Το Σάββατον εννα χαρτώσουμε το κίτσην:
British Cypriot Greek as a heritage language

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Το Σάββατον εννα χαρτώσουμεν το κίτδιν:
British Cypriot Greek as a heritage language

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Cypriot migration to the UK

- Constantinou (1990)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phase</th>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>Associated events</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I – Early beginnings</td>
<td>1900 – 1954</td>
<td>Droughts of 1902, 1932–1933</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II – Emergency years</td>
<td>1955 – 1959</td>
<td>EOKA campaign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV – Interc communal</td>
<td>1964 – 1974</td>
<td>Formation and consolidation of Turkish enclaves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V – Invasion and</td>
<td>1974 – 1985</td>
<td>Ethnic division of Cyprus, forced migration, economic problems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>aftermath</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Cypriot migration to the UK

• Constantinou (1990)
The UK παροικία

• Office for National Statistics (2011 census):
  Cypriot-born UK residents
  
  England  78,795  
  Scotland  1,941  
  Wales     1,215  
  Northern Ireland  344  
  TOTAL: 82,295

• National Federation of Cypriots in the UK:  
  200,000–300,000 UK residents with a Cypriot background.
The London παροικία

- Enfield
  - Palmers Green
  - Edmonton
  - Southgate
- Haringey
  - Tottenham
  - Hornsey
- Barnet
  - Cockfosters

(London Datastore, London Borough of Newham, Languages Spoken by Pupils, Borough & MSOA; all data from the 2008 Annual School Census)
The London παροικία
Linguistic repertoire

• Three languages/varieties:
  – Cypriot Greek
  – Standard Modern Greek
  – English

• Different types of monolingual and bilingual speakers are found in the *parikia*.

• Today’s focus: heritage speakers.
Who are heritage speakers?

• Benmamoun *et al.* (2013: 132):

“The term heritage speaker *typically refers to second generation immigrants, the children of the original immigrants, who live in a bilingual/multilingual environment from an early age. Heritage speakers have as their dominant language the language of the host country, whereas first generation immigrants are dominant in the native language of their home country.”
Who are heritage speakers?

• Benmamoun et al. (2013: 133):

“A heritage speaker is an early bilingual who grew up hearing (and speaking) the heritage language (L1) and the majority language (L2) either simultaneously or sequentially in early childhood (that is, roughly up to age 5; [...]), but for whom L2 became the primary language at some point during childhood (at, around, or after the onset of schooling).”
Who are heritage speakers?

• Benmamoun et al. (2013: 133): “As a result of language shift, by early adulthood a heritage speaker can be strongly dominant in the majority language, while the heritage language will now be the weaker language.”
### Who are heritage speakers?

- Montrul (2008: 217)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Previous linguistic knowledge</th>
<th>L1 acquisition</th>
<th>Adult L2 acquisition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Input</td>
<td>Adult L2 acquisition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>timing</td>
<td>early exposure (birth)</td>
<td>late exposure (post puberty)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>setting</td>
<td>naturalistic</td>
<td>naturalistic and instructed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mode</td>
<td>aural</td>
<td>aural and written</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amount</td>
<td>abundant and frequent</td>
<td>varying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quality</td>
<td>varied and rich, contextually appropriate</td>
<td>less varied, contextually restricted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>literacy</td>
<td>complex elements acquired after age 5</td>
<td>literate in L1 and L2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Who are heritage speakers?

• The competence and performance of HSs in their HL differ from that of both monolinguals and L2 speakers in all grammatical domains.

!! Both are extremely variable not only across different speakers but also along the lifespan of the same individual.
Who are heritage speakers?

• Phonetics: phonetic values of sounds
• Morphosyntax:
  – Nouns: inflection, agreement (gender, definiteness), case
  – Verbs: tense > aspect > mood > agreement
  – Classifiers
• Syntax:
  – null pronouns
  – anaphors
  – word order
Who are heritage speakers?

• Four main reasons:
  ① Attrition
  ② Interrupted acquisition
  ③ Transfer from the majority language
  ④ Differences in the input received
Heritage speakers of Cypriot Greek

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generation</th>
<th>Cypriot Greek</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st generation</td>
<td>L1</td>
<td>L2 (adult)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd generation</td>
<td>L1, L2 (child)</td>
<td>2L1, 2L1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd generation</td>
<td>L2 (child), L1</td>
<td>2L1, 2L1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
British Cypriot Greek

• Previous research has looked primarily at code-switching and attitudes:
British Cypriot Greek

• Three distinctive characteristics:
  ① a high number of regional features originating in the local Cypriot varieties brought over by the first generation.
  ② a high number of SMGr features gaining prestige through the community education system, the Church and the media.
  ③ contact effects from English.
British Cypriot Greek

1st generation  2nd generation  3rd generation

Regional features

SMGr features

Contact effects
British Cypriot Greek

• Contact effects (1st generation):
  – Extensive lexical borrowing from English with phonological and morphological integration:

  landlord > (ο) λάλος
  cooker [ˈkʊkə], [ˈkʊke] > (η) κ-κούκα
  bus > (το) πάσον

  ἤρτασιν τα λόρκα τὸ’ επετάξασιν τα ράπις
  ‘the lorries came and threw away the rubbish’
  (Ιωαννίδης 1990)
British Cypriot Greek

• Contact effects (2nd generation):
  – Extensive lexical insertion and code-switching:

  Εμείς ποδά κάνουμεν περίτου effort. Μπορεί [...] να φορήσουμεν special ρούχα και ποτόδει στην Κύπρο μπορεί να πάσιν σε έναν γάμον με τα jeans [2F34C]

  ‘Over here we do extra effort. We might wear special clothes whereas over there in Cyprus they might go to a wedding wearing jeans.’

British Cypriot Greek

- Contact effects (2\textsuperscript{nd} generation):
  - Extensive lexical insertion and code-switching:

'Εθελα να βρω γεναίκαν \textit{with a head on her shoulders} επειδή όπως θωρώ τη σήμ-μερην ημέραν οι μιτσ̑ές [...] η κ̕-κελ-λέ τους εν μέστον αέραν, κάμνουν πολ-λά πράματα που \textit{I don’t agree with} [2M30A]

‘I wanted to find a woman \textit{with a head on her shoulders} because, as I see it, today the young women [...] their head is in the air, they do a lot of things that \textit{I don’t agree with’}
British Cypriot Greek

• Contact effects (2\textsuperscript{nd} generation):
  – Gender agreement mismatches:

\[
\text{έ̣δει\ μερικές\ λέξεις\ που\ μου\ ίμίλαν}
\]

has\ some.F.PL.ACC\ word(F).PL.ACC\ that\ me\ spoke

\[
\text{η\ μάμ-μα\ μου\ που\ έν\ εν\ σωστά}
\]

the\ mother\ my\ that\ not\ are\ correct.N.PL.ACC

‘There are some words my mother used to say to me that are not correct’ [2F34C]
British Cypriot Greek

• Contact effects (2\textsuperscript{nd} generation):
  – Number agreement mismatches:

\[
\mu' \text{ αρέσει} \quad \text{οι} \quad \text{παραξεν-νιές}
\]
\[
\text{me} \quad \text{please.PRS.3sg} \quad \text{the.F.PL.NOM} \quad \text{peculiarity(F).PL.NOM}
\]
\[
\tauου \quad \text{κόσμου}
\]
\[
\text{the.M.SG.GEN} \quad \text{people(M).SG.GEN}
\]
‘I like the people’s unique characteristics’ [2M51B]
British Cypriot Greek

• Contact effects (2\textsuperscript{nd} generation):
  – Number agreement in impersonal verbs:

\[
\text{αν \ εν \ το \ είδες \ έπρεπες \ να \ μείνεις}
\]
\[
f \ \text{if \ not \ it \ you \ had \ must.\text{PST.2SG}} \ \text{that} \ \text{stay.\text{PNP.2SG}}
\]

‘If you didn’t have it, you had to stay’ [2M36B]
British Cypriot Greek

• Contact effects (2nd generation):
  – Deviant case marking:

πριν  να  μπει  την
before  that  enter.pnp.3sg  the.F.SG.ACC

Κύπρον  μέστην  Ευρώπην
Cyprus(F).SG.ACC  in the  Europe

‘Before Cyprus entered the European Union’ [2M36B]
• Contact effects (2nd generation):
  – Deviant definiteness marking (or lack thereof):

\[
\text{ένα} \ (\text{έναν}) \ \text{άλ-λον} \ \text{φίλον} \ (\text{τον}) \ \Σάβ-βαν
\]

I have a another friend the Savvas
‘I have another friend, Savvas’ [2M30A]
• Contact effects (2nd generation):
  – Lack of negative concord:

πάντοτε ἦταν μαξιλάρι, ποτὲ-τέ (ἐν) ἦταν
always was pillow never not was
μαβλούκα
pillow
‘It was always maksilári, it was never mavlúka’ [2F36A]
British Cypriot Greek

• Contact effects (2\textsuperscript{nd} generation):
  – Ill-formed clefts:

\[ \text{kai (\varepsilon \nu) o\'u\lambda-\lambdao E\lambda-\lambda\eta\nui\kappa\acute{a} \; \piou \; \acute{\mu}i\lambdao\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\acute{a}n} \]

and \text{is} all Greek that they spoke

‘They would only speak Greek’ [2F34C]
British Cypriot Greek

• None of the identified deviant structures occur systematically in the speech of any of the speakers interviewed so far.

• In terms of performance, HSs of Cypriot Greek do not seem to differ from non-HSs.
Gender in heritage languages

• Errors with gender agreement are reported for heritage Arabic (Albirini et al. 2013), Russian (Polinsky 2006, 2008), Spanish (Lipski 1993, Montrul et al 2008) and Swedish (Håkansson 1995):
  – Heritage Spanish:

  \[
  \begin{align*}
  mi & \text{ blusa } es \text{ blanco} \\
  \text{my blouse}^{(F)} & \text{ is white.M} \\
  \text{tenemos } & \text{ un } \text{ casa } \text{ allá} \\
  \text{we have a.M house}^{(F)} & \text{ there} \\
  \end{align*}
  \]
  (Lipski 1993: 161)
Γender in British Cypriot Greek

• Ιωαννίδης (1990: 186): «Τα περισσότερα λάθη στον προφορικό και γραπτό λόγο παρατηρούνται στο γένος και στον αριθμό των ουσιαστικών κι επιθέτων και στους χρόνους των ρημάτων, π.χ. την παππού, το γεναίκα.»
Gender in British Cypriot Greek

• 2M30A:
  – 30 y/o
  – 2\textsuperscript{nd} generation (born in London, parents born in Cyprus)
  – AoA Greek: 0
  – AoA English: 3
  – Years in Greek school: 12
  – Use of Greek: 15%
  – Use of English: 85%
Gender in British Cypriot Greek

• 2M30A:
  – Proficiency test (translation task) shows dominance in English:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>31/31</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>±10</td>
<td>±33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>21/31</td>
<td>67.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Gender in British Cypriot Greek

• 2M30A:
  – Produced 91 unique noun tokens with some kind of an agreement target in interview.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>23.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>40.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neuter</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>36.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Gender in British Cypriot Greek

• 2M30A:
  – Produced 102 agreement targets of different types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>definite article</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>64.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjective</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>20.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronoun</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indefinite article</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>numeral</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>102</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Gender in British Cypriot Greek

- 2M30A:
  - Produced **102** agreement targets of different types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Errors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>definite article</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>64.7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjective</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronoun</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indefinite article</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>numeral</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>102</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Gender in British Cypriot Greek

• 2F34C:
  – 34 y/o
  – 2nd generation (born in London, parents born in Cyprus)
  – AoA Greek: 0
  – AoA English: 5
  – Years in Greek school: 9
  – Use of Greek: 20%
  – Use of English: 80%
Gender in British Cypriot Greek

• 2F34C:
  – Proficiency test (translation task) shows dominance in English:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>28/31</td>
<td>90.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>±9</td>
<td>±29.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>19/31</td>
<td>67.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Gender in British Cypriot Greek

• 2F34C:
  – Produced 59 unique noun tokens with some kind of an agreement target in interview

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>23.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>42.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neuter</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>33.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Gender in British Cypriot Greek

• 2F34C:
  – Produced 70 agreement targets of different types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>definite article</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>70.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjective</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indefinite article</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronoun</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Gender in British Cypriot Greek

- 2F34C:
  - Produced 70 agreement targets of different types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Errors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>definite article</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>70.0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjective</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indefinite article</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronoun</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4.3%)
Gender in British Cypriot Greek

• 2F34C:

① να πάμε στην κομμωτήριο
that we go to the.F.SG.ACC hair salon(N).SG.ACC
‘that we go to the hairdresser’s’

② περίπου λ-λίες μήνες
approximately few.F.PL.ACC month(M).PL.ACC
‘a few months approximately’

③ μερικές λέξεις που ένεν εν σωστά
some.F.PL.ACC word(F).PL.ACC that not are correct.N.PL.ACC
‘some words that are not correct’
Gender in British Cypriot Greek

• The Greek gender system seems to be preserved in the production of 2\textsuperscript{nd} generation, sequential HSs (cf. Alexiadou \textit{et al.} 2015).

• Possible explanations for invulnerability:
  – early acquisition of gender in Greek (1;9–4;1; Stephany 1997: 224)
  – robustness of the Greek gender system
  – schooling in Greek
Conclusions

• London’s Greek Cypriot community is linguistically heterogeneous.
• Increasingly more members may be considered heritage speakers of Cypriot Greek.
• British Cypriot Greek shows
  – Regional Cypriot Greek features
  – SMGr features
  – Contact effects from English
Conclusions

• A number of grammatical domains seem to be affected by language contact with English.
• Deviations from the baseline are sporadic in second generation sequential bilinguals.
• The competence and performance of more speaker will need to be examined using a variety of methods (sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic).
I thank you for your attention!
References


References


References


Acknowledgements

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