

From *tefillah* to the *chadar ochel*: Why and how camps use Hebrew words

Sarah Bunin Benor - Hebrew Union College

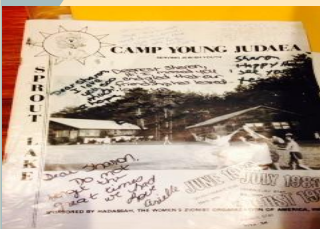
Jonathan Krasner - Brandeis University

Sharon Avni - CUNY

FJC Leaders Assembly

March 2016

OUR PERSONAL CAMP CONNECTIONS



CAMP RAMAH IN CALIFORNIA



Sharon: Sprout Lake (1982-1983, 1986)

Tel Yehudah (1984-1990)

Camp Judaea NC (1987)

Daughter: Sprout Lake


Sarah:
3 daughters, 3 Jewish camps

Jonathan: Ramah Nyack (1973-76)
Massad (1976-78)

Camp Raleigh (1980-1992)
Daughter: Eden Village Camp

THE STUDY

Study of Hebrew at North American Jewish camps
(2012-2015)



FUNDING

- A project of the Mandel Center, Brandeis University
- Consortium for Applied Studies in Jewish Education (CASJE)
- Wexner Foundation Alumni Collaboration Grant
- HUC, CUNY

METHODS

- Historical research: archives, interviews
- Survey of camp directors (103/161: 64%)
- Camp observations (36 camps: 3 hours - 10 days)
- Observations of trainings: Goodman, JAFI
- Interviews with camp directors, staff... (120+)
- Interviews/focus groups with campers (60+)
- Analysis of spoken and written language



CAMPS VISITED (TYPE)

Pluralistic/B'nai B'rith/JCC/Private (8)

Reform/URJ (6)

Conservative/Ramah (5)

Hebrew-Speaking/Hebrew Immersion Camps/Programs (4)

Modern Orthodox/Bnei Akiva (3)

Zionist/Young Judaea (2)

Progressive Zionist/Habonim Dror/Hashomer Hatzair (3)

Israeli-American (2)

Russian-American (2)

Sephardic (1)

Eco-Jewish (1)

Jews of Color (1)

Yeshivish Orthodox Girls (1)

Chabad Orthodox (1)

OUTLINE

1. Definitions
2. Diverse uses of Hebrew in Jewish camps - historical and contemporary trends
3. Tensions surrounding Hebrew use
4. Breakout sessions to discuss best practices and challenges

DEFINITIONS

Hebrew immersion vs. Hebrew infusion



HEBREW IMMERSION

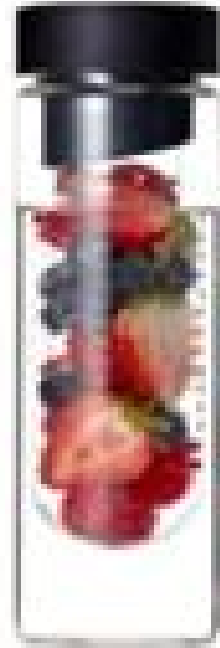
An environment conducted all or primarily in Hebrew, in which participants are expected to speak all or mostly Hebrew.



HEBREW INFUSION

A primarily English-speaking environment in which participants are exposed to fragments of Hebrew (words, songs, signs).

Register of English with a few or many Hebrew words.



HEBREW IMMERSION

Primary goal:
Hebrew proficiency

Secondary goal:
Identity formation,
connection to
Israelis, Jews



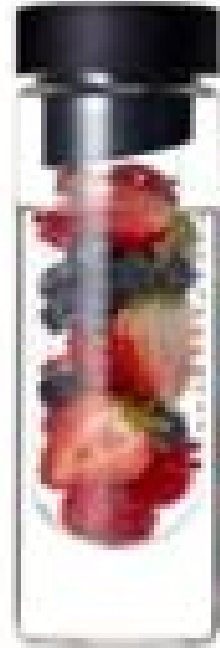
HEBREW INFUSION

Primary goal:

Identity formation,
connection to Hebrew, Jews,
Israel, etc.

Secondary goal:

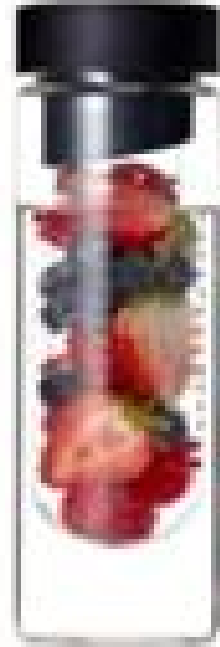
proficiency in the Hebraized
register of English



HEBREW INFUSION

Why infusion?

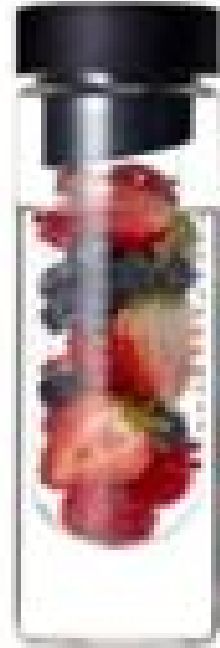
The camp infuses a flavor of the language (berries) into the camp environment (water) and, potentially, into participants (drinkers).



HEBREW INFUSION

Limited access:

Participants do not necessarily have access to the language itself (berries), only hints of it.



HEBREW INFUSION

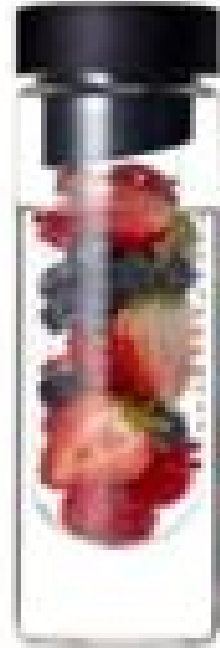
Distinct bits (pulp):
Participants tend to recognize the Hebrew elements as distinct.



HEBREW INFUSION

Variation:

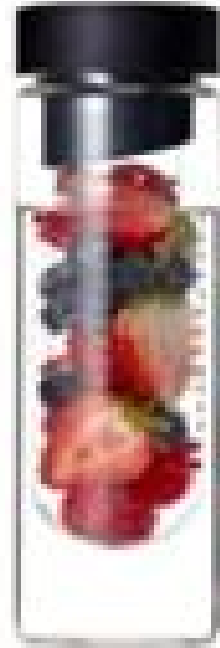
Just as there are gradations of infusion, some camps are more infused with Hebrew than others, as are some activities and sentences.



HEBREW INFUSION

Variation:

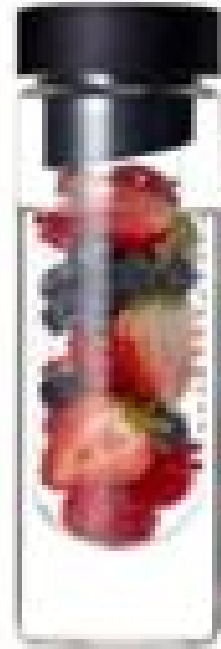
In the Hebrew-infused register of camp English: “Campers go with your counselors to the Bet Keneset.”



HEBREW INFUSION

Variation:

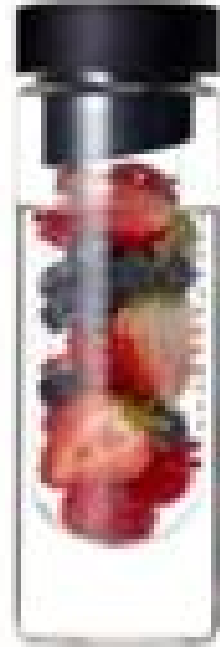
In the Hebrew-infused register of camp English: “Chanichim go with your madrachim to the Bet Keneset.”



HEBREW INFUSION

Variation:

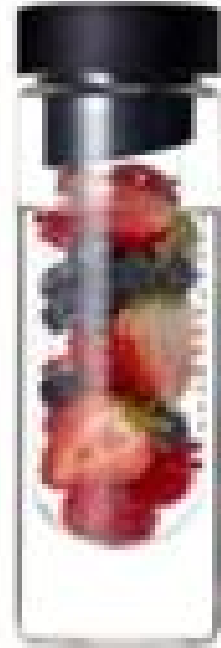
Camps have to decide how much Hebrew to infuse and how.



HEBREW INFUSION

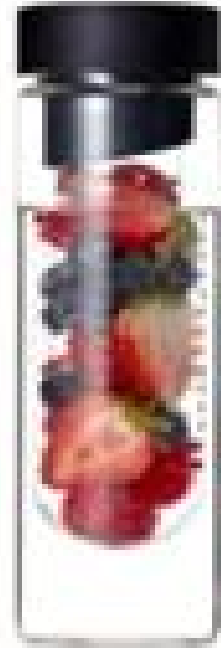
Intentional:

Just as a bartender can decide how much fruit to infuse, camp administration and staff can decide how much Hebrew to infuse and when to change the amount/type.



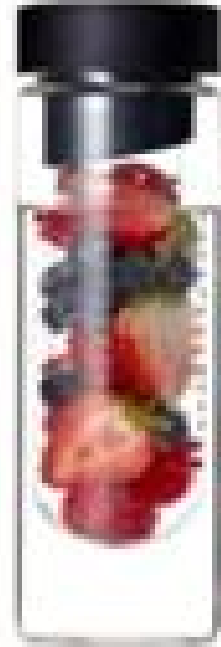
HEBREW INFUSION

Intentional:
Intentional process of
language socialization.



HEBREW INFUSION

Inspired by Netta Avineri's notion: "metalinguistic community": A community centered around a language, but not necessarily having full competency (Yiddish clubs).



Immersion vs. Infusion

Both are used beyond Jewish summer camps.



Immersion vs. Infusion

Language immersion schools, camps, etc.





Hebrew Infusion

Other Jewish communal settings:

- Jewish day schools (in addition to Hebrew language instruction)
- religious schools
- synagogues
- youth groups



Ethnolinguistic Infusion

Immigrant/indigenous groups



Ethnolinguistic Infusion



**Sri Lankan Tamils in Canada,
US, UK:**

Many children of immigrants have limited proficiency in Tamil but use loanwords and ritualized (non-comprehending) recitation of Tamil chants, prayers, and speeches.

(Canagarajah 2013)



Ethnolinguistic Infusion



Elem Pomo Indians,
California:
Ceremonies with songs,
blessings, and greetings in
Elem but main content in
English (most participants
don't understand Elem).
(Ahlers 2006)



Ethnolinguistic Infusion

Paiute Camp Kwiyamuntsi, Utah:
(‘plateau’): “Building stewardship
through cultural traditions... Elders
and agency instructors teach
wildlife, astronomy, archaeology,
Paiute language, hiking, canoeing,
and mountain biking.”





Ethnolinguistic Infusion



Kamehameha Schools
Hawaiian summer camp:
“Through learning
experiences that include
work in a lo‘i kalo, fishpond
restoration, mele, hula, and
more, keiki learn about
interdependence in the
ahupua‘a and how it sustains
the Hawaiian people.”

Immersion vs. Infusion

Both are common ways to strengthen individuals' connection to a group.

Immersion is often seen as the ideal way to learn a full language.

Infusion is often seen as a more fun but less complete, less authentic way to use language.

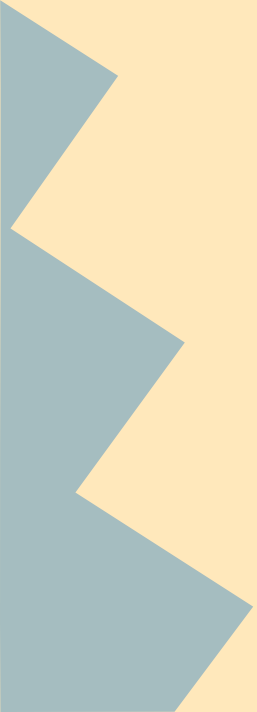


Immersion vs. Infusion

How does this debate play out in Jewish residential camps - past and present?

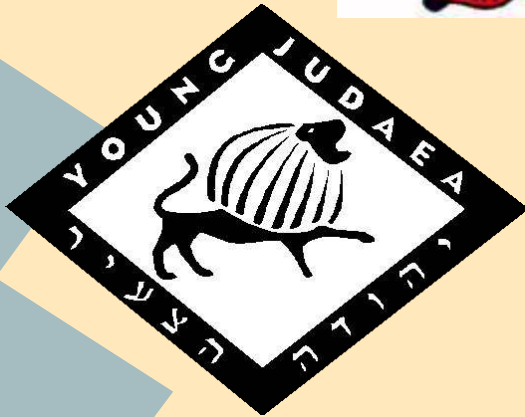


HISTORY

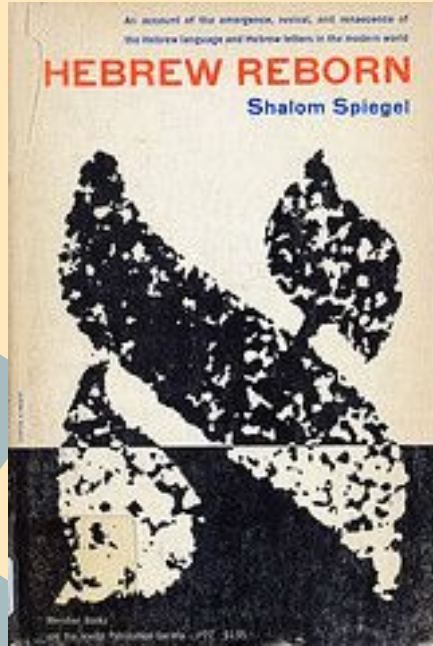


The Origins of Jewish Culture Camping





Shalom Spiegel, *Hebrew Reborn* (1930)



“Within language lie concealed magic forces of nature and of blood, lees of instinct and culture, a heritage of emotions, habits of thought, traditions of taste, inheritances of will -- the imperative of the past.”

Shlomo Shulsinger, *Massad Camps in the Poconos*

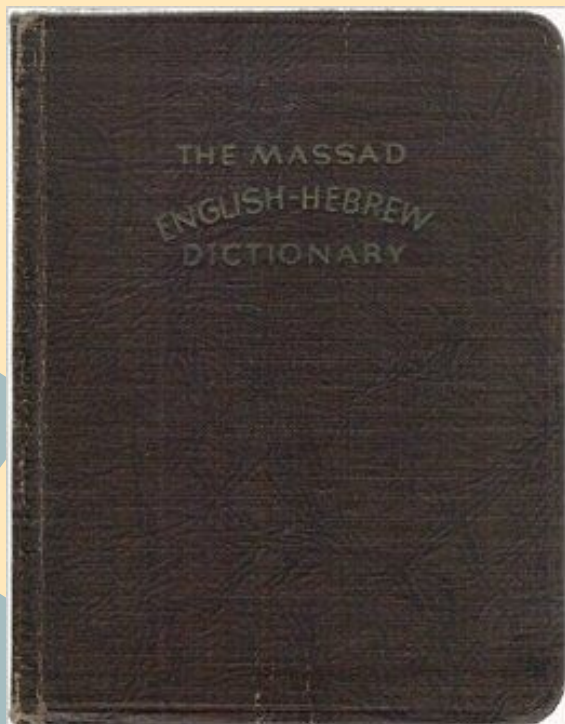


“The spoken Hebrew language must of necessity be the keystone for the entire camp program and the center around which all cultural, educational and recreational programmatic efforts must revolve. ... If there is any hope of the American Jewish community preserving its identity as an ethnic sub-community, it must be through transmitting to the younger generation—or at the very least to a select portion of it—the *key* to the Jewish treasure house furnished by the Hebrew language.”



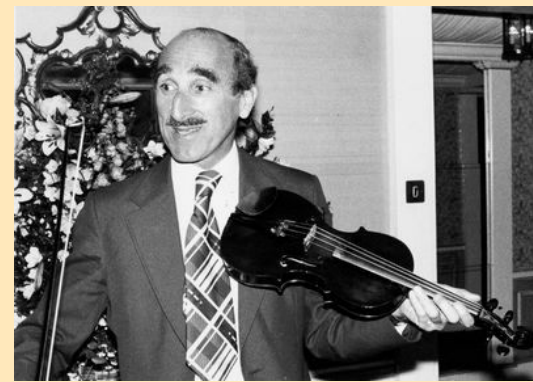
Massad Beth

Massad English-Hebrew Dictionary, 1947



Moshe Davis on Hebrew at Ramah

Interview with Shuly Schwartz, 1976



SRS: What I'm interested in knowing is, how did you with the mission of speaking Hebrew. You that you wanted to educate a "learned Jew."

MD: I might concede that this was one of my disappointments. I don't think that we got to the bottom of the Hebrew problem. It quickly became clear that we were unable to deal with this question at all. As a founding member of the Massad Camps, which were established some seven years earlier, and as one who was committed after all to Hebraist-Zionist ideals, I hoped that we would be able to cultivate a Hebrew-speaking camp, and not only a camp of Jewish studies. ... The source of the difficulty was that the children who came to us, although they underwent a strict screening, even the good among them knew very little. Therefore we deemphasized [the Hebrew]. We felt that it was much more efficient to give them basic Jewish knowledge than to focus on language and not reach the content.

Hebrew at Ramah

- “There were many campers who did not know any Hebrew at all, with the result that their influence was negative and retarding” (Henry Goldberg, Report on Camp Ramah, 1947)
- “The lack of Hebrew knowledge on the part of the campers who seem to be perfectly comfortable utilizing camp vocabulary was embarrassing.” (Zalman Schachter, Report Following Camp Ramah Visits,” 1962)
- “The main problem with encouraging Hebrew usage at camp is that campers soon realize that if you come to camp not knowing Hebrew you really don’t need to know it.” (Peretz Rodman, 1995)

Camp Ramah

Sylvia Ettenberg

“A number of us felt that although Hebrew should be the language [of camp], Hebrew was only a tool. It couldn't be *the* goal.”



Hebrew Infusion at OSRUI (URJ)

from ritual language to camp language

Hebrew Words and
Terms (1959)
examples:

1. *Bracha*
2. *Ner Shel Shabbat*
3. *Magen David*
4. *Mezuzah*
5. *Mitzvah*
6. *HaMotzi*

Hebrew Words and
Terms (1964)
examples:

1. *Boker*
2. *Machaneh*
3. *Eytz*
4. *Bevakasha*
5. *Tzrif*
6. *Madrich*

OSRUI Daily Schedule

1957

7:00 am Rise and Shine

7:30 am Worship Services

8:00 am Breakfast

8:40 am Cabin Cleanup

9:00 am Morning Study

10:10 am Work Projects

11:30 am Swimming and
land sports

1966

7:00 am Boker Tov

7:30 am Avodat Hakodesh

8:00 am Aruchat Boker

8:45 am Nikayon K'lali

9:15 am Ivrit

10:00 am Shiur

11:00 am S'chiyah v'Sport

Changing Hebrew use - last 40 years

| | |
|-----------------------|-----|
| Increased a lot | 15% |
| Increased somewhat | 14% |
| Stayed about the same | 22% |
| Decreased somewhat | 14% |
| Decreased a lot | 8% |

Changing Hebrew use - last 10 years

| | |
|-----------------------|-----|
| Increased a lot | 12% |
| Increased somewhat | 27% |
| Stayed about the same | 42% |
| Decreased somewhat | 8% |
| Decreased a lot | 0% |

Hebrew use at camp today

Diverse uses of Hebrew

8%: Hebrew immersion.

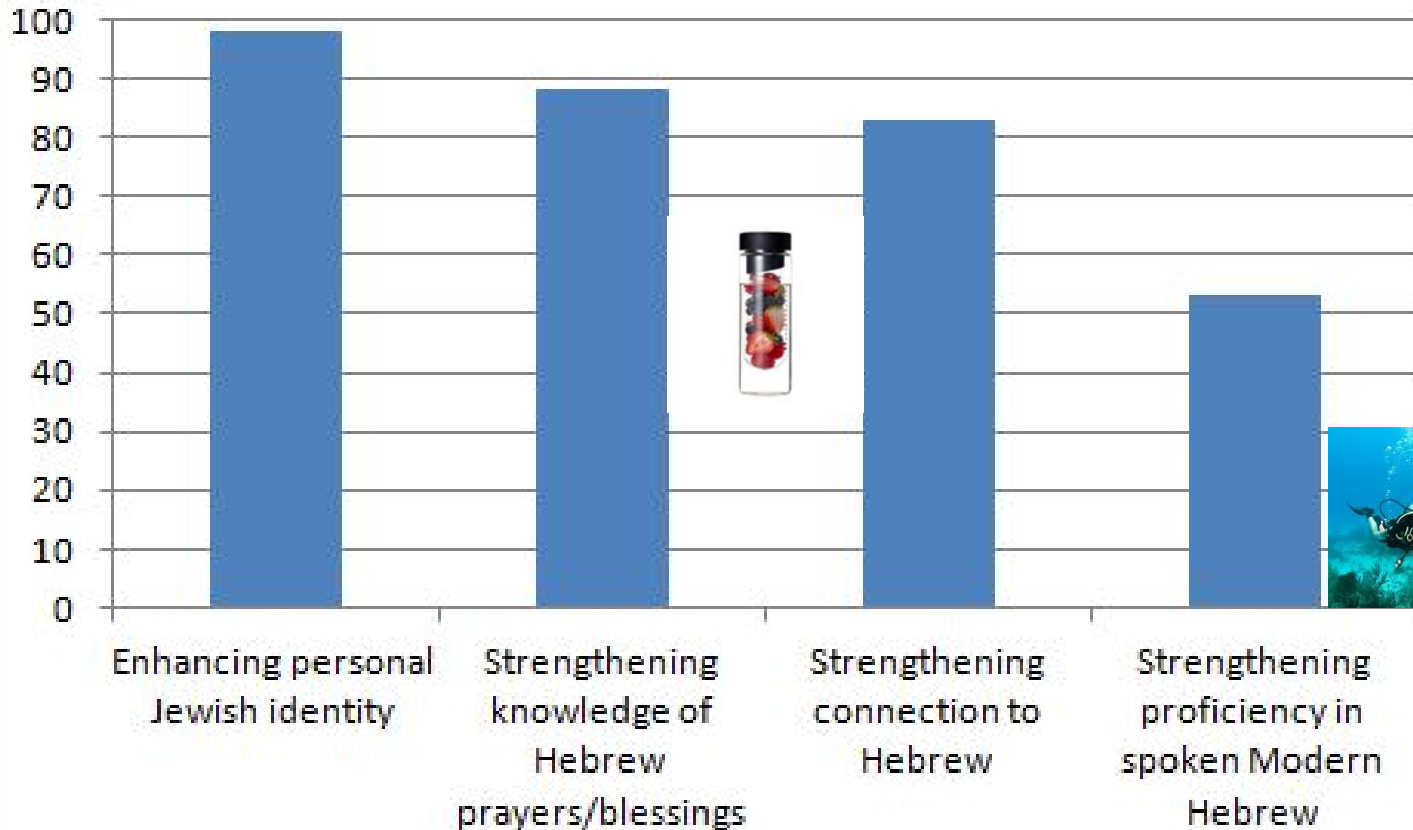
20%: Hebrew classes.

73%: Hebrew names for units,
activities, locations.

100%: Hebrew blessings or songs.



Hebrew use at camp today



Camps' goals
(primary, major, or minor)



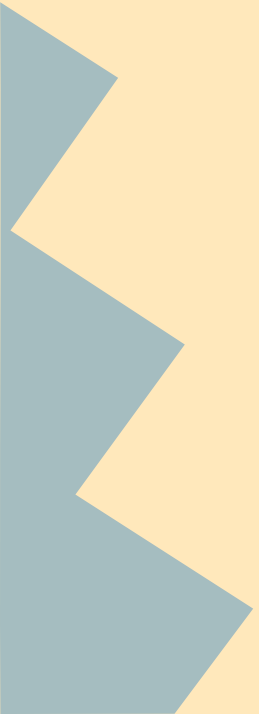
Hebrew use at camp today

“We don’t formally teach *Ivrit* [Hebrew]... the goal is for us to infuse the day with *Ivrit*, from *hodaot b’ivrit* [‘announcements in Hebrew’], and *kol shelet b’ivrit* [‘every sign in Hebrew’]... and to *lehachnis milim po v’ sham v’lilamed k’tzat* [‘insert words here and there and to teach a bit’] and to put words here and there in Hebrew, to give kids a good feel.”



Hebrew use at camp today

How do camps infuse the day with Hebrew?



Hebrew use at camp: Blessings, song, prayer

100%



Hebrew use at camp: Blessings, song, prayer

100%



Hebrew use at camp: Group names

71%

| Grade | Group | Meaning |
|-------|-------------------|----------------|
| 3-4 | <i>Sabras</i> | Israeli cactus |
| 5 | <i>Tzofim</i> | Scouts |
| 6 | <i>Nachshonim</i> | Initiators |
| 7 | <i>Kochavim</i> | Stars |
| 8 | <i>Chalutzim</i> | Pioneers |
| 9 | Seniors | |



Hebrew use at camp: Activity names

73%



Good morning

Gathering (Israeli army)

Breakfast

Clean-up

Elective

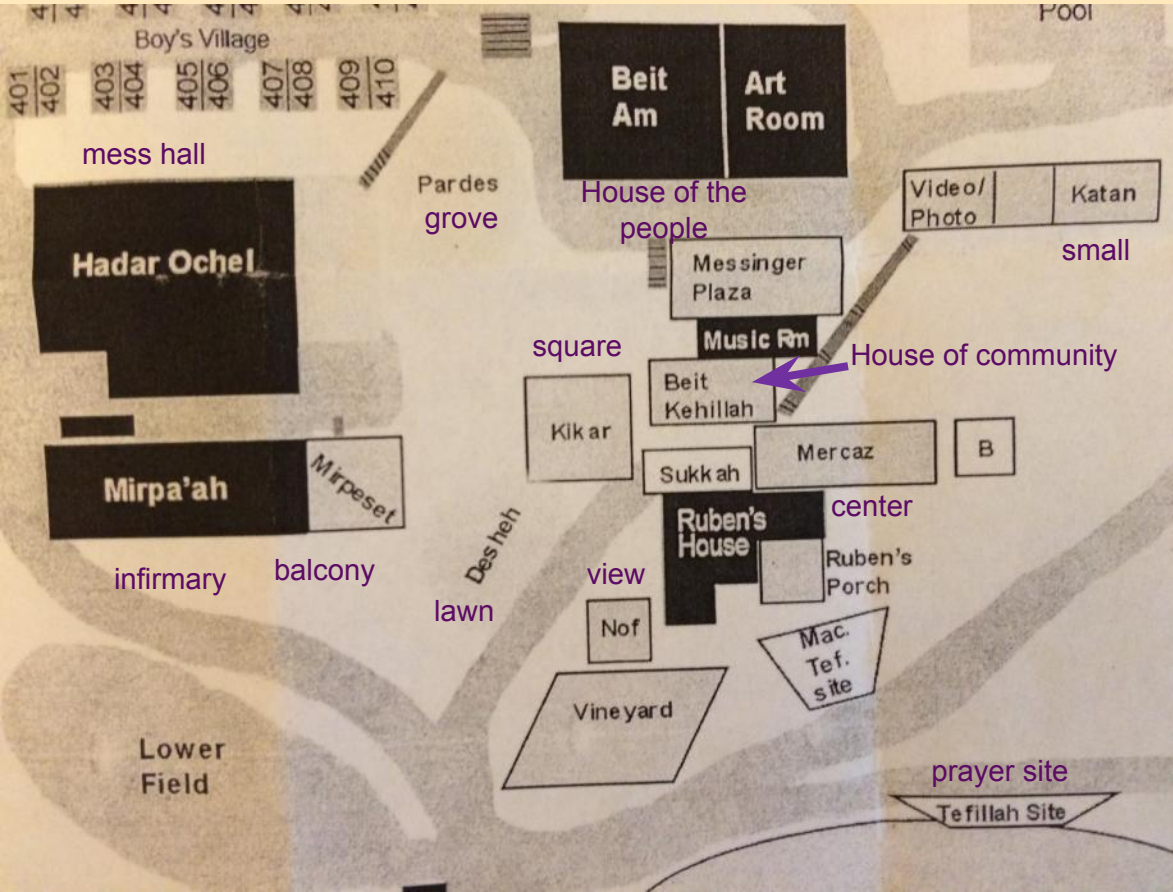
Lunch

Rest



Hebrew use at camp: Location names

59%



Hebrew use at camp: Word use

- **Jewish life words** (used in other English-speaking Jewish communal settings)
- **Camp words** (used solely or almost solely at camp)

Hebrew use at camp: Jewish life loanwords

100%

Shabbat

kosher

challah

Torah

bar/bat mitzvah

tikkun olam [community service]

ruach [spirit]

bima [synagogue platform]

Havdalah [end of Shabbat ceremony]

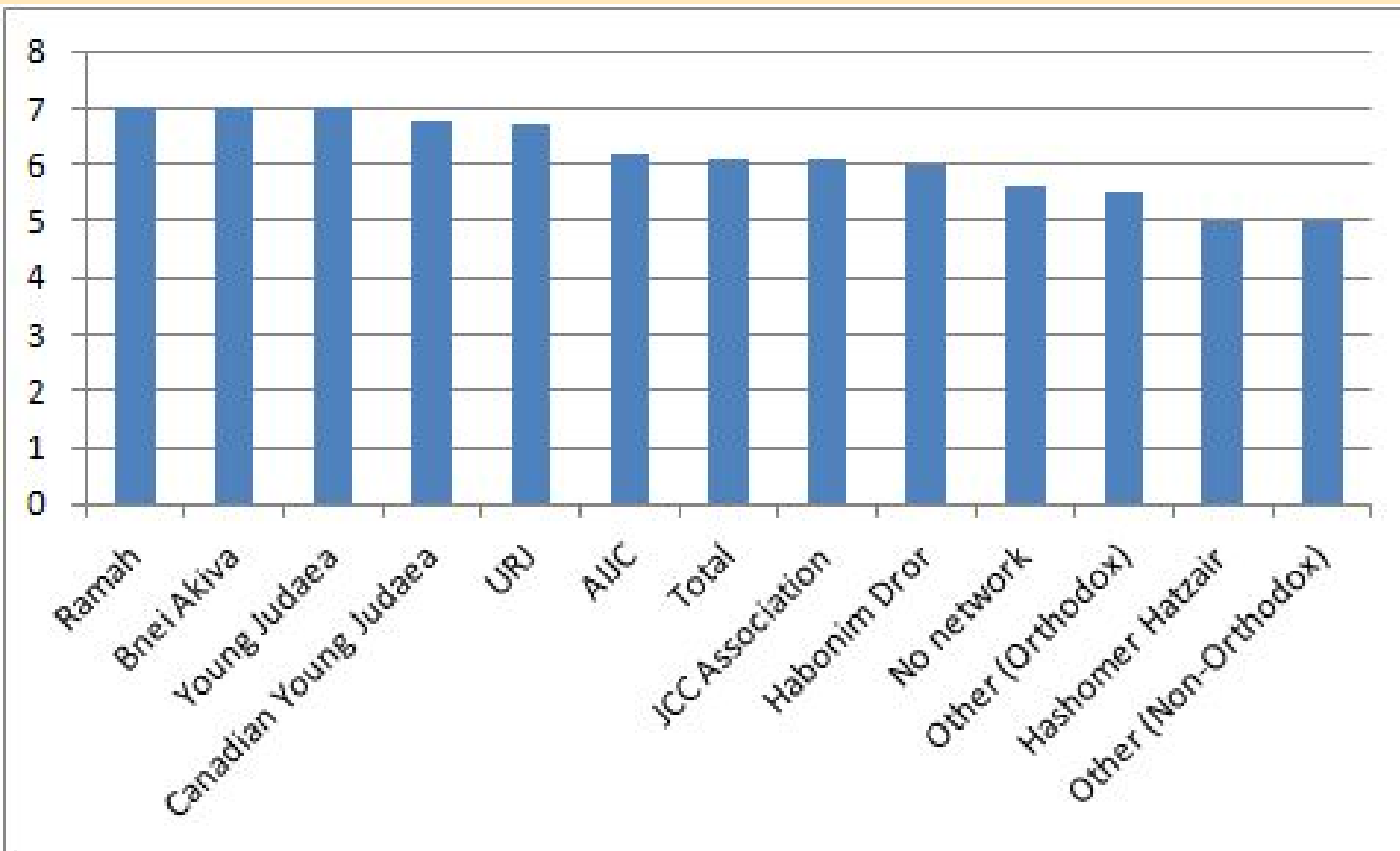
parsha [weekly reading]

Tisha b'Av [summer mourning holiday]



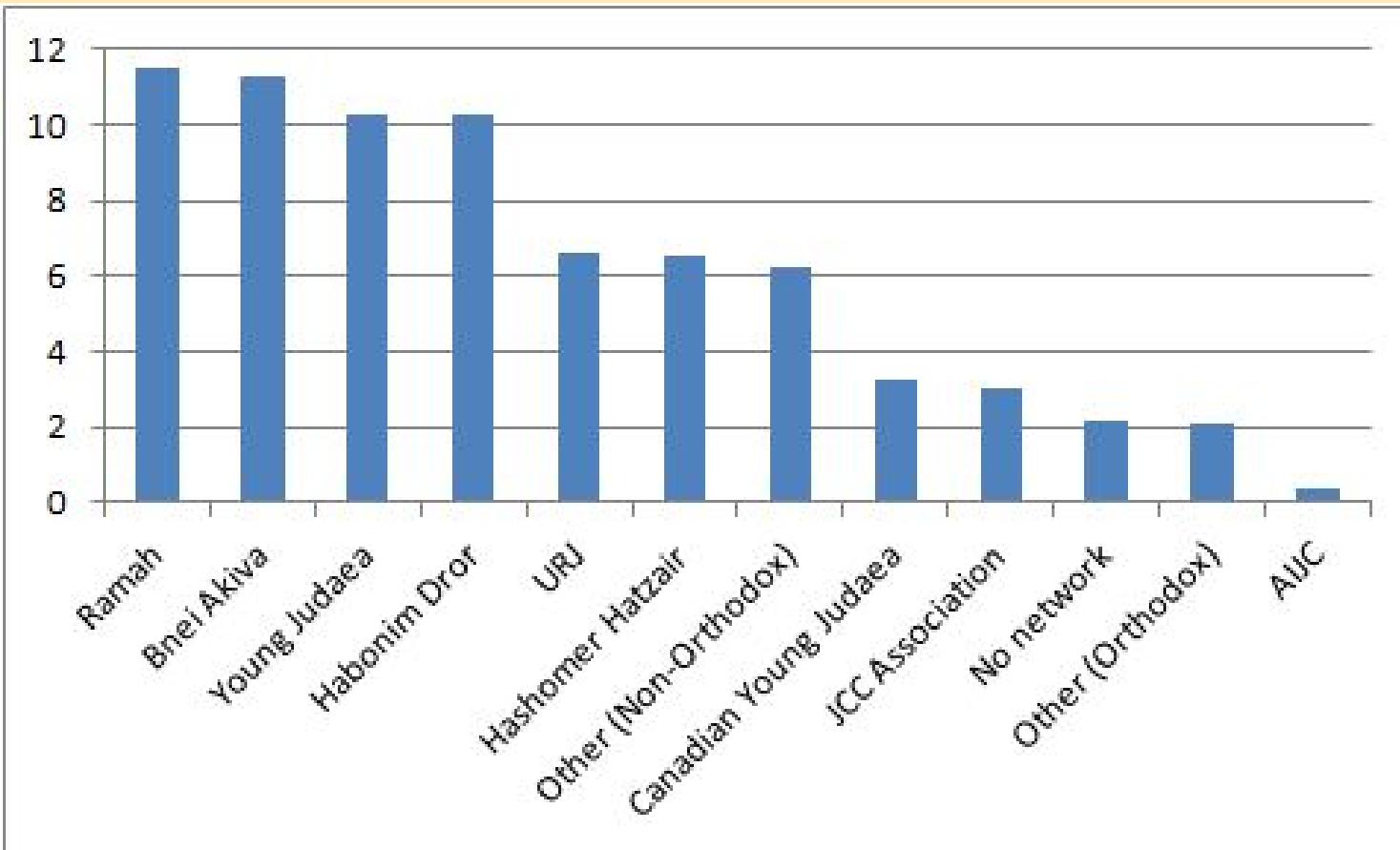
CAMP
MODIN
EST. 1922

Hebrew use at camp: Jewish life words



1. Shabbat shalom
2. Birkat Hamazon
3. boker tov
4. tikkun olam
5. ruach
6. tefillah
7. sheket b'vakasha

Hebrew use at camp: Camp words



1. chadar
ochel
2. nikayon
3. machaneh
4. mirpa'a
5. omanut
6. hodaot
7. tzrif
8. hakshivu
9. schiyah
10. edah
11. marp
12. zimriya
13. shekem

Hebrew use at camp: Word use

Register of English with many Hebrew loanwords (**Jewish life** and **camp-specific**):

“After *Birkat Hamazon* [‘Grace After Meals’], *chanichim* [‘campers’] and *madrichim* [‘counselors’] go to the *teatron* [‘theater’] for *peulat erev* [‘evening activity’].”



WILSHIRE BOULEVARD
TEMPLE CAMPS
MALIBU, CALIFORNIA

Hebrew use at camp: Camp words



Meah Milim

78. מדפים

Cubbies

Words for Schiyah

79. לשחות

to swim

80. מגבת

towel

81. בריכה

pool

82. אגם

lake

83. סירת שורה

row boat

84. משות

oar

85. סירת מפרש

sail boat

86. אזריאלי

Aquaglide!

87. חגורת הצלה

Life Jacket

88. משקפים

Goggles

89. מזח

Dock

90. קרם שיזוף

Sun Tan Lotion

Words for Shirah/Rikkud

91. לשיר

to sing

92. לרקוד

to dance

93. ימין

right

94. שמאל

left

95. רגל

leg

96. להקה

band

97. מקהלה

choir

98. תווים

musical notes

99. סולם

scale

100. כלי זמר

musical instruments



Hebrew use at camp: Signs

79%

Liturgical, biblical quotes - artistic placards, murals



Hebrew use at camp: Signs

74%

Locations at camp



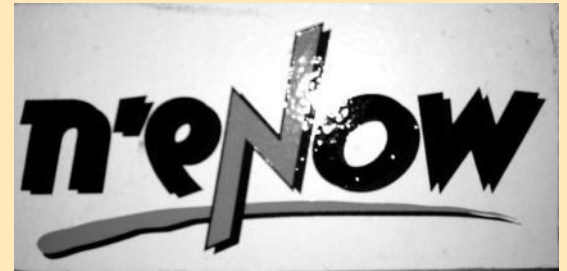
Hebrew use at camp: Signs

Hybridity



CAMP EMUNAH
BNOS YAAKOV YEHUDAH

The Rebbe's Camp, The Rebbe's Children



Hebrew use at camp

Pedagogical signs



| Kitchen words | | מילים מהמטבח |
|---------------|---------------------|---------------|
| plate/s | tzalachat/tzalachot | צלחת/צלחות |
| cup/s | kos/ot | כוס/כוסות |
| bowl/s | ke'ara/ke'arot | קערה/קערות |
| spoon/s | kapit/kapiyot | כפית/כפיות |
| fork/s | mazleg/mazlegot | מזלג/מזלגות |
| knife/knives | sakin/sakinim | סכין/סכנים |
| table/s | shulchan/shulchanot | שולחן/שולחנות |
| bench/es | safsal/safsalim | ספסל/ספסלים |
| sink/s | kiyur/kiyurim | כיור/כיוורים |
| soap | sabon | סבון |
| mop | magev | מגב |
| broom | matateh | מטאטה |
| sponge | sfog | ספוג |
| sink | kiur | כיוור |
| squeegee | magav | מגב |
| vegetarian | tzimchoni | צמחוני |
| vegan | tivoni | טבעוני |



Hebrew use at camp: Teaching words

72%

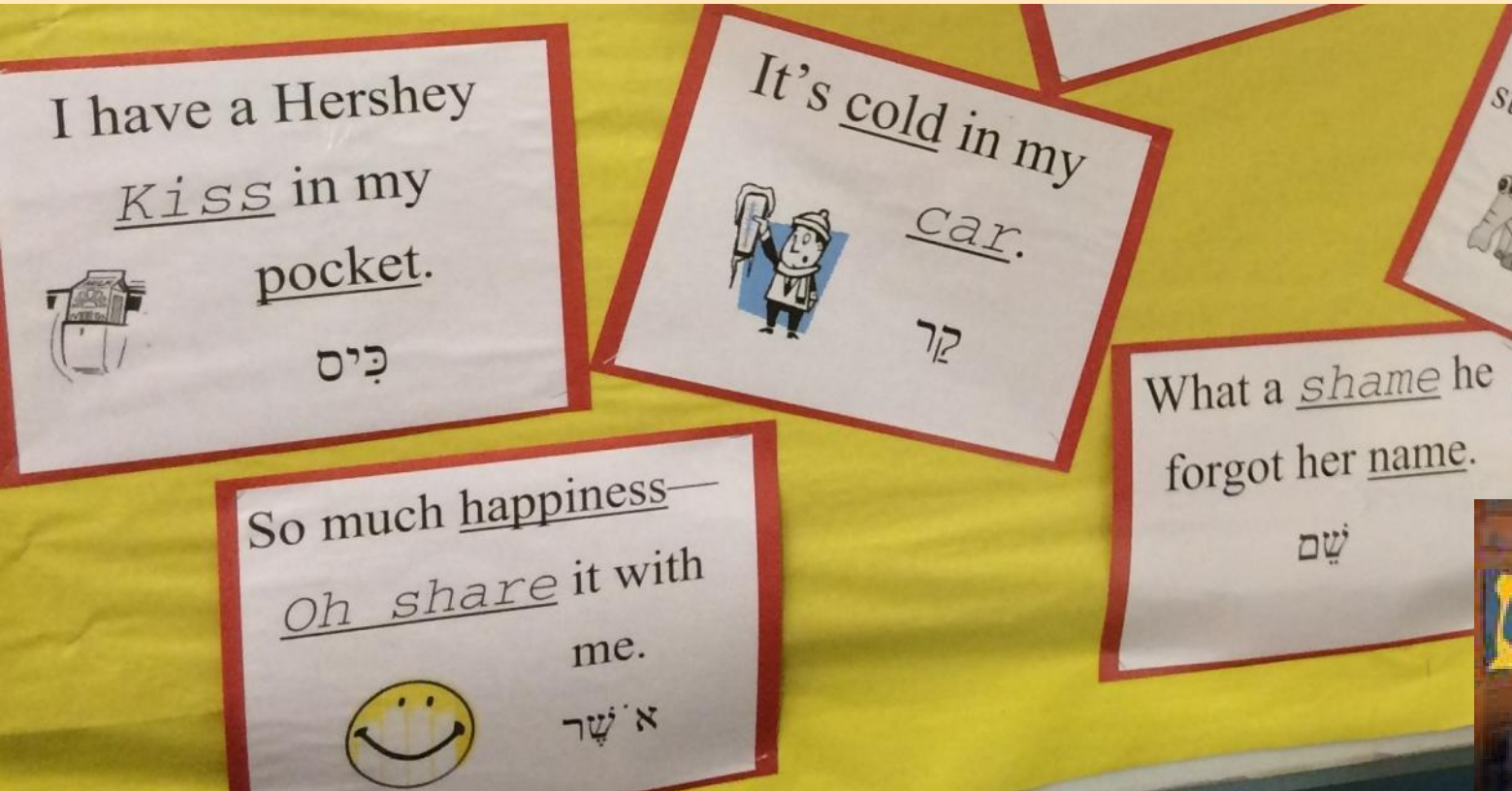


Ritualized:
Games, skits, and
songs, often by
visiting Israeli staff



Hebrew use at camp: Teaching words

72%



Wordplay,
homophony



Hebrew use at camp: Teaching words

Informal teaching:

Leader: “A big *ma’agal* with everybody in it!” (x3)

Counselor to new camper: “Let’s make a big circle ... *ma’agal* means circle.”

Sandwich method:

“We’re going to the *agam*, lake, *agam* (clap).”

Hebrew use at camp: Teaching words

Israeli counselor
at top of
water slide:
Hebrew password



Hebrew use at camp: Informal Hebrew

62%

Israeli shlichim use Hebrew informally with campers



Hebrew use at camp: Informal Hebrew

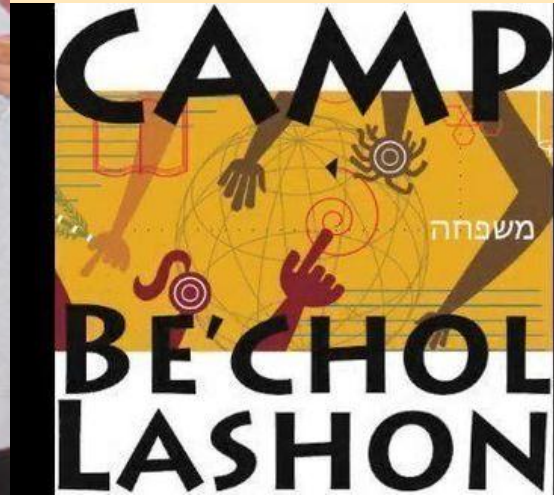
Majority of camps have at least a few Israeli-American campers (94%) and Israeli campers (80%):
Resource for informal Hebrew use.



Hebrew use at camp: Call and response



Eyfo Eliyahu ba'olam?
(‘Where in the world is
Elijah?’)



Hebrew use at camp: Call and response

3 leaders: *Shabbat shalom, Machane Gilboa.* ('Good Sabbath, Camp Gilboa')

Whole camp: *Shabbat shalom, [Michael] v'[Jessica] v'[Sarah].* ('... M and J and S')

3 leaders: *Nitsanim, kulam po?* ('Nitsanim [group], is everyone here?')

Nitsanim: *Kulanu po.* ('We're all here.')

3 leaders: *Sayalim, kulam po?* ('Sayalim [group], is everyone here?')

Sayalim: *Kulanu po.* ('We're all here.')

Hebrew use at camp: Announcements

44%



Ritualized:

Safsalim al hashulchanot
(‘benches on the tables’).
Gesher l’migrash kadur-sal,
Nitzanim l’Gazebo banim,
Adat Shalom l’makom t’
filah... (Groups to
locations)

Hebrew use at camp: Announcements

30%



Productive:
Novel sentences.
Requires more proficiency
(productive, receptive).



Hebrew use at camp: Theatrical production

12%



Camp Ramah

IN WISCONSIN
בויסקונסין

מחנה רמה



Hebrew use at camp: Hebrew classes

20%



Hebrew use at camp: Immersion programs/camps

8%



Experiential
Hebrew
education:
Cafe Ramah

**CAMP
RAMAH** 
IN NEW ENGLAND

Hebrew use at camp: Immersion programs/camps

8%



Chalutzim program



Winnipeg,
Canada



Hebrew use at camp: Immersion programs/camps

8%



Camp Am Israel,
Orlando

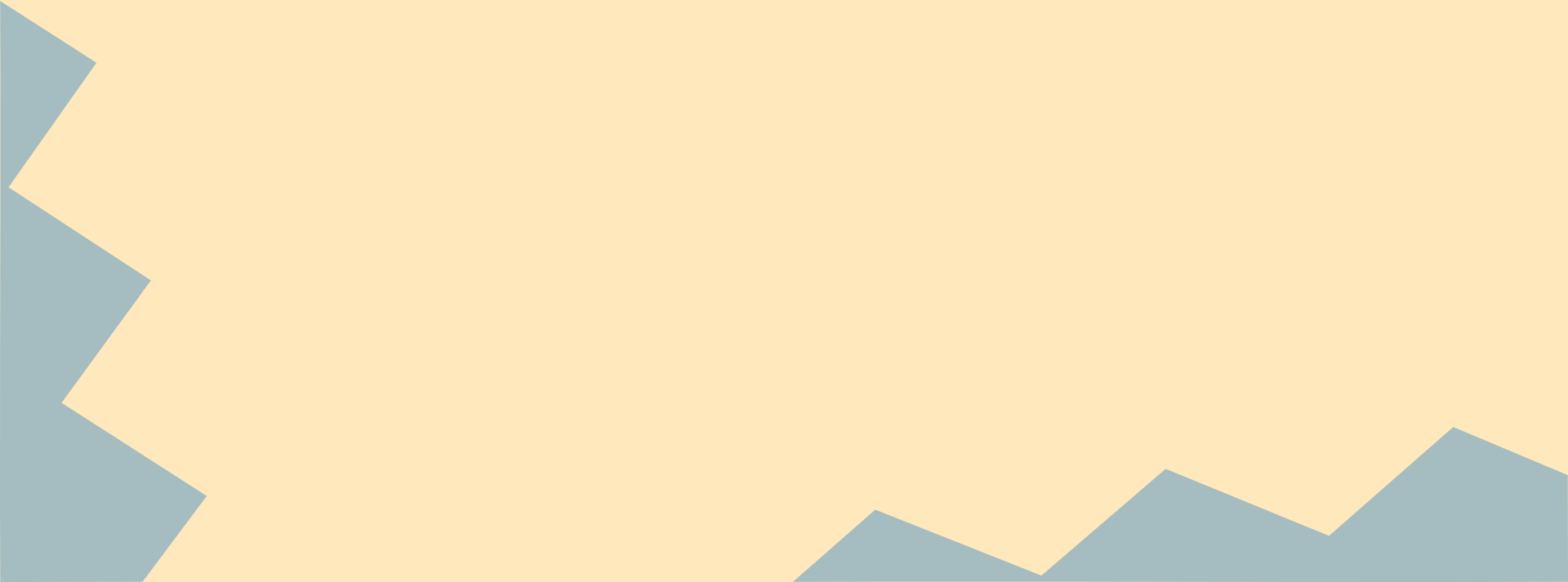


New Jersey

Southern California; New York

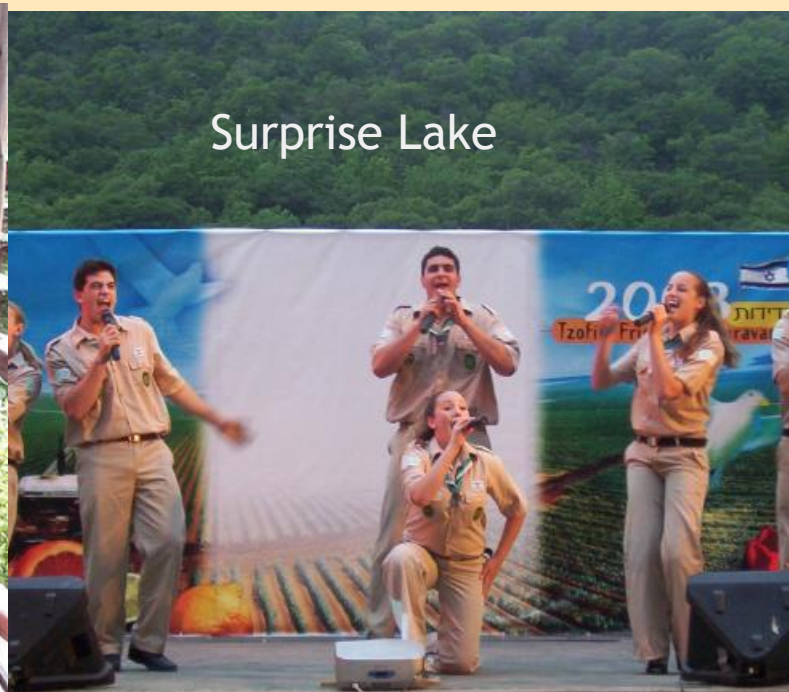


Why Hebrew?



Israel connection: 83%

Camp JRF - iCenter grant



Connection to Jews around the world: 79%

Camp Be'chol Lashon



Camp Gesheya

Camp tradition: 76%



Ramah
1950s



Tel Yehudah,
2014

Access to religion/text: 71%

URJ Camp Kalsman

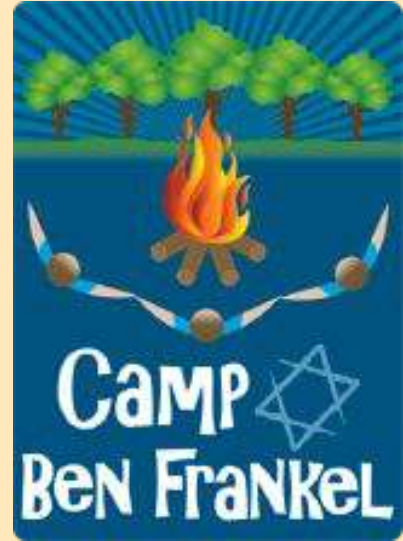
Chaveri nivarech:
Ye-hi shem Adonai mevorach
me-atah v'ad olam.
**Ye-hi shem Adonai mevorach me-atah
v'ad olam. Beirshoot chaveri, nivarech
eloheinu she-achalnu mishelo.**

חבריי נברך
יהי שם יי מבורך מעתה ועד עולם
ברשות חבריי, נברך אלוהינו שאכלנו משלו

Moshava
Malibu

ברוך אתה ה' אלוקינו
מלך העולם על המתיב ועל
הכל כלה ועל תנובת השדה ועל
אורח חמדה טובה ורחבה שרביקה
והנחלתה לאבותינו לאנכי אברהם
ולשבע מטובה רחם נא ה'
אלוקינו על ישראל צמק ועל
ירושלים צינק ועל ציון
משכן כבודך ועל מלכותך
ועל היכלך ובני ירושלים
ציר הקדש במהרה בימינו
והעלינו לתוכה ושמחנו
הבנינה ונאכל מפריה
ונשבע מטובה ונברכך
עליה בקדושה ובטהרה
כי אתה ה' טיב ומטיב
לכל וינהלך על הארץ
ועל המחיה ברוך
אתה ה' אל הארץ
ועל המחיה.

Distinguishes camp from outside world: 62%



Connection to other campers



Post-camp connection: pan-camp Hebrew

- JDate commercial



Post-camp connection: pan-camp Hebrew

Camp Hebrew as a bond among camp alumni,
exclusionary for others.

Woman who did not attend camp:

“When friends of mine who went to Ramah or Moshava talk about camp, I have no idea what they’re talking about.”

(Orthodox day school alumna, scholar of rabbinic literature)

Tensions

Some camps: conflicting beliefs among staff about how Hebrew should be used.

Tensions

Concern that innovative Hebrew loanwords, clippings, and blends are “incorrect”:

- *chadar* (‘dining hall,’ lit. ‘room of’)
- *marp* (‘infirmary,’ vs. *mirpa’ah*)
- *meltz* (‘wait tables’ < *meltzar* ‘waiter’)
- *Shabboptions* (‘Shabbat options’)
- *t’floptions* (‘tefillah options’)
- *p-nik* (‘personal nikayon’)

Incorrect Hebrew?

Tensions

Concern that innovative Hebrew loanwords, clippings, and blends are “incorrect”:

- *chadar* (‘dining hall,’ lit. ‘room of’)
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Correct camp Jewish English.

Tensions

Concern that innovative Hebrew loanwords, clippings, and blends are “incorrect”:

- *chadar* (‘dining hall,’ lit. ‘room of’)
- *marp* (‘infirmary,’ vs. *mirpa’ah*)
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Emphasize the connections between English and Hebrew. Ownership over Hebrew words.

Tensions

Concern about language acquisition:

OSRUI:

“I would much rather have a youngster say, ‘*Ani holech l’dining hall,*’ instead of, ‘I’m walking to the *chadar ochel*’... If all you know is *chadar ochel*, you can’t do much with that noun. ‘*Ani kotev michtav to my parents,*’ is more important to me than ‘I’m writing a letter to my *horim.*’”

Tensions



Hebrew educator - Daber program:

“a language is not just a noun;... you can only learn how it behaves...if you hear its flow, if you hear its intonation, if you hear its rhythm. And if you say, I'm going to the *breicha* ('pool'), what is that?... they're giving camp a flavor [of Hebrew]”

Hebrew infusion

Tensions



Ramah Rockies:

Concern: comprehension of Hebrew announcements:
“both our kids and counselors really did not know what the heck was going on, and were very often missing key announcements... So, we moved to a model where we [say]... repetitive phrases in Hebrew, but many of the key announcements are made in English.”

Tensions



Camp Solomon Schechter:

Concern about kids' reactions:

“Camp has got to be fun, and these words are fun. And it’s fun to see kids getting into Judaism. If they’re getting into Judaism because we made up some fun little word, and then that sparked their interest to go further, fine...To insist upon full sentences in Hebrew is going to cause some campers to retract... And then they could potentially say that *limmud* [Jewish learning] is not fun or *Ivrit* [Hebrew] is not fun.”

Tensions

Camp Solomon Schechter:
Concern about kids' reactions:

limmud => *peulat sababa* ('Judaic learning session,' lit. 'activity of coolness')



Tensions



URJ Camp Kalsman: “Jewish language” is “a really powerful tool” for community building, and counselors should use more Hebrew and Yiddish words.

“If you ever heard someone else say *shmutzy*, you know they’re probably Jewish, right? So... then you have that connection.”

Tensions

How much Hebrew?

Administrators vs. staff vs. campers

Tensions

Camp staff at a few camps: Which variety of Hebrew?



Tensions

Sephardic Adventure Camp

Sephardi vs. Ashkenazi Hebrew words and pronunciations:

mariv vs. arvit

[amidá] vs. [amída]

[beraxá] vs. [bráxl]

[tojá] vs. [tója]

[fabát] vs. [fábəθ]



Tensions

URJ camps

When to use English vs. Hebrew words for Jewish values:

- tikkun olam
- kehila kedosha
- middot vs. values
- simcha vs. joy
- zerizut vs. zest/zeal



Tensions

Eden Village Camp:
Textual vs. Israeli Hebrew



Tensions

Eden Village Camp:

“earth-based spirituality”

“radical pluralist Judaism”

Avoid talk about Israel because of
contentious political discourse



Tensions

Eden Village Camp:

“if we are speaking Hebrew, because we’re not focusing on Israel, it should be Biblical Hebrew”

“that’s not helpful for communication”



Tensions

Eden Village Camp: parent email:

“*Yesod* [‘foundation’ -group] went further into the *Torah* law of *tzaar ba’ alei chayim*” “campers set out for the farm for ‘*Modeh Ani*’, literally ‘I am grateful’ in Hebrew:... traditional *shacharit* (morning prayer) service, yoga with daily intention, meditative weeding, prayerful singing and chanting, ‘*hitbodedut*’ (talking out loud, usually in nature, to G-d/life-force/the world/etc)”



Tensions

Eden Village Camp:

uses Textual Hebrew in innovative ways:

“We’re trying new ancient things.”




Conclusion

Hebrew at camp is (mostly) not about teaching Hebrew. It's about fostering connection to the camp community, Israel, and the Jewish people through Hebrew.

Conclusion

English-Hebrew hybridity
fosters an American Jewish identity and
community



Conclusion

Each camp decides how much Hebrew to infuse and how, and camps change significantly over time.

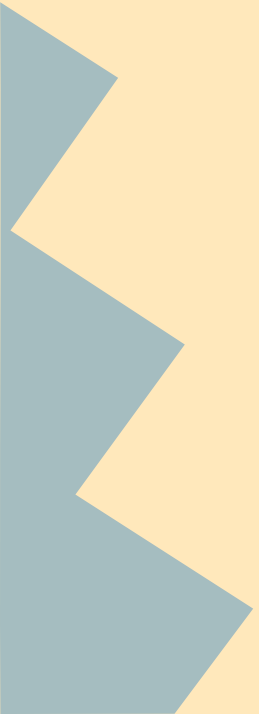
Conclusion

Desire for future Hebrew use among survey respondents:

| | |
|--------------------------------|-----|
| (More) Hebrew signs | 85% |
| (More) Hebrew words | 76% |
| (More) Hebrew songs | 75% |
| (More) Hebrew instruction | 51% |
| A Hebrew-speaking unit/program | 51% |

Conclusion

Ripple effects of immersion programs.



Conclusion

How much?

How?

Depends on camp goals.

Thank you!
Todah rabbah!

