How much Arabic?

The speech of second-generation Moroccan children in Turin

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This article provides an analysis of Moroccan Arabic-Italian codeswitching, starting from a selection of texts by a group of second-generation Moroccan children living in Turin. The aim of this research is to explore the language proficiency of second-generation children and to find out how much of their heritage language actually remains in their everyday speech. In order to do so, codeswitched utterances will be interpreted both from a grammatical and a sociolinguistic point of view.

1. Introduction

This article aims at analyzing the language of second generation Moroccan children living in Turin on the basis of a corpus of Moroccan Arabic-Italian texts collected over a seven-month period from a group of children attending a Moroccan cultural association based in Turin. A total of ten informants were involved, aged from 6 to 10 years, following only two selection criteria: the informant must fit the second generation category as theorized by Rumbaut (1997); the informant's first language (meaning here the language learned from the parents) must be Moroccan Arabic (thus Berber-speaking Moroccans were excluded). The data collection was based on interviews held during the breaks from the association's activities and resulted in a 40 minute long corpus of data (approximately 20000 transcribed words) which had to be cut down to 30 due to audio imperfections and/or lack of codeswitched items.

Over the years, the research on codeswitching has revolved mostly around the formulation and discussion of syntactic costraints. Nevertheless, as it has been proved by many more recent works (Owens 2005b, Nortier 1995, Boeschoten 1990) including the present research, syntactic constraints are violated so often that codeswitching can no longer be accounted for in terms of syntax alone. Thus, in this article I will show that the sociolinguistic profile of the speaker producing a codeswitched utterance plays a very important role in determining his/her linguistic choices and thus the linguistic products that emerges from this contact. Especially when dealing with the language of the second generations, the role played by both the languages known to the speaker must be investigated, analyzing the range of practical use they have in the speakers' everyday conversation

together with the "emotional value" they carry, meaning the attitude that the speakers show in regards to each language. In order to do so, data were collected through recordings of interviews and dialogues of the children attending the association's activities. Before the interview, the children were encouraged to present themselves, describing their family and the level of proficiency they think they have in the two languages they use every day. Every interview has been recorded with a digital recorder so that everyone was aware that they were being taped. Children were encouraged to tell a story or an anecdote or to roleplay with their friends: in both cases, they were requested to try to speak as much Moroccan Arabic as they could, which would not have happened spontaneously.

2. The informants and their background

It became evident during the research that there is a clear difference in terms of proficiency in Moroccan Arabic among children from different age groups. Peer to peer interaction seems to play an important role in the everyday use of the children's two languages: children who recently entered school, and thus have just started interacting with their italian peers, seem to refrain from showing their Moroccan identity, preferring a larger use of italian (not only, as it would be obvious, with Italian monolinguals, but with Moroccan bilinguals too). Bilingual teenagers seem to be more familiar with the Moroccan Arabic language and use it more often with their moroccan peers. According to Noura Amzil,[1] second-generation Moroccan children would go through two main phases in the development of their community identity. During the first phase children tend to not exhibit their Moroccan identity, in the attempt to get closer to their Italian friends thus avoiding the use of Moroccan Arabic; in the second phase, through adolescence, a desire to reconnect with their community emerges with the Moroccan language gaining a new role and starting to be used again in an efficient way.

Before formally analyzing these children's language products we need first to examine their degree of language proficiency in both Italian and Moroccan Arabic language and to clarify which role the two languages are assigned in their everyday speech. The first language that these children acquire is Moroccan Arabic. Speaking here of second-generation children, thus children born in Italy or who came to Italy before age 3, Moroccan Arabic remains the only language known to them until

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[1] Lecturer in Moroccan Arabic at the University of Turin. In order to better understand the dynamics of a group of young bilingual immigrants, I often engaged in personal communication with monolingual experts such as Noura Amzil. Her opinion is reported because, interestingly, it is in line with what I could empirically observe in my informants group; nevertheless, it has never been subjected to testing or peer review and has no scientific value.

they reach school-age. This can nevertheless change if the family includes older brothers or sisters who start using Italian with the younger sibling, anticipating its learning. Starting from school-age the dominant language, that is the language used in the most functions, will be represented by Italian[2] while Moroccan Arabic will be used only in those situations where the child is interfaced by Moroccan monolinguals. With his/her peers, other Moroccan-Italian bilinguals, the language used will mostly be Italian. This results in Italian being the best-known language, since the child learns how to use it in both informal and formal contexts, while Moroccan Arabic, used now only in the domestic domain, will be mastered mainly for in-home use only.

What follows is a brief presentation of the informants' sociolinguistic traits and those of their parents. The participants belonging to the same family will be presented at the same time in order to avoid redundant information.

- F is eleven and has an older sister, S, who is thirteen. They were both born in Turin and go to school as all of the other participants presented below, in the multicultural Turin neighborhood of *Barriera di Milano*. When asked about their proficiency in the Moroccan language, they both showed a certain hesitation, especially at the production level. At home, the girls speak mostly Italian with their parents, who communicate with them in a mixed Moroccan Arabic-Italian register. What emerges from their interviews is that they have a mostly passive knowledge of Moroccan Arabic, since they showed much insecurity at the production level.

- M is eight and she has two siblings, D who's nine and L who's six. They were all born in Italy in a Moroccan Muslim family but they do not attend Classical Arabic classes. All three of them have showed among the interviewees one of the best levels of proficiency in Moroccan Arabic. They only use Italian when speaking among themselves but, clearly, they receive a certain amount of daily input from the first language, enough to allow this level of competence.

- I is eight and was born in Casablanca, homeland of her parents who moved to Italy when she was three (thus allowing her to fit the second generation category as theorized by Rumabaut). She has a six years old sister R, with whom she speaks exclusively Italian, while she uses mostly Moroccan Arabic with her parents. She attends Classical Arabic classes where she stands out from both a production and comprehension perspective, but shows a certain lack of confidence when it comes to producing in Moroccan Arabic: her speech is often interrupted by hesitations and interferences from Italian.

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[2] Piedmontese [ISO 639-3: pms], Turin's local language, does not play a role, having to all practical extents almost disappeared in town, and especially so in our area of interest, the highly multicultural neighborhood of *Barriera di Milano*.

- A is ten and she was born in Italy. She has a seven-year-old sister, Z, with whom she only speaks Italian, which is also the language most used with her parents, especially the mother. When asked about her Moroccan proficiency, she claimed that she is capable of participating in an everyday conversation, but she is also not able to tell a story, due to her lack of lexicon.

- H is six and was born in Italy. She is an only child and she too showed many deficiencies in the correct use of certain grammatical items, in particular in the proper use of prepositions.

To sum up, each one of these children grew in a rather similar environment. They all belong to the second generation of the Moroccan community in Turin, they all go to school in a multicultural neighborhood, their parents were born in Morocco and they all use Italian for in-group conversation. Nevertheless, as it will appear clear below, they appear as a pretty heterogeneous group, with children who have a very good Moroccan Arabic proficiency (both active and passive) and children who struggle in production even in a basic conversation.

3. Theoretical framework

According to the influential Myers-Scotton's *Matrix Language Frame* model (Myers-Scotton 1993b) codeswitching is described as "a selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded language in utterances of a matrix language during the same conversation" (1993a: 4). The Matrix Language (: ML) is defined as (1993B: 4) "the main language in CS utterances" and the Embedded Language (: EL) as "the other language which participates in CS, but with a lesser role." The Matrix Language Frame model distinguishes between system morphemes (grammar morphemes) and content morphemes (lexical morphemes) and states that only the ML provides the system morpheme, while the EL can only provide some content morphemes (the so-called "ML hypothesis"). Nevertheless her approach has been criticized over the years by many authors (Li Wei 1994, MacSwan 2000, Bentahila and Davies 1983, Aabi 1999), so that she was forced to review some of her claims redefining the notions of ML and that of EL islands. According to MacSwan (1999: 146), "nothing constrains code switching apart from the requirements of the mixed grammars." The result of such a claim is that, in order to account for the grammaticality of mixing two languages in discourse, a third grammar derived from the proposed constraints is no longer needed: what is allowed in monolingual grammar will also be allowed in code-switching. Nevertheless, by following this model, one has to assume that the grammars of two languages involved in the interactions have both been perfectly acquired by the speakers. As we will see below, this cannot be said about our informants, whose Moroccan speech shows many gaps at the production level.

Examples of codeswitching involving Arabic have often played an important role in testing the model's claims, but they also forced Myers-Scotton to later reconsider some of the model's statements. Bentahila and Davies (1983) were in fact forced to reject the ML hypotesis when they found in their corpus sentences such as "*wāḥad* le liquide," where the first part of the double determiner is provided by the EL (here Moroccan Arabic), thus violating the hypotesis' main claim.

Owens (2005), on the other hand, argues that some examples of codeswitching just can't fit the MLF model. In particular, Arabic seems to have acted as a correction tool for models trying to explain codeswitching in terms of constraints. On the frequent use of bare nouns in codeswitched utterances, Owens (2005B) argues that factors such as language proficiency and the differing social statuses of the languages involved may influence the choice. Thus concentrating only on formal features of this phenomenon may mislead one's analysis which should rather focus on sociolinguistic aspects too. Especially when the speech community analyzed is formed by children, it appears evident that each language is linked to its environment, forming a binary opposition which separates the school domain from the home one. The linguistic development of most second-generation speakers usually involves two phases in which first the heritage and then the socially dominant language act as the dominant language: "while the heritage language is almost exclusively spoken at home during early childhood, in fact, second-generation speakers gradually shift to the socially dominant language when they start school and consequently expand their social network" (Luca D'Anna 2020). Here, the concept of language dominance can help our analysis. Different from social dominance, meaning the social and political status of a language (Van Coetsem 1988: 13), the notion of linguistic dominance as used by Van Coetsem (2000) is based on a psycholinguistic criterion: a bilingual speaker is dominant in the language in which he is most proficient and which is not necessarily his or her first/native language. In this view, "a linguistically dominant language does not automatically correspond to a socially dominant language since speakers can be linguistically dominant in a socially subordinate language" (Manfredi 2017). This goes against Lucas (2015: 525) who sees "dominance as equivalent to nativeness in all cases." The approach for determining language dominance was theorized in Weinreich (1953) according to the following criteria:

a. relative proficiency;

b. mode of use;

c. first learning;

d. usefulness in communication;

e. emotional involvement;

f. function in social advance;

g. literary-cultural value (Weinreich 1953: 75-82).

Determining dominance is thus fundamental when analyzing bilingual speech. As discovered in Genesee, Nicoladis and Paradis (1995), mixing is strictly related to language dominance: children would tend to codeswitch more when using the non-dominant (psycholinguistically speaking) language. According to Bernardini and Schlyter (2004), children would develop the two languages differently: one will be developed as a SL (strong language), thus at a monolingual level, while the other one, the WL (weak language) will be acquired at a slower and more gradual pace. Syntactic development of each language will be linked to the amount of input the child will receive from each language. That is why codeswitching in children often appear as unidirectional, due to the poor lexical development of the WL.

4. Codeswitching

In the following sections, the morphological and syntactic analysis of the data from the corpus will be carried on. The data collected are in a Moroccan Arabic matrix (produced by explicit request; the informants in fact, interacting with a non-Arab speaker, would not have produced such utterances naturally) with elements inserted from the embedded language, Italian. First, the insertion of nouns and noun phrases will be analyzed, followed by the treatment of lexical complements of verbs and prepositions. The Moroccan Arabic verb form itself doesn't seem to be affected by any phenomenon in particular and has always been used correctly, while the treatment of the prepositions following the verbs and their complements provided a more interesting opportunity of analysis.

4.1. Insertion of Italian nouns: grammatical gender

This paragraph deals with the use of Italian noun phrases as embedded elements inside a Moroccan Arabic matrix sentence. The next sections will deal with treatment of grammatical gender, number and definiteness of code-switched items inside the corpus. Data from the corpus will be reported with the initials of the child who produced the utterance.

Both Italian and Moroccan Arabic have a two-gender based system. In Moroccan Arabic feminine and masculine gender often correspond to the natural gender of animate beings; for inanimate beings, the gender is assigned arbitrarily (the same thing happens with Italian). Plural has no gender distinction, so nouns, pronouns and plural adjectives agreement will always be the same regardless of gender. Finally, many Moroccan dialects have lost the gender distinction for the second-person

sigular pronoun and verb, which is a feature often maintained in other dialects (Simone Bettega, p.c.). In Italian instead, gender distinction is expressed by suffixes: nouns ending with *–o* are generally masculine, while nouns ending with *–a* are generally feminine (there are various exceptions in both cases).

1) *māmā šrət*   la torta (A)[3]

   mom   buy-PST.3F DET-cake

   "mom bought the cake"

2) *had   l-ḥafla*   è durata   quattro ore (A)

   DEM   DET-party last-PST.3F   four hour-PL

   "this party lasted four hours"

(3) microfono   *hāda*? (H)

    microphone   DEM

    "is this a microphone?"

(4) *tendīr*   la *ramadān* (I)

    ASP-1SG-do   DET-ramaḍān

    "I do ramadan"

(5) *tānšuf*   la tivu   *mʕa uxtī* (I)

    ASP-1SG-watch   DET-TV   with sister-POSS.1SG

    "I watch TV with my sister"

The previous examples show that articles, demonstratives and verbs gender agrees with the one of the inserted Italian noun. In example (4) we find an interesting phenomenon found in other codeswitching corpora, that is the insertion of one single item from the EL in a completely Arabic

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[3] The bracketed letters after each example stand for the informant's initial name, as detailed in section 2. above.

sentence. This goes against the predictions made by the Myers-Scotton MLF model since *ramaḍān* is a masculine noun in Italian[4] and would thus require a masculine article (the Italian article *la* is to be used on feminine nouns only) or the invariable Arabic article *al-*. This phenomenon remains here unexplained but we may suppose that this speaker, while addressing a non-Moroccan interlocutor, has been drawn to use an Italian article. This article in fact follows a noun which has been phonetically produced in Italian, that is, without the pharyngealization of the /d/. Thus the speaker, having never heard this word used in an Italian context, mistakenly uses it with a feminine article. This article then must have acted as a *trigger* for the next noun to be pronounced in an Italian contour.

4.2. Number

Both Italian and Moroccan Arabic nouns may be either singular or plural, with the latter having also a dual form for a limited number of nouns. Plural nouns may either have a sound form (marked by the suffix *–at* for the feminine and *–in* for the masculine) or a broken form (marked by one of the many patterns of internal vowel change). Italian nouns can instead be divided into three classes: (1) both masculine and feminine nouns ending in *–a* which form the plural in *–i* if masculine and in *–e* if feminine; (2) feminine and masculine nouns ending in *–o* and forming plural in *–i*; (3) masculine and feminine nouns ending in *–e* which form the plural in *–i*.

Below some examples showing that Italian plural nouns agree in plural with the rest of the Moroccan Arabic sentence. Italian plural articles are often maintained, since there is not a Moroccan article for the expression of the plural category only:

6) *l-luwwāl   xəṣṣna   nəšri   le   carote* (H)

   DET-first have to-ACT.PTCP.1PL buy-PRS.1PL DET.F.PL   carrot-F.PL

   "first we have to buy the carrots"

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[4] In Italian, borrowed items are generally assigned the unmarked gender, masculine whenever they cannot follow any of the gender assignment criteria. These criteria are: the phonologic rule, which assigns the feminine gender to nouns ending in –a ("la tequila"); the semantic rule which assigns gender through analogy to its hypernym (the English borrowing "station wagon" will be feminine since it refers to the feminine hypernym "car")

(https://accademiadellacrusca.it/it/consulenza/genere-dei-forestierismi/1229)

(7) *la, āna bġit*   *l*-patate (R)

   no   I   want-PRS.1SG   DET-potato-F.PL

   "No, I want potatoes"

We may also find in the corpus examples like the one below, where the noun is used without article. The omission of the article (whose use in Italian is necessary) while code-switching is very frequent in this corpus; this phenomenon will be further explored below.

(8) *Lā, āna bġit*   caramelle (L)

   no   I   want-PRS.1SG   candy-F.PL

   "no, I want candy"

While the article often agrees with the noun in code-switched sentences, the corpus also shows us examples proving that linguistic dominance doesn't belong to the matrix language, but to the embedded one:

(9) *nəmšī   n-nʕās*   alle...   *l-ʕašra* (I)

   go-PRS.1SG   sleep-PRS.1SG   at-DET.F.PL... DET-ten

   "I go to sleep at ten"

In Moroccan Arabic, time is expressed through the feminine form of the cardinal number, since it implicitly agrees with the noun *sāʕa* ("hour"). In Italian instead, the cardinal number needs to be preceded by a preposition ("*a*") attached to the feminine definite article, which will be singular for "one o'clock" ("*all'una*") and plural for the other numbers ("*alle dieci*"). Here we can see that Italian dominance of the speaker is signaled by the prepositional article required by Italian; short after she realizes her mistake, she changes with the appropriate Arabic article.

4.3. Definiteness

Definiteness of Moroccan Arabic nouns is marked through the invariable article *l-*. Indefiniteness is instead marked by: (1) the double determiner *wāḥəd l-*; (2) the article *ši*; (3) the zero article. The prefix *l-* is assimilated with the first consonant, if solar, of the following noun. This assimilation leads to the

production of a double consonant, which is often hard to tell from a non-double consonant and can cause problems during the analysis.

Before dealing with the treatment of the definite article, as either part of the double determiner or used alone, we first need to discuss a certain phenomenon with a high frequency in codeswitching corpora dealing with Moroccan Arabic in contact with another language: the omission of the definite article *l-*.

4.4. The omission of the definite article *l-*

Among the studies that focus on the analysis of codeswitching involving Arabic a phenomenon found by many authors (Nortier 2000, Bentahila and Davies 1983, Boumans 1998, Aabi 1999) has raised particular interest: the omission of the Moroccan Arabic definite article when preceding foreign nouns. This omission is often found when the article is followed by indefinite non-Arabic nouns, as well as when it is part of the double determiner *wāḥəd l* -, or the demonstrative *had l-.* In all the cases above, the presence of a definite article is always required in Moroccan Arabic. In particular, we will focus on the treatment of the double determiner, since the language in contact with Moroccan Arabic here, Italian, only uses one element to express indefiniteness. Below, we will focus on the analysis of the previous literature regarding this phenomenon, particularly when Moroccan Arabic interacts with the French and the Dutch languages.

4.4.1. Why the omission of the definite article?

Among the Moroccan Arabic-French corpora, the one produced by Bentahila and Davies (1983) leads the authors to the formulation of the subcategorisation constraint which specifies (1983: 329): "all items must be used in such a way as to satisfy the (language-particular) subcategorisation restrictions imposed on them". According to this theory, examples such as (10) are not acceptable since the demonstrative *hādūk* needs to be followed by a definite article. Instead we may find examples such as (11) which satisfy the selectional requirements of the prefix *wāḥəd*.

As already specified, Moroccan Arabic indefinite form is given by a compound formed by *wāḥəd* (numeral "one") and *l-* (definite invariable article). This form, when interested by codewitching, may be found in sentences such as (11) which follows a Moroccan Arabic syntax, that is satisfying the selectional requirements of the prefix *wāḥəd*:

(10) *hādūk* problémes (Bentahila and Davies 1983)

   DEM-   problems

   "Those problems"[5]

(11) *xdəm-t*   *f- wāḥəd* la   société d'assurances (Heath 1989)

   work-PST.1SG in-INDF   DET- insurance company

   "I worked in an insurance company"

The analysis of this phenomenon is also carried on by Aabi (1999), defending the FPC model against Myers-Scotton's MLF (1993b). The author criticizes Myers-Scotton's constraint according to which switches of a morpheme system in the EL are considered not valid: the example (12), which would be seen as incorrect by this model, is accepted in the FPC:

(12) je vais te dire que   *l-*   medecin peut faire... (Aabi 1998)

   I   go   2SG-tell that DET-medicine can do

   "I tell you, medicine can do…"

According to this model, based on the "no constraint" theory by MacSwan (2000), the notion of a third grammar or other restrictions are no longer needed: as long as language specific features are respected in the course of derivation, any case of code-switching should be allowed. Thus any switch involving a double determiner (between the determiner and its complement) should be allowed as long as the selectional requirements of its functional head (the determiner) are satisfied. Aabi (1999) considers double determiner as two separate functional categories since each element can assume a grammatical function without the other; therefore, each functional category must have its selectional requirements satisfied: the example (11) is considered acceptable since the determiner *wāḥəd* requires to be followed by another determiner which has to be definite and singular, while the determiner *l-* requires to be followed by a noun.

    A recent attempt at validating the MLF model has been made by Ziamari (2018): the author tries to explain the use of the determiner in the French-Moroccan Arabic corpora by denying the most

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[5] For cited examples the glossing method of the original is maintained; examples from this corpus are instead glossed following the Leipzig Glossing Rules (see List of abbreviations).

recent linear approaches. According to the MLF model, Moroccan Arabic-French codeswitching may produce three different nominal structures: a NP called mixed constituent (where Moroccan Arabic provides the determiner while French provides the noun) (13); internal EL islands[6] (where the NP is French) (14); and full French NPs (15):

(13) *dāk*   *ət-*   tension (Ziamari 2018)

　　DEM   DET-tension

　　"this tension"

(14) *wāḥəd* la   pression (Ziamari 2018)

　　INDF   DET-pressure

　　"a pressure"

(15) *xayba*   l'   indifference (Ziamari 2018)

　　horrible DET-indifference

　　"indifference is horrible"

In a revision of her model, Myers-Scotton (2002:119) states that "embedded language determiners (French here) can appear if they show sufficient congruence with their ML counterparts at all three levels of the abstract grammatical structure". The high frequency of this structure in the Moroccan Arabic-French corpora would be justified by the congruence between French and Arabic determiners at three levels of Myers-Scotton's "abstract grammatical structure": lexical-conceptual structure, predicate-argument structure and morphological realization patterns (2002). Since they share sufficient congruence, system morphemes can thus be provided by both French and Moroccan Arabic. Internal EL islands would thus be much more frequent than mixed constituents since French articles have three salient features (definiteness, gender and number) while Moroccan articles only have one, definiteness. Thus when a French noun is selected at the lemma level, the article is

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[6] Defined as "intermediate constituents within a larger mixed constituent which is a maximal projection within the ML" (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2000: 100). In a noun phrase we may find a noun complement provided by the ML and a noun preceded by a determiner from the EL. (14) is an example of internal EL island since "wāḥəd" is a noun complement from the ML, while "la pression" is a DET+ noun from French.

activated as well, but since there is insufficient congruence between the two languages, the French noun, since gender and number are non-existing feature in the ML determiner, will appear with the agreeing article.

If we look at other corpora such as the Moroccan Arabic-English, we see that the double determiner *wāḥəd l-* is much more frequent since it is the Moroccan article the one who has "the largest array of uninterpretable features" (Chomsky 2000)

(16) *dad 'ta-ni   wahed al-* book *mazinu* (Benchiba 2007)

   dad   give-3SG-1SG INDF   DEF-book nice

  "dad gave me a nice book"

According to this model, a masculine noun will have more chances to appear with *wāḥəd l-* (Ziamari 2018):

(17) *wāḥəd l-*   psychiatre (Ziamari 2018)

   INDF   DET-psychiatrist

  "a psychiatrist"

Nortier (1995), while analyzing codeswitching between Moroccan Arabic and Dutch, finds that the subcategorisation constraint can't be applied to her corpus. Here we can find the double determiner 49 times, of which 17 where codeswitching took place after the Moroccan Arabic definite article while 32 where the definite article is deleted.

The FPC model can't be applied to Nortier corpus since the selectional requirements of the first function head of the double determiner are not satisfied:

(18) *wāḥəd* gesprek (Nortier 1995)

   DET-   conversation

  "a conversation"

Nortier thus turns to the concept of neutrality as found by Muysken (1987) and defined as a strategy facilitating codeswitching when the languages involved have few or no equivalence. According to Muysken (1987) neutrality can be reached though suspension of grammar, a strategy found by

Boeschoten (1990). Another concept applied by Nortier is the one of convergence as described by Clyne (1987): "the syntactic system of L1 in many individuals converges towards L2 and syntactic convergence in specific sentences often accompanies code-switching" (1987: 750). Although Dutch is not a pro-drop language, Clyne finds examples where the subject pronouns is deleted when in a switched sentence. According to the author "subject pronouns are sometimes dropped where they are at the boundary of a switch and Dutch and English word order are different" e anche "syntactic convergence will take place around the switch, apparently IN ORDER to ease code-switching" (1987: 753).

Thus the deletion of subject pronouns and definite articles, being an example of violation of grammar, would be justified by the mean of facilitating codeswitching. Nortier (1995) finally explains the omission of the definite article in terms of "neutrality strategies, of which suspension of syntax is an example, leading to convergence in order to ease codeswitching." (Nortier 1995: 89).

Still, the reasons why Dutch and French act so differently in such similar contexts remain unknown. Certainly we can suppose that the phonetic form of this determiner may have eased its retention. There is, in fact, a significant overlap between Moroccan and French allomorphs in the singular forms, leading to a set of forms where we cannot easily distinguish between codeswitching and borrowing. As Heath (1989) states, any French singular noun beginning in a vowel will have a *l-* article, whether it is a stabilized borrowing or codeswitching. This equivalence between French articles and the Moroccan one could explain its high frequency in these contexts: they would be so similar that speakers would use one phonetic form referring to both French and Moroccan, while the grammatical intention would be only Moroccan. This explanation is of course a valid one, but cannot be considered as the only one: we know in fact from Bentahila and Davies (1983: 323) that speakers are able to distinguish between Moroccan *l-* and French *le*:

 (19) *had*   le   truc (Bentahila and Davies 1983)

     DEM- DET thing

    "this thing"

In the example above, *le* is unequivocally French, as, if not, we would have found something like "*had* t-truc". Phonetic similarity cannot thus represent the only explanation to this phenomenon. According to Bentahila and Davies (1983) definite article cannot be separated from nouns in their corpus because Moroccan speakers tend to learn new vocabulary together with the corresponding

articles. This would lead speakers to maintain articles also in everyday speech, but we know from Nortier that Moroccan-Dutch speakers also learn Dutch nouns together with their articles.

Considering that in telegraphese style it is permitted, if not obligatory, to omit any redundant information, Nortier leads a comparative study of the usage of articles in both French and Dutch newspapers. Her expectation was to find that articles in Dutch telegraphese would be used much less than they are in the "normal" style, which she indeed finds. French on the other hand, keeps almost all of its articles, leading the author to state that French article would act like that because of their clitic nature, and thus inseparable from the nouns they agree with. Plus, according to Nortier, psycholinguistic consideration should also be kept into account, since the main function of codeswitching should be easing the conversation, allowing the speaker to express him/herself as appropriately and economically as possible.

Also in Boumans' Moroccan Arabic-French corpus (1998) we find the deletion of the Moroccan articles when preceding Dutch nouns. According to Boumans this loss may also be "a feature of the monolingual language or an idiosyncratic speech variety." Nevertheless, given the high frequency of this phenomenon in different corpora involving different languages, it would appear reductive to explain it as a simple idiosyncrasy; an attempt at producing a new analysis seems more appropriate.

4.4.2. Data from the Turin corpus

From the corpus produced here, interesting data seem to emerge about the treatment of this element by Italian bilinguals. The treatment of the articles preceding definite Italian nouns shows a slight oscillation, but with a tendency to maintain it (on the total of the determiner+Italian noun structures found, 62% maintain the article while 38% delete it):

(20) *əl- ḥdāš* dicembre mama *šrət   la   torta* (A)

    DET-eleven December mom   buy-PST.3F DET.F.SG- cake

   "on eleventh December mom bought the cake"

(21) *Ana fi* domenica   *tamšī   fī- s-   sūq* (H)

    I   in Sunday   go-ASP.1SG in- DET- market

   "On Sunday I go to the market"

Double determiners, on the other hand, have been treated similarly to the ones found in the Dutch corpus, but not in the French one:

(22) *Nəmši   naxəd   wāḥəd* libro (S)

    Go-PRS.1SG get-PRS.1SG INDF-   book

   "I go get a book"

(23) *wāḥəd n-   nhār āna* ho visto   *wāḥəd* struzzo (I)

    INDF- DET-time I   see-PAST.1SG INDF- ostrich

   "Once I saw an ostrich"

Here, as in Nortier (1995), we find that both the subcategorisation constraint and the FPC model can't fit the data. Examples like (22) and (23) don't satisfy the selectional requirements of the prefix *wāḥəd* as do the examples from the Bentahila and Davies (1983) corpus. FPC model too can't be applied here since selectional requirements of the functional head, here the determiner, are not satisfied.

   Nortier's theory, according to which these phenomena would be explained in terms of neutrality strategies in order to avoid "surface structure equivalence problems", may fit our data. Nevertheless, according to Clyne (1987), omission happens when the languages in contact have a different word order. Anyway both Italian and Moroccan Arabic are SVO languages and they both are distinguished by a certain degree of flexibility when it comes to word order. Also, Italian doesn't use the same structure as Moroccan Arabic to express indefiniteness, but uses instead an indefinite article preceding the noun with whom it agrees in gender and number. When resorting to a mixed sentence, the informants here thus haven't produced structures like "*wāḥəd* il libro" or "*wāḥəd* un libro", but rather "*wāḥəd* libro". A valid alternative would be represented by the use of the Italian indefinite article, found only once:

(24) *w   mən- baʕd...* una   persona *xəlla   ʕalina* (M)

    and PREP- after... INDF.F.SG-person   let go-PST.3SG PREP-1PL

   "and later a person let us go"

Nevertheless, as we can clearly see in the corpus, these children are able to produce a correct Moroccan indefinite form:

(25) *mšīt   mʕā l-bābā   wāḥəd l-   blāsa* (F)

    go-PST.1SG with DET-dad INDF- DET-place

   "I went with dad to a place"

(26) *wāḥəd n-   nhār āna w-axtī   kenna   mšīna   l-bār* (M)

   INDF-   DET-time I   and-sister-POSS.1SG ASP.1PL go-PST.1PL DET-bar

  "Once my sister and I went to a bar"

Thus by forming sentences such as (22) and (23) they violate Moroccan Arabic grammar rules. Clyne would explain this violation in terms of strategy used in order to ease codeswitching: its use would, in his opinion, lead to a communication produced as economically as possible. Having no proofs here against this proposal, we may maintain it in the course of our analysis. The same cannot be said about the clitic nature of articles, which would justify the treatment of articles in Moroccan Arabic-French corpora: in fact, Italian articles are also clitic.

If we ask the community about this phenomenon their answer seems, one again, quite interesting: French language would be such a growing influence in the everyday Moroccan Arabic speech that the frequent mixing of these two varieties would produce its own register, characterized, among other things, by these phenomena of article mixing. Thus if Moroccan speakers tend to maintain the French article while codeswitching between NPs it's because this fusion has become part of their everyday speech register and making this phenomenon into a new norm. On the other hand, the contact between Italian and Moroccan Arabic is much more recent and codeswitching is a strategy applied mostly by the younger generations, whose parents often don't have the Italian proficiency needed in order to codeswitch. So if the younger generations will keep on using this phenomenon long enough we can suppose that it will become a stable norm even in the speech of future generations, as happened with French.

This theory is very interesting but when dealing with second generation Moroccan bilinguals shifting the focus on the concept of dominance could be helpful. If we apply the norms introduced by Weinreich (1953) and if we determine which language has the largest array of functions in their communicative context, the dominant language of these children will appear to be Italian. Thus we may suppose that these children could interpret *wāḥəd* as a direct equivalent of the Italian indefinite articles, and so the use of a double determiner would seem redundant to them. In Italian,

indefiniteness is expressed by the juxtaposition of two elements, the indefinite article followed by the noun. Children may thus make a calque of the Italian structure and, when speaking in a mixed register, would form structures like "*wāḥəd* libro." In the French-Moroccan corpora seen above, case studies took place among the Moroccan community in Morocco, a community with a high rate of bilingualism due to the growing use of French in many spheres of the public life. Our corpus, on the other hand, was collected among a second generation Moroccan community based in Italy, and this consideration deserves an important distinction: the subjects analyzed here are children whose mother tounge (that is, first language) is Moroccan Arabic, the language of a minority community in an Italian environment, while their dominant language is undeniably represented by Italian. As already stated, Italian is the variety used in the largest array of functions, whose frequent use may also be driven by a generational reason. As Appel and Muysken (1987: 41) notice, "the younger group often wants to claim social status different from that of their parents' generation. Therefore, younger people choose another language as their regular medium of communication". So in this case it would be more appropriate to focus not as much on the use of matrix and embedded language, but rather on the concept of language dominance. As we can see from the corpus, even when the informants are asked to use Moroccan Arabic as much as possible, their dominant language, Italian, will still influence syntax and structures.

5. The treatment of prepositions and verbal complements

As for the definite prefix *l-*, also the preposition *l-* indicating movement is often omitted in the corpus. When it precedes Italian nouns it often disappears, sometimes together with the definite article *l-* (31). This mainly happens after the verb *mšā* "to go to". Also in this case we find a match with the Moroccan-Dutch corpora:

(27) *mši-t –*   kleuterschool (Boumans 1998)

    go-1SG-PST nursing school

    "I went to nursing school"

(28) *kənna   mšīna-   l-*bagno   *āna w-   uxtī* (M)

    ASP-1PL go-PST.1PL DET-bathroom I   and sister-POSS.1SG

    "My sister and I went to the bathroom"

This happens also with *ġadi* as a movement verb:

(29) *Āna ġadi*   *l-*   bagno (D)

    I   go-ACT.PTCP.1SG DET-bathroom

   "I'm going to the bathroom"

In (30) the speaker switches between the verb and its complement. Here the selectional requirements of the verb *mšā* are satisfied with a completely Italian structure. The noun "scuola" doesn't have an article because it is not required in Italian, but had it been said in Moroccan, the article would have been necessary (*mši-t li-l-madrasa*):

(30) *Āna mši-t*   a   scuola (S)

    I   go-PST.1SG PREP- school

   "I went to school"

In (31) the omission of the preposition leads to the omission of the definite prefix as well. Here this absence can't be justified with the use of an Italian noun:

(31) *mši-t*   doposcuola (H)

   go-PST.1SG   after-school program

    "I went to after-school program"

In (32) a speaker tries to tell a story using Moroccan Arabic using the verb "to go to" followed by an Italian noun preceded by an Italian definite prefix; later on she uses the same noun preceded by an Italian articled preposition:

(32) Cappuccetto rosso   *mši-t*   il   bosco [...] *mši-t*   nel   bosco (A)

   Little Red Riding Hood go-PST.3M DET.M.SG- woods [...] go-PST.3M in-DET.M.SG-woods

   "Little Red Riding Hood went to the woods"

In (28) we found the omission of the preposition *l-*, which has a high frequency in the corpus, while the definite prefix is maintained. The same speaker later produced the example (30) switching between the verb and the preposition, expressed in Italian. Here the speaker respected the selectional requirements of the verb *mšā,* which requires a preposition before the noun. We need to

keep in mind that the preposition does not assimilate to the first consonant of the noun, as the definite prefix does. Thus in (31) the preposition is clearly missing, while whether or not the article was used depends from the pronunciation of the d-, whether it is pronounced as a double consonant.

The preposition *mʕā* as well (indicating in general a complement conveying company) disappears frequently, particularly when used to express time. Time in Moroccan Arabic is expressed through the preposition *mʕā* followed by the definite article and the numeral: *žīt mʕā-əl-ḥdāš* "I arrived at eleven" (Caubet 1993: 209). Examples like (33) replace *mʕā* with the Italian preposition followed by the article, resulting in a double article:

(33) *ġadi-nəmši   n-naʕs   alle...   l-   ʕšara* (A)

    go-FUT.1SG   sleep-PRS-1SG   at-DET.F.PL...   DET-ten

    "I go to sleep at... ten"

This phenomenon may be explained by the hesitation of the speaker in finding the right words to use in a Moroccan sentence. She firstly resorts to an Italian articled preposition because it is the most easily available to the speaker. Then, when she realizes her mistake, she corrects starting from the prefix+ numeral in Moroccan Arabic, as if the function expressed by the Italian preposition had already been satisfied. Here too we find a match with the Dutch-Moroccan Arabic corpora:

(34) *ne-mši-w* acht uur dreëntwintig (Boumans 1998)

    1-go-PL   eight twenty-three

    "We'll go at eight twenty-three"

Locative prepositions *f-* and *b-* appear stable in use, except when used with *mša* where still we find uncertainty in the use of the proper preposition:

(35) *āna   mšī-t   fī -l- žārda* (S)

    1SG go-PST.1SG to-DET-park

    "I went to the park"

This uncertainty was found particularly in six years old and younger children. This phenomenon would be frequent in many monolingual children as well, but in bilingual children this confusion is

found also in older speakers, as in (36). The speaker here is ten years old but her uncertainty about the use of the proper preposition is such that she produced a speech where she turns to three different solution to express the same meaning:

(36) *ġadda   ġadi-ənfāq   mən- t-   tmənya* (A)

    tomorrow wake up-FUT.1SG PREP- DET- nine

    "Tomorrow I'll wake up at nine"

(36a) *ġadda   ġadi-əntġādda   l-wāḥda* (A)

    tomorrow have lunch-FUT.1SG DET-one

    "Tomorrow I'll have lunch at one"

(36b) *ġadi-nəmši n-naʕs   alle…   l- ʕašra* (A)

    go-FUT.1SG sleep-PRS.1SG PREP-DET.F.PL… DET-ten

    "Tomorrow I'll go to sleep at ten"

The speaker firstly uses *mən*, a preposition mainly used to signal an origin, a starting point in space or time (Caubet 1993). In (36a) she turns to the numeral preceded by the definite article while in (36b) she hesitates between the Moroccan form (still without the proper preposition) and the Italian one.

6. Language shift or language stagnation?

As noticed above, second generation Moroccan children tend to rely on strategies of reduction and simplification of certain structures. This linguistic behavior could be a sign of a developing linguistic register simplified in both lexicon and syntax. From here the concepts of language shift and language stagnation may come in handy.

By language loss we mean "a form of language change that causes potential communication problems between individuals and the community of which they consider themselves a member" (Jaspaert and Kroon 1989: 80). On the other hand, language shift occurs when a language used by a community is replaced by another, usually more prestigious, language. Language shift is often regarded as a consequence of restriction in domains of use of a minority language, particularly when a majority language is used in most domains, including the home (El Aissati 1996). Studying the

language of second generation Moroccans in the Netherlands, El Aissati (1996) finds that this group is gradually adjusting to communicative strategies that are typical of Dutch monolinguals, while tending to cling to a small set of generalized strategies of the Moroccan Arabic language. This generalization of strategies is seen as "paradigmatic leveling" (El Aissati 1996: 75) that is when irregular paradigms become regularized or reduced to fewer paradigms. Such levelling is seen as the result of restricted input and would characterize situations of language shifts and language loss. Another typical characteristic of this process is a frequent confusion in phonetics at a production level: according to El Aissati, speakers would often mistake between oppositions like /h/ e /ḥ/ and between /q/ e /k/. According to the above-mentioned informant Noura Amzil, a certain confusion in phonetic production would appear also in younger Moroccan monolinguals, but Moroccan bilinguals would face a delay in the correct acquisition of these pronunciations. If a Moroccan child living in Morocco learns how to distinguish between /h/ e /ḥ/ when he/she is 4, an emigrate counterpart will learn it when he/she is 6. This is very interesting and does not clash with data from previous studies signaling this delay in the acquisition of the entire phonology. It seems that at a perception level second generation children don't face any particular problems with the phonology, while at a production level it is evident that they have difficulties compared to their monolingual counterpart.

The group here analyzed reveals to be pretty heterogeneous when it comes to phonetic production: if some children show a frequent uncertainty, others, supposedly more exposed to the Moroccan language don't reveal any particular problems.

It still remains unclear whether these children are indeed losing some of the traits of the Moroccan language or if they are just acquiring it at a slower pace compared to their monolingual counterpart: in the latter case one can rather speak of "language stagnation" (El Aissati 1996, Verhoeven and Boeschoten 1986). These children, because of the reduced input from their first language against the abundance of the ones from Italian, will eventually reach a comprehensive competence of Moroccan Arabic, but at a slower pace compared to their monolingual peers. If this equalization never happens, then we can speak of language loss. It's not easy to predict which scenery will eventually come true since there are other social factors playing a role in this evolution such as the language attitude.

Language attitude has been told to be the main factor determining the maintaining or the loss of a language in a given community of speakers (Albirini 2018). A positive attitude toward one's heritage language often translates into increased efforts to acquire it and keep it alive in the life of the community. Still, language attitude and the sense of community identity would be linked to the amount of input speakers receive on a daily basis. The asymmetric proficiency of different heritage

speakers would be caused by their different commitment to the Arabic language, due to their divergent sense of Arab and Muslim identity. It is certainly soon to interrogate these children about their attitude, but from what emerged by the corpus and by conversation with the parents, their attitude seems to be very positive. For the children's parents the conservation of their Arab and Muslim identity is fundamental, as proven by the success of the Arabic language classes held by the women of the association.

As uneasy as it is to predict the linguistic future of these generations, it is still undeniable that right now their linguistic development is facing a dynamic process of change and fusion among the first language and the dominant language. The language of the second generation as we see it now appears as a language with a reduced lexicon and broken syntax. In fact, as also shown by previous studies (Albirini and Benmamoun 2014) the first cause of codeswitching among children of an immigrate community would be a lack of lexicon.

7. French influence

A particular case of codeswitching is found in a speaker who has a good Moroccan Arabic proficiency, such that she is familiar with that Moroccan-French mixed register discussed earlier.

(37) *səddinā*   *al- bāb   w- batt- bloquinā* (M)

   close-PST.3PL DET-door and get- stuck-PST.1PL

  "We closed the door and we got stuck"

Bloquinā here is a loan from the French verb "*bloquer.*" As Heath (1989) states, French verbs ending in *–er* have two possible outcomes when brought into Moroccan Arabic: (1) the root is imported adding a ending *–i*; (2) the root is imported with no added ending. The verb *bloquer* will thus become *bloqui* in Moroccan Arabic, resulting in *bloqui-nā* in first person plural. The use of such verb shows that this speaker receives frequent input of Moroccan Arabic from people belonging to the first generation, who have developed a good bilingual French proficiency in their homeland.

Just like young Moroccans living in Morocco, the emigrated Italian counterpart too reveals a French influence in everyday speaking, especially when dealing with the language of technology. This type of language shows in this corpus a French origin, often without any adjustments:

(38) il   download? *Ka -n-   gul- hom   ka- y-   dəšārža* (D)

    DET.M.SG-download? ASP .1SG-   say- 3PL   ASP-3SG-download

    "il download? Dico loro che si scarica"

The example above comes from a discussion between two speakers about the use of the verb "to download" in Moroccan Arabic. If the first speaker turns to a solution expected for a Moroccan Arabic speaker, that is a French loan, the second speaker offers a much more creative solution:

 (39) Io dico che *tə-t*-scarica (Z)

     I say   that ASP-3F-download

    "I say that *tə-t*-download"

This speaker here prefers the use of a (his words) "Moroccanized Italian," thereby creating new solutions to fill the gap of a specialized Moroccan vocabulary. He uses the Italian verb "*scaricare*" together with a Moroccan verbal prefix that indicates verbal aspect.

It is therefore evident that French is part of the language proficiency of these children, even at a very superficial level. Here a French proficiency seems to be an index of a higher Moroccan Arabic proficiency. Those who showed such features are in fact the speakers most familiar with Moroccan Arabic. This can be seen as a result of a good amount of inputs from the first language, as much that it made them familiar with that French lexicon used in everyday conversation by their parents.

The choices these speakers make are in fact derived exclusively by what they learn from their parents and by how much they keep on using French in the country of emigration. If these inputs are missing, the easiest solution would then be resorting to the most common English form or, as in (38) a mixed Italian structure. If after the establishment of a community in Italy input from French start disappearing, these phenomenona may become much less frequent. We can thus suppose that the use of French in these speakers' everyday interactions is bound to disappear both for children and their parents, who will thus only resort to Italian or English vocabulary.

8. Conclusions

In this article I tried to examine the products of Moroccan Arabic in contact with Italian attempting to explain the difference between this codeswitching and two other language pairs: Moroccan Arabic-French and Moroccan Arabic-Dutch codeswitching. In order to do so, I compared the data from my

corpus with the ones found in corpora from previous studies, focusing on formal aspects of the phenomenon but explaining them from a more sociolinguistically-oriented approach.

It must be stressed that this study refers to the Turin Moroccan community only, a tight-knit community known among Italian Moroccan people to be one of a kind. According to Noura Amzil, the Turin community cannot be compared to other Italian communities such as the Genoa or the Milan based ones. Having settled mostly in one single district, Barriera di Milano, the Turin community would have managed to keep a genuine Moroccan identity: its culture and traditions remained very faithful to the original, while the same cannot be said for the other Italian communities. Turin Moroccan people would thus be characterized by features that immediately give away their origin to other communities. According to Noura Amzil, the Barriera di Milano community has created a so-called "ghetto," where Moroccans live among themselves just like in their homeland and this would lead to a easier conservation of their mother tongue, that here is also able to reveal even its "rural" traits, something that rarely happens in other cities. The inner strength of this group would thus allow its second generations to maintain a good proficiency in their first language and a bigger hope of transmission to the next generation. Since this study focused exclusively on said community, its findings must be applied to the young Moroccan bilinguals of Turin. In describing the data from my corpus, I started by depicting a model of the Moroccan bilingual children of Turin, describing their language proficiencies and formally analyzing their language products. My theoretical framework was based on studies about Moroccan Arabic codeswitching and their revise of the Myers-Scotton MLF model. I also based my research on studies that discuss the existence of restrictions when codeswitching is produced by children; in this regard, I took into account MacSwan's theory (2000: 146) according to which "nothing constrains code-switching apart from the requirement of the mixed grammars." Nevertheless, since we are here discussing the language of children whose parents speak the same language, which is not the country's majority language, one can wonder if they have actually ever achieved an equal competence and knowledge of the grammar of the two languages. If codeswitching in children is said to be more frequent when they are speaking the non-dominant language, then the fact that in this corpus codeswitching only happened from Moroccan Arabic to Italian and never viceversa should be enlightening.

By formally analyzing the codeswitched structures of the corpus we can clearly see that Italian plays an important role in the young informants' language: the influence of the majority language on the Moroccan one has been made evident by the treatment of the category of gender and number. In the course of the analysis I have also isolated one of the most frequently mentioned discrepancies between the Moroccan Arabic-French corpus and the Moroccan Arabic-Dutch one, the omission of

the definite article in codeswitching environments. An important analogy was found in this regard within the Dutch corpora; Dutch studies explain this discrepancy with the clitic nature of the French article which, unlike the Dutch one, cannot be separated from its noun. Nevertheless, this theory doesn't fit the data found here since Italian articles are clitic too. In this matter, it would rather be more appropriate to focus not as much on the grammatical features of the two languages but rather on their different sociolinguistic environments. Both the Dutch and the present study focus on an immigrant community whose language represents the one of a minority group. If the Moroccan Arabic-French corpora provides a sample of the widespread bilingualism of the people of Morocco (whose dominant language is still Moroccan Arabic) the corpus here reflects a community of children whose dominant language is not Moroccan Arabic, whose use is mostly confined to only one domain, the domestic one. All other domains belong to Italian, the language used for every out-group interactions. Basing our study on the opposition between the ML and the EL does not seem as appropriate as exploring the group's language dominance and unequal proficiency in the two varieties. The language found here appears reduced in syntax and lexicon: features such as phonetic reduction, a redundancy of independent pronouns and preposition misuse are so typical of these children's speech that it may signal a dynamic process of language evolution. This process may be recognized as a process of language shift or language loss, which would traditionally manifest itself through some of the features expressed above, such as phonetic reduction and morphological simplification – the so-called "paradigmatic leveling". As seen above, second-generation children may often manifest a certain delay in the acquisition of phonetics or in the correct use of prepositions. If they eventually acquire the same traits known to their non-immigrate counterpart, only at a slower pace, then one can rather speak of language stagnation. Still, it is not easy to predict the future of these generations, whether they will acquire a level similar to the one of their peers in the country of origin, since there are different sociolinguistic factors determining this process, first of all "language attitude." The community analyzed here seems to have a very positive attitude toward their mother language and shows all the right premises to its fruitful conservation. Still, the fact that the language of the second generation is facing a period of change and mixing between the two languages remains undeniable. Starting from this, we may suppose two possible future scenarios:

- The first language is going through a language stagnation phase: its acquirement is slowed down by the hegemony of the majority language, but it will eventually be spoken at a monolingual level.

- The majority language replaces the first language in every domain, leading to an increasingly weak proficiency: the speakers will increasingly become unable to use it, establishing its death by the next generation.

I think that embarking on a study of the same group after they reach adult age would help evaluate the hypothesis and could shed some light on the language of the generations next to the second. According to many studies (Berruto, Moretti and Schmid 1988 in Moretti and Antonini 2000: 60; Versteegh 2014), the mother tongue is doomed to disappear after the third generation of immigrants. A study of this same community could thus be helpful to analyze the possibility of the first language to survive even in the next generation. Plus, in consideration to what said above about the peculiarity of the Turin Moroccan community, a study of a different community may help to clarify the in-group differences that may be caused by a different immigration environment.

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3	first, second, third person		
ACT.PTCP	active participle	M	masculine
ADJ	adjective	NEG	negation
ADV	adverb	PASS	passive
ASP	aspect	PL	plural
DEM	demonstrative	POSS	possessive
DET	determiner	PREP	preposition
F	feminine	PRS	present
FUT	future	PST	past
IMP	imperative	REFL	reflexive
INDF	indefinite article	SG	singular
INF	infinitive		

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