Understanding heritage language acquisition. Some contributions from the research on heritage speakers of European Portuguese

Cristina MariaMoreiraFlores[1]

University of Minho,Portugal

Abstract:

The present paper aims to contribute to our understanding of heritage language acquisition by focusing on the results of three studies on heritage speakers of European Portuguese living in Germany (Flores and Barbosa, 2014; Santos and Flores, 2013; Rinke and Flores, 2014), thus highlighting the European perspective on this topic. The participants of these studies are second-generation immigrants who use their heritage language productively in their daily interactions. In particular it is argued that heritage speakers are highly proficient bilingual speakers who develop a particular linguistic knowledge because they are exposed to particular input conditions. In this sense, the proficiency of heritage speakers cannot be described as the outcome of a deficient, incomplete acquisition process, but rather as an instance of native language development.

Keywords: European Portuguese, heritage speaker, native speaker, clitics, VP ellipsis, input

1. Introduction

Research on heritage bilingualism has grown substantially in the last decades, especially in the United States and in Canada, where the term "heritage speaker" (HS) was originally proposed to describe bilingual speakers with a migration background (Cummins, 2005). However, the use of a new term does not mean that this «recent» research on heritage language (HL) development has found a previously unknown group of speakers. This is far from true as stated, for instance, by Kupisch (2013) or Meisel (2013). HSs are included in the group of bilingual speakers, who were the focus of analysis of several studies devoted to understanding the nature of early bilingual language acquisition (either simultaneous or successive) since the 1980s. The recent focus on a particular type of bilingual speaker, designated as HS, is mainly a functional restriction based on sociolinguistic criteria (Meisel, 2014; Rothman, 2009). In ongoing research, the term typically refers to speakers who grow up as second-generation immigrants in speech communities where the majority language is not their home language, and their dominant language is that of the host country (Benmamoun, Montrul and Polinsky, 2013). Therefore, what characterizes heritage language development is a specific acquisition setting and particular input conditions, namely a more intensive exposure to their heritage language in early years (up to age three or four) and a significant shift of input toward the majority language in later years (after age four / five). Thus, in heritage language research, one must not ignore the findings on bilingual language acquisition reported over the last thirty years, but rather enrich them with the study of a particular speaker profile. In order to succeed in this task it is vital to study homogeneous groups of speakers by controlling factors such as age of onset of acquisition, amount of input from both languages and level of schooling in the heritage language.

As stated by Kupisch (2013), European-based research has already added significantly to our current understanding of bilingual language acquisition, but the latest focus on bilingual speakers who are defined by particular sociolinguistic factors may receive further interesting contributions from the European perspective.

Europe has a long migration tradition and in many European countries, such as France, Germany or Switzerland, there are already fourth-generation citizens with a migration background. The particularity of the European migration flow bears some important differences to non-European realities. Actually, a significant part of the migration movement in Europe is made up of citizens from EU and non-EU countries. This implies a political, geographical and often also cultural closeness which is mostly absent in immigration flows to the US, for instance. This proximity, allied with the multilingual effort, which constitutes – at least in theory - one basic principle of EU politics, may contribute to a more explicit endeavor to maintain the language of origin. The wish of adult immigrants to retain the home language, especially for the benefit of their children, is often linked to the desire of a limited migration period. As a result, European heritage speaker communities may show more homogeneity than the groups of heritage speakers studied in the American context, particularly as regards their HL proficiency. Many European countries promote heritage language programs for immigrant children, either supported by the country of origin, by immigrant associations in the host country or by the host government. For instance, in Germany there are afternoon or Saturday schools that teach, inter alia, Greek, Spanish, Italian, Turkish, Portuguese, and Russian to heritage children. Obviously this does not mean that every immigrant child has received instruction in his / her native language, or that all heritage speakers in Germany are fully proficient L1 speakers, but it does mean that many heritage speakers share a common sociolinguistic background, which facilitates the research in this area. The factor 'type and quantity of L1 input', which is crucial in heritage language acquisition, may be more controlled if a more homogeneous sociolinguistic background underlies the research into the linguistic competence of a given immigrant community.

The aim of this paper is to contribute to our understanding of heritage language acquisition by presenting the results of three studies on heritage speakers of European Portuguese (EP) who live in Germany. In particular, I will argue that the results of these studies do not support the idea that a heritage language is necessarily the outcome of an interrupted process of acquisition, as suggested in a wide range of studies on heritage speakers, especially from an American research perspective. Even though Portuguese heritage speakers differ from monolingually-raised speakers of EP, the data show no evidence of lack of acquisition of the properties under investigation.

The paper is organized as follows. After a short introduction, section 2 briefly discusses some theoretical approaches to the nature of heritage language, especially the factors that might influence HL development. Section 3 characterizes the group of Portuguese heritage speakers living in Germany. In line with the factors outlined in section 2, some predictions are formulated in section 4 on heritage language acquisition, which will be tested in the three studies presented in section 5. Finally, the last section explains the contributions of these studies to the current understanding of heritage language acquisition and discusses open questions for further research.

2. Understanding heritage language acquisition

When an adult immigrant leaves his / her home country at an advanced age, his / her L1 competence tends to remain stable through life. Little or no erosion effects have been found in such speakers (Altenberg, 1991; Köpke, 1999; Schoenmakers-Klein, 1989). However, when the change of

90   environment happens in early childhood, the competence of immigrant children in the weakening
91   language tends to fluctuate (Kaufman, 2001; Seliger 1989; Turian and Altenberg, 1991).
92   Montrul (2008) and Polinsky (2006, 2008), among many others, explain this deviant development
93   as incomplete acquisition; but what does incompleteness in acquisition mean? For Montrul (2008)
94   "incomplete L1 acquisition occurs in childhood when, for different reasons, some specific properties of
95   the language do not have a chance to reach age-appropriate levels of proficiency after intense
96   exposure to the L2 begins" (Montrul, 2008: 21). According to this view, a heritage speaker is,
97   therefore, a bilingual speaker who has a deficient knowledge of his / her heritage language, because
98   he / she has not fully acquired it.
99   Many authors have argued against this interpretation of the term «incomplete acquisition»
100   (Kupisch, 2013; Meisel, 2013, 2014; Pascual y Cabo and Rothman, 2012; Pires and Rothman, 2009;
101   Pires, 2011), claiming that, due to their inborn faculty of language, bilingual children naturally acquire
102   the properties which are present in their input. If a given property is not present, either because the
103   adult interlocutors (e.g. the parents) do not use it or because the child does not have the opportunity to
104   access language registers where it occurs, this means that the heritage child will probably fail to
105   acquire said property. However the lack of acquisition is not caused by a deficient ability to fully
106   acquire the property, but instead it is due to its absence from the input.
107   Thus, rather than explaining the deviant competence of heritage bilinguals as a biological limitation
108   which inhibits bilingual language acquisition, our attention should lie on the nature of the input that the
109   heritage speaker receives and, particularly, the factors which constrain it. Although the human
110   language faculty seems well equipped to acquire two or more languages simultaneously (Genesee,
111   2001, Meisel, 2001), it is known that a bilingual child needs sufficient exposure to each language to
112   develop productive skills in both. It seems that mere passive exposure to a language, e.g. through TV,
113   is not enough to trigger language development, as demonstrated in the study by Kuhl et al. (2003).
114   The child needs to be actively engaged in communication, having the need not only to listen to a
115   language, but also to use it in daily interactions. Studies on receptive bilinguals have shown that
116   speakers who did not have sufficient linguistic experience in a given language may understand it to
117   some extent but are not able to produce it (see discussion in Slobin, 1979). This is often the case of
118   third and subsequent generation immigrants, whose heritage language is no longer the home
119   language. As Pires (2011) points out, this group of functional bilinguals, also referred to as HL
120   overhearers (Au et al., 2002), must clearly be differentiated from speakers whose L1 is the home
121   language and who are proficient both in its comprehension and production. I will further concentrate
122   on this latter group, which Pires (2011) calls '(fully) proficient HL1 speakers' (p.129).
123   If the heritage child has sufficient linguistic experience to enable the development of productive
124   language skills, it is illogical to assume that biological limitations will hinder the full acquisition of the
125   target linguistic system. The fact that a heritage speaker uses a given structure in a target-like way in
126   a particular context is, in itself, evidence that this structure has been acquired. Otherwise the speaker
127   would not use it. Actually, what most studies on heritage language acquisition have shown is that the
128   speakers tend to produce certain structures in both target-like and target-deviant manners (Keating et
129   al., 2011; Montrul, 2010a; Polinsky, 2008, Silva-Corvalán, 1994). This means that the speakers have
130   the knowledge but they do not always apply it appropriately. So, rather than defining this competence
131   mismatch as an outcome of an incomplete grammar, it can be argued that a proficient heritage
132   speaker is a bilingual speaker with native-like intuitions in his / her HL, able to fully acquire the HL
133   grammar. However there is a wide range of (extralinguistic) factors that influence this process and
134   lead to divergent competence outcomes. The process of HL acquisition in itself, however, is a process
135   of childhood experience with a home language, spoken in daily contexts. Thus, as Rothman and
136   Treffers-Daller (2014) accurately point out, it cannot be denied that it is, in fact, a process of native

137 language acquisition if we equal native language acquisition to early childhood exposure (Davies,
138 2003). Hence, heritage speakers are early bilinguals with multiple native languages. As such, their
139 linguistic competence carries many features that characterize a native language: high proficiency in
140 comprehension and production; native-like accent; language use in familiar contexts; and an affective
141 and cultural proximity that generally has less weight in non-native acquisition. However, HS
142 competence displays high levels of variation, which is attributed to two types of factors: on the one
143 hand, factors that are in play in bilingual but not in monolingual acquisition, and, on the other hand,
144 factors that influence monolingual language development as well (but generally to a lesser extent).

145   It is not the purpose of the present paper to discuss these factors in detail (for extended
146 discussions see Benmamoun et al., 2014; Pascual y Cabo and Rothman, 2012; Pires, 2011) but to
147 show how they shape heritage language development, taking the example of Portuguese-German
148 bilingual speakers.

149   One leading factor, which is only relevant in bilingual language acquisition, may be the influence of
150 the dominant grammar. Cross-linguistic influence is a natural outcome of bilingualism and an
151 undeniable cause for the divergent use of certain structures in speakers who have two competing
152 grammars in their minds (Jarvis and Pavlenko, 2008). Some authors who argue in favor of
153 incompleteness in heritage language acquisition suggest that transfer from the dominant language
154 may prevent the complete acquisition of the heritage language (Cuza and Frank, 2011; Montrul,
155 2010a; Montrul and Ionin, 2010). However, the results presented in most studies do not clearly sustain
156 the hypothesis of an interrupted acquisition process due to dominant language transfer, because in
157 general the HSs' performance does not feature the complete replacement of a HL structure by a
158 competing property of the dominant language. Mostly, the heritage speakers are able to produce
159 these properties in the HL, but they show a tendency to overuse / overaccept grammatical structures
160 which overlap with properties from the dominant language (Cuza, 2012; Montrul, 2004). They are also
161 prone to produce / accept ungrammatical constructions along with target-like ones (Polinsky, 2008).
162 Therefore, it seems that transfer operates more at the level of language use (or processing, as noted
163 by Sorace, 2011) and is not the consequence of absent knowledge due to deficient acquisition. I
164 believe this question is deserving of deeper discussion, but which falls outside the scope of this paper.

165   Secondly, age and the timing of acquisition must also be taken into account. Montrul (2008) argues
166 that age plays a major role in heritage language acquisition. According to the author, heritage children
167 who start to acquire their L2 in early stages of development will show more effects of L1 attrition.
168 Clearly this view assumes that the onset of L2 acquisition coincides with the onset of L1 loss. In fact,
169 the immersion of the heritage child in the L2 environment leads to a significant change in his / her
170 input. The L2 becomes the dominant language of the child and the L1 is confined to the familiar
171 context. Nevertheless, as discussed above, if heritage children continue to be exposed to their
172 heritage language and, therefore, have sufficient linguistic experience, their language acquisition
173 faculty will enable them to acquire their HL without effort. Input change does not necessarily imply the
174 onset of language loss. However, it is precisely at this moment of input change (normally between age
175 three and seven) that other extralinguistic factors such as reduced contact with formal language
176 registers come into play. Thus age may have an important role because, whereas at a given age
177 monolingual children start to use their native language in more diversified contexts and learn about
178 different language registers, heritage children continue to deal mainly with the spoken variety of the
179 language in a very restricted number of contexts. I will return to this idea below.

180   Furthermore, bearing in mind that children acquire their L1 in successive development stages, it is
181 well documented that certain language structures are acquired later than others (see Tsimpli, 2014, for
182 an interesting explanation of early and late phenomena). For heritage language acquisition this means
183 that, for developmental reasons, certain grammatical properties are still not in place when their input

184 conditions change. Thus, heritage children may acquire these "late" properties under input conditions
185 that differ from those of monolingual L1 children.

186 Several authors propose that amount of input is a key variable in bilingual language acquisition
187 (Bohman et al., 2010; Gathercole and Thomas, 2009; Unsworth, 2013; Unsworth et al., 2011),
188 claiming that the exposure to less input at a certain developmental stage might influence the
189 acquisition of certain linguistic properties. Tsimpli (2014) suggests that in L1 acquisition certain
190 structures need less input than others in order to be fixed. This is because they are macroparameters
191 of language (i.e. narrow syntax), and hence acquired very early on. According to Tsimpli, several
192 factors might determine the acquisition of «late properties», namely the development of components
193 outside narrow syntax such as semantics, pragmatics and language-external cognitive resources (e.g.
194 working memory). In the case of heritage children, this means that, if they have significantly less input
195 from one language at a certain age span (e.g. age seven to ten), they may take longer to acquire
196 structures which are fixed at this age in L1 development, because they will require more time to gain
197 the "critical mass" needed to trigger acquisition (Gathercole, 2007; Unsworth, 2013). In agreement
198 with this argumentation, Gathercole and Thomas (2009) and Unsworth (2013) suggest that for the
199 minority / weaker language there is a need for continued exposure through an extended period in
200 order to guarantee successful bilingual acquisition, since the acquisition process is influenced by the
201 quantity of input received not only in the first years of life but also in subsequent years.

202 A further factor which may contribute to high levels of variation in HL proficiency, but which is not
203 exclusive of HL acquisition, is related to reduced contact with formal registers of the target language.
204 Many linguistic structures are rarely used in day-to-day oral communication; educated speakers come
205 in contact with them mostly in written texts and when they use more formal registers of the target
206 language. In general it is at school that the child is first exposed to more formal language registers
207 and, consequently, starts to become familiar with those structures that are scarcely present in their
208 everyday input. An illustrative example of such a structure is the inflected infinitive in Brazilian
209 Portuguese (BP), which no longer exists in colloquial dialects (e.g. Pires, 2006) but is present in the
210 standard norm of BP taught at school. Based on this observation, Rothman (2007) and Pires and
211 Rothman (2009) show that heritage speakers of BP who grow up in the US lack the knowledge of
212 inflected infinitives, since they are exclusively exposed to colloquial dialects. As Pires and Rothman
213 (2009) point out, heritage speakers are only able to acquire what is present in their linguistic input. If
214 certain structures are absent because the adult community does not use them and there is no other
215 source of linguistic input available, the heritage speaker will not acquire this structure. Of course,
216 reduced exposure to formal registers is not exclusive of heritage speakers. Input differences,
217 especially linked to unequal access to education, also characterize monolingual language
218 development and are an important source of knowledge mismatch among monolingual speakers (see
219 discussion in Rothman and Treffers-Daller, 2014).

220 Additionally the absence of contact with formal registers is intrinsically paired with exposure to input
221 rich in linguistic variation. Linguistic variation is a natural feature of language, present in all linguistic
222 communities (Labov, 1972). As Labov's studies have shown, colloquial language registers are the
223 main source of linguistic variation, while the contact with sources of more formal and written input
224 tends to counterbalance its progression (see also Ortíz-López, 2000). Since heritage speakers lack (or
225 have reduced access to) these countervailing sources, heritage languages tend to amplify variation
226 which is already present in monolingual speech (e.g. Salazar, 2007; Silva-Corvalán, 1986). Silva-
227 Corvalán (1986), for instance, explains that the change in the use of copular verbs in the Spanish-
228 speaking heritage community of Los Angeles (also observed in monolingual varieties of Spanish,
229 Ortíz-López, 2000) is accelerated by language contact and reduced access to formal varieties of
230 Spanish. In the case of heritage language acquisition, first-generation migrants function as the locus of

231 variation, since they transmit the colloquial registers to the next generations. Often the interlocutors of
232 the heritage child (e.g. parents or older siblings) produce themselves deviant structures due to the
233 factors mentioned above. As suggested by Prada Pérez and Pascual y Cabo (2011), the speech of
234 first-generation migrants may also feature variability and innovation, which could reflect in the heritage
235 speakers' grammar.
236   Naturally, the factors discussed separately in this section are not mutually exclusive, i.e. the
237 outcome of heritage language acquisition may be the result of their interaction. The extent to which
238 they influence the development of the HL certainly depends on the linguistic properties under
239 acquisition.
240
241
242 **3. Portuguese heritage speakers in Germany**
243
244   The migratory flow from Portugal to European countries like Germany, France or Switzerland
245 started in the sixties, during the Portuguese dictatorship, giving underprivileged social classes new
246 opportunities to improve their standard of living. In 1964 Portugal and Germany signed a bilateral
247 agreement on labor recruitment, since Germany was undergoing the so-called "economic boom" and
248 needed manpower. As a result almost 166,000 Portuguese laborers worked in German factories
249 during the period from 1955 to 1973. In the late seventies, this first generation, i.e. the "guest workers"
250 (*Gastarbeiter*), was encouraged by the German government to return to Portugal. Since this period,
251 there has been a continued process of migration and remigration to/from Germany. With the recent
252 crisis, Portuguese immigration to Germany increased once again, attracting also skilled employees
253 and academics. This means that different generations of Portuguese migrants are living in Germany
254 nowadays: from Portuguese-descendent third generations, whose grandparents immigrated in the
255 sixties, to first-generation migrants, who immigrated recently with their children, born abroad.
256 According to the official statistics, there were 115,530 legal Portuguese migrants living in Germany in
257 December 2011 (Destatis, 2013).
258   Naturally there is much variation regarding the sociolinguistic background and language habits of
259 lusophones in Germany. Nevertheless, there is (still) a close connection between a large part of the
260 immigrant community in the host country and the homeland. As mentioned above, many early first-
261 generation migrants returned to Portugal after living for a long period of time in Germany, but in many
262 cases their children remained in the host country. The children often take different paths - one sibling
263 returns but the other stays in Germany. This means that many families are divided between Germany
264 and Portugal. It is also common for many families, including not only first but also second-generation
265 migrants, to spend their annual holidays in Portugal, typically in houses that they either bought for
266 vacation purposes or inherited and preserved for a possible return in the future.
267   Another bond to the heritage language is maintained through the heritage language programs
268 sponsored by the Portuguese government. Even though these programs are being cut back due to the
269 financial crisis affecting Portugal, which poses a permanent threat to education, there are still many
270 afternoon and Saturday classes where Portuguese language is taught to Portuguese (or Brazilian)
271 immigrant children from the first grade onward. These programs are elective and the syllabus covers
272 mainly literary skills such as reading and writing. Although some children attend these programs more
273 than others, it is fair to say that most heritage bilinguals have some literacy skills in Portuguese.
274   Despite the tight connection to the heritage language, Portuguese is nonetheless the weaker
275 language of second and third-generation migrants. In many families Portuguese is the predominant
276 language used at home or within the Portuguese community. It is spoken by parents and other
277 members of the family in their daily interactions with the child. However, it is rarely the only language

278 used at home, since German, the majority language, is also very present, especially between siblings
279 or in cases where the mother or father is her/himself bilingual. This means that, in general, Portuguese
280 heritage speakers are to some extent exposed to spoken Portuguese in their daily lives and they can
281 read and write in their HL. The amount and type of input is clearly far more limited than that of a native
282 speaker who lives in Portugal. This is exactly what makes the study on EP heritage speakers so
283 interesting. They are early bilinguals whose language exposure in the first years of life is not evenly
284 distributed, with the dominant input certainly coming from European Portuguese. The amount of
285 contact with the majority language varies substantially, depending on the age of emigration, the family
286 constellation and the occupation of the parents. So, in the first years of life (until age three/four), the
287 HSs' input conditions are not drastically different from those of EP L1 children. The cue factor is the
288 change of these input conditions when the heritage children enter formal schooling in the host society
289 (in the age span of four to six), become literate in the majority language and start to build social
290 networks in German. The contact with EP decreases extensively by this time, and this language
291 remains mainly on an oral basis throughout life. The heritage language programs are important
292 initiatives in order to provide the speakers with some literacy skills but their optional status and
293 reduced workload make them a far cry from the kind of instruction they would receive in their home
294 country.

295 All participants tested in the following three studies share the acquisition conditions and language
296 habits outlined above, i.e. they are second-generation immigrants who use their heritage language in
297 familiar contexts but whose preferred language is their early L2 German. They have received some
298 instruction in Portuguese through heritage language programs which provided them with basic literacy
299 skills in their HL.

300
301
302 **4. Predictions on heritage language acquisition**
303
304 Section 2 presented a discussion of some crucial factors that may explain the development of
305 heritage language acquisition. In this section, some predictions are formulated in connection with
306 those factors. The studies summarized in section 5 are an attempt to shed some light on their validity.
307 The first prediction concerns the age of input change and the stages of language acquisition. If it is
308 true that the amount of input a bilingual child is exposed to influences the process of language
309 acquisition (as claimed, for instance, by Bohman et al., 2010, Gathercole and Thomas, 2009, and
310 Unsworth, 2013), then properties that are acquired later in the target language may be more difficult to
311 acquire in the context of heritage language acquisition. On one hand, heritage speakers may need
312 more accumulated input over time in order to reach the critical mass of input required for the
313 acquisition of those properties. On the other hand, heritage speakers may show no differences
314 compared to monolingual native speakers with regard to properties that are stabilized in early stages
315 of L1 development.
316 The second prediction refers to the role of cross-linguistic influence. If it is true that transfer from
317 the dominant language may prevent the full development of a given structure in the heritage language
318 (as suggested by Cuza and Frank, 2011, and Montrul and Ionin, 2010, among others), then heritage
319 speakers may show a protracted development of properties which have competing structures in the
320 dominant language. This means that heritage bilinguals, when faced with more than one grammatical
321 option in their heritage language, may reveal a tendency to use a structure that also exists in their
322 dominant grammar, discarding structures that exist only in their heritage language.
323 The third prediction is related to the type of input heritage speakers are exposed to. If it is true that
324 reduced access to formal registers of the target language is a decisive factor in heritage language

acquisition (as claimed by Rothman, 2007, and Pires and Rothman, 2009, among others), then heritage speakers may show a weaker (or even absent) knowledge of linguistic structures that occur predominantly in standard registers. Additionally, properties which present some variation in oral dialects may suffer even more fluctuation in the speech of heritage speakers, since they lack contact with sources capable of counterbalancing linguistic variation. This would mean that HSs show variation especially in the domains where also monolinguals display uneven competence outputs.

In the following section I will summarize and discuss the results of three different studies on Portuguese heritage language. By relating the outcomes of these studies, I intend to give a more complete picture of the speaker profile under investigation, i.e. lusophone second-generation speakers who grew up in a European migration context. Additionally, by focusing on this population, I intend to offer more insights into the much-debated discussion of the predictions outlined above, contributing to our understanding of heritage language development in general.

5. Empirical Research on Portuguese Heritage Speakers

5.1. Study 1: Flores and Barbosa (2014)

Flores and Barbosa's (2014) study may help to gauge the strength of the first prediction. The authors tested a total of twenty-four Portuguese children aged between seven and fifteen years with respect to their knowledge of clitic placement in EP. Twelve children / adolescents, aged between seven and fifteen (mean = 10.83; SD = 2.62), comprised the group of heritage speakers. Nine heritage bilinguals were born in the host country, Germany; three immigrated before the age of two. All participants fit in the speaker profile outlined in section 3, i.e. they come from families where one or both parents are first-generation migrants. In all cases Portuguese is the dominant language used at home and all participants speak it productively, even though all claim to prefer and to feel more comfortable in German. Additionally, a control group was tested, made up of twelve monolingual speakers aged between seven and twelve years (mean = 8.58; SD = 1.5).

Clitic placement was chosen because the clitic system is one of the most complex issues in the grammar of European Portuguese. In main clauses with a null or a preverbal subject, the clitic pronoun occurs in postverbal (enclitic) position (see (1a/b)).

(1) a. Ele viu-o.
　　 *he saw-him*clitic
　　 'He saw him.'
　 b. Hoje Ø viu-o.
　　 *today saw-him*clitic
　　 'Today he saw him.'

Preverbal clitic placement (proclisis) occurs in subordinate clauses introduced by a complementizer (2a) and whenever the following elements precede the verbal complex within the minimal CP: wh-phrases, non-specific indefinite QPs, negative QPs, DPs modified by focus particles, universal QPs, aspectual and negative adverbs (2c) and sentential negation (2b) (Barbosa, 1996).

(2) a. Eu duvido que ele o   visse.
　　　 I doubt　 that he him clitic see subj.3sg
　　　 'I doubt that he saw her.'

372   b. Ele não **o** viu.
373   he not him$_{clitic}$ saw
374   'He didn't see him.'
375   c. Ele já   /nunca **o** viu.
376   he already/never him$_{clitic}$ saw
377   'He already/never saw him.'
378

379   In this study, clitic placement was tested by an oral elicitation task, in which the participants were
380   asked to take the words presented in a circle and put them in the right order to build sentences. The
381   test was constructed in the form of a story, where the interviewer assumed the role of a boy and the
382   participant the role of a girl, who needed the interviewee's help in building correct Portuguese
383   sentences. The conditions tested were the postverbal clitic position (with preverbal subjects as in (1a))
384   and three preverbal clitic positions: (i) constructions with sentential negation (2b), (ii) subordinate
385   clauses (2a), and (iii) clauses introduced by other proclisis triggers, such as aspectual and negative
386   adverbs (2c). The test contained four sentences per condition (with accusative and reflexive pronouns)
387   and two training sentences without clitic pronoun. Each sentence contained a maximum of four
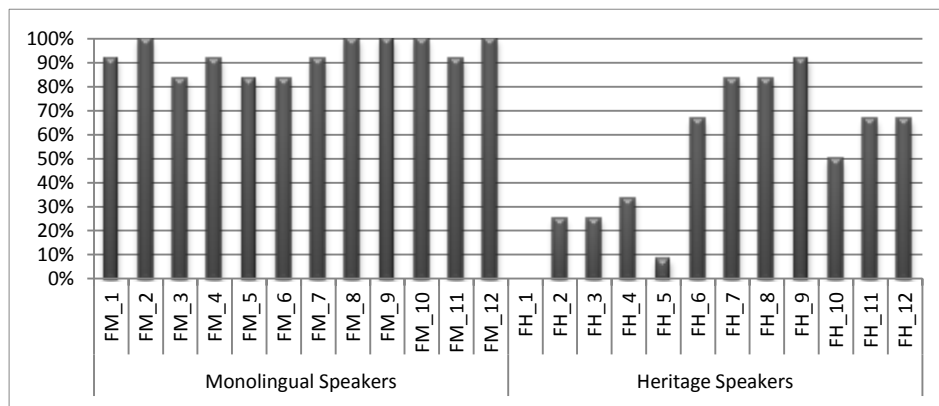388   elements in order to control for syntactic complexity.
389   Costa, Fiéis and Lobo (2014), who assessed clitic placement in monolingual European Portuguese
390   children, show that L1 children start by overusing enclisis in proclitic contexts, but not the other way
391   around. At age seven, EP children still misplace clitics in proclitic contexts, although there is a
392   developmental effect from five to seven. The authors further demonstrate that proclisis is acquired
393   earlier in some contexts (e.g. negation) and the most difficult to acquire are those in which also adults
394   show some variability (i.e. subordinate clauses).
395   Based on the observation that monolingual EP children start by generalizing the enclitic position,
396   Flores and Barbosa (2014) wanted to analyze if heritage EP children follow the same pattern of
397   acquisition as L1 children. This would mean that HSs who (still) do not master clitic placement in EP
398   are bound to produce enclitic structures in contexts which require preverbal clitic placement (but not
399   the inverse). Since L1 children do not assimilate proclitic placement until very late (by the age of
400   seven), and assuming that a drastic reduction in the linguistic input characterizes the development of
401   the HL from the age of three/four onward, the authors claim that EP heritage children take much
402   longer to acquire clitic placement than monolingual EP children. This means that at the age of seven
403   to ten monolingual EP children are able to master clitic placement without difficulties, but HS will show
404   more difficulties in this domain.
405   The results, which focus on the appropriate use of enclisis and proclisis in the relevant contexts,
406   confirm that by the time they are seven years old monolingual EP children display robust knowledge of
407   the patterns of clitic placement. The average of accurate use of proclitic pronouns is about 93.1%,
408   (83.3%–100%; standard deviation (SD) = 6.97), while the correct production of enclisis is 100%. The
409   6.9% of target-deviant use of enclisis in contexts which require proclisis in the control group refers
410   mainly to subordinate clauses, which is precisely the context where even EP adults show some
411   variation (see also Duarte et. al., 1995).
412   Regarding enclisis, the HSs perform like the native controls, meaning that they never use proclisis
413   instead of enclisis. However, their performance differs substantially from that of the monolingual group
414   in proclitic contexts, averaging an accuracy rate of about 50%, with high inter-group variation
415   (accuracy scores range from 0 to 91.7%; SD = 30.99, see figure 1). In this case, the high individual
416   variation can be accounted for by looking at the variable age. The data show that the performance of
417   the HSs is strongly dependent on age. While the six younger HSs (age seven to ten; FH_1 to FH_6 in
418   figure 1) fail to produce proclitic constructions in the majority of the contexts which require the

419　preverbal clitic position (mean = 26.4%; SD = 23.23; only FH_6 reaches higher values), the six older
420　heritage bilinguals (age twelve to fifteen; FH_7 to FH_12 in figure 1) show significantly higher levels of
421　accuracy in this domain (mean = 73.6%; SD = 15.28).

422
423
424
425
426
427
428
429
430
431
432
433
434
435
436
437
438
439

440　**Figure 1.** Percentages of accurate proclisis placement by participant/group (Flores and Barbosa, 2014)

441
442

443　　The findings led the authors to the conclusion that EP heritage children acquire the contexts of
444　proclisis, even though the whole process takes longer in comparison to monolingual acquisition. A
445　further interesting observation is that, in fact, HSs go through the same stages in the acquisition of
446　clitic placement as monolingual acquirers, i.e. they start by overgeneralizing enclisis and then they
447　gradually acquire proclisis. In addition, the proclisis triggers which are first acquired in L1 acquisition
448　(negation, according to Costa et al., 2014) are exactly the same that cause HSs to fail less often. The
449　authors argue that this initial overuse of enclisis reflects a strategy that is in accordance with the
450　Subset Principle: the child starts by assuming the grammar that generates the smallest possible
451　language compatible with the trigger experience, both in monolingual and in heritage language
452　acquisition.
453　　Most importantly, this study discovered that older heritage speakers have a better knowledge of
454　clitic placement pattern than younger ones, which contradicts the idea that language attrition or
455　incomplete acquisition may be an inherent characteristic of heritage language development, at least in
456　the case of clitic distribution in EP. However, reduced input in heritage acquisition settings may indeed
457　slow down the development of late properties, as predicted by Tsimpli's (2014) proposal of
458　differentiation between early and late properties.

459
460

461　*5.2. Study 2: Santos and Flores (2013)*

462

463　　The study conducted by Santos and Flores (2013) compares the performance of 20 EP heritage
464　children (hence childHS; mean age = 9.8; SD = 0.62) who live in Germany and 20 EP monolingual
465　children of similar age (hence childMS; mean age = 8.95; SD = 0.22) concerning their knowledge of

adverb placement and VP ellipsis, two aspects of grammar which depend on the knowledge of the same core syntactic property, i.e. verb movement. The HSs tested in this study have the same sociolinguistic profile as the participants studied in Flores and Barbosa (2014), which was assessed through a language background questionnaire. They are second-generation children from families with a migration background, where at least one parent immigrated to Germany in adulthood. All children have been exposed to Portuguese since birth (they were either born in Germany or migrated before the age of three) but elect German as their dominant and preferred language.

Two additional groups enriched the study: 21 adult L2 speakers of European Portuguese with L1 German, and 21 adult Portuguese L1 speakers. The results concerning these adult groups will only be briefly referred to in this summary for the sake of comparison with the findings from the child groups. Furthermore, although this study also aimed to analyze the speakers' knowledge of adverb distribution in EP, for reasons of space the present summary will only focus on the results concerning the production of VP ellipsis.

VP ellipsis refers to structures as exemplified in (3a) and (3b), where redundant information is solved through the deletion of the entire material within the VP and recovered as an equivalent to a discourse antecedent (Matos, 1992). Being a language with generalized verb movement, EP presents VP ellipsis licensed by auxiliaries (3a) and by main verbs (3b).

(3) a. A Teresa tinha oferecido flores à   mãe   e   a Ana também tinha.
        the Teresa had   offered   flowers to+the mother and the Ana also   had
    b. A Teresa ofereceu   flores à   mãe   e   a Ana também ofereceu [-].
        the Teresa offered   flowers to+the mother and   the Ana also   offered
      'Teresa had offered flowers to her mother and Ana had too.'
      [-] = [flores à   mãe]
            flowers to+the mother
    c. Teresa hat der Mutter   Blumen geschenkt, *und Ana hat auch.
        Teresa has the mother_Dat flowers_Akk offered   and Ana has also

German is a V2 language with V-to-C movement in root clauses, hence VP ellipsis is not acceptable (see (3c)). However, it has other structures to solve VP redundancy. By comparing both languages with respect to the set of structures available to solve redundancy within the VP, the authors concluded that German is a subset of the set of structures available in Portuguese. For instance, whereas both languages display pseudo-stripping (4a/b) and allow for the use of pronouns and adverbs (4c/d), Portuguese displays VP ellipsis but not German (see (3c)).

(4) a. Heute wird die Mutter das Auto nicht in die Garage bringen, aber der Vater ja.
        today will the mother the car   not   in the garage put   but the father yes
    b. Hoje a mãe   não vai pôr o carro na garagem, mas o pai   sim.
        today the mother not will put the car in the garage but   the father yes
      'Today the mother won't put the car in the garage, but the father will.'

    c. Heute wird die Mutter das Auto nicht in die Garage bringen, aber der Vater wird es
        today will the mother the car   not   in the garage put   but   the father will   it
      dorthin bringen.
        there   put.
    d. Hoje a mãe   não vai pôr o carro na garagem, mas o pai   vai pô-lo   lá.
        today the mother not will put the car in the garage put the father will put it_clitic there

513   'Today the mother won't put the car in the garage, but the father will put it there.'

514

515   Additionally, it is important to mention that VP ellipsis is acquired very early on in European
516 Portuguese. In fact, VP ellipsis has been used as evidence for early L1 acquisition of verb movement
517 and sensitivity to the semantic and discourse constraints on ellipsis. Children acquiring European
518 Portuguese produce adult-like VP ellipsis in the context of answers to yes-no questions when their
519 MLUw is around 2. (Santos, 2009)

520   Among other questions, the focus on structures that solve redundancy within the VP allowed the
521 authors to test for cross-linguistic influence in heritage language acquisition, thus contributing to better
522 understand the second prediction, outlined in section 4. Since German displays the same strategies
523 as EP for solving redundant information within the VP, with the exception of VP ellipsis, the hypothesis
524 tested is that EP heritage children whose dominant language is German will rely mainly on structures
525 that are also available in the dominant language and refrain from producing the structure that only
526 exists in EP (i.e. VP ellipsis). This could mean that the dominant language prevents the acquisition (or
527 at least the production) of a structure only available in the heritage language.

528   The speakers' knowledge of the structures that resolve redundancy within the VP was tested
529 through a written elicited production task. The participant was presented with redundant texts and
530 asked to solve redundancy. There were four test items only with main verbs (see example (5a) and
531 possible responses (5b-d)) and another four with auxiliaries. A training item was included which
532 presented redundancies involving subject DPs.

533

534 (5) a. No dia dos namorados, o Rodrigo e o Daniel convidaram as namoradas para sair. As
535   namoradas queriam muito receber um anel de presente. **O Rodrigo não deu um anel à**
536   **namorada, mas o Daniel deu um anel à namorada**. O Rodrigo perdeu a namorada naquela noite.
537   (On Valentine's Day, Rodrigo and Daniel invited their girlfriends on a date. The girlfriends were
538   eager to receive a ring as a gift. **Rodrigo did not give a ring to his girlfriend, but Daniel gave a ring**
539   **to his girlfriend.** Rodrigo lost his girlfriend that night.)
540   b. VP ellipsis with stranded main verb: … mas o Daniel deu.
541   but the Daniel gave
542   c. Pseudo-stripping: … mas o Daniel sim.
543   but the Daniel yes
544   d. Use of pronoun and argument drop: … mas o Daniel deu-lhe.
545   but the Daniel gave-him$_{clitic}$

546

547   The main finding of this study is that the heritage bilinguals do not show significant differences
548 regarding their knowledge of redundancy resolution strategies compared to their monolingual peers.
549 First, it is interesting to note that heritage children produce VP ellipsis at the level of monolingual
550 controls (childHS = 53.8%; childMS = 62.9%; a statistical Mann-Whitney test revealed no significant
551 differences, U = 176.5, p = .523), indicating that they have full knowledge of this particular structure,
552 which does not exist in their dominant language. A further interesting finding is that the two child
553 groups show very similar performances regarding the choice of structures that solve redundancy
554 within the VP when they do not use VP ellipsis. Their preferences clearly contrast with the choices
555 made by the adult groups. Both child groups use argument drop as one possible strategy (childHS =
556 17%; childMS = 26.5%), clearly different than both L1 and L2 adult speakers, who never choose this
557 strategy. On the contrary, as opposed to adults, no child of either group uses pseudo-stripping.
558 German has pseudo-stripping as a possible structure to solve redundancy in the VP, but the HSs with
559 German as the dominant language do not resort to this possibility, similarly to their L1 counterparts.

560   In conclusion, the similar performance of both child groups in this task led the authors to view
561   heritage language acquisition as an instance of native language development. Furthermore, the use of
562   VP ellipsis by the heritage children contradicts the prediction that in case of competing structures
563   bilingual children would resort to structures that also exist in their dominant language, overlooking the
564   structure which is only available in the minority language. Thus, in this particular case of VP ellipsis,
565   no evidence for incomplete acquisition in heritage bilingualism is found. Additionally one must bear in
566   mind that VP ellipsis stabilizes very early on in EP L1 acquisition. This fact may contribute to explain
567   the native-like performance of the heritage children in this domain. It appears that early structures are
568   acquired without effort by heritage bilinguals.
569
570
571   *5.3. Study 3: Rinke and Flores (2014)*
572
573   Rinke and Flores' (2014) study focuses on the linguistic competence of 18 adult Portuguese-
574   German bilinguals in their heritage language, i.e. European Portuguese. The sociolinguistic profile of
575   these speakers, assessed through a detailed questionnaire, resembles those of both child HS groups
576   presented in the previous studies and described in section 3. Thus, theoretically, these speakers could
577   be seen as the adult peers to the child bilinguals, and their linguistic competence allows for a glimpse
578   into a more advanced state of the children's HL grammar. The control group was made up of 18
579   monolingually-raised native speakers of EP with a low level of education (having completed six to nine
580   years of schooling).
581   Based on a grammaticality judgment test, inspired by Montrul (2010b), the authors analyze the
582   morphosyntactic knowledge of clitics. In addition to clitic placement, which was tested by Flores and
583   Barbosa (2014), this study also looks at other properties of the Portuguese clitic system, namely clitic
584   form, case distinctions, the pronoun type and the use of clitics in topicalization structures. Since the
585   EP clitic system is very complex, the native speakers' knowledge of this structure comprises not only
586   the knowledge of the differences between clitic and strong pronouns, but also the variable options
587   concerning form and placement of object clitics and the conditions that underlie the variation. This
588   complexity is taken as an argument to explain the protracted development of clitics in EP first
589   language acquisition in comparison to other languages with a clitic system (see Costa and Lobo,
590   2007).
591   For the purpose of the present discussion and in order to verify the third prediction presented in
592   section 4, this summary will focus on two particular structures tested by the authors: allomorphic clitic
593   forms and the use of a strong pronoun instead of a dative clitic.
594   The use of strong pronouns in clitic position is ungrammatical in EP (as opposed to BP), whether
595   they be accusative or dative pronouns. Nonetheless, while there is no variation in EP concerning the
596   use of the strong pronouns *ele / ela / eles / elas* ('he' / 'she' / 'they') instead of the accusative clitics *–o
597   / -a / -os / -as* (and their allomorphic forms)*,* in colloquial oral varieties there is slight variation
598   regarding the dative pronoun. In other words, native speakers sometimes use the strong forms *a ele /
599   a ela / a eles / a elas* ('to him' / 'to her' / 'to them') instead of the clitic *lhe / lhes* (see (6)) (Brito, 2008).
600
601   (6)   [O Mario   fez anos ontem.]   *O João deu   uma prenda **a ele**.
602   the Mario did years yesterday the John gave a   present to him$_{strong}$
603   'Yesterday was Mario's birthday. John gave him a present.'
604
605   Rinke and Flores (2014) tested whether heritage and monolingual speakers of EP accept the use
606   of the strong form instead of the clitic by presenting them ungrammatical sentences (each tested

condition had five tokens) preceded by a context sentence. All tokens deemed unacceptable should be corrected. Accuracy scores in table 1 correspond to the average of rejection (and additional correction) in the ungrammatical conditions and to the average of acceptance of the grammatical sentences. The results for this particular condition confirm that EP native speakers have a slight tendency to accept strong dative pronouns instead of the clitic form, since the mean average of rejection in this group is 94.44% (SD = 9.22) and not 100% as in the case of the accusative. The average of rejection is significantly lower in the case of the HSs, who reject and correct the use of a strong dative pronoun instead of a clitic in only 32.94% (SD = 37.54) of all contexts. Along with the condition «allomorphic forms», which will be presented next, the results obtained for the use of strong dative pronouns indicate that this is the context where HSs score the lowest, and incidentally it is also where they differ the most from the monolingual control group. As stated in the third prediction, the type of input HSs are exposed to may explain these results. Since HSs come in contact mainly with oral forms of colloquial Portuguese, which is characterized by some variation in the use of strong dative pronouns, such inconsistent input may indeed foster fluctuation in this domain of the HSs' grammatical knowledge.

	monolingual speakers (*n*=18) mean (SD)	heritage speakers (*n*=18) mean (SD)	Mann-Whitney U	*P*
use of strong dative pronouns in object position (ungrammatical)	94.44 (9.22)	32.94 (37.54)	34.50	< .001
use of *–no/-na* (grammatical)	98.89 (4.71)	54.61 (24.62)	20.00	< .001
use of - *o/-a* instead of *–no/-na* (ungrammatical)	82.22 (29.01)	11.11 (23.98)	18.50	< .001
use of *–lo/-la* (grammatical)	94.44 (11.49)	76.67 (24.01)	89.50	< .05
use of *-o/-a* instead of *–lo/-la* (ungrammatical)	97.78 (6.47)	51.11 (42.41)	61.00	< .001

Table 1. Strong dative pronouns and allomorphic clitic forms: mean of accuracy per group, SD, statistical significance (Mann-Whitney U-test), adapted from Rinke and Flores (2014).

This prediction is also consistent with the results concerning the use of allomorphic clitic forms. In EP, enclitic accusative forms can have a different shape depending on the ending of the verb to which they attach. With nasal endings, *-o(s) /-a(s)* become *–no(s)/-na(s)* (see (7a)); when the verb ends with *–r* or *–s,* the clitic becomes *–lo(s)/-la(s)* and *–r / -s* drop (see (7b)).

(7) a.   [O ladrão escondeu-se] mas os meninos **viram-no / *viram-o**.
            [the thief hides-himself] but the children saw-him$_{clitic}$
            'The thief hid himself but the children saw him.'
      b.   [A princesa hoje vem   ao   baile.] *Os convidados querem **vê-la / *ver-a**.
            [the princess today comes to-the ball]   the guests   want to see-her$_{clitic}$
            'Today the princess comes to the ball. The guests want to see her.'

638   The correct use of allomorphic clitic forms is a complex task, even for monolingual speakers of EP
639   (especially with irregular verbs). Thus it is frequent to hear non-target forms in oral speech. This
640   fluctuating performance is mirrored in the results of the monolingual group (see table 1) under the four
641   conditions which tested shaped clitic forms in the present study (grammatical and ungrammatical use
642   of *-no(s)/-na(s)* and *-lo(s)/-la(s)*). The monolingual speakers did not reach ceiling performance under
643   any condition, the mean of accuracy ranging from 82.22% to 97.78%. The heritage speakers
644   performed very poorly all around, especially when confronted with the use of *-no(s) / -na(s)*. They not
645   only accepted *-o(s) / -a(s)* instead of their corresponding allomorphs almost consistently (11.11% of
646   accuracy; SD = 23.98), but they also «corrected» the grammatical forms into ungrammatical ones
647   under the ungrammatical condition (54.61% of accuracy; SD = 24.62). In this case too, the authors
648   see the different knowledge of the HSs as an outcome of inconsistent input due to their almost
649   exclusive contact with oral varieties of EP. In standard EP, especially in written registers, it is unlikely
650   to find variation in allomorphic clitic forms. However EP HSs are scarcely ever exposed to these
651   registers.

652   Regarding the other test conditions (clitic placement, topicalization with/without a resumptive clitic;
653   clitic climbing; case form), which will not be discussed in detail in this summary, the results show
654   varied performance of the HSs across most of them, essentially due to uncertainty in their weaker
655   language. What is crucial, however, is that the data show no evidence to support lack of acquisition of
656   a particular property of the EP clitic system, which could be interpreted as an instance of incomplete
657   acquisition.

658   The authors view the lower performance of the HSs not as the outcome of a "deficient" knowledge,
659   but as the result of a "different" and "innovative" grammar. Since HSs are primarily exposed to the
660   spoken variety of EP and have only limited contact with formal registers, the type of input is seen as
661   the main variable which influences heritage language acquisition. Furthermore, the authors noted that
662   the domains where the heritage bilinguals show weaker performances are exactly the same domains
663   where also the monolingual controls do not score 100% accurately. This indicates that the heritage
664   grammar promotes linguistic changes which are inherent to the speech of monolingual speakers.

665
666

667   **6. Unifying the findings and questions for further research**

668

669   In summary, the three studies presented above suggest that the linguistic competence of
670   Portuguese heritage speakers living in Germany may, in fact, diverge to some extent from the
671   linguistic competence of Portuguese speakers who were raised in a monolingual L1 context. However,
672   in line with other studies presented in this special issue (e.g. Nagy, this issue), evidence for non-
673   nativeness in heritage language development and incomplete language acquisition has yet to be
674   found. As regards the knowledge of clitics, Flores and Barbosa (2014) show that, with increasing age,
675   heritage children tend to make less placement errors. Even though the mean of accuracy is lower in
676   the group of heritage speakers than in monolingual controls, the results demonstrate that Portuguese
677   heritage speakers acquire clitic placement in the same way as monolingual L1 speakers. While
678   younger heritage speakers overuse enclisis, older informants reach levels of proficiency which are
679   close to the scores attained by monolingual speakers of the same age. Based on this observation, the
680   authors conclude that the process of heritage language acquisition may be more delayed than L1
681   acquisition, but the patterns of acquisition are the same. Furthermore, the data yield no evidence of a
682   deficient capacity to acquire clitic placement. In this case, the interruption of the acquisition process
683   would mean that certain conditions which trigger proclisis would not be acquired, e.g. proclitic
684   placement in subordinate clauses. However, the data show no evidence to confirm the lack of

685 acquisition of certain conditions. The delay in this particular domain may be explained on the basis of
686 Unsworth's (2013) proposal of cumulative time of exposure. Since clitic placement is a «late property»,
687 in L1 development it is stabilized at an age span when heritage children have reduced contact with
688 their HL (later than age five). This could mean that they need more positive evidence over time in
689 order to acquire this grammatical structure.
690   However, as Rinke and Flores (2014) and many other studies on adult heritage speakers
691 demonstrate (for an interesting overview on Spanish HS see Beaudrie and Fairclough, 2012), in some
692 areas of grammatical knowledge adult bilingual speakers tend to diverge from the monolingual
693 speakers taken as baseline controls. Along with factors not discussed in this overview (e.g. the degree
694 of metalinguistic awareness), this competence mismatch can be caused not only by the amount but
695 also the type of input HSs are exposed to. It can also be attributed to the type of monolingual speaker
696 included in the control group. Rinke and Flores (2014) show that the properties of the clitic system
697 where the heritage speakers produce less accurate results are exactly the same where the
698 monolingually-raised speakers also do not reach full scores. It should be noted that the authors tested
699 monolingual controls with a low level of education and hence less exposure to formal language
700 registers. This indicates that heritage speakers may foster linguistic variation which is already present
701 in native speech, especially in colloquial registers. Since colloquial dialects are the main source of
702 variation, heritage speakers - who are mainly in contact with oral colloquial registers – suffer greater
703 exposure to linguistic variation than monolingual L1 speakers. The «standard monolingual dialect,
704 which is imparted mostly through formal uses of language, including formal education and the media»
705 (Pires, 2011: 137) has a normative effect of linguistic standardization that counters amplification of
706 linguistic variation within a speech community. Heritage speakers have limited contact with these
707 sources of standardization, but this is not exclusive of speakers who grow up in a migration context.
708 There are also many monolingually-raised speakers who are mainly exposed to colloquial varieties of
709 the language and thus show less accurate knowledge of properties that generally occur in formal
710 registers. This argument is clearly insufficient to classify their knowledge as non-native, and the same
711 holds true for heritage speakers.
712   The comparison between the two previous studies on the knowledge of clitics and the investigation
713 conducted by Santos and Flores (2013) gives a further contribution to the present discussion. Unlike
714 the clitic system, VP ellipsis is assimilated very early on in EP L1 acquisition. The production of adult-
715 like VP ellipsis in the context of answers to yes-no questions is documented in early stages of
716 language development (see Santos, 2009). As regards the production of VP ellipsis and of other
717 structures used to solve redundancy within the VP, the authors show that Portuguese heritage
718 children and L1 speakers of the same age have very similar performances (which contrast with the
719 performances of the adult groups). The results differ from the data presented by Flores and Barbosa
720 (2014), who apply a similar task (elicited production) to EP children of the same age. They show that
721 EP heritage children have significantly more difficulties in producing proclisis than monolingual EP
722 children. Bearing in mind that the clitic system, especially proclisis placement, is stabilized very late in
723 L1 acquisition, the differences between both studies may indeed be linked to the timing of acquisition.
724 It appears that heritage children show more problems with structures that are acquired late, i.e. at a
725 moment when their HL input is more restricted and less diversified than the input that L1 children
726 receive.
727   The overall picture that emerges from the investigation conducted so far on lusophone HSs living in
728 Germany, who are exposed to their heritage language since birth and use it in daily contexts, is that of
729 a highly proficient bilingual speaker. Even though the HL is perceived as a weaker language by the
730 speakers themselves, this may be attributed to the stronger role that the dominant language plays in
731 their everyday lives. Therefore, the opposition 'stronger' - 'weaker' language seems to be based

732   primarily on causes ascribed to language use - and consequently on language (especially lexical)
733   activation – rather than on the development of a deficient, non-native language competence. In fact,
734   my claim is that heritage Portuguese, acquired under the circumstances described above, is an
735   instance of native EP, bearing in mind that the term *native EP* clusters a wide range of native
736   grammars, unified by the common characteristic that it is acquired through naturalistic exposure to a
737   language since early childhood.

738   Interestingly a growing number of studies conducted on heritage speakers living in Germany have
739   reached similar conclusions. For instance, the Spanish HSs observed by Di Venanzio, Schmitz and
740   Rumpf (2012) display full knowledge of the clitic system in their HL Spanish, leading the authors to
741   argue in favor of complete acquisition of the HL in this domain. Similar findings are described in their
742   study on Italian as a heritage language (Di Venanzio et al., submitted). The studies conducted by
743   Kupisch and colleagues also demonstrate that heritage speakers of French who live in Germany are
744   native-like in the domain of morpho-syntax (Kupisch et al., 2013). These studies corroborate the claim
745   made by Rothman and Treffers-Daller (2014) that «heritage speaker bilinguals are natives too!».

746   Being a tentative approach to heritage language acquisition, the investigation conducted so far on
747   heritage speakers of European Portuguese with German as the dominant language has raised more
748   questions than it has given answers. Thus, more studies on this population are needed in order to
749   draw a clearer picture of this particular process of language development. Among other things, it is
750   essential to have a closer look at the linguistic input that second-generation heritage speakers receive.
751   Since their main source of input is the first-generation community, this immediately raises the question
752   as to what extent the grammar of first-generation migrants resembles the monolingual grammar of the
753   related L1 speech community. As e.g. Tsimpli et al. (2004) have demonstrated, even first-generation
754   migrants who use their L1 on a regular basis may show effects of attrition in certain domains of their
755   grammatical knowledge. If this is the case, then second-generation migrants would be dealing not only
756   with sources of linguistic variation also present in the target monolingual community, but also with
757   input that can be distinct from monolingual norms in some linguistic domains. Knowing the sources of
758   input in more detail will help us to better understand the outcome of heritage language acquisition.
759   Additionally, the language pair Portuguese-German is a particular language contact setting that allows
760   us to explore effects of contact-induced phenomena, which are absent in language combinations that
761   have received considerably more attention (e.g. English-Spanish).

762

763

764   **References**

765

766   Altenberg, E., 1991. Assessing first language vulnerability to attrition. In: Seliger, H.W., Vago, R.M.
767   (Eds.), First language attrition. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp. 189–206.
768   Au, T., Knightly, L., Jun, S-A., Oh, J., 2002. Overhearing a language during childhood. Psychological
769   Science 13, 238-243. DOI: 10.1111/1467-9280.00444
770   Barbosa, P., l996. Clitic placement in European Portuguese and the position of subjects. In: Halpern,
771   A., Zwicky, A. (Eds.), Approaching second: Second position clitics and related phenomena.
772   Stanford, California, CSLI Publications, pp. 1-40.
773   Beaudrie, S., Fairclough, M., Eds., 2012. Spanish as a heritage language in the United States: State
774   of the field. Washington, DC, Georgetown University Press.
775   Benmamoun, E., Montrul, S., Polinsky, M., 2013. Heritage languages and their speakers:
776   Opportunities and challenges for linguistics. Theoretical Linguistics 39 (3–4), 129 – 181
777   DOI: 10.1515/tl-2013-0009

778 Bohman, T. M., Bedore, L. M., Pena, E. D., Mendez-Perez, A., Gillam, R. B., 2010. What you hear and
779   what you say: Language performance in Spanish-English bilinguals. International Journal of
780   Bilingual Education and Bilingualism 13, 325–344. DOI: 10.1080/13670050903342019

781 Brito, A. M. (2008). Grammar variation in the expression of verb arguments: the case of Portuguese
782   indirect object. Phrasis. Studies in Language and Literature 49 (2), 31-58.

783 Costa, J., Fiéis, A., Lobo, M., 2014. Input variability and late acquisition: clitic misplacement in
784   European Portuguese. Lingua. Online Article DOI: 10.1016/j.lingua.2014.05.009

785 Costa, J., Lobo, M., 2007. Clitic omission, null objects or both in the acquisition of European
786   Portuguese? In: Baauw, S., Drijkoningen, F., Pinto, M. (Eds.), Romance languages and
787   linguistic theory 2005. Amsterdam / Philadelphia, John Benjamins, pp. 59-71.

788 Cummins, J., 2005. A proposal for action: Strategies for recognizing heritage language competence as
789   a learning resource within the mainstream classroom. The Modern Language Journal 89, 585-
790   592.

791 Cuza, A., 2012. Crosslinguistic influence at the syntax proper: Interrogative subject–verb inversion in
792   heritage Spanish. International Journal of Bilingualism 17 (1), 71–96. DOI:
793   10.1177/1367006911432619.

794 Cuza, A., Frank, J., 2011. Transfer effects at the syntax-semantics interface: The case of double-
795   *que* questions in heritage Spanish. The Heritage Language Journal 8 (2), 66-89.

796 Davies, A., 2003. The native speaker: myth and reality. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

797 De Prada Pérez, A., Pascual y Cabo, D., 2011. Invariable *gusta* in the Spanish of heritage speakers in
798   the US. In: Hershenschon, J., Tanner, D. (Eds.), Proceedings of the generative approaches to
799   second language acquisition. Somerville, MA, Cascadilla Proceedings, pp. 110-120.

800 Destatis, 2013. Ausländische Bevölkerung. Wiesbaden, Statistisches Bundesamt.
801   https://www.destatis.de /DE/Startseite.html (accessed April 13, 2013).

802 Di Venanzio, L., Schmitz, K., Rumpf, A.-L., 2012. Objektrealisierungen und -auslassungen bei
803   transitiven Verben im Spanischen von Herkunftssprechern in Deutschland. Linguistische
804   Berichte 232, 437-461.

805 Di Venanzio, L., Schmitz, K., Rumpf, A.-L., submitted. Objects of transitive verbs in Italian as a
806   heritage language in contact with German. Submitted to Linguistic Approaches to Bilingualism.

807 Duarte, I., Matos, G., Faria, I. H., 1995. Specificity of European Portuguese clitics in Romance. In:
808   Faria, I. H., Freitas, M.J. (Eds.), Studies on the acquisition of Portuguese. Lisbon, APL / Colibri,
809   pp. 129–154.

810 Flores, C., Barbosa, P., 2014. When reduced input leads to delayed acquisition: a study on the
811   acquisition of clitic placement by Portuguese heritage speakers. International Journal of
812   Bilingualism 18 (3), 304–325. DOI: 10.1177/1367006912448124

813 Gathercole, V. C. M., 2007. Miami and north Wales, so far and yet so near: Constructivist account of
814   morpho-syntactic development in bilingual children. International Journal of Bilingual Education
815   and Bilingualism 10, 224-246. DOI:10.2167/beb442.0

816 Gathercole, V.C.M., Thomas, E.M., 2009. Bilingual first-language development: Dominant language
817   takeover, threatened minority language take-up. Bilingualism: Language and Cognition 12, 213–
818   237. DOI: 10.1017/S1366728909004015

819 Genesee, F., 2001. Bilingual first language acquisition: Exploring the limits of the language faculty. In:
820   McGroarty, M. (Ed.), 21st Annual Review of Applied Linguistics. Cambridge, Cambridge
821   University Press, pp. 153-168.

822 Jarvis, S., Pavlenko, A., 2008. Crosslinguistic influence in language and cognition. London, Routledge.

Kaufman, D., 2001. Tales of L1 attrition - Evidence from pre-puberty children. In: Ammerlan, T., Hulsen, M., Strating, H., Yamur, K. (Eds.), Sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic perspectives on maintenance and loss of minority languages. Münster, Waxmann, pp. 185–202.

Keating, G., VanPatten, B., Jegerski, J., 2011. Who was walking on the beach? Anaphora resolution in Spanish heritage speakers and adult second language learners. Studies in Second Language Acquisition 33, 193–221. DOI: 10.1017/S0272263110000732

Köpke, B., 1999. L'attrition de la première langue chez le bilingue tardif: implications pour l'étude psycholinguistique du bilinguisme. Toulouse, Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, (Doctoral dissertation).

Kuhl, P.K., Tsao, F.M., Liu, H.M., 2003. Foreign-language experience in infancy: effects of short-term exposure and social interaction on phonetic learning. Proc Natl Acad Sci USA, pp. 9096–9101. DOI: 10.1073/pnas.1532872100

Kupisch, T., 2013. A new term for a better distinction? A view from the higher end of the proficiency scale. Theoretical Linguistics 39 (3–4), 203 – 214. DOI: 10.1515/tl-2013-0012

Kupisch, T., Barton, D., Lein, T., Schröder, J., Stangen, I., Stöhr, A., 2013. Acquisition outcomes across domain in adult heritage speakers of French. Journal of French Language Studies, FirstView Article. DOI: 10.1017/S0959269513000197

Labov, W., 1972. Sociolinguistic patterns. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press.

Matos, G., 1992. Construções de elipse do predicado em Português. SV Nulo e Despojamento. Lisbon, University of Lisbon, (Doctoral dissertation).

Meisel, J. M., 2001. The simultaneous acquisition of two first languages: Early differentiation and subsequent development of grammars. In: Cenoz, J., Genesee, F. (Eds.), Trends in bilingual acquisition. Amsterdam, John Benjamins, pp. 11–41.

Meisel, J.M., 2013. Heritage language learners: Unprecedented opportunities for the study of grammars and their development? Theoretical Linguistics 39 (3–4), 225 – 236. DOI: 10.1515/tl-2013-0014

Meisel, J. M., 2014. Heritage Language Learners: Incomplete Acquisition of Grammar in Early Childhood. VERBA, Anuario Galego de Filoloxia. Special Issue. (in press)

Montrul, S., 2004. Subject and object expression in Spanish heritage speakers: A case of morphosyntactic convergence. Bilingualism: Language and Cognition 7, 125–142. DOI: 10.1017/S1366728904001464

Montrul, S., 2008. Incomplete acquisition in bilingualism: Re-examining the age factor. Amsterdam, John Benjamins.

Montrul, S., 2010a. Dominant language transfer in adult second language learners and heritage speakers. Second Language Research 26, 293-327. DOI: 10.1177/0267658310365768

Montrul, S., 2010b. How similar are adult second language learners and Spanish heritage speakers? Spanish clitics and word order. Applied Psycholinguistics 31, 167–207. DOI: 10.1017/S014271640999021X

Montrul, S., Ionin, T., 2010. Transfer effects in the interpretation of definite articles by Spanish heritage speakers. Bilingualism: Language and Cognition 13 (4), 449-473. DOI: 10.1017/S1366728910000040

Nagy, N., this volume. A sociolinguistic view of null subjects and VOT in Toronto Heritage Languages. Lingua. Special issue on fundamentally (in)complete grammars?

Ortíz-López, L. A., 2000. Extensión de estar en contextos de ser en el español de Puerto Rico: ¿evolución interna o contacto de lenguas? Boletín de la Académia Puertorriqueña de la Lengua Española, 98-118.

869 Pascual y Cabo, D., Rothman, J., 2012. The (il)logical problem of heritage speaker bilingualism and
870   incomplete acquisition. Applied Linguistics 33, 450-455. DOI: 10.1093/applin/ams037

871 Pires, A., 2006. The minimalist syntax of defective domains: Gerunds and infinitives. Amsterdam: John
872   Benjamins.

873 Pires, A., 2011. Linguistic competence, poverty of the stimulus and the scope of native language
874   acquisition. In: Flores, C. (Ed.), Múltiplos Olhares sobre o Bilinguismo. Braga, Húmus/CEHUM,
875   pp. 115–144.

876 Pires, A., Rothman, J., 2009. Disentangling sources of incomplete acquisition: An explanation for
877   competence divergence across heritage grammars. International Journal of Bilingualism 13 (2),
878   211-238. DOI: 10.1177/1367006909339806

879 Polinsky, M., 2006. Incomplete acquisition: American Russian. Journal of Slavic Linguistics 14, 191–
880   262.

881 Polinsky, M., 2008. Russian gender under incomplete acquisition. Heritage Language Journal 6 (1),
882   40-71.

883 Prada Perez, A., Pascual y Cabo, D., 2011. Invariable gusta in the Spanish of Heritage Speakers in
884   the US. In: Hershenschon, J., Tanner, D. (Eds.), Proceedings of the 11th Generative
885   Approaches to Second Language Acquisition (GASLA). Somerville, MA., Cascadilla
886   Proceedings Project, pp. 110-120. www.lingref.com, document #2551 (accessed April 2, 2013).

887 Rinke, E., Flores, C., 2014. Heritage Portuguese bilinguals morphosyntactic knowledge of clitics.
888   Bilingualism: Language and Cognition. FirstView Article. DOI: 10.1017/S136672891300076X.

889 Rothman, J., 2007. Heritage speaker competence differences, language change, and input type:
890   Inflected infinitives in heritage Brazilian Portuguese. International Journal of Bilingualism 11,
891   359–389. DOI:10.1177/13670069070110040201

892 Rothman, J., 2009. Understanding the nature and outcomes of early bilingualism: Romance
893   languages as heritage languages. International Journal of Bilingualism 13, 155–163.
894   DOI: 10.1177/1367006909339814

895 Rothman, J., Treffers-Daller, J., 2014. A Prolegomenon to the Construct of the Native Speaker:
896   Heritage Speaker Bilinguals are Natives Too! Applied Linguistics 35 (1), 93-98.
897   DOI:10.1093/applin/amt049

898 Salazar, M. L., 2007. Está muy diferente a como era antes: Ser and estar + adjective in New Mexico
899   Spanish. In: Potowski, K., Cameron, R. (Eds.), Spanish in Contact: Policy, Social and Linguistic
900   Inquiries. Amsterdam, John Benjamins, pp. 345-355.

901 Santos, A.L., Flores, C., 2013. Elipse do SV e distribuição de advérbios em Português Língua de
902   Herança e L2. In: Silva, F., Falé, I., Pereira, I. (Eds.), Textos Selecionados do XVIII Encontro da
903   APL. Lisbon, APL, pp. 563-584.

904 Santos, A.L., 2009. Minimal Answers. Ellipsis, syntax and discourse in the acquisition of European
905   Portuguese. Amsterdam, John Benjamins.

906 Schoenmakers-Klein Gunnewiek, M., 1989. Structural aspects of the loss of Portuguese among
907   migrants: a research outline. Review of Applied Linguistics 83/84, 99-124.

908 Seliger, H. W., 1989. Deterioration and creativity in childhood bilingualism. In: Hylstenstam, K., Obler,
909   L. K. (Eds.), Bilingualism across the lifespan. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp. 173–
910   184.

911 Silva-Corvalán, C., 1986. Bilingualism and language change: The extension of estar in Los Angeles
912   Spanish. Language: Journal of the Linguistic Society of America 62 (3), 587-608.

913 Silva-Corvalán, C., 1994. Language contact and change. New York: Oxford University Press.

914 Slobin, D. I., 1979. Psycholinguistics. Glenview, Ill., Scott, Foreman and Co.

915   Sorace, A., 2011. Pinning down the concept of interface in bilingualism. Linguistic Approaches to
916   Bilingualism 1 (1), 1-33. DOI: 10.1075/lab.1.1.01sor
917   Tsimpli, I., Sorace, A., Heycock, C., Filiaci, F., 2004. First language attrition and syntactic subjects:
918   A study of Greek and Italian near-native speakers. International Journal of Bilingualism 8 (3),
919   257-277. DOI: 10.1177/13670069040080030601
920   Tsimpli, I., 2014. Early, late or very late? Timing acquisition and bilingualism. Linguistic Approaches to
921   Bilingualism 4 (3), 283 – 313.
922   Turian, D., Altenberg, E. P., 1991. Compensatory strategies of child first language attrition. In: Seliger,
923   H. W., Vago, R. M. (Eds.), First language attrition. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp.
924   207–226.
925   Unsworth, S., 2013. Assessing the role of current and cumulative exposure in simultaneous bilingual
926   acquisition: The case of Dutch gender. Bilingualism: Language and Cognition 16 (1), 86–110.
927   DOI: 10.1017/S1366728912000284
928   Unsworth, S., Argyri, F., Cornips, L., Hulk, A., Sorace, A., Tsimpli, I., 2011. Bilingual acquisition of
929   Greek voice morphology and Dutch gender: What do they have in common? In: Danis, N.,
930   Mesh, K., Hyunsuk, S. (Eds.), BUCLD 35 Proceedings. Somerville, MA, Cascadilla Press, pp.
931   590-602.