Deictic motion verbs in Greek as a Foreign Language by Spanish and Catalan L1 learners: A preliminary approach

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ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Η παρούσα μελέτη εξετάζει την έκφραση της δείξης στα ισπανικά, καταλανικά και ελληνικά. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, στόχοι της είναι: α) να περιγράψει και να παρουσιάσει συγκριτικά τις διαφορές ανάμεσα στη χρήση των δεικτικών ρημάτων κίνησης *πάω* και *έρχομαι* στις τρεις αυτές γλώσσες, β) να μελετήσει τη χρήση και την κατάκτηση αυτών των ρημάτων στην ελληνική ως ξένη γλώσσα (Γ2) από μαθητές με πρώτη γλώσσα (Γ1) τα ισπανικά ή/και τα καταλανικά. Ειδικότερα, επιθυμεί να εξετάσει κατά πόσον οι συγκεκριμένες διαφορές στη χρήση των δεικτικών ρημάτων θα οδηγήσουν σε περιπτώσεις διαγλωσσικής επίδρασης. Τα ελληνικά και τα καταλανικά επιτρέπουν τη χρήση και των δύο συνομιλητών ως δεικτικών κέντρων, ενώ τα ισπανικά επιτρέπουν μόνο τη χρήση του ομιλητή ως δεικτικού κέντρου. Τα αποτελέσματα τόσο της ποιοτικής όσο και της ποσοτικής ανάλυσης έδειξαν ότι οι συγκεκριμένες διαφορές ανάμεσα στη Γ1 και στη γλώσσα-στόχο μπορούν όντως να αποτελέσουν πηγή διαγλωσσικής επίδρασης, καθώς παρατηρήθηκε ότι οι μαθητές ελληνικών συνήθιζαν να μεταφέρουν τη δομή της Γ1 τους στη Γ2. Το ίδιο αποτέλεσμα αφορούσε και τους δίγλωσσους μαθητές καταλανικών-ισπανικών, παρά το γεγονός ότι τα καταλανικά εκφράζουν τη δείξη με τον ίδιο τρόπο όπως τα ελληνικά. Τα ευρήματα της έρευνας ερμηνεύονται υπό το πρίσμα της θεωρίας «σκέπτεσθαι με σκοπό το ομιλείν» (thinking-for-speaking hypothesis).

KEYWORDS: cross-linguistic influence, deixis, Greek as a foreign language, motion verbs, second/foreign language acquisition

1. Introduction[*]

Several studies have explored the way motion events are expressed in typologically different languages, taking cognitive linguistics as a point of departure (Talmy 1991, 2000). Talmy (1991, 2000) argues that languages present different lexicalization patterns in the way they encode MOTION. He also suggests two typological groups into which languages can be classified, depending on how they encode the semantic component of Path. As an area of research, the analysis of motion events within Talmy's approach has attracted significant attention from scholars. A subcomponent of MOTION whose encoding patterns have been found to present differences is deixis, that is motion toward or away from the speaker (Choi & Bowerman 1992, Matsumoto 1996). These differences appear even among typologically close languages (Filipović 2007, Hijazo-Gascón & Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2013, Hijazo-Gascón 2017). Despite its relevance, the exploration of deixis has received less attention than other semantic components of the cognitive domain of MOTION.

Stemming from Talmy's typological classification of languages, Slobin (1991, 1996a, 1996b, 1997, 2004, 2006) proposes the "thinking-for-speaking hypothesis". According to this, the systematic differences that speakers of different languages present in the expression of MOTION reflect different thinking-for-speaking patterns. Slobin states that each language "trains" its speakers to pay attention to specific details of an event when they talk, and to make choices while they speak according to specific lexicalization patterns that they have acquired as speakers of a particular language. These patterns, which have been acquired in childhood, are "exceptionally resistant in restructuring in ALA [adult language acquisition]" (1993: 245). Recently, several scholars have discussed the relevance of this hypothesis for Second Language Acquisition (SLA), suggesting that learning a new language implies learning a new way

of thinking-for-speaking (Cadierno 2004) or a "re-thinking-for-speaking" (Robinson & Ellis 2008). Given Slobin's claims about the resistant nature of first language (L1) thinking-for-speaking patterns, the interest for SLA research is centred on whether a second/foreign language (L2) learner can reconstruct them when acquiring the new target language.

The purpose of the present study is, firstly, to explore the use of the deictic motion verbs GO and COME in an under-researched combination of languages, namely Spanish (*ir/venir*), Catalan (*anar/venir*) and Greek (*πάω* /pao/, *έρχομαι* /erxome/). Secondly, it aims at offering a first empirical exploration on the use/acquisition of the Greek deictic motion verbs *πάω* /pao/ and *έρχομαι* /erxome/ by Spanish and Catalan L1 learners. Greek and Catalan allow both interlocutors as a deictic centre, whereas Spanish allows only the speaker to play this role (Gathercole 1977, Hijazo-Gascón 2017). It is our aim, therefore, to explore whether the present L1 deictic pattern will be a potential source of cross-linguistic influence (Jarvis & Pavlenko 2008) for L2 learners of Greek. The main hypothesis is that negative transfer will occur for learners whose L1 has a different deictic pattern (L1 Spanish monolinguals) and positive transfer will occur for bilingual learners whose dominant L1 shares the same pattern (L1 Catalan). The following section offers a theoretical overview of the concept of deixis, while section 3 discusses the acquisition of deictic motion verbs in an L2.

2. Theoretical framework
2.1. Deixis
The concept of deixis in linguistics refers to the relation between language and its context. There are certain linguistic elements whose full meaning is context-dependent (see e.g. Fillmore 1977 for a detailed definition of deixis). For example, if someone finds a post-it next to her office door with the text *Meet you there later,* a full decoding of the message can only be achieved when we know about the complete context of the communicative situation. So, if it is 12:30 when the addressee reads this note and she normally goes for lunch at 13:00 with one of her colleagues, the most probable inference is that *later* refers to 13:00 and that *there* refers to the cafeteria at university, assuming that the author of the note is her colleague. The linguistic expressions that vary their interpretation depending on the context (e.g. *there*, *later*) are called *deictic expressions* (Huang 2006) and belong to different linguistic categories, such as adverbs of time and space (*there/here*), first and second personal pronouns (*we/you*), demonstratives (*this/that*) and motion verbs (*come/go*).

The way in which deictic motion is expressed across languages varies. Huang (2006) considers that the main directional deictic linguistic elements are either deictic affixes or deictic verbs. In the first group we find deictic prefixes such as German particles *hin-* "hither" and *her-* "thither" (Goschler & Stefanowitsch 2010, Liste-Lamas 2015) or prefixes such as Serbian *od-* "from the speaker" and *do-* "to the speaker" (Filipović 2007). In the case of deictic verbs, some languages present a distinction between verbs encoding motion toward the deictic centre, such as English *come*, Spanish *venir* and Greek *έρχομαι* /erxome/. The deictic centre is the person who is at the goal of motion at the time of the utterance. This concept is in relation with the traditional notion of *origo* (Bühler 1934, see also Levinson 1996). Fillmore (1977), in a classical study on English *come* and *go*, claims that these verbs are defined by the fact that its interpretation depends on the spatial and temporal location of speech act participants. He also notes some specifications, e.g. the home-based situations, in which motion is not towards the deictic centre, but towards a place that is deeply identified with the deictic centre, mainly home or place of work. This allows us to say *I will come*

to the shop next week to our addressee, if the shop is run by her or is her current workplace.

Although some authors have considered COME and GO as semantic universals (Miller & Johnson-Laird 1976), other scholars have argued for a language-specific analysis of deictic verbs before generalising (Fillmore 1983, Goddard 1997). Indeed, several studies have pointed out differences between languages in their use of deictic verbs. Gathercole (1977, 1978) shows how the deictic centre varies across languages, which impacts on the use of *come* and *go* equivalents. According to this author, there are two types of deixis, namely immediate and extended deixis. In the case of immediate deixis, the focus is on cases in which the deictic centre is at the goal of motion at the time of the utterance. The different options are: (i) that the language can use *come* for motion towards both the addressee and the speaker (e.g. English, Catalan, Greek); (ii) that the language can use *come* only for motion towards the speaker (e.g. Spanish, Japanese, Chinese); and (iii) that the language does not have presuppositional content (e.g. Indonesian).

Gathercole defines extended deixis as situations in which the deictic centre is not at the goal of motion at the time of the utterance. This would be the case of the above-mentioned home-based situations, even in languages that only allow the speaker as the deictic centre. An example in Spanish would be *¿Viene María a la fiesta esta noche?* "Does María come to the party tonight?" In this case, even if the speaker is not at the goal of motion (the party), the use of *venir* "come (only towards the speaker)" implies his or her presence at the party, due to identification with the place. Gathercole also mentions the possibility of using *venir* in Spanish in cases of accompaniment. In those cases, both *venir* and *ir* are acceptable, but *venir* would imply a greater degree of intimacy with the speaker. For example, in *¿Quieres ir/venir a una fiesta conmigo?* "Do you want to go/come to a party with me" the use of *venir* would imply closeness to the speaker.

Greek presents some differences in this regard, Antonopoulou & Nikiforidou (2002) and Bella (2001) claim that in Greek *έρχομαι* /erxome/ necessarily implies the presence of one of them: in *Θα πας στο πάρτυ;* /θa pas sto parti/ "Are you going to the party?" the implication is that the speaker will not be there, whereas in *Θα έρθεις στο πάρτυ;* /θa erθis sto parti/ "Are you coming to the party?" it is implied that the speaker will be there for sure. In addition to this, in concomitative utterances, i.e. utterances where the speaker is accompanied by the addressee, *έρχομαι* /erxome/ is the only possibility in Greek. Therefore, it is not possible to make implicit the physical presence of the speaker and the addressee, but this needs to be explicit.

Catalan, in spite of being typologically very close to Spanish, does not share the same deictic pattern in relation to the use of the deictic motion verbs under analysis. On the contrary, it is closer to the Greek deictic pattern, as in *Vens a la festa?* "Are you coming to the party?" or *Vinc amb tu* "I am coming with you", similar to Greek *Έρχομαι μαζί σου* /erxome mazi su/ "I am coming with you".

Debate on the notion of deixis also involves the semantic typology of motion events by Talmy (1991, 2000), who classifies languages according to the encoding of the component of Path, i.e. the trajectory of the movement. If Path tends to be encoded in the main verb of the event, as in Spanish, the language would be a verb-framed language. For example, *salir* "go out, exit" in *María sale de casa* "María exits from the house". If Path tends to be encoded outside the main verb of the event, then it is a satellite-framed language, as *out* in English "María went out of the house". Talmy establishes that deixis is one of the subcomponents of Path, along with Vector and Conformation. However, other authors working in this framework have claimed a

special status for deixis, as a separate semantic component at the same level of Path, Manner or Cause. Choi & Bowerman (1992: 86) place deixis at the same level as other semantic components such as Manner and Cause. They consider that deixis often patterns differently from other kinds of Paths in the way it is lexicalized. Thus, in Korean, the main verb is usually *kata* "go" or *ota* "come", conflating motion with deixis, and deictic verbs can be preceded by a Manner and a Path verb.

Matsumoto (1996, 2013) has also studied deixis in languages like Japanese. As in Korean, German or Jacaltek, Japanese has a specific slot for deixis independent of Path. Matsumoto et al. (2017) disagree with Talmy's (2000) consideration of deixis as a subcomponent of Path and argue for the establishment of deixis as an independent semantic component. Their reasons are that deixis has its own morpho-syntactic slots in a number of languages, which is different from non-deictic Path information, and that deictic verbs exist independently of the richness of path verbs in a given language (e.g. English and German). This is an ongoing debate in the literature on motion events. The aim of this paper is to contribute to our knowledge of how deictic motion verbs work. Even though neither Greek nor Spanish and Catalan have a specific morpho-syntactic slot, they present interesting cross-linguistic differences in these areas that are also of interest from the perspective of SLA.

2.2. Deictic motion verbs in SLA

As previously mentioned, Talmy's (1991) typology has been used as a framework to test Slobin's (1991, 1996a, 1996b, 2000) thinking-for-speaking hypothesis. According to Slobin, this is the thinking that is produced at the time of speaking, which differs according to the linguistic resources available in each language. For example, English speakers have more resources available to express Manner of motion than Spanish speakers (Slobin 1996a, 1996b, 2004, 2006). This is due to a higher lexicon of Manner of motion verbs (e.g. *trudge*, *dash*, *prance*, *stagger* etc.) and the possibility of encoding Manner in the main slot of the motion event, whereas this is less frequent in Spanish, where the verb tends to encode Path. According to the thinking-for-speaking hypothesis, English speakers will tend to give more Manner information and therefore to pay more attention to Manner information, because Manner is more readily encodable in this language. Spanish speakers will tend to express Manner only when it is cognitively salient. They also tend to give less finer-grained distinctions of Manner, using general verbs such as *jump*, *run*, *fly* etc. There is a vast literature on this area, giving evidence on how speakers of different languages differ in the encoding of motion events depending on these typological differences (see the classical papers in the edited volumes by Berman & Slobin 1994 and Strömqvist & Verhoeven 2004 and Filipović & Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2015 for an overview). These differences in the rhetorical style of how events are narrated are not only linked to cognitive abilities such as categorisation and attention, but also to memory. For example, and following the same domain, Filipović (2010, 2011) shows how speakers of Spanish were worse at remembering Manner of motion information than English speakers.

But what happens when we learn another language? Can we shift our thinking-for-speaking patterns? According to Slobin (1996a, 1996b), these are very resistant to change when learning an L2. Some authors have considered this possibility as a different thinking-for-speaking in the L2 (Cadierno 2004) or a re-thinking-for-speaking (Robinson & Ellis 2008). Different studies have tried to unravel whether this re-thinking is possible or not (see e.g. the studies in Han & Cadierno 2010). Although there are some mixed results in the literature, it seems that thinking for speaking is not easy to restructure and that the influence of the first language is pervasive. In fact, MOTION has

been identified as one of the prone domains for cross-linguistic influence at a conceptual level (Jarvis & Pavlenko 2008). Cross-linguistic influence, also known as transfer, as the influence from one language into another in the acquisition process is indeed one of the main areas of study in SLA (Odlin 1989, Kellerman 1995, Yu & Odlin 2015, Alonso-Alonso 2016). The influence of the first language onto the second has been widely studied on the acquisition of motion events in general (see Cadierno 2017 for an overview). However, these studies have focused on other semantic components of MOTION such as Manner, Path and Cause.

The attention to how deictic motion verbs are acquired in an L2 has received less attention, although there are some previous studies in this field, looking at different language combinations. For example, Lewandowski (2014) focuses on the acquisition of Spanish deictic motion verbs by L1 Polish speakers and identifies inaccuracies in the interpretation of the meaning of these verbs. His study shows that learners are not aware of the restrictive meaning of *venir* in Spanish that only allows the interpretation towards the speaker. His participants accepted non-idiomatic uses of *venir* that are possible in their first language Polish.

Liste-Lamas (2015) focuses on the acquisition of German deictic particles *hin-* "hither" and *her-* "thither" by Spanish learners. In this case, the challenge for the learners involves the use of a different construction, encoding the deictic information in a particle instead of doing it in the main verb. Yoshinari (2015) identifies difficulties in the learning of deictic motion verbs in Japanese as an L2 by speakers whose first languages were English and Chinese. Hijazo-Gascón (2017) focuses on the acquisition of Spanish deictic verbs by German, French and Italian learners. In this case, he finds difficulties not only for the German speakers, but also for French and Italian speakers whose languages belong to the same typological group and genetic family as Spanish. These difficulties involved the avoidance of using deictic motion verbs or their use making reference to motion towards the addressee, which is acceptable in all these three L1s but not in Spanish.

In the current study, we present original research involving Greek, Spanish and Catalan, a language combination that to our knowledge has not received the attention of researchers and that can contribute to a better understanding of deixis and how it can be a source of cross-linguistic influence in the process of acquiring an L2. The aim of the present study is to shed some light on the acquisition of the deictic motion verbs *πάω* /pao/ and *έρχομαι* /erxome/ by Spanish and Catalan and L1 learners. More specifically, the research questions that guide our study are the following:

a) Are L1 Spanish speakers able to adapt the deictic lexicalization patterns to L2 Greek?

b) Are early Catalan/Spanish bilinguals able to adapt the deictic lexicalization patterns to L2 Greek?

We hypothesize that negative transfer will occur for Spanish L1 learners, since their L1 has a different deictic pattern (L1 Spanish) and positive transfer will occur for Catalan/Spanish bilinguals, given that Catalan shares the same deictic pattern (L1 Catalan) with the target language. The influence of Spanish cannot be ruled out among Spanish-Catalan bilingual learners of Greek, as all of them are early bilinguals in both languages. However, we hypothesize that speaking a language that shares the deictic lexicalization pattern of the L2 will give them an advantage over the learners who only speak Spanish. In this sense, our study is coherent with Cook's (1992) concept of *multi-competence* as the knowledge of more than one language in one mind. This concept implies that all the languages that one person speaks are interrelated and form a system (Cook 2016). The fact that we compare different types of learners is coherent with

current trends on second language acquisition, as part of the so-called bi-/multilingual turn in SLA (Ortega 2010, 2013). This includes the comparisons of different types of learners to understand the processes behind multilingualism. Our analysis includes native speakers of Greek and two different types of learners: early monolinguals (L1 Spanish) and early bilinguals (Catalan and Spanish-), which enrich the study as it allows us to compare different profiles of learners to explore whether the knowledge of an additional language that shares the deictic pattern with the target language is an advantage in the acquisition of Greek deictic motion verbs.

3. Methodology
3.1. Participants
The participants of the present study belong to two categories: a) learners of Greek as an L2, and 2) native speakers (see Table 1). More specifically, the former consist of L2 learners of Greek whose L1 was either Spanish (N=6) or were Catalan/Spanish bilinguals (N=6). Bilingual participants are dominant in Catalan, according to their biographical data. They are studying Modern Greek as an L2 in a formal language context, at a language school in Barcelona, Spain. Their level of L2 proficiency is B2 according to the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (CEFR, Council of Europe, 2001). A control group of native speakers of the three languages analyzed in the study (i.e. Spanish, Catalan and Greek) has also been included, in order to have a native baseline with which to compare L2 learners' production. The number of native speakers per group is 6 (total N=18). In this paper we mainly focus on data provided by L2 learners of Greek, whose answers are compared with those provided by the Greek native speakers.

Table 1. Number of participants per group

Greek L2 learners		Native Speakers	
Spanish L1	6	Spanish	6
Catalan/Spanish bilinguals	6	Catalan	6
		Greek	6

3.2. Instruments
The instruments were, firstly, four videos, originally designed by Hijazo-Gascón (2017). Each of the videos shows two people in different scenarios, with one of them moving towards the other. Each participant was presented individually with these four short videos (each one had a duration of approximately 1 minute) and was asked to describe them from the perspective of one of the protagonists of the video. There were two different versions of the instructions (the participant had to take the perspective of different characters in different situations). The videos were designed to encourage the use of motion verbs. This type of description task was used to examine whether the same motion event would be described in a different way by Greek native speakers and by native and non-native speakers (von Stutterheim 2003), in this case by Greek native speakers and by Spanish and Catalan L1 learners of Greek. The use of picture description tasks has been a valuable tool in the investigation of cross-linguistic and cross-cultural influences on L2 acquisition and use (Sánchez & Jarvis 2008), because the same visual stimuli can be described in different ways by speakers of different L1 backgrounds, enabling the exploration of cross-linguistic influence effects (Berman & Slobin 1994). Here, only results of the versions in which the speaker moves towards the addressee are presented.

To complement the experiment, a cloze test activity has also been included (see Appendix). The test contained gaps that had to be filled with motion verbs. The Greek

version of this test has been adapted from Hijazo-Gascón (2017). Only the results concerning the gaps in situations where the speaker moves towards the addressee have been considered here. The test complements the free task of video description and minimizes cases of participants avoiding the use of deictic verbs.

In addition to the above-mentioned instruments, a questionnaire was also administered to the participants to elicit biographical data and the linguistic background of participants.

3.3. Procedure

Data collection was carried out individually with each participant. First, participants had to watch each video and, immediately afterwards, describe it in their L2 (Greek) and in their L1 (Spanish or Catalan). In order to counterbalance the task, the order of the oral descriptions changed (i.e. some participants described the videos first in their L2 and then in their L1, whereas others did it in the opposite way). The reason to include L1 data was twofold:

a) in order to be sure that the participants had understood the task and produced the target structure (i.e. they noticed the target action). Thus, cases where participants had written the target form in their L1, but had omitted it or used something different in the L2 could be considered cases of avoidance (Selinker 1972, 1992).

b) in order to compare the participants' answers in their L1 and L2 and explore the difference in the expression of deixis.

This paper focuses on L2 Greek data. After completing the video description task, participants had to complete the cloze test. At the end, they completed the questionnaire.

After data collection, the video description tasks were transcribed and analyzed qualitatively. Regarding the cloze test, the participants were given a global score up to 8, which corresponds to the items including the target deictic motion verbs. The data of this test were analyzed both qualitatively and quantitatively. For the statistical analyses, the Statistical Package of Social Sciences was used (SPSS 15). In order to explore the differences in the linguistic patterns between the native speakers of Greek and the learners of Greek as an L2 a Mann-Whitney *U* test was performed. The dependent variable was the score in the cloze test and the independent variable was the L1 (Greek vs. Spanish/Catalan). Furthermore, another Mann-Whitney *U* test was run in order to explore the differences between Spanish L1 learners and Spanish/Catalan bilinguals. Again, the dependent variable was the score in the cloze test and the independent variable was the L1 (Spanish vs. Catalan). Non-parametric tests were considered more appropriate due to the small size.

4. Results

The results presented here, albeit being preliminary, allow us to observe some tendencies in the acquisition of Greek as an L2 by Spanish and Catalan L1 learners. Firstly, the findings of the qualitative analyses will be presented, followed by the quantitative results. We remind the reader that the focus is on situations in which the speaker moves towards the addressee, given that this is the situation where the Spanish contrasts with Greek and Catalan. In Spanish, andative (GO) verbs are used in this context whereas in Catalan and Greek, the tendency is to use venitive (COME) verbs instead.

While analyzing the video stimuli, it was observed that there were some cases in which the participants were able to provide the correct deictic verb in Greek, as is illustrated in the following example:

(1) Χθες βράδυ ήμουν σπίτι σε πήρα τηλέφωνο και είπαμε να *έχουμε ραντεβού μαζί στο σπίτι σου, *ήρθα* με ένα μπουκάλι κρασί και περάσαμε ωραία στο *στο σπίτι σου.
"Last night I was at home, I called you and we said to have a date at your place. I *came* with a bottle of wine and we had a great time at your home."
(Participant #7 Video 1a, Catalan/Spanish bilingual)

In this example, the participant made a correct use of the verb *έρχομαι* /erxome/ in Greek; in other words, he used venitive instead of the andative, which is what one of his L1 (Spanish) required for this case. At the same time, this could be a case of positive cross-linguistic influence from his other L1, namely Catalan.

Nevertheless, examples like (1) are quite marginal in our data. In most cases both Spanish L1 learners and Catalan/Spanish bilinguals used andative verbs (/pao/) instead of venitives (/erxome/), which is what Greek language requires in this context. Some examples of this tendency are presented below:

(2) Χθες σε πήρα τηλέφωνο και μιλήσαμε λιγάκι και κανονίσαμε να βρεθούμε στο σπίτι σου οπότε *χτενίχτηκα λιγάκι, κοιτάχτηκα στον καθρέφτη και όταν ήμουν έτοιμος έφυγα από το σπίτι μου και *πήγα στο σπίτι σου* και σου έφερα ένα μπουκάλι κρασί.
"Last night I called you and we talked a little bit and then we agreed to meet at your house. So I brushed my hair, I looked myself at the mirror and when I was ready I left my house and *I went to your home* and I also brought you a bottle of wine'
(Participant #1 Video 1a, Spanish L1)

(3) Όλγα μου δεν ξέρω πώς δεν *θυμάσεις αυτό που κάναμε χθες. Εγώ *σε τηλεφώνησα στο βράδυ στις 8 και σου είπα, σου είπε συγγνώμη, Όλγα μου *πάω στο σπίτι του*, στο σπίτι σου και *κάνουμε φαγητό και εγώ σας *φέρω ένα κρασί πάρα πολύ ωραίο από το σουπερμάρκετ κάτω στο σπίτι μου και εσύ μου είπες ναι και *εγώ πήγα στο σπίτι σου* και φάγαμε.
"Olga dear, I don't know how you don't remember what we did yesterday. I called in the evening, around 8 and I told you, he told you sorry, Olga dear I will go to his home, your home and we *do dinner and I bring you a very good wine from the supermarket under my house and you said to me yes and *I went to your place* and we ate.
(Participant #2 Video 1a, Spanish L1)

(4) Βρε Κριστίνα τι έγινε; Δε θυμάσαι ότι *μου πήρες τηλέφωνο για να πάμε μαζί να αγοράσουμε τα εισιτήρια για τη συναυλία; Εγώ σε...εγώ *πήγα μαζί σου* να τα αγοράσουμε και τώρα δε θυμάσαι;
"But, Cristina, what happened? You don't remember that you called me in order to go together and buy the tickets for the concert? I… *I went with you* to buy them and now you don't remember?"
(Participant #4 Video 3a, Spanish L1)

(5) Όλγα χθες στο βράδυ σε πήρα τηλέφωνο για να κάνουμε τραπέζι στο σπίτι του, σου, και εγώ πήρα ένα μπουκάλι κρασί και *πήγα στο σπίτι της*, *στο σπίτι σου* και *πίναμε πάρα πολύ.
"Olga, last night I called you in order to make a table (to eat) at her house, at your house, and I took a bottle of wine and I went to her house, to your house and we were drinking a lot."
(Participant #6 Video 1a, Catalan/Spanish bilingual)

What can be observed from the examples above is that learners of Greek, despite their B2 level, still make an erroneous use of the L2 pattern. Spanish speakers appear to still use their L1 pattern, that is the GO verb (/pao/) instead of the expected COME verb in Greek (/erxome/). Moreover, it was hypothesized that Catalan/Spanish bilinguals will encounter fewer difficulties in this aspect, since Catalan follows the same deictic pattern as Greek. This hypothesis was not confirmed in our data, since these learners have also been found to use more andative verbs than venitives. This finding will be further expanded in the discussion section.

As far as the cloze test is concerned, the results obtained follow the same pattern as the video stimuli results. Both Spanish speakers and Catalan/Spanish bilinguals tended to use andative verbs, instead of venitives. Some examples of cross-linguistic influence found in the cloze test are presented below:

> (6) Ναι, κι εγώ επίσης θέλω πολύ να *πάω* (α) στην Αγγλία να σε δω.
> "Yes, I'm really looking forward to *going* to the UK to see you' (cloze test *a*)
>
> (7) Ναι, εννοείται. *Θα πάω* (γ) μόλις σχολάσω από τη δουλειά.
> "Yes, of course. I will *go* after work" (cloze test *c*)
>
> (8) Λοιπόν, αν θέλεις βρισκόμαστε εμείς οι δύο πιο πριν και (εγώ) (ζ) *πάω* μαζί σου για να αγοράσουμε τα εισιτήρια.
> "Well, if you want, we can meet up before and (g) I *go* with you to buy the tickets" (cloze *g*)

It must be pointed out that all native speakers of Greek who participated in the study, completed the above-mentioned examples with the verb *έρχομαι* /erxome/ "come".

Moving to the results of the quantitative analysis of the cloze test, it was observed that they also confirmed the above-described tendencies. Table 2 provides the descriptive statistics for the group of native (NS) and non-native speakers (NNS) of Greek in the cloze test. The mean of the NS is higher than the mean of the NNS and the Mann-Whitney *U* test indicated that these differences were significant in favour of the NS group (U=.000, *Z*=-.325, *p*=.001).

Table 2. Descriptive statistics for the NS and NNS groups of Greek in the cloze test

		N	Mean	SD
Cloze test Score /8	**NS**	6	8	0.00
	NNS	12	2.55	0.84

We were also interested in exploring whether there were any significant differences between the two groups of learners with respect to the use of deictic motion verbs. Table 3 presents the descriptive statistics for each group. As can be observed, both groups obtained similar scores. The results of the Mann-Whitney *U* test also showed that there were not any significant differences between the two groups (*U*=7, *Z*=-,775, *p*=.439), suggesting that both groups performed in the same way regarding the Greek deictic verbs.

Table 3. Descriptive statistics for two groups of L2 learners of Greek in the cloze test

		N	Mean	SD
Cloze test Score /8	**Spanish L1**	6	2.25	0.50
	Catalan/ Spanish bilinguals	6	2.8	1.3

In the next section these results will be discussed in the light of previous research in the field.

5. Discussion

The research questions of the current study asked whether Spanish L1 speakers and early Catalan/Spanish bilinguals would be able to adapt deictic lexicalization patterns to Greek as a Foreign Language. The first group, namely Spanish L1 learners, was expected to encounter difficulties since their L1 pattern is different from that of the L2. These L1-L2 differences were expected to result in cases of cross-linguistic influence. Conversely, Catalan/Spanish bilinguals were expected to have an advantage in the acquisition of the L2 deictic pattern, since Catalan, the learners' dominant L1, shares the same pattern with Greek.

Our first hypothesis was confirmed: Spanish L1 learners of Greek encountered difficulties in the expression of deixis, a finding which is in line with previous studies (Liste-Lamas 2015, Yoshinari 2015, Hijazo-Gascón 2017). Despite their relatively high L2 proficiency, Spanish L1 learners still transfer their L1 lexicalization pattern and tend to use the verb "go" instead of the expected "come", which is the correct form in Greek, when they express motion towards the addressee. This could be interpreted as evidence for the thinking-for-speaking hypothesis: Spanish speakers seem to be still bound to their L1 pattern, which is very resistant to restructuring. Our findings also corroborate the idea expressed by Hijazo-Gascón (2017: 321) that spatial deixis is a potential area of cross-linguistic influence.

As for the second hypothesis, which concerned the group of early Catalan/Spanish bilinguals, it was not confirmed in our study. The results obtained in both the video description tasks and the cloze test showed that this group performed in the same way as the Spanish L1 group did. In other words, Catalan/Spanish bilinguals also encountered difficulties in the expression of deixis. There are several explanations that could account for this finding. First, the data of the current study were collected in Barcelona, a bilingual community where both languages are present in the everyday life. This means that Catalan and Spanish co-exist on an everyday basis and, therefore, influence from one language to the other can easily occur. This is a usual phenomenon when both the bilingual's languages are active (Grosjean 1989), as in bilingual communities. The use of the deictic motion verbs by Catalan L1 speakers when they speak in Spanish has been found to present differences from that of Spanish monolinguals (García Mouton 1994: 45), due to cross-linguistic influence from Catalan. More research needs to be carried out in order to shed light on the use of the deictic motion verbs by Catalan speakers.

Another factor that could explain why these L2 learners had difficulties in the use of the deictic motion verbs πάω /pao/ and έρχομαι /erxome/ could be the nature and morphology of the verbs themselves. The verb πάω /pao/ "go" is taught at an earlier stage and its morphology and conjugation presents less difficulties than the one of the verb έρχομαι /erxome/ "come", a medio-passive voice verb (in terms of morphology), a particularly challenging aspect of the Greek grammar for L2 learners. It might be the case that L2 learners do not feel that confident with the use and complicated conjugation of the medio-passive verb *erxome* and try to avoid it by using the easier verb *pao*.

6. Conclusions

The current paper offers a preliminary study of the way the deictic motion verbs "go" and "come" function in Greek, Spanish and Catalan and how they are acquired and used in Greek as an L2 by native speakers of Spanish and Catalan, an understudied language combination. Our findings have demonstrated that deixis seems to be a problematic area

for Spanish and Catalan L1 learners of Greek, as well as an area of potential cross-linguistic influence. This study adds to previous research in the area of motion events and highlights the relevance of the semantic component of deixis in the typology (Choi & Bowerman 1992, Matsumoto et al. 2017). This preliminary study is in line with previous research corroborating the thinking-for-speaking hypothesis by Slobin (1991, 1996a). It is also relevant to SLA research, particularly in the area of transfer. Our results, though limited by a small sample, point to deixis as an area of difficulty for re-thinking-for-speaking (Robinson & Ellis 2008), which is prone to cross-linguistic influence (as it is motion in general, according to Jarvis & Pavlenko 2008).

The present study could be improved with a larger sample; it would also be of interest to carry out longitudinal studies to explore the acquisition and use of the deictic motion verbs at different proficiency levels and over a period of time (Stam 2010, 2015). This would allow us to better examine the reconstruction of L1 patterns throughout the years of L2 acquisition. Another fruitful avenue for future research would be to investigate the opposite direction, i.e. Greek learners of Spanish (Andria & Hijazo-Gascón 2018) and explore whether L2 learners of Spanish will encounter similar problems in adjusting their L1 thinking for speaking patterns to the equivalent L2 ones.

Finally, the present study certainly has pedagogical implications in the teaching of Greek as an L2. Identifying possible areas of cross-linguistic influence that may cause problems to the L2 learners can help language teachers in the design of pedagogical interventions (Cadierno 2008). Furthermore, the type of instruction could also play a role for a more effective acquisition of the L2 patterns. It may be the case that a more explicit type of instruction would be more effective and would lead to better L2 outcomes (Stam 2010). Teaching cross-linguistic differences explicitly and in a comparative way may potentially help L2 learners become more aware of the non-congruent forms between the L1 and the L2 (Malt & Sloman 2003), facilitating the process of L2 acquisition.

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APPENDIX: Cloze test (adapted from Hijazo-Gascón 2017)

<u>Συμπλήρωσε κάθε φράση με το ρήμα που θεωρείς κατάλληλο:</u>

Ο Κώστας ζει στην Αγγλία και η Ελένη θα πάει να τον επισκεφτεί. Μιλάνε στο τηλέφωνο για να κανονίσουν τις τελευταίες λεπτομέρειες.

Κώστας: -Ελένη! Πόσο θέλω να σε δω!
Ελένη: -Ναι, κι εγώ επίσης θέλω πολύ να_____ (α) στην Αγγλία να σε δω.
Κώστας: -Για πες μου, τι ώρα φτάνεις;
Ελένη: -Στις έξι. _____ (β) στο αεροδρόμιο να με πάρεις;
Κώστας: -Ναι, εννοείται. _____ (γ) μόλις σχολάσω από τη δουλειά. Θα δεις τι ωραία που θα περάσουμε! Έχω σκεφτεί ένα σωρό πράγματα να κάνουμε!
Ελένη: Α, δε μου λες… Θέλεις να σου (δ) _____ τίποτα από την Ελλάδα;
Κώστας: Όχι, δεν είναι ανάγκη. Την τελευταία φορά που ήρθες μου (ε) _____ ελληνικό καφέ, που είναι αυτό που μου λείπει περισσότερο εδώ στην Αγγλία… κι ακόμα έχω αρκετό!
Ελένη: Χα χα, εντάξει λοιπόν, οπότε τα λέμε σύντομα! Φιλιά!
Κώστας: Ναι, τα λέμε σύντομα!

Η Σοφία και η Μαργαρίτα πίνουν έναν καφέ στην καφετέρια της σχολής.

Σοφία: - Είδες την ταινία που κέρδισε τόσα Όσκαρ φέτος;
Μαργαρίτα: -Όχι, όχι. Ήθελα να πάω να τη δω αλλά ποτέ δεν έχω χρόνο.
Σοφία: -Λοιπόν, κανονίσαμε να πάμε να τη δούμε το Σάββατο με τα παιδιά. Θέλεις (στ)_____ μαζί μας;
Μαργαρίτα: -Μμμ… Η αλήθεια είναι ότι θα ήθελα να τη δω. Λοιπόν, αν θέλεις βρισκόμαστε εμείς οι δύο πιο πριν και (εγώ) (ζ) _____ μαζί σου για να αγοράσουμε τα εισιτήρια.
Σοφία: -Εντάξει, για μένα τέλεια!
Μαργαρίτα: -Α, να σου πω…. Τώρα θυμήθηκα ότι έχεις τις σημειώσεις μου από το μάθημα Λογοτεχνίας. Θα μπορούσα (η) _____ στο σπίτι σου τώρα και να μου τις δώσεις;
Μαργαρίτα: -Ναι, φυσικά! Είχα ξεχάσει τελείως ότι τις είχα εγώ!

Ο Γιώργος και ο Θανάσης δουλεύουν μαζί στην ίδια εταιρία. Ένα πρωί:

Γιώργος: Θανάση, δεν καταλαβαίνω τι γράφει αυτή η παραγγελία. Χρειάζομαι τη βοήθειά σου.
Θανάσης: Βέβαια, μισό λεπτό, τώρα .... (θ).