



Crosslinguistic influence in the acquisition of Greek as a foreign language by Spanish/Catalan L1 learners: The role of proficiency and stays abroad

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FACULTAT DE FILOLOGIA

Departament de Filologia Anglesa i Alemanya

**CROSSLINGUISTIC INFLUENCE
IN THE ACQUISITION OF GREEK
AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE
BY SPANISH/CATALAN L1 LEARNERS:
THE ROLE OF PROFICIENCY AND
STAYS ABROAD**

Tesi per l'obtenció del títol de doctor presentada per

MARÍA ANDRÍA

Directora: Dra. Raquel Serrano Serrano

Barcelona, 2014

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com a requeriment per l'obtenció del títol de

Doctora en Lingüística Aplicada

Programa de Doctorat: *Lingüística Aplicada*
Facultat de Filologia
Departament de Filologia Angesa i Alemanya
Universitat de Barcelona
Setembre 2014

Directora: **Dra. Raquel Serrano Serrano**

Tutora: Dra. Elsa Tragant Mestres

“Learning another language is not only
learning different words for the same things,
but learning another way *to think* about things.”

Flora Lewis

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The present doctoral dissertation would not have been possible without the precious help and the support of many people who have contributed to it. These paragraphs are dedicated to all of them.

First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Raquel Serrano, for her invaluable guidance, constant support and everlasting patience throughout all the stages of this work. I am grateful to Dr. Serrano for offering me the best supervision I could have imagined; for her dedication to my study, for having been always so fast, efficient and actively involved in it. As a researcher, Dr. Serrano has always constituted a role model for me and I am incredibly thankful for everything I have learned all these years working with her. It has been an honor and a pleasure to work with her and learn from her ample knowledge and expertise.

I am indebted to Dr. Lourdes Ortega, for giving me the opportunity to realize a doctoral research stay under her mentorship at Georgetown University, in Washington, DC. It was indeed a privilege to work with Dr. Ortega and learn from her expertise. I am grateful for the time she dedicated to me and for her insightful feedback which helped me to ameliorate my work.

I would also like to thank Dr. Maria Iakovou (University of Athens), who followed the stages of this work as an external supervisor, for her encouragement and support. I also owe her my interest in the field of Greek as a foreign language which arose in her undergraduate course at the University of Athens, many years ago.

I would also like to express my thankfulness to all the professors of the Applied Linguistics Doctoral Program at the University of Barcelona. I thank Dr. Elsa Tragant for having always been incredibly encouraging and for the feedback she provided me all these years as a member of my follow-up committee. My thanks are also extended to the other members of the committee, Dr. Joan Carles Mora and Dr. M. Pilar Safont Jordà (Universitat Jaume I, Castelló). Special thanks to Dr. María Luz Celaya, for having introduced me to the fascinating field of Crosslinguistic Influence, and to Dr. Roger Gilabert for his help as former coordinator of the Doctoral Program.

My gratitude and appreciation also goes to all the scholars who have so kindly given me feedback and answered my questions. I am grateful to Dr. Teresa Cadierno (University of Southern Denmark) whose guidance has been crucial for the development of the framework of the current study. I also thank Professor

Andrea Tyler (Georgetown University) for her insightful seminar on Cognitive and functional approaches, which also helped me to develop the framework of this study. I am thankful to Professor Cristina Sanz (Georgetown University) for her seminar on “Study Abroad”, but mostly for making me feel “like home” during my stay at Georgetown. My thanks also go to Dr. Àngels Llanes (Universitat de Lleida) for her guidance in the field of “Study Abroad” and Dr. Mar Garachana (Universitat de Barcelona) for helping me with theoretical issues of Spanish Linguistics. I also want to thank Dr. Scott Jarvis (Ohio University) and Dr. Panos Athanasopoulos (University of Reading) for their willingness to help me and to provide me with invaluable feedback, without even knowing me personally.

I would like to express my thanks to the *Escuelas Oficiales de Idiomas* of Barcelona and Madrid for allowing me to collect data from their students. I am obliged to the teachers of Greek in Barcelona, Teresa Magadán, Kleri Skandami and Kyriaki Christoforidi, and in Madrid, Elias Danelis and Leandro García for their invaluable help and support. I am also extremely indebted to all the participants of the study, the learners of Greek and the native group. Without their help this study would not have been possible.

I also like to thank my friends and research assistants who so kindly helped me with the data collection: Nasia V. Gkouma, Konstantinos Papadakis, Laida Palacio and Adrià Pinyol. Above all, I thank Paris Mavromoustakis, who was present in all of the data collections and encouraged me more than anyone else throughout my research. This process would certainly not have been the same without him by my side in every step of the way.

My thanks to Panagiota Staikou and Electra Stampoulou, for designing the pictures of the written and the oral task, respectively.

I also thank the Antonios Papadakis Foundation Grant, which gave me the possibility to carry out the first three years of my doctoral studies.

I am especially grateful to the Greek Community of Catalonia, which gave me the opportunity to work as a coordinator and instructor of Greek as a foreign language for the last four years. I thank all my students for being always a source of inspiration and motivation to continue with my research, and for what I have learned from them. Above all, I would like to thank the President of the Greek Community, Maria Mitrou, for believing in me and trusting me. I thank her, not only for her support on a professional, but mostly on a personal level. She has always stood by me during my “ups and downs”, and she has been extremely supportive and encouraging. I could dedicate several pages writing

about Maria Mitrou, but still they would not be enough to express my gratitude towards her.

My thanks are extended to my classmates in the Doctoral Program, for making the process of writing this dissertation more enjoyable. I am thankful to Eva Cerviño Povedano, Lena Vasylets, Aleksandra Malicka and Mireia Ortega, for their encouragement and also for the beautiful moments we shared whilst participating in several conferences.

On a more personal level, let me thank, first, my ex-classmates from the master's program at the University of Barcelona with whom we have created a wonderful and profound friendship throughout the years. My thanks to Javier Cañas Villarreal, for caring so much, for being always here and ready to help, for supporting me and offering me company and laughs. I am grateful to Sabrina Kalin Martínez, who helped me with uncountable aspects of this dissertation, but mostly for her invaluable friendship. I thank her for having shown me that hard times can become less hard when you share them with the right people. I also thank Gemma Moya Galé for all the beautiful moments we shared these years on "the other side of the ocean", and which were the best escape from the sometimes stressful routine. Lastly, I am extremely indebted to Brandon Tullock for his never-ending willingness to help and discuss on my study, for his essential feedback and fruitful comments which helped me to improve my work.

Thanks to my friends Vangelis, Stavros and Alexis who were always willing to make me escape from the strict program and for their understanding on my limited free time. Many thanks to my oldest friends, who—even in distance—I felt them "here" supporting me with their wholehearted love: Katerina, Olga, Efi, Sofia, Lina and Elena.

Above all, I would like to thank my parents—to whom I dedicate this dissertation—for their love, support, encouraging and understanding at all moments. For everything they have done for me, and which cannot be expressed in a few lines. Without them I would not have made it this far.

Barcelona,
September 2014

ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΙΕΣ

Η παρούσα διδακτορική διατριβή δε θα ήταν δυνατόν να ολοκληρωθεί χωρίς την πολύτιμη βοήθεια και στήριξη πολλών ανθρώπων που συνέβαλαν σε αυτήν. Αυτές οι γραμμές είναι αφιερωμένες σε εκείνους.

Αρχικά, ευχαριστώ θερμά την επιβλέπουσα καθηγήτριά μου, Δρ. Raquel Serrano, για την καθοδήγηση, την υποστήριξη και την αμέριστη υπομονή της σε όλα τα στάδια αυτής της εργασίας. Την ευχαριστώ που μου προσέφερε την καλύτερη επίβλεψη που θα μπορούσα να φανταστώ. Για την αφοσίωσή της στην συγκεκριμένη εργασία, για το ότι ήταν πάντα τόσο γρήγορη και συνεπής. Η Δρ. Serrano αποτελούσε πάντοτε για μένα πρότυπο ερευνήτριας και της είμαι ευγνώμων για όλα όσα έμαθα δουλεύοντας μαζί της. Ήταν πραγματική τιμή και χαρά να συνεργαστώ μαζί της και να μάθω από την εμπειρία της και τις γνώσεις της.

Είμαι εξαιρετικά ευγνώμων στη Δρ. Lourdes Ortega που μου έδωσε την ευκαιρία να πραγματοποιήσω ένα ερευνητικό διάστημα στο Πανεπιστήμιο Georgetown, στην Ουάσινγκτον, υπό την επίβλεψή της. Την ευχαριστώ θερμά για τον χρόνο που μου αφιέρωσε, για όλα τα σχόλια και τις συμβουλές της, τα οποία με βοήθησαν να βελτιώσω πολύ την ερευνά μου. Ήταν ειλικρινά μεγάλη μου τιμή που είχα τη δυνατότητα να συνεργαστώ με μία τόσο διακεκριμένη επιστήμονα.

Ευχαριστώ, επίσης, θερμά τη Δρ. Μαρία Ιακώβου (Εθνικό και Καποδιστριακό Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών) που παρακολουθούσε τα στάδια αυτής της εργασίας ως εξωτερική επιβλέπουσα, για τη στήριξη και την ενθάρρυνσή της. Της οφείλω επίσης το ενδιαφέρον μου για τον κλάδο της εκμάθησης της Ελληνικής ως ξένης γλώσσας, που γεννήθηκε μέσα από ένα προπτυχιακό της μάθημα πολλά χρόνια πριν.

Ευχαριστώ θερμά όλους τους καθηγητές του Διδακτορικού Προγράμματος στο Πανεπιστήμιο της Βαρκελώνης. Ευχαριστώ ιδιαίτερος, τη Δρ. Elsa Tragant, που ήταν πάντα αισιόδοξη και μου έδινε δύναμη να συνεχίσω, αλλά και την καθοδήγησή της ως μέλος της επιβλέπουσας επιτροπής μου. Ευχαριστώ επίσης τα υπόλοιπα μέλη της επιτροπής, Δρ. Joan Carles Mora και Δρ. M. Pilar Safont Jordà (Universitat Jaume I, Castelló). Ευχαριστώ ιδιαίτερος τη Δρ. M. Luz Celaya που με μύησε στον κλάδο της «Διαγλωσσικής Επίδρασης», καθώς και τον πρώην υπεύθυνο του διδακτορικού προγράμματος Δρ. Roger Gilabert, για όλη την υποστήριξη και τη βοήθειά του.

Είμαι υπόχρεη σε όλους τους διακεκριμένους επιστήμονες του κλάδου, που τόσο ευγενικά απάντησαν στις ερωτήσεις μου. Είμαι ιδιαίτερα ευγνώμων στη Δρ. Teresa Cadierno (University of Southern Denmark), η καθοδήγηση της

οποίας ήταν ζωτικής σημασίας για τη δημιουργία του θεωρητικού πλαισίου της παρούσας διατριβής. Ευχαριστώ επίσης τη Δρ. Andrea Tyler (Georgetown University) για το σεμινάριό της στη Γνωσιακή Γλωσσολογία, που επίσης βοήθησε πολύ στο θεωρητικό πλαίσιο της έρευνάς μου. Θερμά ευχαριστώ στη Δρ. Cristina Sanz (Georgetown University) για το σεμινάριό της πάνω στον παράγοντα “Study Abroad”, αλλά κυρίως γιατί με έκανε να νιώσω «σαν στο σπίτι μου» όλο το διάστημα που ήμουν στο Πανεπιστήμιο Georgetown. Ευχαριστώ επίσης τη Δρ. Àngels Llanes (Universitat de Lleida) για την καθοδήγηση στον τομέα “Study Abroad” καθώς και τη Δρ. Mar Garachana (Universitat de Barcelona) για τη βοήθεια της σε θέματα θεωρητικής γλωσσολογίας της ισπανικής γλώσσας. Είμαι επίσης ευγνώμων στους Δρ. Scott Jarvis (Ohio University) και Δρ. Πάνο Αθανασόπουλο (University of Reading), που ακόμη και χωρίς να με γνωρίζουν προσωπικά, ήταν πρόθυμοι να με συμβουλέψουν και να απαντήσουν στα ερωτήματά μου.

Ένα μεγάλο ευχαριστώ στις Κρατικές Σχολές Γλωσσών της Βαρκελώνης και της Μαδρίτης που μου επέτρεψαν να συλλέξω δεδομένα από τους μαθητές τους. Είμαι υπόχρεη στους καθηγητές της Βαρκελώνης, Teresa Magadán, Κλαίρη Σκανδάμη και Κυριακή Χριστοφορίδη, και της Μαδρίτης, Ηλία Δανέλη και Leandro García για τη βοήθειά τους. Πιο πολύ, όμως, ευχαριστώ τους συμμετέχοντες της έρευνας, τους μαθητές ελληνικών, καθώς και στην ομάδα φυσικών ομιλητών. Χωρίς τη βοήθεια τους δε θα ήταν δυνατή αυτή η εργασία.

Θέλω, επίσης, να ευχαριστήσω θερμά τους φίλους μου και βοηθούς ερευνητές που τόσο πρόθυμα μου προσέφεραν τη βοήθειά τους στη συλλογή δεδομένων: Νάσια Β. Γκούμα, Κωνσταντίνο Παπαδάκη, Laida Palacio και Adrià Pinyol. Πιο πολύ ευχαριστώ τον Πάρη Μαυρομουστάκη, ο οποίος δεν έλειψε ποτέ από τις συλλογές δεδομένων, αλλά και γιατί με στήριξε όσο κανείς σε αυτήν την πορεία. Χωρίς εκείνον δίπλα μου, τίποτα δεν θα ήταν το ίδιο.

Ευχαριστώ επίσης την Παναγιώτα Στάικου και την Ηλέκτρα Σταμπούλου, για το σχεδιασμό των εικόνων της γραπτής και της προφορικής άσκησης αντίστοιχα.

Ευχαριστώ, επίσης, θερμά το Κληροδότημα Αντωνίου Παπαδάκη, χάρη στην υποτροφία του οποίου μπόρεσα να ολοκληρώσω τα τρία πρώτα χρόνια του διδακτορικού προγράμματος.

Ακόμη, θα ήθελα να εκφράσω τις ειλικρινείς μου ευχαριστίες στην Ελληνική Κοινότητα Καταλονίας που μου έδωσε τη δυνατότητα τα τελευταία τέσσερα χρόνια να εργαστώ εκεί ως καθηγήτρια ελληνικών. Ευχαριστώ πολύ όλους μου τους μαθητές, οι οποίοι αποτέλεσαν-και αποτελούν- για μένα πηγή έμπνευσης και δύναμης για να συνεχίσω την έρευνά μου. Πιο πολύ ευχαριστώ την Πρόεδρο της Ελληνικής Κοινότητας, Μαρία Μήτρου, για την εμπιστοσύνη

και τη στήριξη που μου έχει δείξει. Την ευχαριστώ, όχι μόνο για την συμπαράσταση σε επαγγελματικό επίπεδο, αλλά κυρίως σε προσωπικό. Γιατί ήταν πάντα εκεί, «στα πάνω και στα κάτω» και μου έδινε δύναμη να συνεχίσω. Θα μπορούσα να γράψω ολόκληρες σελίδες για τη Μαρία Μητρου, και πάλι δεν θα ήταν αρκετές για να περιγράψω την ευγνωμοσύνη μου για εκείνη.

Θέλω ακόμη να ευχαριστήσω τις συμφοιτήτριές μου από το Πανεπιστήμιο της Βαρκελώνης, που έκαναν τη διαδικασία συγγραφής αυτής της διατριβής πιο ευχάριστη. Ευχαριστώ τις: Eva Cerviño Povedano, Lena Vasylets, Aleksandra Malicka και Mireia Ortega για τη στήριξή τους, αλλά και για τις όμορφες στιγμές που μοιραστήκαμε κατά καιρούς στα διάφορα συνέδρια που συμμετείχαμε.

Ευχαριστώ πολύ τους παλιούς μου συμμαθητές από το Μεταπτυχιακό Πρόγραμμα του Πανεπιστημίου της Βαρκελώνης, με τους οποίους η σχέση μας εξελίχθηκε με τα χρόνια σε μια βαθιά φιλία. Πρωτίστως ευχαριστώ τον Javier Cañas Villarreal, που ήταν πάντα στο πλευρό μου, πάντα έτοιμος να με βοηθήσει, που με στήριξε και με ενθάρρυνε όσο κανείς προσφέροντάς μου παρέα και χαμόγελα. Ευχαριστώ την Sabrina Kalin Martínez, που με βοήθησε σε αμέτρητα ζητήματα αυτής της εργασίας, αλλά κυρίως για την πολύτιμη φιλία της. Την Gemma Moya Galé για τις τόσο όμορφες στιγμές που περάσαμε «στην άλλη πλευρά του Ατλαντικού» και που ήταν η καλύτερη απόδραση από την ενίοτε πιεστική καθημερινότητα. Είμαι υπόχρεη στον Brandon Tullock για τη συνεχή του προθυμία να βοηθήσει και να συζητήσει θέματα της έρευνάς μου, αλλά και για τις καίριες παρατηρήσεις και σχόλιά του που με βοήθησαν να βελτιώσω την εργασία μου.

Ευχαριστώ τους φίλους μου, Βαγγέλη, Σταύρο και Αλέξη, που ήταν πάντα έτοιμοι να με κάνουν να ξεχαστώ από την πίεση, και που έδειχναν πάντα τόση κατανόηση για τον περιορισμένο μου χρόνο. Τις καλές μου φίλες Κατερίνα, Όλγα, Έφη, Σοφία, Λίνα και Elena, που -ακόμα κι από μακριά- ξέρουν πάντα να κάνουν την αγάπη τους να ταξιδεύει.

Πάνω από όλα, θα ήθελα να ευχαριστήσω τους γονείς μου, στους οποίους αφιερώνω την παρούσα διδακτορική διατριβή, για την αγάπη τους, την στήριξή τους, τη δύναμη που μου δίνουν, για όλα όσα έχουν κάνει για μένα και τα οποία είναι αδύνατον να συμπυκνωθούν σε λίγες λέξεις. Χωρίς εκείνους δε θα είχα καταφέρει να φτάσω σήμερα μέχρι εδώ.

Βαρκελώνη,
Σεπτέμβριος, 2014

To my parents, Georgios and Zacharoula

Στους γονείς μου, Γεώργιο και Ζαχαρούλα

ABSTRACT

The purpose of the present study is to investigate the influence of first language (L1) patterns on the acquisition of Greek as a foreign language (L2) by Spanish/Catalan L1 learners, as well as to determine whether L2 proficiency level and stays in the target-language country have an effect on such influence. More specifically, the current study aims to explore an under-researched crosslinguistic phenomenon which concerns the expression of EXPERIENTIAL STATES. In Spanish and Catalan, EXPERIENTIAL STATES tend to be expressed by means of periphrases composed by the verbs *tener/tenir* (“to have”), *dar/donar* (“to give”) or *hacer/fer* (“to make”) and a noun, whereas in Greek the equivalent experience tends to be expressed with a single verb (*experiential verbs*) (e.g., *tener hambre/ tenir gana* vs. *πεινάω /pináo/* “to be hungry”, *me da vergüenza/ em fa vergonya* vs. *ντρέπομαι /drépome/* “to feel embarrassed”). Native speakers of different languages tend to describe the same events or thought using different thinking-for-speaking patterns (Berman & Sloman, 1994). These patterns acquired in childhood tend to be resistant to reconstruction in adult Second Language Acquisition (SLA) (Slobin, 1991, 1993, 1996a), and are often transferred by L2 learners (Cadierno, 2004, 2008, 2010; Han & Cadierno, 2010). Following this line of inquiry, the present study aims to examine whether the dissimilarity in the L1-L2 patterns regarding the construal of the EXPERIENTIAL STATE (Langacker, 2008a) will result in cases of crosslinguistic influence (CLI). The present study takes as a point of departure Cognitive Linguistics’ recent application to SLA studies (Cadierno, 2004; Cadierno

& Lund, 2004; Robinson & Ellis, 2008a; Tyler, 2012a). It also discusses its hypotheses and findings in light of *conceptualization transfer* (Jarvis, 2007, 2011) and the *thinking-for-speaking hypothesis* (Slobin, 1991, 1993, 1996a).

The participants (N=114) were Spanish/Catalan learners of Greek in a formal language setting in Spain. They belonged to five different proficiency levels (from A2 to B2.2 according to the Common European Framework of Reference) and had experienced stays in Greece of various durations. Native speakers of Greek (N=30) were also recruited to provide a baseline for comparison. A battery of instruments (including a grammaticality judgment test (GJT), a written description task, an oral description task, a questionnaire and interviews with the teachers of the language schools under analysis) were designed first-hand for the purposes of the study. Both quantitative and qualitative analyses were performed.

The results of the analyses demonstrated that there were significant differences in the way Spanish/Catalan learners of Greek and Greek native speakers construed the EXPERIENTIAL STATES under analysis. Even at advanced proficiency levels, traces of L1 influence were still detected, and the divergence with the native speakers was still significant. This finding suggests that the acquisition of these verbs constitutes a problematic area for Spanish/Catalan learners of Greek. L2 proficiency appeared to be important mainly for the low proficiency levels. L1 influence decreased as proficiency increased. Nevertheless, for the higher proficiency levels in the sample, proficiency did not play such a determining role, since significant differences were not found among these levels. Results indicated that the acquisition of experiential verbs progresses linearly up

to a certain level and then stabilizes. The study also showed certain task effects, in the sense that CLI was more clearly exhibited in the recognition task (GJT) than in the production tasks. Stays in the target-language country were found to be beneficial for the acquisition of the patterns under analysis. Participants who had spent more time in Greece were more aware of the target forms and showed fewer instances of L1 transfer. However, the impact of stays abroad was more apparent in the case of pattern recognition (as measured in the GJT), than in the case of actual production (as measured in the picture description tasks). This doctoral dissertation concludes by suggesting that explicit instruction of the patterns under analysis (i.e., direct crosslinguistic comparisons in order to sensitize learners' awareness) and/or the combination of formal instruction "at-home" with stays in the target language country could potentially lead to a better acquisition of the experiential verbs under study.

Keywords: second language acquisition, crosslinguistic influence, transfer, Greek as a foreign language, proficiency, stays abroad

RESUMEN

El objetivo del presente estudio es investigar la influencia de patrones de la primera lengua (L1) en la adquisición del griego como lengua extranjera (L2) por hablantes nativos de español y catalán, así como también determinar si tanto el

nivel de dominio de la lengua, como las estancias en el país nativo de la misma tienen algún efecto en dicha influencia. Más específicamente, el presente estudio se centra en explorar un fenómeno escasamente investigado sobre la influencia entre lenguas que concierne la expresión del ESTADO EXPERIENCIAL. En español y catalán, ciertos ESTADOS EXPERIENCIALES suelen expresarse por medio de perífrasis verbales compuestas por los verbos *tener/tenir*, *dar/donar* o *hacer/fer* y un sustantivo, mientras que en griego el ESTADO EXPERIENCIAL equivalente tiende a expresarse con un solo verbo (*verbos experienciales*) (p. ej., *tener hambre/ tenir gana* vs. *πεινάω* /pináo/, *me da vergüenza/ em fa vergonyá* vs. *ντρέπομαι* /drépome/. Los hablantes nativos de diferentes idiomas tienden a describir los mismos eventos o pensamientos usando diferentes patrones de “pensar para hablar” (*thinking-for-speaking*) (Berman & Sloman, 1994). Estos patrones adquiridos durante la infancia tienden a ser reacios a reconstruirse en la adquisición de segundas lenguas en la edad adulta (SLA) (Slobin, 1991, 1993, 1996a), y son frecuentemente transferidos por aprendices de la segunda lengua (Cadierno, 2004, 2008, 2010; Han & Cadierno, 2010). Siguiendo esta línea de investigación, el presente estudio tiene el objetivo de examinar si la disparidad entre los patrones de la primera lengua y la segunda con respecto al constructo del ESTADO EXPERIENCIAL (Langacker, 2008a) da lugar a casos de influencia entre lenguas (*Crosslinguistic Influence*). El presente estudio toma como punto de partida la aplicación reciente de la lingüística cognitiva a los estudios de adquisición de segundas lenguas (Cadierno, 2004; Cadierno & Lund, 2004; Robinson & Ellis, 2008a; Tyler, 2012a). Asimismo, se analizan las hipótesis y los resultados a la luz de la transferencia de conceptualización (*conceptualization*

transfer) (Jarvis, 2007, 2011) y la hipótesis del “pensar para hablar” (Slobin, 1991, 1993, 1996a).

Los participantes (N=114) eran estudiantes de griego con L1 español o catalán en un contexto lingüístico formal en España. Pertenecían a cinco niveles de competencia diferentes (desde el A2 al B2.2 según el Marco de Referencia Europeo de Lenguas) y habían tenido experiencias de estancias en Grecia de diferentes duraciones. También se incluyeron hablantes nativos de griego (N=30) con el fin de proporcionar una base para la comparación. Los instrumentos empleados en esta tesis fueron diseñados de primera mano para cumplir con los objetivos del estudio: Un test de juicio gramatical (GJT), una tarea de descripción escrita, una tarea de descripción oral, un cuestionario, y entrevistas con los profesores de las escuelas de idiomas objeto de estudio. Se llevaron a cabo tanto análisis cuantitativos como cualitativos.

Los resultados de los análisis han demostrado que existen diferencias significativas en la manera en que los estudiantes de griego con L1 español/catalán y los hablantes nativos de griego interpretan los ESTADOS EXPERIENCIALES objeto de análisis. Incluso en los niveles avanzados, se detectaron indicios de influencia de la primera lengua, y la divergencia con los hablantes nativos fue muy significativa. Este resultado sugiere que la adquisición de estos verbos constituye un área problemática para los estudiantes de griego con L1 español/catalán. El nivel de dominio del idioma parece ser importante principalmente para los niveles bajos. La influencia de la primera lengua disminuye a medida que el nivel de dominio aumenta. Sin embargo, éste no jugó un papel tan determinante para los

niveles altos en la muestra, ya que no se encontraron diferencias significativas entre estos niveles. Los resultados han indicado que la adquisición de los verbos experienciales progresa de una manera lineal hasta un cierto nivel y luego se estabiliza. El estudio también ha mostrado algunos efectos de las tareas, en el sentido de que la influencia entre lenguas aparece más claramente en la tarea de reconocimiento (GJT) que en la tarea de producción. Se ha descubierto que las estancias en el país de la lengua meta son ventajosas para la adquisición de los patrones objeto de estudio. Los participantes que han pasado más tiempo en Grecia fueron más conscientes de las formas a analizar y mostraron menos casos de transferencia de la primera lengua. Sin embargo, el efecto de las estancias en el país es más visible en el caso de la actividad de reconocimiento de patrones (GJT), que en el caso de la producción oral/escrita. La presente tesis doctoral concluye sugiriendo que la instrucción explícita de los patrones objeto de estudio (p.ej., las comparaciones directas de influencia entre lenguas con el fin de llamar la atención de los aprendices sobre estos patrones) y/o la combinación de instrucción formal “en casa” y estancias en el país de lengua meta podrían conducir de una manera potencial a una mejor adquisición de los verbos experienciales objeto de estudio.

Palabras clave: adquisición de segundas lenguas, influencia entre lenguas, transferencia, griego como lengua extranjera, nivel de lengua, estancias en el extranjero

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Crosslinguistic Influence (CLI) has always been a central area of research in the field of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) and has attracted significant attention from scholars (Gass & Selinker, 1983; Jarvis, 2002; Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008; Kellerman, 1983; Kellerman & Sharwood Smith, 1986; Odlin, 1989, 2003; Ringbom, 1987). The reason why CLI still maintains scholars' interest intact is its deep complexity as a multidimensional phenomenon, which has the potential to reveal fundamental aspects of language learning, thus contributing to a better understanding of the learning process. Massive empirical evidence that has accumulated over more than six decades demonstrates the fact that CLI is not a simple case of falling back on previous language knowledge; rather it is a multifaceted phenomenon whose exploration can be beneficial to both second language learning and teaching.

Second language (L2¹) learners have, by definition, previously acquired another language, their first language (L1). The role of the L1 during the acquisition of a new target language has been the focus of several studies (Ringbom, 1987, 2007) and there is ample evidence that the L1 can become a source of influence, both positive and negative (Odlin, 1989). Scholars have usually paid more attention to instances of negative influence, known also as

¹ In the present study the abbreviation "L2" will be used interchangeably to refer to both second and foreign language.

negative transfer, but cases of positive influence have also been documented (Ringbom, 2007; Upton & Lee-Thompson, 2001). CLI can be manifested in all the linguistic subsystems, although there may be differences concerning its nature and quantity depending on the area under analysis (Odlin, 2003). Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008) have observed a recent shift in scholars' interest as regards the areas of CLI research: Whereas traditionally, purely linguistic areas were the focus of CLI exploration, current studies have moved their interest towards aspects which include cognitive dimensions. The researchers attribute this new tendency to a renewed interest in the relationship between language and thought, as a result of a reevaluation of Sapir-Whorf's hypothesis (Lucy, 1992a, 1992b, 1996; Gumperz & Levinson, 1996). The implications for the field of SLA were related to whether *conceptual* or *conceptualization* (Jarvis, 2007, 2011) differences between the L1 and the L2 can affect L2 acquisition (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008; Odlin, 2005, 2010).

Studies have shown that speakers of different L1s often tend to describe the same experience, event, or thought with different linguistic patterns across typologically different languages (Berman & Slobin, 1994). In other words, speakers tend to differ regarding the way they "package" their thoughts linguistically. These specific *thinking-for-speaking* patterns (Slobin 1991, 1993, 1996a, 1996b) acquired in childhood have been found to be highly resistant to reconstruction in adult SLA (Cadierno, 2004, 2010; Cadierno & Lund, 2004; Pavlenko, 2011a). Several studies have demonstrated that L1 patterns are heavily entrenched and are usually transferred by L2 learners when they have to perform in the L2, or in other words, when they have to "think in order to speak".

Consequently, the process of L2 learning requires the development of new thinking-for-speaking patterns, which means that the L2 learners have to re-think in order to speak (Cadierno, 2004; Cadierno & Lund, 2004; Robinson & Ellis, 2008b). However, the restructuring of such patterns has been found to be very demanding for L2 learners. Even at advanced proficiency levels, traces of L1 patterns can still be detected, which entails that L1 influence in the acquisition of these specific L2 patterns is particularly strong and more complex than in the case of purely linguistic aspects.

A fundamental issue in CLI research concerns the factors that affect its occurrence (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008; Murphy, 2003; Odlin, 1989, 2003). There is also interaction between various factors, and it is this multiple interaction that makes CLI such a complex phenomenon. A key factor whose impact on CLI is generally recognized is proficiency in the target language. However, research results with respect to this variable have been inconsistent and ambiguous (Jarvis, 2000; Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008; Odlin, 1989), which renders further research indispensable. In general, CLI appears to be more dominant at initial proficiency levels and decreases as proficiency increases (Celaya, 2006; Helms-Park, 2001; Navés, Miralpeix, & Celaya, 2005; Poullisse & Bongaerts, 1994). Nonetheless, there are studies which report the opposite finding, with more proficient learners showing more instances of CLI (Cenoz, 2001) and also others demonstrating that, in some cases, CLI does not appear unless more advanced levels are reached. Exploration of the factor of L2 proficiency requires very clear definition of how proficiency is defined in each study and what area and structure is analyzed,

given the fact that these parameters can influence the results (Athanasopoulos, 2011; Jarvis, 2000; Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008).

Furthermore, spending time in the target language country has always been considered one of the most efficient ways to learn an L2 due to the quantity and the quality of input offered in this context, in comparison to traditional classroom setting. Several studies have investigated to what extent this is confirmed in practice (Freed, 1995; Lafford, 2004; Llanes & Muñoz, 2013; Sasaki, 2007; Serrano, Llanes, & Tragant, 2011; Pérez-Vidal, 2014). Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008) consider participation in the communicative practices of the target language community as a *sine-qua-non* factor in order for the conceptual reconstructing of L1 patterns to take place (pp. 151-152). In spite of its importance, very few empirical studies have directly addressed the issue of the relationship between CLI and stays abroad (Andria & Serrano, 2013a, 2013b). The majority of studies about the stay abroad factor concern linguistic aspects, especially oral production (Freed, 1995; Lennon, 1990; Serrano et al., 2011; Muñoz, 2012a; Pérez-Vidal, 2014).

The purpose of the present doctoral dissertation is to investigate an under-explored crosslinguistic phenomenon in the acquisition of Modern Greek as a foreign language by Spanish/Catalan L1 learners. More specifically, it aims to explore the acquisition of a set of experiential verbs, which in Greek (the participants' L2) are expressed with a single verb, whereas in Spanish and Catalan (the participants L1/s) they are expressed through periphrasis. This study attempts to delve into the acquisition of these patterns and to examine whether L1-L2 differences will result in CLI. Additionally, it aims to explore whether L2

proficiency and spending time in the L2 country have an effect on the acquisition of the patterns under analysis. As a point of departure, the present study uses the Cognitive Linguistics framework, which has been suggested to be particularly relevant for CLI studies (Cadierno, 2004; Robinson & Ellis, 2008a; Tyler, 2012a). Therefore, this framework will be used in order to gain insights and explain in a more profound and multilateral way what kind of CLI takes place during the acquisition of experiential verbs. The objective of the study is to contribute to CLI research by offering a study which analyzes: (a) an under-explored CLI phenomenon (periphrasis vs. single verb for the expression of the EXPERIENTIAL STATE), (b) an under-researched combination of languages (Modern Greek, Spanish and Catalan), (c) the effects of variables whose relationship with CLI either has been found to be complex (proficiency) or has not been addressed directly as an issue in and of itself (stays abroad factor), and (d) doing so by using a framework whose application in SLA studies is particularly innovatory and relatively new.

In Chapter 2, the issue of crosslinguistic influence (CLI) and its position in SLA research will be presented, with reference to the definitions used to refer to this phenomenon throughout the years (Section 2.1.1), the evolution of CLI perspectives and basic landmarks (Section 2.1.2), new tendencies in CLI research (Sections 2.1.3 and 2.1.4), and finally the factors affecting CLI (section 2.1.5). Afterwards, two of these factors which are the focus of the present dissertation, proficiency and stays abroad, will be presented in detail, in Sections 2.2 and 2.3 respectively.

Chapter 3 will present the target structures within the Cognitive Linguistics Framework. The basic tenets of Cognitive Linguistics about language will be presented in order to demonstrate why this approach is a fruitful and insightful paradigm for studies of CLI. Then, the connection between Cognitive Linguistics and its application to the field of SLA—based primarily on the studies of Cadierno (2004) and Cadierno and Lund (2004)—will be discussed (Section 3.1). Afterwards, the patterns under analysis will be introduced in a comparative way between the languages used in the study (Spanish, Catalan and Greek) (Section 3.2). The different manners by which the conceptual domain of EXPERIENCE is expressed in these three languages will be examined and previous research regarding these patterns will be revised. Next, a typological framework for the expression of EXPERIENCE in the languages under analysis from a Cognitive Linguistics perspective will be suggested (Section 3.3).

The research questions of the current study will be presented in Chapter 4. The first research question seeks to answer whether there are any differences between Spanish/Catalan L1 learners of Greek and Greek native speakers as regards the patterns which are used for the expression of the EXPERIENTIAL STATE. The second research question focuses on the role of proficiency in the target language in the acquisition of the patterns under analysis. Lastly, the third research question explores the effects of spending time in the target language country in the acquisition of the experiential verbs.

Chapter 5 will describe the methodology used for the present study. Section 5.1 will present the participants, while Section 5.2 will offer a general,

introductory overview regarding the acquisition of Greek as a foreign language in Spain and the state-run Official Schools of Languages (*Escuelas Oficiales de Idiomas-EOIs*) where Greek is taught, in terms of curriculum and hours of instruction. Then, reference will be made to the instruments (Section 5.3) and the procedure of the data collection (Section 5.4). The pilot study that preceded the actual data collection will be described in Section 5.4.1, while the detailed description of the actual data collection will be offered in section 5.4.2. The way the codification of the data was realized will be presented in Section 5.5.1, while a summary of the analyses performed will be reported in Section 5.5.2.

In Chapter 6, the results of the statistical analyses will be presented. Section 6.1 will offer the statistical results for the first research question concerning the differences between the patterns for native speakers of Greek and L2 learners. First, the descriptive statistics will be introduced, followed by the results of the statistical analyses in the written tasks (Section 6.1.1), and then in the oral task (Section 6.1.2). A summary of the results of the first question will be offered in Section 6.1.3. Section 6.2 will be dedicated to the results of the second research question regarding the role of proficiency. First, the results of the grammaticality judgment test will be offered (Section 6.2.1), then, those of the written description task (Section 6.2.2), and finally those of the oral task (Section 6.2.3). Afterwards, the results of the third research question about the role of stays abroad will be provided (Section 6.3). The descriptive statistics will be introduced in Section 6.3.1, followed by the results of the statistical analyses (Section 6.3.2). Section 6.3.3 will provide the results regarding L2 learners' perception of stays abroad as turning

points in their language-learning trajectory. Next, Section 6.4 will present the results of the item analysis, first in relation to the difficulty of each item (Section 6.4.1). Then, the results of the detailed statistical analyses per item for each variable (proficiency and stays abroad) will be provided (Section 6.4.2). Finally, Section 6.5 will offer the results of participants' L1 data.

The focus of Chapter 7 will be the discussion of the results reported in Chapter 6. First the results of the first research question will be analyzed and interpreted in light of previous studies in SLA literature, as well as Cognitive Linguistics (Section 7.1). Then, Section 7.2 will examine the differences in the acquisition of the patterns under analysis and the occurrence of CLI across the different proficiency levels. Next, Section 7.3 will illustrate the results of the third research question, namely the impact of spending time in Greece on the acquisition of the experiential verbs, as well as on the amount of CLI manifested. Lastly, Section 7.4 will provide a conclusion in which the aims and the findings of this doctoral dissertation will be summarized.

Finally, in Chapter 8, some limitations of the current study will be acknowledged and some ideas for future research will be offered. The references and the appendices will be introduced after this chapter.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Crosslinguistic Influence in SLA

2.1.1. Crosslinguistic Influence: Definition and terms

Crosslinguistic Influence—“the influence of a person’s knowledge of one language on that person’s knowledge or use of another language” (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 1)—has always been a topic of great interest among linguists given the fact that it has been found to be an essential factor in SLA (Odlin, 1989). It is certain that all L2 learners and/or users² (Cook, 2002) have previously acquired an L1, and maybe other languages; consequently, this prior language knowledge is a potential source of influence during the acquisition of a new target language and there is empirical evidence which supports this claim (Odlin, 1989; Ringbom, 1987). Despite the importance of this factor, which nowadays is almost generally accepted among scholars, historically there has not always been a consensus about its central role in SLA (Odlin, 1989). As Murphy (2003) argues, the controversy regarding the significance of CLI is depicted in the different terms used to refer to this phenomenon (p.3). One of the older terms, is “interference” (Weinreich, 1953), but today it is not used anymore because of the negative connotations it carried, as it only made reference to the negative impact of language contact. Another term,

² Cook (2002) makes a distinction between L2 user and L2 learner: “L2 learner is any person who uses another language than his or her first language, but (...) L2 users are not necessarily the same as L2 learners” (pp. 1-3). L2 learners are still in the process of learning. (For more details as regards to the differences between an L2 user and an L2 learner see Cook, 2002.)

which is commonly used, is “transfer” (Odlin, 1989) and it concerns both positive and negative influence. In Odlin’s (1989) words “transfer is the influence resulting from similarities and differences between the target language and any other language that has been previously (and perhaps imperfectly) acquired” (p. 27) Other researchers, however, even consider the term “transfer” inadequate, as it does not account for the variety of the language contact phenomena which can take place during the acquisition of a new target language. Kellerman and Sharwood Smith (1986) proposed the term “crosslinguistic influence”, a term which has gained increasing acceptance and has been broadly used in the field since then. Moreover, as Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008) explain, recent scholars have claimed that even “crosslinguistic influence” could be considered unsuitable (pp. 3-4). This is because influence from one language to the other could be seen as a result of a person’s “integrated multicompetence” (Cook, 2002), rather than as contact between two separate language competences.

Regarding the different definitions, what Odlin (1989) observed seems true, in that “a fully adequate definition of transfer seems unattainable without adequate definitions of many other terms” (p. 28). It could be added that a fully adequate definition seems unattainable without adopting a specific viewpoint towards this phenomenon, and towards language acquisition. Therefore, regarding the use of the term in empirical studies, Selinker (1992) cautioned that, every time researchers used the term “transfer”, they must define in a clear and careful way what exactly they mean by this and what kind of effects they are analyzing (p. 207-208). In fact, Jarvis (2000), taking into account Selinker’s caution,

called for a “theory-neutral definition that of L1 influence (or transfer) that would serve as a methodological heuristic for studies of this type” (p. 3) and also provided a working definition which could serve as such. Jarvis’ (2000) working definition is as follows: “L1 influence refers to any instance of learner data where a statistically significant correlation (or probability-based relation) is shown to exist between some features of learners’ IL [interlanguage] performance and their L1 background” (Jarvis 2000, p. 252).

In this dissertation, the terms “transfer” and “crosslinguistic influence” will be used interchangeably, adopting Jarvis’ and Pavlenko’s (2008, p. 4) belief that these are the most established cover terms for referring to this phenomenon. Both terms will refer to L1 as a source of influence, basically of negative type. Nevertheless, when reference to positive influence needs to be made, it will be stated clearly.

2.1.2. Historical backdrop of the perspectives on Crosslinguistic Influence

As previously mentioned, there has not always been a general agreement among the scholars in the field regarding the importance of CLI in SLA (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008; Odlin, 1989). During the 1950s and early 1960s, the Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis (Lado, 1957) appeared, according to which the differences between the L1 and the L2 could lead to difficulties during the acquisition of the

L2 by learners of specific linguistic backgrounds. There was, hence, a strong belief that systematic comparisons between the L1 and the L2 could predict the cases of negative L1 transfer and the type of possible errors made by the L2 learners, which could serve as a useful tool to L2 teachers and researchers. The predictions would depend especially on the degree of typological similarity between the two languages. Contrastive analysis was later displaced by Error Analysis (James, 1998), whose aim was mainly to describe the learners' *interlanguage*³ (Selinker, 1972) and the target language and then to compare them, but without any reference to the L1. However, these methodologies failed to account for all the language contact phenomena and their validity was, thus, called into question. More specifically, it was observed that some L1-L2 crosslinguistic differences do not always result in learning difficulties and inversely, some difficulties are not always a product of L1-L2 differences. In addition, some errors seem not to be related to the L1, as there was evidence that sometimes L2 learners whose L1 shares the same patterns as the L2, do not necessarily avoid errors and vice versa. Furthermore, sometimes errors in L2 learners' production could be attributed to other sources, such as "transfer of training, that is, the influences that arise from the way a student is taught" or to the "inappropriate application of a target language rule" (Odlin, 1989, p. 18), such as overgeneralizations⁴ (for a thorough review of the criticism see Gass & Selinker, 2001; Odlin, 1989). The aforementioned

³ *Interlanguage* is defined as the L2 learner's linguistic system. This linguistic system is different from both learner's L1 and the target language being learned, but linked to both (Selinker, 1972).

⁴ *Overgeneralization* is defined as "the use of a linguistic rule that goes beyond of the normal domain of that rule" (Odlin, 1989, p. 167)

challenges raised doubts about the credibility and the value of these methodologies in particular, and about the significance of CLI in general.

Another source of skepticism about the importance of CLI came from those scholars who adopted innatist views of language acquisition. Empirical evidence showed that some errors are common for learners of different L1 backgrounds and also they appear in both L1 and L2 acquisition (Odlin, 1989, p. 19). Corder (1967, 1983) claimed that there is no basic difference between the acquisition of an L1 and an L2, and that L2 learners will follow the same developmental stages as the ones followed by children acquiring their L1. Krashen (1983) agreed with this idea and also stated that CLI is nothing else but falling back to the L1 in order to fill a gap of knowledge. Consequently, L1 influence is not a central process to SLA. This assumption is also referred to as the "ignorance hypothesis" (Newmark, 1966), but later studies in the field (Gass & Selinker, 1983; Jarvis, 2000; Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008; Odlin, 1989; Ringbom, 1987, 2007) have provided ample counter-arguments to this hypothesis, as well as plenty of empirical evidence which reinforces their contra-position. The most important counter-argument is that CLI is exhibited not only from the L1 to the L2, but also from the L2 to the L1 (Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2002); that is, CLI takes place even in cases where the L2 user does not lack knowledge of a particular structure. Therefore, CLI is not only a matter of compensating for lack of knowledge, since it can occur even in cases where the L2 user is not deprived of such knowledge (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 10).

Unlike scholars who question the significance of CLI, Selinker (1972) and Gass (1983) considered language transfer a fundamental process in L2 language

learning. They also provided suggestions on how to recognize and measure L1 effects. Selinker (1983, 1992) for instance, stated the criterion of statistical significance; that is, in order to attribute a certain tendency in learners' behavior to L1 transfer, it is necessary to demonstrate that a statistically significant L1 structure is manifested in a statistically significant way in learners' interlanguage. Moreover, Gass (1983) mentioned another important aspect before associating certain phenomena in learners' behavior with the occurrence of L1 transfer: L1 background. In other words, comparative studies should be carried out between native speakers of a language that exhibits a certain structure and between native speakers of other languages that do not share the same structure. Hence, the role of the L1 background is more evident and the validity of researchers' beliefs about the occurrence of L1 transfer will be enhanced. The idea of comparisons between speakers of different L1 backgrounds has been also proposed by Odlin (1989).

When sufficient evidence concerning the importance of CLI as an essential phenomenon in SLA was provided by the experimental studies in the field, other issues regarding its nature emerged. These issues were related to what kind of elements are transferred from the L1 to the L2. Andersen (1983) introduced the well-known "Transfer to Somewhere Principle", according to which:

a grammatical form or structure will occur consistently and to a significant extent in interlanguage as a result of transfer if and only if there already exists within the L2 input the potential for (mis)-generalization from the input to produce the same form or structure. (p. 178)

Kellerman (1995) developed the “Transfer to Nowhere Principle” in order to complement Andersen’s Transfer to Somewhere. This principle states that “there can be transfer which is not licensed by similarity to the L2 and where the way it works may very largely go unheeded” (Kellerman, 1995, p. 137). Crosslinguistic differences between the L1 and the L2 can lead to difficulties during L2 language learning, especially as far as conceptual organization is concerned. It may be easier for learners to identify similarities and/or divergences across languages as regards to purely linguistic aspects (such as syntax for instance), but it is extremely complicated and challenging to do the same for crosslinguistic conceptual differences. This is a result of learners’ beliefs that there is no variation in the way experience is expressed across the languages in question (Kellerman, 1995, p. 141). Therefore, L2 learners will tend to unconsciously transfer L1 patterns which depict the L1 conceptual perspective, rather than reconstruct them so as to reflect that of the L2. Kellerman’s (1995) Transfer to Nowhere Principle is particularly relevant to Slobin’s “Thinking-for-Speaking Hypothesis” (Slobin, 1991, 1993, 1996a, 1996b, 1997). This hypothesis refers to the different thought patterns used by different L1 speakers in order to express the same idea, event, or thought (see Sections 2.1.4 and 3.3.4 for further information on this hypothesis). It could be said that Transfer to Somewhere and Transfer to Nowhere are the same claim seen from different perspectives: They show that transfer can be the consequence of language similarity or difference, respectively.

Kellerman (1983, 1995) also introduced another fundamental notion in the study of CLI: Psychotypology, a term which refers to the L2 learners’ perception

regarding the distance between the languages s/he knows and the new target language. According to this belief, L1 transfer is, to a certain extent, a result of learners' (subjective) judgments (both conscious and unconscious) about how transferable some elements are. This is why the same notion can also be found under the term "transferability".

To summarize, some of the landmarks of the historic route of CLI in the field of SLA have been presented. What becomes clear from the perspectives described above is that, although the role of CLI has sometimes been underestimated and its significance in language learning has received criticism by certain scholars, CLI is not a simple case of relying on prior knowledge in order to fill L2 gaps. As Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008) stated, undoubtedly, no one who is familiar with SLA would deny that CLI sometimes is indeed a learner's compensatory and communication strategy. However, remarkable findings in the field have demonstrated that CLI is definitely not "a mechanical process from one language to the other"; rather it is a *"highly complex linguistic phenomenon* [emphasis added] that is often affected by language users' perceptions, conceptualizations, mental associations, and individual choices" (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 13).

2.1.3. New tendencies in CLI research

The multifaceted nature of CLI makes it an extremely relevant area of research in SLA and maintains researchers' interest even today. Throughout the years, findings from CLI research have shed light on underlying phenomena during the language learning process and have contributed to a better understanding of this process. Recently, new tendencies have appeared in CLI research in many aspects. Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008, pp. 13-19) provided an updated, thorough review of these tendencies. Below, a synopsis of the most important developments will be presented.

First of all, new areas of CLI research have appeared, moving from the traditional exploration of syntax and semantics in L2 production to other aspects such as psycholinguistic processes, where CLI can also occur (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008). CLI has been investigated in processing related to lexis and syntax (Cook, Iarossi, Stellakis, & Tokumaru, 2003; Dijkstra, 2003, among others), in listening and reading comprehension (Ringbom, 1992; Upton, 1997; Upton & Lee-Thompson, 2001, among others), in non-verbal speech (Brown & Gullberg, 2008; Gullberg, 2011; Kellerman & Van Hoof, 2007; Stam, 2010, among others) and in conceptual representation (e.g., Pavlenko, 2005).

Another considerable development of CLI research is the inclusion of other second languages as a source of influence (Cenoz, Hufeisen, & Jessner, 2001, 2003; De Angelis & Dewaele, 2011; Falk & Bardel, 2010; Hammarberg, 2001; Odlin &

Jarvis, 2004). Current studies have shown how knowledge of prior second languages can interact in multilingual learners' minds and affect the learning of a new target language.

There are also developments which imply new theoretical directions to the CLI research. One of them—particularly relevant to the scope of the present study, as will be explained in section 2.1.4—is the shift of the research from the exploration of purely linguistic aspects to the analysis of those aspects that include a cognitive dimension. A revival of interest in CLI studies appeared with respect to the relationship between language and thought, motivated by the reevaluation of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. Various scholars (Gentner & Goldin-Meadow, 2003; Gumperz & Levinson, 1996; Lucy 1992a, 1992b, 1996; Slobin, 1996a, 1996b) have emphasized that the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis on linguistic relativity (i.e., the influence of language on thought), had been misinterpreted, ending up in strong assumptions about linguistic determinism (i.e., that the language one person speaks governs the way he or she thinks). The new interpretation of Sapir's (1929) and Whorf's (1956) ideas paved the way for new empirical studies which were now taking into account cognitive dimensions. These studies could be basically classified into two categories: Those which explore the role of a person's language on cognitive processes (Athanasopoulos, 2006, 2011; Lucy, 1992a, 1992b, 1996) and those which explore how conceptual differences are depicted in one's language, and consequently how crosslinguistic conceptual differences between two languages can result in CLI during SLA. The former refers to studies of linguistic relativity, and the latter refers to studies of conceptual transfer (Jarvis & Pavlenko,

2008; Odlin, 2005; Pavlenko 2011a, 2011b). The idea of conceptual transfer is more closely related to the present study, and it will be further explained in Section 2.1.4.

Another new theoretical direction in CLI research was the expansion of the effects of language influence not only from the L1 to the L2, but also from the L2 to the L1 (Bylund & Jarvis, 2011; Cook, 2003; Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2002). Pavlenko and Jarvis (2002) called this phenomenon “bidirectional transfer”; that is, transfer that works both ways. This new line of inquiry was an important step in CLI research, since it brought to the forefront the belief that L1 competence is not stable and that under certain circumstances it can possibly be influenced by the L2. Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008, p. 18) related this development to the renewed, increasing interest in studies on language attrition (Köpke & Schmid, 2004; Schmid 2007). They also pointed out that, according to the empirical findings, we can distinguish CLI from L1 attrition processes and/or L1 incomplete acquisition, although Pavlenko (2011b) argued that this cannot always be accomplished and called for further research into the matter (p. 246).

Finally, another new theoretical viewpoint is the multicompetence framework suggested by Cook (1991, 1992, 2003), according to which the competence of people who know more than one language is different to that of monolingual speakers. This perspective is more frequently applied to bilingual research and is akin to Grosjean’s (1989) idea that bilinguals are not “two monolinguals in one person.” This new theoretical approach also has implications for CLI research, specifically in multilingual acquisition, since it speaks to how

multilinguals' language systems interact during language learning and use, and why their L2 production may not be identical to that of monolinguals.

2.1.4. New tendencies in CLI research: From linguistic to conceptual transfer

As it was described above, recently scholars' interest has moved on from the traditional exploration of purely linguistic transfer to the investigation of transfer with a cognitive dimension. Below, a theoretical overview of this tendency will be offered by mentioning the main research areas and their objectives. Afterwards, some examples of empirical studies within this framework will be presented.

There are several areas of research stemming from the examination of the relationship between language and thought: Linguistic relativity, conceptual transfer, and the thinking-for-speaking hypothesis (Slobin 1993, 1996a, 1996b). It has been argued (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008; Jarvis, 2011; Odlin, 2005, 2010) that precise limits and definitions of these terms are not always clear and may lead to misconceptions. Thus, a basic distinction should be made firstly between linguistic relativity and conceptual transfer and the scope of interest of each one:

Linguistic relativity begins with language and ends with cognition, hypothesizing that structural differences between languages result in cognitive differences for their speakers. This hypothesis is best tested by linguists, psychologists, and anthropologists concerned with non-verbal

cognition. In contrast, *conceptual transfer starts with language and ends, via cognition, with language* [emphasis added], hypothesizing that certain instances of CLI in a person's use of language are influenced by conceptual categories acquired through another language. This hypothesis is best tested by scholars concerned with second language acquisition, bilingualism, and multilingualism. (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 115)

Given the fact that the present study does not look at the influence of a specific language on cognitive processes, the issue of linguistic relativity will not be further discussed, but the reader can find extensive discussions in the work of Lucy (1992a, 1992b, 1996) and Gumperz and Levinson (1996).

Jarvis (2007) observed that the term "conceptual transfer" is relatively new in SLA research, and it was not until 1998 (Jarvis 1998; Pavlenko, 1998 cited in Jarvis, 2007) that it was introduced and explicitly used as such. In his study, Jarvis offered a thorough discussion vis-à-vis the notion of conceptual transfer as an attempt to clarify its meaning and scope. He first made a fundamental distinction between conceptual transfer and conceptualization transfer. The former refers to the "transfer arising from crosslinguistic categories stored in the L2 users' long term memory", whereas the latter concerns the "transfer arising from crosslinguistic influences in the way L2 users process conceptual knowledge and form temporary representations in their working memory" (Jarvis, 2007, p. 53). However, he acknowledged that in some cases it may be difficult to distinguish between the two (Jarvis, 2007, p. 52). In a later article, Jarvis (2011) defined conceptual transfer as "the area which deals with crosslinguistic differences and

crosslinguistic influences in mental constructions and verbal expressions of meanings” (p. 1). According to the scholar, conceptual transfer can be interpreted at three levels: As an observation, approach and hypothesis. Regarding observation, it refers to the cases where speakers and L2 learners from various L1 linguistic backgrounds tend to describe the same events and experiences in conceptually different ways. As an approach to research, it is connected with the exploration of CLI within the Cognitive Linguistics framework. Lastly, as a hypothesis, it posits the idea that particular cases of CLI in a learner’s language production may have their roots in concepts and patterns of conceptualization that the learner has acquired as a speaker of a specific L1.

In addition, Jarvis (2007, 2011) discussed the relation of conceptual and conceptualization transfer with Slobin’s thinking-for-speaking hypothesis (1991, 1993, 1996a, 1996b). This is an issue especially relevant to the current study. Slobin (1991) introduced the thinking-for-speaking hypothesis as “a special kind of thinking [that] is called into play, *on-line*, in the process of speaking in a particular language” (p. 7). He suggested that the speaker makes choices on-line according to specific patterns that he/she has acquired as a speaker of a particular language. Slobin (1993) also claimed that “each native language *has trained* [emphasis added] its speaker to pay different attention to events and experiences when talking about them. This training is carried out in childhood and *is exceptionally resistant to restructuring in ALA* [adult language acquisition] [emphasis added]” (p. 245). Therefore, thinking-for-speaking concerns the selection of those characteristics of objects and events that “fit some conceptualization of the event and are readily

encodable in one language” (Slobin, 1996a, p. 76). Recently several scholars have discussed the relevance of this hypothesis for SLA suggesting that learning a new target language implies learning a new way of thinking-for-speaking (Cadierno, 2004, 2010; Cadierno & Lund, 2004; Cadierno & Ruiz, 2006; Han & Cadierno, 2010; Kellerman & Van Hoof, 2003) or, better said, a “re-thinking for speaking” (Ellis & Cadierno, 2009; Robinson & Ellis, 2008b). Given Slobin’s claims (1991, 1993, 1996a, 2000, 2003, 2006) about the resisting nature of the L1 thinking-for-speaking patterns, the interest of SLA research will be centered on whether an L2 learner can reconstruct them in order to conform to the L2 thought patterns.

Turning to the relation between conceptual and conceptualization transfer with the thinking-for-speaking hypothesis, Jarvis (2007) argued that Slobin’s theory is more related to the latter. Conceptualization transfer includes thinking-for-speaking, because they both appear to occur during processing. An important point as regards conceptualization transfer is that “it can occur independently of crosslinguistic differences in learners’ conceptual inventories” (Jarvis, 2007, p. 63); that is, conceptualization transfer may be found even in cases where speakers of different L1 backgrounds share the same general concepts, but the way these concepts are organized and construed differ. For instance, speakers of different L1 backgrounds can share the same concept of EMBARRASSMENT, but the pattern that they use in order to construe this concept may differ. Native speakers of Spanish for example will use the periphrasis *me da vergüenza*, literally “it gives me embarrassment”, whereas native speakers of Greek will use the single verb *ντρέπομαι* /ntrépome/, literally “I embarrass myself.” These different ways of

construing reflect different perspectives of a specific situation (Langacker, 2008a). If Spanish L1 learners of Greek transfer their L1 pattern when acquiring Greek as an L2, this cannot be seen as evidence of conceptual transfer, since both languages presumably⁵ share the same concept of EMBARRASSMENT; rather, it could be evidence of conceptualization transfer, a transfer of construals which refers to the “linguistic manifestation of how an event has been conceptualized” by the L2 learner (Jarvis, 2011, p. 4). According to Jarvis (2007) this seems to conform to the “types of conceptualization transfer that constitute thinking-for-speaking” (pp. 63-64).

Several studies have explored how conceptual or conceptualization differences can lead to cases of CLI during SLA. Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008) mention eight basic domains of reference in which CLI has been explored, notwithstanding acknowledging that there do exist more. These domains are the following: OBJECTS, EMOTIONS, PERSONHOOD, GENDER, NUMBER, TIME, SPACE, and MOTION (p. 122). Below, a few examples of research in some of these domains will be presented briefly, with the aim of offering the reader a general picture of this line of inquiry.

A domain which has attracted a great deal of attention from SLA researchers is MOTION. Studies on MOTION mainly take as a point of departure Talmy’s typological framework (1985, 1991, 2000) about the way path or direction and manner are expressed in typologically different languages. Talmy has

⁵ As will be explained in following chapters (Chapter 7 and 8), other types of experimental conditions (i.e., non-linguistic tasks) are necessary in order to make sure that learners indeed share the same conceptual representation.

identified two basic categories: First, satellite-framed languages (S-languages), such as English, Dutch and German, which express the manner⁶ of motion with a verb and the path⁷ by means of a satellite, such as particles (e.g., *out, in, up, down, etc.*) or verb prefixes (e.g., *mis-* as in *misfire*). For example, in English “the rock *rolled down* the hill.” Second, verb-framed languages, such as Spanish, French, Modern Greek, Turkish, where the path is typically encoded in the main verb and the manner is expressed with adverbials or with a gerund. For example, in Spanish “la botella *entró en la cueva (flotando)*”⁸. The SLA studies attempt to show whether L2 learners whose L1 and L2 differ in terms of the expression of MOTION will make use of the L1 patterns of MOTION or whether they will be able to reconstruct them and adapt them to the L2 patterns. The majority of these studies interpret the findings in light of the thinking-for-speaking hypothesis; their findings report specific rhetorical preferences made by L2 learners which echo their L1 patterns. These preferences also reveal that L2 learners tend to pay attention to the elements which are encoded in the frames promoted by their L1s (Slobin, 2003). Cadierno and associates (Cadierno, 2004, 2010; Cadierno & Lund, 2004; Cadierno & Ruiz, 2006) have carried out research on how MOTION is expressed in the L2 narratives of L1 learners of a satellite-framed language (Danish) when they acquire a verb-framed language (Spanish) and vice versa. In certain studies, the learners’ rhetorical styles in the L2 revealed L1 influence, providing thus evidence for the resisting nature of L1 patterns. More specifically,

⁶ *Manner* refers to the way in which motion takes place.

⁷ *Path* refers to the route followed by the *figure* (i.e., the moving or conceptually movable entity) with respect to the *ground* (i.e., the object with respect to which the figure moves) (Talmy, 2000, p. 312)

⁸ Examples originally cited in Talmy (2000, pp. 49-50).

Cadierno (2004) found that the L1 patterns had an impact on the elaboration of path and the degree of complexity in the L2. Nevertheless, the researcher also reported the production of certain target-like patterns, a finding also supported by follow-up studies (Cadierno & Ruiz, 2006). This result demonstrates that the reconstruction of L1 thinking-for-speaking patterns—albeit being a complex and demanding process—can, in some cases, be achieved (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008).

Valuable insight into the way MOTION is conceptualized and expressed was also provided by studies exploring paralinguistic features, such as gestures. Many scholars have argued that gestures can illuminate the way L2 learners think when performing in the L2 (Gullberg, 2006, 2009, 2011; Kellerman & Van Hoof, 2003; McNeill, 2005; McNeill & Duncan, 2000; Stam, 2006, 2010). The majority of these studies has shown that learners' gestures can reveal that they are still thinking in their L1; Kellerman and Van Hoof (2003) call of L1 "accent" as "manual accent". These studies can be interpreted as further evidence of the resisting nature of L1 patterns.

In relation to the domain of EMOTIONS there are studies exploring how crosslinguistic differences in the way EMOTIONS are encoded across languages can result in cases of CLI during the acquisition of a new target language. There are various ways in which "language-mediated concepts of EMOTIONS may differ" in different languages (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 126). Pavlenko (2002a, 2002b, 2005) has conducted research on how EMOTIONS are linguistically construed and expressed in Russian and English. The researcher (2002a) investigated the way Russian monolinguals expressed EMOTIONS as compared to a group of American

monolinguals, after both having been exposed to the same visual stimuli. The two languages present different patterns of encoding EMOTIONS: English favors the adjectival pattern; that is, EMOTIONS are usually expressed with adjectives and they are conceptualized as *states*. On the contrary, Russian prefers the verbal pattern, namely, EMOTIONS are expressed by means of verbs and they are conceptualized as *processes* in which the speakers are actively involved. The analyses of the data confirmed this tendency: English participants described the emotional experience as a state, whereas Russian participants described them as an active and embodied process. Pavlenko (2002a) also stated that these tendency of Russian participants to view EMOTIONS as activities led them to “pay more attention to facial expressions, body language, and external behaviors” and also referred to the events presented in the visual stimuli as “more painful and tragic” than did the American participants (p. 235). The researcher concluded that the discursive construction of EMOTIONS is subject to cultural, social, individual, and linguistic factors.

As regards the domain of TIME, Casasanto et al. (2004) showed the differences in perceiving the temporal duration by speakers of different L1s. More specifically, the researchers reported that English and Indonesian tended to perceive “time as distance” (for instance, a *long* time), whereas Spanish and Greek speakers tended to conceptualize “time as quantity” (e.g., in Spanish, *mucho tiempo* [=much time] and in Greek *πολλή ώρα* /*poli ora*/ [=much time] or *μεγάλη νύχτα* /*megali nyctal*/ [=big night]). In these cases, conceptual transfer takes place when an English L1 learner of Spanish or Greek produces utterances such as “*largo*

tiempo" [=long time] or "*μακριά νύχτα*" /*makria nyghta*/ [=long night] respectively, transferring thus the L1 pattern.

As far as OBJECTS are concerned, there has been research about how the same objects are named differently by speakers of different of L1 backgrounds. An example is the study of Malt, Sloman, Gennari, Shi, and Wang (1999), which demonstrated that there were differences in the way speakers of American English, Mandarin Chinese, and Argentinean Spanish named 60 containers. For instance, it was found that the 16 objects named "bottle" in English were spread across seven different categories in Spanish; additionally, in Chinese, the category which included 19 objects called "jar" in English also encompassed 13 objects called "bottle" in English and eight called "containers." In a subsequent study, Malt and Sloman (2003) provided evidence about the difficulties which are encountered by L2 learners, when the latter come to acquire new conceptual categories and reconstruct the already existing ones during L2 acquisition. In their study, the researchers asked English L2 learners to name household objects in the L2, as well as in their L1. Their data were afterwards compared to those provided by monolinguals native speakers of English. The results showed that even the most proficient L2 learners, with several years' length of residence in the U.S. and/or several years of formal instruction in the L2, manifested differences regarding naming patterns from the monolingual group. The researchers concluded that time spent in an English-speaking environment was an important predictor of performance, but even this extensive L2 exposure could not prevent the occurrence of divergences between L2 learners and native speakers of English.

This means that learning to name objects may turn out to be a more demanding process, since it goes beyond the memorization of translation equivalents between the L1 and the target language. Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008, p. 125) attribute the complexity of this process to conceptual transfer: Learning to name objects may also require the development of “new conceptual categories linked to L2 verbal labels.” Such development can entail either reconstruction “of the category boundaries [or] internalization of new category prototypes” (p. 125).

To sum up, as can be seen by the overview offered above, this new line of research is particularly groundbreaking for the field of CLI. The multidimensional and insightful data that are offered by the new approaches can elucidate the way CLI operates during the acquisition of a new target language and they may finally lead to a better understanding of how different language systems interact during the process of language learning.

2.1.5. Factors that affect Crosslinguistic Influence

What characterizes CLI as a complex phenomenon in SLA is its interaction with many other variables and in various ways, an issue that has received a large amount of research. The importance of the exploration of these factors lies in the fact that it can reveal essential aspects of the language learning process. Experts in the field have described in-depth the factors that can affect CLI (R. Ellis, 1994; Jarvis, 2000; Odlin, 1989; Odlin & Jarvis, 2004). Among all the factors described in

the literature, the most relevant for the current study are proficiency in the target language and spending time in the target language country. These variables will be presented thoroughly in Sections 2.2 and 2.3 respectively. However, in order to provide the reader with a general picture of the possible variables that can account for CLI instances, a summary of them will be offered, albeit not undertaking an exhaustive description (for a comprehensive treatise, see Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008). For this purpose, the categorization used by Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008) will be adopted here, given the fact that it is the most up-to-date and thorough and it is based on a profound analysis of the findings of all the CLI studies reported until 2008.

According to Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008, p. 175) the factors that affect CLI can be divided into the following five categories:

1. Linguistic and psycholinguistic factors
2. Cognitive, attentional, and developmental factors
3. Factors related to cumulative language experience and knowledge
4. Factors related to the learning environment
5. Factors related to language use

Below each category is further described.

1. Linguistic and psycholinguistic factors

a. Crosslinguistic similarity

Typological similarities among the languages have been found to play a fundamental role to the occurrence of transfer (Kellerman, 1983; Ringbom, 1987, 2007; Dewaele, 1998). Congruent elements between the source and the target language can usually become a source of influence. However, more important than the actual typological similarity appears to be the factor of psychotypology (Kellerman, 1983), which is—as I explained before—the learners' perception about the closeness of two languages. This perceived distance, since it is based on learner's assumptions, is subjective and it may not represent the actual distance between the languages. It can also change as proficiency in the target language progresses; hence, it is not static.

Subjective⁹ similarities and differences can have an impact on the extent to which learner draw on the source language during the acquisition or use of the target language, whereas objective similarities and differences, that is, actual similarities or differences, can have an impact on the kind of influence that will take place, namely positive or negative (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 178).

⁹In the literature, there can be found two general types of subjective similarities: *perceived* and *assumed*. "A 'perceived similarity' is a conscious or unconscious judgment that a form, structure, meaning function or pattern that the L2 user has encountered in the input of the recipient language is similar to a corresponding feature of the source language. An 'assumed similarity', on the other hand is a conscious or unconscious *hypothesis* that a form, structure, meaning, function, or pattern that exists in the source language has a counterpart in the recipient language, *regardless of whether the L2 user has yet encountered anything like it in the input of the recipient language* [emphasis added], and regardless of whether it actually exists in the recipient language" (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 179).

b. Area of language acquisition and use

CLI effects may differ depending on the area of language acquisition and use under analysis. The literature demonstrates that transfer occurrence is most frequent in phonology, lexis, semantics, discourse and pragmatics, somewhat frequent in morphology and orthography and less common in syntax. The manifestation of occurrence becomes more complex because of the effects of other factors, especially L2 proficiency and crosslinguistic similarities between the source and the target language (Jarvis, 2000; Odlin, 1989).

c. Frequency, recency, and salience

As was previously explained in Section 2.1.2, Andersen and Kellerman with their theories “Transfer to Somewhere” and “Transfer to Nowhere” first addressed the issue of the *frequency* of the items as a possible predictor of transfer. Selinker claimed that the more frequent L1 items are, the more they will be transferred. Andersen additionally emphasized the importance of the frequency of L2 items; that is, frequent L2 items will be more prone to transfer.

Recency refers to the order in which language are acquired and used and to the possible effects that this order might have on the occurrence of CLI. In other words, an L2 learner may have more influence from a language that has been learned or used recently, due to the fact that this is the most active language (Poullisse, 1999; Deweale, 1998; Hammarberg, 2001; Odlin & Jarvis, 2004). This variable is particularly relevant for CLI within the framework of Third Language Acquisition (Cenoz et al., 2001; 2003; Jessner, 2008; De Angelis & Dewaele, 2011).

Lastly, *salience* is related to the degree to which a particular structure is observable. Similarly to frequency and recency, the salience of a structure could render it more transferable.

d. Markedness and prototypicality

Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008) treat these factors as a unit, as they consider them to have many characteristics in common (p. 186). They are both related to whether a structure is *marked*, namely, special, complex and rare, instead of *unmarked*; that is, basic, simple, less complex and more frequent. Various studies have demonstrated that the acquisition of a marked L2 structure is more demanding than that of an unmarked one, which can be acquired more easily and quickly. The acquisition of a marked L2 structure will also be contingent on whether the equivalent L1 structure is marked or unmarked. Marked L1 structures or infrequent language-specific features may be less prone to transfer.

Prototypicality on the other hand, is usually related “to L2 users’ perception concerning the degree to which a structure or a meaning is prototypical (central, typical, universal) versus aprototypical (non central, atypical language-specific)” (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 187). Similar to the case of markedness described above, prototypicality can influence learners’ perception about the transferability of certain L1 structures (Kellerman, 1989). An insightful remark made by Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008) in regard to these two variables is that both can explain not only why some structures turn out to be more transferable than others, but also why transfer can work asymmetrically, being transferred more

frequently in one direction than in other (p. 188). However, more research is needed in order to shed more light on how these factors can affect transfer.

e. Linguistic context

Little research has been carried out regarding whether and how transfer can be affected by the linguistic context; that is, what surrounds the linguistic units (morphemes, words, sentences). Some studies on L2 production have shown that linguistic context may affect L2 pronunciation, where L1 influence can usually be detected. For instance, some phonetic environments may promote more or less L1 influence. Further research is necessary in this area in order to examine more the relationship between this variable and transfer, as well as the role of additional factors which might interact.

2. Cognitive, attentional, and developmental factors

a. Level of cognitive maturity

The level of cognitive maturity has been found to have an impact on the amount of transfer that learners show. Learners with different cognitive levels differ as to the occurrence of transfer in terms of quantity and quality. The effects of transfer can be found in both L2 production and comprehension, and they can be both of negative or positive nature. For instance, Upton and Lee-Thompson (2001) found that their participants—all university students— made significant use of their L1 in order to better understand a reading task. In other words, they were able to benefit from positive L1 influence. However, this finding was also related to L2 proficiency (see Section 2.2), which can also interact with cognitive maturity.

Furthermore, this factor is also related to age, and how younger learners differ from older ones (Navés et al., 2005; Cenoz, 2001). For instance, Cenoz (2001) found that the older, and consequently, more cognitively mature participants were more likely to transfer and use prior knowledge as a compensatory strategy.

b. Developmental and universal processes of language acquisition

The relationship between transfer and developmental processes can be observed in the way it influences the rate at which learners advance in the target language (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 192). In addition, crosslinguistic similarities between the source and the recipient language can facilitate language learning to such an extent that they can enable the learners to skip a developmental stage (R. Ellis, 1994).

Moreover, as far as universal processes are concerned, two phenomena have been found to be common to learners from all L1 linguistic backgrounds: Simplification¹⁰ and overgeneralization. Their relationship with transfer has to do with the frequency with which L2 learners will produce the aforementioned phenomena; in other words, specific L1 backgrounds may affect the quantity of learners' simplifications and overgeneralizations (Jarvis & Odlin, 2000).

c. Cognitive language learning abilities

Cognitive abilities such as language aptitude (Abrahamsson & Hyltenstam, 2008; Harley & Hart, 1997), working memory capacity (Baddeley, 1986, 2003) and

¹⁰ *Simplification* is defined as "any reduction resulting in linguistic structure simpler than what is considered to be the target language norm" (Odlin, 1989, pp. 168-169).

attentional control (Segalowitz & Freed, 2004) have been found to be important variables in SLA. Nonetheless, their exploration in combination with transfer is very limited and is primarily confined to the area of phonetics with respect to L2 accent. The general idea that stems from these findings is that cognitive language abilities can make learners rely less on prior language knowledge, showing, thus, less instances of CLI. However, it should be noted that the extent to which learners can make use of their cognitive skills and can benefit from them depends on additional factors, especially on their level of L2 proficiency.

d. Attention to and awareness of language

Under the cover term attentional factors the following variables can be included: “Attention to and awareness of language, conscious control of language use, and metacognitive and metalinguistic analysis of language” (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 194). All of them have been found to interact with transfer. Odlin (1989) considered “linguistic awareness” to be an important factor for the occurrence of CLI and he defined it as “knowing about a language” (p. 40). This knowledge according to Odlin (1989) “can be either conscious or unconscious” (p. 40). Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008) defined language awareness as “explicit knowledge of language” (p. 194). As for the way in which transfer is affected by learners’ language awareness, it has been reported that conscious monitoring during language production can lead to fewer instances of CLI or to cases of selective CLI. For instance, Williams & Hammarberg (1998) found two types of switches in their participant’s production: Intentional and unintentional. Each of these types was related to a different source language and to a different communication purpose.

Furthermore, according to Odlin (1989), explicit knowledge about the language and conscious control can decrease the possibility of transfer. Empirical evidence (Jarvis, 2002; Kasper, 1997) has confirmed that belief, showing that learners who can have access to explicit knowledge and are able to exert conscious monitoring while performing in the L2, they are more cautious and therefore, they manifest less cases of CLI. Jessner (1999, 2006) argued that multilingual learners have increased metalinguistic awareness, based on the fact that she detected qualitative changes in multilinguals' learning strategies as a result of crosslinguistic interactions. Likewise, higher levels of metalinguistic awareness can facilitate the language learning process if learners are able to make use of positive transfer across languages.

3. Factors related to cumulative language and experience

a. Language proficiency

Language proficiency is a key factor in the amount of transfer that a learner will exhibit and it is interrelated with numerous other factors. The language proficiency factor concerns, primarily, the proficiency in the target language. This issue will be discussed in depth in Section 2.2. This factor can also refer to proficiency in other, previously acquired, languages. This aspect pertains more specifically to the third-language or multilingual acquisition framework, where studies explore how different L2s interact. However, as the present study focuses influence from the L1 (which is assumed to be fully acquired), only a brief

reference will be made to proficiency in other L2s. Generally, it has been found that L2 proficiency can affect transfer patterns during the acquisition of a new target language, but a certain threshold level must be achieved before a language can operate as CLI source (M. Tremblay, 2006). Otherwise, the influence of other languages will be marginal or even nonexistent (but see also De Angelis, 2007 for further discussion on this issue).

b. Age

The age factor has received a great deal of attention in SLA research (García Mayo & García Lecumberri, 2003; Muñoz, 2006). According to Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008) it may sometimes be unclear to what of the following aspects the term age refers: age of acquisition, age of arrival in the target language country, age at task (p. 197). Age effects may be different regarding the area of research (Odlin, 1989, 2003) and sometimes they have been found to be contradictory. Generally speaking, older learners seem to manifest more L1 transfer than younger learners in phonology, but not necessarily in lexis and morphology. When other languages are included as a source of transfer, older learners may show more cases of transfer, especially in lexis (Cenoz, 2001), but this fact may be related with other factors such as metalinguistic awareness, typological distance among the languages analyzed and psychotypology.

c. Length, frequency, and intensity of language exposure

In instructed SLA contexts, length of exposure is usually operationalized as the years of instruction a person has received in the target language, whereas

frequency and intensity are operationalized as the number of hours per day or per week of instruction in the target language or the hours of contact. There are studies which provide evidence that more exposure to the target language leads to more transfer, while others show the opposite. The L2 exposure factor will be further discussed in Section 2.3.

d. Length of residence

In studies which investigate language acquisition in the second language context, the length of residence in the target language country has been found to be fundamental to the amount of CLI a learner exhibits. This factor will be thoroughly discussed in Section 2.3.3.

e. Number and order of acquired languages

This factor is important when knowledge of formerly acquired languages is taken into account, that is, again, the case of Third or Multilingual Acquisition framework. Although the exploration of this factor is relatively recent, empirical evidence has shown that the prior language knowledge and the order into which several L2s have been acquired may affect transfer in terms of source language and quantity of instances (Hammarberg, 2001; Odlin & Jarvis, 2004).

4. Factors related to the learning environment

The distinction about the learning environment seems to play a significant role to CLI. One distinction could be made between formal learning environment and naturalistic environment and it is particularly relevant for the present study.

Another distinction could refer to whether “the learner is focused more on the formal properties of the language versus meaning and communication” (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 206). Evidence of transfer has been found in both contexts. As Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008) point out, the crucial question for CLI researchers is not whether one environment can promote transfer more than the other, but how this transfer differs across the different environments. The conclusion is that “transfer can affect learning differently in different environments” and the way in which its effects will occur has to do with the engagement of explicit versus implicit memory (pp. 206-207). For instance, classroom environments can enable learners to make conscious comparisons between the languages, hence promoting monitoring which can help them avoid certain types of negative transfer. Conversely, in a naturalistic environment, where implicit knowledge is promoted, the type of influence could differ. Learners may not be able to make conscious crosslinguistic comparisons and this may hinder them from avoiding cases of negative transfer. Nevertheless, the quality of the input they experience in such a context can help them acquire other aspects of language, for instance cases of conceptual transfer. Lastly, it must be added that the impact of learning environment on CLI may be related to the direction of CLI. Especially in naturalistic settings, influence from the target language to the L1 may occur (Pavlenko, 2000).

5. Factors related to language use

Under this general term Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008) included the following variables: idiolect, level of formality, interlocutor, and task type. They also observed that the research regarding these factors is scarce.

The variable “idiolect” concerns the extent to which learners’ personal style can affect the transfer patterns that they will manifest in the L2. Even in the L1, individuals’ language production has been found to be idiosyncratic and to reflect one’s preferences and viewpoint. It can be assumed that the CLI patterns found in the L2 learners’ use could somehow mirror L1 idiolect.

The variable “formality” is related to whether formal versus informal content can influence the occurrence and the amount of transfer. Contradictory findings have been reported with respect to this factor, with some researchers documenting more transfer in formal contexts, whereas others suggest more transfer in informal contexts, where the L2 user pays less attention to language rules (Odlin, 1989).

Transfer patterns can also be influenced by the interlocutor factor; that is, with whom the L2 user is speaking. Social distance, national background and status of the interlocutor are aspects that can affect the way L2 users perform and exhibit transfer.

Task type, lastly, has been found to be an important factor in L2 performance (Gass & Selinker, 2001), as well as in CLI occurrence. Transfer patterns may differ depending on the task used in each study. For instance,

grammaticality judgment tests have been found to present more cases of transfer than elicited language production tasks (Gass, 1980).

To conclude, this section's objective was to provide a general overview of the factors that have been found to play a role in the occurrence of transfer during SLA. All of the variables described above can interact, making the phenomenon of CLI even more complex. Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008) foresee that more variables will come into the scene, as the knowledge deepens about how CLI occurs during SLA.

The next two sections will be dedicated to the factors which will be analyzed in the present dissertation: Proficiency in the target language (Section 2.2) and stays in the target language country (Section 2.3).

2.2. The role of proficiency in Crosslinguistic Influence

2.2.1. Introduction

Proficiency in the target language has always been considered as an essential factor affecting the nature and the quantity of the CLI that will take place during the acquisition of an L2. However, Odlin (1989,) characterized the notion of L2 proficiency as “controversial” due to problems related to its definition and measurements (p. 133). More specifically, he acknowledged as the root cause of this controversy, the lack of a valid and generally accepted test or battery of tests in order to evaluate proficiency. Almost twenty years later, Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008) made the same observation: The role of proficiency in CLI is still ambiguous. In their own words “The effects of recipient-language proficiency are not as clear-cut, and the findings of transfer studies vary widely in relation to whether transfer increases, decreases, stays the same, or fluctuates as recipient-language proficiency increases” (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 202). In fact, Jarvis (2000) reported six ways in which proficiency can affect L1 influence: It can decrease, increase, remain stable, decrease nonlinearly, increase nonlinearly, or fluctuate constantly.

Similarly to Odlin (1989), Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008) recognized the different measures of proficiency adopted among the different studies as a primordial reason of the vague picture regarding the relationship between target-language proficiency and CLI. Some of the different measures of proficiency used

in studies are years of instruction, proficiency tests, and length of residence in the target language country, among others. Nevertheless, there is not a unanimously accepted way to define and measure proficiency. Apart from this, Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008) identified six more reasons that may account for the inconsistency in the results about the relationship between proficiency and CLI. One of them is related to the fact that this relationship “can be confounded by other variables, such as crosslinguistic similarity” (Ringbom, 2007). An additional reason is that different studies include and focus on different proficiency levels; that is, some of them explore lower ranges of proficiency, whereas some others investigate more advanced ones (Cenoz, 2001; Naves et. al, 2005). One more reason for the inconsistent findings is that the impact of proficiency could be different depending on the specific linguistic area under analysis (lexical, morphological, syntactic, phonological), as well as on the specific structure explored. A fourth reason is that different studies have looked at different types of effects: Some of them investigated learning-related effects, others performance-related effects, and some others focused on both. Another reason for the inconsistent findings concerns whether the negative effects of transfer have been measured in terms of total occurrence or “whether they have been measured proportionally in relation to the negative effects of other factors” (p. 202). Lastly, a sixth reason is that some studies have explored only cases of negative influence, while others have examined both negative and positive effects of CLI (Helms-Park, 2001). Generally speaking, negative transfer appears to decrease as proficiency increases, although positive transfer may present a different picture. In this case, more advanced learners may

get more influence and benefit more from possible crosslinguistic similarities between the target and the source language. This fact is also related to higher metalinguistic awareness of the most proficient learners, who are more experienced with the language learning process (Jessner, 1999).

In spite of the ambiguity of the findings, empirical evidence has shown that proficiency in the target language does play a fundamental role in the CLI that a learner may experience during L2 acquisition. Nevertheless, the effect of this factor may differ depending on how it is defined and measured in each study and on what other variables are explored in combination with it (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008). The following sections review the empirical findings regarding the role of proficiency in various CLI studies. Section 2.2.2 will be dedicated to CLI studies that explored purely linguistic aspects (such as lexical CLI, CLI in verbal tenses, etc.), whereas Section 2.2.3 will deal with CLI studies where the aspects under analysis also include a cognitive dimension (i.e., cases of conceptual transfer and studies exploring the thinking-for-speaking hypothesis). This distinction is motivated by the fact that the role of proficiency in these two types of CLI studies has been found to operate in a distinct fashion.

2.2.2. CLI studies exploring purely linguistic aspects: The role of proficiency

Odlin (1989) discussed thoroughly the issue of proficiency and CLI and mentioned that according to empirical evidence there seems to be a relation between them.

One of the first examples is the study of B. Taylor (1975, as cited in Odlin 1989) who carried out research with Spanish L1 learners of English. He found that less proficient learners had the tendency to draw more on their L1 and claimed that this was because of their limited L2 knowledge. In his review about the role of the L1 influence, Ringbom (1987) observed the same trend: The role of the L1 is more significant for the beginning levels and it decreases as L2 proficiency increases. Learners at initial levels usually present more L1 influence because they have “not yet acquired an L2-frame of reference and (...) [they] have very little else to rely on than the hypothesis that the L2 will in many, or at least in some, respects work in a similar way to [their] L1” (Ringbom, 1987, p. 63). On the contrary, intermediate and advanced learners who have more knowledge and experience with the target language will depend less on their L1, thus presenting fewer instances of L1 influence.

Poullisse and Bongaerts (1994) explored the occurrence of unintentional languages switches during the English as an L2 production of Dutch L1 learners. The participants of the study belonged to three different proficiency levels: high, intermediate and low-intermediate. The results demonstrated that the occurrence of switches was related to L2 proficiency, in the sense that less proficient learners showed more instances of switches.

Helms-Park (2001) investigated the L1 effect on the acquisition of L2 verbs in those semantic classes that have L1/L2 translation equivalents, especially regarding causative verbs. The participants of the study were L2 learners of English with L1 Hindi-Urdu or Vietnamese and they belonged to three different

proficiency levels (beginner, intermediate and advanced). The proficiency classification was based on learners' performance in the first three sections of Nation's (1990) frequency-based vocabulary placement test. The results suggested that transfer is more apparent at low levels of lexical proficiency: This level was found to have significant differences with the other two (intermediate and advanced) as far as the amount of negative transfer is concerned.

Salaberry (1999) examined the development of past tense verbal morphology of L2 Spanish by four proficiency groups (corresponding to different academic semesters) of English L1 learners. It was found that beginners showed more L1 influence than the participants with more L2 experience.

In her longitudinal study of a seven-year period, Celaya (2006) explored the relationship between lexical transfer and L2 proficiency in English as an L2 by Spanish/Catalan bilinguals. The researcher followed the participants from their 5th grade at primary school to 1st non-compulsory year at high school. She found that L1 lexical transfer, as measured by instances of misspelling, borrowing and coinage, decreased as L2 proficiency increased. However, there was a type of lexical transfer which did not follow the same pattern: calques. The production of calques slightly increased between the time of the second and the time of the third data collection, namely as the participants became more proficient in the L2. This finding implied that not all the types of L1 influence appear and develop in the same way: Some types may require an already established L2 knowledge in order to occur and they may also entail different processes during second language vocabulary acquisition.

Navés et al. (2005) investigated whether proficiency had an impact on lexical CLI, as measured by borrowings and lexical inventions. Their participants were Spanish/Catalan bilinguals learning of English as a foreign language at different school grades, from grade 5 to 12 (corresponding to different hours of instruction). The researchers found that there was a general, constant decrease from lower to higher grades in the use of borrowings and lexical inventions. However, the effect of proficiency (grade) was more apparent and powerful in the case of borrowings where the decrease was found to be statistically significant. In the case of lexical inventions the decrease was not significant. In line with previous studies, the researchers came to the conclusion that more proficient learners rely less on their L1.

However, Cenoz (2001) reported opposed findings. She found that her participants, bilingual Basque/Spanish learners of English at three different grades (2, 6 and 9), tend to present more L1 influence at more advanced school grades. She attributed this finding to the higher metalinguistic awareness of participants at higher grades. Nonetheless, a critical review of this study made by Naves et al. (2005) showed that these results may be also related to the way transfer was calculated and reported (for more details see Navés et al., 2005, pp. 127-128). This is an example of how different measures of influence adopted across the studies can yield different findings. It should also be mentioned that these two studies included young participants (not adults), consequently the age factor is also important at the time of interpreting the results. This is because young learners (children or adolescents) and adults have been found to show differences in the

way they acquire an L2 (Muñoz, 2006). Additionally, as far as L1 transfer is concerned, quantitative and qualitative differences have been documented for participants of different age groups, due to maturational factors and language awareness (Celaya & Torras, 2001).

In the same context as the one explored in the present doctoral dissertation, Andria (2010) and Andria, Miralpeix and Celaya (2012) explored the role of proficiency in verbal tenses and vocabulary of Spanish and Catalan learners of Greek as an L2. A moderate correlation was found between L2 proficiency and lexical CLI, which showed that as proficiency in Greek improved, the presence of lexical CLI decreased. Participants at initial levels appeared to rely more on their L1, in order to compensate for the lack of L2 knowledge. Conversely, participants at more proficient stages appeared to be more careful in the production of CLI errors. In the cases of verbal tenses, however, proficiency did not play the same role; in fact, no differences were found among the different proficiency levels. The researchers attributed the result to the fact that the tense form under analysis (*ἀόριστος* /*aóristos*/, past simple) was frequently used in class. In cases where the structures were less frequent (hence, more demanding), it was equally difficult for all the proficient levels. This explanation also appeared in participants' oral protocols, where they acknowledged the influence of their L1 in cases of demanding structures, rather than in that of the recurrent ones. The results of the studies by Andria and colleagues (2010, 2012) are a clear example of how proficiency can affect CLI differently depending on the area under analysis.

Another area of CLI research, although less explored, is reading. Upton (1997, 1998) and Upton and Lee-Thompson (2001) addressed the issue of the role of the L1 in the reading strategies of L2 readers, and whether this role changes as L2 proficiency progresses. In these studies, drawing on the L1 knowledge in order to complete a reading task was considered as a case of positive L1 influence, from which L2 learners can benefit. Upton (1997, 1998) found evidence of the reliance on the L1 as language of thought during the L2 reading, and also an important relationship between L1 reliance and L2 proficiency: L1 use decreased as L2 proficiency increased (but see Hawras, 1996 as discussed in Upton & Lee-Thompson, 2001 for different results).

Furthermore, Upton and Lee-Thompson (2001) followed the same line of inquiry, as an attempt to delve more into this topic. In their study, they included three proficiency levels, based on the results of a language proficiency test of English as an L2: Intermediate, advanced and “post-ESL” (Upton & Lee-Thompson, 2001, p. 473). The latter was a group of very proficient participants, whose scores in the test were very high and they did not need any further L2 classes. Results suggested that intermediate learners, while carrying out the reading task, tended to think and process by drawing on their L1 more frequently than the advanced learners, and the advanced learners more frequently than the high proficient group. In other words, the use of the L1 decreased as proficiency increased. For the high proficiency group, the percentages of L1 use were low and counting on the L1 was not that important and necessary for them. Nevertheless, they considered it an occasional valuable tool for reading comprehension. The

researchers concluded that “the overall use and success of calling on the L1 to aid in L2 reading is clearly determined by L2 proficiency (Upton & Lee-Thompson, 2001, p. 488), in the sense that as L2 proficiency increases, beneficial L1 influence (namely, positive influence) increases, but the need to think and rely on the L1 (“the cognitive reliance on this strategy”, as they stated) declines. An additional, important finding from the above-mentioned articles which is very relevant to the nature of CLI is that L1 influence is not a simple act of translation from the L1 to the L2, a strategy to compensate for the lack of L2 knowledge; rather it is a complex, multidimensional phenomenon whose exploration can reveal essential information for the language learning process.

Lastly, as far as phonetics is concerned, it has been also found that proficiency is important for the possible amount of CLI. More specifically, proficiency—operationalized as vocabulary size—has been found to be related to L1 transfer; that is, higher vocabulary proficiency results in a lesser degree of L1 phonetic transfer (Best, 1995; Bundgaard-Nielsen, Best, Krooks, & Tyler, 2011).

To summarize, various studies about the role of proficiency on the nature and the amount of CLI have provided empirical evidence that it is a fundamental factor. The majority of them suggest that learners at initial levels of L2 proficiency show more cases of CLI, specifically of negative nature, as a compensatory strategy. More proficient learners, on the other hand, seem to present less CLI. Nevertheless, opposite results have been also reported (Cenoz, 2001; Hawras, 1996; Andria et al., 2012), with more proficient learners relying more heavily on their L1, mainly because of more metalinguistic awareness. What should be

pointed out is that at the time of interpreting the empirical findings from the CLI studies, we should be cautious with the conclusions we make. Results may be different due to the definition and the measure of proficiency adopted, the methodologies used, the instruments, the languages under investigation, the research area, the specific pattern under analysis, the influence measures. All these are issues which should be taken into account and overgeneralizations should be avoided (Odlin, 1989; Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008).

2.2.3. The impact of proficiency on CLI in aspects with cognitive dimension

Several studies have shown—as it was mentioned before—that L1 negative influence decreases, as L2 proficiency increases. These findings were suggested by studies which explored purely linguistic aspects (lexical, morphological, syntactic). However, it has been argued that when investigating aspects that may include a cognitive dimension, the relationship between L2 proficiency and L1 influence becomes more complex and it may not be a straightforward one (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 172). Studies examining this kind of influence are those dedicated to conceptual or transfer and to the acquisition of thinking-for-speaking patterns or conceptualization patterns (the term varies according to the researcher).

Sometimes L2 proficiency cannot guarantee the internalization of L2 patterns. This is the case of thinking-for-speaking patterns (Slobin, 1996a, 1996b)

which are generally found to be particularly difficult for L2 learners to acquire (Cadierno, 2004, 2010; Han & Cadierno, 2010), because they are related to the way experience is perceived and conceptualized (Cadierno & Lund, 2004). Studies examining whether L1 thinking-for-speaking patterns can be reconstructed towards the equivalent L2 ones show that even in advanced proficiency levels, participants are still influenced by their L1 during L2 production (Pavlenko, 2011a; Stam, 2010). The majority of these studies do not explore whether there are differences in the amount of CLI among participants of various L2 proficiency levels; rather they focus on whether high L2 proficiency can lead to a complete reconstruction of L1 patterns, and thus, to less L1 transfer. Therefore, most of them include participants of advanced proficiency level (but see Cadierno, 2004, 2010, who used low intermediate level participants).

Cadierno (2004) found that L2 proficiency could not prevent the influence of L1 thinking-for-speaking patterns in the expression of MOTION, when performing a task in the target language. Her participants, Danish learners of Spanish belonging to two proficient groups (advanced and intermediate level), provided more complex and elaborated path descriptions of Spanish than the native speakers of Spanish due to L1 influence. The researcher also came to an important observation: The two proficiency groups manifested different patterns of use regarding the “satellization” of the Spanish locative construction. This finding was interpreted as sign of interaction between L2 proficiency and CLI. Not only can L2 proficiency affect the amount of CLI, but also the way the latter is exhibited.

Moreover, Kellerman and Van Hoof (2003) came to similar conclusions with their study regarding the use of L2 language and gesture. Despite their high proficiency level, the participants of that study (advanced learners) were still influenced by their thinking-for-speaking patterns. In the same line of inquiry, Stam (2010) also used paralinguistic features to delve into the issue of the influence of L1 patterns. She carried out a longitudinal case study of a participant who lived in the target language country for 10 years. The researcher observed that even though the participant's L2 proficiency had improved significantly throughout the years in the L2 country and that she was able to produce more native-like patterns, her gestures revealed that she was still thinking in her L1. Thus, high L2 proficiency could not lead to complete disappearance of L1 influence.

Ekiert's (2010) research on writing yielded similar results. She examined the linguistic effects on thinking-for-writing, by focusing on the acquisition of articles in L2 English by three advanced learners of L1 Polish. Again, traces of L1 patterns which were found in the L2 written production of the participants indicated, that, in spite of the high L2 proficiency, L1 transfer could not disappear.

Nevertheless, Cadierno and Ruiz (2006) obtained opposite results: Their participants had acquired such a high level of L2 proficiency that the L1 influence, as documented in learners' written production data regarding motion events, was limited. The researchers concluded that the influence of L1 thinking-for-speaking patterns may be stronger at initial proficiency levels, but it decreases, as proficiency in the target language increases. However, they mentioned that some

traces of L1 patterns were still found in one of the two L2 groups as far as the expression of path of motion is concerned (Cadierno & Ruiz, 2006, p. 207). The study suggested that L2 proficiency does play a crucial role in the occurrence of CLI.

The conclusion that ensues from almost all of these studies is that in the case of influence which includes a cognitive dimension, L2 learners—even those who are highly proficient in the L2—are seldom completely “unchained” from the L1 influence (Bylund, 2011; Gullberg, 2011; Schmiedtová, von Stutterheim, & Carroll, 2011).

2.2.4. Summary of the relationship between L2 proficiency and CLI

As it can be seen in the review of the research about proficiency, it seems to be a complex factor and the findings from the studies are usually inconsistent. Due the complexity of this variable, Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008) concluded that “any generalization about the effects of proficiency on transfer will unavoidably be an oversimplification” (p. 203). They also pointed out that although the effects of L2 proficiency may be more dominant at initial levels, there are some areas where a certain threshold L2 proficiency level might be necessary for L2 learners to be able to draw on their L2 (Ringbom, 2007). In addition, they mentioned that the effects of L2 proficiency may be extended to CLI on the L1 (Cook, 2003; Pavlenko &

Jarvis, 2002). However, this kind of effects may be difficult to interpret, as it is not always discernible whether they are the reason or the result of L1 attrition.

Moreover, according to Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008), the effects of proficiency on transfer could concern both learning and performance. More specifically:

Learning-related effects arise particularly from recipient-language proficiency, and often pertain to sound-system representations and the mental associations that learners form between recipient-language forms and source-language meanings or functions. Performance-related effects, on the other hand, tend to *arise particularly from source-language proficiency* [emphasis added], as they affect the degree to which the source language *is activated during recipient-language performance and result in source-language intrusions or interference in recipient-language processing* [emphasis added].
(Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 203)

The second case, performance-related effects, is the one that is relevant for the present study, given the fact that it explores the effects of learners' L1 in which they have acquired full proficiency.

As a concluding remark, Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008) also tried to raise SLA researchers' awareness of the idea of not confounding the occurrence of CLI instances with the assessment of L2 proficiency. In other words, the L2 proficiency

should not be judged as low solely because of the existence of CLI cases in the learners' production and vice versa.

The investigation of this variable (proficiency) was motivated precisely by the fact that its role in relation to CLI is not clear-cut, and there is a call for more research (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008; Odlin, 1989). The present study aims to contribute to the discussion about the relationship between proficiency and CLI, taking into account the aforementioned cautions made by the two experts in the field.

2.3. Spending time in the target language country: The impact on CLI

Spending time in the target language country has always been considered the most efficient way to learn a foreign language due to assumptions about the quantity and the quality of the input offered in this context. The importance of learning context in SLA has been highlighted by many scholars (Collentine, 2009; Collentine & Freed, 2004; Freed, 1995, 1998). However, the exploration of the effects of stay abroad settings on language development had not received much attention in SLA research—in comparison with other settings¹¹—until recently (Llanes, 2011), when the growing popularity and the plethora of exchange programs (e.g., the European program “Erasmus”), as well as the increase¹² of L2 learners’ mobility overseas. Therefore, during the last decade there has been an increasing interest in the impact of this setting on SLA (Collentine, 2004; DeKeyser, 2010; Freed, So, & Lazar, 2003; Lafford, 2004; Segalowitz & Freed, 2004; Serrano, Tragant, & Llanes, 2012; Pérez-Vidal, 2014). The effects of spending time in the L2 country on language development and acquisition have usually been examined in the field of SLA within the scope of “study abroad”; yet, it is noteworthy that not all stays abroad include formal instruction during the sojourn. Nevertheless, as the majority of empirical studies refer to this variable as

¹¹ Among the four learning contexts identified (i.e., naturalistic setting, foreign language setting, immersion setting and study abroad setting), the most explored is the naturalistic setting, then the formal classroom in a foreign language setting, and lastly the immersion setting; the study abroad context is the least explored (Llanes, 2011).

¹² For reports and data regarding study abroad participation in the US and Europe, see Institute for International Education (2012) and European Commission for Higher Education (2011).

“study abroad”—regardless of whether the program includes a formal instruction component—this term will be used when reviewing the literature in this section. In the other sections of this doctoral dissertation, the more general term “stays abroad” will be preferred, since it is more appropriate and representative of the way this variable was explored in the present study. This section will be structured as follows: First, a brief overview of the linguistic areas usually explored will be offered, making reference to the gap between the examination of CLI and study abroad in combination. Then, some general observations based on empirical findings and the gaps in the literature will be presented. Afterwards, I will present a summary of individual differences which have been found to be particularly important in study abroad settings. Finally, the issue of Length of Stay (LoS) will be introduced and discussed, given its relevance in the present study. The final part of the section will be dedicated to the motivation behind exploring the effects of stays abroad and how the current study will attempt to contribute to the discussion in this research area.

2.3.1. A review of the study abroad research: Areas of exploration and general observations

Freed (1995, 1998) recognized two categories as regards the type of SLA research on study abroad: (1) studies which compare the students’ linguistic gains after a study abroad experience (especially as compared to those of students studying “at

home”), and (2) studies which analyze students’ perceptions and attitudes in relation to their experience in the target language country. These former tend to be more quantitative in nature, while the latter are usually more qualitative.

As regards the areas which have usually been explored in relation to this context, the most investigated is oral production, given the fact that it is considered to be the area that benefits most from such a context. Empirical studies have been mainly conducted on oral fluency (Lennon, 1990; Freed, 1995; Freed, Segalowitz, & Dewey, 2004; Juan-Garau & Pérez-Vidal, 2007; Llanes & Muñoz, 2009, 2013; Segalowitz & Freed, 2004), where positive outcomes have been documented. Vocabulary development has been also explored (Collentine, 2004; Dewey, 2008; Foster, 2009; Ife, Vives, & Meara, 2000; Llanes & Muñoz, 2013), with results generally supporting the positive influence of the study abroad experiences. Other areas include listening (Cubillos, Chieffo, & Fan, 2008; Llanes & Muñoz, 2009), reading (Dewey, 2004), writing (Sasaki, 2004, 2007, 2009) where study abroad also appeared to be beneficial. The exploration of pronunciation development over a study abroad experience has yielded contradictory findings: Some studies provided evidence for such development (Muñoz & Llanes, 2014; Stevens, 2011) whereas others did not (Díaz-Campos, 2004; Mora, 2008). Additionally, several studies have explored whether the study abroad setting would be favorable to global L2 proficiency, demonstrating certain advantage for L2 learners who had such experience (Brecht, Davidson, & Ginsberg, 1995; Ryan & Lafford, 1992; Segalowitz et al. 2004). However, as Llanes (2011) observed, not all the studies included comparison groups from other settings, hence it is difficult to

make comparisons and draw conclusions (p. 194). Moreover, apart from purely linguistic aspects, some studies which have explored pragmatic and sociolinguistic skills in relation to study abroad setting (Félix-Brasdefer, 2004; Kinginger & Farrell, 2004; Regan, 1995, 1998), also demonstrated positive effects for this setting.

With respect to the areas of exploration in study abroad literature, another remark that could be made is that there are only a few studies, to the researcher's knowledge, which have directly and explicitly addressed the issue of the relationship between crosslinguistic influence and study/stays abroad (Andria, 2014; Andria & Serrano, 2012, 2013a, 2013b). Given that these two factors, CLI and study/stay abroad experiences, have been found to be important in SLA, it would be interesting to investigate them in combination; more specifically, to examine whether CLI patterns and/or L1 transfer increase, decrease or somehow change in such a context or as a result of a stay in this context. Some preliminary results in this direction made by Andria (2014) and Andria and Serrano (2012, 2013a, 2013b) have shown that stays in the target language country foster the acquisition of L2 patterns in Greek as a foreign language by Spanish/Catalan L1 learners. In addition, participants with stays in Greece demonstrated fewer cases of L1 transfer in the patterns under analysis, as measured by both written and oral tasks.

Despite the empirical evidence about positive effects for the study abroad context documented in research, not all the studies have confirmed its superiority over the other settings. There are studies which reported no significant progress

for L2 learners with study abroad experience (Collentine, 2004; DeKeyser, 1991; Díaz-Campos, 2004, Mora, 2008).

There are several reasons which have been considered to for the conflicting findings reported in the study abroad literature, with Sanz (2014) identifying the four most crucial ones. A first reason could be the small number of participants, which influence the statistical power and impedes the generalizability of the findings. Participants' mortality between the pre-test and the post-test data collection is common in study abroad studies. Another reason could be the type of instruments used in each study: Some tasks may not be able to capture subtle changes in learners' development (Llanes & Serrano, 2011), while others which include more refined measures could do so (Llanes & Muñoz, 2009). A third reason could be related to the linguistic area analyzed in each study; not all aspects progress or benefit in the same way from a study abroad experience. Oral fluency for instance is an area where positive outcomes have been reported (Segalowitz & Freed, 2004; Pérez-Vidal & Juan-Garau, 2007), while pronunciation does not seem to always yield the same positive results (Díaz-Campos, 2004, but also see Muñoz & Llanes, 2014, for different results). Oral production seems to develop faster and benefit more than written production (Serrano et al., 2012). Another reason to consider should be the design of SA itself. According to Sanz (2014), "unlike laboratory studies (...), SA [Study Abroad]/AH [At Home] comparisons end up comparing apples with oranges, because students who choose to go abroad are different from students who choose to stay in their home institutions" (p. 3). DeKeyser (2014) further elaborated this idea, arguing that

learners who engage in a study abroad experience, may be somehow distinct from those who do not, in terms of motivation and attitudes toward the target language in particular, and their mentality towards language learning in general. This belief is closely related to the role that individual differences play in this context. This issue will be discussed later on.

An important point which is usually emphasized in reviews about study abroad research is the issue of the population of these studies. DeKeyser (2014) and Llanes (2011) observed that the majority of the studies are carried out with US participants, mainly undergraduates, going abroad, and that only a small amount of research is settled in the European context. The European samples mainly consist of Erasmus students moving to a different European country for a period of one or two semesters (Howard, 2005, 2006; Llanes & Muñoz, 2013; Pérez-Vidal, 2014; Pérez-Vidal & Juan-Garau, 2007; Serrano et al., 2011, 2012). DeKeyser (2014) claimed that the population issue per se may account for a significant part of the inconsistencies found among the different studies in the field: The North American and the European population are disparate in many aspects, especially with respect to the initial level of L2 proficiency before the stay (North American participants tend to be relatively inexperienced learners as compared to their European counterparts) and attitudes toward language learning (European participants may be more positively disposed and eager towards language learning and additionally they usually receive more foreign language education in high school and college).

Llanes (2011) makes another observation regarding the population of study abroad studies: The vast majority of them deal with undergraduates or in very few cases with adolescents (Lapkin, Hart, & Swain, 1995; Llanes & Serrano, 2014; Serrano, Tragant, & Llanes, 2014). Llanes (2010, 2012a, 2012b) and Llanes and Muñoz (2013) were the first who brought the issue of age effects to the forefront in this line of inquiry. These researchers have tried to fill this gap by exploring the influence of study abroad on child learners, and their findings have suggested that this context could be especially beneficial for this population. In a more recent study, Llanes and Serrano (2014) further contributed in the issue of age effects in a study abroad context by comparing three age groups, namely children, adolescents, and adults in two contexts: study abroad and at-home. The results demonstrated superiority for younger learners who participated in the study abroad program, especially in terms of oral gains.

Furthermore, another gap could be identified in the literature: As explained above, most of the studies include university students participating in exchange programs, and few of them also include children or teenagers. Nevertheless, there are no studies including different populations whose personal characteristics and backgrounds vary from those previously mentioned in terms of profile. On the one hand, it must be recognized that from a research-design point of view, it is more feasible and controllable to follow students who partake in exchange programs and explore their gains while abroad or compare them with at home groups; hence, there is a clear rationale behind this documented tendency. On the other hand, it is undeniable that university students represent only a small

part of the variety of L2 learners' profiles. One may wonder to what extent the study/stay abroad effects reported for a university student would be similar to those of a forty year-old learner of a foreign language, for instance, whose characteristics in terms of profile and motivation may vary. Therefore, if future studies attempt to encompass different populations, this might shed more light on the how study/stay abroad influences the process of L2 learning for different learner profiles and whether the patterns of this influence are similar or not to the ones reported until now.

Another remark that stems from the literature on study abroad research concerns the languages involved in the studies. Sanz's (2014) investigation of the published study abroad studies shows that out of the seventy-two publications that she analyzed, the vast majority focused disproportionately on the acquisition of commonly taught target languages: Spanish (33 studies), followed by French (13 studies), and then Japanese and English (8 studies each). The author also reported nine studies with various target languages and one with Russian¹³. The observation described above demonstrates another gap in this research area, namely the exploration of other, less-commonly target languages. Presenting results of various target languages, especially less popular target languages, might reveal different patterns regarding the impact of stay abroad. For instance, when L2 learners of English go to the UK to the US, they may be more eager to seek out and create opportunities for practicing the L2, since L2 progress can offer them

¹³ At this moment, these numbers would be different, as more studies on study abroad have been carried out and other target languages may have been examined (for instance, Chinese).

academic and/or professional opportunities in the future (Allen, 2010; DeKeyser, 2014). On the contrary, when L2 learners of Modern Greek are going to spend time in Greece they may not feel the same pressure to become involved in L2 communicative practices and take full advantage of the stay. Conversely, the opposite effect is also possible: An L2 learner of English may feel somehow obliged to learn the target language given that nowadays English is considered a *lingua franca*, but he/she may lack a deeper, more intrinsic motivation, whereas learning Greek as a foreign language may require a different kind of motivation, which may make the learners of this target language more motivated and more positively predisposed during a stay abroad. This is an issue which should be considered in combination with factors such as L2 status and motivation behind the L2 stay.

To sum up, a study abroad experience can yield positive outcomes during L2 acquisition, but this is not always confirmed in practice. Not all aspects of L2 proficiency are equally benefited from this context, nor do all L2 learners take advantages of their stay in the same way. Additionally, when drawing conclusions on the L2 development during the stay, researcher should clearly articulate what exactly is meant by “development” and how this is operationalized in each study (DeKeyser, 2014; Sanz, 2014).

2.3.2. Study abroad and individual differences

Another important aspect in study abroad research is the interaction between this context and various individual differences and how this interaction might affect the language development in terms of rate and final attainment. Individual differences can also account for certain contradictory findings in this research area. Providing an exhaustive list of the empirical studies on individual differences and study abroad goes beyond of the scope of this section. However, as individual variation has been considered to be particularly significant for this context (DeKeyser, 1991, 2007, 2014; Freed, 1995), a brief overview of the most remarkable individual variables will be offered.

A fundamental variable that can influence the effects of study abroad is L2 learners' personality. This individual characteristic is related to the amount of potential conversational practices with native speakers that the learners will seek and manifest during their stay (DeKeyser, 1991, 2014; Kinginger, 2008). Motivation and attitudes (Isabelli-García, 2006; Llanes, Tragant, & Serrano, 2011) can also be an influential factor in the way L2 learners will benefit from the stay. The role of housing arrangements has also been considered with researchers trying to examine which accommodation type, staying in a dorm, staying with a family or staying in an individual apartment, would be the most propitious to promote interaction and L2 practice (Rivers 1998; Wilkinson 1998).

Another crucial variable is the initial level of L2 proficiency, although its role seems to be somewhat ambiguous. This factor will be discussed in more

detail, as it is examined in the current study. Several studies have documented that learners at initial levels are more likely to make progress during L2 stay (Freed, 1995). Freed's (1995) study showed that L2 learners who were rated to be less fluent before going abroad were found to have made more progress when coming back from the L2 stay. In line to Freed's findings, Llanes and Muñoz (2009) also reported more oral gains in terms of fluency and accuracy for the participants with lower proficiency levels. DeKeyser (2007, 2014) has argued that learners at lower levels can possibly make greater and quicker progress whose effects can be better detected by the instruments used in study abroad studies. Conversely, more advanced learners may require a longer length of stay than is the case in most study abroad studies in order to make improvements that would lead to significant changes. What is generally accepted, however, is that students need to have a threshold level of previous L2 knowledge before engaging the L2 stay, which could be improved upon during the stay. DeKeyser (2007, 2010) following Anderson's Skill Acquisition Theory, argued that is a ideal for learners to possess a certain degree of declarative and procedural knowledge beforehand in order for them to significantly progress during the stay. The L2 stay should ideally coincide with the last stage, namely automatization, which makes possible fluent speech. In their empirical study, Llanes et al., (2012) interpreted their results in light of DeKeyser's claims and provide further evidence as regards the significance of the adequate "timing" of an L2 stay. To summarize, based on empirical evidence, the students who are likely to benefit more from study abroad are those who have a certain L2 proficiency level, but not a very advanced one. It seems that this may be

the case of intermediate learners. The conflicting results that have been found for the role of initial proficiency may be attributed to the different design and purpose of each study; that is, outcome variables and how these are operationalized, the instruments used, the length of stay, how proficiency level is defined in each study, and so forth. It may be the case that learners at different proficiency levels vary in the way they benefit from a stay: Learners at initial levels may make more progress in some aspects and in stays of limited duration, whereas more advanced learners benefit in other aspect and during longer stays (DeKeyser, 2014).

2.3.3. The role of Length of Stay

The LoS in the target language country has been considered important for the language development that will take place during the L2 stay. The existing empirical evidence from studies exploring this factor mostly suggest that the longer the stay in the L2 country, the greater the improvement in the L2 (Dwyer, 2004; Félix-Brasdefer, 2004; Ife et al., 2000; Llanes & Muñoz, 2009; Sasaki, 2009). Nevertheless, there are studies which have found no differences between groups with different LoS (Avello & Lara, 2014; Llanes & Serrano, 2011).

Ife et al. (2000) examined the lexical improvement and overall L2 proficiency level of British students who learned Spanish abroad for a period of one or two semesters. The researchers found that the LoS was an essential factor,

given that more progress was observed for the students who spent two semesters abroad. Furthermore, Dwyer (2004) also provided evidence for “the longer the better” belief. He explored the vocabulary development of participants who were enrolled in four different-duration programs (summer term, spring/fall term, and one academic year) and observed that greater benefits were obtained by those who made the longer stay. Félix-Brasdefer (2004) also confirmed the significance of the LoS, this time in relation to the development of pragmatic skills. The researcher examined whether 24 Spanish L2 learners’ ability to negotiate and mitigate a refusal was affected by the LoS. The participants belonged to four different groups depending on the duration of their stay (Group 1: 1-1.5 month, Group 2: 3-5 months, Group 3: 9-13 months, and Group 4: 18-30 months). The results of the study suggest that learners with longer stays in the host country appeared to have more gains in terms of politeness strategies and their ability to negotiate refusals.

Llanes and Muñoz (2009) have also provided evidence for the claim “the longer the better.” What is particularly interesting about this study is the exploration of a relatively short stay. The researchers explored whether three versus four weeks abroad can make a difference in learners’ gains. The findings demonstrated significant gains as regards oral fluency for those participants with a longer stay, suggesting, thus, that even an additional week abroad can make a difference in learners’ improvement.

Sasaki (2009) also contributed to the LoS literature, by providing further positive evidence for the importance of this variable. Sasaki showed that Japanese

learners of English who studied abroad showed improvement with regard to their writing skills, and that this progress was more evident for those students who had longer stays in the target language country. It is important to note that the LoS in Sasaki's study was 3.5 years, which is a longer period than the ones usually reported in study abroad studies.

Nevertheless, there are also studies whose findings do not empirically support the superiority of a longer stay. Llanes and Serrano (2011) explored whether a month could be enough to create significant differences in the oral and written production of forty-six Spanish/Catalan L1 learners of English who studied the target language in UK (one group for a period of two months and another for three months). The results did not reveal any significant differences between the participants who spent three months as compared to those who spent two months. The researchers attributed this result to various factors: Firstly, to the small difference in LoS (one month) which may turn out to be not enough for certain skills to improve. Secondly, to the measures used in the study, especially as compared to those of Llanes' and Muñoz's who did find significant differences even for a shorter period of time: Some measures may be more sensitive to capture short-term changes than others. The authors also stated that the lack of significant differences between the participants with different LoS in the L2 areas they explored does not mean that no differences existed between the two groups. Maybe more differences would have been seen in other areas, or perhaps they would have been better detected by means of more qualitative approaches.

In a more recent study, Avello and Lara (2014) also reported no strong impact of LoS on the oral production of Spanish/Catalan L1 learners of English. The researchers compared two groups of undergraduate students who attended a three-month and a six-month study abroad program respectively. The results reported no significant differences between the groups in terms of L2 segmental production accuracy.

Most of the above-mentioned studies related the significance of LoS with the issue of initial L2 level of proficiency, arguing that the interaction of these two factors is crucial at the moment of interpreting the results (Avello & Lara, 2014; Llanes & Serrano, 2011). DeKeyser (2014) claimed depending on the LoS, that the role of initial proficiency could vary. DeKeyser also emphasized the importance of exploring the interaction of these two factors in order to gain a better understanding not only of the amount of progress while abroad, but also of who benefits the most from the stay or at what proficiency level learners take more advantage this experience. The need for further research has been stressed, given the few empirical studies regarding the role of LoS at the present time. More research would offer a more thorough and insightful vision of how this factor operates in a study abroad context.

Turning to the research area of CLI, the time a learner has spent in the target language country has been considered as an essential factor for the occurrence of transfer, especially in the case of conceptual transfer. Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008) refer to this factor as “Length of Residence” (p. 200), meaning the amount of time an L2 learner has spent *residing* in the L2 country. The difference

between “length of residence” and “length of stay” is particularly important, as it reveals the way this variable is usually treated in CLI research. The majority of the studies examining this factor focus on participants who have spent several years in the L2 environment and explore how this large amount of exposure can influence the acquisition of L2 patterns (while participants *are still living* in the L2 country). It should be also pointed out that these studies examine participants who learn and/or use the *second* language in a *second* language setting, as opposed to a *foreign* language one. In this case the distinction is crucial, as the profile and the background of second language versus a foreign language learner may differ in a way that influences the impact of the stay abroad. It can be easily understood that the role of learning context is not the same for a person who works in the L2 country or is married to a native speaker of the L2 and lives with him/her in that environment for instance, as it is for an L2 learner who receives formal instruction in his/her home country and only spends time in the target language country sporadically.

What has been generally reported as regards the impact of length of residence on CLI is that L1 transfer seems to decrease as the length of residence in the L2 country increases (Guion, Flege, Liu, & Yeni-Komshian, 2000). This finding is consistent to the general findings of study abroad research concerning the effects of LoS. Especially for the case of conceptual or conceptualization transfer, Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008) considered participation in the communicative practices as an essential condition for internalization and restructuring of L1 patterns:

This restructuring cannot take place through decontextualized activities, although they offer a good starting point, raising learners' awareness about particular issues. (...) It can only take place *through extensive interaction in a variety of contexts with members of the target language community* [emphasis added]. (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 152).

Conceptual change towards L2 conceptual patterns is a more demanding process which may require a restructuring of one's conceptual system. Malt and Sloman (2003) further argued that extensive exposure in an L2-speaking environment is a better predictor of performance than years of formal instruction. Length of residence could also play a role in reverse transfer, namely the transfer from the L2 to the L1 (Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2002). In this case, it has been documented that L2 transfer on the L1 increases, as the length of residence in the L2 country increases.

Studies which were carried out with the framework of the thinking-for-speaking hypothesis showed that learners with significant length of residence in the L2 along with high L2 proficiency were able to make progress in their overall L2 performance, but they were not able to change their L1 thinking-for-speaking patterns completely (Stam, 2010). Other studies, however, have demonstrated that sometimes a length of residence of many years can be conducive to a conceptual shift from the L1 patterns towards the equivalent L2. For instance, Pavlenko's study (2002b) reported that Russian L1 learners of English managed to reconstruct their L1 conceptual patterns regarding EMOTIONS: They moved from conceptualizing them as actions and processes to conceptualizing them as states.

2.3.4. Summary of the literature on the relation between stays abroad and CLI

As can be seen from the literature described above, the SLA field can gain insights of significant importance from the examination of stays/study abroad. Given that nowadays L2 learners' mobility is a common practice, not only in terms of participation in language/exchange programs, but also for professional reasons or even for vacation, it is very interesting to explore how language development takes place (or not) during stays abroad. The research field on the effects of stays abroad is relatively new, so every new study focusing on it would certainly be a contribution to the literature. The investigation of this variable (spending time in the L2 country) in the present doctoral dissertation was motivated first, by the fact that it is a relatively new, innovative and cutting-edge aspect in the field of SLA; and second, because the relationship between stays abroad and CLI has not been directly explored, especially as regards foreign language acquisition. Furthermore, the little empirical evidence regarding the variable of LoS and the call for more research made by several scholars motivated the exploration of this particular factor. In addition, its investigation was motivated by its relevance with CLI. In CLI research, the LoS has been traditionally explored as length of residence; the exploration of short stays abroad and of their role in the manifestation of CLI is an under-researched topic.

Moreover, the current study attempts to shed some light on the relationship between stays abroad and CLI, bearing in mind the gaps that were

presented above. One is related to the target language: To the researcher's knowledge, there is no study exploring the effects of stays abroad with Greek as a target language. Another gap is related to the population included: Unlike the majority of studies, the present study includes an ample gamut of participants with different backgrounds and also different stays in terms of duration and motivation. By taking these aspects into consideration, the present study seeks to contribute to the literature on stays/study abroad.

CHAPTER 3: THE TARGET STRUCTURES WITHIN A COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS FRAMEWORK

3.1. Cognitive Linguistics as a valid framework for SLA studies

Cognitive Linguistics is a functional approach to language which appeared as an alternative to the Generative Grammar approach. The relevance of the Cognitive Linguistics view of language to the field of SLA and second language pedagogy has been contemplated in many studies (Achard & Niemeier 2004; Cadierno, 2004; Cadierno & Lund, 2004; Robinson & Ellis, 2008b; Tyler, 2012a, 2012b). It has been argued that Cognitive Linguistics provides a promising framework especially for crosslinguistic influence and contrastive studies (Cadierno, 2004; Cuenca & Hilferty, 1999). The reason why such an approach has been considered a useful paradigm for SLA studies lies in its basic conceptions about the nature of language, which will be discussed below. The connection between Cognitive Linguistics and SLA field is motivated by and based on the studies by Cadierno (2004) and Cadierno and Lund (2004).

a. Language as an integral facet of cognition

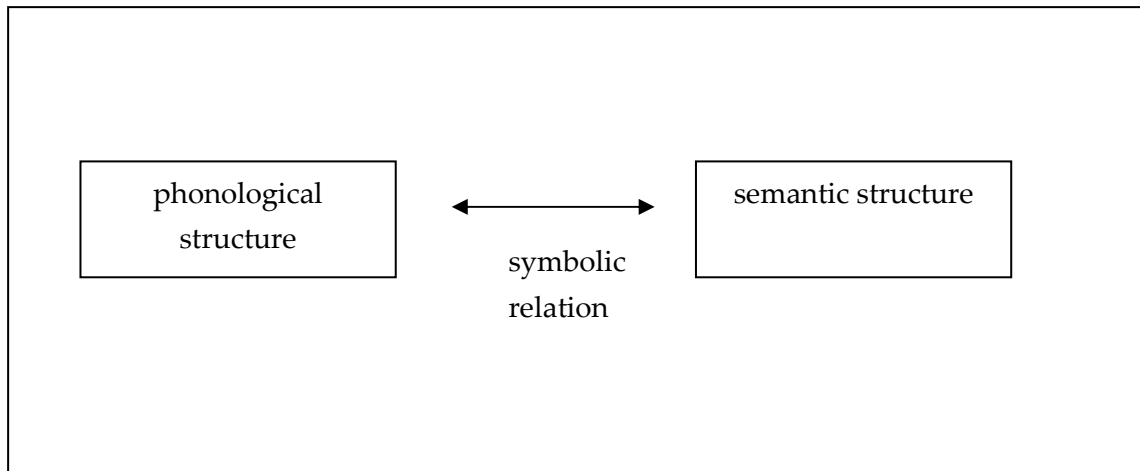
Cognitive Linguistics views language as inherently linked to human cognition and general cognitive processes. Language structure is motivated not by a separate

language module, but by basic cognitive processes inherent in the human experience (i.e., perception, associative memory, conceptual metaphor) from which it cannot be separated (Langacker, 2008a, p. 8). Such an approach leads to a different way of exploring language in which it is no longer seen as an autonomous system; the main focus of interest shifts to finding links between language abilities and cognitive abilities (Ibarretxe-Antuñano & Valenzuela, 2012). As Gibbs (1996, p. 27) states “linguistic structures are seen as being related to and motivated by human conceptual knowledge, bodily experience, and the communicative functions of discourse.” In that sense, Cognitive Linguistics aims at examining how the human body, mind and language interact (Cuenca & Hilferty, 1999). This idea regarding language “allows for the establishment of links between linguistic and cognitive approaches to language, and consequently between linguistic and cognitive approaches to SLA” (Cadierno & Lund, 2004, p. 151).

b. The symbolic nature of language

A fundamental tenet of Cognitive Linguistics is that language is symbolic in nature. In that sense, linguistic expressions are seen as an association between a semantic structure with a phonological one (Langacker, 1987). The symbolic nature of language stems from the fact that it is the tool of associating semantic and phonological structures (J. R. Taylor, 2002, p. 23). Linguistic expressions symbolize **conceptualizations** and have the organization depicted in Figure 1.

Figure 1:
The three elements of a linguistic expression.



Note. Adapted from “Cognitive Grammar” (p. 21), by J. R. Taylor, 2002, Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. Copyright 2002 by J. R. Taylor.

Cadierno and Lund (2004) claimed that this view of language as symbolic is what renders Cognitive Linguistics as an ideal framework for exploration in SLA (pp. 140-141). A consequence of such a view of language is the principal role that meaning plays in linguistic description.

In Cognitive Linguistics *meaning is equated with conceptualization (i.e., mental experience)* [emphasis added] which is viewed as a *dynamic activity* [emphasis added] of embodied minds interacted with the environment. Conceptualization is to be interpreted *broadly* [emphasis added], subsuming novel and established concepts, all facets of sensorimotor and emotive experience, and apprehension of social, linguistic and cultural context (Langacker, 1996 in Cadierno and Lund, 2004, p. 141.)

Thus, linguistic meaning is regarded as subjective, since it encompasses information based on the human experience of bodily existence (Lakoff, 1987). It is, therefore, linked to the way speakers choose to think about a specific situation and “mentally portray it” (Langacker, 1987, pp. 6-7). As a consequence, linguistic meaning “reflects the way in which speakers conceive their experiences of the world and the ways in which they choose to *construe* them and talk about them” (Cadierno & Lund, 2004, p. 141). In other words, the same objective situation can be seen from different *perspectives* and this difference in the perception will be mirrored through the different construals that speakers decide to use in order to talk about this particular situation. This aspect could be particularly interesting from an SLA point of view, in the case of an L2 learner who acquires a target language whose construal of the expression of a specific situation differs from the equivalent L1 ones. The differences between the L1 and the L2 regarding construal may affect the way the L2 learner will describe a situation when performing in the L2; that is, he or she may be influenced by the L1 and use a construal similar to that of the L1—which correspond to the L1 way of thinking—or use the adequate L2 construals, following the L2 viewpoint. A difference in the construal of talking about the same objective situation (for instance, an EXPERIENTIAL STATE as in “I am hungry” or “I am embarrassed”) entails and reveals a different way of seeing and perceiving such experience. Consequently, investigating whether L2 learners use L1 or L2 construals could reveal whether they are still influenced by their L1 way of thinking, or whether they have started restructuring them in order to adapt to

the L2 standpoint. This idea will be further developed and discussed in Sections 3.2 and 3.3.

c. Interrelation between semantics and pragmatics

The symbolic nature of language and the direct equivalence between meaning and conceptualization results into another basic idea of Cognitive Linguistics: It is not feasible to establish a strict distinction between semantics and pragmatics. Meaning is inseparable from its context, because it is precisely this specific context that makes it have a meaning. Cuenca and Hilferty (1999), in their introduction to Cognitive Linguistics, explain that meaning is encyclopedic in nature; therefore semantic structure is not considered universal, but rather, it is viewed, to certain extent, as dependent on a particular language. Cognitive skills and experiences may be comparable across cultures, but the way in which a specific meaning is construed is susceptible to crosslinguistic and crosscultural factors (pp. 185-186). Thus, as it was also mentioned above, meaning contains the human interpretation of the world, so again it is “subjective, anthropocentric and reflects dominant cultural concerns and culture-specific modes of interactions” (Achard & Niemeier, 2004, p. 2).

This connection between semantics and pragmatics could be valuable to SLA studies, particularly for those which aim to explore crosslinguistic phenomena that take place during the acquisition of a new target language.

d. Lexicon, morphology and syntax as a “continuum”

Another central principle of cognitive linguistics is the holistic view of language: Lexicon, morphology and syntax form an interrelated continuum of symbolic structures that are used in order to structure the conceptual content. Hence, it is incoherent to consider grammar as separate from meaning and so it is the segmentation of the grammar structure in discrete components (Langacker, 1987, p. 35). The view of language lexicon, morphology and syntax as a continuum could be specifically fruitful for SLA studies, given the fact that it facilitates a unifying analysis of the different linguistic levels of learner language. Consequently, it could offer a more consolidated and insightful picture of the L2 learners' interlanguage (Cadierno & Lund, 2004, p. 151).

e. A usage-based approach

Language exploration cannot be separated from its cognitive and communicative function, which entails the use of a usage-based approach. Usage-based models emphasize the idea that language structure emerges from usage. Therefore, the methodology of Cognitive Linguistics is usage-based in the sense that major importance is given to the way language is used; that is, the way it is spoken and understood (Langacker 1987; Tomasello 1998, 2003; Tyler, 2010).

To recap, based on the central tenets of Cognitive Linguistics mentioned above, it could be concluded that this paradigm can offer important contributions to the field of SLA since it can provide insights that other approaches (especially

formalistic, such as the generative approach) cannot (Cadierno, 2008; Cadierno & Lund, 2004; Robinson & Ellis, 2008b; Tyler, 2008). For instance, generative approaches view grammar and syntax as independent of semantics, whereas Cognitive Linguistics emphasizes the symbolic nature of grammar, which renders it meaningful. Consequently, when exploring syntactic differences across languages, Cognitive Linguistics would interpret them as sign of further, underlying differences. This deeper level of interpretation would be typically excluded within the framework of generative approaches.

Tyler (2012b, p. 17) further emphasizes the significance of Cognitive Linguistics for L2 researchers and, consequently, for L2 teachers. She argues that it is necessary for them to have a thorough understanding of grammar and lexis, as well as to be familiar with the ways they are used in communication. In order to achieve this, it is essential to rely on a pedagogical grammar that is “accurate, accessible and complete” and Cognitive Linguistics, as Tyler (2012b, pp. 17-19) suggests, is an approach that meets these criteria. It can provide valuable insights and an in-depth understanding regarding language learning; in that sense, it is especially indispensable for studies on crosslinguistic influence, when the focus of the research is to explore the underlying phenomena that take place when two (or more) language systems meet during the acquisition of a new target language.

3.2. Cognitive Linguistics framework for the present study: Introduction

The previous section discussed the relevance of the Cognitive Linguistics framework for SLA studies. The present study uses this paradigm as a point of departure for the exploration of a CLI phenomenon during the acquisition of Greek as a foreign language by Spanish/Catalan L1 learners. This decision is motivated and based on the study by Cadierno and Lund (2004), where the authors argued that Cognitive Linguistics could be an exceptionally suitable framework for the SLA field, mainly for those studies investigating form- meaning connections (p. 151). This is due to its basic principles and the way language is viewed within this paradigm, and specifically because of its notions regarding the symbolic nature of language constructions, the principal role of meaning and the interrelation between semantics and pragmatics. Seeing language within Cognitive Linguistics framework can provide an avenue that leads to a more insightful exploration and interpretation of the process that learners go through when acquiring an L2.

The present study, as will be described below in detail, aims to analyze the different patterns that are used in Spanish and Catalan as compared to Modern Greek, for the expression of the EXPERIENTIAL STATE. An EXPERIENTIAL STATE is defined here as a state related to perceptual experiences of general types (such as the EXPERIENCE of heat/cold, hunger/thirstiness, emotional experiences such as embarrassment/sadness/fear, etc.). Within the Cognitive Linguistics approach “syntactic patterns, like all aspects of language are symbolic units which consist of

form-meaning pairings and, thus, are **meaningful** in themselves” (Langacker, 1987 as cited in Tyler, 2012b, p. 4). The exploration of a different pattern for the expression of the same experience in a framework whose basic principle is that grammar is meaningful and “the elements of grammar have meanings in their own right” (Langacker 2008a, p. 3), can lead to a better and more comprehensive understanding of this crosslinguistic phenomenon. Unlike traditional approaches, Cognitive Linguistics acknowledges that

grammar allows us to **construct** and **symbolize** the more elaborate meanings of complex expressions (like phrases, clauses and sentences). It is thus an essential aspect of the conceptual apparatus through which we *apprehend* and *engage* [emphasis added] the world. And instead of being a distinct and self-contained system, grammar is not only an integral part of cognition but also a key to understand it. (...) Not only is it meaningful, it also *reflects our basic experience* [emphasis added] of moving, perceiving, and acting on the world. (...) When properly analyzed, therefore, grammar has much to tell us about both meaning and cognition. (Langacker, 2008a, pp. 3-5).

Examining the difference in the experiential patterns of the above-mentioned languages by using the Cognitive Linguistics paradigm will enable us to delve into this phenomenon and observe it in a more complete way. Traditional approaches only allow for purely linguistic investigation, where the difference in the structures used by the typologically different languages would be classified as

an instance of “syntactic crosslinguistic influence”, restricting thus any cognitive dimension.

To sum up, the current dissertation aims to present and investigate a crosslinguistic phenomenon in a thorough and global way. In order to achieve this goal and gain insights into this phenomenon, the Cognitive Linguistics framework was considered the most adequate. The following section will deal with the extensive presentation of the target structures from a comparative perspective.

3.3. The expression of EXPERIENCE: A proposal of a typological framework

3.3.1. Construals and conceptualization of the EXPERIENTIAL STATE

Unlike other conceptual domains (spatial, temporal, etc.) which have received much attention in cognitive linguistics-based research, the domain of EXPERIENTIAL STATE has not. The current dissertation attempts to shed some light on how typologically different languages (here, Spanish and Catalan vs. Greek) demonstrate a systematic variation as to how the EXPERIENTIAL STATE is expressed. The word “how” refers to the specific linguistic patterns with which the speakers *construe* the EXPERIENTIAL STATE they want to talk about.

According to Langacker (2008a, p. 44), “a meaning consists of both conceptual content and a particular way of *construing* that content.” The

“conceptual content” refers to a specific *domain*¹⁴ and the term *construal* refers to “our manifest ability to conceive and portray the same situation in alternative ways”. Furthermore, Langacker (1987, 2008a) acknowledges various aspects of a construal: Specificity, focusing, prominence, and perspective. Regarding the latter, he illustrates it as the “viewing arrangement” (2008a), “the overall relationship between the ‘viewers’ and the situation been viewed. (...) The viewers are the conceptualizers who apprehend the meanings of linguistic expressions: the speaker and the hearer” (p. 73). One component of the viewing arrangement is the “vantage point”, which is the particular position of the speaker and the hearer. It is then concluded that “the same objective situation can be described from any number of different vantage points, resulting in different construals which may have overt consequences” (Langacker, 2008a, p. 75).

The difference in the construals used for the description of a situation implies a difference in the conceptualization of such situation by the speaker of a specific language; in other words, the speaker’s choices about the constructions for the representation of a specific situation are related with the aspects of the experience that he/she wants to communicate (Robinson & Ellis, 2008b, p. 513). Empirical evidence has shown that different languages put at the speaker’s disposal different constructions in order to describe the same situation, and also to reflect his/her role in it (Achard, 2008; Carroll, von Stutterheim, & Nüse, 2004; Langacker, 2008b; Robinson & Ellis, 2008b). The different constructions are

¹⁴Langacker (1987) defines “domain” as following: “A coherent area of conceptualization relative to which semantic units may be characterized. Three-dimensional space, smell, color, touch sensation, etc. are basic domains. A concept or conceptual complex of any degree of complexity can function as an abstract domain” (p. 28).

“conventionalized linguistic means [emphasis added] for presenting different interpretations [emphasis added] or construals of an event” (Ellis & Cadierno, 2009, p. 122).

The difference in construal and its relationship with the conceptualization of a precise situation that is described is particularly relevant to the current study, which aims to present the patterns used for the expression of EXPERIENCE. Despite the fact that our understanding of EXPERIENCE (*to be hungry/ to feel ashamed, etc.*) is presumably based on a universal concept, the languages explored here present a differentiation as to “how its different components are lexicalized; as to how the components of an EXPERIENTIAL STATE event are packaged into linguistic forms (Cadierno & Lund, 2004, p. 142). The systematic relationship in language between form and meaning¹⁵ in the domain of EXPERIENCE is addressed from a crosslinguistic point of view.

3.3.2. Linguistic pattern under analysis: Periphrasis versus one verb

The languages involved in the study are Spanish, Catalan and Modern Greek.

Spanish and Catalan are Romance languages, which are typologically very close.

¹⁵In Cadierno and Lund (2004) the terms “form” and “meaning” are defined as follows: “Form refers to the linguistic units of language, including both lexical and grammatical units (i.e., morphological and syntactic). All linguistic forms or expressions are considered to be symbolic units, consisting on an association of a phonological and a semantic representation. Meaning refers thus to the semantic structure of a symbolic unit, which is in turn equated with conceptualization” (pp. 139-140). This idea about the symbolic nature of languages was explained in-depth in Chapter 2.

Greek is an independent branch of the Indo-European family of languages (Babinotis, 2002; Eideneier, 2004) and it is typologically different from Spanish and Catalan. It should be mentioned that, despite the increasing interest in the acquisition of Greek by Spanish native speakers (Morales Ortiz, Pagán Cánovas, & Martínez Campillo, 2010; Omatos 2010; Rodríguez-Lifante & Jaén-Morcillo, 2010), there are only a few studies which explore these languages in combination from an SLA perspective (Alexopoulou, 2005; Andria, 2010, in press; Andria et al. 2012; Andria & Serrano, 2013b; Cañas, 2014). Regarding the patterns under analysis here, EXPERIENCE in Spanish and Catalan is conceptualized as an **object** that somebody has or gives (possession) and this conceptualization is expressed by a periphrasis that consists of a supportive or light¹⁶ verb (*tener/tenir*—“to have”, *dar/donar*—“to give”, *hacer/fer*—“to make”) and a noun (Alonso-Ramos, 2004; García-Page Sánchez, 2008; Herrero Ingelmo, 2002a, 2002b; Moreno Cabrera 1991; Penadés-Martínez 2002; Real Academia Española, 2001); for example, *tener hambre/ tenir gana*, literally, “*to have hunger”, “to be hungry”, *dar vergüenza/fer vergonya*, literally *to give/make embarrassment, “to be embarrassed”). On the contrary, EXPERIENCE in Greek is conceptualized as an **action** made by the subject and it is expressed by a single verb¹⁷ (*πεινάω /pinaó/, ντρέπομαι /drépomel* respectively

¹⁶ Light verb could be defined as a verb which has a little semantic content of its own and it therefore forms a predicate with some additional expression that usually is a noun (Alba-Salas, 2004, 2006, 2007). Other names for this kind of verbs are “delexical verbs”, “vector verbs”, “explicator verbs”, “thin verbs” and “semantically weak verbs.”

¹⁷In Greek, there exist some idiomatic expressions which use the pattern structure [έχω (to have) + indefinite article+ noun] such as “έχω μια πείνα!”/ ého miá pína/ “I have a hunger”, έχω μια δίψα!/ého miá dípsa/ “I have a thirstiness”, έχω μια νύστα! / ého miá nísta/ “I have a sleepiness”, and so on. This structure—which is mainly used in the three examples just provided—is only an “emphasis” pattern, basically used in informal contexts, and its meaning differs significantly from the standardized form used on an

(Babinotis, 2002). For the complete list of the target structures examined in the study, see the Appendix A.

Based on the above-mentioned description, Greek and Spanish/Catalan belong to two different types of expression of EXPERIENCE, depending on how the information about position/involvement of the person is packaged lexically: “Agent or action” and “Possession or Receiving Action” type of expression. In the first type, where Greek belongs, EXPERIENCE is expressed with a single verb and it is conceived as an action made by the subject (*ντρέπομαι*- “I *ashame myself” “I feel ashamed”). The speaker is very actively involved in the experiential event and he/she is the one from whom the action begins. In the second type, where Spanish and Catalan belong, EXPERIENCE is conceptualized as object that somebody has or gives (possession) to the speaker. Hence, the speaker *receives* the EXPERIENCE (seen as object) which begins from someone else (the agent of the phrase)¹⁸.

everyday basis for the expression of the respective EXPERIENTIAL STATES (namely, hunger, thirstiness, sleepiness). In other words, the periphrasis *έχω μια πείνα!* (“I have a hunger”) for instance, does not mean “I am hungry” and by no means is it an equivalent of the Spanish form *tengo hambre* or the Catalan *tinc gana*; rather it means “I am *very* hungry”, and again, it is used mostly in informal settings. (Institute of Modern Greek Studies, Manolis Triantafyllidis Foundation, 1998).

The above-mentioned idiomatic expression is not taught in traditional classroom settings until very advanced levels—or maybe never in the case of a foreign language context (as the one investigated here). Thus, we could not assume that L2 learners of Greek know it, especially the participants of the present study who belong to levels up to B2. However, learners who have spent time in Greece may have heard this kind of expressions in informal settings.

¹⁸Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that in some cases, the verb form also exists in Spanish and in Catalan. For instance, apart from the form *tener vergüenza* there also exists the form *avergonzarse/me avergüenzo* or apart from the form *tener dolor de*, also the form *doler* also exists, and apart from the form *dar las gracias*, it also exists the form *agradecer*. Nevertheless, theoretical studies have shown (Alba-Salas, 2007; Alonso-Ramos, 2004) that the L1 speakers of Spanish and Catalan, even if they have at their disposal two possible ways of construing such experience, they tend to use more frequently the periphrastic form (Garachana, M., personal communication, January 17, 2012). This tendency was also

This structural difference regarding these languages has never been described in the literature, to the researcher's knowledge. The use of periphrases in Spanish/Catalan has been explored by theoretical linguists (Alba-Salas, 2002, 2004, 2006, 2007; Alonso-Ramos, 2004; Fernández-Soriano & Rigau, 2009). Alba-Salas (2007) provided a thorough description of the evolution of the periphrases with the verb "dar" and "hacer/fer" from a diachronic perspective, as well as a qualitative and quantitative analysis of them based on corpus data. He analyzed eighteen cases of representative periphrases composed by the aforementioned verbs and several state nouns¹⁹. The researcher illustrated that the verb *dar* and *hacer/fer* are not semantically vacuous; rather, they "introduce a *causative meaning*, that can be paraphrased with 'cause', 'make' or 'provoke'" (Alba-Salas, 2007, p. 18, emphasis added). He also referred to these structures as "collocation with state nouns", which express "emotional states and conditions." In addition, he provided a similar theoretical description of the Catalan verb *fer* (Alba-Salas, 2006). Furthermore, the scholar claimed that the periphrases with *tener/tenir* are "light verb constructions whose semantic arguments are introduced by the noun predicate, not by the verb" (p. 18). The verb is, thus, in this case semantically vacuous.

supported by the pilot study which was carried out for the purposes of the current dissertation, where Spanish/Catalan native speakers used periphrases instead of single verbs (Appendix H).

¹⁹ The list of the state nouns included the following items: *alegría* "happiness", *angustia* "anguish", *asco* "disgust", *celos* "jealousy", *congoja* "grief, anguish", *dolor* "pain", *envidia* "envy", *horror* "horror", *lástima* "pity, grief, sorrow", *miedo* "fear", *pavor* "fear", *pena* "pity, grief, sorrow", *prisa* "hurry", *rabia* "anger", *temor* "fear", *terror* "horror", *tristeza* "sadness", *vergüenza* "shame" (Alba-Salas, 2007, p. 216).

In spite of these theoretical descriptions, these structures have not been explored within the Cognitive Linguistic framework, nor as a part of a SLA research. Hence, the present study is an attempt to fill this gap in the literature, by examining the acquisition of this structural dichotomy by adult foreign language learners whose L1(s) and L2 belong to two different typological patterns as far as the expression of EXPERIENCE is concerned. In the next section, the acquisition of the L2 pattern, namely the experiential verbs in Greek, by Spanish/Catalan L1 learners will be considered.

3.3.3. The acquisition of experiential verbs in Greek by Spanish/Catalan L1 learners

What happens when L2 learners come to express the EXPERIENTIAL STATE in an L2 that is typologically different from their L1(s)? More specifically, how do adult learners whose L1(s) use(s) a periphrastic schema (Spanish/Catalan) come to express EXPERIENCE in a language that uses a single verb for that purpose (Greek)? The present study aims to address that issue by exploring firstly, whether this difference between the learners' L1(s) and L2 will result in the occurrence of L1 transfer and whether it will turn out to be a problematic area during the acquisition of the L2; secondly, it aims to explore whether L2 proficiency and stays in the target language country can affect the acquisition of the patterns under analysis and if so, in which way.

Based on previous studies (Cadierno, 2004, 2008, 2010; Cadierno & Lund, 2004; Han & Cadierno, 2010), the general hypothesis is that the learners' L1 patterns will be the starting point for the interpretation and production of L2 patterns, and that, therefore, learning an L2 will entail learning another way of interpreting the EXPERIENTIAL STATE (Cadierno, 2004, p. 19; Robinson & Ellis, 2008b).

In the present study, the Spanish/Catalan L1 learners of Greek must learn to: 1) pass from the "possession" pattern [light verb *tener/tenir* "to have" + noun] to the "active-subject" pattern [single verb with the speaker as the subject] (when the EXPERIENTIAL STATE is expressed in that way) and 2) move from the "passive-object" pattern [light verb *dar/donar* "to give" or *hacer/fer* "to make" + noun] where the speaker functions as the object that *receives* the action by someone/something else, again to the "active-subject" pattern [single verb] where the speaker is the subject actually *acts*. Two examples are provided below:

(1) (Yo) tengo hambre / tinc gana.

("I am hungry")

[*I have hunger]

[light verb + noun]

(Εγώ) πεινάω. /Egó pináo/

[*I hunger]

[single verb]

(2) Me da vergüenza hablar en público.

Em fa vergonya parlar en públic.

(“I feel/get embarrassed when I speak in public.”)

[*It (speaking in public) gives **me** embarrassment.]

[light verb + noun]



speaker as object

Ντρέπομαι να μιλάω σε κοινό. /Drépome na miláo se kinó/

[*I ashamed myself (active verb) speaking in public]



speaker as subject

3.3.4. Crosslinguistic Influence during the acquisition of the “single-verb pattern” in Greek as an L2

Previous studies concerning crosslinguistic influence have shown that when an L1 pattern is different from the corresponding one in the target language, negative transfer may occur (not necessarily, but it is probable), with the learners carrying the L1 structure into the L2 (Kellerman & Sharwood Smith, 1986; Odlin, 1989, 2008; Ringbom, 1987). The present crosslinguistic influence study investigates such a case, where—as was mentioned above—the L1 structure (periphrasis) does not accord with the analogous L2 structure (single verb). The Cognitive Linguistics paradigm takes for granted that a difference in the linguistic

construction of an event involves a dissimilarity in its conceptualization by the speaker. As Langacker (2008b) states: “The pervasive importance of construal shows clearly that linguistic meaning does not reside in the objective nature of a situation described but it is crucially dependent on how the situation is apprehended” (p. 68). Hence, we can conclude that when a Spanish/Catalan L1 speaker uses different construals in order to express the EXPERIENTIAL STATE, he/she might conceive the EXPERIENCE in a different way (as an object, as it was described in Section 3.2.2) than a Greek speaker (who will construe the EXPERIENCE with a single verb).

Slobin (1993, 1996a, 1996b) claimed that the systematic differences which were found (Berman & Slobin, 1994) in the expression of MOTION between typologically different languages reflect different thinking-for-speaking patterns. These L1 patterns reveal a specific conceptualization of the certain situation, a specific perspective taken by the speaker when he/she is thinking on-line in order to speak (and write and listen). Slobin also stated that language “trains” its speakers to pay attention to specific details of an event when they talk or it may favor specific perspectives. L1 constructions are entrenched in the L2 learner’s mind and for this reason they may be very resistant to reconstruction in adult SLA.

The question that arises at this point is whether the structures under analysis in the present study could be considered thinking-for-speaking patterns. It is exceptionally difficult to provide a definitive and clear-cut answer to this question, especially due to lack of any previous research in this topic. On one

hand, it could be said that the patterns that are analyzed here meet to a certain extent some criteria in order to be characterized as thinking-for-speaking patterns. When describing an experiential event, Spanish/Catalan L1 speakers pick certain characteristics that fit their conceptualization of the event, which are encodable in their language; Greek L1 speakers do the same, but they do so by selecting other characteristics, different linguistic means that fit this conceptualization and that are available in their own language. It has been found that languages differ in the way they structure conceptualization events (Odlin, 2008; Robinson & Ellis 2008b; Slobin, 1996a, 2004; Talmy 2000, 2008) and that learning a different L2 pattern is a demanding part of adult SLA. At this point, it can be claimed that the “periphrasis versus single verb” dichotomy could be considered a thinking-for-speaking example, as there are systematic differences in the way EXPERIENCE is linguistically construed in Spanish, Catalan and Greek.

On the other hand, however, Slobin’s thinking-for-speaking hypothesis is more related to a “rhetorical preference” when a speaker is verbalizing an event. In other words, what was observed in studies which have tested the thinking-for-speaking hypothesis in a SLA context (Cadierno, 2004, 2008, 2010; Cadierno & Lund, 2004; Han & Cadierno, 2010), especially in the expression of MOTION, was that learners from different L1 backgrounds not only tend to describe the same experience, event, or thought, with different linguistic patterns, but they also tend to pay attention to different elements, their attention is “windowed” in specific aspects of this event (as it was illustrated with examples in Section 2.1.4). Nevertheless, it is questionable to say that the patterns under exploration in this

study meet this criterion. Using a periphrasis instead of single verb in Greek is not an “acceptable” pattern which reflects a rhetorical preference of the speaker; it is clearly an ungrammatical utterance. Nor could we assume that when a Spanish or Catalan speaker says *tengo hambre/tinc gana* (“I have hunger”) he/she pays attention to specific items of these events and neglects others, different from those of a Greek speaker who says *πεινάω /pináō/* (I hunger). Both speakers are hungry, what is different for them is the way they conceptualize the EXPERIENTIAL STATE of HUNGER: One perceives it as a possessed object and the other one as an action.

As I discussed in Section 2.1.4, the thinking-for-speaking hypothesis is akin to conceptualization transfer; in fact, according to Jarvis (2007, p. 63) the former is subsumed by the latter. It seems relevant to the current study Jarvis’ (2007) claim that “conceptualization transfer can occur independently of crosslinguistic differences in learners’ conceptual inventories, and this is probably particularly true of the types of conceptualization transfer that constitute thinking-for-speaking” (pp. 63-64). I will try to bring this idea to the patterns under analysis here: Even if native speakers of Spanish, Catalan and Greek do not present crosslinguistic differences in the conceptual inventory of HUNGER or THIRSTINESS—for instance, to the concepts of HUNGER or THIRSTINESS stored in long term memory—they can still present crosslinguistic differences in the patterns of conceptualization; that is, in the way they process conceptual knowledge and package it into language. Hence, during on-line language processing, conceptualization transfer of the L1 patterns can occur, despite the fact that the speakers share the same, common concept. In this sense, the case of

crosslinguistic influence which is analyzed here could be related to conceptualization transfer, in the broad sense of the term; that is, it could be seen as the outcome of structural relativity which does not include conceptual transfer (Jarvis, 2007).

This ambiguity regarding the nature of crosslinguistic influence that occurs when Spanish/Catalan L1 learners of Greek express the EXPERIENTIAL STATE will be further analyzed in the Discussion. Notwithstanding, it is evident that here we are dealing with an under-explored case of crosslinguistic influence and with an under-researched combination of languages involved. The goal of the present study, thus, is to present and delve into this case during the acquisition of Greek as a foreign language.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The aim of the present study is to shed some light on the acquisition of experiential verbs in Greek as a Foreign Language by Spanish and Catalan learners. More specifically, it aims to explore whether the differences between learners' L1(s) and L2 regarding the expression of EXPERIENCE (periphrastic structure vs. single form use) will result in cases of negative crosslinguistic influence, making the acquisition of these structures a problematic area for Spanish/Catalan L1 learners. Previous studies in the field have shown that when an L1 pattern is different from the equivalent L2 one, negative transfer may take place in learners' interlanguage (Kellerman & Sharwood Smith, 1986; Odlin, 1989, 2003, 2008; Ringbom, 1987). The present study will investigate this CLI phenomenon within the Cognitive Linguistics framework, as an attempt to gain insightful information about how CLI is exhibited during the acquisition of Greek as a foreign language (Robinson & Ellis, 2008b; Tyler, 2012a). CLI has also been found to interact with various factors and in different ways (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008; Odlin, 1989, 2003). The current study will explore the role of L2 proficiency and stays abroad in the acquisition of the patterns under analysis, and it will try to delve into how these factors interact with CLI. The first factor, L2 proficiency, was chosen initially, because of its unanimously acknowledged significance in the occurrence of transfer; secondly, because it has been found that its relation with CLI is highly complex and further research is needed in order to gain a more profound and perceptive understanding of how it operates (Jarvis, 2000; Jarvis &

Pavlenko, 2008). Furthermore, only few studies have explored how learners' stays in the target language country can affect CLI (Andria & Serrano, 2013a, 2013b); therefore, the current study aims to fill this gap in the literature by exploring its role in the acquisition of the patterns under investigation. More specifically, in light of the literature presented, the research questions that guide the present study are the following:

Research Question 1: Do the linguistic patterns used by Spanish and Catalan learners of Greek as L2 for the expression of EXPERIENTIAL STATES differ from those used by native speakers of Greek? In other words, do Spanish/Catalan learners tend to use a periphrasis instead of a single verb when expressing EXPERIENTIAL STATES in Greek?

As has been shown in Chapter 2, the role of the L1 has always been considered an important factor in SLA and there has been massive empirical evidence about the occurrence of L1 influence during the acquisition of a new target language (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008; Odlin, 1989). Moreover, it has been claimed that speakers of different L1 backgrounds tend to describe the same experience, event, or thought by using different structures (Slobin, 1993, 1996a, 1996b) which were acquired during childhood. According to Cognitive Linguistics, the different linguistic structures which are used in order to express the same experience across the different languages reflect a different way of conceptualization by the speakers of each language (Langacker, 1987, 2008a). In other words, the construals used by the various L1 speakers reveal the way they perceive the experience and the way they decide to portray it

when using the language. Several studies have shown that the L1 patterns acquired in childhood are very resistant to reconstruction in adult SLA and more often than not L2 learners tend to transfer these L1 patterns when using the L2 (Cadierno, 2004, 2010; Cadierno & Lund, 2004; Han & Cadierno, 2010).

Based on the findings of previous studies, it could be hypothesized that there will be differences in how Spanish/Catalan L1 learners and native speakers of Greek express the EXPERIENTIAL STATE. The L2 learner group will construe the EXPERIENTIAL STATE by means of periphrastic forms or he/she will accept such periphrastic forms as correct, transferring thus the pattern of their L1. Instead, the native speakers group will construe the EXPERIENTIAL STATE by using a single verb.

Research Question 2: Is there any difference in the acquisition of the L2 patterns under analysis for learners at different proficiency levels? In other words, do learners start using verbs instead of periphrases as their proficiency increases?

As it was examined in Chapter 2, proficiency is a chief factor in CLI research, yet an inconsistency regarding its effects has been reported. In general, CLI is more dominant at initial L2 proficiency levels and it decreases as proficiency increases. However, the L2 proficiency effects always depend on additional factors, such as how it is measured in each study and what area and pattern are analyzed; hence researchers should be cautious when making generalization statements about its role (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008). Furthermore,

sometimes L2 proficiency may not guarantee the full acquisition of L2 patterns (Han & Cadierno, 2010). This may occur in cases where the crosslinguistic phenomenon under analysis involves cognitive aspects related to conceptualization (Cadierno, 2004, 2010).

Based on previous empirical findings, it could be hypothesized that proficiency in Greek will be a prevalent factor during the acquisition of experiential verbs in Greek. It is expected that initial levels would show more L1 influence than the more advanced ones. Nonetheless, if the patterns under analysis suggest a difference in the conceptualization of the EXPERIENTIAL STATE between Greek L1speakers and Spanish/Catalan L2 learners—in agreement with Cognitive Linguistics basic tenets—it could be anticipated that even at advanced proficiency levels, instances of L1 transfer will be detected.

Research Question 3: Does spending time in the target language country affect the acquisition of experiential verbs in Greek? More specifically, do length of stay (maximum and total) and number of stays in Greece play a role in the acquisition of the patterns under analysis?

In Chapter 2, it has been reported that the exploration of the effects of the learning context, and especially those of the stays in the L2 country, have been gaining increasing interest in SLA. Similar to L2 proficiency, generalizations about its impact do not always correspond to the reality (DeKeyser, 2014; Sanz, 2014). Empirical findings have shown that spending time in the target language country

can be beneficial to L2 learners, but it does not affect all the L2 areas in the same way or all the L2 learners equally. Based on previous research (Ryan & Lafford, 1992; Sasaki 2009; Serrano et al., 2011, 2012), it could be hypothesized that spending time in Greece will have a positive effect on the acquisition of experiential verbs in Greek.

CHAPTER 5: METHOD

5.1. Participants

The participants of the present study were 114 Spanish and Spanish/Catalan L1 learners who were studying Modern Greek as a foreign language in a formal language context, at two language schools in Madrid and in Barcelona, Spain. The two language schools are state-run Official Schools of Languages (*Escuelas Oficiales de Idiomas-EOI*) in Spain and they follow the same proficiency level classification and curriculum. The participants belonged to five different levels, from level 2 to level 6, as classified by the language schools. Level 1 was not included, given the fact that they had no knowledge of Greek at the time of the data collection. In Greek, there are no official placement tests, as there are in other languages. For this reason, in this dissertation the language schools' level classification was adopted. The equivalence of these levels to those described by the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR)²⁰ (Council of Europe, 2001) can be seen in Table 1, as well as the number of participants that were enrolled in each of these levels for each language school and in total.

²⁰The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) is an international standard for describing language ability. It consists of a guideline used to describe foreign language learners' achievements. Its main goal is to provide a method of learning, teaching and assessment which applies to all languages in Europe. The CEFR describes foreign language level proficiency at six levels, from A1 corresponding to the most basic beginner to C2 for the very highest level of ability (Council of Europe, 2001).

Table 1:

Equivalence of Language Schools' Level with the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages and Number of participants per level

LANGUAGE SCHOOL LEVELS				COMMON EUROPEAN FRAMEWORK OF REFERENCE FOR LANGUAGES
N/LEVEL				
LEVEL	EOI Barcelona	EOI Madrid	TOTAL	
1				A1
2	19	17	36	A2
3	12	12	24	B1.1
4	9	13	22	B1.2
5	6	6	12	B2.1
6	13	7	20	B2.2
	N=59	N=55	N=114	

According to the information based on a self-reported questionnaire, all participants were adults (older than 18) and there were more females (N=69) than males (N=45). The majority of the participants had academic degrees (78.1%). Their age varied from 18 to 76 years old (Mean Age: 41.3). Table 2 depicts the participants' age distribution²¹ in groups. For the detailed age distribution see Appendix B.

²¹The number of participants who answered the question about their age was 102 (N=102).

Table 2:
Participants' distribution per age groups

Age groups	N (percentage)
18-29	26.5%
30-39	25.7%
40-49	16.8%
50-59	11.9%
60-69	16.7%
70-79	2%

As it can be observed from the tables above, more than half of the participants (54.2%) are between 18 and 39 years old. The age group of 41-49 years old is represented by 16.8% of the participants, while the other age group of 50-59 years was comprised of 11.9% of the participants. A quite similar percentage (16.7%) appears in the case of the participants around the age of 61-69. There are also two participants that have surpassed the age of seventy. This is usually not the case commonly found in SLA studies. In the present study there is an important number of participants belonging to older age groups. This is probably associated with the fact that the motivation of the people who learn Greek as a foreign language may differ from the one of those who learn English or Spanish, for instance. The motivation behind older people who learn Greek in the context under analysis (foreign language setting in Spain) lies mostly in familial reasons (their children are married to Greek people) and in their passionate interest for the Greek culture and civilization. Unlike the acquisition of other languages, learners of older age groups are typical learners of Greek in this context.

As far as the knowledge of other foreign languages is concerned, most of the participants were multilingual speakers (with more than three language acquired). The following table shows the number of languages acquired by the participants:

Table 3:
Number of languages acquired by the participants

NUMBER OF LANGUAGES	PERCENTAGE OF PARTICIPANTS
2	6.9%
3	14.9%
4	26.9%
5	27.7%
6	15.8%
7	3%
8	3%
9	2%

As it can be seen above, the vast majority of the participants speak four or five languages including their first language(s). The most common foreign languages known by the participants were English, French and German.

Regarding the exposure to the target language outside the classroom, most of the participants reported a limited amount. Detailed information about the participants' practice of Greek regarding the four skills, listening, speaking, reading and writing can be shown in the following table (4). A scale from 0 to 10—where 0 corresponds to no practice and 10 to a great deal of practice—was used.

Table 4:
Participants' exposure to Greek outside the classroom

Amount of Exposure	LANGUAGE SKILLS			
	Listening	Speaking	Reading	Writing
0	12.2%	25.6%	9.8%	19.5%
1	7.3%	14.6%	11%	15.9%
2	14.6%	15.9%	8.5%	11%
3	8.5%	9.8%	9.8%	15.9%
4	7.3%	3.7%	12.2%	7.3%
5	15.9%	12.2%	12.2%	9.8%
6	17.1%	11%	13.4%	11%
7	4.9%	3.7%	3.7%	3.7%
8	7.3%	2.4%	12.2%	3.7%
9	1.2%	1.2%	2.4%	1.2%
10	3.7%	0%	4.9%	1.2%

As it can be seen, most participants have limited exposure to Greek outside the classroom. Especially as regards to speaking, 1 in every 4 participants reported no practice at all, and only very few participants (1.2%) mentioned high amount of practice. As for writing, the picture seems to be quite similar: Very few participants recognized extracurricular exposure to the target language. Regarding listening, 1 in every 3 participants (33%) identified a moderate amount of practice. Finally, reading appears to be the skill with highest practice as compared to the other three, although generally speaking the amount of exposure is not large. Moderate practice is reported by 37.8% of the participants, while significant amount of practice is reported by 19.5% of them.

Regarding the participants' stays in the target language country, only 11% of them had never been to Greece. The rest of them reported stays where maximum duration varied from 10 days to 36 months.

Finally, as regards to the motivation for studying Greek, the participants provided the answers shown in Table 5. A scale from 1 to 6, where 1 corresponds to "not important at all" and 6 to "very important", was used. This 6-point scale was chosen so as not allow the participants to take a neutral stance regarding the question.

Table 5:
Motivation about learning Greek

Motivation: "Why do you learn Greek?"	1	2	3	4	5	6
To learn more about Greece	1.1%	1.1%	5.6%	13.5%	30.3%	48.3%
In order to understand television, movies, etc. without difficulties	4.5%	6.8%	8%	25%	25%	30.7%
Because it will be useful to my studies	29.6%	16%	14.8%	7.4%	13.6%	18.5%
To meet Greek people	6.9%	4.6%	11.5%	25.3%	25.3%	26.4%
In order to be able to read books, newspapers, etc. without difficulties	2.3%	4.6%	6.9%	21.8%	32.3%	32.3%
To meet people from other countries	17.3%	6.2%	9.9%	25.9%	21%	19.8%
For pleasure	0%	1.1%	2.2%	2.2%	17.8%	76.7%
To have more opportunities at a professional level	32.1%	16%	9.9%	18.5%	8.6%	14.8%
To learn about Greek culture	0%	0%	6.7%	5.6%	31.5%	56.2%
To travel	2.2%	0%	7.9%	16.9%	31.5%	41.6%
To learn about other cultures	12.3%	8.6%	13.6%	14.8%	22.2%	28.4%

As it can be observed, most participants said that they learn Greek for pleasure. Furthermore, a reason of significant importance was related to the Greek culture

and civilization. The majority of the participants said that learning Greek was motivated by their passionate interest in Greece, both ancient and modern, and also by their willingness to travel there. Participants also appear to be interested in meeting Greek people, as well as to understand Greek music, movies, literature and press. Learning Greek as a way to achieve more opportunities at an academic or professional level did not seem to be important for the participants.

In addition to the L2 learners, a group of 30 monolingual native speakers of Greek was also recruited. This group provided L1 data in Greek in order to have a native baseline with which to compare L2 learners' production.

5.2. EOIs and language programs

As it was mentioned above, the participants learned the target language in a formal, foreign language setting; that is, the state-run Official Schools of Languages of Madrid and Barcelona in Spain. The *Escuelas Oficiales de Idiomas* are public centers dedicated to the teaching of foreign languages to adults. They are part of the Spanish Department of Education, and they are affiliated with the corresponding department for each region (*comunidad autónoma*), which are the *Consejería de Educación de la Comunidad de Madrid*—in the case of the EOI of Madrid—and the *Departament d'Ensenyament de la Generalitat de Catalunya*— in the

case of Barcelona. As stated in their official page (“Who we are,” n.d.), the aims of the language teaching in the EOIs are the following:

- (1) “the student’s ability to use a language effectively as a vehicle for general communication.
- (2) the acknowledgement of and respect for linguistic and cultural diversity as a tool for dialogue between different peoples.”

The prerequisite to enter an EOI is to have completed the first of the two cycles of Secondary Education (*Educación Secundaria Obligatoria-ESO*) in Spain or equivalent abroad. Each academic year includes 120 hours of instruction. In respect of Greek, the highest proficiency level offered²² is level B2 (independent user), according to the CEFR (Council of Europe, 2001). Each department of Greek consists of two teachers, one of Spanish nationality (Head of the Department) and another from Greece.

In Spain, Greek is taught only in four EOIs, in the cities of Madrid, Barcelona, Málaga and Alicante. Every year, approximately 90 students are enrolled in each one of the EOIs of Madrid and Barcelona: Nearly 40 students are enrolled in the first level and almost 50 in the other 5 levels. In terms of number of students, the EOIs of Madrid and Barcelona—the ones examined in this dissertation—are the most popular, representing approximately 70% of L2

²² However, some students of this level can take at the end of the academic year the official exam of the *Center of Greek Language* (*Κέντρο Ελληνικής Γλώσσας*)—official institution responsible for Greek language assessment and certification worldwide—of level C1, if they wish.

learners of Greek in such context in Spain (Morales-Ortiz et al., 2010; Morfakidis, 1997, 2010; Omatos, 2010; Rodríguez-Lifante & Jaén-Morcillo, 2010). Hence, it could be concluded that the picture offered here is quite representative of the L2 learner of Greek in an official foreign language context in Spain. Regarding the two cities examined here, Madrid has one official language, namely Spanish, usually stated as “Castilian” (*castellano*). Barcelona is a bilingual city (with two official languages, Castilian and Catalan) where both languages are spoken and are present in everyday life. Even if some speakers might be dominant in one of the two, they are still quite competent in the other, as these languages are typologically very close.

5.3. Instruments

The instruments used in order to examine the linguistic patterns under analysis were created by the researcher due to the lack of any previous research on the same topic. They consist of both written and oral tasks and they were the same for all the proficiency levels, so as to avoid any task effects and difference in learners’ performance due to the task. More specifically, the following instruments were used: A grammaticality judgment test, a written description task, an oral description task, a questionnaire and finally, interviews with the L2 teachers. The importance of multiple data sources has been recognized by many scholars in the SLA field (Corder, 1973; Hyltenstam, 1977; Tarone, 1979).

5.3.1. Grammaticality Judgment Test (GJT)

First, a GJT was designed. This instrument is one of the most established data collection tools in order to elicit information about the knowledge of a specific pattern (R. Ellis, 1994; Gass, 1994; Gass & Polio, 2014; Scütze, 1996). It is considered to be particularly useful in cases when the researchers want to elicit information that production tasks and naturalistic data collection cannot offer or they may offer but they do so after a long period of time, which could become especially time-consuming (Mackey & Gass, 2005; A. Tremblay, 2005). In addition, participants may deliberately avoid specific structures in natural production data if they are not confident about them and they have not incorporated them. As Mackey and Gass (2005) point out “part of understanding what someone knows about language is understanding what they include in their grammar and what they exclude. This cannot be inferred from natural production alone” (p. 49). In other words, learner’s knowledge in the one language is not only equated with learner’s production (Schachter, Tyson, & Diffley, 1976). Taking into account the above-mentioned advantages, the use of a GJT in the present study was considered appropriate in order to shed some light on the knowledge of the patterns under analysis.

The GJT consisted of 20 sentences, including 10 incorrect (sentences: 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 13, 16, 17) and five correct (sentences 9, 12, 14, 19, 20) uses of Greek periphrases: The incorrect ones referred to the target structures (experiential

verbs) and the correct ones to other linguistic patterns that are expressed through periphrases in Spanish/Catalan as well as in Greek. It was decided to use these periphrases instead of correct forms of experiential verbs in these correct sentences in order not to reveal the target forms and avoid participants noticing them. Since the list of experiential verbs explored in the present study was relatively limited, it was not considered appropriate to include them in the correct sentences and direct participants' attention to them. Therefore, these periphrases could be considered as a particular kind of *distractors*. The reason to include more incorrect than correct sentences was twofold: Firstly, it has been found that incorrect (ungrammatical) sentences are more difficult to judge (Bialystok, 1979, 1986; R. Ellis, 1991; Hedgcock, 1993; Loewen, 2009²³); thus, the tasks become more demanding. Secondly and more importantly, in the case of a correct sentence the participants only make a judgment, whereas in the case of an incorrect sentence they must consider and determine where the error lies. Therefore, this kind of sentences provides the researcher with more essential information, since it confirms the knowledge (or not) of the patterns under analysis.

In addition, five distractors that targeted other structures in Greek typically taught in classroom settings were included (sentences 3, 6, 11, 15, 18). In the literature about methodology and instruments design, it is recommended to include distractors apart from the target forms, so that participants cannot easily figure out what the aim of the experiment is and speculate on the target forms

²³ The majority of the articles which are mentioned here suggest that it is more demanding to judge ungrammatical sentences especially in timed tasks, due to the type of knowledge required (implicit vs. explicit). For further information regarding the issue of time pressure and type of knowledge in grammaticality judgment tests, see Gutiérrez (2013).

(Mackey & Gass, 2005; Scütze, 1996). For the complete form of the GJT, as well as the detailed explanation of the items included in the task see Appendices C1 and C2.

The participants were asked to decide whether the sentences were correct or incorrect. In the case of an incorrect sentence, they were asked to underline the error and correct it. The L2 learners were encouraged to underline the error in order for the researcher to examine whether they were able to notice erroneous uses of the periphrases, despite not being able to correct them. They were also told that there was the possibility for them to leave a sentence unanswered in case they were not able to understand it. Below is an example of a sentence from the GJT:

Sentence 2:

Σήμερα κάνει πολύ κρύο, αλλά εγώ έχω πολλή ζέστη!

[Hoy hace mucho frío, pero yo tengo mucho calor.]

Avui fa molt (de) fred, però jo tinc molta calor.

*[Today it is very cold, but I *have a lot of warmth/heat.]*

In this sentence, for instance, the participants should firstly underline the phrase *έχω πολλή ζέστη*, which is a transfer from their L1, and then correct it by replacing it with the corresponding verb in Greek, which is *ζεσταίνομαι* (/zesténome/).

The GJT was timed-controlled, in the sense that the participants had 8-10 minutes in order to complete the task. Providing limited time for this type of task

has been found to have several advantages (Scütze, 1996). First of all, if the participants have a restricted amount of time to think about the sentences, “their reactions are less likely to be influenced by extragrammatical factors, such as pragmatic considerations and language norms” and they are also “less likely to consult their knowledge of prescriptive grammar”(A. Tremblay, 2005, p. 140). Secondly, within a limited time it would be more difficult for the participants to detect the target structures and, consequently, the objective of the study. Lastly, under time-restriction circumstances the participants are less likely to go back and change their answers (A. Tremblay, 2005), an important point usually noted in the literature (Mackey & Gass, 2005). For all these reasons, the GJT was decided to be time-controlled.

The reliability of the instrument was checked and it was found that the scale had high internal consistency, with a Cronbach’s α coefficient of .890.

5.3.2. Written picture description task (WDT)

A WDT was used (“The boy story”) (see Appendix D1). The use of picture description tasks has been considered to be a valuable tool for the investigation of crosslinguistic and cross-cultural influences on L2 acquisition and use (Sánchez & Jarvis, 2008; Duff, Rossiter, Derwing, & Jones, 2008). This is because the same visual stimuli can be described in different ways by speakers of different L1 backgrounds, enabling thus the exploration CLI effects (Berman & Slobin, 1994). In the present study, the picture description tasks were used in order to examine

whether the same EXPERIENTIAL STATE depicted in the image prompts would be described with different construals by Greek native speakers and Spanish/Catalan L1 learners of Greek (von Stutterheim, 2003).

Participants here were presented with a story consisting of six vignettes and were asked to write the story depicted in the pictures. They were told that they had to use sentences based on the prompt “In the first picture I see the boy.... *because...*” The word “because” was important in order to elicit the target actions (e.g., “I see the boy thinking about food, *because* he is hungry”).

The task was precisely designed for the purposes of the present study. The story included three target items: *πεινάω* /pináo/ “to be hungry”, *διψάω* /dipsáo/ “to be thirsty” and *νυστάζω* /nistázo/ “to be sleepy.” Participants were asked to write the story first in Greek and then in their L1. The reason to include L1 data as well was twofold: Firstly, in order to be sure that the participants had understood the task and produced the target structure (they noticed the target action). Thus, in cases where the participants had written the target form in their L1, but they had omitted it or used something different in the L2, it could be deduced that it was a clear case of avoidance²⁴. Secondly, in order to compare the participants’ answers in their L1 and their L2, and explore the difference in the expression of the EXPERIENTIAL STATE. The order of the narratives (first in the L2 and then in the L1) was chosen because of the interest that was placed in learners’ L2 production. Given that the tasks had to be administered in the same classroom

²⁴“Avoidance” is defined as a type of interlanguage (Selinker, 1972, 1992) communication strategy when the L2 learner chooses not to use (avoid) a particular structure, substituting it by an easier or more familiar one. Avoidance is seen as a deliberate strategy, different from just ignorance (Gass & Selinker, 2001).

hour (for reasons due to logistics and time restrictions), asking firstly for the L2 narrative would limit the possible influence of the L1 narrative. Counterbalancing the task (i.e., change the order of task administration for some of the participants) was avoided for the reason just mentioned.

The instrument had good reliability, with a reported Cronbach's α coefficient of .7035.

5.3.3. Oral picture description task (ODT)

An oral picture description task (ODT) was used ("The airplane story") (see Appendix E1). Similarly to the written task, this instrument was designed first-hand, especially for the purposes of the present study. This task was administered only to a subgroup of the participants (N=38) due to time restrictions. The targets included in this task were the following: *καλωσορίζω* /kalosorízo/ "to welcome somebody", *πεινάω* /pináo/ "to be hungry", *πονάω* /ponáo / "to feel pain" and *ευχαριστώ* /efharistó/ "to thank somebody." Similar to the WDT, the participants had to tell the story first in Greek and then in their L1, for the same reasons explained above. At the end of the oral narrative, if participants had not mentioned the target actions, the researcher tried to direct their attention to them by asking "What do you see in this picture? What is she doing in this picture?."

The instrument's reliability was also good, with a reported Cronbach's α coefficient of .8157.

5.3.4. Questionnaire

This study also included a questionnaire. This instrument was used in order to elicit biodata and the linguistic background of the participants. Questions mainly concerned age, gender, education level and profession. Furthermore, the questionnaire inquired about learners' former and current exposure to Greek both in Spain and in Greece, and both in formal and in informal settings. The participants were also asked whether they consider to have experienced a turning point in their L2 learning trajectory and if so, which was the reason. This question was asked with the aim to investigate whether stays in Greece could be viewed as an important moment in the learning history of the L2 learners (Muñoz, 2012b). Moreover, detailed information was gathered about the participants' stays in the target language country. They were asked to evaluate (with a scale provided) their stays in Greece (if any) in terms of benefits and progress made there. In addition, information about motivation for learning Greek was also gathered. (For the complete form of the questionnaire see APPENDIX F.)

5.3.5. Teachers' Interviews

During the pilot study, and before the data collection, interviews with the EOI's teachers of Greek were conducted. During the interviews, the teachers gave feedback regarding the suitability of the instruments, and additionally, they provided information about how the target structures are taught in class, in which level they are presented and what type of instruction is followed (implicit vs.

explicit). According to what they said, some basic targets such as *πεινάω* /pináo/ “to be hungry”, *διψάω* /dipsáo/ “to be thirsty”, *φοβάμαι* /fováme/ “to be afraid”, are taught as part of the vocabulary section at the end of level 1 or at level 2. The other, more advanced verbs (for instance, *ντρέπομαι* /ntrépome/ “to feel embarrassed”, *ζηλεύω* /zilévo/ “to be jealous”) are introduced gradually throughout the other levels, when they appear in the textbooks. The teachers confirmed the tendency which is explored here, namely the use of periphrases instead of verbs for the expression of the EXPERIENTIAL STATE by the Spanish/Catalan L1 learners of Greek. Nevertheless, they said that they do not present these structures by making a comparison between the L1(s) and the L2; that is, even in cases where the students make an erroneous use of a periphrasis instead of a verb, the teachers do not explicitly correct them, or direct students’ attention to these forms. The teachers stated that they have never treated this cross-linguistic difference as a problematic area during the acquisition of Greek as an L2, despite the fact that they did recognize that it occurs in students’ production. This issue will be further discussed in the section of Discussion.

5.4. Procedure

5.4.1. Pilot study

Before collecting the data for this study, a pilot study was conducted in order to check the validity of the instruments. In this pilot study, the participants were 15

native speakers of Spanish/Catalan who did the three tasks (GJT, WDT and ODT) in Spanish/Catalan in order to examine whether they produced the expected periphrases in their native languages. Similarly, 30 native speakers of Greek did the tasks in Greek so that the researcher could analyze whether they also produced the target structures in Greek. The results indicated that the hypothesized tendency was confirmed: All the native Spanish/Catalan speakers used periphrases in their L1 in all the cases in the picture description tasks and all the Greek speakers used single verbs in their L1 in the same tasks. Similarly, the sentences in the GJT were judged as expected by the native Greek speakers in 97% of the cases. Additionally, the instruments were piloted with 12 Spanish/Catalan students of Greek in a language school in Barcelona (which shares the same syllabus with the EOIs). During the design of the instruments, the teachers' interviews about the suitability of the tasks, as well as the feedback provided by the native speakers, were taken into account for further modification before the data collection.

5.4.2. Data collection

The data collection for this dissertation took place firstly at the EOI of Barcelona, at the beginning of a nine-month course (October) in 2011. The next academic year (2012) another data collection took place at the EOI of Madrid, also at the beginning of the course. Data was collected from a different school in order to increase the participant sample. Given the fact that in 2011 all the learners in the

EOI of Barcelona had already been recruited it was not possible to go back to the same school.²⁵ The tests were administered to participants in their own classroom by the researcher. The participants were allowed 8–10 minutes to do the GJT and the WDT. If they had not finished during that time, they were not given extra time to complete the task. Time-control was especially important for the GJT; as it was explained before, in this task, it is recommended to “get ‘quick’ responses without a great deal of thinking time” (Mackey & Gass, 2005, p. 51) and that the participants should not be allowed to go back and change their responses. This is because the objective behind using this instrument is to get spontaneous answers.

The participants in each group did the two tests together: First the GJT and then the WDT. In the same session, after finishing the tests, the participants were asked to complete the questionnaire mentioned above. Instructions were given in both Spanish and Greek to avoid any misunderstandings. At the end, a smaller sample of participants of each level did the oral task (ODT). This subgroup was chosen at random. In the data collection of the oral data, apart from the researcher, three research assistants participated. Before the data collection, they were trained and they were given thorough guidelines as to how to carry out the task. The oral data was collected using a digital recorder, which was placed next to the participants as they were doing the narrative task.

²⁵ The two language schools were comparable as it will be further explained in the Results section.

5.5. Analysis

5.5.1. Coding

5.5.1.1. Codification for grammaticality judgment test

The codification adopted for the GJT can be seen in Table 6.

Table 6:
Codification for the GJT

Points	Grammaticality Judgment Test (GJT)
1	<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ correct sentence identified as correct²⁶○ incorrect sentence identified as incorrect and target item corrected appropriately
0.25	<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ incorrect periphrases identified (underlined) but not corrected
0	<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ correct sentences identified as incorrect○ incorrect sentences identified as correct○ incorrect sentences identified as incorrect but the target form was neither underlined nor corrected○ incorrect sentences identified as incorrect but the student corrected another part of the sentence

For the purpose of investigating the target structures (i.e., the knowledge of the “single verb form vs. periphrasis” difference), the participants were given a global score up to 10 for this task, which corresponds to the ten sentences including the

²⁶In the case of the target forms, it should be mentioned that morphological errors were not counted in the punctuation, given the fact the main interest was to explore whether participants knew that the target form was a verb.

items based on the target forms (10 out of the 20 items). The rest of the items of the GJT were considered separately in order to examine whether there was a difference between the target forms and items that (1) include aspects that are typically dealt with in the school curriculum (five distractors) and/or (2) are similar in the L1(s) and in the L2 (five non-target periphrases).

5.5.1.2. Codification for the picture description tasks

After the data collection, the picture description tasks were analyzed. The data were transcribed using Microsoft Word by the researcher (for extracts see Appendix D2 and E2). The codification adopted for the picture description tasks appears in Table 7.

Table 7:
Codification for the picture description tasks

Points	Picture Description Tasks (written and oral)
1	○ production of the target form (verb) ²⁷
0	○ target form not produced

²⁷ Similarly to the GJT, in the description tasks morphological errors were not counted in the punctuation.

The participants were given a global score for each one of the tasks: A score up to 3 for the WDT and up to 4 for the ODT. This type of punctuation was used specifically for the statistical analyses.

Apart from the above-mentioned coding, a more detailed analysis was also carried out. It consists of a classification based on the participants' answers in the L2. More specifically it was explored:

1. whether they correctly produced a verb (target form)
2. whether they did not produce the expected form (verb), but they produced a periphrasis which is accepted in Greek
3. whether they produced a periphrasis based on their L1
4. whether they clearly avoided using the target form in Greek, but in their L1 version of the story they did use it
5. whether they did not mention the target form at all

Below there is an example, which illustrates this codification:

In the ODT, the target form for the first vignette is "The airhostess/woman *welcomes* the passenger on board". The possible answers of the participants could be the following:

1. Η αεροσυνοδός *καλωσορίζει* τον επιβάτη.

/I aerosinodós kalosorízi ton epiváti/

The air hostess welcomes the passenger.

2. Η αεροσυνοδός λέει «καλώς ήρθατε» στον επιβάτη.

/I aerosinodós léi kalósíρθate ston epiváti/

The air hostess says “welcome” to the passenger.

3. Η αεροσυνοδός *δίνει το «καλώς ήρθατε»/ καλωσόρισμα στον επιβάτη.

/I aerosinodós díni to kalósíρθate/ kalósórisma ston epiváti/

The air hostess *gives the welcome to the passenger.

(Literal translation from the Spanish and Catalan:

La azafata da la bienvenida al pasajero.

L’hostessa dóna la benvinguda al passatger.)

4. «Η αεροσυνοδός χαιρετάει τον επιβάτη.»

/I aerosinodós heretáí ton epiváti/

The air hostess says hello to the passenger.

(While in the L1 the participant had clearly produced:

La azafata da la bienvenida al pasajero.

L’hostessa dóna la benvinguda al passatger.)

5. «Η αεροσυνοδός περιμένει στην πόρτα του αεροπλάνου.» (#046)

/I aerosinodós periméni stin pórta tu aeroplánu/

The air hostess is waiting at the airplane’s door.

The results based on categories 1 (whether the participants produced the expected target verb or not) and the categories 4 and 5 together (whether they did not produce the target form) will be presented quantitatively in the Results section. The categories 2 and 3 were used mainly for the sake of the qualitative analysis, and they will be discussed in the section of Discussion.

Additionally, the L1 data produced by the participants were classified into the following categories:

1. Use of a periphrasis (which is the expected form)
2. Use of a single verb (in cases where this is also possible in the L1)
3. No mention of the target form

Afterwards, a quantitative comparison of participants' L1 and the L2 data was performed, based on whether they produced the expected target form in each language (periphrasis in the L1, single verb in the L2) and whether they did not.

5.5.1.3. Questionnaire: Codification of the Stay Abroad factor

The information regarding the stay abroad factor elicited through the questionnaire was coded as follows: First of all, the students were asked whether they had been to Greece before and for how long. The variables examined were

the total time spent in Greece, the duration of the longest stay (in months) and the number of stays.

Regarding learners' identification of turning points, firstly the answers were classified in terms of whether or not the participants recognized a specific turning point. Secondly, out of those who answered positively, it was explored how many of them attributed the radical change in their learning to a stay abroad experience. Finally, other categories regarding the reason of the turning point were created depending on participants' answers.

5.5.2. Statistical analyses

The Statistical Package of Social Sciences (SPSS 15) was used for the analyses of the tasks and questionnaire. In order to explore the difference in the linguistic patterns of native speakers of Greek and Spanish/Catalan L1 learners of Greek, Mann-Whitney *U* tests were performed (between native speakers and each proficiency level). The dependent variable was the score in the GJT, then in the WDT and finally in the ODT. The independent variable was the L1 (Greek vs. Spanish/Catalan). Non-parametric tests were considered more appropriate due to the lack of normal distribution. To see the results of the normality tests for each task see Appendix G.

In order to examine whether there was a significant difference between the different proficiency levels, a Kruskal-Wallis test was conducted, with the

different proficiency level groups as independent variables and the scores in the three tasks as dependent variables. Afterwards, pairwise post-hoc comparisons using Mann–Whitney *U* tests were performed with the aim of investigating any significant differences between groups at different levels of proficiency. Finally, the SA factor was analyzed by performing Spearman *Rho* correlations between the scores in the three language tasks (GJT, WDT and ODT) and total time in Greece, maximum length of stay in Greece and number of stays.

CHAPTER 6: RESULTS

This chapter will present the results obtained from the quantitative analysis of the tasks. First, statistical results for the first research question regarding the differences of the patterns used by native speakers of Greek and L2 learners will be introduced (Section 6.1), for the written tasks (GJT and WDT) (Section 6.1.1.), and then for the oral task (ODT) (Section 6.1.2). Section 6.1.3 will summarize the results of the first question. Next, Section 6.2, will provide the results concerning the second research question, that is, whether there are any differences in the acquisition of the L2 patterns across the different proficiency levels. First, the results for the GJT will be offered (Section 6.2.1), then those of the written description task (Section 6.2.2.), and finally those of the oral task (Section 6.2.3.). Afterwards, the results of the third research question regarding the stay abroad factor will be presented (Section 6.3), following the same order: First, the results of the GJT will be introduced (section 6.3.1), followed by those of the WDT (section 6.3.2) and then by those of the ODT (section 6.3.3). Section 6.4 will be dedicated to the results of the item analysis. First, the results with respect to the difficulty of each item (section 6.4.1) will be presented. Then, the results of the statistical analyses per item for each one of the variables (proficiency and stays abroad) will be provided (section 6.4.2). Lastly, the results based on the L1 data will be offered in Section 6.5.

6.1. Results of the Research Question 1: Differences in the expression of the EXPERIENCE by native speakers of Greek and by Spanish/Catalan L1 learners of Greek as an L2

The first research question asked whether there are differences in the way the EXPERIENTIAL STATE was expressed by native speakers of Greek and by Spanish/Catalan L1 learners of Greek. In other words, whether the patterns used by these two groups in order to refer to the EXPERIENTIAL STATE were different. Below, the results for each one of the tasks are presented. The results presented represent both language schools collectively. Nevertheless, the statistical analyses were also performed separately for each language school, and similar results were obtained.

6.1.1. Written tasks

Table 8 provides the descriptive statistics for the group of native (NS) and non-native speakers (NNS) in the GJT and the WDT. The descriptive statistics show that the mean of the NS is higher than the mean of the NNS in both tasks (9.66 vs. 1.94 in the case of the GJT, and in 3 vs. 1.5 in the case of the WDT). As for inferential statistics, the results of a series of Mann-Whitney *U* tests indicated that these differences were significant in favor of the NS group again in both tasks. Mann-Whitney *U* tests separately with each proficiency level instead of a direct Mann-Whitney *U* test between native and non-natives speakers were considered

more appropriate, given the fact that in the second option the number of participants per group would be unbalanced (N=30 for the native speakers, N= 114 for the non-native speakers). The detailed results of the Mann-Whitney *U* tests (between the NS group and the NNS as presented by each level group) for the GJT and the WDT are presented in the Tables 9 and 10 respectively. The descriptive statistics for each proficiency group are presented in Table 19.

Table 8:
Descriptive statistics for the NS and NNS groups for the written tasks

	NS/NNS	N	Mean	SD
GJT /10	Non native	113	1.94	2.59
	Native	30	9.66	0.84
PDT /3	Non native	107	1.5	1.08
	Native	30	3	0.00

Table 9:
Mann Whitney U test results for the GJT between NS and NNS

GROUP	U	Z	p
Level 2-NS	.000	-7.426	<.001*
Level 3-NS	.000	-6.666	<.001*
Level 4-NS	6.5	-6.367	<.001*
Level 5-NS	5.5	-5.471	<.001*
Level 6-NS	11.5	-6.110	<.001*

Note. *indicates significant differences

Table 10:
Mann Whitney U test results for the WDT between NS and NNS.

GROUP	<i>U</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>P</i>
Level 2-NS	30	-7.006	<.001*
Level 3-NS	45	-6.000	<.001*
Level 4-NS	90	-5.390	<.001*
Level 5-NS	45	-5.252	<.001*
Level 6-NS	120	-4.770	<.001*

Note. *indicates significant differences

6.1.2. Oral task

As far as the oral task is concerned, the results were similar to those of the written tasks. The descriptive statistics, which could be seen in Table 11, show that the mean score of the NS is higher than the one of the NNS (4 vs. 1.23). Furthermore, the statistical analyses performed through a series of Mann-Whitney *U* tests demonstrated that the differences between NS and NNS were significant in favor of the NS. The detailed results of the Mann-Whitney *U* tests (between the NS group and the NNS as presented by each level group) for the ODT are presented in the Table 12.

Table 11:
Descriptive statistics for the NS and NNS groups in the oral task (ODT)

	NS/NNS	N	Mean	SD
ODT/4	Non native	48	1.23	0.93
	Native	30	4	0.00

Table 12:
Mann Whitney U test results for the ODT between NS and NNS.

GROUP	U	Z	p
Level 2-NS	.000	-6.262	<.001*
Level 3-NS	.000	-5.820	<.001*
Level 4-NS	.000	-5.820	<.001*
Level 5-NS	.000	-5.651	<.001*
Level 6-NS	15	-5.948	<.001*

Note. *indicates significant differences

6.1.3. Summary of the results of the Research Question 1

As it can be observed by the statistical results presented above, the patterns used for the expression of the EXPERIENCE are significantly different for native speakers of Greek and for Spanish/Catalan L1 learners of Greek: The first group used a single verb whereas the second tended to use more periphrases, following thus, the L1 pattern. Therefore, results confirm that the “single verb versus periphrasis” difference for the expression of EXPERIENCE is a clear case of crosslinguistic influence during the acquisition of Modern Greek as a foreign language by the Spanish/Catalan L1 learners of the present study.

Moreover, it was of great interest to explore whether the learners with the highest proficiency in this study (level 6, n=20) were still significantly different

from the native speakers. The means for the GJT, the WDT and the ODT for the level 6 students were respectively $M= 4.46$, $M= 2.05$, and $M=1.5$. The results of the Mann-Whitney U test demonstrated that even the more advanced learners in the sample of this study differed significantly from native speakers of Greek in the use of experiential verbs, in the sense that they used more periphrases than verbs (GJT: $U=11.5$, $Z=-6.110$, $p<.001$, WDT: $U=120$, $Z=-4.770$, $p<.001$ and ODT: $U=15$, $Z=-5.948$, $p<.001$). On a descriptive note, it must be pointed that, in the GJT the most advanced learners (level 5 and 6) obtained scores which were close to those of the native speakers in the sentences that included other aspects (that is, apart from the target forms). These aspects, as explained in the Method Section, were distractors and they included purely grammatical elements, explicitly taught in classroom. Table 13 shows the descriptive statistics for the scores obtained in the GJT for the distractors (up to 5) for NS and NNS and then, Table 14 depicts the descriptive statistics of each proficiency group and NS. Despite the fact that that these two levels had still significant differences with the NS, their scores were closer to those of the NS, than the ones which included the target structures, as it can be seen graphically in Figure 2. The results of the Mann-Whitney U tests between the NS and each one of the level group of NNS appear in Table 15.

Table 13:

Descriptive statistics for the NS and NNS groups in the GJT distractors score (GJT_dis)

	NS/NNS	N	Mean	SD
GJT_dis/5	Non native	113	2.91	1.80
	Native	30	5	0.00

Table 14:

Descriptive statistics (Min., Max., Mean and Standard Deviation, SD) for different proficiency levels and NS in the GJT_dis

Group Level	N	Min. GJT_dis/5	Max. GJT_dis/5	Mean GJT_dis/5	SD GJT_dis/5
2	36	0	5	1.5	1.47
3	24	0	5	2.79	1.84
4	21	1	5	3.52	1.36
5	12	3	5	4.25	0.75
6	20	0.25	5	4.18	1.38
NS	30	5	5	5	0.00

Figure 2:

Mean Scores of the GJT_dis (distractors only) for each proficiency level and NS

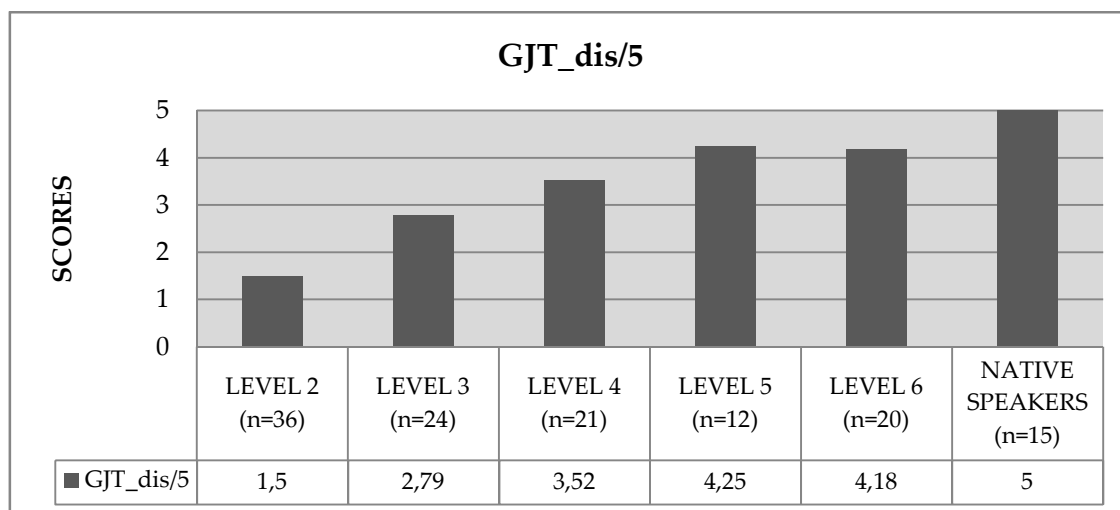


Table 15:
Mann Whitney U test results for the GJT_dis (distractors only) between NS and NNS.

GROUP	U	Z	p
Level 2-NS	15	-7.158	<.001*
Level 3-NS	90	-5.608	<.001*
Level 4-NS	105	-5.118	<.001*
Level 5-NS	75	-4.512	<.001*
Level 6-NS	195	-3.447	.001*

Note. *indicates significant differences

As it can be observed by the descriptive statistics, many participants—even at initial proficiency levels—obtained the highest score in the sentences of the GJT where other grammatical aspects were included. More specifically, 28.3% of the participants got the same score as the NS (5/5). This result is in contrast to the results regarding the target structures, where no participant attained the highest score (10/10) in the GJT. This finding implies that there is a difference in the acquisition of purely grammatical aspects versus the acquisition of the patterns under analysis in the present study. The same picture was also observed in the sentences which included periphrases which were the same in the L1 and in the L2. Table 16 presents the descriptive statistics for the scores obtained in the GJT for the correct, non-target periphrases and then Table 17 shows the descriptive statistics of each proficiency group and NS. Despite the significant differences with the native speakers, the scores obtained in these sentences scores were closer to those of the NS, as it can be seen in Figure 3. The results of the Mann Whitney *U* tests between native speakers and each one of the level group of NNS appear in Table 18.

Table 16:

Descriptive statistics for the NS and NNS groups in the GJT non-target periphrases score (GJT_non-target_per)

	NS/NNS	N	Mean	SD
GJT_non-araget_per/5	Non native	114	3.24	1.45
	Native	30	5	0.00

Table 17:

Descriptive statistics (Min., Max., Mean and Standard Deviation, SD) for different proficiency levels and NS in the GJT non-target periphrases (GJT_non-target_per)

Group Level	N	Min. GJT/5	Max. GJT/5	Mean GJT/5	SD GJT
2	36	0	5	2.94	1.45
3	24	0	5	3.04	1.82
4	21	0	5	3.86	1.35
5	12	3	5	3.66	0.77
6	20	1	5	3.10	1.20
NS	30	5	5	5	0.00

Figure 3:
 Mean Scores of the non-target periphrases (*GJT_non-target_per*) in the GJT for each proficiency level and NS

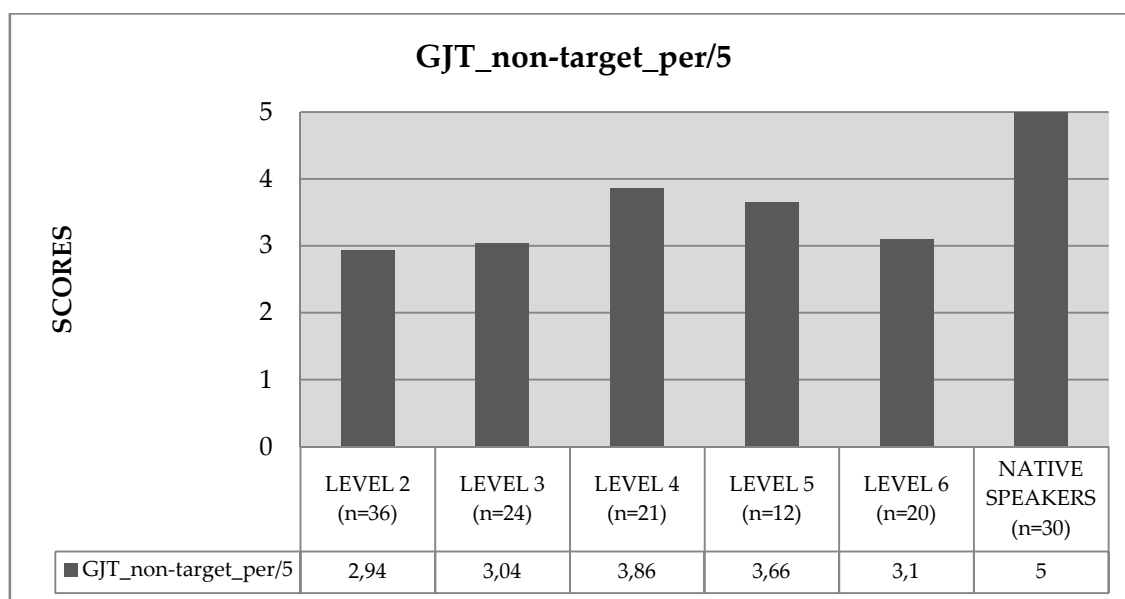


Table 18:
 Mann Whitney U test results for the GJT non-target periphrases L1-L2 (*GJT_non-target_per*) between NS and NNS.

GROUP	<i>U</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>p</i>
Level 2-NS	75	-6.516	<.001*
Level 3-NS	90	-5.614	<.001*
Level 4-NS	150	-4.522	<.001*
Level 5-NS	30	-5.610	<.001*
Level 6-NS	60	-5.758	<.001*

Note. *indicates significant differences

As it can be seen in the descriptive, many participants—even those of initial proficiency—achieved the highest score in the sentences where the forms included were similar in the L1(s) and in the L2. As it was mentioned before, this did not

happen in the case of the target structures. Nevertheless, this result should be interpreted cautiously, because all the sentences including non-target periphrases in the L2 were correct, and therefore easier for the L2 learners and more prone to guessing—a factor which could be confounding²⁸.

²⁸ As it was explained in Method (Section 5.3.1), identifying incorrect sentences is usually a more demanding task, than judging correct sentences.

6.2. Results of the Research Question 2: The role of proficiency in the acquisition of the L2 patterns

The second research question of the present dissertation inquired whether proficiency level had an effect on the acquisition of the L2 patterns under analysis.

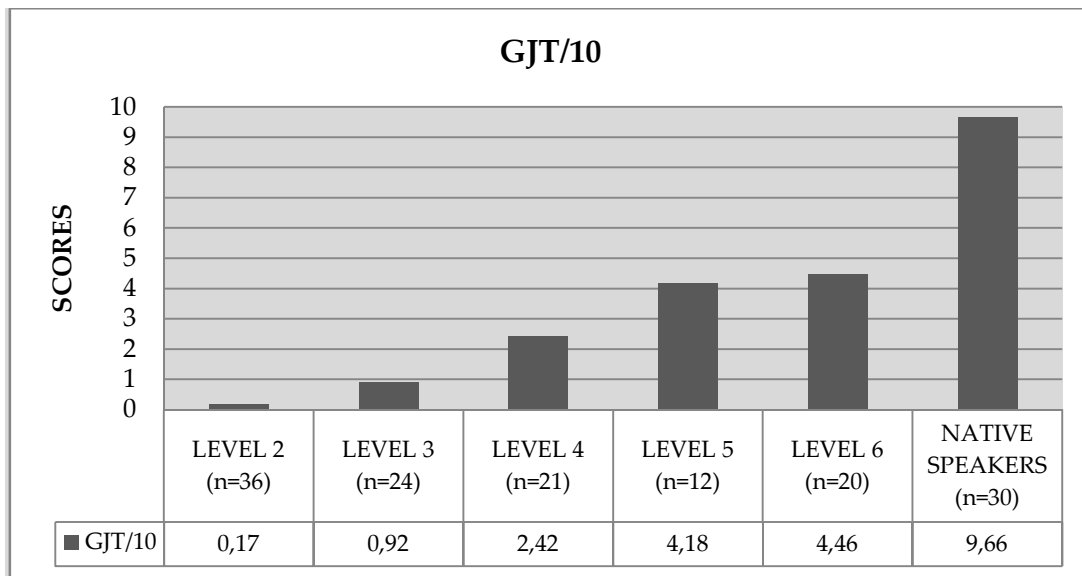
6.2.1. Grammaticality judgment test

The descriptive statistics for the scores of the GJT for the different proficiency levels appear in the following Table (19). Then, Figure 4 presents the descriptives graphically.

Table 19:
Descriptive statistics (Min., Max., Mean and Standard Deviation, SD) for different proficiency levels and NS in the GJT

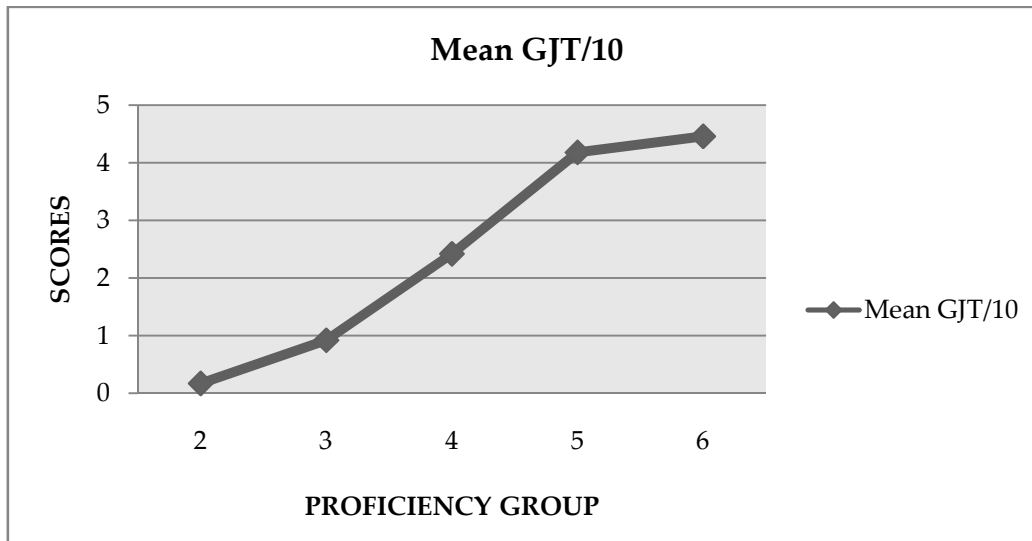
Group Level	N	Min. GJT/10	Max. GJT/10	Mean GJT/10	SD GJT
2	36	0	2.25	0.17	0.44
3	24	0	6	0.92	1.60
4	21	0	8	2.42	2.35
5	12	0	8	4.18	2.95
6	20	0	9.25	4.46	2.81
NS	30	7	10	9.66	0.84

Figure 4:
Mean Scores of the GJT for each proficiency level and NS



According to the descriptive statistics, there seems to be a linear development in the acquisition of Greek L2 patterns. It can be also observed that the difference between the mean scores of the last two level groups, namely level 5 and 6, is minimal (Figure 5). This implies that the development from level 5 to level 6 is limited. It can be also observed in Figure 4 that there is an important difference between the scores of the more proficient levels and those of the native speakers. Hence, it could be concluded that proficiency itself did not seem to guarantee the full acquisition of the L2 patterns under analysis.

Figure 5:
GJT scores by proficiency group



When comparisons were made between the different proficiency groups, the Kruskal-Wallis test revealed that there were significant differences ($\chi^2=105.966$, $df=5$, $p<.001$). Pairwise *post-hoc* comparisons using Mann Whitney *U* tests produced the results shown in Table 20.

Table 20:
Mann Whitney U test results for the GJT

GROUP	<i>U</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>p</i>
2-3	105.5	-2.560	.010*
2-4	105	-5.067	<.001*
2-5	28.5	-4.991	<.001*
2-6	51	-5.698	<.001*
3-4	126	-3.135	.002*
3-5	42	-3.548	<.001*
3-6	69.5	-4.111	<.001*
4-5	95.5	-1.348	.178
4-6	136.5	-2.115	.034*
5-6	116.5	-0.137	.891

Note. *indicates significant differences

It can be seen that most of the significant differences that exist between the proficiency groups appear between firstly, the level 2 (A2) and the other groups, and secondly, between the level 3 (B1.1) and the other groups. As regards to the other proficiency levels, from level 4 (B1.2) and on, the only case of significant differences which was detected concerns the levels 4 and 6. When comparing the higher levels between them, no significant differences appeared except those of the aforementioned.

6.2.2. Written description task

The descriptive statistics of the scores in the WDT for the different proficiency levels are presented in Table 21. Afterwards, Figure 6 demonstrates them graphically.

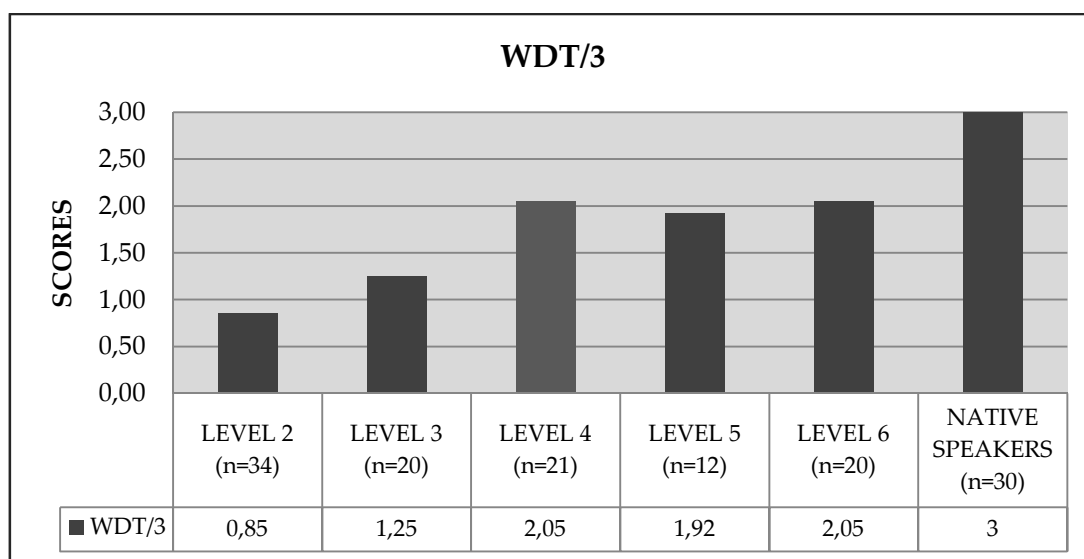
Table 21:

Descriptive statistics (Min., Max., Mean and Standard Deviation, SD) for different proficiency levels and NS in the WDT

Group Level	N	Min. WDT/3	Max. WDT/3	Mean WDT/3	SD
2	34	0	3	0.85	1.2
3	20	0	3	1.25	1.07
4	21	0	3	2.05	0.8
5	12	0	3	1.92	0.9
6	20	0	3	2.05	0.95
NS	15	3	3	3	0

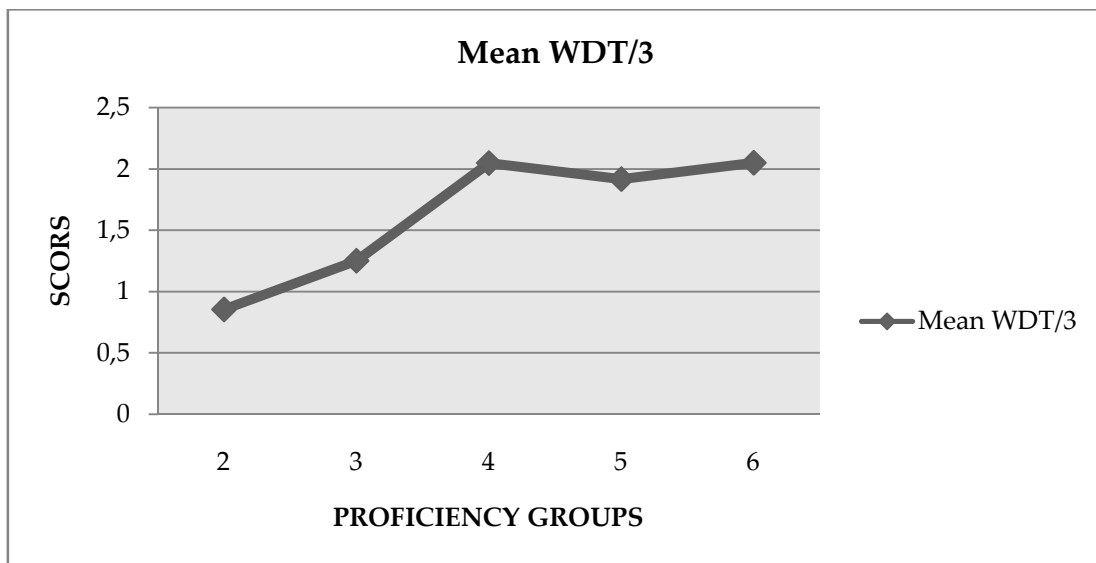
Figure 6:

Mean Scores of the WDT for each proficiency level and NS



As seen from the descriptive statistics, there seems to be—similarly to the GJT—a linear development in the acquisition of Greek L2 patterns but it goes up to level 4 (B1.2). From this level onwards, there seems to be a *stabilization* as far as the acquisition of target patterns is concerned, which is illustrated in Figure 7. The last three levels only show minor differences in the mean scores obtained in the WDT.

Figure 7:
WDT scores by proficiency group



A Kruskal-Wallis test was performed with the aim to explore whether there were significant differences between the proficiency groups with respect to the scores of the WDT. The test did reveal significant differences ($\chi^2=24.715$, $df= 4$, $p<.001$). Pairwise *post-hoc* comparisons using Mann-Whitney U tests produced the results presented in Table 22.

Table 22:
Mann Whitney U test results for the WDT

GROUP	U	Z	p
2-3	266.5	-1.399	.162
2-4	143	-3.897	<.001*
2-5	94	-2.916	.004*
2-6	139.5	-3.739	<.001*
3-4	119.5	-2.468	.014*
3-5	76.5	-1.758	.079
3-6	117	-2.325	.020*
4-5	116.5	-0.388	.698
4-6	206	-0.111	.912
5-6	109.5	-0.432	.666

Note. *indicates significant differences

The results of the WDT support those of the GJT, in the sense that the most significant differences are found between levels 2 and 3 with the other proficiency groups. Contrastively the GJT results, between these two adjacent levels (2 and 3) no significant differences were found. Neither were they found between levels 3 and 5, as well as between level 4 and 6—the only findings that differ from the picture of the GJT. Regarding the other proficiency levels, from level 4 (B1.2) and on, no significant differences appeared between them.

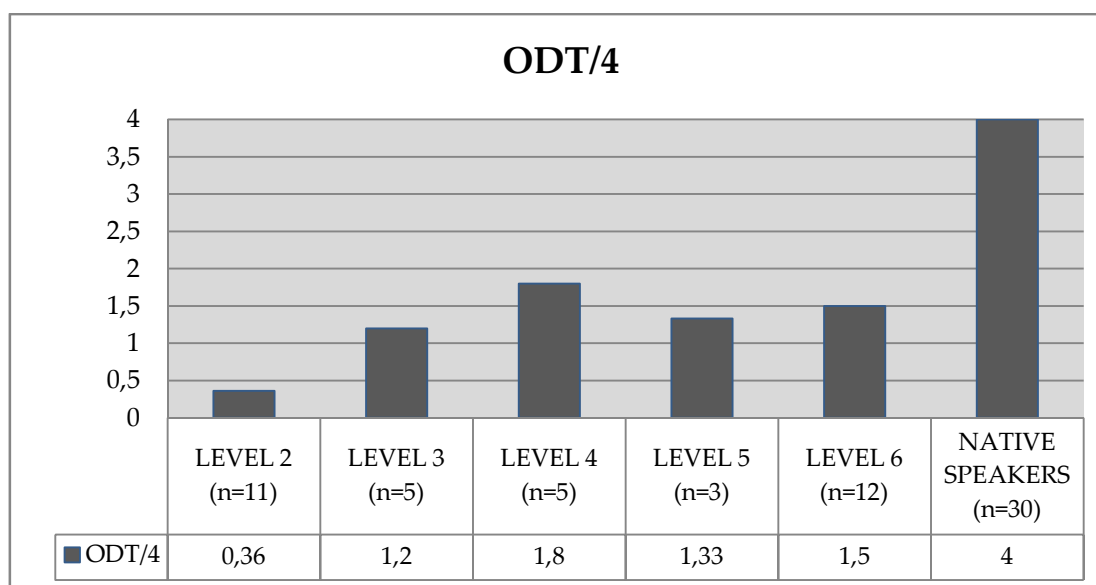
6.2.3. Oral task

The descriptive statistics of the scores in the ODT between the different proficiency levels are shown in Table 23, followed by their graphical presentation in the Figure 8.

Table 23:
Descriptive statistics (Min., Max., Mean and Standard Deviation, SD) for different proficiency levels and NS in the ODT

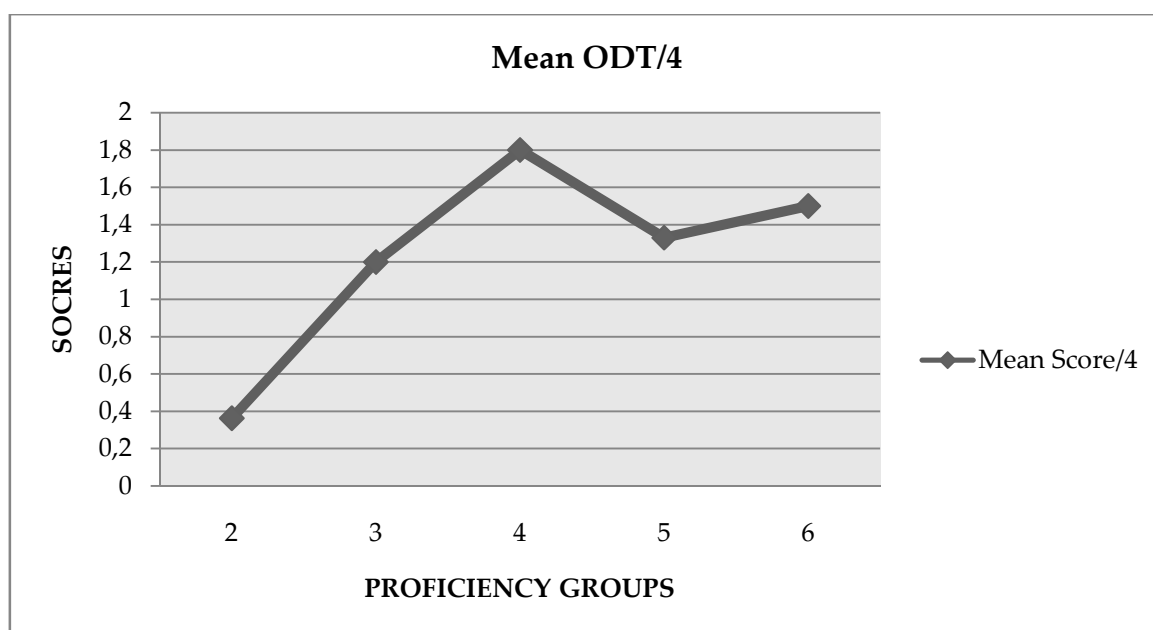
Group Level	N	Min. ODT/4	Max. ODT/4	Mean ODT/4	SD ODT
2	11	0	2	0.36	0.67
3	5	1	2	1.2	0.45
4	5	1	2	1.8	0.45
5	3	1	2	1.33	0.58
6	12	0	4	1.5	1.24
NS	30	4	4	4	0

Figure 8:
Mean Scores of the ODT for each proficiency level and NS



According to the descriptive statistics, there seems to be a linear development in the acquisition of the experiential verbs in Greek, yet it concerns only the levels 2 (A2), 3 (B.1.1) and 4 (B.1.2). Then, a stabilization can be observed—similarly to the results in the WDT (Figure 9). What is different in the results of the oral task, as compared to those of the other instruments, is that level 4 presents the highest scores among all the proficiency levels. In the WDT the scores of level 4 and level 6 were the same.

Figure 9:
ODT scores by proficiency group



When comparisons were made between the different proficiency groups, the Kruskal-Wallis test revealed that there were significant differences ($\chi^2=12.011$, $df=$

4, $p=0.017$). Pairwise *post-hoc* comparisons using Mann-Whitney U test provided the results presented in Table 24.

Table 24:
Mann Whitney U test results for the ODT

GROUP	U	Z	p
2-3	8.5	-2.372	.018*
2-4	4	-2.903	.004*
2-5	4.5	-2.101	.036*
2-6	29	-2.439	.015*
3-4	5	-1.800	.072
3-5	6,5	-0.394	.693
3-6	26	-0.444	.657
4-5	4	-1.235	.217
4-6	23.5	-0.730	.465
5-6	17	-0.150	.880

Note. *indicates significant differences

From the statistical results it can be seen that significant differences are found only between the most initial level in this sample, that is level 2, and all the other levels. Contrary to the results of the written description task, but similarly to the GJT, in the oral description task levels 2 and 3 differ significantly with regards to their scores. As for the other proficiency levels, no significant differences appeared in any case. It should be noted that level 3, in contrast to the results of the other tasks, did not differ significantly from the other levels.

6.3. Results of the Research Question 3: The impact of stays abroad on the acquisition of the L2 patterns

With the purpose of answering the third research question, the effect of the stay abroad (SA) factor in the use of experiential verbs was analyzed. The SA factor was explored through the following variables: The total time spent in Greece, the duration of the longest stay (in months) and the number of stays. In order to investigate the impact of the SA variables on the acquisition of the patterns under analysis, Spearman's *rho* correlations were performed between the scores the learners obtained in the tasks and the SA variables. Below are presented, first the descriptive statistics regarding the SA factor and then the results of the statistical analyses for each one of the variables.

6.3.1. SA factor: Descriptive statistics

The complete questionnaire was returned by 99 of the 114 participants. Regarding the participants' stays in the target language country, the total duration of them varied from 0 months (11% of them had never been to Greece) to 36 months (Mean: 3.76 months, SD: 6.94). As for the length of the stays in Greece, 52.52% had spent less than one month, 39.39% had spent less than two weeks and only a 14% of them reported a stay of more than six months (Mean: 2.76 months, SD: 6.43).

The distribution of those who had spent more than six months in Greece appears in table 25.

Table 25:
Distribution of participants with Stays Abroad (SA) more than six months

SA length of stay (maximum)	N	Proficiency Level
6 months	3	3
9 months	5	3 (n=3), 4 (n=1), 6 (n=1)
12 months	1	5
18 months	1	6
24 months	2	4, 5
36 months	2	2, 4

Furthermore, 72% of the participants had not attended any course in Greece, whereas 26% did have such experience. With respect to the reason behind the stay in Greece, the answers that were provided can be summarized in the Table 26 below:

Table 26:
Reason of Stays in Greece

SA REASON	PERCENTAGE
Summer course	6.7%
Exchange programs (Erasmus, etc)	5.6%
Vacation	58.4%
Mixed	21.3%
Other (professional reasons, etc.)	7.9%

As it can be seen from the Table above, most participants had been to the target language country on vacation. A combination of reasons, which in most of cases corresponded to vacation combined with a course of Greek, was reported by 21.3% of the participants.

6.3.2. SA: Results of the statistical analyses

Table 27 summarizes the results of the statistical analyses regarding the SA factor.

Table 27:

Correlational matrix for the three tasks (GJT, ODT, WDT) and Stay Abroad (SA) factors

Task	Grammaticality Judgment Test	Written Description Task	Oral Description Task
SA total Duration	.325**	.146	-.062
SA maximum duration	.332**	.129	-.062
Number of Stays	.292**	.264**	.103

Note. * $p < .01$, ** $p < .001$

As far as the GJT is concerned, the results of the statistical analyses suggest that there was a moderate but significant correlation between the scores in this task and the total time spent in Greece ($r = .325$, $p = .001$), as well as the duration of the longest stay ($r = .332$, $p = .001$). Furthermore, a moderate significant correlation was

also found between the scores in the GJT and the number of stays in Greece ($r=.292, p=.003$).

As for the WDT a weak but significant correlation was found between the scores in this task and the number of stays in Greece ($r=.264, p=.009$). As regards to the other two variables, no significant correlations were found.

In the case of the oral description task, no significant differences were found between the scores in this task and any of the SA variables.

6.3.3. SA experience as a turning point in the L2 learning trajectory

Only 72 out of the 114 participants answered the question “*Do you recognize a turning point in your learning trajectory of Greek?*.” Forty-seven percent of them did not recognize any turning point, while 57% did. The majority (70%) of those who answered positively identified the stay abroad experience as a turning point. The rest of them (30%), mentioned other reasons such as starting studying in a formal learning context, reading books, newspapers in Greek or listening to Greek music and speaking with native speakers. It must be pointed out that the stay abroad experience was identified as a turning point mainly by participants of more advanced proficiency levels. Participants of initial levels did not recognize the stays as such, even if they had spent time in the L2 country.

In addition, when comparisons were made between those who had a SA experience but they did not identify it as turning point and those who had an SA and recognized it as such, the Mann-Whitney U test revealed that there were significant differences in their scores in the GJT ($U=210.5$, $Z=-2.977$, $p=.003$) and in the WDT ($U=256.5$, $Z=-2.138$, $p=.033$) in favor of the latter group. However, no significant differences were found in their scores of the oral description task.

6.4. Item analysis

6.4.1. Difficulty of the target items

An item difficulty analysis was also carried out in order to explore which items were acquired more easily and which were more demanding. The results of the analysis for each one of the tasks appear in the following Tables.

Table 28:
Target Item Difficulty Analysis for the GJT

Target Item	Sentence	Difficulty	
προλαβαίνω	"to have time"	1	very difficult
ζεσταίνομαι	"to feel hot"	2	very difficult
πονάω	"to (feel) pain"	4	difficult
προσέχω	"to be aware"	5	very difficult
ζηλεύω	"to be jealous"	7	very difficult
αηδιάζω	"to feel disgust"	8	very difficult
βιάζομαι	"to be in a hurry"	10	difficult
ντρέπομαι	"to feel embarrassed/ashamed"	13	difficult
φοβάμαι	"to be afraid"	16	difficult
λυπάμαι	"to feel sorry/sad"	17	difficult

Table 29:
Target Item Difficulty Analysis for the WDT

Target Item	Difficulty
πεινάω <i>“to be hungry”</i>	easy
διψάω <i>“to be thirsty”</i>	easy
νυστάζω <i>“to feel sleepy”</i>	difficult

Table 30:
Target Item Difficulty Analysis for the ODT

Target Item	Difficulty
καλωσορίζω <i>“to welcome”</i>	very difficult
πονάω <i>“to feel pain”</i>	easy
ευχαριστώ <i>“to thank”</i>	difficult
πεινάω <i>“to be hungry”</i>	difficult

As it can be observed from the tables, the easiest items are “to be hungry”, “to be thirsty” and “to feel pain”. This last target however, seems to be difficult in the GJT. Similarly, the item “to be hungry” appears to be difficult in the oral task. Hence, there seems to be differences due to the type of task. In general, it can be concluded those verbs which correspond to periphrases with the verb “to have” (*tener*), are easier to learn than those which correspond to periphrases with the verb “to give” (*dar*).

In addition, an item analysis exploring the difficulty of the non-target items (i.e., distractors and non-target periphrases) was also conducted, in order to explore whether the difficulty of these structures differed as compared to the one

of the target structures. The results can be found in Table 31. For detailed information about the non-target items, see Appendix C2.

Table 31:
Item Difficulty Analysis for the non-target items of the GJT

Non-Target Item	Sentence	Difficulty
non-target periphrasis	9	very easy
non-target periphrasis	12	very easy
non-target periphrasis	14	very easy
non-target periphrasis	19	easy
non-target periphrasis	20	easy
Distractor	3	moderately difficult
Distractor	6	easy
Distractor	11	easy
Distractor	15	easy
Distractor	18	easy

As it can be observed in Table 31, the non-target items were easier than the target structures. More specifically, the majority of the items which constituted distractors (items including grammatical aspects traditionally taught in L2 classroom) were found to be easier for the participants to acquire than the target structures. The sentences included non-target periphrases (i.e., the patterns were similar in the L1 and the L2) were also found to be particularly easy for the participants.

6.4.2. Statistical analyses per item

Moreover, additional statistical analyses were carried out regarding participants' performance in each target of the three tasks. With respect to the GJT, a Kruskal-Wallis test revealed significant differences (See Table 32 for detailed results) among the different proficiency levels for all the items except of four, which belong to the specific category "periphrases-distractors". As it was explained in the Method section, sentences with correct periphrases in Greek were included in the instruments as a certain kind of distractors. The items of the GJT with no significant differences across the different proficiency levels were the following: *έχω χρόνο/ έho hróno/ "to have time"* (sentence 9), *έχω επιτυχία/έho epitihía/ "to have success"* (sentence 12), *έχω δίκιο /έho díkio/ "to be right"* (sentence 14), *μου κάνει κακό /mu káni kakó/ "it hurts me"* (sentence 20). Pairwise *post-hoc* comparisons using Mann-Whitney U tests were performed in order to explore between which level groups the statistical differences lied. Table 33 presents the results for each item.

Table 32:

Kruskal-Wallis Results in the GJT (detailed item analysis)

GJT ITEMS										
	GJT 1	GJT 2	GJT 3	GJT 4	GJT 5	GJT 6	GJT 7	GJT 8	GJT 9	GJT 10
	target	target	Distractor	target	target	distractor	target	target	periphrasis/ distractor	target
	<i>προλαβαίνω</i>	<i>ζεσταίνομαι</i>		<i>πονάω</i>	<i>προσέχω</i>		<i>ζηλεύω</i>	<i>αηδιάζω</i>		<i>βιάζομαι</i>
χ^2	29.312	12.045	15.109	26.128	12.994	12.314	16.318	10.154	4.178	20.610
df	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
p	<.001*	.017*	.004*	.004*	<.001*	.015*	.003*	.038*	.382	<.001*

Note. *indicates significant differences

GJT ITEMS										
	GJT 11	GJT 12	GJT 13	GJT 14	GJT 15	GJT 16	GJT 17	GJT 18	GJT 19	GJT 20
	distractor	periphrasis/ distractor	target	periphrasis/ distractor	Distractor	target	target	distractor	periphrasis/ distractor	periphrasis/ distractor
			<i>ντρέπομαι</i>			<i>φοβάμαι</i>	<i>λνπάμαι</i>			
χ^2	26.625	3.654	17.263	3.152	29.790	26.786	34.048	15.950	10.014	8.631
df	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
p	<.001*	.455	.002*	.533	<.001*	<.001*	<.001*	.003*	.040*	.071

Note. *indicates significant differences

Table 33:

Significant Differences across proficiency levels, including Native Speakers (NS), in the GJT (detailed item analysis)

LEVEL	GJT ITEMS									
	GJT 1 target προλαβαίνω	GJT 2 target ζεσταίνομαι	GJT 3 Distractor	GJT 4 target πονάω	GJT 5 target προσέχω	GJT 6 distractor	GJT 7 target ζηλένω	GJT 8 target αηδιάζω	GJT 9 periphrasis/ distractor	GJT 10 target βιάζομαι
2-3			√	√						
2-4			√	√						√
2-5	√			√	√	√	√	√		√
2-6	√	√	√	√		√	√	√		√
2-NS	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
3-4					√					
3-5	√				√		√			√
3-6	√				√		√			√
3-NS	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√
4-5	√									
4-6	√	√								
4-NS	√	√	√		√	√	√	√	√	√
5-6										
5-NS	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√
6-NS	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√

LEVEL	GJT ITEMS									
	GJT 11 distractor	GJT 12 periphrasis/ distractor	GJT 13 target <i>ντρέπομαι</i>	GJT 14 periphrasis/ distractor	GJT 15 distractor	GJT 16 target <i>φοβάμαι</i>	GJT 17 target <i>λυπάμαι</i>	GJT 18 distractor	GJT 19 periphrasis/ distractor	GJT 20 periphrasis/ distractor
2-3	√				√			√		
2-4	√				√	√	√	√		
2-5	√		√		√	√	√	√		
2-6	√		√		√	√	√	√	√	
2-NS	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
3-4							√			√
3-5						√	√			
3-6			√			√	√		√	
3-NS	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
4-5										√
4-6			√							
4-NS	√		√		√	√	√	√	√	√
5-6										
5-NS		√	√				√		√	√
6-NS		√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√

As for the written description task, the Kruskal-Wallis test revealed significant differences across the different groups for all the three items. Pairwise *post-hoc* comparisons using Mann-Whitney *U* tests, produced the results which can be found in Table 34.

Finally, with respect to the oral description task, the Kruskal-Wallis test showed significant differences for the target item 2 (πονάω /ponáo/ “to feel pain”: $\chi^2=15.145$, $df= 4$, $p=.004$) and for the target item 4 (πεινάω /pináo/ “to be hungry”: $\chi^2=10.751$, $df= 4$, $p=.030$). Pairwise *post-hoc* comparisons using Mann-Whitney *U* tests were performed with the purpose to see where there lied significant differences between the proficiency levels. The results are summarized in Table 35. However, there were found no statistical differences between the various proficiency levels for the target item 1 (καλωσορίζω /kalosorízo/ “to welcome”: $\chi^2=2$, $df= 4$, $p=.736$) and the target item 4 (ευχαριστώ /efharistó/ “to thank”: $\chi^2=.389$, $df= 4$, $p=.983$).

Table 34:

Significant Differences across proficiency levels, including Native Speakers (NS), in the Written Description Task (detailed item analysis)

LEVEL	WDT ITEMS		
	ITEM 1 πεινάω "to be hungry"	ITEM 2 διψάω "to be thirsty"	ITEM 3 νυστάζω "to feel sleepy"
2-3			
2-4		√	√
2-5	√		√
2-6		√	√
2-NS	√	√	√
3-4		√	
3-5	√		
3-6			√
3-NS	√	√	√
4-5			
4-6			
4-NS	√		√
5-6			
5-NS		√	√
6-NS	√	√	√

Table 35:

Significant Differences across proficiency levels, including Native Speakers (NS), in the Oral Description Task (detailed item analysis)

LEVEL	ODT ITEMS			
	ITEM 1 καλωσορίζω "to welcome"	ITEM 2 πονάω "to feel pain"	ITEM 3 ευχαριστώ "to thank"	ITEM 4 πεινάω "to be hungry"
2-3		√		
2-4		√		√
2-5		√		
2-6		√		
2-NS	√	√	√	√
3-4		√		√
3-5				
3-6			√	
3-NS	√	√	√	√
4-5				
4-6				
4-NS	√		√	√
5-6				
5-NS	√	√	√	√
6-NS	√	√	√	√

Apart from the aforementioned item-analysis regarding the variable of L2 proficiency, additional statistical analyses were conducted, exploring the effects of the other variable examined in the present study, namely stays abroad, on each item. The results of the Spearman *Rho* correlations between each item and the three stay abroad factors (i.e., total time in Greece, maximum length of stay in Greece and number of stays) are summarized in Tables 36, 37, and 38 for the GJT, the written description task and the oral description task respectively.

Table 36:

Correlational matrix for the GJT and the Stay Abroad (SA) factors (detailed item analysis)

		GJT ITEMS									
SA factors	GJT 1	GJT 2	GJT 3	GJT 4	GJT 5	GJT 6	GJT 7	GJT 8	GJT 9	GJT 10	
	target <i>προλαβαίνω</i>	target <i>ζεσταίνομαι</i>	Distractor	target <i>πονάω</i>	target <i>προσέχω</i>	distractor	target <i>ζηλένω</i>	target <i>αηδιάζω</i>	periphrasis/ distractor	target <i>βιάζομαι</i>	
SA total	.405**	.076	.050	.146	.398**	.076	.427**	.232*	.004	.405**	
SA max.	.384**	.053	.047	.199	.326**	.074	.394**	.246*	-.025	.331**	
N of stays	.257*	.178	.105	.173	.214	.228*	.299**	.009	.054	.282**	

		GJT ITEMS									
SA factors	GJT 11	GJT 12	GJT 13	GJT 14	GJT 15	GJT 16	GJT 17	GJT 18	GJT 19	GJT 20	
	distractor	periphrasis/ distractor	target <i>ντρέπομαι</i>	periphrasis/ distractor	distractor	target <i>φοβάμαι</i>	target <i>λυπάμαι</i>	distractor	periphrasis/ distractor	periphrasis/ distractor	
SA total	.008	-.256*	..332**	-.179	.012	.288**	.202	.092	-.115	-.055	
SA max.	.026	-.261*	.345**	-.145	.059	.263*	.194	-.013	-.117	-.057	
N of stays	.091	-.005	.207	.133	.205*	.278**	.214	.320**	.028	.040	

Note. * $p < .01$, ** $p < .001$

Table 37:

Correlational matrix for the Written Description Task and the Stay Abroad (SA) factors (detailed item analysis)

SA factors	WDT ITEMS		
	ITEM 1 πεινάω	ITEM 2 διψάω	ITEM 3 νυστάζω
SA total	.152	.086	.086
SA max.	.168	.038	.088
N of stays	.123	.236*	.236*

Note. * $p < .01$, ** $p < .001$

Table 38:

Correlational matrix for the Oral Description Task and the Stay Abroad (SA) factors (detailed item analysis)

SA factors	ODT ITEMS			
	ITEM 1 καλωσορίζω	ITEM 2 πονάω	ITEM 3 ευχαριστώ	ITEM 4 πεινάω
SA total	-.029	.124	-.090	.018
SA max.	.187	-.153	-.008	.081
N of stays	.059	.010	.016	.070

As it can be seen in Table 36, moderate significant correlations were found between the majority of the target items and the stay abroad factors in the GJT. It is important to note that the more difficult items according to the item analysis (see Section 6.4.1) correlated positively with stays in Greece; that is, the more time spent in the target language country, the better the acquisition of the target forms. Especially the target items which corresponded to the periphrases with the verb *dar* (“to give”)—the items which were more challenging to acquire—correlated significantly with stays in Greece. This implies that spending time in the L2 country was beneficial for the L2 learners as regards the knowledge of the target forms. However, there were also three target items which not appeared to correlate with the stays abroad: *ζεσταίνομαι* /zesténome/ (“to feel hot”), *πονάω/πονάο* (“to feel pain”), and *λυπάμαι* /lipáme/ (“to feel sorry”).

Regarding the picture description tasks, the only items which correlated with the stays abroad were the targets *διψάω* /dipsáo/ (“to be thirsty”) and *νυστάζω* /nistázo/ (“to feel sleepy”). A weak but significant correlation has been found between these items and the number of stays in Greece.

6.5. L1 data

As mentioned before, participants had to do the description tasks first in Greek and then in their L1. Below, the results of the L1 data are presented, for the written description task and then for the oral one.

Regarding the written description task, when participants were performing the task in their L1, they used periphrases in order to express the EXPERIENTIAL STATE, as it was expected. For the first target item included in the task (*πεινάω* /*pináo*/ “to be hungry”), 78% of the participants used a periphrasis composed by the verb “to have” and the noun “hunger”. Similarly, with regards to the second target item (*διψάω* /*dipsáo*/ “to be thirsty”), 85.3% of the participants used a periphrasis composed by the verb “to have” and the noun “thirstiness”. The rest of the participants who do not appear in these percentages above did not mention the target form. They provided other answers, such as “*the boy wants to eat/sleep*” for instance. Finally, as for the last target item in that task (*νυστάζω* /*nistázo*/ “to feel sleepy”), 42.5% of the participants used a periphrasis composed again by the verb “to have” and the noun “sleepiness”. The rest of the participants did not mention the target form; they produced answers such as “*the boy is tired*” or “*the boy wants to sleep*”. It must be pointed out that, in the same task, all the native speakers of Greek produced a single verb.

Regarding the oral description task, when participants were describing the story in Spanish or in Catalan, in general they also tended to use periphrases in order to express the EXPERIENTIAL STATE. For the first target item of this task

(καλωσορίζω /kalosorízo/ “to welcome”), 54.3% of the participants used a periphrasis composed by the verb “to give” and the noun “welcome”. The rest of them did not mention the target item and/or produced utterances such as “*the air-hostess says hello to the passenger*”. As for the second target item (πεινάω /pináo/ “to be hungry”), 57.1% used a periphrasis composed by the verb “to have” and the noun “hunger”. The rest of them (42.9%) did not mention the target form. The third target item provided a quite different picture: it was the case of the Greek verb (πονάω /ponáo/ “to feel pain”), which in Spanish it can be expressed with both a periphrasis (*tener dolor de*) or with a verb (*doler*)²⁹. Results indicate that 42.9% of the participants chose the single verb form in order to describe the target “to feel pain” in their L1³⁰. The periphrasis form was chosen by 5.7% of the participants, whereas 51.4% of them did not mention the target form at all. Other answers provided were for instance “*the passenger does not feel good*” or “*the passenger does not like the food*”. Finally, with regards to the fourth and last target item of this task (ευχαριστώ /efharistó/ “to thank”), most of the participants (68.6%) used a periphrasis composed by the verb “to give” and the noun “thanks”, corresponding to the Spanish and Catalan *dar las gracias/donar les gràcies*. There was a lower percentage of participants (25.7%), who chose to make use of a single verb, which is also an acceptable form in Spanish and Catalan (*agradecer/agrair*). However, as it can be observed by the percentages, there is a clear tendency towards the use of the periphrastic form.

²⁹ In Catalan, however, it can be expressed only by means of a periphrasis: “*tenir mal de panxa*” (“I have a stomach pain”) or “*em fa mal de panxa*” (“It *makes me feel stomach pain”).

³⁰ Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that the majority of the Spanish/Catalan native speakers who participated in the pilot study produced a periphrasis in their L1, when performing this task (see Appendix H for Spanish/Catalan native speakers’ data).

Tables 39 and 40 show participants' production in both L2 and L1 for the WDT and the ODT respectively. More specifically, they present the percentages of participants' production regarding the target structure (whether they produced the expected structure, i.e., single verb in the case of the L2 and periphrasis in the case of the L1) and the cases of avoidance or not mention of the target structure.

Table 39:

L2 and L1 participants' production in the Written Description Task (WDT)

L2 data (Greek)			L1 data (Spanish/Catalan)				
	<i>Target 1</i> <i>πεινάω</i>	<i>Target 2</i> <i>διψάω</i>	<i>Target 3</i> <i>Νυστάζω</i>		<i>Target 1</i> <i>tener hambre</i>	<i>Target 2</i> <i>tener sed</i>	<i>Target 3</i> <i>tener sueño</i>
target (verb)	52.9%	63.2%	26.4%	target (periphrasis)	78%	85.3%	42,5%
no mention/ avoidance	29.5%	23.6%	70.8%	no mention/ avoidance	21%	15%	57.3%

Table 40:

L2 and L1 participants' production in the Oral Description Task (ODT)

L2 data (Greek)					L1 data (Spanish/Catalan)				
	<i>Target 1</i> <i>καλωσορίζω</i>	<i>Target 2</i> <i>πονάω</i>	<i>Target 3</i> <i>ευχαριστώ</i>	<i>Target 4</i> <i>Πεινάω</i>		<i>Target 1</i> <i>dar la</i> <i>bienvenida</i>	<i>Target 2</i> <i>tener</i> <i>dolor/</i> <i>doler</i>	<i>Target 3</i> <i>dar las</i> <i>gracias</i>	<i>Target 4</i> <i>tener</i> <i>hambre</i>
target (verb)	2.8%	55.6%	22.2%	30.6%	target (periphrasis)	54.3%	5.7%	68.6%	57.5%
no mention/ avoidance	66.7%	36.7%	22.2%	63.9%	no mention/ avoidance	45.7%	51.4%	5.7%	42.9%

It should be mentioned that the percentages of the L1 data which do not appear in the tables above concern the production of periphrases that were, either a direct translation from the L1, or periphrases composed by other verbs (for instance “he *says* welcome” instead of the expected verb “to welcome”). The second case was more apparent in the oral task, which included the target items *καλωσορίζω* /kalosorízo/ “to welcome” and *ευχαριστώ* /efharistó/ “to thank”, than in the written task, where it was scarcely observed. Furthermore, as it can be seen in the tables, some participants exhibited cases of avoidance or do not mention of the target structure in both L2 and the L1. Nevertheless, these cases were more frequent in the L2 than in the L1.

Information based on the qualitative analyses of the L1 and L2 data will be presented in the Discussion section and it will shed more light on how CLI from L1 operated whilst participants were carrying out the tasks.

CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The general purpose of this doctoral dissertation was to investigate the acquisition of patterns for the expression of the EXPERIENTIAL STATE in Greek as a foreign language by Spanish/Catalan native speakers. More precisely, the research questions that guided this study were firstly, whether the difference between learners' L1(s) and L2 as regards the patterns used for the expression of the EXPERIENTIAL STATE (periphrastic form in the L1(s) versus single verb in the L2) would result in cases of CLI (Research Question 1); and secondly, whether proficiency in Greek and spending time in the target language country would have an impact on the acquisition of the patterns under analysis (Research Question 2 and 3 respectively). In this chapter the results of each research question will be discussed in light of previous research and information obtained through the qualitative analysis of the data.

7.1. Research Question 1: Differences in the expression of the EXPERIENTIAL STATE by native speakers of Greek and by Spanish/Catalan learners of Greek

The results of the statistical analyses of the data revealed that there were significant differences between the scores of native speakers of Greek and L2

learners regarding the expression of the EXPERIENTIAL STATES under analysis in all tasks. The first group used single verbs, whereas the learners' group used periphrases, following hence, the L1 pattern. This finding shows that during the acquisition of experiential verbs in Greek as an L2 the difference in the L1-L2 patterns result in occurrence of crosslinguistic influence. This is in line with previous studies in the field suggesting that, when an L2 form is different from the equivalent L1, negative transfer might occur due to L1 influence (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008; Odlin, 1989, 2005). The large difference between the mean scores of native speakers and L2 learners obtained in the three tasks implies that the acquisition of the patterns under analysis constitutes a problematic area during the acquisition of Greek as an L2 by learners of this L1 background. The difficulty which hinders the successful acquisition of the experiential verbs can be also observed by the results of the participants with the highest proficiency in this study, namely level 6 (level B2.2): Significant differences were found between their scores and those of the native speakers. After approximately five years of studying the target language, Spanish/Catalan L1 learners have not yet acquired successfully the experiential verbs. However, these participants behaved differently with respect to the distractors in the GJT, which were purely linguistic aspects traditionally taught in classroom settings. Despite the fact that significant differences were still found between this group and the native speakers, there was less divergence in their mean scores as compared to those of the target patterns. In addition, there were participants who managed to attain the highest score as regards these items, even at lower proficiency levels. On the contrary, this was not

the case of the target patterns, where no participant attained the highest score in the GJT. This contrast between the two types of items leads to believe that the acquisition of the experiential verbs is a more demanding and complex process than the acquisition of other aspects such as verbal tenses or subject-verb agreement for instance, which were among the distractors included in the GJT. The same contrast with the target items was also observed in the case of the non-target periphrases included in the GJT. These non-target structures which were similar in the L1(s) and in the L2 did not cause the same difficulties to the L2 learners. Although the differences between the mean scores of the learners and the native speakers were still significant, the divergence between the two groups was smaller, as it was seen in the descriptive statistics. The detailed analysis also demonstrated that these items were easier to acquire than the target ones. This finding confirms the idea that crosslinguistic similarity between the source language and the target language can be a facilitative factor for L2 acquisition and positive influence can take place (Ringbom, 2007). The conclusion which can be drawn is that the targets under analysis here appeared to be more difficult to acquire than structures typically taught in classroom and structures similar in the L1(s) and the L2. The ensuing question that stems from this observation is what renders the acquisition of experiential verbs particularly challenging.

In order to answer this question and shed light on the CLI phenomenon under analysis, the present doctoral dissertation took as a point of departure Cognitive Linguistics. This framework has been considered to be particularly fruitful and enlightening for studies on SLA in general, and on CLI in particular

(Cadierno, 2004, 2010; Cadierno & Lund, 2004; Marras & Cadierno, 2008; Robinson & Ellis, 2008a; Tyler, 2012b). Based on the basic tenets of Cognitive Linguistics explained in Chapter 3, it could be said that the way a conceptual content is construed is especially important; this is because it is related to the way this concept has been conceptualized by the speaker (Langacker, 2008a, p. 55). The construals constitute the linguistic demonstration of how an event has been conceptualized (Jarvis, 2011, p. 4). Therefore, it could be assumed that a difference in the construals which are used for the expression of a specific content may imply a difference in the conceptualization of such content. If the belief that “language structure is a symbolic instrument that conveys meaning” (Cadierno & Lund, 2004, p. 151) is adopted, it could be said that the difference in the structures used for the expression of the EXPERIENTIAL STATE between Greek and Spanish/Catalan speakers may entail certain difference in the way the EXPERIENTIAL STATE is conceptualized by the native speakers of those languages. Previous studies have shown that the acquisition of patterns which are associated with cognitive aspects, such as the conceptualization of an event, could be more demanding and might never be completed (Cadierno, 2004, 2010; Cadierno & Lund, 2004; Ekiert, 2010; Kellerman & Van Hoof, 2003; Schmiedtová, 2011; Stam, 2006, 2010). This idea seems to be relevant to the present study: Spanish/Catalan learners of Greek have learned to think through periphrases, they have learned to conceptualize the EXPERIENTIAL STATE as an object that they either possess or receive. This conceptualization can be linguistically observed by means of the construals used by Spanish/Catalan L1 learners. These L1 construals, namely the periphrastic

patterns, which have been acquired during childhood, seem to be resistant to reconstructing in adult SLA. This finding is in accordance with previous studies about the resistant nature of L1 patterns (Slobin, 1993, 1996a). For Spanish/Catalan learners of Greek, learning the experiential verbs entails learning a different way of thinking (Cadierno, 2004; Cadierno & Lund, 2004; Robinson & Ellis, 2008b); they have to move on from the L1 pattern of “possession” or “receiving” to the L2 pattern of action. The association of these patterns with the process of conceptualization may explain why their acquisition is so hard. In that way, considering the CLI phenomenon under analysis here as a case of conceptualization transfer (Jarvis, 2007, 2011) could be a possible explanation for the difficulties encountered by the Spanish/Catalan learners of Greek. The different picture obtained by the participants in the distractors score of the GJT—they did not face the same difficulties as in the case of the target forms—may constitute further evidence of the particular nature of the patterns under analysis.

The present CLI phenomenon could also be considered as empirical support to Kellerman’s Transfer-to-Nowhere principle (1995), according to which L2 learners are more likely to observe and identify congruent and non-congruent elements between their L1(s) and their L2 if it is about purely linguistic aspects, such as syntactic or lexical for instance, but they would be less likely to do the same for crosslinguistic conceptual dissimilarities. This is due to L2 learners’ “unconscious assumption that the way we talk or write about experience is not something subject to between-language variation” (Kellerman, 1995, p. 141). In

other words, L2 learners may fail to identify that different languages may express the same event or experience in different ways; as a result, they may unconsciously tend to maintain the L1 conceptual perspective by transferring L1 patterns, rather than restructuring them in order to adopt the L2 perspective. The findings of the present study have shown that the participants had slightly less difficulty in identifying dissimilarities which concern purely linguistic aspects (as seen in the distractors score of the GJT), but, in most cases, they failed to realize that EXPERIENCE is expressed with different construals in their L1(s) and in their L2. This led them to transfer the L1 patterns, which reflect the L1 perspective, rather than restructuring them towards the correspondent L2 ones. Psychotypology (Kellerman, 1983) may have also played a role in the picture just presented: Participants may have perceived that Spanish/Catalan (L1s) and Greek (L2) are less distant than they actually are and this may have led them to transfer more elements from the one language to the other. Previous studies on the same population as the one examined in the present study have shown that psychotypology is an important factor during the acquisition of Greek by Spanish/Catalan learners and it can account for many instances of CLI (Andria, 2010; Andria et al. 2012; Cañas, 2014). Spanish/Catalan learners perceive Greek as close to their L1s and this conduces to more L1 transfer³¹.

³¹ Results from previous studies have shown that even when Spanish/Catalan L1 learners have acquired other L2s before Greek, they tend to draw more on their L1 than in their L2s during the acquisition of Greek. This is because—as the participants of these studies said in their oral protocols—they perceive that Spanish and Catalan are closer to Greek than the other languages they speak (Andria, 2010; Andria et al. 2012).

It must be pointed out, however, that the CLI phenomenon which is discussed here is not seen as a case of conceptual transfer. This issue was thoroughly explained in Sections 2.1.4 and 3.3.4. It is not argued that Spanish/Catalan and Greek L1 speakers do not share the same concepts of EXPERIENTIAL STATES, such as HUNGER or EMBARRASSMENT, for instance. Rather, it has been argued that these languages present different ways as to how they manifest *linguistically* these concepts: Spanish and Catalan do so with periphrases, whereas Greek does it with a single verb. In the present study, it has been demonstrated that Spanish/Catalan L1 learners of Greek tend to transfer their L1 patterns when expressing the EXPERIENTIAL STATE; they transfer, in other words, the construals which are used to express a particular concept. Consequently, here we deal with a case of transfer of construals which constitute according to Jarvis (2007, 2011), a case of conceptualization transfer. It is important to note that the current study does not include any non-verbal instruments, therefore any claims regarding differences in the concepts of the EXPERIENTIAL STATES or/and in the cognitive processes that underlie the conceptualization of EXPERIENTIAL STATES by Spanish/Catalan L1 versus Greek L1 speakers could not be made. The possibility of such differences could not be excluded, but this issue should be only addressed and answered by studies that include non-verbal tasks (Odlin, 2005, 2008; Schmiedtová, 2011). This question is, hence, left open for future inquiry.

Moreover, the qualitative analysis of the data shed more light on the way CLI operated during the acquisition of the Greek experiential verbs by Spanish/Catalan L1 learners. Firstly, it was observed that the participants were

still thinking in their L1 whilst performing in the L2. Phrases such as “το αγόρι έχει, έχει...” /to agóri éhi/ (“the boy has, has...”) showed clearly that participants were “passing through” the L1 pattern in order to complete the L2 task. Even in cases where participants ended up producing the correct target form, they were passing through the L1 pattern before. This tendency was evident in both written and oral tasks. Regarding the GJT, participants repeatedly accepted as correct sentences which included the (erroneous) use of periphrases instead of the correct form of experiential verb. In the production tasks, there were several cases where the participants directly transferred the L1 patterns and construed the EXPERIENTIAL STATE in Greek by using a verb and a noun. Below there are presented some examples that illustrate this finding:

Participant #107, Level 4, Written Description Task

L2 (Greek):

Στην τρίτη εικόνα βλέπουμε το παιδάκι στο κρεβάτι γιατί *έχει ύπνο.

/Stin tríti ikóna vlépume to pedáki sto kreváti giatí éhi ípno/

L1 (Spanish):

En la tercera imagen vemos al nene en la cama porque tiene sueño.

“In the third picture we see the boy at the bed because he *has sleepiness”.

Participant #7, Level 2, Oral Description Task

L2 (Greek): (...) αλλά τρώει πολύ και και *έχει πόνο

/alá trói polí ke éhi póno/

L1 (Spanish): (...) pero come mucho y *tiene dolor* [de estómago]

“...but he eats a lot and he **has pain* (in the stomach)”

In addition, many participants, especially those belonging to initial levels, produced structures such as *Το παιδί *έχει πεινάει* /*to pedi ehi pinái*/ “The boy has *is hungry.” These instances are particularly insightful of the way CLI from the L1 operates with regard to the patterns under analysis: Spanish/Catalan L1 learners of Greek encounter difficulties in construing the EXPERIENTIAL STATE with a single verb and without using the verb “to have”: Even if they have heard or if they have been taught the target form in class, at the time of construing the EXPERIENCE they add the verb “to have”. This tendency is usually found in classrooms when Greek is taught to Spanish/Catalan learners. The experiential verb which is usually introduced first in the classroom is the verb *πεινάω* /*pináo*/ “to be hungry” (Departament de Grec, 2013). When the teacher of Greek first presents this target form as an equivalent to the form *tener hambre*, L2 learners of Greek tend to add the verb “to have” before the experiential verb (Andria, 2013, in press) and it is difficult for them to get rid of this until proficiency in Greek increases. In the current study, this tendency of adding the verb “to have” next to the actual experiential verb in Greek has been documented in the production of even advanced-level participants. Below, there is an example of a participant at the highest level (level 6, B2) who produced such an utterance:

Participant #57, Level 6, Oral Description Task

L2 (Greek): ύστερα νομίζω *έχει πονάει η κοιλιά *σου

/’istera nomízo éhi ponái i kiliá su/

*“Then I think he *has [he] hurts [verb-3rd person] *your [his] stomach.”*

As it was described above, traces of L1 influence have also been detected even at advanced proficiency levels, with participants either directly expressing the EXPERIENTIAL STATE with periphrases or searching for periphrases in order to complete the task. This result indicates that the restructuring of the L1 patterns has not been achieved yet and participants are still tied to the L1 way of thinking. This finding is in line with previous studies, which suggested that reconstruction of the L1 conceptualization patterns is a demanding and complex process during adult SLA (Cadierno, 2004; Han & Cadierno, 2010; Kellerman & Van Hoof, 2003; Slobin, 1993; Stam, 2010).

An issue that was introduced in Chapter 3 was related to whether the crosslinguistic phenomenon described here can be considered akin to the thinking-for-speaking hypothesis. Slobin (1991, 1993) argued that each language has trained its speakers to use specific patterns when talking about an event or experience. These patterns are acquired during childhood and they constitute linguistically encoded perspectives taken by speakers of a particular language. They also appear to be resistant, in the sense that when speakers of an L1 acquire a new target language, they tend to transfer these patterns and process the L2 through L1 filters. In other words, the L2 learners continue to think in order to

speak (or write, read, listen) in their L1. Therefore, the acquisition of a new target language requires a “rethinking-for-speaking” in that language (Robinson & Ellis, 2008b), a process which has been found to be a long-lasting challenge in adult SLA (Carroll & von Stutterheim, 2003; Han & Cadierno, 2010), as discussed in previous sections.

As it has been pointed out in Section 3.3.4, the use of periphrases instead of a single verb in Greek for the expression of the EXPERIENTIAL STATE is not a matter of preference, but, conversely, it is an ungrammatical structure. Most of the studies grounded to the thinking-for-speaking hypothesis show how L2 learners *prefer* certain patterns than others, which are not “native-like” (they may be ungrammatical or not) and reflect their L1 thinking. These patterns also reveal the attention that L2 learners pay to certain characteristics of a particular event, which may differ from the ones selected by native speakers (Cadierno, 2004, 2010; Cadierno & Lund, 2004; Slobin, 2004, 2006). If the thinking-for-speaking hypothesis is interpreted as a matter of preference during L2 learners’ verbal performance and as a rhetorical style echoing L1 patterns, it would be difficult for the structures under analysis here to be considered as such. This is due to the fact that using periphrases in order to express the EXPERIENTIAL STATE in Greek leads to ungrammatical structures, as it was mentioned before. It would be easier and clearer to identify the structures under analysis as thinking-for-speaking patterns if both periphrases and verbs were grammatically accepted in Greek; in that way, the only difference regarding the use of the two different patterns would lie in the fact that the first choice would be less native-like than the second and that it

would reflect the L1 patterns. Hence, using periphrases in Greek would be a clear matter of L1-oriented preference or choice made by the L2 learners. Nevertheless, if the thinking-for-speaking hypothesis could be interpreted broadly, in the sense that speakers of different L1s express the same event or thought by using different patterns and they also tend to transfer these patterns when acquiring the L2, then the case of experiential verbs could be somehow related to this hypothesis.

With respect to the issue just presented, another notable remark based on the qualitative analysis should be made: It was discussed above that the use of periphrases for the expression of the EXPERIENTIAL STATE in Greek results in ungrammatical structures. Therefore, when participants use them instead of a single verb, they end up producing ungrammatical patterns, rather than grammatical structures which only reflect a rhetorical style rooted in the L1 way of thinking. This is noteworthy, because it is possible that, in other cases, the L2 learners' production may be grammatically correct, even if the non native-like structures indicate transfer of the L1 thinking-for-speaking patterns. In other words, the instances of L1 transfer do not always lead to ungrammatical structures. It was stated above that this does not hold true for the CLI phenomenon analyzed here. Nonetheless, in the oral production data of the present study there have been found instances which can be somehow viewed as manifestation of linguistic preference by the participants without resulting in ungrammatical utterances. This idea can be better explained by means of an example. This example comes from the data of participants from the EOI of Barcelona who used periphrases in order to express the EXPERIENTIAL STATE of

HUNGER in the oral description task. These participants were Spanish/Catalan bilinguals and, as seen by their L1 data (they chose to describe the task in Catalan, rather than in Spanish), they might be Catalan-dominant speakers. In Catalan, the equivalent form to the experiential verb *πεινάω* /pináo/ “I am hungry” is *tenir gana*. *Gana* means “hunger and appetite” but also “willingness to do something³²”, whereas in Spanish the periphrasis *tener hambre*, *hambre* only means “hunger” (there is another word for “appetite”, *apetito* and a different word “for willingness to do something”, *gana*). In Greek, the noun *gana* could be translated as *πείνα* /pína/ “hunger”, but also *όρεξη* /óreksi/ which means “appetite” but also “willingness to do something”, similar to Catalan. However, the periphrasis *έχω όρεξη* /ého óreksi/, literally “I have appetite”, is not an equivalent of “be hungry”; rather it means “feel like (doing something)”, similar to the Spanish periphrasis *tener ganas de* and the Catalan periphrasis *tenir ganes de*. Nevertheless, depending on the linguistic context, it can sometimes be understood in the sense of hunger, but is definitely not the most frequent choice nor the most conventional way to express this EXPERIENTIAL STATE³³. The above mentioned participants, following the Catalan L1 pattern of *tenir gana* produced the following utterances:

Participant#47, Level 6, Oral Description Task

L2 (Greek): έφαγε τόσο πολύ (...) γιατί είχε όρεξη

/éfage τόσο polí giatí íhe óreksi/

³² Example: *No tinc ganes de sortir de casa, amb aquest temps.* (“I don’t feel like going out with this weather”.) (Insitutut d’ Estudis Catalans, 2007).

³³ In fact, no one from the Greek Native Speakers group expressed the event “be hungry” in this way. All the native speakers of Greek used the single verb *πεινάω* /pináo/.

*"He ate so much (...) because he *had appetite."*

This example has been presented as an evidence of preference made by the L2 learners of Greek. The periphrasis which was used is not the one that a native speaker would choose, but it could be grammatically accepted and the EXPERIENTIAL STATE would have been understood by Greek speakers. The current example could be considered as support for viewing the patterns under analysis as thinking-for-speaking ones. The L2 learners preferred to make use of "the *linguistic tools* which (...) permit them to maintain the L1 perspective" (Kellerman, 1995, p. 141), namely periphrases, rather than seek for the correspondent linguistic means in the L2.

The relevance of the patterns under analysis in relation to the thinking-for-speaking hypothesis is an issue that needs further exploration in order to be answered in a more definite way. Future studies combining both linguistic and non-linguistic tasks and several methods (e.g., eye-tracking) could delve into the issue of conceptualization transfer and the thinking-for-speaking hypothesis and provide a more insightful picture of whether these patterns are related to them and to what extent. The present study aimed to bring to light an under-explored CLI phenomenon and try to discuss it in consideration of the aforementioned theories, which are relatively new in the CLI field.

Despite the fact that experiential verbs have been found difficult to acquire by Spanish/Catalan learners, there have been found cases of successful acquisition

of certain targets. Some targets that are more frequent in Greek class, such as “to be hungry”, “to be thirsty”, etc., can be more easily produced (description tasks) or recognized (correct or incorrect use in the GJT). However, in the case of less frequent and more demanding targets (such as “to be jealous”, “to welcome”, etc.) where the participants had to think in order to produce a form or accept a sentence (GJT), they went back to their L1. This finding corroborates the idea that frequency of input can lead to a better acquisition of a specific construction (N. C. Ellis, 2002, 2009, 2012). It could also be interpreted as support to the view of usage-based approaches, according to which L2 learners acquire better the L2 structures from usage (Tomasello, 2003). The forms which were more frequently seen and used had been better understood and learned by the participants of the present study. This issue of learning certain L2 patterns over others, could also be related to L2 vocabulary acquisition, in the sense that some words are more basic and they had been taught earlier. The item analysis demonstrated that the periphrases composed with the verb “to have” are easier to acquire than those composed with the verbs “to give” and “to make”. This acquisitional order could also be explained by the fact that periphrases with the verb “to have” are less hard to learn because the agent is the same in both L1(s) and L2; for instance, *πεινάω* /*pináo*/ and *tengo hambre* “I *have hunger” share the same agent “I”, namely the first person (or the speaker in general). Conversely, in periphrases with the verbs “to give”³⁴ or “to make” there is a different structure: In Greek the speaker is the

³⁴ This does not concern the structures *dar las gracias/donar les gràcies* “to thank” and *dar la benvinguda/donar la benvinguda* “to welcome”, which follow the same schema as the periphrases with the verb *tener/tenir* “to have” (i.e., the speaker as the subject).

agent *ντρέπομαι* /drépome/ (“I embarrass myself”) whereas in Spanish or Catalan the speaker receives the action *me da vergüenza* “It gives me embarrassment”. If the idea of conceptualization transfer behind the structures under analysis holds true, this fact may further explain why certain periphrases are easier to reconstruct than other: The difference in the conceptualization behind periphrases with the verbs “to give” or “to make” is more demanding than that of the verb “to have”, because they require a whole change in the way of thinking by L2 learners. When expressing the EXPERIENTIAL STATE in Greek, the L2 learners are called to shift the L1 conceptualization patterns according to which they are passive experiencers (they receive the action), in order to become more active experiencers (agent in an action) conforming to the L2 patterns.

Moreover, instances of positive or facilitative L1 influence have also been detected in the data of the participants. This was the case of the experiential verb *πονάω* /ponáo/ “to feel pain/to hurt”. In Spanish, this verb can be expressed either with a periphrasis *tengo dolor*, literally “I *have pain” when it refers to the meaning “feel pain” or with a single verb *doler* in the sense of “to hurt”. As it was mentioned in the section dedicated to the presentation of the target structures, the verb “doler” cannot be used with the experiencer as a subject; one cannot say *yo *duelo, tú *duelas* (“I feel pain”, “you feel pain”). This verb only is used in the third person with the experiencer as a direct object as in: *me duele el estómago*, “my stomach hurts me”. If a Spanish speaker wants to say that he or she is experiencing pain while casting him or herself as a subject, the only option available is periphrasis (*tengo dolor de X*, “I have pain of X”). In Catalan, there

exists only the periphrastic option, with two possible forms available: One with the speaker as the subject (*tinc mal de X*) and one with the speaker as the object (*em fa mal X*). In the oral picture description task, the majority of the participants described the EXPERIENTIAL STATE with a single verb in the L2 and also in their L1. There were very few exceptions of participants describing this picture by using periphrases in their L1, and this was mainly the case of Catalan L1 learners or of learners who decided to describe the picture as *tiene dolor de estómago* rather than *le duele el estómago*. This finding implies that when the L2 pattern resembles to the equivalent L1, positive influence may occur, facilitating thus the acquisition of the L2 target structure (Cadierno, 2004; Ringbom, 2007). The experiential verb *πονάω* /*ponáo*/ in the sense “to hurt” was less hard to acquire because of the existence of the equivalent single verb *doler* in Spanish. However, when participants wanted to express the meaning “to feel pain”, negative transfer took place because the equivalent available form in their L1(s) was only periphrastic. This was evident in the GJT, where the second meaning was included in the sentence, and several participants identified the periphrastic form as correct.

It should be also mentioned that the L1 influence was more apparent in the case of patterns recognition, as measured in the GJT, than in the case of patterns production, as measured in the picture description tasks. Hence, the present study suggests certain task effects on the way CLI operates as regards the patterns under analysis. This finding is in line with those of previous studies which also demonstrated differences in CLI depending on the type of task (Viladot & Celaya, 2007). In the literature about CLI, it has been discussed that CLI patterns may

differ across different task types (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008) and that grammaticality judgment tests may yield different results as compared to language production tasks (Gass, 1980; Hyltenstam, 1984). In the case of the production tasks here (picture description tasks), the L1 influence was more detectable through the qualitative analysis, where participants' L1 way of thinking and/or their tendency to pass through the L1 pattern in order to complete the task have been observed. In addition, it was observed that in the production tasks participants were more likely to construct periphrases with the verb "to have", rather than with the verbs "to give" or "to make". The influence of the L1 pattern composed by these verbs was more evident in the GJT, where participants identified as correct sentences such as "it gives/makes me + [noun of EXPERIENTIAL STATE]". Furthermore, participants were found to avoid the use of certain experiential verbs in their descriptions in Greek despite having used the target forms in their L1 data. This finding may be due to lack of knowledge of the target form, but also because of the open type of these tasks which allows for different kind of descriptions (Mackey & Gass, 2005). In this kind of instruments, participants can avoid more easily certain L2 forms if they do not know them or if they do not feel familiar or confident enough to use them. The results of the present study support this idea, since several participants tended to deliberately avoid mentioning the EXPERIENTIAL STATE when performing the production task in Greek, but they did mention it when performing the task in their L1. This implies that they were aware of the target action displayed in the pictures, despite not being able to express it in Greek. Nevertheless, in some cases in the same tasks—especially in the oral

task—some participants did not mention the target action even in their L1. There are two possible explanations for this finding: Firstly, the description in Greek was performed before the one in Spanish or Catalan. Due to time restrictions, it was not feasible to administer the tasks in different sessions, therefore both descriptions took place one right after the other. Consequently, it is possible that the participants may have been influenced by their L2 descriptions, which led them to avoid mentioning the target form in their L1, as they had just done in their L2. Despite the instructions which indicated them that the two descriptions could differ, it is not improbable that some participants may have followed the same narrative in both languages. Another reason which may account for the omission, in certain cases, of the target forms in the L1 could be the nature of the production task itself: As it was explained above, the production tasks are quite open and they can yield several different answers. The participants of the present study, described the action depicted in the vignettes in different ways, which may have been different to those expected (the periphrases under analysis), but which show that L2 learners had noticed the action (EXPERIENTIAL STATE).

The inclusion of both recognition and production tasks was found to be especially valuable, given the fact that in this way more insights regarding the operation of CLI have been attained. The manifestation of CLI showed differences depending on the type of task and the type of skill explored; notwithstanding these differences, CLI was detectable in all cases. This finding suggests the importance of including different types of tasks in order to gain a better

understanding of how CLI phenomena function during SLA (Gass, 1979; Hyltensam, 1977; Tarone, 1979).

7.2. Research Question 2: The role of proficiency in the acquisition of experiential verbs

The second research question asked whether proficiency in Greek had an effect on the acquisition of experiential verbs. Previous studies on CLI have shown that L2 proficiency is an essential factor affecting the amount of CLI that learners will have from their L1. However, the role of proficiency may differ depending on the area of exploration and the specific structure under analysis (Jarvis, 2000; Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008). More specifically, when examining purely linguistic aspects, L1 transfer seems to decrease as L2 proficiency increases (Andria et al. 2012; Celaya, 2006; Hammarberg, 2001; Helms-Park, 2001; Navés et. al, 2005; Ringbom, 2001). Nonetheless, when investigating conceptual differences or items which include cognitive dimensions, the role of proficiency becomes more complex (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008).

The present study included a relatively ample range of five proficiency levels (from level A2 to B2.2). Previous studies suggest the inclusion of various proficiency levels in order for the researchers to be able to explore better the relationship between CLI and L2 proficiency (Cadierno & Ruiz, 2006). The results

of the current study show that proficiency is indeed an important factor whose impact is more evident at initial levels. This is line with previous studies (Athanasopoulos, 2006, 2007; Cadierno & Ruiz, 2006; Celaya 2006) suggesting that L1 transfer is more evident in beginning and intermediate L2 proficiency groups.

Regarding the acquisition of experiential verbs, a linear development was found until level 5 (B2.1) in the GJT, which suggest that until this level the construction of the L2 pattern is in progress. The significant differences which were found between the levels 2 (A2) and 3 (B1.1) and the other proficiency levels suggest that these two levels could be considered as threshold levels beyond which learners of Greek start constructing the target patterns. However, for higher levels, namely level 4 (B1.2), 5 (B2.1) and 6 (B2.2), proficiency does not seem to be such a determining factor: No significant differences were found between these groups in any of the tasks, except of the levels 4 and 6 in the GJT which did show significant differences. This finding shows that when a certain level is achieved, the L2 pattern does not improve. Several studies have shown that in the acquisition of patterns which are related with way of thinking (thinking-for-speaking patterns) L2 proficiency cannot guarantee the full internalization of them (Cadierno, 2004, 2010; Han & Cadierno, 2010). The L1 patterns are resistant to reconstructing and it is very demanding for the L2 learners to get rid of the L1 way of thinking and adapt themselves to the equivalent L2 way when using the L2.

The picture described above was generally the same in the case of the written description task, but the linear development—as seen in the

descriptives—was found up to level 4 (B1.2), not level 5 as in the case of the GJT. The last three levels (4, 5 and 6) showed a stabilization as regards the acquisition of the experiential verbs and again, no significant differences were found between them. Once again, levels 2 and 3 seemed to appear as threshold levels for the construction of the L2 pattern. The mean scores obtained in the WDT by the participants of these two groups demonstrated that the acquisition of the L2 patterns progresses as they pass from level 2 to level 3, but it is not until they reach level 4 that these differences become significant. The difference in the mean scores also showed that, as L2 proficiency increased, CLI decreased in regard to the initial levels. Two differences were observed between the results obtained in the written tasks, (i.e., the GJT and the WDT): Firstly, in the WDT there were participants who obtained the highest score (3 out of 3), whereas in the GJT no participant attained the highest score. This finding may be due to the fact that the targets included in the WDT were fewer than those of the GJT, and they were also more basic and frequent. This made them easier to acquire, as it was seen in the detailed item analysis. As it was mentioned in the previous section, more frequent constructions are usually less hard to acquire (N. C. Ellis, 2009). In addition, differences may be attributed to the type of task. As it was also mentioned before, the present study confirms previous findings on task variability in CLI studies (Viladot & Celaya, 2007). It also corroborates previous findings about the different results obtained in grammaticality judgment tests as compared to production tasks (Gass, 1980; Hyltenstam, 1984). Moreover, a second difference between the results reported in GJT and the WDT concerns the differences between the levels 3

and 5, as well as the levels 4 and 6, which were found to be significant in the case of the former task but not in the latter. This result could also be attributed to task effects.

As far as the oral description task is concerned, the results seem to follow, in general, the picture of the written description task. There is a linear development in the acquisition of the patterns, which goes up to level 4 and then stabilizes. However, certain differences have been reported as compared to the results of the other two instruments: Firstly, the participants of level 4 in the oral task obtained the highest scores among all the proficiency levels. In the WDT participants of level 4 and 6 obtained the same score, whereas in the GJT the highest score was obtained by the level 6. Secondly, the adjacent levels 2 and 3 presented significant differences, a result which found in the GJT, but not in the WDT. Lastly, level 3 did not differ significantly from the other proficiency levels as it did in the other tasks. These findings may be related once again to the type of task, as well as to the targets included whose difficulty, as seen in the item analysis, was found to be different. Furthermore, it should be borne in mind that the oral description task was taken only by a subgroup, which means that the number of participants was small and it became even smaller when participants were classified per level. Consequently, given the fact that each proficiency level was represented only by few participants, the interpretation of the results in this task should be cautious and generalizations should be avoided. More research is required in order to have a clearer view of how CLI takes place across the different proficiency levels in oral tasks with regards the acquisition of experiential verbs.

To sum up, L2 proficiency seemed to be an important factor for the amount of CLI that it was manifested by the participants, but the importance of its role was more significant for the initial levels. Up to level 4 (B1.2), negative transfer during the acquisition of the L2 pattern decreased, as L2 proficiency increased, in all the tasks. However, for the more advanced participants of this study L2 proficiency was not such a determining factor, since it did not lead to significant differences between the higher proficiency levels. It is noteworthy, however, that the highest scores in the tasks (especially of the GJT, which was more complex than the description tasks) were mostly obtained by the more advanced participants in the sample (level 5 and 6). This finding is important, because it is related to the issue of vocabulary acquisition that it was discussed in the previous section. It has been demonstrated that higher L2 proficiency is accompanied by a larger L2 vocabulary knowledge (Nation, 2001). Hence, the fact that the more proficient learners performed better may be also due to the broader size of their L2 vocabulary. Nevertheless, the amount of CLI as measured in the three tasks, remained stable and high for the advanced levels (4, 5, and 6), especially in the case of the GJT. It was also observed that even the more advanced level in this sample showed a significant divergence in its scores in the GJT, as compared to those of the native speakers. This finding implies that L2 proficiency itself could not guarantee the full acquisition of the L2 pattern. On the contrary, the scores of the same group in the purely linguistic aspects of the GJT tended to be a little bit closer to those of the native speakers. These aspects, which were traditionally taught in classroom, had been better acquired by the participants,

and especially by the more advanced ones. As discussed in the research question 1, this may reveal the particular nature of the experiential verbs. If these L2 patterns include a cognitive aspect connected to conceptualization of the EXPERIENTIAL STATE, it would be logical to be more difficult to acquire. Several studies have provided evidence about the resistant nature of L1 patterns which are related to the way speakers perceive and conceptualize the EXPERIENCE (Cadierno, 2004; Cadierno & Lund, 2004), as well as to how proficient L2 learners seem to be bound to their L1 patterns in spite of their general successful L2 performance (Ekiert, 2010; Han, 2010; Stam, 2010). The results of the present study seem to be in line with these findings, since L1 traces were found even in advanced learners. Nevertheless, it must be mentioned that the highest level offered in the state-run Official Schools of Languages in Spain (level B2) is not as advanced as level C of the Common European Framework. It may be the case that more advanced learners pertaining to level C show different CLI patterns regarding the acquisition of the experiential verbs. Previous studies which involved more advanced learners showed that L2 proficiency could be conducive to more target-like patterns (Cadierno & Robinson, 2009). In addition, even if the general picture suggests the opposite, there are also studies which have provided evidence of limited L1 influence for advanced proficiency learners (Cadierno & Ruiz, 2006; von Stutterheim & Carroll, 2006). Therefore, more research should be done including learners of this level (C) in order to explore whether the patterns they use in order to express the EXPERIENTIAL STATE are closer to those of the native speakers of Greek.

Although this does not pertain to the most advanced level (level C), the most proficient participants of the present study, those of level 6 (B2.2), have been studying for several years the target language and they have received more than 480 hours of instruction. Taking into account that the majority of experiential verbs constitute frequent structures, it is surprising that their acquisition remains, in most cases, incomplete. If the line of reasoning presented before, namely the connection with conceptualization transfer, is on the right track this finding may not appear to be that surprising. Nevertheless, apart from the special nature of the patterns under analysis themselves, two further issues are worth mentioning: The first concerns the kind of input and type of instruction that is offered in the L2 classroom regarding these structures. The other is about the stabilization in the development of L2 patterns, which was observed in the performance of the higher levels. These two issues are discussed below.

As far as the type of instruction is concerned, based on the information provided by the teachers' interviews, the experiential verbs are not taught in the classroom as such. This means that direct crosslinguistic comparisons between the L1(s) and the L2 are not made. The target forms are presented as part of the vocabulary teaching and they are never seen as a whole. Participants' attention thus is not explicitly directed to the crosslinguistic differences between the L1(s) and the L2. Given that the patterns under analysis have been found to be particularly hard to acquire by Spanish/Catalan L1 learners of Greek—maybe because of their peculiar nature and their relevance to the L1 way of thinking-for-speaking—it may be the case that a more explicit type of instruction would be

more effective and would lead to better L2 outcomes (Norris & Ortega, 2003; Stam, 2010). Teaching CLI differences explicitly and in a comparative way might potentially help L2 learners become more aware of the non-congruent forms between the L1 and the L2 (Malt & Sloman, 2003). The current study clearly demonstrated that the type of instruction offered until now does not promote the acquisition of these patterns and new pedagogical approaches are necessary for better outcomes to be achieved. Apart from the type of instruction (implicit vs. explicit), the issue of input is also of great importance. The significance of L2 input—both in terms of quality and quantity—has been highlighted by many studies in the SLA field (Muñoz, 2009, 2011; Piske & Young-Scholten, 2009). It is undeniable that a foreign language context does not offer such a great deal of opportunities for usage of the L2 forms and interaction that could potentially promote the acquisition of L2 forms. This issue will be discussed thoroughly in the next section, which is dedicated to the impact of stays abroad. Here, the sense of “input” is referred to the one provided by the teachers of Greek in the classroom. The teachers of the language schools in the present study recognized and confirmed the tendency of the Spanish/Catalan L1 learners of Greek to rely on their L1 and to express the EXPERIENTIAL STATE with periphrases. They also mentioned that, in these cases, they usually do not explicitly correct the learners. It could be speculated that the teachers of Greek, who are either of Spanish nationality or Greek native speakers with many years of length of residence in Spain (more than fifteen), are accustomed to this kind of structures, namely to the erroneous use of periphrastic form in Greek (Schmid, 2007). The fact that they are

accustomed to them and the possible influence of Spanish and/or Catalan (Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2002) may have made them become less sensitive (see Chapter 8, para.8, for further discussion). As a consequence, when they encounter such utterances they may ignore them; and/or, they may themselves produce sporadically this kind of structures in spontaneous speech in classroom without any awareness. It has been observed that traces of periphrastic expression for the EXPERIENTIAL STATE are sometimes detected in spontaneous speech of native speakers of Greek who have been living in a Spanish-speaking country (Andria, in press); this is a result of the L2 influence on the L1 and/or limited contact with the L1 and Greek L1 speakers usually are not aware of this kind of inverse influence. Undoubtedly, the idea which has been just discussed constitutes only a speculation, but further research including other type of method and instruments (for instance, classroom observation) could cast more light on the topic. It is undeniable, however, that the issue of “who provides the L2 input” and whether corrective feedback is offered is a matter of great importance for the acquisition of the L2 patterns.

The issue of *stabilization* of the L2 patterns also requires further discussion. The results of the present study showed that from level 4 and on the L2 patterns construction stops progressing and stabilizes. Participants’ knowledge of the L2 patterns achieves a certain level, but since then it does not make any progress and as a consequence, the higher levels of this sample did not show any significant differences between them. This finding implies that the construction of the L2 patterns has been ceased and/or hampered by certain factors. The ensuing

question would concern the factors which impede the further development of the L2 patterns. Stabilization of L2 constructions could be primarily attributed to L1 influence and to “non-robust L2 input” (Han, 2013). Han (2013) argued that “overt stabilization can be tied at an underlying level to at least three processes: (1) a natural slowdown in learning, (2) covert restructuring of mental representation, and (3) a prelude to fossilization³⁵” (p. 144). *Fossilization* (Selinker, 1972) refers to “an interlanguage-unique phenomenon in which a semi-developed linguistic form or construction shows permanent resistance to environmental influence and thus fails to progress towards the target” (Han, 2013, p. 133). Han (2013) states that this phenomenon

is validated only in circumstances where optimal learning conditions along the lines of learner motivation, exposure to input and opportunity for communicative practice are present and measurable. Consequently, it cannot be adequately studied in a foreign language environment where such learning conditions typically fall short. (pp. 142-143)

Given that the current study concerns a foreign language setting, claims about fossilization of the present target forms in Greek as foreign language could not be made. Future studies, however, could address this issue and explore whether Spanish/Catalan learners of Greek in the target language country share the same scheme in their acquisition of the target forms; in other words, whether they also

³⁵The terms *stabilization* and *fossilization* are often mistakenly used interchangeably, despite the fact that they do not refer to the same phenomena (Han, 2013). Han (2004, 2011) explained the differences between the two phenomena and she identified three types of stabilization. Only one type of them can lead to fossilization (type 3 above).

show a stabilization regarding the L2 patterns after a certain proficiency level—type (3) according to Han (2013)—which may lead to fossilization. For the present study, the cases (1) and (2) of stabilization seem more applicable. It may be the case of “natural slowdown” (1) in the learning of the experiential verbs or a case of restructuring of the conceptualization patterns (2). Especially the second type is very relevant because, as Han (2013) emphasized, “the apparent and persistent challenge [for the L2 learners] derives from acquiring target-like meaning, not form, and more profoundly from *acquiring target-like conceptualization of an experience* [emphasis added]” (p. 138). The fact that participants have to change their L1 conceptualization patterns in order to become more “target-like” in the L2 is a challenging process they have to deal with. The resistant nature of L1 patterns is an enduring obstacle they have to strive against. Additionally, participants’ L2 construction may have stabilized because the learners need more time (i.e., more years of instruction than those offered in the Official Schools of Languages in Spain) or other conditions (in terms of input, exposure, motivation) in order to surpass this stage. Stabilization, however, is neither a permanent nor an irreversible phenomenon (Han, 2013, p. 140), therefore it could be assumed that different learning conditions may help learners to overcome their stabilized errors.

7.3. Research question 3: The role of stays abroad in the acquisition of the experiential verbs

The third research question asked whether spending time in Greece would play a role in the acquisition of the patterns under analysis. Stays abroad have been considered to be beneficial for various aspects of L2 acquisition and there are several studies which have provide empirical evidence about these positive outcomes (Freed, 1995; Freed et al., 2004; Llanes & Muñoz, 2009; Sasaki, 2007, 2009, among others). Nevertheless, there are also studies which have shown that this context is not especially beneficial for some aspects of L2 development (Díaz-Campos, 2004; Mora, 2008). The general picture deriving from the literature on stays abroad is that not all the language aspects can be favored equally, nor all the L2 learners are likely to benefit from them in the same way.

As it was seen in Section 2.3, the majority of the studies which explore the effects of stays abroad focus on purely linguistic aspects, such as oral fluency, vocabulary or writing (Llanes, 2011). There are very few studies directly testing the relationship between stays abroad and CLI (Andria, 2014; Andria & Serrano, 2013a, 2013b). Thus, the current doctoral dissertation aimed at filling this gap in the literature by examining whether stays abroad can affect the amount of L1 transfer during the acquisition of Greek as a foreign language. The target language is learned in a formal, foreign language setting. This setting is normally characterized by limited input and exposure to the L2 (the hours of instruction and further restricted extracurricular exposure), as well as by few opportunities of

usage of the L2 forms and interaction with L2 speakers (Muñoz, 2009). It could be thus hypothesized that when a L2 learner who studies the target language in this context engages in a stay abroad, the better conditions in terms of input, exposure and opportunities for communicative practice that he or she will experience abroad could potentially help them ameliorate their L2 performance.

In the present study, the impact of stays abroad has been explored through the following variables: Total time spent in Greece, the duration of the longest stay (in months) and number of stays. The importance of the length of stay and the need for further exploration of this factor has been emphasized in many studies (Dwyer, 2004; Ife et al., 2000; Llanes & Muñoz, 2009; Llanes & Serrano, 2011; Sasaki, 2009). In general, the findings of this study are in agreement with those of previous studies about the advantageous effects of stays abroad (Segalowitz & Freed, 2004; Llanes & Muñoz, 2013; Serrano et al., 2012, 2014). The current study reported benefits for those participants who have spent time in the L2 country as far as the acquisition of experiential is concerned. Nevertheless, the positive effect of the stays in Greece was more apparent in patterns recognition, as measured in the GJT, than in patterns production, as measured in the picture description tasks.

More specifically, as for the GJT, a moderate but significant correlation was found between the total time spent in Greece and the acquisition of experiential verbs. The same finding was reported for the longest stay. As for the number of stays in Greece, there was also found a significant moderate, correlation between this variable and the scores in the GJT. This result demonstrates that there was a positive effect of the L2 stays on the acquisition of the patterns under analysis; that

is, participants who had spent time in Greece showed more awareness of the L2 patterns and less L1 influence; they were less prone to accept erroneous periphrastic expression of the EXPERIENCE, they were more likely to identify it and substitute it by the correct form (single verb). Furthermore, the length of stay seemed to be important, in the sense that longer stays in Greece led to less L1 transfer and better acquisition of the L2 patterns. The present study seems to corroborate the belief about the “the longer the better”—a finding empirically demonstrated in several previous studies (Dwyer, 2004; Félix-Brasdefer, 2004; Ife et al., 2000; Ryan & Lafford, 1992; Sasaki, 2009). Even though the majority of stays made by the participants of the present study were relatively short (see further discussion on this issue below), certain positive outcomes had been documented. It is not surprising that short stays could also be conducive to L2 gains, given the existence of studies which report benefits even for short periods of time abroad (Llanes & Muñoz, 2009; Serrano et al., 2014).

However, regarding the picture description tasks, the only significant correlation was between the scores in the written description task and the number of stays. The lack of significant correlation with the other variables, namely the total time spent in Greece and the duration of the longer stay, may be attributed to several factors. First of all, the picture description tasks included very few items and there was less variability in the scores in these tasks than in the GJT (1-3 or 1-4 for the picture description tasks vs. 1-10 for the GJT). Additionally, the number of participants was not very high (especially in the case of the oral task, which was taken only by a subgroup). Therefore, it is not strange that the small number of

items and participants did not give rise to strong correlations. More research with larger samples should be carried out in order to explore whether different results would be yielded. The different results between the recognition and the production tasks could also be associated with the nature of the task itself, as it has been discussed in the previous sections. It has been argued that the use of different instruments can often account for divergent findings about the impact of stays abroad (DeKeyser, 2014; Sanz, 2014). Its effects may be more evident in some tasks than in others, and this seems to hold true for the present study: The impact of spending time in the L2 country was more clearly manifested in the GJT than in the picture description tasks.

In spite of the certain benefits due to stays abroad, participants did not manage to fully attain target-like patterns for the expression of the EXPERIENTIAL STATE; they appeared to be still bound to the L1 entrenched patterns. The restructuring of such patterns requires significant amount of time spent in the L2 country (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008). The participants of the current study, however, presented basically short stays with only few exceptions. In fact, only 14 participants of the sample had spent more than six months in Greece. It may be the case that longer stays than those explored in the present study are necessary for a more significant reconstructing of the L1 patterns to take place (Andria & Serrano, 2013b).

Despite the fact that the correlations between the stays abroad were not strong in all cases (production tasks), it should be pointed out that the mean scores of the participants who had spent a significant amount of time in Greece were

quite close to those of the native speakers (for instance, GJT: 9.25/10 vs. 9.66/10). Furthermore, the only participant who reached the highest score in the oral description task (4/4) was a learner of level 6 who had spent 6 weeks of an intensive summer course in Greece and he reported that he took full advantage of his stay. The participants who achieved the highest scores in the tasks (especially in the GJT) all share the same characteristic: They had spent time—in most cases of long duration—in Greece. This finding suggests that L2 stays could facilitate L2 restructuring. This result is in line with previous studies stressing the importance of taking part in communicative practices of the target language community in order for the conceptualization shift to occur (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008; Pavlenko, 2002b). The results of the present study demonstrate that high exposure to the L2, unlimited and authentic L2 input and opportunities for interaction with speakers of the target-language community—conditions offered during a stay abroad—can promote the participants re-thinking in the L2. For the few participants with significantly long stays it seems that the shift towards the L1 way of thinking is in progress, albeit not having been completely achieved yet. Furthermore, the same L2 learners have become more aware of the crosslinguistic differences between their L1(s) and the target language. Further evidence about the favorable effects of stays abroad on L2 patterns acquisition was observed through the detailed item analysis: The experiential verbs which correspond to periphrases composed with the verb “to give” or “to make” (which were found to be more complicated due to the different conceptualization schema that they entail, as seen in section 7.1) were better acquired by those participants who had spent time in Greece. Once again,

this could be interpreted as a sign of change in learners' L1 way of thinking (Pavlenko, 2002b). Nonetheless, even for the aforementioned participants with long stays, traces of L1 influence were still detected (Cadierno, 2004; Cadierno & Lund, 2004; Cadierno & Ruiz, 2006; Stam, 2010). The reader is reminded that no participants achieved the highest score in the GJT, which implies that L1 influence is still persistent. The question of whether complete restructuring could be attained if participants acquire higher proficiency or after longer stays or years of residence in Greece remains open for future exploration.

The present study also explored whether the stays abroad were identified as turning points in participants' L2 learning trajectory. This question was inspired by Muñoz's (2012b) study regarding L2 learners' intensive exposure experiences. Taking into account this aspect could provide insightful information about the way stays abroad are seen and evaluated by the L2 learners. In fact, learners' perceptions of such experiences have been considered as an important area of investigation within the Study Abroad field and several studies have focused on this topic (Amuzie & Winke, 2009; Pellegrino, 2005; Tragant, 2012; Allen, Dristas & Mills, 2007, among others). This line of inquiry, namely "the study of *learners' orientation to input* [emphasis added] may help us interpret the different benefits learners draw from language use possibilities" (Muñoz, 2012b, p. 143).

The question "*Do you recognize a turning point in your learning trajectory in Greek?*" was answered positively by 57% of the participants. The majority of those who answered positively (70%) recognized the stay abroad experience as such.

That means that learners considered the stay abroad as a landmark which changed the way they regarded the target language learning process. This result confirms Muñoz's findings, where stays abroad had been also identified by the L2 learners as significant in their L2 learning history. Furthermore, this finding suggests that participants are aware of the fact that spending time in the target language country constitutes the optimal environment for them to learn the L2, because of the greater opportunities for authentic interaction with L2 speakers, as well as the different quality of input offered in this context. It may also imply that L2 learners are conscious of the restraints of the formal, foreign language settings in terms of L2 input and L2 exposure (Amuzie & Winke, 2009), apart from the lack of chances for L2 extensive usage.

An important remark regarding participants' answers is that the stay in Greece was indicated as a notable moment of change mainly by participants of more advanced levels. Less proficient learners did not identify them as such, notwithstanding having experienced stays in the L2 country. This finding seems to be related to the issue of participants' initial proficiency before the stay. Previous studies suggest that learners who have already attained a threshold level in the L2 can benefit more from a stay abroad (Collentine, 2004; DeKeyser, 2007, 2010). It could be added that L2 learners with prior L2 knowledge can *feel* that they benefit more from a stay abroad, thus considering it as a critical point in their language learning trajectories. Qualitative analysis of the data showed that more advanced participants considered that they took better advantage of their stays, irrespective

of the amount of time spent in the L2 country; that is, even relatively short stays³⁶ had been viewed as crucial for learners' development. If an L2 learner is positively predisposed, highly motivated, eager to interact and actively practice the target language during his or her stay, it should not be surprising that even a very short stay could turn out to be (or considered to be) significant (L. Ortega, personal communication, September 16, 2013).

Another remarkable finding that stems from the statistical analyses is that significant differences have been reported in the written tasks between those participants who had experienced a stay abroad but they did not identify it as a turning point and those who had a stay abroad and recognized it as such in favor of the latter group. This finding implies that learners' perceptions towards a stay abroad can determine the degree to which they benefit from this experience. If a learner considers a stay in the L2 country as a unique opportunity for L2 practice, he or she may be more positively predisposed to seize every chance for active involvement in interactions. Conversely, if a learner does not view a stay in the same way, he or she may be reluctant to partake in communicative practices. It may be the case that those participants who did not consider the study abroad experience as a landmark, did not take advantage of this experience while being in Greece, and, as a consequence, the effects of it are not so strong. On the contrary, those who recognized it as a crucial point of change may have sought all the

³⁶ Some of these short stays, however, included intensive courses in the target language. Therefore, the issue of intensive exposure and instruction (Muñoz, 2012a; Serrano, 2011) should be taken into account, in the sense that a stay of one week accompanied by intensive instruction in the L2 could lead to more gains than a longer stay on vacation, for instance.

possible opportunities for L2 practice during the stay, hence the effects are more evident and significant. The finding could also be associated to individual factors, such as learners' personality, openness and willingness to partake in interactions with native speakers during their stay (Isabelli-García, 2003).

To sum up, the present study reported certain benefits for the participants which have experienced stays abroad as regards the acquisition of the experiential verbs. The positive effects were more evident in patterns recognition, as measured in the GJT, rather than in active production, as measured in the picture description tasks. Spending time in Greece helped the L2 learners to recognize the L2 patterns and to become less prone to L1 transfer. The impact of stays abroad has also been found to be susceptible to task variability. Furthermore, the present study suggests that stays in the L2 country can be conducive to reconstructing of the L1 patterns, as well as to a shift towards the L2 way of thinking. Nevertheless, more significant amounts of time in the L2 country are necessary in order to explore whether L2 learners manage to overcome the L1 way of thinking when performing in the L2.

7.4. Conclusion

The results of the present doctoral dissertation demonstrated that the acquisition of experiential verbs constitutes a complex and demanding area when Greek is learned as a foreign language by Spanish/Catalan L1 learners. Significant differences were found between the L2 learners and native speakers of Greek with regards to the expression of the EXPERIENTIAL STATE. The first group tended to use and accept as correct periphrastic forms instead of a single verb, which is the expected form in Greek, as a result of L1 transfer. L1 transfer was manifested even at advanced proficiency levels, which implies the persistent nature of L1 patterns. The difficulty in the acquisition of the pattern under analysis and the fact that even more advanced learners appeared to be still tied to the L1 patterns was attributed to the different conceptualization of the EXPERIENTIAL STATE by learners of Spanish/Catalan and Greek (Jarvis, 2007). Within the framework of Cognitive Linguistics, the construals are seen as the linguistic manifestation of the way an event has been conceptualized (Langacker, 2008a). The study discussed whether and to what extent the present crosslinguistic phenomenon could be considered as a case of conceptualization transfer (Jarvis, 2007, 2011). The relevance of Slobin's thinking-for-speaking hypothesis (1991, 1993, 1996a) has also been investigated. The study discussed whether the difference in the expression of EXPERIENTIAL STATE could be a result of dissimilar ways of thinking by the speakers of the three languages under analysis. In line with previous studies (Cadierno, 2004; Cadierno

& Lund, 2004; Cadierno & Ruiz, 2006) the present study indicated that L2 learners have to re-think in order to speak (or write, read, listen) in the L2, which implies a change in their L1 manner of thinking. This is a highly complex and long-lasting process against which L2 learners have to strive in order to achieve target-like patterns (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008). The study also found certain task effects on the manifestation of CLI, in that its occurrence was more obvious in the GJT than in the production tasks.

The study also examined the role of L2 proficiency in the acquisition of the patterns under analysis. It has been shown that proficiency in Greek was important for the initial levels. L1 influence decreased as L2 proficiency increased, a finding which confirms previous studies (Celaya, 2006; Helms-Park, 2001; Navés et al. 2005). Nevertheless, L2 proficiency was not such a determining factor for the more advanced levels; no significant differences were documented among these levels. Stabilization of the L2 patterns construction (Han, 2004, 2011) was also observed for more proficient levels of the sample. The stabilized errors were interpreted as a sign of the resistant nature of the L1 patterns whose reconstructing requires time, more robust and frequent input (N. C. Ellis, 2002, 2009, 2011), as well as more L2 exposure and usage of the L2 forms (Tomasello, 2003).

The relationship between CLI and stays in the L2 country has also been explored. The results of the study provided certain evidence for the benefits of L2 stays, as it have been suggested in previous studies (Juan-Garau & Pérez-Vidal, 2007; Llanes & Muñoz, 2009, 2013; Sasaki, 2007, 2009; Segalowitz & Freed, 2004;

Serrano et al., 2012). Nevertheless, the positive impact was more apparent in patterns recognition than in patterns active production. Participants who had spent time in Greece were more aware of the L2 patterns and they were more likely to notice erroneous periphrastic expressions of the EXPERIENTIAL STATE; thus, the L1 influence they exhibited was less than those of participants with no stays. The length of stay was also found to be important for learners' awareness regarding the L2 patterns. The longer the stay in Greece, the more aware participants were of the structures under analysis and of the crosslinguistic differences between the L1(s) and the L2. The study suggests that L2 restructuring could be facilitated by stays abroad, but, in order to achieve it in a greater degree, more significant amount of time than the one exhibited by the participants here might be necessary. The qualitative analysis of the profile of those participants who achieved the highest scores in the tasks revealed that the majority of them shared the same characteristics: Principally, high proficiency and long stays in the L2 country—factors which have been thoroughly discussed; secondly, high motivation and positive attitude towards the target language and interaction with native speakers. Future studies should explore more in-depth these variables and their interaction with proficiency and stays abroad.

To recap, the acquisition of experiential verbs has been found to be particularly difficult for the Spanish/Catalan L1 learners of the present study. The presence of L1 influence appears in all levels, but it decreases as participants become more proficient. Nevertheless, even the most advanced level in the sample showed significant divergence from the native speakers' scores. This finding

suggests, first, that acquiring L2 conceptualization patterns is a more demanding process than learning purely linguistic aspects. Second, that in this kind of patterns, the relationship between L2 proficiency and L1 transfer may not be a straightforward one; that is, L2 proficiency itself cannot guarantee the internalization of the L2 patterns. This leads to the third point: The typical, foreign language context turns out to be insufficient for the restructuring of the L1 patterns; long stays in the L2 country could promote this process by aiding L2 learners to become more aware of the crosslinguistic differences and starting changing their L1 way of thinking towards the L2 one, when using the L2. Spending time in the L2 country would offer numerous opportunities for L2 usage and practice with native speakers and the amount of input in this context will be the optimal. It could also be hypothesized that the combination of formal instruction “at-home” with stay or study abroad experiences would be beneficial for L2 learners’ of Greek language development. The participants of the present study seemed to be aware of the benefits of stays abroad, given the fact that the great majority of those who had been in Greece identified their stays as a turning point in their language learning trajectory. Not only did these participants perceived their stays as a landmark, but also they did actually demonstrate objective gains in the acquisition of experiential verbs, as compared to those participants who did not consider their stays in Greece as a crucial moment in their L2 learning trajectory. Apart from the importance of stays in the target language country, the present study suggests the necessity of a more explicit way of teaching the experiential verbs. Sensitizing L2 learners towards the

crosslinguistic dissimilarities of the patterns under analysis may be proved to be more effective (Malt & Sloman, 2003). Future studies could show whether explicit instruction enhances indeed the acquisition of the experiential verbs.

The following chapter will be dedicated to the limitations of this doctoral dissertation and to some suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 8: LIMITATIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

The present study has certain limitations which must be acknowledged. First, the relatively small number of participants makes the generalizations of the findings hard. Nevertheless, as it was described in the Method section, the participants of the present study constitute not just a sample of Spanish/Catalan L1 learners of Greek as a foreign language; rather, they comprise the majority of the population studying Greek in such a setting in Spain (formal instructed setting, officially structured in terms of curriculum). This fact makes the findings quite representative of the picture regarding the acquisition of Greek by this population and in this context. Nevertheless, it should be recognized that especially with regards to the oral description task, which was taken only by a subgroup of participants, the study should be replicated with a larger number of participants. The statistical power may have been affected by the small sample; therefore, a replication could show whether similar results are yielded with larger samples.

Furthermore, due to lack of standardized placement tests in Greek, it has not been possible to use a standardized measure of proficiency to classify participants. Future studies should attempt to use further measures of proficiency, since the way it is defined is a crucial issue for the interpretation of its role (Athanasopoulos, 2011; Jarvis, 2000; Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008) and it can also bring in different findings (Ortega, 2003). The present study certainly points the definite need for a standardized placement test of proficiency in Greek, and this is a gap that must be addressed in the area of Greek Applied Linguistics. The classification

was, thus, based on the one established by the language schools. Notwithstanding this limitation, the classification established by the language schools in the present study could be deemed reliable given that it is based on well-established criteria (levels according to CEFR), and both schools shared the same classification.

As far as the role of spending time in the target language is concerned, the current study explored its impact through self-reported questionnaires and results were based on the information provided by the participants. Future studies should also carry out separate analyses for groups that learn Greek in a study abroad context versus those who study at home. In fact, the original project of this doctoral dissertation was to examine this factor by using a pre-post design and by including and comparing the aforementioned groups of participants. For this reason, a first data collection was carried out in Athens, Greece (June 2011, October 2011, June and July 2012) with Erasmus students and students of Greek at the University of Athens (*Διδασκαλείο Νέας Ελληνικής Γλώσσας / Didaskalio Neas Ellinikis Glossas*). Unfortunately, due to external factors³⁷ that could not be anticipated, in the academic year 2011-2012 and the following years since then the number of Spanish/Catalan Erasmus students who go to Greece has drastically diminished. Under these circumstances, the change to the original design was inevitable. However, the new design offered different kinds of advantages, such as the possibility to explore and evaluate an ample variety of stays which differ in terms of duration and motivation.

³⁷ External factors included the unstable situation of Greece with general strikes and massive university protests, which hindered the normality of the classes at the University of Athens. Given that the situation in the target language country had not changed, similar problems were expected for the following academic year as well.

In relation to the framework used in order to interpret the structures under analysis, another limitation must also be recognized: The present study tried to elucidate the acquisition of the experiential verbs and the cases of L1 transfer that take place in light of Cognitive Linguistics, conceptualization transfer and the thinking-for-speaking hypothesis. Previous studies which have also tried to explain their findings by drawing on similar frameworks usually have had at their disposal certain, solid, theoretical, and detailed descriptions of the patterns they analyzed. For instance, studies examining motion events can take as a point of departure Talmy's (1985, 1991, 2000) typological framework regarding the expression of MOTION across languages, which is well-known and immensely used in empirical research. However, in the case of the patterns under analysis here, there was no previous theoretical description to make use of from the Cognitive Linguistics perspective. The main goal of the current dissertation was to analyze the acquisition of these patterns from an Applied Linguistics and SLA standpoint. The framework provided here is an attempt to describe these structures. Nevertheless, further research is necessary from a theoretical perspective in order to gain a better understanding of how these patterns function in the three languages explored here, and also in other languages. The analysis of the expression of EXPERIENTIAL STATE in other languages was beyond the scope of the present study, but it would be interesting for future studies to include typologically different languages and examine similarities and differences among them. In addition, the current study presented a limited set of target structures and focused on cases where the EXPERIENTIAL STATE is construed differently in the

L1(s) and in the target language. Further investigation of other type of structures could shed more light on CLI cases for the languages analyzed here.

Again, the present study aimed at exploring whether cases of CLI occur during the acquisition of Greek by Spanish/Catalan L1 learners, as seen in linguistic tasks. Non-verbal tasks were not included; therefore, it is not possible to draw conclusions regarding the cognitive processes that cause the conceptualization of EXPERIENTIAL STATES. It would be very interesting however, for future studies to investigate how the types of EXPERIENTIAL STATES analyzed here are represented in the mind and/or brain, whether speakers of different languages experience these types of EXPERIENTIAL STATES differently, and (regardless of whether they have different EXPERIENTIAL STATES or not) at what point during the process of conceptualization/speech production, the differences are likely to emerge (S. Jarvis, personal communication, July 2, 2014). In order to answer all these questions, learners' L2 non-verbal performance should be investigated.

The instruments used in the present study—as it was described in the Method section—were designed first-hand due to lack of any previous research on this topic and with this combination of languages. The grammaticality judgment test was proved to be very effective in the examination of CLI in cases of patterns' recognition. CLI was, nevertheless, less explicitly exhibited in case of the production of these patterns, as measured by the picture description tasks. However, these picture tasks only included a few target items. Including more items would have been desirable, but then these items would have consisted of

less frequent, thus more difficult and advanced, structures and this fact would have rendered the tasks unsuitable for initial proficiency levels (Helms-Park, 2001). Nevertheless, future studies should include instruments with more target items, such as “The Frog Story” (Mayer, 1969), for instance, which could enable longer narratives. Longer narratives would permit the exploration of whether the use of specific patterns echoes L1 influence and additionally whether this use appears as a general preference by the L2 learners. Future studies could also include tasks of different cognitive complexity, in order to examine whether this kind of task manipulation would result in the production of more target-like patterns (as proposed in Cadierno & Robinson, 2009). To conclude, more research should be carried out regarding the design of instruments, in order to be able to investigate more in-depth and with a larger battery of tests the acquisition of experiential verbs in Greek as an L2.

It is also important to mention that although the participants in the present study have an acceptable proficiency range, as well as stays of different duration, it would be interesting to include more advanced learners, as well as learners who have spent more significant amounts of time in Greece. However, given that these kinds of learners do not seem to study the target language in the setting analyzed here (as mentioned before the highest level offered in the state-run Official Schools of Languages in Spain is level B2), recruiting them will be a challenging task for future studies.

Another fruitful aspect for future research would be the case of reverse transfer in relation to experiential verbs. In other words, the exploration of

whether native Greek speakers with many years of length of residence in a Spanish/Catalan L1 environment manifest instances of CLI from their L2 (Spanish or Catalan) and/or cases of possible L1 attrition. This would be a cutting-edge aspect to investigate, since many scholars have emphasized that reverse transfer or attrition of the L1 patterns is an under-explored area which requires further investigation (Cook, 2003; Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008; Pavlenko, 2011b; Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2002). In fact, being aware of some preliminary findings regarding the internalization of L2 patterns and the ensuing potential attrition of the corresponding L1 patterns (Bylund, 2009; Bylund & Jarvis, 2011), I was interested in applying this idea in the case of experiential verbs. For this reason, a small-scale pilot study was conducted (Barcelona, May-June 2013) including Greek speakers of Spanish as an L2 with length of residence of more than ten years in Spain. The instruments used in the present study were found to be inadequate in the case of Greek native speakers, given the fact that they were found to be very easy for them and participants performed at ceiling. However, in the case of the grammaticality judgment test, the participants needed more time to think than the group of monolingual Greek speakers used in the study. The conclusions of this pilot study were the following: First, different instruments should be designed for a study which aims at exploring reverse transfer in the case of experiential verbs. Second, the same instruments, especially the grammaticality judgment test, could still be used, but with the different objective of counting the exact time required by each group to answer (i.e., monolinguals native speakers of Greek, native speakers of Greek with many years of length of residence in Spain, and Spanish/Catalan L1

learners of Greek), and to explore whether there are any difference in response time. Findings may show that Greek speakers with many years of length of residence in the L2 environment, and perhaps with limited L1 contact (Schmid, 2007), may have become less sensitive to the L1-like structures, and they may need more time in order to be able to reject them as ungrammatical. For the exploration of this aspect, a different research design and data collection methods would be required (e.g., grammaticality judgment test present by means of a computer which could count the exact response time). Due to time restrictions, the present study could not address these aspects observed in the pilot study (i.e., the need to design different instruments and include different data collection methods), but it is worth mentioning these observations in case future studies may want to address these issues. This line of exploration could reveal important aspects regarding the reconstruction of the L1 patterns and the potential shift towards the L2 ones.

An important issue for further research, especially for the pedagogical implications, would be the investigation of what kind of instruction would be more adequate and effective for the patterns under analysis. As it has been emphasized in the Discussion section, these structures are not explicitly taught in the classroom and neither do the teachers direct learners' attention towards them. The present study demonstrated that the acquisition of experiential verbs is indeed a problematic area for Spanish/Catalan L1 learners of Greek. The kind of instruction provided until now in respect of these patterns does not seem to be particularly conducive to their acquisition. Hence, this finding suggests the necessity of a new pedagogical approach towards the teaching of these structures.

If the explanation which was provided for the complex nature of these patterns, (i.e., that they are related to speakers' conceptualization of the EXPERIENTIAL STATE and that may constitute a kind of thinking-for-speaking patterns) holds true, maybe a more explicit way of teaching them could be more efficient (Malt & Sloman, 2003). Examining the role of explicit instruction of L2 thinking-for-speaking (or more general, conceptualization) patterns is an under-explored issue in the field, even though its importance has been pointed out (Stam, 2010). The current study suggests the significance of conducting research in order to test the effectiveness of explicit instruction (Norris & Ortega, 2003). Results from this kind of research could enable us to see to what degree L1 conceptualization patterns are amenable to changes and to what extent the corresponding L2 constructions can be acquired.

Moreover, the present study is cross-sectional: Future research should include longitudinal studies in order to better examine the restructuring of L1 patterns throughout the years of L2 learning (Ortega & Iberri-Shea, 2005). It has been argued that both L1 and L2 patterns are not static and they can change over time (Stam, 2010). Lastly, future research should also analyze the possible effects of other factors in pattern restructuring, such as language learning aptitude, motivation or metalinguistic awareness, which are individual variables which have been found to have an important effect on SLA (Dörnyei & Skehan, 2008; Ehrman, Leaver, & Oxford, 2003; R. Ellis, 1994; Robinson, 2002; Skehan, 1989, 1991).

Undoubtedly, it is very difficult for a single study to solely address all the aforementioned aspects. Nonetheless, the discussion of the limitations as well as the suggestions emerging from the current dissertation could bring to light new, insightful aspects for the CLI field and consequently, could pave the way for future research to be conducted. Therefore, the present study represents an important contribution, as it examined a structure that has not been investigated before and which is different from the aspects typically explored in the field. It also tried to interpret them within a framework which was considered to illuminate their complex nature and provide a better understanding of how they work. In addition, the study investigated an under-explored combination of languages, filling a gap which was considered to be “a deficiency”—in Jarvis’ and Pavlenko’s (2008, p. 62) words—in the CLI area. Finally, the study explored the effects of two important variables, namely L2 proficiency and L2 stays, thus providing further empirical evidence for their impact. Studies such as the one presented here could shed more light on pioneering aspects of CLI and therefore contribute to this research area.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: List of target structures

Spanish (periphrasis)	Catalan (periphrasis)	Greek (single verb)	English
tener hambre	tenir gana	πεινάω /pináo/	to be hungry
tener sed	tenir set	διψάω /dipsáo/	to be thirsty
tener prisa	tenir pressa	βιάζομαι /viázome/	to be in a hurry
tener sueño	tenir son	νυστάζω /nistázo/	to be sleepy
tener miedo	tenir por	φοβάμαι /fováme/	to be afraid
tener frío	tenir fred	κρυώνω /krióno/	to be cold
tener calor	tenir calor	ζεσταίνομαι /zesténome/	to be hot
tener dolor	tenir mal de/fer mal	πονάω /ponáo/	to have pain/ to hurt
tener cellos	tenir gelosia	ζηλεύω /zilévo/	to be jealous
tener vergüenza	tenir vergonya	ντρέπομαι /drépome/	to be ashamed/embarrassed
tener cuidado	tenir cura	προσέχω /proséxo/	to be careful
dar la bienvenida	donar la bevinguda	καλωσορίζω /kalosorízo/	to welcome
dar calor	fer calor	ζεσταίνω /zesténo/	to warm
dar frío	fer fred	κρυώνω /krióno/	to get cold
dar pena	fer pena	στεναχωρώ/ στεναχωριέμαι /stenahoró, stenahoriéme/	to make sad/feel pity
dar las gracias	donar les gràcies	ευχαριστώ /efharistó/	to thank
dar asco	fer fàstic	αηδιάζω /aidiázo/	to put off/ provoke disgust
dar tiempo	tenir temps	προλαβαίνω /prolavéno/	to be on time/to have time
dar vergüenza	fer vergonya	ντρέπομαι /ntrépome/	to be ashamed

Appendix B: Participants' age (detailed distribution)

AGE	N
18	1
21	3
22	2
23	2
24	4
25	2
26	3
27	3
28	5
29	2
30	6
31	6
32	5
33	1
34	1
35	1
36	2
38	2
39	2
41	1
42	2
43	2
44	4
45	3
46	2
47	2
48	1
50	4
51	1
52	1
53	2
54	1
55	1
57	1
59	1
60	1
61	3
62	3
63	1
64	2
65	4

66	2
68	1
69	1
73	1
76	1

Appendix C1: Grammaticality Judgment Test (GJT)

Por favor, marque con √ si la frase es correcta y con X si es incorrecta; si cree que una frase es incorrecta, por favor, corríjala.

1. Έλα, πάμε γρήγορα! Δεν θα σου δίνει χρόνο να πάρεις το τρένο!
2. Σήμερα κάνει πολύ κρύο, αλλά εγώ έχω πολλή ζέστη!
3. Ποιος γράφτηκε αυτό το βιβλίο;
4. Δεν είμαι καλά, έχω πόνο στο κεφάλι μου.
5. Στις εξετάσεις πρέπει να έχεις προσοχή.
6. Αυτά τα αγόρια είναι πολύ έξυπνες.
7. Ο φίλος μου έχει μεγάλη ζήλια όταν μιλάω με άλλα αγόρια.
8. Μου δίνει αηδία αυτή η εικόνα.
9. Έχω χρόνο για ένα ποτό. Πάμε;
10. Δεν μπορώ να σου μιλήσω τώρα, έχω πολλή βιασύνη.
11. Αύριο έκανα όλες τις ασκήσεις.
12. Το τραγούδι αυτό έχει μεγάλη επιτυχία.
13. Μου δίνει ντροπή να μιλάω μπροστά σε κόσμο.
14. Ο Κώστας έχει δίκιο, πρέπει να φύγουμε.
15. Σου αρέσει τα ταξίδια;
16. Μην έχεις φόβο! Όλα θα πάνε καλά!
17. Μου δίνει λύπη που είσαι άρρωστος πάλι.
18. Τα ποτήρια είναι άδειο.
19. Έχετε όρεξη να πάμε μια βόλτα;
20. Μου κάνει κακό να μιλάω γι αυτό το θέμα.

Appendix C2: Targets in the GJT and Translation

TARGET ITEMS: (Periphrasis vs. single verb)

Sentence 1: dar tiempo vs. προλαβαίνω

Έλα, πάμε γρήγορα! Δεν θα σου δίνει χρόνο να πάρεις το τρένο!

[Come on, let's go quickly! It won't *give you time (you won't have time) to catch the train!]

Sentence 2: tener calor vs. ζεσταίνομαι

Σήμερα κάνει πολύ κρύο, αλλά εγώ έχω πολλή ζέστη!

[Today it's very cold but I *have a lot of heat (I feel hot)!]

Sentence 4: tener dolor (de cabeza) vs. πονάει (το κεφάλι μου)

Δεν είμαι καλά, έχω πόνο στο κεφάλι μου.

[I'm not feeling well, I *have pain in my head (I have a headache).]

Sentence 5: tener cuidado vs. προσέχω

Στις εξετάσεις πρέπει να έχεις προσοχή.

[During the exams, you must *have attention (pay attention).]

Sentence 7: tener celos vs. ζηλεύω

Ο φίλος μου έχει μεγάλη ζήλια όταν μιλάω με άλλα αγόρια.

[My boyfriend *has a lot of jealousy (is very jealous) when I talk to other boys.]

Sentence 8: dar asco vs. αηδιάζω

Μου δίνει αηδία αυτή η εικόνα.

[This image gives me disgust (it puts me off/disgusts me).]

Sentence 10: tener prisa vs. βιάζομαι

Δεν μπορώ να σου μιλήσω τώρα, έχω πολλή βιασύνη.

[I can't talk to you right now, I *have a lot of rush (I am in a rush).]

Sentence 13: dar vergüenza vs. ντρέπομαι

Μου δίνει ντροπή να μιλάω μπροστά σε κόσμο.

[It *gives me embarrassment (I am embarrassed) to talk in front of people.]

Sentence 16: tener miedo vs. φοβάμαι

Μην έχεις φόβο! Όλα θα πάνε καλά!

[Don't *have fear (be afraid)! Everything is going to be fine!]

Sentence 17: dar pena (me da pena) vs. λυπάμαι

Μου δίνει λύπη που είσαι άρρωστος πάλι.

[It *gives me sadness (I am sorry) that you are sick again.]

Periphrases in both L1 and L2

Sentence 9: tener tiempo vs. έχω χρόνο

Έχω χρόνο για ένα ποτό. Πάμε;

[I have time for a drink. Shall we go?]

Sentence 12: tener éxito vs. έχω επιτυχία

Το τραγούδι αυτό έχει μεγάλη επιτυχία.

[This song has a lot of success.]

Sentence 14: tener razón vs. έχω δίκιο

Ο Κώστας έχει δίκιο, πρέπει να φύγουμε.

[Kostas is right, we should go.]

Sentence 19: tener ganas vs. έχω όρεξη

Έχετε όρεξη να πάμε μια βόλτα;

[Do you feel like going for a walk?]

Sentence 20: hacer daño vs. μου κάνει κακό

Μου κάνει κακό να μιλάω γι αυτό το θέμα.

[It makes me bad (it hurts me) talking about this issue.]

Distractors

Sentence 3: [active vs. passive voice]

Ποιος γράφτηκε αυτό το βιβλίο;

(Who *has been written this book?)

Sentence 6: [subject-adjective agreement]

Αυτά τα αγόρια είναι πολύ έξυπνες.

(These boys are very smart (feminine suffix))

Sentence 11: [verbal tenses]

Αύριο έκανα όλες τις ασκήσεις.

(Tomorrow I *did all the exercises/homework.)

Sentence 15: [subject-verb agreement]

Σου αρέσει τα ταξίδια;

(Do you like trips?)

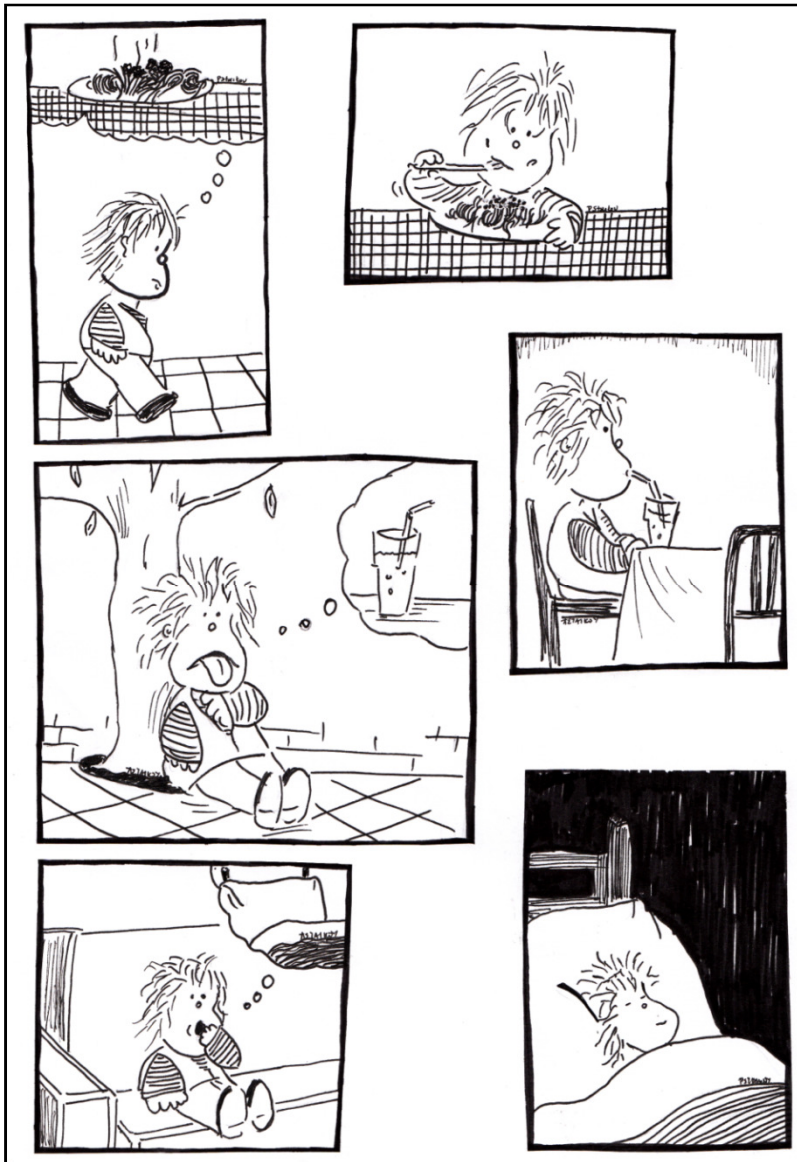
Sentence 18: [subject-adjective agreement]

Τα ποτήρια είναι άδειο.

(These glasses are empty (adjective singular))

Appendix D1: Written Description Task

Describe la historia que demuestran las viñetas utilizando la palabra «γιατί»:



Στην πρώτη
εικόνα βλέπουμε
το παιδάκι να

.....γιατί...

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Appendix D2: Extracts from transcriptions of the Written Description

Task³⁸

Participant #2, Level 2

L2 Greek

Στην πρώτη εικόνα βλέπουμε το παιδάκι να σκέφτομαι τα μακαρόνια γιατί **θέλει να τρώει**@T1no μακαρόνια. Το παιδί πίνει νερό γιατί **έχει** *διψιά@T2perL1. Το παιδί σκέφτεσαι το κρεβάτι γιατί **θέλει να κοιμάμαι**@T3no.

L1 Spanish

Vemos un niño que piensa en un plato de pasta porque **quiere comer** pasta. El niño piensa en un refresco porque **tiene sed**. El niño piensa en una cama porque **quiere dormir**.

Participant #80, Level 2

L2 Greek

Στην πρώτη εικόνα βλέπουμε το παιδάκι να σκέφτεται στο φαγητό γιατί *πινάει@T1verbok πολύ. Το παιδί πίνει έναν χυμό πορτοκάλι γιατί *δίψαξε@T2verbok πολύ. Το παιδί θέλει να πάει για ύπνο γιατί νυστάζει πολύ και είναι πολύ **κουρασμένος**@T3avoid.

³⁸ Codification: @T1, @T2, @T3 refers to the target structures in Greek (i.e., experiential verbs)

@verbok: the expected experiential form was produced

@perL1: the participant produced a periphrasis based on his/her L1 pattern

@no: the participant did not mention the target form

@avoid: the participant deliberately avoided the target form

The same codification was applied to the oral task.

L1 Spanish

El niño piensa en comida porque **tiene** mucha **hambre**. El niño bebe un zumo de naranja porque **tenía** mucha **sed**. El niño quiere irse a la cama porque **tiene** mucho **sueño** y está muy cansado.

Participant #107, Level 4

L2 Greek

Στην πρώτη εικόνα βλέπουμε το παιδάκι να *σκεφτέστηκε στο φαγητό γιατί **πεινάει@T1verbok**. Στην δεύτερη εικόνα βλέπουμε *σκεφτέστηκε στο ποτό γιατί **διψάει@T2verbok**. Στην τρίτη εικόνα βλέπουμε το παιδάκι στο κρεβάτι γιατί **έχει ύπνο@T3perL1**.

L1 Spanish

En la primera imagen vemos al nene que piensa en la comida porque **tiene hambre**. En la segunda vemos al nene que piensa en la bebida porque **tiene sed**. En la tercera imagen vemos al nene en la cama porque **tiene sueño**.

Participant #44, Level 5

L2 Greek

Στην πρώτη εικόνα βλέπουμε το παιδάκι να ***πινάει@T1verbok** γιατί θέλει να φάει. Στη δεύτερη εικόνα το παιδάκι **διψάει@T2verbok** γιατί θέλει να πει. Στην τρίτη εικόνα το παιδάκι *θέλει να ***κιμιθεί** γιατί **είναι κουρασμένος@T3avoid**.

L1 Catalan

El nen **té gana** perquè vol menjar. El nen **té set** perquè vol beure. El se'n vol anar a dormir perquè **té son**.

Participant #14, Level 2

L2 Greek

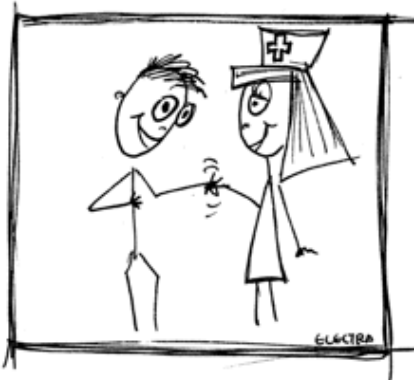
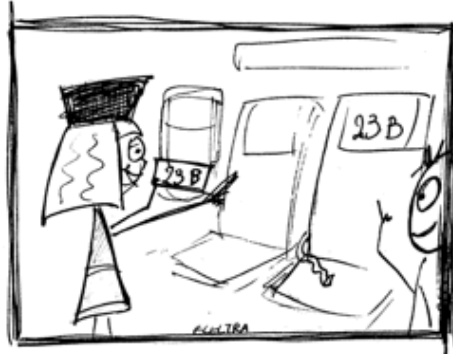
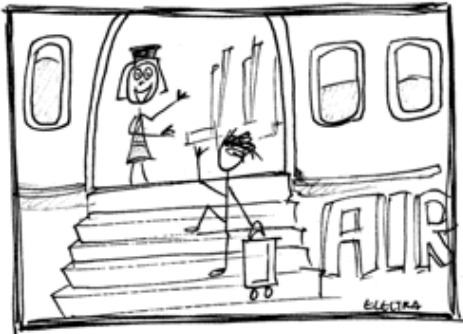
Στην πρώτη εικόνα βλέπουμε το παιδάκι να *σκεφητει *κραιο γιατί το παιδάκι τρώει μια μακαρόνια έχει φάμε@T1perL1. Το παιδάκι *σκεφητει έναν ποτήρι νερό. Έχει [noun missing]@T2perL1 γιατί πίνει τον νερό. Το παιδάκι *κοιμάτε@T3avoid.

L1 Spanish

El niño piensa en la comida porque **tiene hambre**. El niño piensa en un vaso de agua. **Tiene sed** por lo tanto bebe agua. El niño **tiene sueño** porque el niño duerme.

Appendix E1: Oral Description Task

Por favor, describa la siguiente historia.



Appendix E2: Extracts of transcriptions in the Oral Description Task

Participant #47 Level 6

INT. María Andriá

MAN* Βλέπουμε ένα αεροπλάνο είναι ένα παιδί με μια βαλίτσα και μπήκε μέσα μπήκε μέσα στο αεροπλάνο. Έχει το εισιτήριο του και επιλέγει την κοπέλα και την λέει 23B το αεροπλάνο perdona το αεροπλάνο πήγε στον ουρανό και άρχισε το φαγητό του αεροπλάνο εκεί εκεί το παιδί έπινε ah no έφαγε τόσο πολύ και τόσο γρήγορο και κάτι έπαθε στο στομάχι και δεν δεν ήταν καλό το φαγητό και έρχεται η νοσοκόμα και του δίνω ένα ναρκωτικό και μετά το παιδί ήταν ήταν καλό.

***INT:** Εδώ η κοπέλα τι του κάνει του παιδιού εδώ που μπαίνει μέσα στο αεροπλάνο.

***MAN:** Τι τον λέει.

***INT:** Ναι, τι του λέει τι του κάνει.

***MAN:** Έλα μέσα παρακαλώ.

***INT:** Εδώ το παιδί γιατί θέλει να φάει τόσο πολύ;

***MAN:** Γιατί είχε όρεξη@perL1

***INT:** Εδώ το παιδί τι την κάνει την νοσοκόμα.

***MAN:** Την λέει ευχαριστούμε ευχαριστώ και όλα θα πάνε καλά.

English translation (literal)

***MAN:** *We see a plane it is a child with a suitcase and he entered inside he entered into the plane. He has his ticket and he *chooses the girl and he tells her 23B [perdona]. The plane went to the sky and it began the food of the plane there there and the child was drinking [ah no] ate too much and too fast and something happened to his stomach and it was not not good the food and comes a nursery and * I give him a drug and then the child was was good.*

***INT:** *Here, the girl, when he enters the plane, what is she doing?*

**MAN: What is she saying?*

**INT: Yes, what is she saying, what is she doing?.*

**MAN: Come inside, please.*

**INT: Here, why the child wants to eat so much?*

MAN: Because he **has appetite (hunger).*

**INT: Here the child, what is he doing to the nurse?*

**MAN: She says (we) thank thanks and everything is going to be alright.*

L1 Catalan

MAN: Bueno és un avió i 'és un noi que va amb una maleta entra dintre de l'avió, li dona el seu bitllet , li dona a la noia, a la hostessa i li diu el 23B, l'avió despega i entra dintre de l'avió comença a dinar perquè ha vingut el dinar, comença a menjar perquè deu **tenir gana, menja molt ràpid, li senta malament, perquè no... li ha sentat malament dins de l'estomac, arriba la infermera i li dona un xarop un... un medicament i després el noi, el passatger se sent millor i li **dona lès gràcies**... o sigui el seu vol va continuar millor, se sent millor...*

INT I aquí què li fa l'hostessa aquí al nen?*

MAN Li fa que entri dintre de l'avió.*

Appendix F: Questionnaire



María Andriá
Doctoranda en Lingüística Aplicada
Directora de la tesis: Dra. Raquel Serrano

CUESTIONARIO

¡Gracias por tu colaboración!
Se garantiza el anonimato

A. DATOS PERSONALES

- NOMBRE:
.....
- SEXO: HOMBRE MUJER
- EDAD:.....
- NACIONALIDAD:.....
.....
- NIVEL DE EDUCACIÓN: PrimariaSecundaria Estudios
Universitarios
- PROFESIÓN:.....
- E-mail:

B. IDIOMAS DEL ESTUDIANTE

-Idioma(s) materno(s):

-Indica la edad en la que comenzaste a aprender cada idioma. También haz una valoración de tu nivel de griego y de los otros idiomas que hablas (incluyendo tu (s) lengua(s) materna(s)) según este baremo:

(1) elemental, (2) intermedio bajo, (3) intermedio, (4) intermedio alto, (5) avanzado, (6) nativo

IDIOMA	Edad	comprensión oral	producción oral	comprensión escrita	producción escrita

¿Tienes algún certificado oficial de conocimiento de alguno de los idiomas extranjeros? (e.g., *First Certificate, EOI*, etc. Por favor, indica:

.....

C. GRIEGO

DURACIÓN DE ESTUDIOS:

CUÁNTO TIEMPO LLEVAS APRENDIENDO GRIEGO:.....

Comienzo:.....

¿Has tenido otras clases de griego fuera de la EOI? SÍ No

¿Dónde?.....

¿Por cuánto tiempo?.....

En la actualidad, ¿practicar el griego fuera de clase? Escribe un número del 1 al 10 según esta escala: 0= nada, 10= muchísimo.

Escuchar	Hablar	Leer	Escribir

Durante el tiempo que llevas aprendiendo griego, ¿ha habido algún momento en el que consideras que tu conocimiento de la lengua progresó de forma más radical? SÍ NO

Si "sí", indica qué hiciste/qué pasó:

ESTANCIAS

¿Has estado alguna vez en Grecia? SÍ No

Si sí, responde a las preguntas para cada estancia:

PREGUNTAS SOBRE LAS ESTANCIAS EN GRECIA:

Para cada estancia indica la **duración** y el **motivo**. Además, indica del 0 al 10 el **grado de aprovechamiento** de la estancia para practicar griego: (0=mínimo, casi no practiqué - 10= máximo, considero que practiqué todo lo que pude.) Añade más líneas si has estado en Grecia más de 3 veces.

ESTANCIA	Duración	Motivo <u>1</u> : Clases verano; <u>2</u> : programas intercambio (Erasmus, etc.); <u>3</u> : vacaciones; <u>4</u> : otros: _____	escuchar (TV, radio, películas, etc.)	hablar (especialmente conversaciones largas)	leer (periódico, revistas, libros, etc.)	escribir (cartas, emails, redacciones, etc.)
1						
2						
3						

¿En qué medida crees que has progresado en cuanto a tu nivel de griego después de cada estancia en Grecia? Escribe un número del 1 al 10 según esta escala: 0= nada, 10= muchísimo.

Estancia	duración	Escuchar	hablar	Leer	Escribir	vocabulario	gramática	pronunciación
1								
2								
3								

¿Actualmente por qué te interesa saber griego?

(1= nada importante, 2=no importante, 3=poco importante, 4=algo importante, 5=importante, 6= muy importante)

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Para conocer mejor Grecia.						
Para entender la televisión, películas, etc. sin problemas						
Por ser útil para mis estudios.						
Para conocer gente griega.						
Para leer libros, periódicos, etc. sin problemas.						
Para conocer a gente de otros países.						

Por placer.						
Para tener mejores posibilidades a nivel laboral.						
Para conocer la cultura griega.						
Para viajar.						
Para conocer otros países						

OTROS MOTIVOS: (INDICA).....

Appendix G: Normality Tests for the Instruments

As the following table illustrates, the samples for all the tasks failed the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test of normality.

Tests of Normality

99999	Kolmogorov-Smirnov		
	Statistic	df	Sig.
GJT	.122	113	<.001
WDT	.227	107	<.001
ODT	.195	36	.001

Tests of Normality per Proficiency Level

LEVEL		Kolmogorov-Smirnov		
		Statistic	df	Sig.
2	GJT	.179	36	.005
	WDT	.328	34	<.001
	ODT	.432	11	<.001
3	GJT	.172	24	.066
	WDT	.192	20	.055
	ODT	.473	5	.001
4	GJT	.253	21	.001
	WDT	.286	21	<.001
	ODT	.473	5	.001
5	GJT	.175	12	.200*
	WDT	.287	12	.007
	ODT	.385	3	-
6	GJT	.163	20	.169
	WDT	.243	20	.003
	ODT	.177	12	.200*

Appendix H: Spanish/Catalan native speakers' data in the pilot study

WDT ITEMS			
	ITEM 1	ITEM 2	ITEM 3
	<i>tener hambre/</i>	<i>tener sed/</i>	<i>tener sueño/</i>
	<i>tenir gana</i>	<i>tenir set</i>	<i>tenir son</i>
periphrasis	100%	100%	100%
verb	0%	0%	0%

ODT ITEMS				
	ITEM 1	ITEM 2	ITEM 3	ITEM 4
	<i>dar la</i>	<i>tener dolor (doler)/ tinc</i>	<i>dar las gracias</i>	<i>tener hambre/</i>
	<i>bienvenida/</i>	<i>dolor (em fa dolor)</i>	<i>(agradecer)/</i>	<i>tenir gana</i>
	<i>donar la</i>		<i>donar les</i>	
	<i>benvinguda</i>		<i>gràcies</i>	
			<i>(agrair)</i>	
periphrasis	100%	93.3%%	93.3%	100%
verb	0%	6.6%	6.6%	0%

As it can be seen by the tables above, Spanish/Catalan native speakers used periphrases in order to express the EXPERIENTIAL STATE in their L1. In the oral task, in cases where both the periphrastic and the single verb are correct (*tener dolor/doler* and *dar las gracias/agradecer*), all the native speakers but one preferred to use periphrases.

