

Direct and Indirect Lexical Origins of the Dialect of Constantine

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Abstract

The dialect of Constantine is the one spoken in the region of Constantine, situated in the eastern side of Algeria. It is unstandardised and considered as an under-resource language. The aim of this paper is to describe the direct and indirect loan words' origins of the linguistic system used on a daily basis by the population of the city of Constantine. A historical background of the city is provided to understand the features of its linguistic levels. The specificities of the language are described and exemplified. Using an etymological approach, the different lexical origins are highlighted. The emphasis is laid on the direct and indirect origins of its lexis.

Keywords: Dialect of Constantine, Etymology, Direct and indirect Lexical Loans.

Faiza Benlaksira*

Faculty of Letters and
Languages
Department of Foreign
Languages
University of Mentouri
Constantine I
(Algeria)

Résumé

Le parler constantinois est celui utilisé dans la région de Constantine, située dans l'est de l'Algérie. Le parler n'est pas standardisé et est considéré comme une langue sous-ressourcée. L'objectif de cet article est de décrire l'origine directe et indirecte des emprunts lexicaux du système linguistique utilisé de façon quotidienne par les habitants de Constantine. Un aperçu historique de la ville est fourni pour la compréhension de tous ces niveaux linguistiques. Les spécificités de la langue sont décrites et exemplifiées. Utilisant une approche étymologique, les différentes origines lexicales sont surlignées. L'accent est sur l'origine directe et indirecte de son lexis.

Mots clés: le parler constantinois, étymologie, les emprunts lexicaux directs et indirectes

ملخص

تقع مدينة قسنطينة بالشرق الجزائري و يتحدث سكانها اللهجة القسنطينية. لم تنل هذه اللهجة القدر اللازم من الدراسات التحليلية و الوصفية و التوثيقية. الهدف من هذه المقالة هو وصف الأصول المباشرة و الغير مباشرة للنظام اللغوي المستخدم على أساس يومي من قبل سكان المدينة. بغاية فهم البنية اللغوية و لوصف وإعطاء أمثلة عن الخصائص المتعددة لهذه اللهجة، توجب علينا التطرق أولاً إلى مختلف المراحل التاريخية التي مرت بها المدينة. بالإضافة إلى القيام بدراسة إيتيمولوجية لتسليط الضوء على أصل المصطلحات التي تحتوي عليها اللهجة القسنطينية. فهذا المنهج سيساعدنا في توضيح أصول الاقتراض اللفظي المباشر و غير المباشر لإثراء القاموس اللغوي للهجة القسنطينية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: اللهجة القسنطينية, إتمولوجيا , الاقتراض اللفظي المباشر و الغير مباشر.

* Corresponding author, e-mail: benlaksira.faiza@gmail.com

Introduction

The dialect of Constantine, like all the dialects of Algeria, is one of the stigmatised dialects and under-resourced ones. To our knowledge, there are very few linguistic or sociolinguistic descriptions and analyses. The studies undertaken, linguistically speaking, were at the time of the French colonisation by some French dialectologists (Mercier, 1910) and (Cantineau, 1938) and after the independence there were two significant works, one by (Ait-Oumeziane R. , 1981) and the other one by (Laraba, 1981). Both, were accentuating the phonological system of the dialect. The description of the dialect in this study is based on the previous works, and a comparative analysis between the dialect of Constantine and some other ones in Algeria as well as and on our own observation. The similarities that the dialect of Constantine share with some other Algerian ones are pointed out. The other dialects are the one of Djidjel⁽¹⁾ (Marçais , 1952), the one of Algiers (Cohen, 1912) and (Cantineau, 1938), the one of Cherchel (Lathan, 1973), the one of Philipville⁽²⁾ (Ostoya-Delmas, 1937) and the one of Dellys (Souag, 2005).

Regarding the sociolinguistic profile and language contact in the city of Constantine and in Algeria in general, the only type of borrowing that the scholars dealt with is the direct one (i.e., The only languages highlighted by researchers are those from which these direct loans are derived). Direct loan refers to any loan word which is transferred from one language to a second one without the help of any other language. (Katamba, 1994) All Algerian dialects are described as 'trilingual languages' owing to the fact that they are a mixture of Arabic, Berber and French, with some words issued from Spanish Italian and Turkish (Benmokhtar, 2011). To shed light on the indirect borrowings (when a word is borrowed from a given language, which, in its turn, had borrowed it from another one) (Katamba, 1994) and the existence of other origins of words an etymological study of the lexicon of the dialect of Constantine is conducted.

This diachronic and descriptive investigation attempts to provide a clear understanding of the dialect and the way it is constructed as studying the origins of its words helps gain more insight about the dialect. In this article, the work of Guella (2011) was used as a reference. The ethnographic research method was adapted from the works of Nunan (1992) and Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) in writing this article.

1. Historical Background of Constantine

The old city of Constantine was built on a diamond shaped rock at 650 meters above the sea level in the North-east of the country. During the French colonisation and especially after the independence, the city was extended to the whole plateau. The governorate (Wilaya) extends over an area of 2,297km²; it is divided into 12 communes, which are organised in 6 Dairas. It is framed by a deep ravine called Oued Rhumel (locally known as 'Rimiss' with reference to the French engineer who conceived the Tourist Walkway), which has been crossed by several bridges. Thanks to Constantine's strategic geographical position, it is described as the capital of the East. The distinctively secure location of the city enabled it not only to stay, stand and continue to exist, but also to create history and civilisation. With its huge population, Constantine is considered the third largest city in Algeria, after Algiers and Oran. The estimation of the population of Constantine done by the National Statistical Office (ONS, 2016) is of 1216869 inhabitants.

Constantine, or 'Cirta'. There are different hypotheses about the toponymy of the word 'Cirta'. Some like Camps (1979) say that it is a Punic word which means 'city'. Others, like Haddadou (2011), say that it is a Berber word 'Tissirt', which means grindstone. The reason behind giving the city this name is due to the abundance of wheat cultivation in the region. Cirta was first conquered by the Phoenicians. The Berbers that had occupied the region welcomed them and tolerated their presence. With time, the Phoenician navigators succeeded to settle down and imposed themselves among the original inhabitants as occupiers. The Phoenicians were defeated, later on,

and the city fell under the reign of the Numidians. Cirta became one of the Numidian most important towns. The Numidian King Syphax turned it to his home residence and later to the capital city. Syphax was defeated by Massinissa. Micipsa, the son of Massinissa succeeded his father after his death. After a war against his cousins, Jugurtha was declared as the new king of Numidia. In the spring of 107 B.C, Rome invaded Numidia. Jugurtha was defeated and Juba was crowned the king of Numidia. During the reign of Julius Caesar, Cirta fell under the Roman occupation. In 313 B.C., Constantine the Great vanquished Maxentius and rebuilt Cirta. The city was named 'Constantine' in his honour. A century later, the Vandals invaded Numidia. By 432, Constantine the Great was captured and his city colonised. From 534 to 697, the city of Constantine was part of the Byzantine Empire. By the end of the 7th century, the capital of Numidia was conquered by the Muslims. The city was progressively interested in the new religion and the population started gradually to convert to Islam. By the beginning of the 10th century, "the city was completely Arabised" (Berthier, 1936). After half a century of Umayyad administration, the city passed under the Abbasid, the Aghlabid, the Fatimid and the Almohad dynasties. During the 16th century, Constantine got under the Ottoman dominance. From the mid-16th century to 1837, it was the capital of 'The Eastern Beylik', which was governed by almost forty 'Beys'. Algeria was invaded by France in 1830. But it was until 1837, that Constantine fell between the hands of the French. From that date till 1962, Constantine was under the French rule as the centre of the Department of Constantine. After the independence, Constantine was declared as one of the Wilayas of Algeria, the capital of its east and its third biggest city.

The historical background of the city of Constantine shows that has been a crossroad of civilisations. It was the capital of Numidia, and the one of the Eastern Beylik of the Levant in the Ottoman era, the chief town of one of the three French colonial departments and the economic and cultural capital of east Algeria. This has influenced its linguistic profile and made it not only diverse but also complex to describe.

2. The Dialect of Constantine

The Constantine dialect (henceforth CD) is the dialectal Arabic spoken in the city of Constantine and its periphery. It is part of the generic term Algerian Arabic, referred to as (AA) dialect and shares most of its characteristics and the ones of the Arabic language. CD is not used in schools, television and newspapers, but Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) is used; however CD is used in daily life by the population of Constantine.

The classification of the Arabic dialects used in Algeria is dealt with by scholars on historical-sociolinguistics bases Miller (2004). The settlement of the Muslim conquerors in North Africa made the local population acquire the Arabic dialect. These latter adopted the Arabic language and used it as the language of communication. The Arab invasion of North Africa in general and Algeria in particular, as it has been explained above, was during two periods which had different consequences on the region. One of these outcomes was the introduction of the Arabic language in the country. The first settlement of the Arabs resulted in many dialects grouped under the generic term 'sedentary dialects' or what it is known as the pre-Hilali dialects, which is the case of the dialect of Constantine and the majority of the urban centres as the invaders targeted mainly the cities where they established their military garrisons. As it is stated by Marçais, "The Arabisation of the first period is responsible for the Arabic spoken in the old centres [like Tlemcen and Constantine] and the adjacent mountainous regions; thus its various forms can be called "Pre-Hilali dialect." (Marçais P. , 1957)

However, the second Arab conquest of the 11th century by the BanuHilal, BanuSulaym and Ma'qil marked the second period of arabisation. The nomad invaders settled in the peripheries of the urban centres previously conquered. This second invasion caused the emergence of the Bedoui/Nomad or Hilali dialects. Miller (2004)

notes that: “Pre-Hilali and Andalusian dialects are/were found in old urban centers like Algiers, Blida, Constantine, Fes, Nedroma, Rabat, Sefrou, Tanger, Tetouan, Tlemcen, Tunis; where the Andalusian migrants had an influential role while sedentarised Bedouin dialects were/are spoken in more recent cities like Casablanca, Fes Jdid, Oran, but also some old cities like Marrakech, the former capital of the Almohades” (p.183).

Concerning the dialect of Constantine, it is categorised as being a result of the first invasion and thus it is a pre-Hilali one. The pre-Hilali dialects present in Algeria are themselves subdivided into two other subgroups, which are also sectioned into two other ones. The differences between each group, the features of each one and examples are explained in the following.

The pre-Hilali dialects include village (mountain) dialects and urban dialects [...] the village dialect are represented by two groups [...] namely Oran dialect and Constantine dialect [...] the second group corresponds to eastern Kabylia and is completely mountainous having the form of a triangle whose apexes are Djidjel, Mila and Collo. Historically, the region represents the seaward expansion of Constantine and Mila, which were Arab garrison towns in the Aghlabid period. [...]. Urban dialects do not form a homogenous group. They are divided into two classes: Jewish and Muslim. Jewish communities were present in Oran, Tlemcen, Miliana, Médea, Algiers and Constantine. (Marçais P. , 1957)

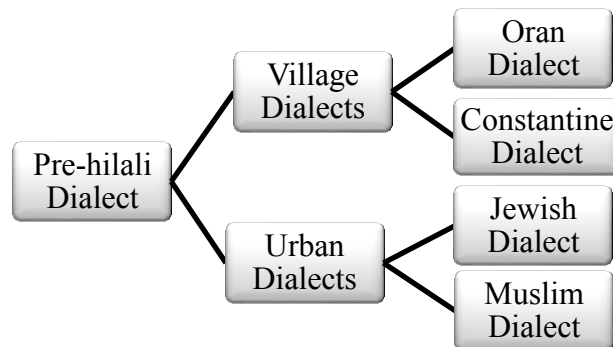


Figure 1: The Pre-Hilali Dialect’s Subdivisions

Even though the dialects present in Algeria have different origins, either Pre-Hilalian or Hilalian, they have many characteristics in common (Versteegh, 2011). This classification of the dialects of Algeria, which is pre-Hilali (sedentary) and which is Hilali (rural or Bedouin) is no longer valid. Both types merged into each other, and the distinction cannot be easily made. What is proper to each type is no longer known. In effect, every “urban dialect possesses characteristics peculiar to itself, but the points of difference are becoming progressively less, only what is common to all being retained, and these dialect are gradually merging into a sort of koine of the town.” (Marçais P. , 1957)⁽³⁾.

3. Specificities of Constantine Dialect

The dialect of Constantine has many specificities. The major ones which are linguistically based are related to phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicology. The features of each aspect are described and exemplified in the coming section.

3.1. Phonological Features

The phonological system of CD has a lot in common with the one of MSA. In this study, the phonetic system and the phonetic sounds of the dialect are described as the ones used by (Javed, 2013)⁽⁴⁾, in his study comparing the Arabic and the English phonetics. The consonant sounds that are specific to CD are: /r/ it is like sound /r/, but it has a rolling feature which typically urban. As, in the word /ras/ (head). Marçais (1957) describes it as the “Articulatory disease”. /dʒ/ is present in CD, in words like: /dʒari/ (traditional soup)⁽⁵⁾ and /sfendʒ/ (oil donuts), /q/ like in /zlaq/ (he slipped). The sound is said to be typical of sedentary dialect. /g/ in /gal/ (he said) is a feature of rural dialects and it exists in the dialect of Constantine as well. Its existence in the dialect is through the rural words that were picked up because of the lack of use or lack of equivalent (Ammour, 2012, p. 57). Additionally, Marçais (1957) based the essential difference between the dialect of sedentary people and the dialect of the Bedouin ones of the Maghreb on the contrast between unvoiced /q/ and the voiced /g/. It is important to know that this “distinction still exists, but the flow of nomadic elements into the cities has introduced /g/ there. This has occurred in Tenes, Miliana, Algiers itself, Mila and Constantine.” (Ostoya-Delmas, 1937). As a consequence, the sounds /q/ and /g/ became variants. It is frequently remarked that the two sounds, which vary freely and in the same words, are heard from the same mouth. The same is with (old) which is sometimes pronounced /qdi:m/ and other times uttered /gdi:m/. However, in some words like /qaleb/ (he auscultates) and /galeb/ (he turned up), /q/ and /g/ are not variants. At the same time in other morphemes there is only either /q/ or /g/. Moreover, the /q/ is always kept by women and the shift to /g/ is a “virility sign” for men (Boucherit & Lentin, 1989, p. 19). The dialect of Constantine was influenced by the /k/, pronounced as /qaf/ /q/, which is a feature of most of the Djidjelli dialect⁽⁶⁾, (Marçais P., 1952). The best example to illustrate that is /wakt_se/ (when?). Another feature of the dialect of Constantine is the denti-alveolar affricate /t_s/. It replaces the unvoiced dental Arabic. For example, /t/ in /tufah/ (apple) in MSA to /t_sfah/ in CD. Moreover, the interdental /^h/ and /^h/ are pronounced to /t_s/ and /d/ /t_sqi:l/ is said instead of /^haqi:l/ for (heavy) and /dhab/ instead of /^hhab/ for (gold). In addition to the consonants phonemes of Arabic, the CD consonantal system includes non-Arabic sounds such as /v/ in /vilu:/ (a bicycle), /p/ /poʃtabl/ (mobile phone), both phonemes are mainly used in borrowed words from French. /č/⁽⁷⁾ is also present in CD, like in /čeč^ua/ (a traditional meal)⁽⁸⁾.

The dialect of Constantine, like all the other dialects of Arabic, shares the same vocalic system of the MSA. The vocalic system of standard Arabic is generally described as composed of six phonemes. Three short ones: /a/, /i/, /u/ and three long ones /a:/, /i:/ and /u:/. In addition to the Arabic dialectal ones, other vowels are present, which are /ɔ/, /e/, /ə/ and /o/⁽⁹⁾. Concerning diphthongs, CD has three of them. The diphthongs /aⁱ/ and /eⁱ/ are allophones variant of the long vowel /i:/. They are said to be used by the feminine gender more than by the masculine one since men tend to say /ʃi:f/ (summer) and /zi:t_s/ (oil), where women would say /šaⁱf/ and /zeⁱt_s/. Moreover, this variation is as Laraba (1981) posits is proper to the “Baldiya”⁽¹⁰⁾. The short vowel /^u/ vary freely with the diphthong / a^u/. For example, the word /la^uz/ is pronounced /l^uz/as well. Diphthongs /aⁱ/ and / a^u/ which are said to be more used by women are alternated by the phonemes /i/ and /u/ by the new generation. They are in regression and they disappeared and are no longer used by young girls, for they are regarded as funny and “old game” (Boucherit & Lentin, 1989, p. 20)

3.2. Morphological Features

The dialect of Constantine is also different from MSA concerning some morphological aspects. It is closer to the Maghrebi dialects in general and to the Algerian ones in particular.

For the first person of singular, CD speakers use the particle /n/ as a inflected pronoun: /nuktub/ (I write) and /nuskun/ (I live ‘in a given address’). As regards the inflexion; the casual endings in nouns and verbs in MSA /aktubu/, /askunu/ are not used in the dialect. Moreover, the dual and the feminine plural /yaktubu:na/ /taktubna/ are not used; they are assimilated to the masculine in the plural form, /yaktbu/ for all (Saadane & Habash, 2015).

The distinction between the genders of the second person singular, for both pronouns and verb, is one of the CD features. Indeed, CD distinguishes between the feminine and masculine. Here are some examples: /ent_sa / (you mas.) /ent_si/ (you fem.). /d_rabt_s/ (you (mas.) have hit) /d_rabt_si/ (you (fem.) have hit)⁽¹¹⁾

Some plural forms are formed by dual analogy, in CD. It is the case of /d_ʒen_hin/ instead of MSA /ad_ʒni_ha/ (Wings) and /senin/ instead of MSA /asnan/ (Teeth).⁽¹²⁾ Though this is rather a misconception of the dual in MSA by this author as the form in MSA is either /d_ʒana_ha:n/ or /d_ʒana_hain/. /d_ʒen_hin/ is merely a plural form in the dialect.

One distinctive feature of CD is the use of the diminutive form. This is done by adding a short vowel or a diphthong in the final syllable /mfit_seh/ (small key) for /maft_sa_h and /tfe^l/ (young boy) for /tfe^l/. Moreover, the diminutive feature is also used in relation to children. For example: /r_wist_su/ (the child's head) Ostaya- Delmas (1937)⁽¹³⁾ explains that the function of the diminutive in the region of eastern Algeria is typically used by women.

To express the possessive relationship, there are two ways. The first is called direct relationship (/idafa/). It is realised by the use of analytical method, the governing word linked to the governed by the preposition /nta^ʿ/, as in, /en- nasnt_sa^ʿ d-dowa r⁽¹⁴⁾ (rural people). The second possessive relation can be realised by the addition of the suffix /i:/ for masculine and /t_si:/ for feminine in the 1st singular /_ʔali:/ (my maternal uncle) and /_ʔalt_si:/ (my maternal aunt) /u/ for mas.and /t_su/ for fem. In the second singular masculine, it is /_ʔalu/ (his maternal uncle) and /_ʔalt_su/ (his maternal aunt); but for the feminine, /ha/ is added, /_ʔalha/ (her maternal uncle) and /_ʔalt_sha/ (her maternal aunt). The suffix /hum/ is for the third plural. /_ʔalhum/ (their maternal uncle) and /_ʔalt_shum/ (their maternal aunt).

Bloch (1971) writes that “the cardinal numbers from three to ten in classical Arabic have two sets of forms. One with feminine ending and the other is without [masculine]. This system has left traces in only few dialects.”⁽⁵³⁾ The dialect of Constantine is one of these dialects, which have been influenced by this system.

Feminine Ending	Masculine Ending
It occurs in isolation as well as in context	Never in isolation
1-In isolation (for answering questions or counting) E.g. / _ʔ amsa/ (five)	Always followed by a noun regardless its gender. E.g.
2-In context E.g. / _h nal- _ʔ amsa/ (we the five)	/ _ʔ amsdku _r a/ (five boys) / _ʔ amsbnet _s / (five girls)

Table 1: Numeric System in CD from 3-10

3.3. Syntactic Features

In the dialect of Constantine as Ait-Oumeziane (1986) demonstrates, there are three word orders which are possible for a given sentence. For example, (your daughter ate el kasa⁽¹⁵⁾) can be 1. S-V-O /bent_saklat_slkəs_ra/, 2. V-S-O /klat_sbent_saklkəs_ra/ or 3. V-O-S /klat_slkəs_rabent_sak^l/. In this example, there is no incompatibility between the semantic traits proper to each element in the sentence and the syntactic ones. In some other examples, these word orders can provoke a discrepancy between the semantic and the syntactic aspect of the sentence and create a sort of ambiguity. This is the case for the following example:

S-V-O	V-S-O	V-O-S
/dʒaɾnadɾabweldkum/ (Our neighbour has beaten your son.)	/ɾɾabɟaɾnaweldkum/ (Our neighbour has beaten your son.) Or (Your son has beaten our neighbour.)	/ɾɾabweldkumdʒaɾna / (Our neighbour has beaten your son.) Or (Your son has beaten our neighbour.)

Table 2: Discrepancy between the Semantic and the Syntactic Aspect of the Sentence⁽¹⁶⁾

The negation is formed in two ways: Adding the affixes /ma/ as a prefix and /ʃ/ as a suffix to the conjugated verbs, as in /ma- ʒdemt_s -ʃ/ (i did not work). It could also be expressed by the /maʃ/ particle can be at the beginning or the middle of a nominal sentence like in: /maʃmliħ elħal/ - /elħalmaʃmliħ / (the weather is bad) and at the beginning of a verbal declarative sentence. For example: /maʃrayeħ/ (he is not going)

The CD is characterised of the extensive use of an indefinite article. This indefinite article is /waħd / (a certain) which does not exist in MSA. It is said to be specially Maghrebi. In the Marçais's proper words: "it is exclusively Maghrebi" (Marçais P. , 1952). For example, /waħd – en-nħar/ (once,)⁽¹⁷⁾

3.4. Lexical Feature

The dialect of Constantine has a substantial vocabulary and it contains many foreign words. Most of them are due to invasions, colonisations and economic relations occurring in Algeria, in general, and Constantine, in particular. It is stipulated: "We note that ALG [AA] is enriched by the languages of the groups colonised or managed the Algerian population during the history of the country. Among these groups' languages we can cite: Turkish, Spanish, Italian and [...] French. This enrichment, materialised by the presence of foreign words in the dialect, has contributed to create many varieties of ALG [AA]." (Saadane & Habash, 2015).

4. Etymological Approach to Loan Words

Etymology is a Greek word, 'etymon' (true) and 'logos' (word). It is part of philology, which is a branch of historical Linguistics. Philology is mainly interested in identifying the origins and tracing the histories of words and names. It is divided into two subdivisions: Onomastic, the study of the origins of names, and etymology, the study of origins and the history of words. In the ancient times, the etymologists' aim was to find the meaning of words. However, today they seek the history and the origins of terms. In this context, Law quotes: "when ancient and medieval scholars researched the true nature of a word, it was not its original form but its original meaning which they sought." (Law, 1990). Some words of a language have been inherited from ancestral languages; they have always been part of a given language. Others have entered the language at some point in time; they have been borrowed from other languages (Trask, 2007). The borrowing of words may be either direct, when the loan word is transferred from one language to the second one without the help any other language, or indirect when a word is borrowed from a given language, which, in its turn, had borrowed it from another one (Katamba, 1994). The contrast of direct and

indirect borrowing is given other interpretations in the literature⁽¹⁸⁾; in the present study, Katamaba's one is used. Moreover, borrowing is divided into two categories: the cultural borrowing and the core borrowing. The first one is about those words which are borrowed to fill in a lexical gap because both the concept and the word are new to the language's culture. Accordingly, "cultural borrowings are words that fill the gaps in the recipient language's store of words because they stand for object or concept new to the language's culture." (Myers-Scotton, 2006). Core borrowing, unlike the cultural one, is borrowing a foreign word for an already existing word in the language for the sake of gaining prestige. These borrowed words are adopted, adapted and used by the users of the recipient language. They become part of its lexicon.

The role of the etymological approach to study the language, in general, and loan words, in particular, is to find out when the words were used, where and in what sense. In a bit ironic way, the fundamental role of loan words in philology is explained in the following:

Loan words have been called the milestones of philology because in a good many instance they permit us to fix approximately the dates of linguistic changes. [...] because they show us the course of civilization and the wandering of inventions and institutions and in many cases give us valuable information as to the inner life of nations when dry annals tell us nothing but the dates of the king and bishops. (Jespersen, 1982)

One of the problems a researcher may face when dealing with the origins of words is the semantic change the word may experience. The change in meaning can be of different types. Examples of these types are: when a lexeme extends its meaning it becomes more generalised. The second, the opposite of the first example, is when the lexeme narrows down the meaning and becomes more specific. Some lexemes gain a positive meaning across time and history, and some others gain a negative significance. Another problem in tracing the origins of words is folk etymology. It is a popular telling of stories behind a given word. They generally have false and incorrect analysis of the words origins. This is when people try to explain words they know by speculating. Most of the time, they wrongly guess and the error becomes part of the language.

The majority of the vocabulary of dialect of Constantine is from the Arabic language. However, as it is mentioned above its lexical system is supplied with many foreign words from different languages. To know the origins of these words, how they were diachronically formed, their original meaning and how they ended up in CD, an etymological approach is used.

5. Origin of Constantine Lexis

5.1. Arabic Lexicon

The dialect of Constantine is one of the AA dialects. It is relatively linked to the Arabic language. The majority of its lexis is largely based on Arabic. Some is identical to MSA, other words are not, but their origins go back to it. For example, the word /riʃa/ (a feather) is written and pronounced in the same way in both MSA and CD, mines the inflections in CD. However, many other words of the dialect have an MSA root; they have a significant variation in the vocalisation in most cases, as in /ħaʃiːf/ (grass) which is uttered /ħʃiːf/ in CD, and the omission or modification of some sounds in other cases, /futat/ (bread crumbs) which is pronounced in CD: /ṭʃaṭʃef/ or /fṭʃafeṭʃ/. Moreover, there are some words which have undergone a massive alteration. It is the case of, /l a ṭʃi/ (busy) which is similar to the MSA verb /talahh a/ or /iltaha/ (to be distracted)⁽¹⁹⁾. There are some MSA words in CD, which have a variation in meaning. The word /m a ṛ h u: m/ in MSA means the one who receives mercy; however, in CD it means a melon as well.

Even if the majority of the CD's vocabulary seems to belong to the Arabic language, there exists some terms which belong to other linguistic systems.

1.1. Berber Lexical Loans

The first language that CD was influenced by, chronologically speaking, is Berber or 'Tamazight'. The Arabic influence on the Berber language is a result of the arabisation of the country. And the borrowing of the Arabic words into the Berber languages is considered as an old phenomenon. Thanks to this language contact, a huge number of Berber terms have integrated naturally into the Algerian dialect in general and CD in particular. So, it can be said that, "Algerian dialect has a vocabulary inspired from Arabic but the original words have been altered phonologically, with significant Berber substrates." (Harrat, Meftouhy, Abbas, Hidouci, & Smaili, 2016). Many Amazigh words are used daily by CD speakers unconsciously (Dahri , 2009). Some examples of Berber words existing in the CD⁽²⁰⁾ are illustrated in the following table:

The word in CD	The original form	English
/selsul/	/aselsul/	Vertebral colon
/lu:s/ -/la ^o s/	/talu:st/	Brother in law
/r̄di:f/	/ar̄di:f/	foot bracelet
/budʒaylal/	/budʒaylal/	snail
/zeṛzumiya/	/zermumiya/	lizard

Table 3: Berber Words in CD

1.2. Spanish Lexical Loans

Concerning the Spanish terms, their existence is, on the one hand, due to the Spanish colonisation of the western part of Algeria. Even if the occupation did not last for a long period, there was a linguistic effect and a lexical Spanish stock was borrowed and used. On the other hand, an additional set of terms was added, thanks to Jews migrants from Spain who were responsible for bringing some Spanish words to the country. The Jewish emigrated and settled in the big cities like, Algiers, Oran and Constantine. Their presence in Algeria was during two phases. Spanish speaking Jews emigrated from Spain in the 14th and 15th centuries, after the 'Edit' expulsion of the Jews of Spain in 1492 by the Catholic queen and king Isabelle and Ferdinand (Hazzan, 2013). The second period was in the course of the French colonisation, when Jews of the world were invited to settle in Algeria. The table below presents some words in CD having a Spanish origin. ⁽²¹⁾

Word in CD	Original Form	English
/bala/	Pâla	A shovel
/qaṣtel/	Castaña	Chestnuts
/r̄uda/ or /ra ^o da/	Rueda	Wheel
/tebarna/	Taberna	Tavern or Pub
/fiḡta/	Fiesta	Parade
/meziṛiya/	Miseria	Misery

Word in CD	Original Form	English
/sannariya/	Zanahoria ⁽²²⁾	A carrot

Table 4: Spanish Words in CD

1.3. Jewish Lexical Loans

The fact that the Jewish settlers were responsible for the bringing of some Spanish words into CD is undeniable. They also contributed by adding some Jewish terms from their language into the dialects of Algeria and into the one of Constantine precisely. The Jews lived for a considerable period of time in Constantine. They shared with the inhabitants of the city their way of living, their traditions and customs, their food recipes such as /edfina /⁽²³⁾ and /el-qarbil/⁽²⁴⁾, and even their clothing habits. Many researchers dealt with the Jewish-Arabic dialects in the Maghreb⁽²⁵⁾. Concerning the CD, here are some examples:

The word in CD	The original form	English
/yahweh/ ⁽²⁶⁾	/yahweh/	One of the names of God in Jewish
/rabi/ ⁽²⁷⁾	/rabi/	Jewish Rabi
/kafir/ ⁽²⁸⁾	/kafir/	Designates halal sausages
/'agu:na/ ⁽²⁹⁾	/aguna/	Mute woman

Table 5: Jewish Terms in CD

1.4. Turkish Lexical Loans

/t̥qa:fa r/ and /baɣmaq/ are Turkish words used by people of Constantine to design (a pair of socks) and (a flip-flop). They are not the only Turkish words present in the dialect of Constantine. Ben Cheneb (1922) provides a dictionary for the Turkish and words conserved in the Algerian dialects. In this study, only the terms present in the one of Constantine are given. Table 6 and 7 exemplify the Turkish words in CD.⁽³⁰⁾

Word in CD	Original Form	English
/balek/	/belki/	May be or probably
/du:zan/	from the verb /duzen/ (order or arrange)	Tools or utensils
/tabu:na/	/tabun/	Type of stove
/sni:/	/sini/	Tray
/dʒazwa/	/dʒezve/	Coffee maker utensil

Table 6: Examples of Turkish Words in CD, Part1 (According to Ben Cheneb, 1922)

The largest portion of CD's Turkish origin words are the ones dealing with Turkish gastronomy.

Word in CD	Original Form	English
/dolma/	/dolma/	Meat and rice stuffing
/bařaniya/	/baraniya/	Artichokes stew
/t _s eřbiya/	/terbiya/	Courgette stew
/çarek/	/çarak/	Almond crescent shaped cake
/řamřa/	/řamřa/	Fried triangular almond cake
/baqlawa/	/baqlava/	Baked diamond shaped almond and chestnuts cake

Table 7: Turkish Words in CD, Part 2 (According to Ben Cheneb 1922)

Throughout the study of Turkish loan words preserved in Algeria and in the one of Constantine, many words have been pointed out. During this investigation, there is the word /bərđqis/ always in collocation with the word /sokeř/ (sugar) to designate (brown sugar), which encountered our route. It was never mentioned in the literature. The meaning and the origin of the word were highlighted in an interview of a specialised researcher and writer in the musical heritage of Constantine. The information was checked and confirmed by the investigator of this study. The word was used and is still being used by the people of Constantine. Additionally, it has been used in poetry and in Malouf⁽³¹⁾ musical heritage. The word is written in the following verse by the poet Benmahdjouba and has been sung all through the history in the famous song 'Dagouni' (they stabbed me) (Saidani, 2001):

نقطع للبردقیس وبلاد الكفرا الله یخلى بلادهم هم عرة لجناس

(I cross to Portugal and the country of the infidels; God ruins their country; they are the worst race.) (Translated by the author)

In this context, the word /bərđqis/ refers to Portugal. In the Turkish language they use it to name the country, Portekiz /portəkis/. In the past, during the Ottoman rule of the country, the Portuguese ships used to transport sugar from the new world to the coasts of Algeria. The term Portekiz transformed to /bərđqis/ was formerly used in a general sense to refer to the country, but the meaning was later narrowed, and the lexeme became specifically used to label brown sugar in the dialect.

1.5. Italian Lexical Loans

Due to the geographical proximity and contact, the dialect of Constantine comprises some Italian words. Italians were business owners in Constantine during the French colonisation. So, there are terms which passed through direct contact with the native speakers. Some other lexis integrated the dialect either through the Turks or the Spanish and in this case it is an indirect loan.

Word in CD	Original Form	English
/ba ^ə u/ ⁽³²⁾	Turkish /ba ^ə o/ from Italian word bagno	Bath tab or big recipient
/s ^ɔ r ^ɔ m ⁱ ya/ ⁽³³⁾	T. /s ^ɔ r ^ɔ n ^p iya/ from It. Strapuntino	Cushion
/z ^b e ⁿ tu:ç/ ⁽³⁴⁾	T. /izbandid/ from It. Sbanditto	Bachelor (unmarried)
/flu:ka/ ⁽³⁵⁾	T./feluka/ from It. Felucca	Small boat
/t ^r omba/ ⁽³⁶⁾	T. /tulumba/ from It. Trombe	Waterspout

Table 8: Italian Words Present in CD via Turkish

Word in CD	Original Form	English
/g ^r elu:/ ⁽³⁷⁾	It. Grillo	Cockroach
/bu:niya/ ⁽³⁸⁾	It. Pugno or Pugna	Fist or a fight
/j ⁱ :t ^s a/ ⁽³⁹⁾	It. Sita	Brush

Table 9: CD's Terms from Italian Origin

1.6. French Lexical Loans

The predominant loan words in CD are those which have a French origin. Some of these words have been kept as they are in their original form and others have undergone some transformations, phonetically, morphologically and syntactically in order to integrate the dialect naturally.

Word in CD	Original Form	English
/buʃu:n/	Bouchon	Cork
/bidu:n/ - /ba'du:n/	Bidon	Jerry Can
/basi:na/	Bassine	A bowl
/zi:gu:/	Egouts	Sewers
/sangu:/(40)	Sans gout	Tasteless
/ʀofez/	Refuser	Refuse
/zalami:t/	Allumettes	Matches
/lbususi/	Ponts et chaussée	Civil engineering
/kanest,u:/	Unecaisse a trous	Holey basket

Table 10: French Loan Words in CD

1.7. English Loan Words

Recently, people of Constantine tend to borrow and use more and more vocabulary from the English language. Even if this borrowing is mainly by the young generation, these words are cohesively part of the dialect. The English loan words, contrary to the other loans from other languages due to invasions and colonisations, are due to globalisation, development and technology. In the past when researchers studied the sociolinguistic profile of Algeria or Constantine itself, the English language was never mentioned⁽⁴¹⁾. However, in recent times they did. In this context, “Their [Algerians] mother tongue is an Arabic dialect, which is derived from MSA. Furthermore, for each region, there is one or several dialects influenced by the history of the region itself. New words borrowed from English, Turkish, Spanish, Italian or French are integrated in the vocabulary of these dialects” (Menacera, et al., 2017).

The word in CD	The original form
/yʃaʃi/	He chats
/ygu:gli/	He Googles
/yselfi/	He takes a selfie
/ʃaʃit/	Share it ⁽⁴²⁾

Table 11: English Words in CD

1.8. Indirect Origins

All the lexical loans that have been explained and exemplified above are the ones that were mentioned in the literature and other related works whenever the dialects of Algeria or the dialect of Constantine are studied and the sociolinguistic situation is identified. The only origins of loan words that have been mentioned and clearly specified are the ones listed above. That is to say, the only loan words

mentioned are those which were of a direct borrowing type. The other languages, sources of other loans have not been cited and even marginalised. Taking the dialect of Constantine as a case study, there are four more languages which are the origin of some of the dialect vocabulary.

1.8.1. Persian Lexical Loans

It is difficult to know how Persian words were introduced and how they are present in the dialect of Constantine. The most probable answer is that they did not come directly from Persia; they rather came via the Turkish occupation. Another plausible explanation is that it was the role of the pilgrims. It is known that in Makah certain domestic objects such as copper utensils are of a Persian origin. These objects were brought back home by the hajjis. This is an instance of cultural borrowing. The table below gives some words⁽⁴³⁾ of the dialect of Constantine which are of Persian origin:

Word in CD	Original Form	English
/gergef/	T. /gurgef/ from P. /karguf/	Embroidery support
/sappa/	T. from P. /sepet/	A basket used for the 'Hammam' (Turkish bath)
/ṭawa/	T./ṭava/ ⁽⁴⁴⁾ from P. /tabe/	Kind of pan for boiling and heating
/kemza/	T. from P. /kemza/	Silky tissue
/bazef/	/kazef/	A lot

Table 12: Persian Loan Words in CD (According to Ben Cheneb 1922)

1.8.2. Latin Lexical Loans

To understand the presence of Latin words in the Algerian dialect, a historical fact must be stated. In 146 BC, with the fall of Carthage, Algeria became a Roman province and Latin was declared as the official language of the region. This urged the Berbers to learn the new language, especially in the urban centres. Hence, both languages got into contact and many words were borrowed from and into both languages. Ennaji(1991), describing loan words, in Tamazight says: "Historically, Berber has borrowed mainly from Latin, Arabic and French. The remnants of Latin loanwords are limited to a dozen or so. [...] Most of these borrowings are nowadays completely adapted to the patterns of Berber". The toponymy of the word 'Berber' itself comes from the Latin one 'barbarus'. The term was used to refer to anyone living beyond the margins of the Roman sphere. The Latin words present in the Algerian dialects are, as it is quoted above, about a dozen⁽⁴⁵⁾. The following table is restricted to the ones that exist in the dialect of Constantine⁽⁴⁶⁾.

The word in CD	The original form	English
/barnu:s/	Berber /avernu:s/ from Latin (Burnous)	White or black long cape worn by men
/fallu:s/	B. from L. (Pullus)	Chick
/marga/	B. from L.(Amurca) ⁽⁴⁷⁾	Sauce or broth

Table 13: Latin Loan Words in CD

1.8.3. Greek Lexical Loans

Greek words are part of the dialect of Constantine as well. Their existence is mostly by means of Tamazight, who had contact with the Latin and other ancient civilisations or by the Turkish, like the majority of the Italian and Persian words. Some examples of Greek words in the dialect of Constantine are in the following table:

Word in CD	Original Form	English
/t _s elwa/	T. /telve/ from Greek (τελφές)	Coffee grounds
/skamla/	T. /iskemli/ from Gr. (ταμναχι)	Small round foldable table
/fnaɾ/	T./fenar/ from Gr.(ραυός)	Lantern or a lighthouse
/qu:ti/	T./qoti:/ from Gr. (χουτι)	Wooden or an iron box
/qa'tan/or/qi:tan/	T./qa'tan/ from Gr. (χαίταν)	Silky cord used to edge clothes
/belaredɟ / ⁽⁴⁸⁾	Berber /belaredɟ/ from Gr. (πελαργό)	Stork

Table 14: Greek Words in CD

1.8.4. Lexical Loans from Dutch.

In addition to the languages mentioned above from which CD retrieved its lexis, there are some others. Even though the number is not significant, it is important to mention their contribution to the building of its lexical system. An example of these languages is the Dutch language. The original form of /č i n a/ is Sinn apple⁽⁴⁹⁾. The word is well known in CD and the dialects of Algeria in general. However, its provenance is hard to determine. It is probably one of the words belonging to the lingua franca used at that moment when the fruit began to be known and commercialised in the country. The word does not exist in any of the Roman languages. It only exists in the Dutch language where the word 'Sinn apple' is used to designate an orange. Nevertheless, the presence of the /č/ in the word indicates that it has either Spanish or Italian origin. So, it may be concluded that the word is a Dutch one, and it was brought to CD by either the Spanish or the Italians (Cohen, 1912).

Conclusion

In this paper, we attempted to get an overall and exhaustive description of the dialect of Constantine. The dialect under study has been neglected by the sociolinguists, and has been under-resourced linguistic system. The analyses and the description have been conducted through a comparative study and a descriptive one. The etymological description of the lexicon has helped in the elicitation of the main origins of the vocabulary of CD. In addition to the loan words' roots that have been mentioned in previous investigations, four more other origins have been detected.

To sum up, the present paper describes and analyses the aspects of the dialect and introduces the origins of its loan words. This helps the dialect to be considered and provides resources for further research.

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Appendix

Consonant

Arabic	Symbol	Word	English
أ	ʔ	/qorʔan/	Koran
ب	b	/ʔbib/	Doctor
ت	t _s	/t _s l _t s _a /	Three
ث	θ	-	-
ج	dʒ	/dʒadʒa/	Hen
ح	ħ	/ħema:r/	Donkey
خ	χ	/muχ/	Brain
د	d	/dar/	House
ذ	ð	-	-
ر	r	/ra:s/	Head
ز	z	/ħeza:m/	Belt
س	s	/sma/	Sky
ش	ʃ	/ʕafra/	Ten
ص	ʂ	/ʂabu:n/	Soap
ض	ɖ	/ɖalma/	Darkness
ط	t̪	/t̪maʔam/	Tomato
ظ	ɖ	-	-
ع	ʕ	/ʕtaf/	Thirsty
غ	ɣ	/ɣerab/	crawl
ف	f	/fa:s/	Pickaxe
ق	q or g	/zlaq/-/zerag/	He slipped-Bleu
ك	k	/kas/	A glass
ل	l	/li:l/	Night
م	m	/dem/	Blood
ن	n	/nar/	Fire
ه	h	/hwa/	Air
و	w	/warqa	paper
ي	y	/ysu:m/	He asks for the price

Vowels

Short	Words	English
/i/	/bni/	My son
/u/	/ħut _s a/	Fish
/a/	/ħal/	Solution
/e/	/řema:d/	Ashes
/o/	/mořo/	Motorcycle
/ʌ/	/řʌml/	Sand
/ə/	/ktəb/	He wrote
Long		
/i:/	/fi:l/	Elephant
/u:/	/t _s u:t _s /	Berries
/a:/	/ħa:l/	Situation
Diphthongs		
/e'/	/ze't _s /	Oil
/a'/	/řa'f/	Summer
/a ^o /	/la ^o z/	Almond

Notes:

- (1) -Now written as Jijel.
- (2) -Known as Skikda at the present time
- (3) - (Miller, 2007)and (Barkat, 2000) sedentary versus rural paradigm became so prevalent, because cities are much influenced by the surrounding villages
- (4) - Tables of both consonants and vowels transliteration is provided below in the appendix after the references
- (5) -A tomato soup with grained barley.
- (6) - A dialect spoken in the city of Jijel in Algeria
- (7) -This phonetic symbol is adopted from (Holes, 2004)
- (8) -A traditional meal made out of small chipped slices of baked dough, sprinkled by a tomato and meat sauce.
- (9) - Examples of each sound are provided in the table of vowels in the appendix.
- (10) -Those who are authentically from Constantine.
- (11) - From (Marçais P. , 1957)
- (12) - From (Ostoya-Delmas, 1937)
- (13) -“ Les diminutif, leur emploi n’est jamais spontané dans les parlers des hommes. Il est considéré comme des parole des femmes à propos des enfants.”(79). (The diminutive, their use is never spontaneous in the speeches of men. It is considered women's words about children) (translated by the author)
- (14) -example taken from (Marçais P. , 1957)
- (15) -A traditions circular baked bread
- (16) -from (Ait-Oumeziane R. , 1986)
- (17) -Example from(Lathan, 1973)
- (18) - (Felicity, 1989)(Higa, 1980) (Mojela, 1991)
- (19) -Example taken from (Cherbonneau, 1869)
- (20) - The examples are taking from (Guella, 2011; Ostoya-Delmas, 1937; Tilmatine, 1999)
- (21) -Examples from (Guella; 2011; Khelef, 2011; Lathan, 1973; Ostoya-Delmas, 1937; Souag, 2005)
- (22) - From the Andalusian Arabic word /sefunariya /
- (23) - A Ratatouille like meal, made out of a plant called /bardqala/, cubes shopped potatoes and chickpeas.
- (24) -A crispy baked bread.
- (25) -Bar-Asher, 1996) and (Cohen, 1912)

- (26) - In CD it is used to express anger or disappointment. also an interjection to express a long duration of time)
- (27) - The Algerian people use it as a connotation to abase the importance of a rabbi for the Jews meaning dishonest and mischievous, example from (Cohen, 1912)
- (28) -Qualifies any meat slaughter according to the Jewish religious rituals prescribed. Example taken from (Cashér, 2017) (Cohen, 1912)
- (29) - In Jewish language it is used to refer to any married woman whose husband has disappeared without knowing if he is dead or alive. (Cohen, 1912)
- (30) - From (Ben Cheneb, 1922)
- (31) -A musical genre sang in Constantine
- (32) - Example taken from (Ben Cheneb, 1922)
- (33) -Example from (Ben Cheneb, 1922)
- (34) -Example from (Ben Cheneb, 1922)
- (35) -In CD it could also mean an earring or an oval plate are taken from (Kahane & Kahane, 1942)
- (36) -And
- (37) -Example from (Guella, 2011) and (Cohen, 1912)
- (38) -And
- (39) -From online dictionary (Bounya بُونِيَّة, 2017), (Chita شَيْتَة, 2017) and (Cohen, 1912)
- (40) - This adjective collocates only with / zi:(a')t_s / (oil) e.g. / zi:(a')t_ssangu:/ a tasteless oil.
- (41) -Even though the paper highlights only the English words that exist thanks to technology. CD's vocabulary contains many others that were borrowed from the French language like: short, parking, slip and sandwich
- (42) - It is a smart phone application used to share data
- (43) - Examples from (Ben Cheneb, 1922)
- (44) -The original word was used to design a frying pan
- (45) - For more examples consult (Ennaji, 1991)
- (46) -Examples taken from (Guella, 2011)
- (47) -In Latin it means a sort of olive oil and water mixture
- (48) - From online dictionary (Bellaredj بِلَّارْج, 2017)
- (49) - In Dutch it means an apple from China to designate an orange.