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

Author: Cristina Flores (University of Minho/Portugal)

Address for correspondence:
Cristina Maria Moreira Flores
Departamento de Estudos Germanísticos e Eslavos
Universidade do Minho
Campus de Gualtar
4710 Braga
Portugal
Phone: 00351962324988
E-mail: cflores@ilch.uminho.pt

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 environment happens in early childhood, the competence of immigrant children in the weakening language tends to fluctuate (Kaufman, 2001; Kaufman and Aronoff, 1991; Seliger 1989; Turian and Altenberg, 1991).

Montrul (2008) and Polinsky (2006, 2008), among many others, explain this deviant development as incomplete acquisition; but what does incompleteness in acquisition mean? For Montrul (2008) "incomplete L1 acquisition occurs in childhood when, for different reasons, some specific properties of the language do not have a chance to reach age-appropriate levels of proficiency after intense exposure to the L2 begins" (Montrul, 2008: 21). According to this view, a heritage speaker is, therefore, a bilingual speaker who has a deficient knowledge of his / her heritage language, because he / she has not fully acquired it.

Many authors have argued against this interpretation of the term «incomplete acquisition» (Kupisch, 2013; Meisel, 2013, 2014; Pascual y Cabo and Rothman, 2012; Pires and Rothman, 2009; Pires, 2011), claiming that, due to their inborn faculty of language, bilingual children naturally acquire the properties which are present in their input. If a given property is not present, either because the adult interlocutors (e.g. the parents) do not use it or because the child does not have the opportunity to access language registers where it occurs, this means that the heritage child will probably fail to acquire said property. However the lack of acquisition is not caused by a deficient ability to fully acquire the property, but instead it is due to its absence from the input.

Thus, rather than explaining the deviant competence of heritage bilinguals as a biological limitation which inhibits bilingual language acquisition, our attention should lie on the nature of the input that the heritage speaker receives and, particularly, the factors which constrain it. Although the human language faculty seems well equipped to acquire two or more languages simultaneously (Genesee, 2001, Meisel, 2001), it is known that a bilingual child needs sufficient exposure to each language to develop productive skills in both. It seems that mere passive exposure to a language, e.g. through TV, is not enough to trigger language development, as demonstrated in the study by Kuhl et al. (2003). The child needs to be actively engaged in communication, having the need not only to listen to a language, but also to use it in daily interactions. Studies on receptive bilinguals have shown that speakers who did not have sufficient linguistic experience in a given language may understand it to some extent but are not able to produce it (see discussion in Slobin, 1979). This is often the case of third and subsequent generation immigrants, whose heritage language is no longer the home language. As Pires (2011) points out, this group of functional bilinguals, also referred to as HL overhearers (Au et al., 2002), must clearly be differentiated from speakers whose L1 is the home language and who are proficient both in its comprehension and production. I will further concentrate on this latter group, which Pires (2011) calls '(fully) proficient HL1 speakers' (p.129).

If the heritage child has sufficient linguistic experience to enable the development of productive language skills, it is illogical to assume that biological limitations will hinder the full acquisition of the target linguistic system. The fact that a heritage speaker uses a given structure in a target-like way in a particular context is, in itself, evidence that this structure has been acquired. Otherwise the speaker would not use it. Actually, what most studies on heritage language acquisition have shown is that the speakers tend to produce certain structures in both target-like and target-deviant manners (Keating et al., 2011; Montrul, 2010a; Polinsky, 2008, Silva-Corvalán, 1994). This means that the speakers have the knowledge but they do not always apply it appropriately. So, rather than defining this competence mismatch as an outcome of an incomplete grammar, it can be argued that a proficient heritage speaker is a bilingual speaker with native-like intuitions in his / her HL, able to fully acquire the HL grammar. However there is a wide range of (extralinguistic) factors that influence this process and lead to divergent competence outcomes. The process of HL acquisition in itself, however, is a process of childhood experience with a home language, spoken in daily contexts. Thus, as Rothman and Treffers-Daller (2014) accurately point out, it cannot be denied that it is, in fact, a process of native language acquisition if we equal native language acquisition to early childhood exposure (Davies, 2003). Hence, heritage speakers are early bilinguals with multiple native languages. As such, their linguistic competence carries many features that characterize a native language: high proficiency in comprehension and production; native-like accent; language use in familiar contexts; and an affective and cultural proximity that generally has less weight in non-native acquisition. However, HS competence displays high levels of variation, which is attributed to two types of factors: on the one hand, factors that are in play in bilingual but not in monolingual acquisition, and, on the other hand, factors that influence monolingual language development as well (but generally to a lesser extent).

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

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

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

Furthermore, bearing in mind that children acquire their L1 in successive development stages, it is well documented that certain language structures are acquired later than others (see Tsimpli, 2014, for an interesting explanation of early and late phenomena). For heritage language acquisition this means that, for developmental reasons, certain grammatical properties are still not in place when their input conditions change. Thus, heritage children may acquire these "late" properties under input conditions that differ from those of monolingual L1 children.

Several authors propose that amount of input is a key variable in bilingual language acquisition (Bohman et al., 2010; Gathercole and Thomas, 2009; Unsworth, 2013; Unsworth et al., 2011), claiming that the exposure to less input at a certain developmental stage might influence the acquisition of certain linguistic properties. Tsimpli (2014) suggests that in L1 acquisition certain structures need less input than others in order to be fixed. This is because they are macroparameters of language (i.e. narrow syntax), and hence acquired very early on. According to Tsimpli, several

factors might determine the acquisition of «late properties», namely the development of components outside narrow syntax such as semantics, pragmatics and language-external cognitive resources (e.g. working memory). In the case of heritage children, this means that, if they have significantly less input from one language at a certain age span (e.g. age seven to ten), they may take longer to acquire structures which are fixed at this age in L1 development, because they will require more time to gain the "critical mass" needed to trigger acquisition (Gathercole, 2007; Unsworth, 2013). In agreement with this argumentation, Gathercole and Thomas (2009) and Unsworth (2013) suggest that for the minority / weaker language there is a need for continued exposure through an extended period in order to guarantee successful bilingual acquisition, since the acquisition process is influenced by the quantity of input received not only in the first years of life but also in subsequent years.

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

Additionally the absence of contact with formal registers is intrinsically paired with exposure to input rich in linguistic variation. Linguistic variation is a natural feature of language, present in all linguistic communities (Labov, 1972). As Labov's studies have shown, colloquial language registers are the main source of linguistic variation, while the contact with sources of more formal and written input tends to counterbalance its progression (see also Ortíz-López, 2000). Since heritage speakers lack (or have reduced access to) these countervailing sources, heritage languages tend to amplify variation which is already present in monolingual speech (e.g. Salazar, 2007; Silva-Corvalán, 1986). Silva-Corvalán (1986), for instance, explains that the change in the use of copular verbs in the Spanish-speaking heritage community of Los Angeles (also observed in monolingual varieties of Spanish, Ortíz-López, 2000) is accelerated by language contact and reduced access to formal varieties of Spanish. In the case of heritage language acquisition, first-generation migrants function as the locus of variation, since they transmit the colloquial registers to the next generations. Often the interlocutors of the heritage child (e.g. parents or older siblings) produce themselves deviant structures due to the factors mentioned above. As suggested by Prada Pérez and Pascual y Cabo (2011), the speech of first-generation migrants may also feature variability and innovation, which could reflect in the heritage speakers' grammar.

Naturally, the factors discussed separately in this section are not mutually exclusive, i.e. the outcome of heritage language acquisition may be the result of their interaction. The extent to which

they influence the development of the HL certainly depends on the linguistic properties under acquisition.

3. Portuguese heritage speakers in Germany

The migratory flow from Portugal to European countries like Germany, France or Switzerland started in the sixties, during the Portuguese dictatorship, giving underprivileged social classes new opportunities to improve their standard of living. In 1964 Portugal and Germany signed a bilateral agreement on labor recruitment, since Germany was undergoing the so-called “economic boom” and needed manpower. As a result almost 166,000 Portuguese laborers worked in German factories during the period from 1955 to 1973. In the late seventies, this first generation, i.e. the “guest workers” (*Gastarbeiter*), was encouraged by the German government to return to Portugal. Since this period, there has been a continued process of migration and remigration to/from Germany. With the recent crisis, Portuguese immigration to Germany increased once again, attracting also skilled employees and academics. This means that different generations of Portuguese migrants are living in Germany nowadays: from Portuguese-descendent third generations, whose grandparents immigrated in the sixties, to first-generation migrants, who immigrated recently with their children, born abroad. According to the official statistics, there were 115,530 legal Portuguese migrants living in Germany in December 2011 (Destatis, 2013).

Naturally there is much variation regarding the sociolinguistic background and language habits of lusophones in Germany. Nevertheless, there is (still) a close connection between a large part of the immigrant community in the host country and the homeland. As mentioned above, many early first-generation migrants returned to Portugal after living for a long period of time in Germany, but in many cases their children remained in the host country. The children often take different paths - one sibling returns but the other stays in Germany. This means that many families are divided between Germany and Portugal. It is also common for many families, including not only first but also second-generation migrants, to spend their annual holidays in Portugal, typically in houses that they either bought for vacation purposes or inherited and preserved for a possible return in the future.

Another bond to the heritage language is maintained through the heritage language programs sponsored by the Portuguese government. Even though these programs are being cut back due to the financial crisis affecting Portugal, which poses a permanent threat to education, there are still many afternoon and Saturday classes where Portuguese language is taught to Portuguese (or Brazilian) immigrant children from the first grade onward. These programs are elective and the syllabus covers mainly literary skills such as reading and writing. Although some children attend these programs more than others, it is fair to say that most heritage bilinguals have some literacy skills in Portuguese.

Despite the tight connection to the heritage language, Portuguese is nonetheless the weaker language of second and third-generation migrants. In many families Portuguese is the predominant language used at home or within the Portuguese community. It is spoken by parents and other members of the family in their daily interactions with the child. However, it is rarely the only language used at home, since German, the majority language, is also very present, especially between siblings or in cases where the mother or father is her/himself bilingual. This means that, in general, Portuguese heritage speakers are to some extent exposed to spoken Portuguese in their daily lives and they can read and write in their HL. The amount and type of input is clearly far more limited than that of a native speaker who lives in Portugal. This is exactly what makes the study on EP heritage speakers so interesting. They are early bilinguals whose language exposure in the first years of life is not evenly distributed, with the dominant input certainly coming from European Portuguese. The amount of

contact with the majority language varies substantially, depending on the age of emigration, the family constellation and the occupation of the parents. So, in the first years of life (until age three/four), the HSs' input conditions are not drastically different from those of EP L1 children. The cue factor is the change of these input conditions when the heritage children enter formal schooling in the host society (in the age span of four to six), become literate in the majority language and start to build social networks in German. The contact with EP decreases extensively by this time, and this language remains mainly on an oral basis throughout life. The heritage language programs are important initiatives in order to provide the speakers with some literacy skills but their optional status and reduced workload make them a far cry from the kind of instruction they would receive in their home country.

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

4. Predictions on heritage language acquisition

Section 2 presented a discussion of some crucial factors that may explain the development of heritage language acquisition. In this section, some predictions are formulated in connection with those factors. The studies summarized in section 5 are an attempt to shed some light on their validity.

The first prediction concerns the age of input change and the stages of language acquisition. If it is true that the amount of input a bilingual child is exposed to influences the process of language acquisition (as claimed, for instance, by Bohman et al., 2010, Gathercole and Thomas, 2009, and Unsworth, 2013), then properties that are acquired later in the target language may be more difficult to acquire in the context of heritage language acquisition. On one hand, heritage speakers may need more accumulated input over time in order to reach the critical mass of input required for the acquisition of those properties. On the other hand, heritage speakers may show no differences compared to monolingual native speakers with regard to properties that are stabilized in early stages of L1 development.

The second prediction refers to the role of cross-linguistic influence. If it is true that transfer from the dominant language may prevent the full development of a given structure in the heritage language (as suggested by Cuza and Frank, 2011, and Montrul and Ionin, 2010, among others), then heritage speakers may show a protracted development of properties which have competing structures in the dominant language. This means that heritage bilinguals, when faced with more than one grammatical option in their heritage language, may reveal a tendency to use a structure that also exists in their dominant grammar, discarding structures that exist only in their heritage language.

The third prediction is related to the type of input heritage speakers are exposed to. If it is true that 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$_{\text{clitic}}$
'He saw him.'
b. Hoje Ø viu**-o**.
today saw-him$_{\text{clitic}}$
'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$_{\text{clitic}}$ see$_{\text{subj.3sg}}$
'I doubt that he saw her.'
b. Ele não **o** viu.
he not him$_{\text{clitic}}$ saw
'He didn't see him.'
c. Ele já /nunca **o** viu.
he already/never him$_{\text{clitic}}$ saw
'He already/never saw him.'

In this study, clitic placement was tested by an oral elicitation task, in which the participants were asked to take the words presented in a circle and put them in the right order to build sentences. The test was constructed in the form of a story, where the interviewer assumed the role of a boy and the participant the role of a girl, who needed the interviewee's help in building correct Portuguese sentences. The conditions tested were the postverbal clitic position (with preverbal subjects as in (1a)) and three preverbal clitic positions: (i) constructions with sentential negation (2b), (ii) subordinate clauses (2a), and (iii) clauses introduced by other proclisis triggers, such as aspectual and negative adverbs (2c). The test contained four sentences per condition (with accusative and reflexive pronouns) and two training sentences without clitic pronoun. Each sentence contained a maximum of four elements in order to control for syntactic complexity.

Costa, Fiéis and Lobo (2014), who assessed clitic placement in monolingual European Portuguese children, show that L1 children start by overusing enclisis in proclitic contexts, but not the other way around. At age seven, EP children still misplace clitics in proclitic contexts, although there is a developmental effect from five to seven. The authors further demonstrate that proclisis is acquired earlier in some contexts (e.g. negation) and the most difficult to acquire are those in which also adults show some variability (i.e. subordinate clauses).

Based on the observation that monolingual EP children start by generalizing the enclitic position, Flores and Barbosa (2014) wanted to analyze if heritage EP children follow the same pattern of acquisition as L1 children. This would mean that HSs who (still) do not master clitic placement in EP are bound to produce enclitic structures in contexts which require preverbal clitic placement (but not the inverse). Since L1 children do not assimilate proclitic placement until very late (by the age of seven), and assuming that a drastic reduction in the linguistic input characterizes the development of the HL from the age of three/four onward, the authors claim that EP heritage children take much longer to acquire clitic placement than monolingual EP children. This means that at the age of seven to ten monolingual EP children are able to master clitic placement without difficulties, but HS will show more difficulties in this domain.

The results, which focus on the appropriate use of enclisis and proclisis in the relevant contexts, confirm that by the time they are seven years old monolingual EP children display robust knowledge of the patterns of clitic placement. The average of accurate use of proclitic pronouns is about 93.1%, (83.3%–100%; standard deviation (SD) = 6.97), while the correct production of enclisis is 100%. The 6.9% of target-deviant use of enclisis in contexts which require proclisis in the control group refers mainly to subordinate clauses, which is precisely the context where even EP adults show some variation (see also Duarte et. al., 1995).

Regarding enclisis, the HSs perform like the native controls, meaning that they never use proclisis instead of enclisis. However, their performance differs substantially from that of the monolingual group in proclitic contexts, averaging an accuracy rate of about 50%, with high inter-group variation (accuracy scores range from 0 to 91.7%; SD = 30.99, see figure 1). In this case, the high individual variation can be accounted for by looking at the variable age. The data show that the performance of the HSs is strongly dependent on age. While the six younger HSs (age seven to ten; FH_1 to FH_6 in figure 1) fail to produce proclitic constructions in the majority of the contexts which require the preverbal clitic position (mean = 26.4%; SD = 23.23; only FH_6 reaches higher values), the six older heritage bilinguals (age twelve to fifteen; FH_7 to FH_12 in figure 1) show significantly higher levels of accuracy in this domain (mean = 73.6%; SD = 15.28).

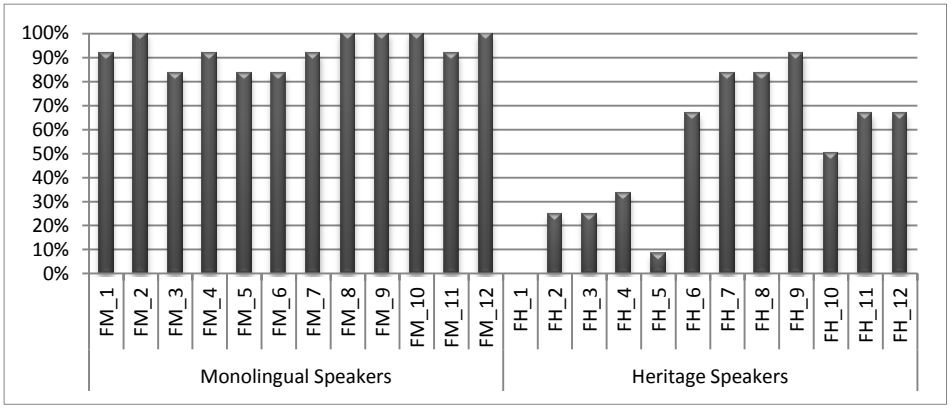

Figure 1. Percentages of accurate proclisis placement by participant/group (Flores and Barbosa, 2014)

The findings led the authors to the conclusion that EP heritage children acquire the contexts of proclisis, even though the whole process takes longer in comparison to monolingual acquisition. A further interesting observation is that, in fact, HSs go through the same stages in the acquisition of clitic placement as monolingual acquirers, i.e. they start by overgeneralizing enclisis and then they gradually acquire proclisis. In addition, the proclisis triggers which are first acquired in L1 acquisition (negation, according to Costa et al., 2014) are exactly the same that cause HSs to fail less often. The authors argue that this initial overuse of enclisis reflects a strategy that is in accordance with the Subset Principle: the child starts by assuming the grammar that generates the smallest possible language compatible with the trigger experience, both in monolingual and in heritage language acquisition.

Most importantly, this study discovered that older heritage speakers have a better knowledge of clitic placement pattern than younger ones, which contradicts the idea that language attrition or incomplete acquisition may be an inherent characteristic of heritage language development, at least in the case of clitic distribution in EP. However, reduced input in heritage acquisition settings may indeed slow down the development of late properties, as predicted by Tsimpli's (2014) proposal of differentiation between early and late properties.

5.2. Study 2: Santos and Flores (2013)

The study conducted by Santos and Flores (2013) compares the performance of 20 EP heritage children (hence childHS; mean age = 9.8; SD = 0.62) who live in Germany and 20 EP monolingual 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
'Today the mother won't put the car in the garage, but the father will put it there.'

Additionally, it is important to mention that VP ellipsis is acquired very early on in European Portuguese. In fact, VP ellipsis has been used as evidence for early L1 acquisition of verb movement and sensitivity to the semantic and discourse constraints on ellipsis. Children acquiring European

Portuguese produce adult-like VP ellipsis in the context of answers to yes-no questions when their MLUw is around 2. (Santos, 2009)

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

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

(5) a. No dia dos namorados, o Rodrigo e o Daniel convidaram as namoradas para sair. As namoradas queriam muito receber um anel de presente. **O Rodrigo não deu um anel à namorada, mas o Daniel deu um anel à namorada**. O Rodrigo perdeu a namorada naquela noite.
(On Valentine's Day, Rodrigo and Daniel invited their girlfriends on a date. The girlfriends were eager to receive a ring as a gift. **Rodrigo did not give a ring to his girlfriend, but Daniel gave a ring to his girlfriend.** Rodrigo lost his girlfriend that night.)

b. VP ellipsis with stranded main verb: … mas o Daniel deu.
but the Daniel gave

c. Pseudo-stripping: … mas o Daniel sim.
but the Daniel yes

d. Use of pronoun and argument drop: … mas o Daniel deu-lhe.
but the Daniel gave-him$_{clitic}$

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

In conclusion, the similar performance of both child groups in this task led the authors to view heritage language acquisition as an instance of native language development. Furthermore, the use of VP ellipsis by the heritage children contradicts the prediction that in case of competing structures bilingual children would resort to structures that also exist in their dominant language, overlooking the structure which is only available in the minority language. Thus, in this particular case of VP ellipsis,

no evidence for incomplete acquisition in heritage bilingualism is found. Additionally one must bear in mind that VP ellipsis stabilizes very early on in EP L1 acquisition. This fact may contribute to explain the native-like performance of the heritage children in this domain. It appears that early structures are acquired without effort by heritage bilinguals.

5.3. Study 3: Rinke and Flores (2014)

Rinke and Flores' (2014) study focuses on the linguistic competence of 18 adult Portuguese-German bilinguals in their heritage language, i.e. European Portuguese. The sociolinguistic profile of these speakers, assessed through a detailed questionnaire, resembles those of both child HS groups presented in the previous studies and described in section 3. Thus, theoretically, these speakers could be seen as the adult peers to the child bilinguals, and their linguistic competence allows for a glimpse into a more advanced state of the children's HL grammar. The control group was made up of 18 monolingually-raised native speakers of EP with a low level of education (having completed six to nine years of schooling).

Based on a grammaticality judgment test, inspired by Montrul (2010b), the authors analyze the morphosyntactic knowledge of clitics. In addition to clitic placement, which was tested by Flores and Barbosa (2014), this study also looks at other properties of the Portuguese clitic system, namely clitic form, case distinctions, the pronoun type and the use of clitics in topicalization structures. Since the EP clitic system is very complex, the native speakers' knowledge of this structure comprises not only the knowledge of the differences between clitic and strong pronouns, but also the variable options concerning form and placement of object clitics and the conditions that underlie the variation. This complexity is taken as an argument to explain the protracted development of clitics in EP first language acquisition in comparison to other languages with a clitic system (see Costa and Lobo, 2007).

For the purpose of the present discussion and in order to verify the third prediction presented in section 4, this summary will focus on two particular structures tested by the authors: allomorphic clitic forms and the use of a strong pronoun instead of a dative clitic.

The use of strong pronouns in clitic position is ungrammatical in EP (as opposed to BP), whether they be accusative or dative pronouns. Nonetheless, while there is no variation in EP concerning the use of the strong pronouns *ele / ela / eles / elas* ('he' / 'she' / 'they') instead of the accusative clitics *–o / -a / -os / -as* (and their allomorphic forms), in colloquial oral varieties there is slight variation regarding the dative pronoun. In other words, native speakers sometimes use the strong forms *a ele / a ela / a eles / a elas* ('to him' / 'to her' / 'to them') instead of the clitic *lhe / lhes* (see (6)) (Brito, 2008).

(6) [O Mario fez anos ontem.] *O João deu uma prenda **a ele**.
the Mario did years yesterday the John gave a present to him$_{strong}$
'Yesterday was Mario's birthday. John gave him a present.'

Rinke and Flores (2014) tested whether heritage and monolingual speakers of EP accept the use 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.'

The correct use of allomorphic clitic forms is a complex task, even for monolingual speakers of EP (especially with irregular verbs). Thus it is frequent to hear non-target forms in oral speech. This fluctuating performance is mirrored in the results of the monolingual group (see table 1) under the four conditions which tested shaped clitic forms in the present study (grammatical and ungrammatical use of *-no(s)/-na(s)* and *-lo(s)/-la(s)*). The monolingual speakers did not reach ceiling performance under any condition, the mean of accuracy ranging from 82.22% to 97.78%. The heritage speakers

performed very poorly all around, especially when confronted with the use of *-no(s) / -na(s).* They not only accepted *-o(s) / -a(s)* instead of their corresponding allomorphs almost consistently (11.11% of accuracy; SD = 23.98), but they also «corrected» the grammatical forms into ungrammatical ones under the ungrammatical condition (54.61% of accuracy; SD = 24.62). In this case too, the authors see the different knowledge of the HSs as an outcome of inconsistent input due to their almost exclusive contact with oral varieties of EP. In standard EP, especially in written registers, it is unlikely to find variation in allomorphic clitic forms. However EP HSs are scarcely ever exposed to these registers.

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

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

6. Unifying the findings and questions for further research

In summary, the three studies presented above suggest that the linguistic competence of Portuguese heritage speakers living in Germany may, in fact, diverge to some extent from the linguistic competence of Portuguese speakers who were raised in a monolingual L1 context. However, in line with other studies presented in this special issue (e.g. Nagy, this volume), evidence for non-nativeness in heritage language development and incomplete language acquisition has yet to be found. As regards the knowledge of clitics, Flores and Barbosa (2014) show that, with increasing age, heritage children tend to make less placement errors. Even though the mean of accuracy is lower in the group of heritage speakers than in monolingual controls, the results demonstrate that Portuguese heritage speakers acquire clitic placement in the same way as monolingual L1 speakers. While younger heritage speakers overuse enclisis, older informants reach levels of proficiency which are close to the scores attained by monolingual speakers of the same age. Based on this observation, the authors conclude that the process of heritage language acquisition may be more delayed than L1 acquisition, but the patterns of acquisition are the same. Furthermore, the data yield no evidence of a deficient capacity to acquire clitic placement. In this case, the interruption of the acquisition process would mean that certain conditions which trigger proclisis would not be acquired, e.g. proclitic placement in subordinate clauses. However, the data show no evidence to confirm the lack of acquisition of certain conditions. The delay in this particular domain may be explained on the basis of Unsworth's (2013) proposal of cumulative time of exposure. Since clitic placement is a «late property», in L1 development it is stabilized at an age span when heritage children have reduced contact with their HL (later than age five). This could mean that they need more positive evidence over time in order to acquire this grammatical structure.

However, as Rinke and Flores (2014) and many other studies on adult heritage speakers demonstrate (for an interesting overview on Spanish HS see Beaudrie and Fairclough, 2012), in some areas of grammatical knowledge adult bilingual speakers tend to diverge from the monolingual speakers taken as baseline controls. Along with factors not discussed in this overview (e.g. the degree of metalinguistic awareness), this competence mismatch can be caused not only by the amount but also the type of input HSs are exposed to. It can also be attributed to the type of monolingual speaker included in the control group. Rinke and Flores (2014) show that the properties of the clitic system where the heritage speakers produce less accurate results are exactly the same where the monolingually-raised speakers also do not reach full scores. It should be noted that the authors tested monolingual controls with a low level of education and hence less exposure to formal language registers. This indicates that heritage speakers may foster linguistic variation which is already present in native speech, especially in colloquial registers. Since colloquial dialects are the main source of variation, heritage speakers - who are mainly in contact with oral colloquial registers – suffer greater exposure to linguistic variation than monolingual L1 speakers. The «standard monolingual dialect, which is imparted mostly through formal uses of language, including formal education and the media» (Pires, 2011: 137) has a normative effect of linguistic standardization that counters amplification of linguistic variation within a speech community. Heritage speakers have limited contact with these sources of standardization, but this is not exclusive of speakers who grow up in a migration context. There are also many monolingually-raised speakers who are mainly exposed to colloquial varieties of the language and thus show less accurate knowledge of properties that generally occur in formal registers. This argument is clearly insufficient to classify their knowledge as non-native, and the same holds true for heritage speakers.

The comparison between the two previous studies on the knowledge of clitics and the investigation conducted by Santos and Flores (2013) gives a further contribution to the present discussion. Unlike the clitic system, VP ellipsis is assimilated very early on in EP L1 acquisition. The production of adult-like VP ellipsis in the context of answers to yes-no questions is documented in early stages of language development (see Santos, 2009). As regards the production of VP ellipsis and of other structures used to solve redundancy within the VP, the authors show that Portuguese heritage children and L1 speakers of the same age have very similar performances (which contrast with the performances of the adult groups). The results differ from the data presented by Flores and Barbosa (2014), who apply a similar task (elicited production) to EP children of the same age. They show that EP heritage children have significantly more difficulties in producing proclisis than monolingual EP children. Bearing in mind that the clitic system, especially proclisis placement, is stabilized very late in L1 acquisition, the differences between both studies may indeed be linked to the timing of acquisition. It appears that heritage children show more problems with structures that are acquired late, i.e. at a moment when their HL input is more restricted and less diversified than the input that L1 children receive.

The overall picture that emerges from the investigation conducted so far on lusophone HSs living in Germany, who are exposed to their heritage language since birth and use it in daily contexts, is that of a highly proficient bilingual speaker. Even though the HL is perceived as a weaker language by the speakers themselves, this may be attributed to the stronger role that the dominant language plays in their everyday lives. Therefore, the opposition ‘stronger’ - ‘weaker’ language seems to be based primarily on causes ascribed to language use - and consequently on language (especially lexical) activation – rather than on the development of a deficient, non-native language competence. In fact, my claim is that heritage Portuguese, acquired under the circumstances described above, is an instance of native EP, bearing in mind that the term *native EP* clusters a wide range of native

grammars, unified by the common characteristic that it is acquired through naturalistic exposure to a language since early childhood.

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

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

References

Altenberg, E., 1991. Assessing first language vulnerability to attrition. In: Seliger, H.W., Vago, R.M. (Eds.), First language attrition. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp. 189–206.

Au, T., Knightly, L., Jun, S-A., Oh, J., 2002. Overhearing a language during childhood. Psychological Science 13, 238-243. DOI: 10.1111/1467-9280.00444

Barbosa, P., l996. Clitic placement in European Portuguese and the position of subjects. In: Halpern, A., Zwicky, A. (Eds.), Approaching second: Second position clitics and related phenomena. Stanford, California, CSLI Publications, pp. 1-40.

Beaudrie, S., Fairclough, M., Eds., 2012. Spanish as a heritage language in the United States: State of the field. Washington, DC, Georgetown University Press.

Benmamoun, E., Montrul, S., Polinsky, M., 2013. Heritage languages and their speakers: Opportunities and challenges for linguistics. Theoretical Linguistics 39 (3–4), 129 – 181 DOI: 10.1515/tl-2013-0009

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

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

778 Costa, J., Fiéis, A., Lobo, M., 2014. Input variability and late acquisition: clitic misplacement in
779 European Portuguese. Lingua. Online Article DOI: 10.1016/j.lingua.2014.05.009
780 Costa, J., Lobo, M., 2007. Clitic omission, null objects or both in the acquisition of European
781 Portuguese? In: Baauw, S., Drijkoningen, F., Pinto, M. (Eds.), Romance languages and
782 linguistic theory 2005. Amsterdam / Philadelphia, John Benjamins, pp. 59-71.
783 Cummins, J., 2005. A proposal for action: Strategies for recognizing heritage language competence as
784 a learning resource within the mainstream classroom. The Modern Language Journal 89, 585-
785 592.
786 Cuza, A., 2012. Crosslinguistic influence at the syntax proper: Interrogative subject–verb inversion in
787 heritage Spanish. International Journal of Bilingualism 17 (1), 71–96. DOI:
788 10.1177/1367006911432619.
789 Cuza, A., Frank, J., 2011. Transfer effects at the syntax-semantics interface: The case of double-
790 *que* questions in heritage Spanish. The Heritage Language Journal 8 (2), 66-89.
791 Davies, A., 2003. The native speaker: myth and reality. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
792 De Prada Pérez, A., Pascual y Cabo, D., 2011. Invariable *gusta* in the Spanish of heritage speakers in
793 the US. In: Hershenschon, J., Tanner, D. (Eds.), Proceedings of the generative approaches to
794 second language acquisition. Somerville, MA, Cascadilla Proceedings, pp. 110-120.
795 Destatis, 2013. Ausländische Bevölkerung. Wiesbaden, Statistisches Bundesamt.
796 https://www.destatis.de /DE/Startseite.html (accessed April 13, 2013).
797 Di Venanzio, L., Schmitz, K., Rumpf, A.-L., 2012. Objektrealisierungen und -auslassungen bei
798 transitiven Verben im Spanischen von Herkunftssprechern in Deutschland. Linguistische
799 Berichte 232, 437-461.
800 Di Venanzio, L., Schmitz, K., Rumpf, A.-L., submitted. Objects of transitive verbs in Italian as a
801 heritage language in contact with German. Submitted to Linguistic Approaches to Bilingualism.
802 Duarte, I., Matos, G., Faria, I. H., 1995. Specificity of European Portuguese clitics in Romance. In:
803 Faria, I. H., Freitas, M.J. (Eds.), Studies on the acquisition of Portuguese. Lisbon, APL / Colibri,
804 pp. 129–154.
805 Flores, C., Barbosa, P., 2014. When reduced input leads to delayed acquisition: a study on the
806 acquisition of clitic placement by Portuguese heritage speakers. International Journal of
807 Bilingualism 18 (3), 304–325. DOI: 10.1177/1367006912448124
808 Gathercole, V.C.M., Thomas, E.M., 2009. Bilingual first-language development: Dominant language
809 takeover, threatened minority language take-up. Bilingualism: Language and Cognition 12, 213–
810 237. DOI: 10.1017/S1366728909004015
811 Genesee, F., 2001. Bilingual first language acquisition: Exploring the limits of the language faculty. In:
812 McGroarty, M. (Ed.), 21st Annual Review of Applied Linguistics. Cambridge, Cambridge
813 University Press, pp. 153-168.
814 Jarvis, S., Pavlenko, A., 2008. Crosslinguistic influence in language and cognition. London, Routledge.
815 Kaufman, D., 2001. Tales of L1 attrition - Evidence from pre-puberty children. In: Ammerlan, T.,
816 Hulsen, M., Strating, H., Yamur, K. (Eds.), Sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic perspectives on
817 maintenance and loss of minority languages. Münster, Waxmann, pp. 185–202.
818 Keating, G., VanPatten, B., Jegerski, J., 2011. Who was walking on the beach? Anaphora resolution in
819 Spanish heritage speakers and adult second language learners. Studies in Second Language
820 Acquisition 33, 193–221. DOI: 10.1017/S0272263110000732
821 Köpke, B., 1999. L'attrition de la première langue chez le bilingue tardif: implications pour l'étude
822 psycholinguistique du bilinguisme. Toulouse, Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, (Doctoral
823 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.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sorace, A., 2011. Pinning down the concept of interface in bilingualism. Linguistic Approaches to Bilingualism 1 (1), 1-33. DOI: 10.1075/lab.1.1.01sor

Tsimpli, I., Sorace, A., Heycock, C., Filiaci, F., 2004. First language attrition and syntactic subjects: A study of Greek and Italian near-native speakers. International Journal of Bilingualism 8 (3), 257-277. DOI: 10.1177/13670069040080030601

Tsimpli, I., 2014. Early, late or very late? Timing acquisition and bilingualism. Linguistic Approaches to Bilingualism 4 (3), 283 – 313.

Turian, D., Altenberg, E. P., 1991. Compensatory strategies of child first language attrition. In: Seliger, H. W., Vago, R. M. (Eds.), First language attrition. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp. 207–226.

Unsworth, S., 2013. Assessing the role of current and cumulative exposure in simultaneous bilingual acquisition: The case of Dutch gender. Bilingualism: Language and Cognition 16 (1), 86–110. DOI: 10.1017/S1366728912000284

Unsworth, S., Argyri, F., Cornips, L., Hulk, A., Sorace, A., Tsimpli, I., 2011. Bilingual acquisition of Greek voice morphology and Dutch gender: What do they have in common? In: Danis, N., Mesh, K., Hyunsuk, S. (Eds.), BUCLD 35 Proceedings. Somerville, MA, Cascadilla Press, pp. 590-602.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank my colleagues Pilar Barbosa, Ana Lúcia Santos and Esther Rinke for their invaluable contribution to the research presented in this paper and Ana Correia for revising the English language. I am also very grateful to the anonymous reviewers and the guest editors of this special issue, Pedro Guijarro Fuentes and Katrin Schmitz, for their helpful comments and suggestions. My thanks also go to the Portuguese funding agency FCT (Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia), who has supported the research on Portuguese-German Bilingualism through different research grants.