7559

Articles of scholars and experts in the field are welcome to be submitted,
both in Hebrew and English. Articles should not exceed 4,000 words,
including references in standard format / footnotes.

Articles should be sent in WORD format to the editors:

margalit.bejarano@mail.huji.ac.il | j-ronen@zahav.net.il

Submissions are reviewed by the **Remembrance and Research**
editors, as well as by external lecturers.

Introductory Note

We are pleased to present the second issue of *Remembrance and Research* - the journal of the Israel Oral History Association. ILOHA was founded in 2001 and among its objectives were the cultivation of Oral History projects, fostering the preservation of individual and collective memories, strengthening coordination between parties involved in oral documentation, professionalization, and development of standard work procedures. We also strive to cultivate relations with Oral Historians outside Israel, as well as disseminating information and arousing public awareness regarding the importance of Oral History. We believe that the journal *Remembrance and Research*, dedicated exclusively to Oral History, provides a central forum for discussing the professional aspects of Oral History as well as acting as a bridge between researchers and interviewers in Israel and abroad.

[3]

In honor of the 70th anniversary of the founding of the State of Israel we published several articles dealing with Oral Histories with and about Israeli Prime Ministers. Two of them raise the argument of oblivion and vagueness that can be best defined as "discriminative collective memory". We also published an article on the history of the Israel police as well as a testimony relating to the early days of Israel's diplomatic service. This issue also includes articles on the preservation of ethnic memories in Israel and abroad and on the reflection of identity in the language of immigrants and their children, based on the study of German spoken by the Yekkes.

Abstracts: The English Section

The English Section opens with three articles on the Yekkes in Israel, based on interviews conducted by Prof. Anne Betten of the University of Salzburg – a linguist who studied the German spoken by Jewish immigrants and their children from Germany and Austria who settled in the Land of Israel. In addition to linguistic aspects, the interviews

constitute a corpus of life stories that can be analyzed from different perspectives, such as immigration, identity and inter-generational relations. A copy of the interviews was deposited in the Oral History Division, Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

[4]

Telling Stories as Means of Argumentation: Narratives about Youth Experiences in Interviews with Second Generation “Yekkes”

Anne Betten

When asked how it was to be a child of Yekkes, the second generation often inserts stories that justify their former behaviors. In order to avoid direct criticism, they nonetheless blame Yekkish attitudes in general and their parents' attitudes in particular. On the other hand, the second generation is nowadays interested in inserting into the cultural memory of Israel the contribution of the Yekkish immigration towards building the country. The many stories in this article illustrate the difficulties the parents of the interviewees had to cope with in Eretz Israel. The article combines discourse-analytical approaches to story-telling in Oral History interviews with research on the selective mechanisms of memory utilized in the process of autobiographical construction.

Pioneers, Losers, White Collars: Narratives of Masculinity Among German-Speaking Jews in Palestine/Israel

Patrick Farges

Oral histories reveal less about the events as such than about their meaning (Portelli) and thus invite us to inquire into the socio-cultural interpretations of historical experience – including gender. In the present paper, I wish to analyze how the Yekke-case of forced migration was lived and narrated as a gendered experience, and how, in particular, men (and women) present self-narratives of the changes that occurred, throughout the migration process, as well as in the gendered representations of manliness and masculinity.

While representations of German-Jewish masculinity (e.g. the 'muscle Jew') were brought over from Europe, new representations also emerged in Palestine/Israel: e.g. the Jewish settler, kibbutznik, and 'pioneer.' The oral histories also voice the experiences which were felt regarding downward social mobility, of 'losing' social status, thus re-defining traditional gender frames within families. The oral histories hence become sites of gendered identity work and sites of multiple reconfigurations of masculinity.

[5]

Metaphors in the Life Story of A German- Jewish Immigrant to Palestine/Israel

Simona Leonardi

Contributions to biography research have stressed the role of metaphors in the process of recollection and (re)construction of a person's life-story. This article aims to show how a close linguistic investigation of the metaphorical formulations used by Hilde Rudberg in her 1991 interview with Anne Betten can prove fruitful in revealing Rudberg's emotional involvement, which is not explicitly verbalized in the course of the interview. A fine-grained linguistic analysis focusing especially on metaphors, but also applying tools from other linguistic frameworks (significantly narrative analysis and perspectives on agency) can thus help to shed light on the ways Hilde Rudberg makes sense of her own past in her interview.

"You Have No Right to Remain Silent": The Israel Police Oral History Project

Shlomi Chetrit

The Israel Police Oral History Project aims to record the memories of veteran police officers in order to create a basis for research on law enforcement and internal security history in Israel, and to document the significant current activities of the Israel Police. This article presents the project's goals and methodology, as well as the special challenges which are inherent to documenting the memories of Israel's law enforcers.

Metaphors in the Life Story of A German- Jewish Immigrant to Palestine/Israel.

[51]

How Metaphorical Constructions and
Remembering Process Interweave

Simona Leonardi

I. Introduction: the methodological approach

In her quite long narrative-biographical interview with Anne Betten, Hilde Rudberg tells her life story¹, that is, a narration of events, told at a particular time and from a specific perspective and selected from her 'life history', which corresponds to the experienced facts (Rosenthal 1993).

With regards to 'facts', it has to be stressed that one of the main assumptions of oral history is that sources are not mainly looked at for facts or data, but "rather as complex social constructs that are inherently subjective and thus offer multiple layers of meaning" (Freund 2009, 23). The emphasis is therefore less on providing a factual account and more on how events as well as subjective experiences and emotions are remembered. Stories may not be a factual account of an event; what is relevant is that they are both an individual memory and an interpretation of the event, thus providing an opportunity to capture people's feelings, emotions and expectations.

Dr. habil. Simona Leonardi, prof. of Germanic philology, University Federico II Naples; her publications are mainly in the areas of metaphor analysis, conversation analysis, narratology and historical semantics and pragmatics

¹ For details about the corpus and related bibliography, see Betten in this volume, introduction; see also Betten (1995) and Betten / Du-nour (2000).

German language contributions to biography research have especially stressed the role of metaphors in the process of recollection and (re)construction of the life-story by the individual, since metaphors can express and structure perspectives and evaluations, wishes and emotions; they are thus the perceptual and conceptual structures which we normally impose upon our wordly experiences. (Straub & Sichler 1989, 230). Metaphors are accordingly an important device in organising our experience (see also Schmitt 2000; Schwarz-Friesel 2013 for the role of metaphors in verbalizing emotions).

Following these studies, I use the concept of metaphor as developed within the framework of cognitive linguistics (cf. Lakoff & Johnson, e.g. 1980 and 1999), according to which metaphors, far from being merely an empty rhetorical device, are linguistic manifestations of metaphorically structured concepts, since most of our conceptual system is metaphorically organised. The 'transfer' inherent to metaphors consists of mapping elements from a domain based on familiar and repeated sensory experience (source domain, e.g. journey) to a domain which is more complex and abstract and is therefore more difficult to verbalise (target domain, e.g. life). The result of the mapping is a metaphorical conceptualization, life is a journey, that can be expressed in various ways (see below, ex. 2, for a record of this conceptualization by Hilde Rudberg).

Below I shall try to show how a fine-grained linguistic analysis focussing especially on metaphors, but also applying tools from other linguistic frameworks (significantly narrative analysis² and perspectives on agency³), can help to shed light on the ways Hilde Rudberg makes sense of her own past in her interview.

² See the seminal works by Labov & Waletzky (1967) and also Labov (1972); for a survey see Labov (in prep.).

³ Cf. Duranti (2001).

II. Metaphors for dramatic changes in Hilde Rudberg's life story

Hilde Rudberg (née David) was born in 1909 in Breslau/Wrocław (now Poland, at that time part of the German Empire). After she graduated in law and earned her PhD, in 1933 she had to break off her legal clerkship. She became a member of the staff of the Youth Aliyah Office and went to *hachshara* (work preparation program); in 1938 she emigrated to Palestine, where she first lived in a kibbutz. After she left the kibbutz she moved to Jerusalem and did various jobs (among others, shorthand typist and secretary). In 1949 she passed the "foreign advocates examination" and became a legal officer at the Ministry of Communication. The interview with Hilde Rudberg, which was conducted by Anne Betten, took place in Jerusalem on April 28th, 1991.



Dr. Hilde Rudberg at home in Jerusalem, April 28, 1991

Photo: By interviewer Anne Betten

II.1. "My world has collapsed"

After a brief part where Hilde Rudberg speaks about her relationship to the German and the Hebrew languages since she has lived in Israel/Palestine, Anne Betten poses a rather open question regarding Rudberg's career, its relationship with her life in Breslau and life in Israel, the role of emigration in her life, ending up asking about her childhood. Hilde Rudberg tells about her childhood and youth in Breslau, stressing that she did not grow up in a religious home, that

[54]

she had a mixed circle of friends, Jews and non-Jews, and that during her university years she did not experience any anti-Semitism. She says that she began to experience ‘troubles’ (*Störungen*) during her legal clerkship, which she began in 1932. As a consequence of this, she says, “they threw me out of the court” (*man hat mich rausgeworfen aus=m gericht*), using an image suggesting violent expulsion, where she is the individual object (me) of an external violence. As an illustration for this event she tells a story, which is presented in example (1):

(1) [Tape 1, Side A – 18m 43s – 22m 09s] (Full length of the interview: 2h 19m 49s ° Language: German)⁴

<u>HR: ä:m:: das wa:r is vielleicht für sie ä: auch ganz interessant HOLT LUFT ä: das wa:r wann war das doch wann das weihnachtsferien oder zu:r ja ich glaube aus=m gericht sind wir rausgeflogen im februar und ich war wohl ä:m: über neujahr oder januar irgendwann das kann das sein dass dass der dass</u>	<u>HR: uhm, that was is maybe for you also quite interesting IN-BREATH uh that was when was there were there were Christmas holidays or at, yes, I think we were forced out⁵ of the courts in February and I was was maybe uhm over the New Year period or sometime in January, it can be that</u>	001 002 003 004 005 006 007 008 009 010
AB: yeah		011
HR: <u>uh at that time Hitler had been elected, in January, yes, then I was with a friend in the mountains on holiday, then the courts were</u>		012 013

⁴ The German text is a simplified version of the transcription archived at the DGD of the IDS Mannheim (= IS_E_00110) and at the Oral History Division, Jerusalem (Interview no. (234)32); in the present case underlining means that text will be referred to in the analysis that follows (and not that it is simultaneous speech). For this example see also Betten (1995, 77ff.). For space reasons, I present the original German text only for the passages which will be examined in detail.

⁵ The German “aus=m gericht sind wir rausgeflogen” is an active predication (in the past tense) with a non-agentive subject (1st personal plural), as the verb *rausfliegen* implies a forced expulsion, without any volition on the part of the subject. An appropriate English equivalent is therefore a passive construction.

Metaphors in the life story of a German- Jewish immigrant

for some reason on vacation and I came back and then someone who worked with me		014
CLEARs HER THROAT at the court called me		015
actually he was a Christian and he said uhm “don’t come to the court tomorrow” and then I said “What’s going on?” and then he said “You’d better not come” and		016 017 018
<i>zu diesen tagen war dann die warn dann die <u>aktionen wo man die die juden aus den aus den gerichten rausgeworfen hat</u></i>	eh in those days were then there were then <u>the actions when they threw the the Jews out of courts -</u>	019 020 021 022
CLEARs HER THROAT and uh then I met this colleague on the street and he said – <u>that is evidence of how naïve we were</u> – “Don’t worry, I’m going to open a law firm and you will be my uhm eh my <i>shutafa</i> my		023 024 025
AB: yeah, yeah, yeah		026
HR: and you’ll be a partner of the the		027
AB: yes, hm		028
HR: law firm”, at that time he thought		029
AB: hm, hm; how did it–		030
HR: it could be possible and		031
AB: go further for you at the moment, well, I mean, I don’t intend to ask you w/ w/ w/ wa/ what how you perceived the whole thing at that time though it would be interesting, what did you think?		032 033 034
HR: hm IN-BREATH uh well		035
AB: <i>ham sie gleich erkannt dass das jetzt <u>zu ende is oder</u></i>	AB: you realised immediately that that was <u>the end</u> or	036 037
HR: nein	HR: no	038
AB: <i>ha:m gedacht das is vorübergehend↓</i>	AB: you thought that it was temporary	039 040
HR: <i>nein ä:: ä:: nein <u>ich hab wohl wohl gewusst dass es zu ende is aber was was ich mit mir mache das war mir völich ä völich ä: fraglich und ä: ganz ä:: ä: ohne das also also <u>meine meine welt is zusammengestürzt das is</u></u></i>	HR: no, eh, eh no, I think think I <u>knew it’s the end but what I was going to do with myself that was the question</u> and eh <u>completely</u> eh without that well well <u>my my world has collapsed</u>	041 042 043 044 045 046 047
AB: waren ihre	AB: were your	048
HR: <i>ä: ä das jedenfalls das is klar</i>	HR: eh eh that anyway that was <u>evident</u>	049 050
AB: parents already affected as regards their profession at that time may I ask what was your		051 052
HR: eh, yes, yes, yes, yes, yes, yes, yes for quite a long time		053
AB: father? yeah, yeah		054
HR: for quite a long time already, yes, quite a long time already he was was... my father had hardly any		055 056

[55]

[56]

AB: was your father self-		057
HR: income, well and		058
AB: employed or yes, yes		059
HR: ja ja ja ja ja und die die ä: hm	HR: yes, yes, yes, yes, and the	060
ä:: <u>ökonomische situation zu</u>	the uh hm eh <u>economic situation</u>	061
<u>hause war kata-</u>	<u>at home was</u>	062
AB: aber da war ja natürlich auch	AB: but this had also been of	063
noch	course preceded by the	064
HR: <u>strophal ja</u>	HR: <u>catastrophic</u>	065
AB: inflation, yeah yeah, I know your		066
HR: of course also yes and I		067
AB: father was a businessman well (from whom) did they		068
HR: yes yes yes yes		069
AB: have the business or what hm hm hm hm		070
HR: ja ja↓ ja↓ das war (halt) also	HR: yes yes yes that was (just)	071
es is	well it was	072
AB: hm:	AB: hm	073
HR: <u>alles ä:: alles kaputt</u>	HR: <u>everything everything was</u>	074
<u>gewesen↓ alles↓ ja↓ ja↓</u>	<u>shattered everything yes yes</u>	075

Hilde Rudberg frames her narration with a hint to the relevance of the following story for Anne Betten’s project (1,1-2) “uhm, that was is maybe for you also quite interesting”, i.e. in the actual process of recollection she selects an episode which she thinks could be particularly relevant for her interviewer and she stresses this explicitly, before she begins the actual story. According to the narrative model developed by Labov and Waletzky (1967)⁶, this frame can be regarded as an abstract. In the orientation section of the narrative, which according to the same model contains references to person, place, time and behavioural situation, the statements about time reveal that she is trying to locate the events chronologically (cf. 1,5–10): “Christmas holidays or [...] over the New Year period or sometime in January”, helping herself with the recollection of major historical events (“Hitler had been elected, in January”) or personal memories

6 According to this model, a narrative is sequentially structured and is comprised of the following parts: Abstract, Orientation, Complication, Resolution, Evaluation and Coda.

(“we were forced out of the courts in February”, “I was with a friend in the mountains on holiday, then the courts were for some reason on vacation”) serving as memory landmarks. It has to be noted that here she varies the image of violent expulsion she used before, because she says “we were forced out” (1,6). This choice still implies an abrupt departure, yet now not only is the focus no longer on her alone, as she is a member of a greater community (*we*), but the whole encoding is different, since in German (see above, footnote 5) the subject of the predication is encoded as an actor, i.e. it has no control over the action, without mentioning an external force which causes the expulsion, as in the previous case (albeit in an impersonal form). In comparison to the former formulation in German, the present one constitutes a mitigation (Duranti 2001).

[57]

The nucleus of the story, the complicating action, is the call from her Christian colleague, thanks to which Hilde Rudberg is prevented from directly experiencing “the actions when they threw the the Jews out of courts”, as she herself reports in the evaluation section (1,20-22). In this case she means the (semi)private, violent actions by Nazi mobs, not the subsequent dismissal of all Jewish civil servants, to which she referred at the beginning of her story. The encoding of this formulation focuses in German on “the Jews”, being grammatically the object, and semantically the patient, of an active impersonal predication, whose subject is the indefinite pronoun *man*. Interestingly, Rudberg adopts in this formulation an external perspective, as she uses the indefinite pronoun as a subject, with “the Jews” as an object, without making herself part of the group. She then tells about the call in reported speech, stressing that she did not imagine “What’s going on?” (1,17). Although all reported speech is actually constructed dialogue (Tannen 2007, 17), direct quotations require deictic and grammatical transformations that represent the words of the narrators through their own deictic centre (they are the ‘I’, their time is ‘now’, their place is ‘here’). Direct quotations are not necessarily accurate representations, nonetheless their deictic and prosodic shifts create a sense of present life that adds a tone of authenticity and veracity (Schiffrin 2003, 549; Tannen 2007). On the contrary, when it comes to explaining the reason for the call, Hilde

Rudberg summarizes it very briefly (“the actions when they threw the Jews out of courts” 1,20-22). She inserts direct speech again when she reports her meeting with the same colleague some days after; in this case the direct speech (only the colleague’s words are being reported) is preceded by an evaluation of the narrated events from a future perspective, “that is evidence of how naïve we were” (1,24), one in which it is well known what will happen in Germany and what will happen to European Jews in particular. Remarkably, in this evaluation the perspective is shared by both her and her colleague, since she says “we were”. As a matter of fact, of these dramatic moments in 1933 she doesn’t report the particularly dramatic details – rather the stress is on her low expectations regarding a dramatic outcome. (“What’s going on?”, 1,17) and on her colleague’s opinion that the difficult days will soon be over.

When this story is concluded, Anne Betten asks Hilde Rudberg whether she “realised immediately that that was the end or [not]” (1,36-37). Rudberg confirms this assumption, adopting the same metaphorical expression used by her interviewer “I knew it’s the end” (i.e. life in Breslau is without any future, a finished story). At this point, she inserts an explicit statement which focuses on her major concern “what I was going to do with myself that was the question” (1,42-44). This situation required a re-orientation of her plans for the future, a question which becomes central in the interview. It follows a further evaluation expressed metaphorically “my my world has collapsed” (1,45-46). By this metaphorical formulation Rudberg reveals her emotions; it is her whole world which has “collapsed” – the verb she uses (*zusammengestürzt*) evokes the image of a building falling down, a catastrophic image. Worth noting is that in this clause she uses the present perfect (*is zusammengestürzt*), i.e. she is back to the time when she experienced this. In the following she resumes the image of the ‘catastrophe’ several times, both lexically and on an iconic basis: when she tells of the “economic situation at home” (i.e. at her parents’, 1,61-62) she says it was “catastrophic” (1,65) and she intensifies this in (1,74-75) “everything was shattered (*kaputt*) everything yes yes”. Her environment resembles an object which is no longer functional. .

As already recalled, in this situation Hilde Rudberg's major concern is, "what I was going to do with myself that was the question" (1,42-44). In example 2, which begins a couple of minutes after ex. 1, she recalls how she tried to come to terms with the new reality she had to face:

[59]

(2) [Tape 1, Side A – 25m 25s – 26m 21s]

HR: <u>nein nein nein</u>	HR: no no, no,	001
as I told you well my my acquaintances eh my near nearest acquaintances were		002 003
AB: yeah		004
HR: <u>zionisten und ich bin in diesen kreis reingekommen und ä:: hm: geblieben das heißt d/ dass es</u>	HR: <u>zionists and I entered into this circle and uh hm stayed there, that is that it</u>	005 006 007
AB: and what does it mean now for your activity		008
HR: eh		009
AB: in Germany uh how did you imagine your situation at that time uh what what did you intend to achieve, to do, to organise and how did when when did you think well to draw consequences at that time, because, I ask this now so because you emigrated only in 1938 then, at the end of 1938 hm		010 011 012 013 014
HR: eh, yes, yes, that is eh, that		015
AB: hm		016
HR: <u>war ganz folgerichtig ich bin ä: ä:m: von von da ab wa:r ä wa der weg eigentlich vorgeschrie-</u>	HR: was quite <u>consistent,</u> from that time on I was was uh uhm <u>the path was actually laid down</u>	017 018 019 020
AB: <u>hmhm</u>	AB: hmhm	021
HR: <u>ben das heißt ä das ziel war auswanderung abe:r</u>	HR: I mean eh <u>the goal was emigration</u> but	022 023
AB: hm:	AB: hm	024
HR: <u>da hat verschiedenes ä: davor gestanden das</u>	HR: <u>various things stood in the way</u>	025 026

Hilde Rudberg says "I entered into this circle [circle of Zionist friends] and uh hm stayed there" (2,5-7). After she has been expelled from her previous environment ("thrown out"), after her "world collapsed", she looks for a possible new environment, which is why she "enters" the circle of Zionist friends. In what follows she stresses

[60]

the consistency of her decisions (2,17), adding that “the path was actually laid down” (2,19-20). This image suggests the conceptualization of her life as a journey; interestingly, in this formulation there is no trace of an agency⁷ on her side, the path is “laid down” (*vorgeschrieben*). Shortly after she expands *the life is a journey* metaphor, as she adds the ‘goal’ of the journey (“the goal was emigration”, 2,22-23) and prefigures in a flash forward the various obstacles which she will have to deal with (“various things stood in the way”, 2,25-26).

When some 15 minutes later Hilde Rudberg comes to speak of her parents, who died in the Shoah, she sheds further light on her feelings and perceptions during those difficult years:

(3) [Tape 1, side A – 42m 34s – 43m 59s]

AB: and your parents		001
HR: IN-BREATH my parents remained there		002
AB: and your parents died after you left		003
HR: yes		004
AB: in 1938 how often did you hear from your parents		005
HR: before I left I was back in Breslau and eh IN-BREATH		006
<u>mein vater hat gesagt was m/</u>	my father said “ <u>what happens to</u>	007
<u>was ä:: f/ was mit allen ge-</u>	<u>everybody else will happen with</u>	008
<u>schieht das wird auch mit uns</u>	<u>us all too” no one could ever</u>	009
<u>geschehen keiner hat eine eine</u>	<u>even faintly imagine uh what</u>	010
<u>natürlich im entferntesten ä: jä:</u>	<u>really happened no o-Not even</u>	011
<u>ä gedacht ä: was wirklich</u>	<u>I, no one. I had just eh it was</u>	012
<u>geschehen is niem/ auch ich</u>	<u>just clear to me as I left that</u>	013
<u>nich niemand ich hab bloß ä::</u>	<u>there will be war and eh that</u>	014
<u>mir war bloß klar als ich wegging</u>	<u>that will be for the Jews a sort of</u>	015
<u>dass dass krieg sein wird und ä:</u>	<u>a sentence of death but I meant</u>	016
<u>dass das für die juden ein ä::</u>	<u>in war and not otherwise.</u>	017
<u>sozusagen ein todesurteil is</u>		018

⁷ For the linguistic representation of “agency”, cf. Duranti (2001, 268), where it is defined as the “property of those entities (i) that have some degree of control over their own behavior, (ii) whose actions in the world affect other entities (and sometimes their own), and (iii) whose actions are the object of evaluation”.

I tried hard from here then to get a certificate for my parents, but I didn't succeed	019 020
---	------------

At first, having introduced it by “my father said” (3,7), Hilde Rudberg takes on her father’s voice: “what happens to everybody else will happen to us all too” (3,7-9). In this formulation she inserts her parents’ personal life history and destiny in a broader concept, which encompasses a multiplicity of destinies, but it also erases their personal identities. After that, Hilde Rudberg stresses the incommensurability of what happened, which is beyond any imagination: “no one could ever even faintly imagine uh what really happened [...] Not even I, no one” (3,9-12). As she already said before, it was clear to her (she uses several times expressions such as “that was evident” (e.g. 1,49-50, *das jedenfalls das is klar*) or “I knew” (1,41-42, *ich hab wohl wohl gewusst*) that it was the end (1,37), that her world has collapsed (1,45-46), that the economic situation was “catastrophic” (1,65), that everything was “kaputt” (1,74-75). In other words, she presents herself as a person who could clearly see how difficult the situation was. But in ex. 3 she stresses that “not even I” (3,12) could foresee what actually took place (3,9-11).

[61]

As a corollary to this assumption she recalls that “it was just clear to me [...] that there will be war and eh that that will be for the Jews a sort of a sentence of death but I meant in war and not otherwise” (3,12-17). Thus she maintains that at that time she could already foresee that the situation was highly dramatic, she is sure there would be war “that will be for the Jews a sort of a sentence of death”. The metaphorical expression “sentence of death” reveals her desperate prediction, but also that she is sure that their destiny is no longer in their own hands, they cannot escape the dramatic situation. It is up to an external authority to decide for them, and this decides for their death. From Rudberg’s present recollection, it appears that she thinks of those years as a period where there was no room for autonomous steering of one’s own life. As mentioned above, this view had been already expressed with regard to her own life, as she said “the path was actually laid down” (2,19-20).

Hilde Rudberg comes back again to those years some thirty minutes later, in a longer passage where she recollects how she, after some time in a kibbutz in Palestine/Israel, came to re join the law practice in Jerusalem, recalling also where she first worked after she left the kibbutz: at “the famous Kallen School”, which was founded by Miss Kallen, “a friend of Miss Szold” (i.e. Deborah Kallen).

As she wants to define the chronological setting for the school establishment, the image of the “catastrophe” returns: *noch [...] viele jahre bevor die [...] deutsche katastrophe war* (“many years before the uh the [...] German catastrophe took place”). This time the word “catastrophe”, which is here preceded by the adjective “German”, doesn’t occur in a part directly reporting events from those dramatic years. Rather, it is mentioned as the most relevant mark on her timeline, according to which she organises events, even those not linked with her personal experience: there is a time before and after “the German catastrophe”⁸. The use of this image with this connotation points again to the deep rift in her life caused by the Shoah

II.2. “I had the feeling I am withering”

As previously recalled, one of Hilde Rudberg’s concerns as her world collapses was “what I was going to do with myself” (1,42-43). This quest is not over with her immigration in Palestine/Israel, since

8 “The German Catastrophe” (*Die deutsche Katastrophe*) is also the title of a book written in 1946 by the German historian Friedrich Meinecke, but it is not likely that Hilde Rudberg has this book in mind, given that Meinecke sees the “the German Catastrophe” in the rise of National Socialism, which he sees as an “alien force occupying Germany”, though he continues to express anti-Semitic views. More probable is a hint or a reminiscence of the German edition of the book by the German-born historian Eva Reichmann, *Hostages of Civilisation. A Study of the Social Causes of Antisemitism*. (Association of Jewish Refugees Information 1945. London 1950), *Die Flucht in den Hass. Die Ursachen der deutschen Judenkatastrophe* (Frankfurt 1951), which focuses on anti-Semitism.

after a short time in a kibbutz she left it. In ex. no. 4 she tells about leaving the kibbutz.

(4) [Tape 1, side B – 21m 00s – 22m 56s]

[63]

AB: How long did you remain [in the kibbutz]? you left it then, yeah		001
hm		002
HR: yes, not so long, not so long		003
AB: no		004
HR: no, I've been still still from uh I mean it was already uh the the kibbutz that our group later founded, Elgut [i.e. Gal'ed], uh yes was still was was already planned, <u>but I didn't get there, I was had left Ra'anana</u>		005 006 007 008
AB: Did you leave with your husband, no?		009
HR: no, no eh no, no one could imagine <u>that I would leave it</u> , not even my husband and our our our highest authority there was Georg Josephthal		010 011 012
<u>und ä ich hab ihm eines tages gesagt ich: ä ich verlasse↓ und ä: ich: ä ich werd das heute abend ä:: in der assefa sagen↓ und da hat er gesagt ä: unter keinen umständen und untersteh dich nich ↑ und ä: wenn du wirklich gehen willst dann ä:: dann gehst du auf urlaub↓ und ä das hab ich getan</u>	and eh <u>one day</u> I told him "I uh I'm leaving and uh I uh am going to say it this evening at the <u>assefa</u> [assembly]" and then he said uh "under no circumstance and uh don't you dare and uh if you really wish to go then uh then you go on leave" and that was what I did	013 014 015 016 017 018 019 020 021 022
AB: May I ask you about the inner causes		023
HR: without		024
AB: I mean without your husband to leave		025
HR: uh absolutely		026
AB: that must have been quite a decision, well		027
HR: eh, yes		028
AB: tough		029
HR: <u>ja↓ ja↓ ja:↓ ä jä:: ich hab ä:: ich hab das gefühl gehabt dass ich ä:: dass ich ä: ver-</u>	HR: yes yes yes eh yes I had eh I had the feeling I uh I am withering	030 031 032
AB: <u>hm: ↑</u>	AB: hm	033
HR: <u>welke↓ dass ich: ä:: ä jä:: dass ich so: in ä: im: ä: alltag untergehe ohne: jä: ä jä: ohne: ohne dass ä: dass etwas aus mir wird↓</u>	HR: <u>that I uh eh yes that I am going under in the daily routine without uh yeah without my becoming anything</u>	034 035 036 037

As a matter of fact, the story Hilde Rudberg tells is a sort of anti-narrative, since she actually refers how a possibly highly dramatic situation could be prevented or at least mitigated. She reports a conversation with Georg Josephtal, their “highest authority” in the kibbutz, to whom she confessed her decision to leave; this conversation is reported in direct speech (4,13-22), as regards both Georg Josephtal’s and her dialogic turns. As Georg Josephtal learns of her intention to leave and to announce it during the kibbutz assembly that very evening, he prompts her not to reveal it during the assembly. Rudberg reports the dialogue succinctly and from a detached perspective, without adding any details about her state of mind or her emotions at the time. Only the first part of her construction of Georg Josephtal’s turn, which constitutes the climax of the narrative (“under no circumstance and uh don’t you dare”, 4,17-19), suggests that her wish to leave had been perceived as a violation, so that the confrontation must have been dramatic. Yet seamlessly, in the same turn, she let him provide a resolution to that awkward situation (“if you really wish to go then uh then you go on leave”, 4,19-21). In the coda section, where she concludes the story saying, from a later perspective “and that was what I did” (4,21-22) she refers only the last, accommodating words by Josephtal, stressing at the same time her agency (*I did*). It could also be inferred that following this conversation she was spared a dramatic confrontation in the kibbutz assembly – although that may not have been Josephtal’s main concern.

Only after Anne Betten asks about the “inner causes” (4,23) of her intention of leaving the kibbutz does Hilde Rudberg reveal the emotional background of her decision, thus expressing her subjectivity (4,31-37). In her answer she intertwines various metaphorical expressions: at first she says “I had the feeling [...] I am withering” (4,31-32). This implies that she sees her life as an organic growth, which at the time when she decides to leave she perceives as not developing, not ‘flowering out’ – on the contrary she seems to ‘wither’ (4,32 *ich verwelke*), like a sapless plant or flower. It follows a metaphor presupposing an up-down image schema (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 14–21), where ‘down’ is related to negative experiences (more

is up/less is down). Hilde Rudberg uses here the German verb *untergehen* ('go under'), which is used for the sun when it sets, but also for a ship sinking, or something disappearing. As a result of the process expressed by the verb *untergehen* the subject is not visible any longer, so that it can be said that this formulation reveals her fear of disappearing, of not existing as an individual any longer. Finally, she resumes the growth image, in that she denies it again "without my becoming anything" (4,37) – she saw no possibility of development.

[65]

These metaphorical formulations (4,30-37) are introduced by a predication whose subject is encoded as an experiencer, i.e. as engaged in a mental process, in this case an emotive one ("I had the feeling"), thus stressing the fact that she is going to recollect her emotions and feelings at that time. In the following metaphorical predications, the subject / is always encoded as a non-agentive subject, as in all these cases it undergoes a change of state which excludes intentionality (withers, goes under, doesn't become anything). All these three metaphorical predications have strong negative connotations: the emotions verbalised by the metaphors reveal that the first answer she gave in Palestine to the question "what I was going to do with myself" (1,42-43), i.e. life in a kibbutz, frustrated her expectations. It is precisely to escape all this that she decides to act, to become an agent and thus leave the kibbutz, as narrated in the previous story which is chronologically subsequent. As a matter of fact, in this section of the interview the self repeatedly occurs as an agentive subject: "but I didn't get there, I was had left Ra'anana" (4,7-8); "no one could imagine that I would leave it, not even my husband and our [...] highest authority there was Georg Josephthal and eh one day I told him 'I am leaving and uh I eh am going to say it this evening at the *assefa*" (4,10-16); "and that was what I did" (4,21-22).

Conclusion

The two narratives (according to the structure proposed by Labov & Waletzky) presented and analysed in this paper (scil. ex. 1 and ex. 4) share the same narrative strategy, since in both of them Hilde Rudberg seems to understate the emotional content, rather putting emphasis on how she succeeded in (partly) skirting highly

dramatic situations. In the actual narrative sections, focusing on facts, Hilde Rudberg's perspective on the narrated events is objective and quite detached, while in more evaluative or argumentative parts, often prompted by questions from her interviewer (see 1,30ff; 4,23ff), she comes to express her emotions and her attitude toward the narrated events. These are often verbalised in metaphorical formulations, which can be repeated and also picked up at a later time (see for example the 'collapsed' image in ex. (1), the 'catastrophe' metaphor in ex. (1) returning in ex. (4), the conceptualisation life is a journey recurring in ex. (2), etc.). Accordingly, it is through these metaphorical formulations that the speaker gives expression to emotions and attitudes which otherwise are not easily verbalised. A close linguistic investigation of these metaphorical formulations, interwoven with an analysis of agency (which in the present paper I could only sketch briefly), can prove very fruitful in revealing aspects of the speaker's subjectivity that are not explicitly presented in the course of the interview. Since "the unique and precious element [...] [of oral history] is the speaker's subjectivity" (Portelli 1981, 99) such a linguistic investigation can provide valuable insights for oral history research as well.

References

- Betten, Anne: Zwischen Individualisierung und Generalisierung: Zur Konstruktion der Person in autobiografischen Emigranteninterviews. In: I. Behr / A. Larrory / G. Samson (eds.): *Der Ausdruck der Person im Deutschen*. Tübingen: Stauffenburg 2007, 173-186.
- Betten, Anne (ed.): *Sprachbewahrung nach der Emigration – Das Deutsch der 20er Jahre in Israel*. Part I: *Transkripte und Tondokumente*. Tübingen: Niemeyer 1995.
- Betten, Anne / Du-nour, Miryam (eds.): *Sprachbewahrung nach der Emigration – Das Deutsch der 20er Jahre in Israel*. Part II: *Analysen und Dokumente*. Tübingen: Niemeyer 2000.

- Duranti, Alessandro: Performance and Encoding of Agency in Historical-Natural Languages. In: *Texas Linguistic Forum* 44, 2001, 266-287.
- Freund, Alexander: Oral History as Process-generated Data. In: *Historical Social Research* 34 (1), 2009, 22-48.
- Labov, William: *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 1972.
- Labov, William (in prep.). Oral Narratives of Personal Experience. In: P. Hogan: *The Cambridge Encyclopaedia of the Language Sciences*. Cambridge (UK): University Press <<http://www.ling.upenn.edu/~wlabov/Papers/FebOralNarPE.pdf>>
- Labov, William / Waletzky, Joshua: Narrative Analysis. In: J. Helm (ed.): *Essays on the Verbal and Visual Arts*, 12-44. Seattle: University of Washington Press 1967.
- Lakoff, George / Johnson, Mark: *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago: University Press 1980.
- Lakoff, George / Johnson, Mark: *Philosophy in the Flesh: The embodied mind and its challenge to Western thought*. New York: Basic Books 1999.
- Portelli, Alessandro: The Peculiarities of Oral History. In: *History Workshop Journal* 12 (1), 1981, 96-107.
- Rosenthal, Gabriele: Reconstruction of life stories: principles of selection in generating stories for narrative biographical interviews. In: *The narrative study of lives* 1 (1), 1993, 59-91.
- Schiffrin, Deborah: We Knew That's It: Retelling the Turning Point of a Narrative. In: *Discourse Studies* 5, 2003, 535-561.
- Schmitt, Rudolf: Skizzen zur Metaphernanalyse. In: *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research* [Online Journal] 1(1), Art. 20, 2000 <<http://www.qualitative-research.net/fqs-texte/1-00/1-00schmitt-d.htm>>

Schwarz-Friesel, Monika: *Sprache und Emotion*. Tübingen/Basel: Francke 2013².

[68]

Straub, Jürgen / Sichler, Ralph: Metaphorische Sprechweisen als Modi der interpretativen Repräsentation biographischer Erfahrungen. In: P. Alheit / Hoerning, E. (eds.): *Biographisches Wissen: Beiträge zu einer Theorie lebensgeschichtlicher Erfahrung*. Frankfurt/M.: Campus 1989, 221-237.

Tannen, Deborah: *Talking Voices: Repetition, dialogue, and imagery in conversational discourse*. New York/ Cambridge (UK): University Press 2007² (1989¹).