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PROCEEDINGS OF THE ICGL12
ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΑ ΤΟΥ ICGL12

Thanasis Georgakopoulos, Theodossia-Soula Pavlidou, Miltos Pechlivanos, Artemis Alexiadou, Jannis Androutsopoulos, Alexis Kalokairinos, Stavros Skopeteas, Katerina Stathi (Eds.)

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Στη μνήμη του Gaberell Drachman (†10.9.2014)
και της Αγγελικής Μαλικούτη-Drachman (†4.5.2015)
για την τεράστια προσφορά τους στην ελληνική γλωσσολογία
και την αγάπη τους για την ελληνική γλώσσα

ΣΗΜΕΙΩΜΑ ΕΚΔΟΤΩΝ

Το 12ο Διεθνές Συνέδριο Ελληνικής Γλωσσολογίας (International Conference on Greek Linguistics/ICGL12) πραγματοποιήθηκε στο Κέντρο Νέου Ελληνισμού του Ελεύθερου Πανεπιστημίου του Βερολίνου (Centrum Modernes Griechenland, Freie Universität Berlin) στις 16-19 Σεπτεμβρίου 2015 με τη συμμετοχή περίπου τετρακοσίων συνέδρων απ᾽ όλον τον κόσμο.

Την Επιστημονική Επιτροπή του ICGL12 στελέχωσαν οι Θανάσης Γεωργακόπουλος, Θεοδοσία-Σούλα Παυλίδου, Μίλτος Πεχλιβάνος, Άρτεμις Αλεξιάδου, Δώρα Αλεξοπούλου, Γιάννης Ανδρουτσόπουλος, Αμαλία Αρβανίτη, Σταύρος Ασημακόπουλος, Αλεξάνδρα Γεωργακοπούλου, Κλεάνθης Γκρώμαν, Σαβίνα Ιατρίδου, Mark Janse, Brian Joseph, Αλέξης Καλοκαιρινός, Ναπολέων Κάτσος, Ευαγγελία Κορδώνη, Αμαλία Μόζερ, Ελένη Μπουτουλούση, Κική Νικηφορίδου, Αγγελική Ράλλη, Άννα Ρούσσου, Αθηνά Σιούπη, Σταύρος Σκοπετέας, Κατερίνα Στάθη, Μελίτα Σταύρου, Αρχόντω Τερζή, Νίνα Τοπιντζή, Ιάνθη Τσιμπλή και Σταυρούλα Τσιπλάκου.

Την Οργανωτική Επιτροπή του ICGL12 στελέχωσαν οι Θανάσης Γεωργακόπουλος, Αλέξης Καλοκαιρινός, Κώστας Κοσμάς, Θεοδοσία-Σούλα Παυλίδου και Μίλτος Πεχλιβάνος.

Οι δύο τόμοι των πρακτικών του συνεδρίου είναι προϊόν της εργασίας της Εκδοτικής Επιτροπής στην οποία συμμετείχαν οι Θανάσης Γεωργακόπουλος, Θεοδοσία-Σούλα Παυλίδου, Μίλτος Πεχλιβάνος, Άρτεμις Αλεξιάδου, Γιάννης Ανδρουτσόπουλος, Αλέξης Καλοκαιρινός, Σταύρος Σκοπετέας και Κατερίνα Στάθη.

Παρότι στο συνέδριο οι ανακοινώσεις είχαν ταξινομηθεί σύμφωνα με θεματικούς άξονες, τα κείμενα των ανακοινώσεων παρατίθενται σε αλφαβητική σειρά, σύμφωνα με το λατινικό αλφάβητο· εξαίρεση αποτελούν οι εναρκτήριες ομιλίες, οι οποίες βρίσκονται στην αρχή του πρώτου τόμου.

Η Οργανωτική Επιτροπή του ICGL12

ΠΕΡΙΕΧΟΜΕΝΑ

BILECTALISM, COMPARATIVE BILINGUALISM, AND THEGRADIENCE OF MULTILINGUALISM: A VIEW FROM CYPRUS

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Περίληψη

Πληθώρα λόγων διαφοροποιεί την πολύγλωσση γλωσσική ανάπτυξη από τη μονόγλωσση. Τρεις σημαντικοί λόγοι που έχουν πρόσφατα προσελκύσει ενδιαφέρον είναι η ηλικία κατάκτησης, ο ρόλος του γλωσσικού ερεθίσματος και η χρονολογική ακολουθία ανάπτυξης των υπό εξέταση φαινομένων στη πρώτη γλώσσα. Προτείνουμε έναν τέταρτο λόγο: τη γλωσσική εγγύτητα, δηλαδή το πόσο συγγενείς είναι οι γλώσσες του πολύγλωσσου παιδιού. Αυτό που ακολουθεί είναι μια περίληψη των Grohmann & Kambanaros (2016), στην οποία παρουσιάζουμε δεδομένα (α) από την ανάπτυξη των κλιτικών σε δύο ποικιλίες της Ελληνικής σε μονόγλωσσα, δίγλωσσα και πολύγλωσσα παιδιά (όλα και διδιαλεκτικά) και (β) σε σχέση με τις εκτελεστικές λειτουργίες σε μονόγλωσσα, διδιαλεκτικά και πολύγλωσσα παιδιά.

Keywords: acquisition, clitic placement, Cypriot Greek, dialect, executive control, linguality, socio-syntax

1. Introduction

What follows is a summary of Grohmann & Kambanaros (2016), an attempt to bring together different aspects of language development in order to make the case for 'comparative linguality'. By that we mean comparison of language abilities across popu-

lations that differ on a range of properties, such as different languages (English vs. Greek), different lingualism (mono- vs. bilingualism), different modality (spoken vs. signed), different age group (child vs. adult), different development (typical vs. impaired), different health (normal vs. pathological), different genes (regular vs. implicated), and so on. Here we present a subset of that research agenda, one that tackles the notion of *comparative bilingualism* (Grohmann 2014b). This constitutes a more focused line of research aimed at comparing different groups of bilingual speakers in order to discern what role particular language combinations may play in a child's language development. Of particular interest is the language proximity—for example, if one of the languages is a close relative if not even dialect of the other. But once one looks at the issues closer, it turns out that the picture points in the direction of a gradience of *multi*lingualism. For presentational purposes, we limit ourselves to a discussion of typical bilectal and bi-/multilingual language development.

2. Greek in Cyprus

The populations tested for this study range from monolingual children growing up in Greece to multilingual children growing up in Cyprus, with several 'shades' in between, all centered around the closeness between the language of Greece (Standard Modern Greek/SMG) and the native variety spoken in Cyprus (Cypriot Greek/CG).

Calling CG a dialect as opposed to treating it as a different language from SMG is largely a political question; the proximity between the two is very high, and obviously so: The two modern varieties largely share a common lexicon, sound structure, morphological rule system, and syntactic grammar. But they also differ at all levels of linguistic analysis. To briefly illustrate, there are lexical differences, as expected in any pair of closely related varieties, such as the CG feminine-marked *korua* instead of SMG neuter *koritzi* 'girl'. Phonetically, CG possesses palato-alveolar consonants, in contrast to SMG, so [cɛˈɾɔs] becomes CG [tʃɛˈɾɔs] for *keros* 'weather'. The two varieties use a different morpheme to mark 3rd person plural in present and past tenses, such as CG *pezusin* and *pezasin* instead of SMG *pezun* 'they play' and *pezan* 'they were playing'. On the syntactic level, SMG expresses focus by fronting to the clausal left periphery, while CG employs a cleft-like structure, which it also extensively uses in the formation of *wh*-questions. And there are even pragmatic differences such as in politeness strategies: For example, the extensive use of diminutives in SMG is considered exaggerated by CG speakers.

Traditionally, Greek-speaking Cyprus is characterized by diglossia between the sociolinguistic L(ow)-variety CG and the H(igh)-variety SMG (for review and references, see Rowe & Grohmann 2013). Moreover, while there is a clear basilect ('village Cypriot'), there are arguably further mesolects ranging all the way up to a widely assumed acrolect ('urban Cypriot'); Arvaniti (2010) labeled the latter Cypriot Standard Greek (CSG), a high version of CG which is closest to SMG among all lects. This CSG may be the real H-variety on the island, on the assumption that without native acquirers of SMG proper, the only Demotic Greek-like variety that could be taught in schools is a 'Cyprified Greek', possibly the ostensible yet elusive CSG. However, SMG can be widely heard and read in all kinds of media outlets, especially those coming from the Hellenic Republic of Greece. Note also that there is still no grammar of C(S)G available, no compiled list of properties, not even a term, or even existence, agreed upon; the official language is SMG.

With respect to child language acquisition, it should come as no surprise that to date no studies exist that investigate the nature, quality, and quantity of linguistic input children growing in Cyprus receive. There are simply no data available that would tell us about the proportion of basi- vs. acrolectal CG, purported CSG, and SMG in a young child's life, and whether there are differences between rural and urban upbringing or across different geographical locations. At this time, such information can only be estimated anecdotally. We adopt the notion of *(discrete) bilectalism* to characterize speakers (Rowe & Grohmann 2013) and further assume that Greek Cypriots are sequential bilectal, first acquiring CG and then SMG (or CSG), where the onset of SMG may set in with exposure to Greek television, for example (clearly within the critical period) but most prominently with formal schooling (around first grade, possibly before, where the relation to the critical period is more blurred). Due to the close relations between Cyprus and Greece (beyond language for historical, religious, political, and economic reasons), we are able to tap into two further interesting populations, all residing in Cyprus (Leivada et al. 2010): Hellenic Cypriot children, who are binational having one parent from Cyprus (Greek Cypriot) and one from Greece (Hellenic Greek), and Hellenic Greek children, with both parents hailing from Greece. Anecdotally, we could then say that binational Hellenic Cypriot children are presumably simultaneous bilectals (SMG and CG input from birth), while Hellenic Greek children are arguably the closest to monolingual Greek speakers in Cyprus (SMG-only input from birth), though with considerable exposure to the local variety (CG)—certainly, once they start formal schooling.

3. The socio-syntax of clitic placement

One of the best studied grammatical differences between the two varieties pertains to clitic placement (see Agouraki 1997 and much work since): Pronominal object clitics appear postverbally in CG indicative declarative clauses, with a number of syntactic environments triggering proclisis, while SMG is a preverbal clitic placement language in which certain syntactic environments trigger enclisis. The acquisition of object clitics is arguably a "(very) early phenomenon", as Tsimpli (2014) calls it, as clitics represent a core aspect of grammar and are fully acquired at around two years of age. Using a sentence completion task that aimed at eliciting a verb together with an object clitic in indicative declarative clauses (Varlokosta et al. 2015), we counted children's responses to 12 target structures in CG, which should consist of verb–clitic sequences (as opposed to clitic–verb in SMG).

The main pattern is consistent with the one originally reported for the pilot (Grohmann 2011), which was confirmed and extended to many more participants in subsequent work (summarized in Grohmann 2014a). It is provided in figure 1.

With very high production rates in all groups (over 92%), the pilot study showed that the 24 three- and four-year-old children behaved like the 8 adult controls: 100% enclisis in the relevant context. In contrast, the group of 10 five-year-olds showed mixed placements, split further into three consistent sub-groups (see below).

All tests with Greek Cypriot bilectal children were carried out by native speakers of CG, those administered in SMG were done so by a native SMG speaker. Testing was

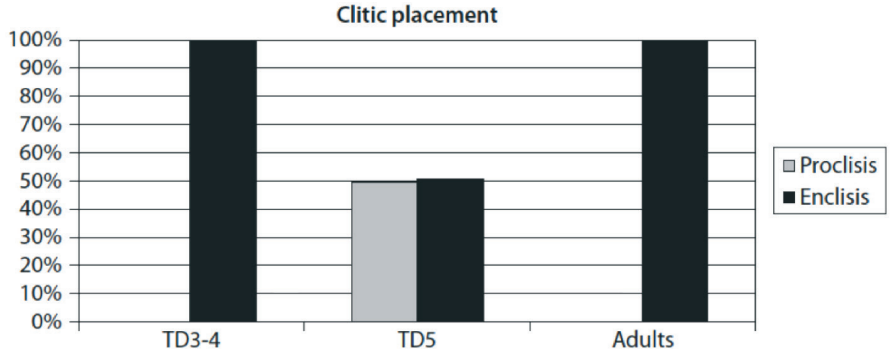

Figure 1 | *Clitic placement in clitics-in-islands task (from Grohmann 2011: 196)*

conducted in a quiet room. Since it is well known that Greek Cypriots tend to code-switch to SMG or some hyper-corrected form of 'high CG' when talking to strangers or in formal contexts, in an attempt to avoid a formal setting as much as possible, a brief conversation about a familiar topic took place before the testing.

Our many different studies with different populations and different age groups but the same tool show the following. First, the production rate of clitics in this task is very high from an early age on, safely around the 90% mark from the tested age of 2;8 onwards (lowest production around 75%), over 95% at age 4;6 (lowest production around 88%), and close to ceiling for 5-year-olds and beyond. The sub-group of 117 children reported below performed as shown in table 1 (from Grohmann 2014a: 17):

Age range (Number)	Overall clitic production	Target postverbal clitic placement
2;8–3;11 (N=26)	89.4%	89.2%
4;0–4;11 (N=21)	88.5%	88.0%
5;0–5;11 (N=50)	94.3%	68.0%
6;0–6;11 (N=20)	87.3%	47.0%
adult controls (N=8)	100%	100%

Table 1 | Clitic production (adapted from Grohmann et al. 2012)

This said, Leivada et al. (2010) found considerably higher productions for the younger Hellenic Greek and Hellenic Cypriot children tested compared to their Greek Cypriot peers. However, just considering the 623 bilectal children analyzed so far, we can confirm that the task was understood and elicited responses appropriate; in the widely tested age group of 5-year-olds, the production numbers are among the highest of all languages tested (Varlokosta et al. 2015), which means reliable data points for all 12 target structures; statistical analysis confirms that there were neither item nor test effects, that is, the productions for the 'long' (reported here) and 'short' version of the clitics tool (not reported here) are fully comparable (Grohmann 2014a).

Second, and most importantly, the analysis of the 431 datasets of the bilectal children presented by Grohmann et al. (under review) are consistent with the findings of the much smaller pilot study. In other words, figure 1 can be used as a general indicator: Up to around age 4, children reliably produce enclisis in this task at just shy of 90%, as

expected (and confirmed by adult speakers), while we find considerable variation in clitic placement in the 5- to 7-year-olds.

To illustrate with the subset of 117 children again, when their non-target preverbal clitic placement productions were plotted according to chronological age, the resulting curve looks as in figure 2 (from Grohmann & Leivada 2011), where the x-axis indicates participants according to their chronological age and the y-axis non-target preverbal clitic placement in the participants' responses (percentage):

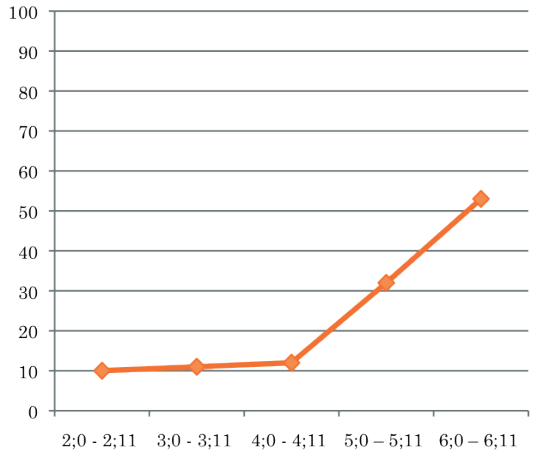

Figure 2 | *Non-target preverbal clitic placement (by chronological age)*

However, what we can observe are apparent inconsistencies in terms of clitic placement, in particular by comparing younger with older children according to their schooling level. While for nursery children (mean age 3;3), target postverbal clitic placement lies at 93%, it decreases systematically for each additional year of formal schooling: kindergarten (4;3) at 82%, pre-school (5;5) at 73%, and first-grade (6;7) at 47%—from grade 2 onwards, the rates quickly shoot up towards 100% again (Grohmann 2014a). This analysis is extended in Grohmann et al. (under review). But using the same sub-group of 117 children again, compare figure 2 above with figure 3 (from Grohmann & Leivada 2011), where the x-axis indicates participants according to their chronological age and the y-axis non-target preverbal clitic placement in the participants' responses (percentage):

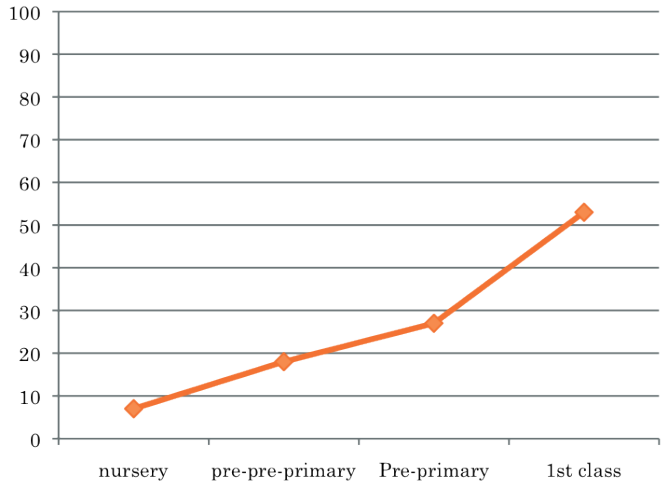

Figure 3 | *Non-target preverbal clitic placement (by schooling level)*

The most striking result is that, while at the youngest ages, prior to formal schooling, the CG-target enclisis is produced predominantly, if not exclusively, once Greek Cypriot children start getting instructed in the standard language (SMG or some equivalent like CSG), their non-target productions of proclisis rise dramatically —all the way to second grade (analysis provided in Grohmann et al., under review).

We suggest that these findings are best captured by the *Socio-Syntax of Development Hypothesis* (Grohmann 2011), namely that an explicit 'schooling factor' is involved in the development of the children's grammar. Note that this grammatical development takes place past the critical period and does so possibly in combination with 'competing motivations' (Grohmann & Leivada 2011; Leivada & Grohmann, 2017). These arguably stem from the (at least) two grammars in the bilectal child's linguistic development that compete with each other. In other words, the Socio-Syntax of Development Hypothesis can be seen as the specific trigger for competing grammars of CG and SMG (and possibly CSG) in the development of clitic placement by young children speaking CG.

4. A bilectal cognitive advantage?

We will now turn to a first study on the purported bilingual status of Greek Cypriot bilectal children and its relevance for a more gradient, comparative bilingualism. The results from a range of executive control tasks administered to monolingual SMG-speaking children (in Greece) as well as CG–SMG bilectal and Greek–English bi- or multilingual children (in Cyprus) suggest that bilectal children behave more like their multilingual rather than their monolingual peers (Antoniou et al. 2014)—that is, on a scale in between. A refined statistical analysis and additional discussion of this study can be found in Antoniou et al. (2016).

The suggestion that bilingualism bears an impact on children's linguistic and cognitive abilities is well established (e.g. Barac et al. 2014). For example, in early stages bilingual children arguably have smaller vocabularies in each of their spoken languages as a result of input deficit; on the other hand, they seem to exhibit earlier development of pragmatic abilities, presumably compensating for their lower lexical knowledge by paying more attention to contextual information. And then there is the long-standing claim that bilingualism enhances children's development of executive control (EC), the set of cognitive processes that underlie flexible and goal-directed behavior, commonly referred to as the 'cognitive advantage of bilingualism' or the 'bilingual advantage' (Bialystok 2009; Costa & Sebastián-Gallés 2014). Taking a particular influential approach to EC, among many, Miyake et al. (2000) assume a tripartite distinction into working memory, task-switching, and inhibition.

An advantage in EC may be the result of constantly having to manage two different linguistic systems. So, one aspect of continued research on the topic would be to disentangle the different sub-components of executive control and determine which aspect(s) of executive control really relates to a bilingual advantage. Regarding performance on EC in monolingual, bilectal, and bi- or multilingual children, our research question is then (Antoniou et al. 2014): What is the effect of bilectalism on children's vocabulary, pragmatic, and executive control skills?

A total of 136 children with a mean age of just above seven-and-a-half years participated in the study: 64 Greek Cypriots, bilectal in CG and SMG, aged 5–12 (mean: 7;8); 47 residents of Cyprus, multilingual in CG, SMG, and English (plus an additional language in some cases), aged 5–12 (mean: 7;8); and 25 Hellenic Greeks, monolingual speakers of SMG, aged 6–9 (mean 7;4). Family background information was obtained through questionnaires for all participants. As the multilingual children attended a

private English-medium school, their socio-economic was highest.

A range of language proficiency measures were administered for vocabulary. For pragmatic performance, six tools were used tapping into metaphors, relevance, manner implicatures, and scalar implicatures; the bilectal and multilingual children received the test in CG, 17 bilectals took the test in both CG and SMG, and the monolinguals were tested in SMG only. As for non-linguistic performance, the WASI Matrix Reasoning Test was used to assess participants' non-verbal intelligence. EC tasks administered included a wide range of batteries. For verbal working memory, the Backward Digit Span Task was employed, and for visuo-spatial working memory, an online version of the Corsi Blocks Task. Inhibition was assessed through Stop-Signal and the Simon Task, and switching through the Colour–Shape Task. (For more details and references, see Antoniou et al. 2014.)

The preliminary results from Antoniou et al. (2014) can be presented across four types of group comparisons. The first concerns background measures. The relevant subsets of the three participant groups of bilectal (n=44), multilingual (n=26), and monolingual children (n=25) were intended to be matched for age and gender; they did not statistically differ on age or gender but they did differ on socio-economic status, with the private-schooled multilingual children as a group coming from a higher socio-economic family background than the monolingual ones, and the bilectals from the lowest. The three groups also differed on non-verbal IQ, with the multilingual children higher than the two other groups, which did not differ significantly. The much improved statistical analysis presented in Antoniou et al. (2016) leveled out all differences.

Comparing the three participant groups' performance on vocabulary measures, the multilingual children had a significantly lower vocabulary score than the bilectals, who in turn had a significantly lower vocabulary than the monolinguals. While it was expected that the monolingual children would outperform the multilinguals, the fact that the bilectals fall in between fits nicely with our hypothesis that, on a gradient scale, bilectalism lies somewhere in between mono- and multilingualism.

The third group comparison concerns performance in the pragmatic tasks. There were no significant differences between the three groups across all pragmatics tasks, suggesting that even those children who exhibit some sort of lower language (multilinguals, perhaps bilectals) still show comparable pragmatic performance at the same age. With an eye on the Greek Cypriot bilectal children, this again suggests that they pattern somewhere in between; given the lower vocabulary scores compared to their monolingual peers from Greece, they perform the same in the pragmatic tasks.

Lastly, and for the purposes of our research question most importantly, the child participants' performance on the EC tasks showed a positive correlation of all three global EC scores with IQ. ANCOVAs revealed a significant effect for overall EC: a significant multilingual advantage over monolinguals, with a trend for a bilectal advantage. We illustrate this finding here with switch cost: Bilectals performed better than monolinguals in the congruent switch trials, with no other significant comparisons ($F(2, 87)=4.081$, $p<.05$); in the incongruent switch trials, bilectals also performed better than monolinguals ($F(2, 87)=5.805$, $p<.005$), with multilinguals almost better than monolinguals ($p=.108$).

Summarizing, the bilectal children performed better than the monolinguals in overall EC ability and slightly worse than multilinguals. With respect to the lack of a clear effect for switching, as opposed to vocabulary, for example, we would like to suggest that there is an interference from language proximity: The more similar the two varieties, the more difficult it is to switch—or rather, the less there is a need to switch. As noted in a different context by Runnqvist et al. (2012), this may in fact tie in with the reverse of a bilingual advantage, a 'bilingual disadvantage'. Beyond the cases they examine, it has also been suggested that the cognitive advantage only surfaces in bilingual individuals who actually switch between their languages frequently (Prior & Gollan 2011).

5. Overall discussion and future perspective

The grammar of multilingualism is a complex area of research that by definition needs to include a lot of different measurements—ideally, we believe, different tools, different sets of data, different populations, carried out by interdisciplinary research teams. For example, there is a need for sociolinguistic work, putting the languages under investigation into their social and communicative context. There is a need for thorough theoretical linguistic work, identifying the relevant structures and patterns to be investigated. There is a need for thorough psycholinguistic work, designing and carrying out the best possible experimental methodology. There is a need for thorough cognitive psychological work, probing executive control abilities. And there is a need for thorough clinical linguistic work, assessing and treating language impairment.

This list can be added to and enriched in many ways. The bottom line is that the notion of *comparative bilingualism* can be quite useful and instructive for future research

activities, especially when carried out across different countries and languages. The narrow goal of this article was thus to draw attention to this state of affairs and elaborate the research path of comparative bilingualism (Grohmann 2014b), with a focus on our research in Cyprus (Grohmann & Leivada 2012; Kambanaros et al. 2013; Rowe & Grohmann 2013; Karpava & Grohmann 2014). One such intriguing path would be the role of comparative bilingualism for children with developmental language impairment, something we pointed to as well (Kambanaros et al. 2014, 2015), even for therapy strategies (Kambanaros et al., to appear).

Putting all of this together, though, there is an even more general issue. Comparing cognitive and linguistic abilities across different populations and different groups of speakers may ask for a further 'specialized' area of research. The intention is to compare linguistic and cognitive abilities of monolingual, bidialectal, bilectal, bilingual, and multilingual speakers (comparative bilingualism, with more room for gradience, especially in combination such as Russian–Greek bilinguals in Cyprus) and different language-impaired populations (comparative biolinguistics, unearthing phenotypal variation), who themselves may be on different scales in the gradient spectrum of multilingualism. That is, among the future research participants, there will be vast variation and combinations of 'lingual' features, ranging from mono- to multilingualism, from simultaneous to sequential acquisition, from local to heritage language status, from typical development to impairment, from healthy to disorders of various degrees—simply (Grohmann & Kambanaros 2016): *comparative linguality*.

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