(In)vulnerable morphosyntactic features in heritage languages: Evidence from British Cypriot Greek

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Today’s talk

• A brief introduction to heritage linguistics
• My research project
• The UK’s Greek Cypriot community
• The Cypriot Greek dialect in the UK
• Preliminary results on gender
• Next steps
Heritage linguistics

• Key works:
  – Benmamoun *et al.* (2013)
  – Montrul (2008)

• Numerous case studies in recent years.
Who are heritage speakers?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generation</th>
<th>GREEK</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Age of acquisition</td>
<td>Order of acquisition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st generation</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>L1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kostas + Maria</td>
<td>❤</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

1st generation
Kostas + Maria = ❤
### Who are heritage speakers?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generation</th>
<th>Greek Age of Acquisition</th>
<th>Greek Order of Acquisition</th>
<th>English Age of Acquisition</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st generation</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>L1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>L2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kostas + Maria</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd generation</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>L1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>L2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athena, Toula, Nick</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
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### Who are heritage speakers?

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athena, Toula, Nick</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3rd generation</strong></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2L1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A, T &amp; N’s children</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Who are heritage speakers?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generation</th>
<th>Speakers</th>
<th>Greek Age of Acquisition</th>
<th>Greek Order of Acquisition</th>
<th>Greek Age of Acquisition</th>
<th>English Order of Acquisition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st generation</td>
<td>Kostas + Maria = ❤️</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>L1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>L2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd generation</td>
<td>Athena, Toula, Nick</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>L1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>L2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd generation</td>
<td>A, T &amp; N’s children</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2L1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2L1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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>none</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>L1 knowledge</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Input</th>
<th>L1 acquisition</th>
<th>Adult L2 acquisition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<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 linguistics

• Two major quantitative approaches:
  – Experimental: language acquisition, psycholinguistic methods
  – Comparative Variationist: sociolinguistics, Labovian methods

• Divergent results!
Heritage linguistics

• Nagy (2014) on pro-drop:
  – Experimental studies show that HSs do not perform identically to monolinguals (Benmamoun et al. 2010; Montrul 2008, 2009; Polinsky 1997, 2006, 2007; Polinsky & Kagan 2007).
  – Most variationist studies on HSs of Spanish living in the US do not show contact effects (Bayley & Pease-Alvarez 1996, 1997; Flores-Ferrán 2004; Silva-Corvalán 1994; Torres Cacoullos & Travis 2011; Travis 2007).
Heritage linguistics

• Nagy (2014): differences in the methodology of the two approaches may be responsible for the differences in the outcomes.

☞ The same speakers must be investigated using both methods in future research.
My research project

“The development of heritage grammars in present-day London: the case of Cypriot Greek”
My research project

• Aims:
  – to develop a corpus of British Cypriot Greek (BrCyprGr)
  – to examine the competence and performance of BrCypGr in key grammatical domains
  – to investigate intergenerational transmission and change.
My research project

• Methods:
  – psycholinguistic
    • proficiency tests
    • grammaticality judgement tests
    • cloze tests
  – sociolinguistic
    • questionnaires
    • semi-structured interviews
## 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 – Intercommunal strife</td>
<td>1964 – 1974</td>
<td>Formation and consolidation of Turkish enclaves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V – Invasion and aftermath</td>
<td>1974 – 1985</td>
<td>Ethnic division of Cyprus, forced migration, economic problems</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Cypriot migration to the UK

- Constantinou (1990)
The UK *parikia*

- **Office for National Statistics (2011 census):**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>78,795</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>1,941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wales</td>
<td>1,215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Ireland</td>
<td>344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL:</strong></td>
<td><strong>82,295</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

- 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 parikia
Cypriot Greek

• An umbrella term to refer to all the Greek varieties spoken in Cyprus.
• Traditionally understood in Fergusonian terms as the L variety with Standard Modern Greek as the H variety in a diglossic context.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>H(igh)</th>
<th>L(ow)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>University lecture</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conversation with family, friends</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>News broadcast</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folk literature</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Cypriot Greek

• More recently: a register/stylistic continuum (Katsoyannou et al. 2006; Tsiplakou et al. 2006).

![Diagram showing Basilect(s) and Acrolect with examples of neologisms]

- **Basilect(s)**
  - `tela/vareta xorkatika` ‘total/heavy peasantry’
  - `sistorismena` ‘tidied up’
  - `evjenika` ‘polite’

- **Acrolect**
  - `kalamaristika` ‘pen-pusher’
Heritage Cypriot Greek

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

• Linguistic repertoire:
  – Heritage Cypriot Greek
  – Standard Modern Greek
  – English

• Different types of monolingual and bilingual speakers are found in the *parikia*. 
## Heritage Cypriot Greek

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generation</th>
<th>Modality</th>
<th>Cypriot Greek</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st generation</td>
<td>L1</td>
<td>L2 (adult)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd generation</td>
<td>I — sequential</td>
<td>L1</td>
<td>L2 (child)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>II — simultaneous</td>
<td>2L1</td>
<td>2L1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd generation</td>
<td>I — sequential</td>
<td>L2 (child)</td>
<td>L1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>II — simultaneous</td>
<td>2L1</td>
<td>2L1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Heritage 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
Heritage Cypriot Greek

1st generation  2nd generation  3rd generation

Regional features

SMGr features

Contact effects
Heritage Cypriot Greek

- Regional features:
  - Lexical items: *mavlúka* ‘pillow’, *maxal:ás* ‘neighbourhood’, *poáth:e* ‘here’
  - Phonological variants:
    /θ/ ~ /x/: *láxos* ‘mistake’, *esiníçisa* ‘I got used to’
    /θ/ ~ /f/: *af:imúme* ‘I remember’, *efélan* ‘they wanted’
  - Morphological variants: *eýóni* ‘I’
Heritage Cypriot Greek

- SMGr(-ish) features:
  - Lexical items: ḏen ‘NEG’, mikrí ‘little ones’, katalavén:o ‘I understand’
  - Phonological variants: 
    - [ʃ] ~ [ç]: éçi ‘has’, çirinón ‘pork’
    - [ʃ] ~ [ç]: kaločéri ‘summer’, ce ‘and’, kôchíni ‘red’
  - Morphological variants: Ø-jen:iðice-Ø ‘he was born’, íxane ‘they had’
  - Syntactic variants: ÉTSI tin emáðamen tin cipriacin diálexton ‘that’s how we learned the Cypriot dialect’
Heritage Cypriot Greek

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{landlord} & \quad > \quad \text{lál-os} \\
\text{bus} & \quad > \quad \text{pás-on} \\
\text{cooker} \quad [\text{'kukə}, \text{'kuke}] & \quad > \quad \text{kúkʰː-a}
\end{align*}
\]

\( \text{írta\text{"s}i}n \text{ ta } \text{lorka tf\text{"} epetáksas} \text{in ta rápif} \)

‘the lorries came and threw away the rubbish’

(Ioannidis 1990)
Heritage Cypriot Greek

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

  emís poðá kánumen perítu effort. mborí [...] na forísumen special rúha ce potší stin cípro mborí na pásin se énan γάμον me ta 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.’
Heritage Cypriot Greek

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

éðela na vro ἰνέκαν with a head on her shoulders epiđí ópos θορό ti sím:erin iméran i mitfés [...] i ch:el:é tus en meston aéran kámnun pol:á prámata pu I don’t agree with [2M30A]

‘I wanted to find a woman 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 I don’t agree with’
Heritage Cypriot Greek

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

\begin{verbatim}
éfi  mericés  léksis  pu  mu  ’mílan
has some.F.PL.ACC word(F).PL.ACC that me spoke
i  mám:a  mu  pu  én  íne  sostá
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]
\end{verbatim}
Heritage Cypriot Greek

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

\begin{align*}
\text{íne} & \quad \text{ándres} & \quad \text{me} & \quad \text{ta} & \quad \text{morá} \\
\text{are the} & \quad \text{men with} & \quad \text{the.N.PL.ACC} & \quad \text{baby(N).PL.ACC} \\
\text{tus} & \quad \text{tfe} & \quad \text{kundún} & \quad \text{tus} & \quad \text{mesto} & \quad \text{troli} \\
\text{their} & \quad \text{and they push} & \quad \text{3PL.M.ACC} & \quad \text{in the trolley} \\
\text{‘The men are there with their babies and they push them in the trolley’} & \quad [2M38C]
\end{align*}
Heritage Cypriot Greek

• Contact effects (2nd generation):
  – Number agreement mismatches:

\[
\begin{align*}
m' & \quad \textit{arési} & \quad i & \quad \textit{paraksep}:\textit{ és} \\
\textit{me} & \quad \text{please.PRS.3SG} & \quad \text{the.F.PL.NOM} & \quad \text{peculiarity(F).PL.NOM} \\
\textit{tu} & \quad \textit{kózmu} & \quad \text{the.M.SG.GEN} & \quad \text{people(M).SG.GEN} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘I like the people’s unique characteristics’ [2M51B]
Heritage Cypriot Greek

• Contact effects (2nd generation):
  – Number agreement in impersonal verbs:

  \[\text{an én to ífes éprepes na, if not it you had must.PST.2SG, that mínis stay.PNP.2SG}\]

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

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

```
prin  na  mbi  tin
before  that  enter.pnp.3sg  the.F.SG.ACC
cípron  mestin  evropin
Cyprus(F).SG.ACC  in the  Europe
‘Before Cyprus entered the European Union’ [2M36B]
```
Heritage Cypriot Greek

• Contact effects (2\textsuperscript{nd} generation):
  – Deviant definiteness marking (or lack thereof):

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{cccccc}
\textit{ex}o & \textit{(e}n\textit{a}n) & \textit{a}l\textit{\texton{on}} & \textit{f}{\textit{is}on} & \textit{(t}on) & \textit{s\texton{a}v\texton{an}} \\
I have & a & another & friend & the & Savvas \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}
‘I have another friend, Savvas’ [2M30A]
Heritage Cypriot Greek

• Contact effects (2\textsuperscript{nd} generation):
  – Lack of negative concord:

\[
p\acute{a}ndote \; ñ\text{t}an \; maksi\l{l}\acute{a}ri, \; pot^{h}:\acute{e} \; (\acute{e}n) \; ñ\text{t}an
\]
always \; was \; pillow \; never \; not \; was
mavlúka
pillow
‘It was always maksilári, it was never mavlúka’ [2F36A]
Heritage Cypriot Greek

• Contact effects (2nd generation):
  – Lack of clitic doubling:

\[ \text{δen (to) éθela aftón} \]

not it I wanted this

‘I did not want this’ [2M51B]
Heritage Cypriot Greek

• Contact effects (2nd generation):
  – Ill-formed clefts:

\[
\begin{align*}
  ce & (en) \, \text{úl} : o \, \text{el:iniká} \, \text{pu} \, \text{’milúsan} \\
  \text{and} & \, \text{is} \, \text{all} \, \text{Greek} \, \text{that} \, \text{they spoke} \\
  \text{‘They would only speak Greek’ } [2F34C]
\end{align*}
\]
Heritage 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 1997, 2006, 2008), Spanish (Lipski 1993, Montrul et al. 2008) and Swedish (Håkansson 1995):
  - Heritage Spanish:

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

• Three gender values:
  – masculine
  – feminine
  – neuter

• Gender assignment: morphological with a semantic core (Corbett 1991).

• Gender agreement: syntactic (Corbett 1991, 2006)
  – articles, adjectives, pronouns, participles, numerals
Gender in Heritage Cypriot Greek

• Ioannidis (1990: 186):

“Most errors in spoken and written speech are observed in noun gender and number and in verb tense, e.g. tin papaú [the.F.SG.ACC grandfather(M).SG.ACC], to jenëka [the.N.SG.NOM/ACC woman(F).SG.NOM/ACC]”
Gender in Heritage 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 Heritage Cypriot Greek

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>31/31</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>21/31</td>
<td>67.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

±10 ±33.3
Gender in Heritage Cypriot Greek

• 2M30A:
  – Produced 91 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>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><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>91</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Gender in Heritage Cypriot Greek

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></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 Heritage Cypriot Greek

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</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 Heritage 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%
Heritage Cypriot Greek

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>28/31</td>
<td>90.3 ±9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>19/31</td>
<td>67.7 ±29.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Gender in Heritage 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>
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<tr>
<td>Neuter</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>33.9</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>59</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Gender in Heritage 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 Heritage Cypriot Greek

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Errors</th>
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<tr>
<td>definite article</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>adjective</td>
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<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indefinite article</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronoun</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>70</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(4.3%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Gender in Heritage Cypriot Greek

- 2F34C:
  1. *na pámen stin komotírio*
     - that we go to the hair salon
     - ‘that we go to the hairdresser’s’
  2. *perípu lýes mínes*
     - approximately few
     - month
     - ‘a few months approximately’
  3. *mericés léksis pu én en sostá*
     - some
     - word
     - that not are correct
     - ‘some words that are not correct’
Gender in Heritage Cypriot Greek

• The Greek gender system seems to be preserved in the production of 2nd generation, sequential HSs (cf. Alexiadou 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
Gender in Heritage Cypriot Greek

• Instances of deviant agreement are sporadic but may indicate differences in competence between HSSs and monolinguals.

• The same speakers will have to be tested on the competence by means of psycholinguistic methods.
I thank you for your attention!