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Eli'ezer Ben-Yehuda and Algerian Jews: Relationship and language*

Ofra Tirosh-Becker, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

1. Introduction

Eli'ezer Ben-Yehuda (1858-1922) was a pioneer in the revival of spoken Hebrew. He composed the most comprehensive Hebrew dictionary of his time, entitled *The Complete Dictionary of Ancient and Modern Hebrew*, in which he documented Hebrew vocabulary from all strata of the Hebrew language: biblical, rabbinic, medieval, and modern.¹ Ben-Yehuda's ideology for the revival of Hebrew speech was disseminated through Hebrew language journals, some of which he edited and published himself.²

One facet of Ben-Yehuda's life and work that had hardly been noted so far is the relationship between Eli'ezer Ben-Yehuda and Algerian Jews. In this paper we will discuss three aspects of this relationship. The first aspect is Ben-Yehuda's sojourn in Algeria in the winter of 1880/81,³ the second is the stature of Ben-Yehuda in the eyes of Algerian scholars as manifested in the eulogies

* This paper is based on a lecture delivered at the 44th annual conference of the Association for Jewish Studies, Chicago, IL, USA on December 16, 2012, which marked exactly the 90th yahrzeit of Eli'ezer Ben-Yehuda, who passed away on December 16, 1922. As a researcher of the Hebrew language, and in particular as I was personally acquainted with Ben-Yehuda's daughter, Dola Ben-Yehuda Wittmann (1902–2004), it was especially inspiring for me to lecture on Ben-Yehuda on that particular day. This study was supported by a grant from the Israel Science Foundation (578/13).

1 Ben-Yehuda 1948.

2 Ben-Yehuda was the editor of several Hebrew-language newspapers: *Ha-Zvi*, *Ha-'Or*, and *Hashkafa*. These journals can be read online on *The Historical Jewish Press* site at <http://web.nli.org.il/sites/JPress/Hebrew/Pages/AllJPressPage.aspx>.

3 Ben-Yehuda's sojourn in Algeria was noted in: Harshav 1990, p. 39; Y. Charvit, *The History of Algerian Jewry during the French Period (1830-1962)*, Tel Aviv 2010 [Hebrew], p. 81; O. Tirosh-Becker, "Algeria", in *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*, Ed. G. Khan, Brill Academic Publishers: Boston, 2013, vol.1, pp. 85-86.

published in Algeria following his death, and the third is the impact of Ben-Yehuda's language innovations on modern Hebrew in Algeria.

2. Ben-Yehuda's sojourn in Algeria

The relationship between Eli'ezer Ben-Yehuda and Algerian Jews began in the winter of 1880/81, which Ben-Yehuda spent in Algeria at the advice of his physicians, just a few months before his immigration to the Land of Israel. In the introduction to his monumental dictionary Ben-Yehuda reports of the great impression that the interaction with the Algerian elders had made on him. It was in Algiers, where he first heard Jews reading the Torah in Sephardic pronunciation. Furthermore, it was there that he had, for the first time, conversed in Hebrew out of actual necessity, and not for the sake of the idea of speaking in Hebrew. Ben-Yehuda conveys his excitement over the Hebrew conversations he held with the elders of Algiers' Jewish community, and reports that at times it felt like his natural speech. To quote from Ben-Yehuda's introduction to his dictionary:⁴

Meanwhile I suffered from tuberculosis, had to quit my studies in medical school, and was sent by order of my physicians to the city of Algiers. It was there that I heard *for the first time* Jews reading the Torah in a Sephardic pronunciation. That pronunciation left a very strong impression on me. It was in Algiers that for the first time I spoke Hebrew not for the sake of speaking Hebrew but out of actual necessity, because I could speak with their elders and *hakhamim* (= scholars), who did not know French, only in *leshon ha-qodesh* (= the holy tongue, i.e. Hebrew), which some of them mastered also as a language of speech. The days that I spent in Algiers bore double blessings. The African sun healed my body, and my Hebrew conversations with the elders of the Israelite community and its *hakhamim* improved my Hebrew speech proficiency. Moreover, there were even times when I felt that speaking Hebrew is my natural tongue.

During his stay in Algiers Ben-Yehuda published an open letter to Peretz Smolenskin, the editor of the Hebrew journal *Ha-Shahar* (= *The dawn*),⁵ in which he outlined his belief that the renewal of the Jewish nation in its homeland is coupled to the revival of Hebrew as the language of speech for its masses. This

4 Ben-Yehuda 1948, *Prolegomena*, p. 5.

5 *Ha-Shahar* (= *The dawn*), vol. 10, issue 5 (1881); see E. Ben-Yehuda, *Collected Works*, Vol. 1, Jerusalem 1941, pp. 27-33 [Hebrew].

letter, sent from Algiers, was one of the very first articles in which Ben-Yehuda formulated and conveyed his ideology.⁶

Ben-Yehuda's experience in Algiers, and his exposure to the Algerian Sephardic pronunciation of Hebrew, had no doubt impacted his subsequent efforts towards the revival of Hebrew as a spoken language, as well as his support of choosing the Sephardic pronunciation for the revived Hebrew speech.⁷ As Ben-Yehuda himself describes his impression of this pronunciation in explicit words: *va-ta'as 'alay havara zo rošem 'az me'od* (ותעש עלי הברה זו רושם עז מאוד) = and that [i.e., Sephardic] pronunciation left a very strong impression on me).⁸

The aforementioned quotation from Ben-Yehuda's prolegomena also offers a rare evidence that Hebrew was in fact *spoken* on special occasions by the Rabbanite elite in late nineteenth century Algeria, at least when meeting a foreign Jewish traveler. This counters the common belief that prior to its revival Hebrew had only a literary existence. The present testimony augments other evidence of this kind that Jewish travelers, when visiting far off Jewish communities, resorted to Hebrew as their language of oral communication. For example, in the epilogue to his book *Mahberet He-'Arukh*, the twelfth century Shelomo ben Farḥon writes that Jews from different European countries used Hebrew for inter-communication because of the mutual unintelligibility of their local languages.⁹ Likewise, the German traveler Arnold von Hertz reported that in the late fifteenth century Hebrew was spoken in Jerusalem, where Jews from a mosaic of communities lived side by side.¹⁰ Finally there is evidence that in

6 This is Ben-Yehuda's second article on the subject. The first article, entitled *Degel ha-le'umiyyut* (= Banner of nationalism), was written in Paris in late 1880. Interestingly, in his famous article *She'ela Nikhbada* (= A weighty question) Ben-Yehuda does not actually discuss the revival of Hebrew but only hints to the possibility of informal Hebrew speech. See Eldar 2010, pp. 40-41, fn. 60, 65 and references therein. Also see R. Kuzar, *Hebrew and Zionism: A Discourse Analytical Cultural Study*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter 2001, pp. 41-136.

7 For his 1903 speech in support of the Sephardic pronunciation see: לקט תעודות, להגות העברית, ולחידוש הדיבור העברי, לתולדות ועד הלשון: תר"ן – תש"ל, The Academy for Hebrew Language: Jerusalem, 1970, pp. 160-161 [Hebrew]. Also see Eldar 2010, pp. 59-62; Harshav 1990, pp. 37-44.

8 See fn. 4 above.

9 Morag 1957, pp. 9-10.

10 Morag 1957, p. 10; J. Klausner, "הדיבור העברי בא"י במאה הט"ו" (= Hebrew speech in Eretz Yisrael in the 15th century), in A. Tzifroni, A. Z. Rabinovich, and D. Shim'on-

Yemen and Morocco rabbinic scholars used Hebrew for their scholarly discourse.¹¹

3. The stature of Ben-Yehuda in the eyes of Jewish Algerian scholars

Ben-Yehuda's respect for the Algerian Jewish community was reciprocated with admiration. Ben-Yehuda was revered by the Algerian circles of *maskilim*, scholars of the Jewish Enlightenment movement.¹² On the stature of Ben-Yehuda among Jewish *maskilim* in Algeria we learn from eulogies for Ben-Yehuda in the weekly journal *al-Hikma*, which was the only Judeo-Arabic journal published in Algeria in the first half of the twentieth century.¹³ *El-Hikma* was printed in Constantine (the third largest city in Algeria) under the editorship of Rabbi Avraham Zerbib.¹⁴

According to publications in this journal, the passing of Eli'ezer Ben-Yehuda on December 16, 1922 was considered – at least in this Algerian Jewish community – a major event of national proportion. An obituary signed by the journal's director and employees was published at the top of the January 5, 1923 issue. The obituary reports on the demise of "the reviver of the Hebrew lan-

ovitch (eds.), ספר השנה של ארץ ישראל (= The Yearbook of Eretz Israel; Tel Aviv, 1923), pp. 114-117.

11 Morag 1957, p. 10.

12 Ben-Yehuda was also admired in other places in North Africa. In Libya an *Eli'ezer Ben-Yehuda Society* was established in 1931, with the goal of advancing Hebrew speech, see S. Sela, "Education", in *Libya: Jewish Communities in the East in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, ed. H. Saadoun, Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute 2007, pp. 105-108 [Hebrew]. Also see Sivan 1973, pp. 113-114.

13 After 1896 all other Jewish journals in Algeria were published in French, while Jewish journals published in nineteenth century Algeria prior to 1896 were written in Judeo-Arabic or appeared as bi-lingual Judeo-Arabic and French publications. See: Tirosh-Becker 2011, pp. 130-132.

14 Rabbi Avraham Zerbib (1870-1942), a native of Constantine, held an important position in his community as the chief ritual slaughterer. Later, in the 1930's, he became the Chief Rabbi of a neighboring town Setif where he served for many years, returning to Constantine only in old age. Zerbib was both a religious leader and a supporter of the Jewish Enlightenment movement (*Haskala*). In addition to editing the journal *El-Hikma*, Zerbib composed several treatises that were published only after his death. See Marciano 2002, p. 308; Y. Charvit, *Elite rabbinique d'Algérie et modernisation, 1750-1914*, Jerusalem, 1995, p. 101.

guage in the Land of Israel".¹⁵ This obituary was followed by a series of no less than five eulogies for Ben-Yehuda that appeared in subsequent issues of the journal.

The first of these eulogies appeared on January 12, 1923, in the first issue of *al-Ḥikma* published following the issue with the obituary. This eulogy, composed by the journal's editor Rabbi Avraham Zerbib in Judeo-Arabic, sheds light on Ben-Yehuda's standing among Algerian *maskilim*. In his eulogy Zerbib explains why he entitled Ben-Yehuda 'the *reviver* of the Hebrew language' and not 'the *father* of the Hebrew language', as he was designated in the journal *Do'ar Ha-Yom* (= *Daily Post*, Jerusalem, 1919–1936) published in the Land of Israel by Itamar Ben-Avi, Ben-Yehuda's own son. According to Zerbib the appellation 'father of the Hebrew language' was given to Ben-Yehuda in the Land of Israel, because he 'gave birth' of new Hebrew words.¹⁶ Namely, his lexical innovations position him as a father of the Hebrew language. However, for Algerian Jews Ben-Yehuda was the '*reviver* of the Hebrew Language', since Jews in the Diaspora spoke local languages at the expense of Hebrew, until Ben-Yehuda demanded of them to speak Hebrew for any and every purpose.¹⁷

In that issue, and in the two subsequent ones, the editor published Judeo-Arabic translations of the Hebrew eulogies that were read during Ben-Yehuda's funeral. These eulogies were composed by Menahem Ussishkin (1863–1941; a Zionist leader and head of the Jewish National Fund), David Yellin (1864–1941; a Zionist leader, among the founders of the Hebrew Language Committee and the Jewish Teachers Federation), Yosef Meyuḥas (1868–1942; founder of the National Library of Israel and among the founders of the Hebrew Language Committee) and Dr. Aharon Me'ir Mazia (1858–1930; a physician and a linguist, among the founders of the Hebrew Language Committee). All four were Ben-Yehuda's colleagues in the herculean task of reviving the Hebrew language. According to the journal's editor, Rabbi Avraham Zerbib, he translated these

15 The original wording in Judeo-Arabic: מוחיי אללסאן אלעברי פי אלוטן ארץ ישראל. This title was not unanimously accepted by Ben-Yehuda's contemporary opponents, see Reshef 2014, pp. 613–614.

16 The original wording in Judeo-Arabic: לי יתסמא אב הלשון ראה יולד לכלאם ללסאן לעברי.

17 מן סבת ליהוד פלגלות צארו יתכלמו בלסאן לוטן פאיין ראהום, ולסאן לעברי תנסא מנהום, והאד אלכיים ואקף (= Because the Jews in the Diaspora spoke the language of their country they had forgotten the Hebrew language, and this smart man demanded of the Jews to speak in Hebrew for all purposes).

eulogies from the December 19, 1922 issue of the Jerusalem-based journal *Do'ar Ha-Yom*, in which they were published a mere three days after Ben-Yehuda's departure.

In fact, Ben-Yehuda was considered by Algerian *maskilim* as one of the cornerstones of Zionism, on the same pedestal as Herzl. This is well described in a Judeo-Arabic article written by Avraham Zerbib on March 23, 1923, three months after Ben-Yehuda's demise. In that article the author lists 'four redemptions' (*'arba' gə'ullot*) based on the four verbs in Exodus 6:6–7,¹⁸ which are entitled the 'four languages of redemption' (*'arba' ləšonot gə'ulla*). These verbs are *və-hošetī* (= I will lead you out), *və-hišalti* (= I will save you), *və-ga'alti* (= I will redeem you), and *və-laqaḥti* (= I will take you). Zerbib also lists four *redeemers* (*'arba' a go'alim*), whose memory should be cherished forever, and four *redeemed* (*'arba' a gə'ulim*), which are the foundations of the Zionist movement. These four are Theodor Herzl¹⁹ – 'the redeemer of the nation', Joseph Chasanowich – 'the redeemer of the [Hebrew] literature',²⁰ Eli'ezer Ben-Yehuda – 'the redeemer of the [Hebrew] language', and Max Nordau – 'the redeemer of the land'.²¹

Thus writes Zerbib about Ben-Yehuda, the redeemer of the language:

Ben-Yehuda claimed that it was not sufficient for Jews to live in the land of Israel and speak foreign languages. It is essential that Jews in their homeland will speak only Hebrew at all times and for all purposes. He took upon himself that he and his family will speak only Hebrew. He taught his wife Hebrew and insisted that she speaks with her children only in Hebrew. It is told that once Ben-Yehuda returned home and saw his wife rocking their son to sleep singing in Russian. He was angry at her, and instructed her to put the baby to sleep using the Hebrew words *šəxav bəni, šəxav bəni*, meaning 'lay down to sleep my son'. On another occasion Ben-Yehuda shared with his friend that he and his wife would like their baby to speak only Hebrew. The friend responded saying: "You are crazy (*'anta mahbul*) teaching your son a dead language. What good will come of this? The child will be like a madman himself." However, Ben-Yehuda adhered to his mission; his son spoke only Hebrew, and did not become a madman... Today he is

18 Exodus 6:6–7 is part of the Torah section known as *parashat va-'Era*,

19 On Theodor Herzl (1860–1904) see I. Friedman, "Herzl, Theodor", *EJ*, Vol. 9, pp. 54–66.

20 On Joseph Chasanowich (1844–1919) see A. Yaari, "Chasanowich, Joseph", *EJ*, Vol. 4, pp. 580–581.

21 On Max Nordau (1849–1923) see M. Ben-Horin, "Nordau, Max", *EJ*, Vol. 15, pp. 297–299.

the chief editor of the large Jerusalemite journal *Do'ar Ha-Yom* that is written in this precious language, which is no longer a dead tongue. Ben-Yehuda revived the Hebrew language, and even non-Jews among the nations started speaking it, as we described in length in previous issues of the journal *al-Hikma*. It is said of Ben-Yehuda *və-ga'alti* (= and I will redeem) because he is the one who redeemed the Hebrew language from oblivion (lit. from its death).

4. Hebrew language innovation in Algeria

Circles of *maskilim*, namely scholars of the Jewish Enlightenment movement, were active in Algeria in the second half of the nineteenth century. Their activity included organization of Hebrew cultural events, establishment of a society for advancing Hebrew studies, and founding of public libraries thus making Modern Hebrew literature and journals accessible to the public.²² Among the leading *maskilim* in Algeria were Shalom Bekache²³ and Isaac Morali of Algiers,²⁴ and Ḥaim Beliaḥ of Tlemcen.²⁵ The Algerian *maskilim* were also the driving force behind the development of Hebrew press in Algeria towards the

22 Chetrit 1993, pp. 90-123; Chetrit 1990, p. 26; J. Chetrit, "New Consciousness of Anomaly and Language: The Beginnings of a Movement of Hebrew Enlightenment in Morocco at the end of the Nineteenth Century", *Miqqedem Umiyyam 2, Studies in the Jewish Society in Islamic Countries and Sephardic Diaspora* (1986), pp. 129-168 [Hebrew]; J. Chetrit, "La Haskala hébraïque au Maroc à la fin du XIX siècle et sa Contribution à l'apparition du mouvement sioniste", in I. Ben-Ami (ed.), *Recherches sur la culture des juifs d'Afrique du Nord*, Jerusalem 1991, pp. 313-331 [Hebrew].

23 Y. Tobi, "Bekache, Shalom", *EJIW*, vol. 1, pp. 368-369. Bekache published in his Judeo-Arabic newspaper *Beth Yisrael* (its French title: *Le peuple d'Israel*) an essay praising the Hebrew language and its role in Jewish culture (issue 1 [June 25, 1891], cols. 4-9; issue 2 [July 2, 1891], cols. 21-25). See Tirosh-Becker 2011, p. 129; Chetrit 1993, p. 101; Chetrit 1990, pp. 18, 27, 40-42.

24 Y. Charvit, "Morali, Isaac", *EJIW*, vol. 3, pp. 458-459; E. Hazan, "The Literary Activity of R. Isaac Morali and his Plan to Collect the Hebrew Poetry of Algeria", *Pe'amim* 91 (2002), pp. 65-78 [Hebrew]; Chetrit 1990, pp. 42-43.

25 Marciano 2002, p. 134; Y. Charvit, "רבה של תלמסאן וחכמי – הרב חיים בלייה (1832-1919) – ארץ ישראל: הרחבת תקנת הפקעת הקידושין" (= Rabbi Ḥaim Beliaḥ (1832-1919) the Rabbi of Tlemcen and Eretz Yisrael), *Mahut: Journal of Jewish Literature and Art* 25 (2002), pp. 163-174 [Hebrew]; E. Hazan, "איגרת מרבי חיים בלייה מתלמסאן לרבי אשר ג'אמי בתוניס – (1881) – 'התרמ"א'" (= A letter from Rabbi Ḥaim Beliaḥ of Tlemcen to Rabbi Asher Jami in Tunis 1881), *Studies in the Culture of North African Jewry: Edited and Interpreted Texts*, M. Bar-Asher and S. Fraade (eds.), Jerusalem 2011, pp. 107-113 [Hebrew].

end of the 19th century.²⁶ The translation of Avraham Mapu's pivotal book 'Ahavat Zion (= *The Love of Zion*) into Algerian Judeo-Arabic by Rabbi Yosef Renassia (1879-1962) of Constantine²⁷ testifies to the importance of Hebrew Enlightenment literature to Algerian Jews. Interestingly, Mapu's book was also translated into other Judeo-Arabic dialects²⁸ as well as other Jewish languages, such as Yiddish,²⁹ Ladino,³⁰ and Judeo-Persian.³¹

These *maskilim*, for whom the Hebrew language was an integral part of their national identity, submitted Hebrew articles to European Jewish *Haskala* newspapers that were read in urban centers throughout North Africa, some even

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- 26 R. Attal and M. Harroch, "Hebrew and Judaeo-Arabic Printing in Algiers", *Kiryat Sefer* 61:3 (1986-7), pp. 561-572 [Hebrew]; R. Attal, "Hebrew and Judaeo-Arabic Printing in Oran (Algeria)", *Kiryat Sefer, Collected Essays*, supplement to vol. 68 (1998), pp. 85-92 [Hebrew]. See also J. Fraenkel, *L'Imprimerie Hébraïque à Djerba (étude bibliographique)*, Thèse de doctorat de troisième cycle, Université de Paris III, Paris, 1982; R. Attal, "The Books of Shalom Békache, Publisher in Algiers", *Alei Sefer* 2 (1976), pp. 219-228 [Hebrew]; Cf. J. Tedghi, *Le livre et l'imprimerie hébraïques à Fes*, Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute 1994 [Hebrew].
- 27 O. Tirosh-Becker, *Phonology and Topics in the Morphology of a Judeo-Arabic Translation of Psalms from Constantine (Algeria)*, Master's thesis, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1988, pp. 4-6 [Hebrew]; Y. Charvit, "Renassia, Joseph," *EJIW*, vol. 4, pp. 157-159; Y. Charvit, "Rabbi Renassia: A Portrait of a Spiritual Leader in French Algeria (1879-1962)", in M. Orfali and E. Hazan (eds.), *Progress and Tradition: Creativity, Leadership and Acculturation Processes among the Jews of North Africa*, Jerusalem 2005, pp. 89-96 [Hebrew].
- 28 R. Attal, "Les traductions en judéo-arabe tunisien des oeuvres d'Abraham Mapu", *Revue des Etudes Juives* 134 (1975), pp. 137-144. For example, Zemah ben Nathan Halevi, *אהבת ציון או חכאית אמנון ותמר* (= *The Love of Zion or the Story of Amnon and Tamar*), Tunis, [before 1890].
- 29 For example, Menahem Berish Appleboim, *אמנון ואון תמר* (= *Amnon and Tamar*), Warsaw 1923.
- 30 For example, David Fresko, *אמור די ציון: רומאנסו דיל איסקריטור אברהם מאפו* (= *The Lovers of Zion: A Romance by Avraham Mapu*), Saloniki 1894. On the author see David M. Bunis, "The Autobiographical Writings of Constantinople Judezmo Journalist David Fresko as a Clue to His Language Attitudes," C. Herzog & R. Wittmann (eds.), *Self-Narratives of the Ottoman Realm: Individual and Empire in the Near East*, vol. 1, London: Ashgate, forthcoming.
- 31 For example, Shime'on Hakham, *ספר אהבת ציון* (= *The Book of the Love of Zion*), Jerusalem 1913.

serving as their local correspondents.³² As early as 1864 *Ha-Maggid* (= *The Preacher*; the first Hebrew weekly journal published in central Europe, 1856–1903) published an article by Eliyahu Djerbi of Blida, a town near Algiers.³³ It was followed by a series of articles from a variety of Algerian communities. Eulogies for North African figures of stature were also published in these journals, indicating that they had a relatively broad readership in North Africa.³⁴ Reports from North Africa also appeared in Hebrew journals published in Jerusalem in the '80s and '90s of the nineteenth century, such as Ben-Yehuda's newspapers *Ha-'Or* (= *The Light*, Jerusalem, 1890–1893) and *Ha-Zvi* (= *The Gazelle*, Jerusalem, 1884–1902, 1908–1915).³⁵ Despite the broad Jewish journalistic activity in Algeria, no Hebrew newspaper was published in Algeria itself. Early Algerian Jewish newspapers, the first of which was the bi-lingual French and Judeo-Arabic *L'Israélite Algérien/ʿaddziri* (= *The Algerian*) in 1870, were published either in Judeo-Arabic or as bilingual French and Judeo-Arabic journals, while later journals were mainly published in French alone.³⁶ It is through Hebrew journals that Ben-Yehuda's lexical innovations reached the Algerian *maskilim*, in particular via Itamar Ben-Avi's journal *Do'ar Ha-Yom* that frequently published these innovations.

32 Chetrit 1990, pp. 13-14; Chetrit 1993, pp. 111-112. For example, Hebrew *Haskala* journals were read by Jewish *maskilim* in Morocco, some of which sent articles for publication in these journals, e.g. Isaac ben Ya'ish Halevi from Mogador, who sent articles to *Ha-Zafira* and *Ha-Maggid*. See A. Maman, "Language", in *Morocco: Jewish Communities in the East in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, ed. H. Saadoun, Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute 2003, pp. 150-151 [Hebrew].

33 Chetrit 1990, pp. 13, 55 fn. 8.

34 For example, eulogies for Rabbi Refa'el David Morali (November 25, 1892, by Shalom Bekache) and for Yossef Şerur (February 1, 1894, by Isaac Morali) were published in *Ha-Maggid*. Cf. Chetrit 1990, p. 56 fn. 16.

35 See footnote 2 above.

36 R. Attal, "The first Jewish newspaper in the Maghreb - *L'Israélite Algérien*, 1870", *Pe'amim* 17 (1984), pp. 88-95 [Hebrew]; R. Attal, *Périodiques juifs d'Afrique du Nord*, Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 1980 [Hebrew]; R. Attal, *La presse périodique juive d'Afrique du Nord*, Tel-Aviv 1996 [Hebrew]; Tirosh-Becker 2011, pp. 130-132. On the use of French by Algerian Jews see C. Aslanov, "The French Spoken by Algerian Jewry," in *Algeria: Jewish Communities in the East in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, ed. H. Saadoun, Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute 2011, pp. 133-138 [Hebrew]. See also M. Cohen, *Le parler arabe des juifs d'Alger*, Paris 1912, pp. 1-15.

The modernity that was introduced by French colonization required Algerian Hebrew and Judeo-Arabic scholars to address an array of new concepts, technologies and discoveries in multiple and rapidly developing fields of knowledge. Thus it was necessary to expand the lexicon of both Hebrew and Judeo-Arabic accordingly. An effort towards that goal is reflected in a trilingual French-Hebrew-Arabic dictionary that was published by Rabbi Yosef Renassia of Constantine around 1930.³⁷ This comprehensive trilingual dictionary holds more than 11,000 entries, reflecting a broad range of topics from all walks of life. In this dictionary Rabbi Renassia relied on his mastery in the various strata of Hebrew. For example the entry *yeter* 'oz (יֵתֶר עֹז) for 'reinforcement' was drawn from biblical Hebrew,³⁸ while 'even šo'evet (אֶבֶן שְׂוֵבֶת) literally 'a drawing stone' for 'a magnet' is based on its use in the Talmud.³⁹ The phrase *hoxmat hanefesh ve-xohoteha* (הַחֲכָמָה הַנֶּפֶשׁ וְכֹחוֹתֶיהָ) lit. the wisdom of the soul and its fortitude) that denotes 'psychology',⁴⁰ is coined in a template that was common in medieval Hebrew, similar to *hoxmat ha-lašon* (הַחֲכָמָה הַלְשׁוֹן) that reflects the Arabic 'ilm al-luġa (علم اللغة).⁴¹ Both *hoxmat ha-lašon* and 'ilm al-luġa for 'lexicography, philo-

37 Renassia 1930. See Tirosh-Becker 2011, pp. 129-130. Each entry in this trilingual dictionary includes five columns: 1. French, 2. Hebrew in Hebrew script, 3. Hebrew transcribed into Latin characters, 4. Arabic in Arabic script, 5. Arabic transcribed into Latin characters. I intend to publish a comprehensive study of this dictionary elsewhere.

38 Renassia 1930a, p. 381: *renfort* – יֵתֶר עֹז (iéthère âze) – زيادة القوة (ziadeth elk'oua). Cf. Gen 49:3: יֵתֶר שְׂאֵת וְיֵתֶר עֹז. Citations from this dictionary in the present paper are given exactly as they appear in the original book (transcription, punctuation, etc.). Sometimes the Hebrew words in the dictionary entries were not fully punctuated, and at times they do not conform with standard punctuation rules.

39 Renassia 1930a, p. 12: *aimant* – אֶבֶן שְׂוֵבֶת (ébène choébèthe) – منغاطيس (mèneghatisse). Cf. *b. Soṭa* 47a, *b. Sanhedrin* 107b, and *b. 'Avoda Zara* 44a, and see Rashi's explanation of this expression in the Talmud, e.g. in his commentary on *b. Soṭa* 47a: אֶבֶן שְׂוֵבֶת – שְׂוֵבֶת אֶת הַמַּתְכָּה מִן הָאֶרֶץ וּמַעֲמִידָתָהּ בְּאוֹרֵי שְׁמֵשׁ. The term 'even šo'evet is also used by Bible exegetes such as Rabbi David Kimḥi. Cf. M. A. Ginsburg, a Jewish Enlightenment scholar from Lithuania (1785-1846), added the word *mahat* (= niddle) to this term, forming the expression *mahat 'even ha-šo'evet* (מַחַט אֶבֶן הַשְׂוֵבֶת) for 'compass'; see Kaddari 2002, p. 38.

40 Renassia 1930a, p. 362: *psychologie* – חֲכָמָה הַנֶּפֶשׁ וְכֹחוֹתֶיהָ (h'okh'math hannéfeche ouékoh'othéha) – علم النفس (ölme elnefs).

41 Ben-Yehuda 1948, vol. 3, pp. 1548-1549 (entry חֲכָמָה); vol. 5, p. 2740 (entry לְשׁוֹן).

logy' appear in this Algerian dictionary.⁴² The three-word expression 'otzar kli *hemda* (אוצר כלי המדה; lit. a collection of precious objects) for a 'museum' was drawn from the literature of the *Haskala*.⁴³ It is also evident that the Hebrew of the Revival Period – championed by Ben-Yehuda and his colleagues – had an impact on the author of this comprehensive Algerian dictionary, as quite a few words in this dictionary can be traced back to Ben-Yehuda and his circle.

It is well known that Ben-Yehuda strived to limit the influence of European languages on the revived Hebrew.⁴⁴ While the earlier European *maskilim* often coined new terms using two- or three- word phrases that mirror the original German words, Ben-Yehuda and his circle preferred to replace those terms with

42 In his dictionary Renassia distinguishes between 'lexicography' and 'philology' (*hoxmat ha-lašon*; הלשון) and grammar (*hoxmat ha-diqduq*; הדקדוק), both coined in the same pattern. Interestingly, Renassia uses the Hebrew term *hoxmat ha-lašon* and the Arabic term 'ilm al-luġa also as the counterparts of 'literature'. Renassia 1930a, p. 231: *grammaire* – הלשון (sic!) (h'okh'math haddik'dok') – علم النحو (ōlme èneh'ou); p. 280: *lexicographe* (sic!) – הלשון (h'okh'math hallachone) – علم اللغة (ōlme elgha); p. 337: *philologie* – הלשון (h'okh'math hallachone) – علم اللغة (ōlme elgha); p. 282: *littérature* – הלשון (h'okh'math hallachone) – علم اللغة (ōlme elgh'a).

43 Renassia 1930a, p. 306: *musée* – אוצר כלי חמדה (ōtsar kēli h'emda) – خزانة الفنون (kh'zaneth el fnoune). This term is based on the biblical phrase 'otzar kol kli *hemda* in Hosea 13:15 (הוא יִשָּׁקָה אוצר כל כלי המדה); JPS Tanakh translation: That [wind] shall plunder treasures, every lovely object). According to Ben-Yehuda's dictionary the use of 'otzar (אוצר) to denote 'a room to store objects' is from Medieval Hebrew, see Ben-Yehuda 1948, vol. 1, p. 112 (entry אוצר). 'Otzar as 'a warehouse' is found in a 1897 issue of *Ha-Zvi*, a late nineteenth century Hebrew journal from Jerusalem, see Ornan 1996, p. 7. Renassia's use of 'otzar in the entry *musée* is mirrored by his choice for the Arabic counterpart *xizāna* (خزانة), which means 'a warehouse' among other things (Hava 1970, p. 166), hence *xizānat al-funūn* means 'the place where art objects are stored'. This pattern is also used in Algerian Arabic in the term *xizānat al-kutub* (خزانة الكتب) which denotes 'a library', namely 'the place where books are stored', see Beaussier 1958, p. 280; Ben Sedira 1995, p. 84. Indeed this is the Arabic term that Renassia uses for *bibliothèque*, see Renassia 1930a, p. 39: *bibliothèque* – ארְגַּזִּים – (argaze hassépharime) – خزانة الكتب (kh'zaneth el kthabe). As *bibliothèque* means both 'a library' and 'a bookcase', Renassia in his choice for the Hebrew counterpart – 'argaz ha-səfarim – refers to the latter meaning.

44 See, for example, Ben-Yehuda 1948, *Prolegomena*, pp. 13-14; Eldar 2010, p. 91.

a single Hebrew counterpart.⁴⁵ Instead of *mixtav* 'itti (מִכְתָּב עִתִּי; *periodical writing*) for 'a newspaper', which mirrors the German *Zeitschrift*, Ben-Yehuda coined the single word 'itton (עִתּוֹן);⁴⁶ instead of *sefer millim* (סֵפֶר מִלִּים; word book) for 'a dictionary', which reflects the German *Wörterbuch*, he introduced *millon* (מִלּוֹן);⁴⁷ and to denote a 'clock' he adopted his friend Yehiel Michel Pines'⁴⁸ suggestion *ša'on* (שָׁעוֹן) instead of the two-word phrase *more ša'ot* (מִוְרָה שְׁעוֹת; lit. hour indicator) used by the *maskilim*.⁴⁹

Indeed, some, albeit not all, of Ben-Yehuda's innovations found their way to Renassia's dictionary. As the equivalent of the French word *dictionnaire* Renassia brings Ben-Yehuda's word *millon* (מִלּוֹן), to which he adds in parenthesis a two-word alternative *sefer hal-lašon* (סֵפֶר הַלְשׁוֹן), literally 'the book of the language', which translates his Arabic equivalent *kitāb al-luġa* (كتاب اللغة).⁵⁰ The fact that he felt the necessity to add an alternative to the word *millon* may indicate that this word was still considered rather new around 1930, when this dictionary was compiled. The Hebrew word *millon* occurs in this Algerian dictionary again in the term *millon qaṭan* (מִלּוֹן קָטָן; = a small dictionary) as the Hebrew equivalent for the French word *lexique* (a lexicon). In this case the author uses the common Arabic term *qāmūs* (قاموس) as its Arabic counterpart.⁵¹ Another example is the word *ša'on* that appears in this Algerian dictionary as well, although Renassia distinguishes between 'a watch' and 'a clock' as is common in French. He used the word *ša'on* (שָׁעוֹן) to denote 'a watch' (F. *montre*) and kept

45 Sivan 1966, pp. 189-199; D. Yellin, "מרחיבים – מחריבים", תר"ן – לקט תעודות לתולדות ועד הלשון: תר"ן – תש"ל, ולחידוש הדיבור העברי The Academy for Hebrew Language: Jerusalem, 1970, p. 153 [Hebrew]. Felman 1989-1990, pp. 215-221.

46 On the word 'itton see Sivan 1966, p. 194.

47 Sivan 1973, pp. 83-85.

48 Yehiel Michel Pines was a rabbi and Zionist activist (1843–1913), see G. Yardeni-Agmon, "Pines, Yehiel Michael," *EJ*². Vol. 16, pp. 167-168.

49 Sivan 1988, pp. 14-16. An argument in favor of the new word שָׁעוֹן over the older מִוְרָה שְׁעוֹת was given by Y. Klausner, who claimed that it was necessary to distinguish between מִוְרָה שְׁעוֹת that denotes a 'private tutor' and מִוְרָה שְׁעוֹת that means 'a clock'. See R. Sivan, *ibid*, p. 16; Sivan 1966, pp. 189-190.

50 Renassia 1930a, p. 145: *dictionnaire* – מִלּוֹן (סֵפֶר הַלְשׁוֹן) (mil-lone, séfère hallachone) – كتاب اللغة (sic!) (kthabe elgha). Cf. Beaussier who mentions *lexicographie* as one of the meanings of لُغَة see Beaussier 1958, p. 904.

51 Renassia 1930a, p. 280: *lexique* – מִלּוֹן קָטָן (mil-lone k'atane) – قاموس (k'amouss).

the older term *more ša'ot* (מורה שעות) to designate *horloge*, namely 'a clock'.⁵² For 'train' Renassia offers Itamar Ben-Avi's word *rakevet* (רכבת) alongside the two-word alternative *mesillat ha-barzel* (מסילת הברזל), which means 'rail'.⁵³

Nonetheless, there are also one-word terms coined in a similar way that had evidently not reached Algeria by 1930 or simply not adopted, as we find in Renassia's dictionary only their two-word equivalents. For example, Renassia still uses the *maskilim* term *mixtav 'itti* (מכתב עתי) for 'journal' and not Ben-Yehuda's innovation *'itton* (עתון).⁵⁴ This two-word term is reflected in Renassia's choice for the Arabic counterpart *waraqa waqtiyya* (ورقة وقتية), which also resonates with the Arabic term *waraqa xabariyya* (ورقة خبرية; = journal).⁵⁵ Interestingly, he did not use the common Arabic terms *ğarida* (جريدة) or *ṣaḥifa* (صحيفة), which are documented in Algerian Muslim Arabic.⁵⁶ Likewise, Renassia uses *batte 'enayim* (בתי עינים; lit. 'apparatus' for eyes) for 'glasses' and not *mišqafayim* (משקפים),⁵⁷ *sar šava* (שר צבא; lit. army commander) for 'general' instead of *mašbi*

52 Renassia 1930a, pp. 243: *horloge* – מורה שעות (sic!) (moré chaôth) – ساعة كبيرة (saâ kbira); p. 303: *montre* – שעון (chaône) – ساعة (saâ).

53 Renassia 1930a, p. 444: *train* – מסילת הברזל (msil-lath habbarzèle-rakkébeth) – *شمان دڨير* (trik' el h'dide, chemane dfire). Note that the term which appears in Arabic characters *شمان دڨير* is in fact a transliteration of the French term *Chemin de fer* (= railway, train). Cf. *bābor* (بالور) in Algerian Arabic, see Beaussier 1958, p. 27. The term *mesillat barzel* (מסילת ברזל) appears again as part of the Hebrew equivalent for French *tramway* (= tram) – *mesillat barzel baš-ševakim* (מסילת ברזל בשוקים), lit. a tram in the markets, see Renassia 1930a, p. 445 (interestingly, in the 3rd column of this entry Renassia wrote *âghala guédoula*, lit. 'a big carriage', instead of writing the transcription of the Hebrew term as usual). More on the word *rakevet* see R. Sivan, "מחיי המילים: א. קטאר ורכבת", *Leshonenu La'am* 17 (1966), issue 5-6 [167-168], p. 151-153; Sivan 1973, pp. 92-93. R. Sivan reports that Aḥad Ha'am in his 1905 letter to Droyanov used the word *rakevet* quite unwillingly, saying that "reluctantly we have to use this Jerusalemite language" (בעל כורחנו אנו צריכים ללשון הירושלמית), see Sivan 1966, p. 190. On the reluctance of the European *maskilim* to adopt the Hebrew innovations from the Land of Israel see Eldar 2010, pp. 96-100; Reshef 2014, pp. 618-623.

54 Renassia 1930a, p. 271: *journal* – מכתב עתי (mikh'thab itthi) – ورقة وقتية (ourka ouektia). Also see Sivan 1966, p. 194.

55 Beaussier 1958, p. 1052.

56 Beaussier 1958, pp. 138 (جريدة), 562 (صحيفة).

57 Renassia 1930a, p. 286: *lunettes* – בתי עינים (batthi ênaïme) – نواظر (nouadère) [the diacritic mark of the ط was omitted in the text]. See Sivan 1988, pp. 11-14. The term *batte 'enayim* is found already in a rabbinic responsa from the sixteenth century, see

(מַצְבִּיא),⁵⁸ and the somewhat awkward term 'sailor's guide', *manhig ha-malahim* (מְנַהֵיג הַמִּלָּחִים), as the Hebrew equivalent of 'compass', rather than the newer term *maspen* (מַצְפֵּן), which was coined by David Yellin.⁵⁹

In addition to the above tendency towards one-word terms, Ben-Yehuda's influence can be also seen elsewhere in this Algerian dictionary. The verb 'to fly' (F. *voler*) is translated in Renassia's dictionary by the Hebrew verb 'af' (עָף). He uses the term *ma'ofefa* (מְעוֹפֶפָה) as the Hebrew counterpart for both 'airplane' (F. *aeroplane*) and 'airship' (F. *ballon*), the latter referring to a 'zeppelin', which was still a dominant mean of transportation in the 1930s.⁶⁰ This noun *ma'ofefa* resonates with the noun *ma'ofef* (מְעוֹפֵף) for 'flight pilot', which Ben-Yehuda coined based on the Medieval Hebrew use of this word to denote 'those whose nature is to fly'.⁶¹ For 'airship' Ben-Yehuda introduced the word 'aviron' (אָוִירוֹן).⁶²

N. Shapira, "הלשון הטכנית בספרות הרבנית" (= technical language in rabbinic literature), *Leshonenu* 26 (1962), p. 215 [Hebrew]; H. Rabin, "עברית מדוברת לפני 125 שנה" (= Spoken Hebrew 125 years ago), *Leshonenu La'am* 14 (1963), issue 5 [137], pp. 116-117 fn. 17; Sivan 1966, p. 191. The term *batte 'enayim* also appears in a 1904 issue of Ben-Yehuda's own newspaper the *Hashkafa*, see Ornan 1996, p. 47.

58 Renassia 1930a, p. 225: *généralissime* – שָׂר צָבָא (sic!) (sare tsaba) – قائد جيش (k'aide djiche). Also see Sivan 1966, p. 192.

59 Renassia 1930a, p. 50: *boussole* – מְנַהֵיג הַמִּלָּחִים (sic!) (manehigh hammallah'ime) – ماعون يوري الطريق (maône iouerri etrik). Also see Sivan 1966, p. 190.

60 Renassia 1930a, p. 7: *aéropplane* – מְעוֹפֶפָה (méôphépha) – قبة الهواء (kobbeth lahoua); p. 32: *ballon* – מְעוֹפֵף (méôphépha) – طائرة (tiyara) [note that מְעוֹפֵף is masculine but its transcription méôphépha is feminine]. Cf. Renassia 1930a, p. 7: *aérostat* – אֶהָל – זָרוֹק/מִגְדָּל פּוֹרֵחַ (ohèle zarok'/mighdal poreyah') – طائرة (tyara). The term *migdal ha-poreah ba-'avir* (מגדל הפורה באויר) for 'a balloon' is found in the writings of the nineteenth century Jewish Enlightenment scholar Z. H. Slonimski, see Kaddari 2002, p. 39. This use is based on the occurrence of this term in the Talmud (*b. Hagiga* 15b, *b. Sanhedrin* 106b) albeit in a different meaning (an open air tower).

61 Ben-Yehuda 1948, vol. 6, pp. 3156-3157; Ornan 1996, p. 177.

62 The word 'aviron' (אָוִירוֹן; = airplane) does not appear in Ben-Yehuda's dictionary. Under the entry 'avir' (אָוִיר; = air) he lists only *safinat 'avir* (ספינת אויר; = airship) and *sappan 'avir* (ספן אויר; = airship pilot). See Ben-Yehuda 1948, vol. 6, pp. 3156-3157. Re'uven Sivan comments: (= the word 'aviron was listed among 'war' entries without a definition), see R. Sivan, "חידושי" (= Eliezer Ben-Yehuda's word innovations according to his dictionary), *Leshonenu La'am* 12 (1961), issue 2-3 [114-115], p. 43. Also see Ornan 1996, pp. 6 (אָוִירוֹן), 177 (מְעוֹפֵף); Sivan 1966, p. 217 (מָטוֹס – אָוִירוֹן) [Hebrew]; R. Sivan, "מחיי מלים: קב. אָוִירוֹן" (= From the life of words: 120. 'aviron), *Leshonenu La'am* 23 (1972), issue 9 [229], pp. 254-255.

Interestingly, both *'aviron* and *ma'ofef* were pushed aside by the noun *maṭos* (מטוס) and the verb *tas* (טפ) that were later proposed by H. N. Bialik, who advocated the use of a single root for all verbs and nouns related to flight, such as *maṭos* (מטוס; plane), *tayyas* (טיס; pilot); *tayis* (טיס; flying); *tisa* (טיסה; flight), and *tayyeset* (טיסות; squadron).⁶³

Another example: for the French word *parapluie*, which means 'an umbrella', the Algerian dictionary gives the Hebrew *maṭṭara* (מטרה; which in contemporary Hebrew is used for 'a target') with an alternative rendering *maḥase* (מחסה) that denotes 'a shelter'.⁶⁴ The word *maṭṭara* shares its root \sqrt{mtr} (that is related to 'rain') with the word *miṭriyya* (מיטריה), which was coined by Ben-Yehuda for this object. In this case Ben-Yehuda used the known Arabic suffix *-iyya* while Renassia preferred the Hebrew suffix *-a*.⁶⁵ Among Ben-Yehuda's innovations, which were either not known in Algeria or not adopted by the author of this dictionary, are words such as *'adišut* (אדישות; indifference) and *'agvaniyya* (עגבנייה; tomato).⁶⁶

When Ben-Yehuda encountered missing lexemes that were necessary for rejuvenating the Hebrew speech he first and foremost relied on earlier strata of Hebrew and on Aramaic. However, when he did not find a suitable solution there, he turned to Arabic looking for appropriate roots.⁶⁷ Examples are words such as *hagira* (הגירה) for 'immigration' based on the Arabic root \sqrt{hgr} (هجر), *rišmi* (רשמי) for 'official' based on Arabic *rasmi* (رسمي), *basima* (בשימה) for 'a smile' reflecting the Arabic *basma*, *'ibtisāma* (ابتسامة),⁶⁸ *'adiv* (אדיב) for 'polite' based on Arabic *'adib* (أديب),⁶⁹ and *midraša* (מדרשה) for 'school' based on Arabic *madrassa*

63 Sivan 1966, pp. 215-216; S. Barak and R. Gadish (eds.), *Safa Qama: Selections from the Leshonenu La'am Column, Ha'aretz, 1932-1944*, Jerusalem: The Academy of the Hebrew Language 2009, p. 158, §325 [Hebrew].

64 Renassia 1930a, p. 323: *parapluie* – (מחסה) (sic!) (*mattara*) – سيوانة (*siouana*).

65 Felman 1989-1990, pp. 215-221 (p. 219: מטריה). D. Almagor, "פיצוחייה – יה – יה", *Leshonenu La'am* 45 (1994), issue 2, p. 55 [Hebrew].

66 On *'agvaniyya* (עגבנייה) see R. Sivan, "העגבנייה ומה שעוללו לה שמותיה" (= The *'agvaniyya* and its names), *Leshonenu La'am* 22 (1971), issue 3 [213], pp. 77-104 [Hebrew]. The words *rišmi* (רשמי) and *basima* (בשימה) discussed below are additional examples for Ben-Yehuda's innovations that do not appear in this Algerian dictionary.

67 Felman 1989-1990, p. 219.

68 Ornan 1996, pp. 46-47.

69 Ben-Yehuda suggests that there may be an ancient Hebrew origin for this word as well, see Ben-Yehuda 1948, vol. 1, p. 59 (entry אדיב), fn. 1.

(مدرسة).⁷⁰ We identify this very same logic – possibly influenced by Ben-Yehuda's approach – in Renassia's trilingual dictionary. At times this Algerian author turns to Arabic for solving lexical gaps in Hebrew. In fact, Renassia was very much aware of the cognate nature of Hebrew and Arabic and has published multiple cognate pairs in his book *Analogies hébraïco-arabe* (Constantine, circ. 1930).⁷¹

In some cases Renassia includes terms in his dictionary that are most likely calques of Arabic counterparts. Thus, for 'barometer' (F. *baromètre*) Renassia brings the term *mozne* 'avir (מֶזְנֵי הָאֵוִיר; air balances),⁷² which is similar to Ben-Yehuda's Arabic inspired *mozen* 'avir (מֶזְנֵן הָאֵוִיר; air balance),⁷³ although we cannot know whether in this case Renassia did not directly rely on the Arabic counterpart *mizān al-hawā* (مِيزَانُ الْهَوَاءِ), which was used in Algeria as well.⁷⁴ Another example is the Hebrew term *hag ha-šotim* (חַג הַשּׁוֹטִים; literally 'the holiday of fools') for 'carnival' based on the Maghrebi Arabic term 'id al-mahābil (عيد المهابيل).⁷⁵ Also note his use of *šva* 'i (שָׁבָאִי) for 'a soldier' (F. *soldat*), which reflects the Arabic word 'askari (عسكري),⁷⁶ not using the maskilim's term 'iš šava (אִישׁ שָׁבָא) nor Ben-Yehuda's innovation *hayyal* (חַיִּיל).⁷⁷ Likewise, Renassia suggested *šura* (צוּרָה) for 'a photo' (a noun that is used in Modern Hebrew for 'shape, form'), clearly mirroring the Arabic term *šūra* (صورة),⁷⁸ again not men-

70 See Ben-Yehuda 1948, vol. 6, p. 2818 (entry מדרשה) where he explains: שם לבית ספר תיכון, בין בית ספר למתחילים ובין בתי הספר העליונים, נהוג בדיבור העברי בא"י והשתמשו בו בהעתונים (= A name for a middle school, between a beginners' school and high schools, it is commonly used in Hebrew speech in the Land of Israel and in the journals (*Ha-Or*, *Heshvan* 1914). In a footnote he adds: כך בערב' מדרשה: (= Cf. in Arabic *madrassa*).

71 Renassia 1930b.

72 Renassia 1930a, p. 34: *baromètre* – מֶזְנֵי הָאֵוִיר (sic!) (*mozné-haavire*) – مِيزَانُ الْهَوَاءِ (*mizane lahoua*).

73 Ben-Yehuda 1948, vol. 1, p. 97 (in the entry אויר): מאזן האויר (= an instrument to weigh air pressure).

74 Beaussier 1958, p. 1054.

75 Renassia 1930a, p. 66: *carnaval* – חַג הַשּׁוֹטִים (*h'agh hachotim*) – عيد المهابيل (*ide elemehabèl*).

76 Renassia 1930a, p. 413: *soldat* – שָׁבָאִי (*tsébaï*) – عسكري (*âskri*).

77 Sivan 1966, p. 191; R. Sivan 1973, pp. 91-92.

78 Renassia 1930a, p. 337: *photo* – צוּרָה (*tsoura*) – صورة (*tsoura*); p. 213: *forme* – צוּרָה (*tsoura*) – صورة (*tsoura*),

tioning the older two-word term *ṣiyyur* ציור אור⁷⁹ nor David Yellin's innovation *ṣillum* (צלום).⁸⁰

5. Conclusion

To conclude, in this paper we shed light on several aspects of the relationship between Ben-Yehuda and Algerian Jews. First, we discussed Ben-Yehuda's sojourn in Algiers early in his life, and the impact that his exposure to Hebrew speech there had made on him and on his future preference for the Sephardic pronunciation. Next we accounted for the high stature of Ben-Yehuda in the eyes of Algerian Enlightenment scholars, who revered him as one of the cornerstones of Zionism. Finally, we presented the impact that Hebrew revival, championed by Ben-Yehuda and his colleagues in the Land of Israel, had made on Hebrew in Algiers as exemplified by their language innovations that found their way into a tri-lingual French-Hebrew-Arabic dictionary composed in Constantine around 1930.

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⁷⁹ Ornan 1996, p. 260.

⁸⁰ Sivan 1966, p. 190. See Renassia 1930b, p. 122: *forme* – צורה – *ṣūra* – *tsora*.

⁸¹ Complete bibliographic details of references that are cited in this paper only once are given in the footnotes. The list below includes only references that were cited more than once using the abbreviations.

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